

LEWIS GRANOM:
HIS SIGNIFICANCE FOR THE FLUTE IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

HELEN CROWN

Student number: 0835930

Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements of the degree of PhD, School of Music,
Cardiff University

May 2013

Specimen Layout for Thesis Summary and Declaration/Statements page to be included in a Thesis

DECLARATION

This work has not previously been accepted in substance for any degree and is not concurrently submitted in candidature for any degree.

Signed Helen Coon (candidate) Date 10/5/13

STATEMENT 1

This thesis is being submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of PhD (insert MCh, MD, MPhil/PhD etc, as appropriate)

Signed H. Coon (candidate) Date 10/05/13

STATEMENT 2

This thesis is the result of my own independent work/investigation, except where otherwise stated. Other sources are acknowledged by explicit references.

Signed H. Coon (candidate) Date 10/05/13

STATEMENT 3

I hereby give consent for my thesis, if accepted, to be available for photocopying and for inter-library loan, and for the title and summary to be made available to outside organisations.

Signed H. Coon (candidate) Date 10/05/13

STATEMENT 4 - BAR ON ACCESS APPROVED

I hereby give consent for my thesis, if accepted, to be available for photocopying and for inter-library loans after expiry of a bar on access approved by the Graduate Development Committee.

Signed H. Coon (candidate) Date 10/05/13

ABSTRACT

An article in the *London Daily Advertiser*, April 6 1752 makes reference to ‘Mr. Granom, whose expression in composition can only be equalled by his fire as a performer’. This quotation testifies to the extremely high regard in which the flute player Lewis Granom was held as both composer and performer, as well as implying that he was known to the music-loving public. This contrasts markedly with the lack of mention in modern musical literature. Only Hugh Arthur Scott, in his article ‘London Concerts from 1700 to 1750’, *Musical Quarterly*, 24/2 (1938), 194–209 (p. 204), provides a hint of Granom’s standing in musical circles: ‘A star which rose about the same time [1719], and shone for many years afterwards, was Lewis Granom, the famous flautist, who gave a long series of concerts at Hickford’s in 1729’. This suggests that Granom should be better known, both for his compositions and for his contribution to flute pedagogy. His treatise, *Plain and Easy Instructions for Playing on the German Flute* (London: T. Bennett, 1766), was the first dedicated to the flute by a named English author.

This thesis remedies this notable historical oversight with an examination of his life, his pedagogical work (particularly his treatise) and an analysis of his flute sonatas together with their relevant performance practice in the light of the various international influences found therein. It restores Lewis Granom to his rightful place as a significant composer and performer in the context of mid eighteenth-century English music.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This thesis is the result of my love of music for the baroque flute and my curiosity about what was being performed in England in the eighteenth century. I could not have undertaken this study without the Research Studentship awarded to me by the School of Music, Cardiff University, for which I am exceedingly grateful. My thanks are due to Charity Dove and all the staff at the Music library, to the staff at the British Library, Cambridge University Library and the Bodleian Library, Oxford. I am especially grateful to my supervisor, Dr David Ponsford. He has given liberally of his time, generously of his expertise, and has been hugely supportive at every stage of the process. Of my many friends and colleagues I must particularly mention Dr Maurice Byrne for his interest in this project and who generously made his notebooks and other material available to me. Dr Nancy Hadden supplied some material not available in this country, Diane Winkleby cast her professional eye over the script, although any remaining errors are entirely my own, and Patricia Cox's curiosity about Lewis Granom's family encouraged me to construct his family tree. A huge thank you is also due to my family. Hannah's computer skills have been invaluable and Ian has done everything possible to provide all necessary support. It has been very much appreciated.

CONTENTS

ABBREVIATIONS AND NOTES	viii
PREFACE	xi
FAMILY TREE	xvi
CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION	
The Development of the Flute and its Introduction into England	1
CHAPTER 2: LEWIS GRANOM	
Biography	8
The Performer	18
The Teacher	27
The Composer	30
CHAPTER 3: EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY ENGLISH INSTRUMENTAL TUTORS	
An Overview	40
Flute Tutors Published in England up to 1765	44
Flute Tutors Published in Europe	52
CHAPTER 4: <i>PLAIN AND EASY INSTRUCTIONS FOR PLAYING ON THE GERMAN FLUTE</i>	
The Contents	57
Evaluation	103
CHAPTER 5: THE SOLO SONATA IN ENGLAND	
Solo Sonatas in England	110
Aspects of English Flute Sonatas	112

Performance Practice related to Dance	120
Aspects of Performance Practice related to Granom	128
Assessment	135
CHAPTER 6: GRANOM'S SONATAS	
The Abstract Movements	138
The Dance Movements	164
CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSION	207
APPENDIX: FLUTE SONATAS PUBLISHED IN ENGLAND UP TO 1770	211
BIBLIOGRAPHY	223

ABBREVIATIONS AND NOTES

<i>EM</i>	<i>Early Music</i>
<i>GSJ</i>	<i>Galpin Society Journal</i>
<i>ML</i>	<i>Music & Letters</i>
<i>MMR</i>	<i>Monthly Musical Record</i>
<i>MR</i>	<i>Music Review</i>
<i>MQ</i>	<i>Musical Quarterly</i>
<i>MT</i>	<i>Musical Times</i>
<i>New Grove</i> (2001)	<i>New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians</i> ed. Stanley Sadie, 2nd edn (London: Macmillan, 2001), 29 vols
<i>PPR</i>	<i>Performance Practice Review</i>
<i>PRMA</i>	<i>Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association</i>
<i>RMA</i>	<i>Royal Musical Association</i>
TNA: PRO	The National Archives: Public Record Office. (The National Archives now incorporates the Public Record Office and documents are referenced in this thesis in accordance with TNA stipulations).

References to Granom's treatise are to the fourth edition (London: T. Bennett, 1772) unless otherwise stated.

All translations are my own.

Unavailable publication data are indicated by n.p. (no place), n.n. (no name) and n.d. (no date).

The journal kept by John Grano between May 1728 and September 1729 - ‘A Journal of My Life while in the Marshalsea Southwark’, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson D34 – is referenced here in three different ways.

- 1) Following the initial reference in full, the journal is subsequently given as Grano, followed by the date(s).
- 2) Following each quotation from the journal a reference is provided to the published edition edited by John Ginger, *Handel’s Trumpeter: The Diary of John Grano* (New York: Pendragon Press, 1998). This is given as, *Diary* and followed by the relevant page number(s).
- 3) Ginger’s editorial comments in his edition of the journal are referenced accordingly.

With regard to dates in the journal, the New Year began on 25 March, so dates from 1 January until 24 March are dated as 1728/9.

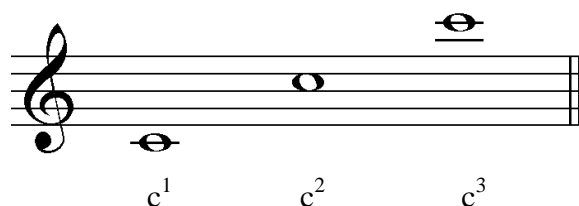
In the first chapter of this thesis only, John Grano and his brother Lewis Granom are referred to by their first names in order to avoid confusion. In subsequent chapters, Lewis Granom is referred to by his surname.

Library Sigla are as listed in *RISM* – see *Bibliothekssigel: Gesamtverzeichnis* (München: G. Henle Verlag; Kassel; London: Bärenreiter Verlag, 1999).

In quotations from primary sources the original spelling, capitalisation and punctuation have been retained with all their inconsistencies.

The cost of living and earnings are clarified in relative terms by the findings of Roy Porter, *English Society in the 18th century*, rev. ed (London: Penguin, 1991), p. xv, and Liza Picard, *Dr. Johnson's London: life in London 1740–1770*, 2nd edn (London: Phoenix Press, 2001), pp. 293–8. Potter observes that prices were generally stable for much of the century, and a full loaf of bread would have cost about 4*d*. To support a family, the breadwinner would have need to earn in the region of about £30–£40. Members of the petty bourgeoisie generally enjoyed incomes of between £50 and £100 a year, whereas about £300 [a year] was the least that would have kept a gentleman in any style. Porter also notes that a new two-up and two-down brick cottage would have cost about £150. Picard observes that 1*d* would have bought enough gin to get drunk on, 6*d*. would have bought meat, drink and bread for a journeyman tailor's dinner, 1*s*. would have bought a meal in a steakhouse of beef, beer and bread, 9*s*. was the weekly wage of an unskilled labourer, and £6–£8 was the annual wage of a housemaid.

The following pitch standard is used:



PREFACE

The authority of figures such as Johann Joachim Quantz and Jacques Hotteterre-le-Romain in connection with modern scholarship in general and flute performance in particular is without question. Hotteterre's *Principes de la flûte traversière, ou flûte d'Allemagne* (Paris: C. Ballard, 1707), the first treatise for the one-keyed flute to appear in any country, is the primary source for information about flute technique and performance practice in France in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Quantz's *Versuch einer Anweisung die Flöte traversiere zu spielen* (Berlin: J. F. Voss, 1752) is a monumental work; about a third is devoted exclusively to the flute while the remainder provides a comprehensive guide to all aspects of musical performance in Germany (particularly Dresden and Berlin) from about 1725 to 1755. The flute music of both Hotteterre and Quantz and some of their more famous countrymen has been the subject of much research, and for this their respective treatises have been invaluable but, as Ardal Powell has pointed out, there has been very little investigation of the work of their less well-known contemporaries.¹ Flute music published in England (with the exception of that of Handel), and particularly that composed by flute players resident in England, is a case in point. The flute became the most popular woodwind instrument in England in the eighteenth century, as evidenced by the many anonymous tutors and solo sonatas published for it.² Initially the flute was brought from France by players who disseminated their techniques and performance practice first hand to their pupils in London. Hence, the first flute treatise to appear in England was an anonymous translation of Hotteterre's *Principes* (1707), published as *The Rudiments or Principles of the German Flute* (London: Walsh and Hare, 1729), which formed the basis of the

¹ Ardal Powell, *The Flute* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2002), p. 299.

² See Table 3.1, p. 40; Table 3.3 pp. 49–51; Table 2.3, pp. 104–8 and the Appendix.

many anonymous treatises that followed. The first English flute treatise *Plain and Easy Instructions for Playing on the German-Flute* (London: T. Bennett, 1766), was written by Lewis Granom (c.1700–c. 1780), a flute player, teacher and composer, yet he has never been adequately researched and hardly even noticed by the majority of players and scholars in modern times. An investigation of flute performance practice in England in this period could not have a better focus than Lewis Granom. In order to understand how to perform English flute music of this period it is surely more appropriate to give most weight to the pedagogical material that was available in England rather than to treatises which originated in other countries, furthermore a study of Granom's own flute music would not be complete without an examination of his treatise.

This thesis is the result of an exploration of Lewis Granom's life, his treatise and his flute sonatas, and evaluates for the first time Granom's contribution to the pedagogy and repertory of the one-keyed flute. Of all Granom's works for the flute the solo sonatas are the most substantial and it is these that form the focus of my study of his music.

My aim has been to answer such questions as:

- 1) What was Granom's position in English musical circles in the eighteenth century?
- 2) What did his treatise contribute to flute pedagogy in England, and if so, in what ways?
- 3) Were his flute sonatas a significant contribution to the repertory? If so, how?
- 4) What are the performance-practice issues arising from his sonatas and in what way do they inform our knowledge?
- 5) Was he in any way comparable with Hotteterre or Quantz?

Seeking to place Granom in the most appropriate context, I have it focused exclusively on professional flute players, their activities and their published works. Provincial amateur music-

making concerning the flute in England would no doubt contribute an additional and valuable perspective, but falls beyond the scope of this study.³

Chapter One discusses the development of the flute and its introduction into England.

Chapter Two is a biography of Granom, an outline of his professional activities and details of his compositions. It is curious that Granom was ignored by both Sir John Hawkins and Charles Burney, but a diary written by Granom's brother, John Grano, during his incarceration in the Marshalsea prison for debt (May 1728 – September 1729) provides some glimpses into Lewis's life at this time. This diary is published as *Handel's Trumpeter: The Diary of John Grano*, edited with an introduction and commentary by John Ginger (New York: Pendragon Press, 1998). Both the original manuscript (in the Bodleian Library, Oxford) and the published edition have been consulted. Wills and documents relating to court cases concerning Granom and members of his family are preserved in The National Archives, while contemporary newspapers have provided additional information.

Chapter Three sets the context in which to evaluate Granom's pedagogical achievements by investigating the scope of eighteenth-century woodwind treatises in England. It provides an overview of what was available. As mentioned above, Hotteterre's *Rudiments* was the starting point for flute treatises in England and subsequent versions of these texts are compared and the differences noted.

Chapter Four is an examination of Granom's *Instructions* by topic and each is evaluated in the context of the techniques described in previous English tutors, which were all derived from *Rudiments* and published anonymously. In order to form a complete picture of trends and developments in performance practice however, other flute treatises published during this period

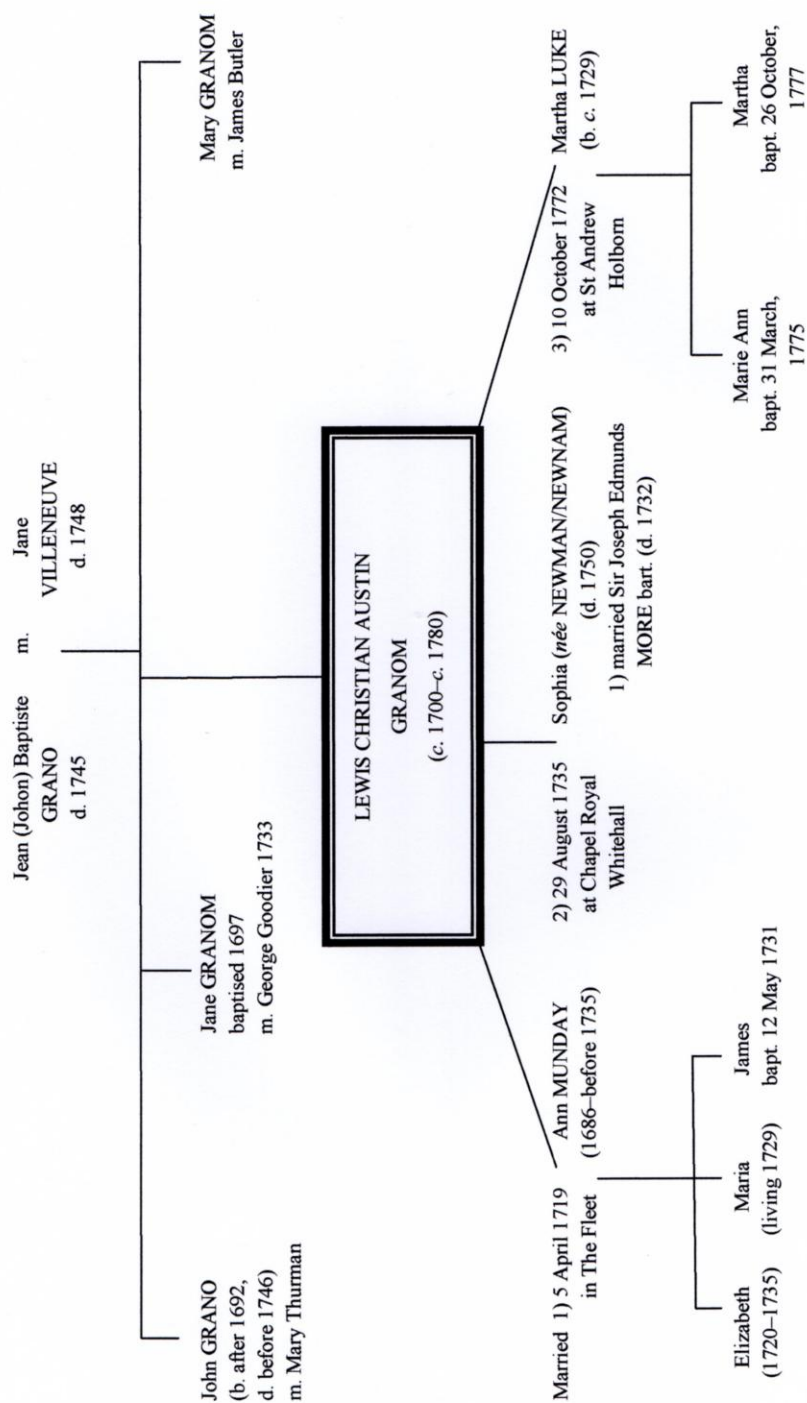
³ A fruitful beginning has been made by Peter Holman in his study of Edward Finch, 'A Purcell Manuscript Lost and Found', *EM*, 40 (2012), pp. 469–87.

are compared and the differences and similarities noted. In addition to the treatises of Hotteterre, Quantz and Granom, those of Michel Corrette (Paris: c. 1735) and Antoine Mahaut (Amsterdam & Paris: 1759) are also consulted. This chapter establishes Granom's place in the continuum of English flute treatises.

Chapter Five puts Granom's three volumes of flute sonatas in the context of other flute sonatas published in London during this period. Granom was keen to promote music written by flute players, and contemporary with him were two other professional flute players who composed for their instrument. They were Charles Weideman (early eighteenth century –1782), a German who was primarily an oboist, and John Ranish (1693–1777), also an oboist and possibly of east-European origin, who lived for most of his professional life in Cambridge. While it was usual for oboists to play solos in concerted works and chamber music using the recorder and the flute, there is no record that Granom played any other woodwind instrument than the flute. His elder brother John Grano left one of the earliest volumes of flute sonatas. This chapter considers Granom's compositions in terms of the foreign influences and styles relevant to composers of flute sonatas in England.

Chapter Six examines Granom's sonatas by genre. Selected movements are explored in terms of their compositional characteristics with any particular influences noted. Aspects of style that inform performance practice are explored, in addition to associated flute techniques. In this way Granom's approach to both composition and flute technique, whether conservative or progressive, can be appreciated most effectively. Issues of performance practice will be a thread throughout the narrative concerning Granom's treatise and his music. They will be discussed in context.

To place Granom's life as accurately as possible in the eighteenth century, a family tree has been constructed. Although his birth and death dates have not been established, significant life events such as dates of marriage can be ascertained with reference to a range of primary and archival sources, as indicated.



SOURCES FOR THE FAMILY TREE⁴

Johon Baptiste Grano:⁵ Wills and probate, TNA: PRO PROB 11/744/126.

Jane Grano (née Villeneuve): Wills and probate, TNA: PRO PROB 11/764/39.

John Grano: dates of birth and death estimated by Dr Maurice A. Byrne (henceforward M.A.B.).⁶

Jane Granom: Details of her marriage to George Goodier (a haberdasher in Brook Street) on 7 October 1733 are found in J. C. M. Weale (ed.), 'Register of the Catholic Chapels of the Portuguese Embassy Chapel, 1662-1829', Catholic Record Society, vol. 38 (1941), p. 138. Lewis and Mary were witnesses to this event which was recorded in Latin. Lewis was Latinized as Lodovico and Mary as Maria. That John was not a witness implies that he had already died or gone abroad. Jane is not mentioned in her mother's will but her husband is, suggesting that she had already died by that date.

Mary Granom: *Miscellanea Genealogica et Heraldica*, ed. Joseph J. Howard (London: 1874), pp. 73–6, from the notebooks of M.A.B.

Lewis Granom: date of birth estimated by M.A.B.⁷ I have estimated Granom's date of death. There is evidence that he was alive in 1779 (see *A Second Collection of Favourite English Songs with their Full Accompaniments*, op. 13, pp. 35–6).

Ann(a) Munday: her birth date is from the International Genealogical Index (IGI),⁸ England Births and Christenings 1538–1975, accessed via <familysearch.org> on 1 May 2012. The details of her marriage to Lewis Granom at the Fleet, London on 5 April 1719 are from the collection of registers including non-conformist and irregular marriages, TNA RG7 040 and TNA RG7 050. The date of this marriage is given by IGI as 1724.

Elizabeth Granom: daughter of Lewis and Ann(a), born 25 October 1720 and baptised 15 November. She was buried 9 January 1736. Sources: Westminster archives, accessed via < www.findmypast.co.uk> on 23 August 2013.

Maria Granom: she is mentioned in John Grano's *Journal*.

James Granom: from the notebooks of M.A.B. (reference unavailable).

⁴ At some point Lewis and his sisters added an 'm' to their surname. John retained his father's surname.

⁵ J. Ginger has traced the origins of the surname Grano to Italy, where it is most common in Sicily. See Ginger, Commentary, p. 2, also p. 30.

⁶ *New Grove* (2001), vol. 10, 298–9.

⁷ *New Grove* (2001), vol. 10, 299.

⁸ The IGI is not an original source and entries need to be verified wherever possible. It gives a birth date for Lewis as 'about 1695', which is an estimate provided by a modern researcher and does not derive from a contemporary source. If true, he would have been older than his sister Jane rather than younger, as suggested by Ginger.

Sophia More: widow of Sir Joseph Edmunds More as mentioned in Granom V. Burgh, TNA: PRO C11/2296/35. She married Lewis Granom 29 August 1735 at the Chapel Royal Whitehall, Westminster, Middlesex. Source: Boyd's Marriage Index, accessed via www.findmypast.co.uk on 23 August 2013. She made her will on 17 April 1750 which was proved on 27 April 1750, see wills and probate, TNA: PRO PROB 11/778/416. A notice of her death appeared in *The Country Journal or the Craftsman*, 28 April 1750. It read: 'At her house in Chelsea, much lamented by all who had the happiness of her acquaintance, the lady Sophia More, wife to Lewis Granom Esq., of the above place'.

Martha Luke: birth date from IGI. She married Lewis Granom on 10 October 1772 (source: the parish record of St Andrew Holborn, City of London accessed via www.ancestry.co.uk on 18 May 2012). Lewis Granom's signature in the register matches that in other documents. The date of this marriage is given by IGI as 1774.

Marie Ann Granom: from the notebooks of M.A.B. Portuguese Embassy chapel; register E baptism, 1758–1798.

Martha Granom: from the notebooks of M.A.B. Portuguese Embassy chapel; register E baptism, 1758–1798.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE FLUTE AND ITS INTRODUCTION INTO ENGLAND

Any investigation into the history of Baroque woodwind instruments leads inevitably to the Hotteterre family. Originally from La Couture in Normandy, they moved to Paris early in the seventeenth century where they were employed as musicians at the French court and established their business as instrument makers.⁹ While it is not possible to say precisely when they arrived in Paris, they had presumably been settled for some years when, in 1659, Martin Hotteterre (d. 1712) was granted the legal succession (nominated before the death of the existing holder) to his father's (Jean, d. 1691) position of *hautbois et musette du roy dans sa grande écurie*.¹⁰ It is a generally held view that the Hotteterres were significantly involved in the transformation of the Renaissance bassoon, oboe, recorder and transverse flute into their Baroque equivalents, a process which began around the middle of the seventeenth century. Tula Giannini has discovered a contemporary reference to the Hotteterres by Borjon de Scellery in his *Traité de la musette* (1672), 'in which he cites a father and two sons of the Hotteterre family as the "most esteemed" makers of woodwind instruments and in particular musettes and flutes'.¹¹ She has identified them to be Jean, Jean *fils aîné* (d.1668) and Martin, the father of the famous Jacques Hotteterre le Romain (1673–1763).

⁹ Tula Giannini, 'Jacques Hotteterre le Romain and his father Martin', *EM*, 21 (1993), 377–95.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 378.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

A letter written by the French flautist Michel de La Barre (1680–1743) adds further details, including that the flute was the last among the Baroque woodwind instruments to find its new form:

Mais son [Lully] elevation fit la chute totale de tous les entiens istrumens a l'exception du hautbois, grace aux Filidor et Hotteterre, lesquels ont tant gâté de bois et soutenus de la musique, qu'ils sont enfin parvenues a le rendre propre pour les concerts. De ces tems la, on laissa la musette au bergers, les violins, les flutes douces, les theorbes et les violes prirent leur place, car la flute traverssiere n'est venue qu'après.¹²

His [Lully's] promotion caused the downfall of all the old instruments with the exception of the oboe, thanks to Philidor and Hotteterre who spoiled so much wood and played so much music that they finally succeeded in rendering it suitable for ensembles. From then on, the musette was left to shepherds; violins, recorders, theorbos and viols took their place, because the transverse flute did not arrive until later.

The Dutch maker Richard Haka (1645/6–1705) was similarly remodelling woodwind instruments about the same time as the Hotteterres.¹³ While it cannot be established with any certainty where the new designs originated, Jan Bouterse is clear that the Baroque oboe and recorder preceded the flute by about 20 years.¹⁴ At the beginning of his treatise, Quantz gives a brief history of the flute in which he attributes the invention of the Baroque flute to the French.¹⁵ These instruments were made in three joints, a design that prevailed throughout Europe for the first two decades of the eighteenth-century. The music they played tended to favour the rich sonorities of the lowest two octaves, with d³ and e³ considered to be the highest notes of the usable range and used only occasionally.¹⁶

¹² Marc Ecochard, 'A Commentary on the Letter by Michel de La Barre Concerning the History of Musettes and Hautboys' in *From Renaissance to Baroque; Change in Instruments and Instrumental Music in the Seventeenth Century*, ed. J. Wainwright and P. Holman (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), 47–57 (pp. 47–8), my translation. For a history of the flute, see Powell, *The Flute*, especially chapters 2 and 3.

¹³ Jan Bouterse, 'The Woodwind Instruments of Richard Haka (1645/6–1705)' in *From Renaissance to Baroque*, pp. 63–9. See also Powell, *The Flute*, pp. 63–7.

¹⁴ Bouterse, p. 67.

¹⁵ J. J. Quantz, *Versuch einer Anweisung die Flöte zu spielen*, (Berlin: J. F. Voss, 1752); trans. and ed. Edward R. Reilly as *On Playing the Flute* (London: Faber, 1966), p. 30.

¹⁶ Hotteterre's *Principes de la flûte traversière* (Paris: C. Ballard, 1707), translated anonymously as *Rudiments or Principles of the German Flute* (London: Walsh and Hare, 1729), p. 6.

The newly fashioned Baroque oboes and recorders (and probably bassoons also) were brought to England by French musicians in the last decades of the seventeenth century.¹⁷ One such group of musicians included the composer and oboe player Robert Cambert and the recorder player James (Jacques) Paisible, who both arrived in London in 1673.¹⁸ The immediate success of the new French recorders and oboes can be seen in these lines from a play of 1676:

What, you are of the number of Ladies whose ears have grown so delicate since our Operas, you can be charmed with nothing but Flute doux, and French Hoboys.¹⁹

By the end of the century the recorder was the instrument of choice among gentlemen amateurs,²⁰ and a number of tutors for it had been published. The English name for it was ‘flute’ or ‘common flute’. The Baroque flute, on the other hand, was initially named in the French style ‘flute d’Almain’ (or variants) before ‘German Flute’ became the norm in the second decade of the century. This term lasted into the nineteenth century.

The earliest reference to the Baroque flute in England is found in a document compiled by James Talbot between 1685 and 1701.²¹ Talbot’s descriptions of English and French wind instruments include a three-joint flute by the French instrument maker Pierre Jaillard (c. 1663–1731) who established his business in London in the 1680s under the name Peter Bressan.²² Following a report of the measurements and dimensions of the flute, Talbot gives the following details:

Bressan’s Flute D’allemagne has 6 notes in the middle J[oin]t & one in the lowest which is covered by a Brass Key. The upper J[oin]t has one hole for the mouth, about an Inch & half above this a cross piece of wood (or Plug) determines the length of the long bore.

¹⁷ David Lasocki, ‘The French Hautboy in England, 1673–1730’, *EM*, 16 (1988), 339–57.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 339.

¹⁹ George Etherege, *The Man of Mode*, 1676, Act II Scene 1, quoted in Lasocki, ‘The French Hautboy’, p. 340.

²⁰ Sir John Hawkins, *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music* (1776), reprinted in 2 vols., (London: Novello, 1875), vol. 2, p. 738.

²¹ Anthony Baines, ‘James Talbot’s Manuscript’, *GSJ* 1 (1948), 9–26. Hereinafter the Baroque flute will be referred to as the ‘flute’.

²² According to Maurice Byrne, Talbot’s notes on Bressan’s instruments must have been made in the period 1692–1695. See Maurice Bryne, ‘Pierre Jaillard, Peter Bressan’, *GSJ*, 36 (1983), 2–28 (p. 5).

From the Plugg to the m[outh] p[iece] about 4 inches. The Brass Key is entire & has a small brass Spring under its upper end.²³

The stave for a fingering chart, which was to have been supplied by Paisible and François La Riche, is empty.

The first appearance of a flute in an English score is in John Eccles's setting of William Congreve's masque *The Judgment of Paris* (1701), which specifies a 'flute d'Almagne' with violins and continuo for Venus's aria 'Hither turn thee, gentle swain'.²⁴ Other arias in this work require a pair of 'flutes' (recorders) and it seems likely that one of the recorder players would have doubled on the flute. Peter Holman suggests that this player may have been Pietro Chaboud who was certainly in London by 1707.²⁵ From 1679 Chaboud was employed as a player of the bassoon and serpent at San Petronio in Bologna in 1679 and from 1685 as a trombonist.²⁶ However, a reference to a payment to 'Bolognese the Traverse' for his part in a private concert for the Duke of Bedford in 1702 indicates that Chaboud was playing the flute in London at the very beginning of the eighteenth century.²⁷ Referred to in the press as 'Signor Pietro', he played a solo on the 'Flute D'Almain' in a concert in York Buildings on 23 May 1707.²⁸ Subsequently he contributed flute solos at concerts in Hickford's Room on 25 April 1715 and 27 March 1717 and possibly also at Merchant Taylor's Hall on 29 April 1719, although whether he played both the flute and the bass viol on this occasion is not clear.²⁹

²³ Baines, 'James Talbot's Manuscript', p. 17.

²⁴ Credit for this discovery should go to Nancy Hadden, (personal communication) although it is contained in Richard Platt's introduction to John Eccles, *The Judgment of Paris* (Tunbridge Wells: Macnutt, 1984).

²⁵ Peter Holman, *Life After Death: The Viola da Gamba in Britain from Purcell to Dolmetsch* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2010), p. 102.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 99.

²⁷ Gladys Scott Thompson, *The Russells in Bloomsbury 1669–1771* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1940), p. 130.

²⁸ *Daily Courant*, 21 May 1707.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 23 April 1715, 23 March 1717 and 24 April 1719.

Chaboud was not the first player to play a flute solo in a public concert, however, for Peter La Tour (*fl.* 1699–1726) did so on 12 February 1706. The advertisement in the press highlights the novelty of the event:

At the Great Room in York Buildings ... will be perform'd a consort of vocal and instrumental musick by the best masters: especially several entertainments on the German Flute (never perform'd before) by Mr Latour for his own Benefit; beginning at eight of the clock. Tickets may be had at Mr White's, Mr Osando's and the Gaunt chocolate-houses at St James's and at the door at 5s each ticket.³⁰

Subsequently La Tour made several concert appearances as a flute player, whereas prior to this date he was only ever named as an oboe player. La Tour's expertise on the flute may have been due to the arrival of John Loeillet (1680–1730). Loeillet was a skilled oboe, flute and harpsichord player who arrived in London in 1705 and began his career in the orchestra of the Queen's theatre as one of the oboists; La Tour was the other. Oboes and bassoons provided the staple woodwind sound in the orchestra. Professionally speaking, the flute and the recorder were secondary instruments and flutes were the most recent instruments to arrive in the orchestral setting. As it fell to oboists to double on the recorder and the flute as required, it would have been natural for Loeillet to pass on his skill as a flute player to La Tour.

Some interesting comments on the standard of performance of London musicians are found in the travel notebooks of Z. C. von Uffenbach, who was visiting in the first decade of the eighteenth century. On hearing a performance of *Hidaspis* at the Opera House in the Haymarket he wrote:

The orchestra [...] is so well composed that it could not be better. They are all foreigners, mostly Germans and then French, for the English are not much better musicians than the Dutch and they are fairly bad.³¹

³⁰ *Daily Courant*, 11 February 1706.

³¹ W. H. Quarrell and Margaret Mare (eds.), *London in 1710: From the Travels of Z. C. von Uffenbach* (London: Faber, 1934), p. 17.

In 1709 he attended a concert where he heard the playing of Signor Pietro, which prompted the following remarks:

The instrumental music was extremely beautiful: Pepusch, who directs everything and played the thorough bass, excelled all the others. The violins too could scarce have been better. But most notable of all was a charming concerto played by Pepusch with a flute [recorder] and a viol di gamba. The person who plays the flute [recorder] is a Frenchman called Paisible whose equal is not to be found [...] The second man, who played the viol di gamba with such uncommon excellence, is an Italian called Signor Pietro, and he is under the patronage of the Duke of Ormond. He certainly achieves great wonders. When this concerto was finished, he [Paisible] wanted to play a solo on the flute travers [sic] or flute d'Allemand, but the ladies did not want it, and as they left, the music came to an end, though it had only lasted for two hours. I could have listened the whole night with the greatest pleasure.³²

These remarks not only point to the versatility common to many of the musicians of this time but also show that Chaboud and Pepusch were significant musical figures.

Lewis Granom's elder brother John Grano first performed with Paisible in a concert in Stationer's Hall, 23 December 1717, when Grano played solos on both the trumpet and the German flute.³³ Whatever the flute solos were that were performed when the instrument was first played in concerts, there was little music printed for it until the 1720s and it was about this time that the design of the instrument was modified. The middle joint (with the six finger holes) was divided in half and the new four-joint instrument was supplied with alternative upper-middle joints (*corps de rechange*) to facilitate playing at different pitches.³⁴ These changes were initiated in France and the new four-piece design was readily adopted throughout Europe, although English makers chose not to make *corps de rechange*.

³² Ibid., p. 67.

³³ *Daily Courant*, 21 December 1717.

³⁴ The difference in pitch was subtle, with three or four middle joints equally dividing approximately a semitone between them; see Powell, *The Flute*, p. 80.

The English instrument maker with the highest reputation for making flutes was Thomas Stanesby Jnr (1692–1754). On his death, a notice in the *Evening Post* of 5 March 1754 announced:

Saturday morning [2nd March] died of a Paralytic Disorder, Mr. Thomas Stainsby, Musical instrument maker in Fleet-street, particularly eminent for German Flutes.³⁵

Caleb Gedney (1729–69), Stanesby's apprentice, inherited the business on his master's death and on 12 March 1754 the *Public Advertiser* carried the following notice:

To all Musical Gentlemen in general CALEB GEDNEY, successor to the late Mr. Thomas Stanesby (the most approved maker of all sorts of wind musical instruments in wood, living where his master did, at the Temple Exchange, Fleet-street, who in his life-time communicated to him the only true Method of finishing all Sorts of those Instruments in the compleatest Manner and to the utmost Perfection, in which he greatly excell'd) begs leave, in this public Manner to hope for the continuance of the Favours of all his former Master's Customers and others, hereby assuring them, it shall be his utmost Endeavour to fulfil all their Commands with the greatest punctuality, according to his said Master's Mathematical Calculation; and hopes thereby to give general Satisfaction, having lived with him as Apprentice and Journeyman ever since the year 1741, being the only one he ever had. CALEB GEDNEY
→ All Orders out of the country shall be punctually obey'd.³⁶

This final sentence is perhaps the most telling. By the middle of the century regard for Stanesby Jnr's instruments was such that there was an international reputation to be maintained. This is relevant because it is apparent from descriptions of Lewis Granom's flutes that they were by Stanesby.³⁷ A surviving Stanesby flute is shown below.³⁸



³⁵ Cited in Maurice Byrne, 'Some more on Stanesby Junior', *GSJ*, 45 (1992), 115–122 (p. 116).

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 117.

³⁷ These can be found in the legal case, *Haughton v Granom*, TNA: PRO C 11/267/45.

³⁸ By kind permission of M. A. B.

CHAPTER 2

LEWIS GRANOM

BIOGRAPHY

Lewis Christian Austin Granom (c. 1700–c. 1780) was a flute player, trumpeter and composer, born in London of immigrant parents. His father, who signed himself Johon (sic) Baptist Grano, may have been a regimental trumpeter in the Dutch Guards. He came to London with his French wife Jane (*née* Villeneuve) at the end of the seventeenth century, probably with William of Orange.³⁹ The earliest known record of the family is found in a burial register of St. James's Piccadilly, which records the death of the couple's first child in 1691.⁴⁰ They settled in Pall Mall where they lived over the haberdashery shop set up by Jane, and had four surviving children. The eldest, John (b. 1693–5; d. before 1748), was a trumpeter and was a member of the opera orchestra by 1710 in time for Handel's first opera, *Rinaldo* (1711).⁴¹ His name also appeared as a trumpeter on the lists of instrumentalists for the Royal Entertainments on Lord Mayor's Day in 1714 and 1727.⁴² Additionally he was a flute player and composer, although his only surviving compositions are six flute sonatas published by Walsh in 1728. The second child was Jane (b. 1697; d. before 1748) and is the only one of the children for whom a record of baptism has been found. Lewis and Mary were the third and fourth children respectively. While John retained his father's surname, his mother, brother and sisters added an *m* to theirs. Mary asserted that the name 'Granom' had French origins, an indication perhaps that the siblings were particularly

³⁹ John Ginger (ed.), *Handel's Trumpeter: The Diary of John Grano* (New York: Pendragon Press, 1998), Introduction, pp. 1–2.

⁴⁰ Ginger, Commentary, p. 1.

⁴¹ J. Milhous and R. D. Hume (eds.), *Vice Chamberlain Coke's Theatrical Papers, 1706–15* (Carbondale: University of Southern Illinois Press, 1982), p. 127.

⁴² Donald Burrows, 'Handel's London Theatre Orchestra', *EM*, 13 (1985), 349–57 (p. 355).

proud of this aspect of their heritage.⁴³ Nevertheless, the fact that the family were practising Catholics would have been a distinct disadvantage to the brothers from a professional point of view, for Catholic musicians, however talented, were ineligible for appointment at court.

It is reasonable to suppose that John was taught to play the trumpet by his father, but it is a matter of speculation who it was that provided instruction on the flute. Assuming that Grano Snr was not one of the very earliest players of the instrument himself, then one of the French or Dutch musicians who arrived in England around the turn of the century is a likely candidate. It could, in all probability, have been that John Loeillet taught Grano, for they were colleagues.⁴⁴ If this was the case then the flute was probably the second instrument for both brothers. While it was common for musicians to play two or more instruments, these were usually chosen from within one instrumental family: strings, brass or woodwind.⁴⁵ Alternatively, a brass or woodwind instrument might be combined with one or more from the string family. Playing both a woodwind and a brass instrument was most unusual and very demanding on the embouchure. From the point of view of employment, a trumpet player could expect to find work in theatre and opera orchestras whereas a flute player *per se* could not. The flute, like the recorder, was used for concert solos and chamber ensembles.

That John had acted as teacher to Lewis is made clear from an entry in John's *Journal*,⁴⁶ which was kept during his incarceration in the Marshalsea Prison for debts amounting to £99.⁴⁷

⁴³ I am grateful to M.A.B. for this information. However, the distinction between the surnames Grano and Granom is not great enough to be useful. In order to avoid any confusion of identity the brothers will be referred to by their first names.

⁴⁴ Milhous and Hume, *Vice Chamberlain Coke's Theatrical Papers*, p. 127.

⁴⁵ For brief biographies of oboists and information on the other instruments they played see Lasocki, 'The French Hautboy', pp. 352–4.

⁴⁶ On 10 July 1728 he states that Lewis's 'Faculties, by which he Lives and is Honourably Distinguish'd from among his fellow Creatures, is owing to my care in Cultivating' (*Diary*, p. 53).

⁴⁷ Ginger, *Commentary*, p. 25.

He began writing on the first day, 30 May 1728, with the final entry dated the day of his release, 23 September 1729, recording day-to-day encounters, events and frustrations, and written, perhaps, as a kind of therapy. Mixed up with the mundane and trivial are descriptions of visits from colleagues and trumpet pupils (he had permission to teach), including one from the instrument maker Thomas Stanesby Jnr, who delivered the repaired head-joint of his flute.⁴⁸ A day-release scheme meant that, for a fee of 2s. 6d. John was allowed out under escort, which allowed him to organise two benefit concerts for himself and take part in the musical activities at a club which met at Thurtle's coffee house every Tuesday.⁴⁹ Grano's journal reveals some insights into the life of a professional musician at this time and, in particular, it also provides some details of Lewis's activities.

It is clear that the brothers were on good terms. Lewis visited his brother whenever his professional engagements allowed, and these visits proved to be more frequent than from any other family member.⁵⁰ Shortly after his brother's imprisonment, Lewis sent him a flute and delivered to him the following music: Bononcini's opera *Astarto* (1720), collections of the favourite songs from Handel's *Julius Caesar* (1724); *Scipione* (1726); *Elpedia* (arr. Handel, 1725); Bononcini's *Farnace* (1723) and *Calpurnia* (1724); Ariosti's *Artaserse* (1724) and *Dario* (1725).⁵¹ There appears to have been an ulterior motive for this generosity, for Lewis requested that his brother make some instrumental arrangements of some of the songs, presumably for use in concerts. This was one of several occasions that Lewis asked for his brother to help him by

⁴⁸ Grano, 'A Journal of my life while in the Marshalsea, Southwark', Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson D34, 14 September 1728 (*Diary*, pp. 91–2).

⁴⁹ Ginger, *Commentary*, p. 97.

⁵⁰ There is no record of either his parents or his sister Jane visiting the prison.

⁵¹ Grano, *Journal*, 28 June to 26 July 1728 (*Diary*, pp. 51–61).

transposing or making arrangements of pieces, or even composing new ones.⁵² Ginger has suggested that Lewis was exploiting his brother but it may not have been as blatant as that implies.⁵³ John was a published composer whereas Lewis's compositions would not be published for about another twelve years, so Lewis's requests could simply be a reflection of a lack of confidence in his own abilities.⁵⁴ A more charitable view would be that Lewis was concerned to keep his brother occupied in, and focused on, musical matters for his (John's) own sake, as a distraction from his current, unpleasant situation. John was not without other support, but he clearly depended on Lewis more than anyone else and John's distress is evident on the occasions that Lewis did not visit as had been (according to John) promised. Either Lewis was unreliable, or he too was so affected by the situation that he agreed to do more than he could in fact manage, given that he had his own schedule of professional engagements to fulfil. Later, Lewis made efforts to sort out and settle the fees and debts that John had inevitably incurred while in prison.⁵⁵

Aspects of Lewis's personal life can also be glimpsed in the *Journal*, supplementing other known details. He lived with his family in a house in Brewers' Street where they could afford to keep a manservant.⁵⁶ It is not known in which year Lewis's wife Anna died, but he subsequently married the Honourable Dame Sophia Osbaston More, a wealthy widow, in 1735. Her coat of arms can be seen on the cover of his printed music.⁵⁷ The social mores of the time make this an opportune alliance, for musicians were generally considered to be of low class,

⁵² Grano, *Journal*, 6 February 1728/9 (*Diary*, p. 185). On this occasion Lewis took a collection of minuets that he had written to be arranged for the harpsichord. See also entries for 27 December 1728 (*Diary*, pp. 159–60) and 16 April 1729 (*Diary*, p. 234).

⁵³ Ginger, *Commentary*, p. 104.

⁵⁴ Sometime in 1728, prior to his imprisonment, John's volume *Solos for a German Flute, Hoboy or Violin with a Thorough Bass for the Harpsicord or Bass Violin* had been published by Walsh. It would not be until the 1740s that the first of Lewis's works was published.

⁵⁵ Grano, *Journal*, 28 May 1729 (*Diary*, p. 262). Board and lodging had to be paid for while in prison. John's parents provided him with an allowance to cover the standard charges, see Ginger, p. 98.

⁵⁶ *Daily Post*, 13 December, 1728. Grano, *Journal*, 4 January 1728/9 (*Diary*, p. 162). The street is now called Brewer Street, just south of Golden Square near Piccadilly.

⁵⁷ Ginger, *Commentary*, pp. 2 and 245.

whether amateur or professional.⁵⁸ Earlier in the century Jeremiah Clarke had formed a passion for a lady of superior rank, which, when he realised it was quite hopeless, ended with his suicide in 1707.⁵⁹

Lewis's second marriage was not looked on favourably by his new wife's son, an independent young man of more than 21 years, who declared that Lewis was 'a person who was not of equal degree with her' (his mother).⁶⁰ No doubt this was the case, but by the 1730s it appears that Lewis had achieved some standing in society. A notice in the press in 1732 announces the names of important people recently arrived in Bath, and Lewis is included along with various Lords, Ladies, Knights of the realm and gentry.⁶¹ Of his professional connection with Bath more details will be given below, but it is clear from the *Journal* that by 1728 he was a regular visitor.⁶² During that year he reported to John that while in Bath he suffered a considerable financial loss due to gambling, a habit that caused him further problems later in the 1730s and 1740s.⁶³

To be a gambler was not uncommon, for gambling and drinking were rife in all classes of society.⁶⁴ By his own admission, it was accumulated gambling debts amounting to £1200 that

⁵⁸ An advertisement placed in the *Post Man* (6 October 1705) illustrates the contemporary view of the place of the musician in the social hierarchy: 'Any Person of Quality that hath occasion for a Butler that plays upon the Flute [recorder] and Violin may hear of one at Mr. Jos. Howard's, Cornchandler ... in Smithfield. He can give good security for his Honesty' quoted in Michael Tilmouth, 'A Calendar of References to Music in Newspapers Published in London and the Provinces (1660–1719)', *RMA Research Chronicle*, 1 (1961), 1–107 (p. 62).

⁵⁹ Charles Burney, *A General History of Music: From the Earliest Ages to the Present Period* (1789), with critical and historical notes by Frank Mercer, 2 vols., (New York: Dover Publications, 1957), vol. 2, p. 475.

⁶⁰ *More v Granom*, TNA: PRO C11/1043/27.

⁶¹ The article begins, 'Bath, 25 September, The company which is come here since my last' and appears in the *Daily Journal*, 2 October 1732.

⁶² For concert life in Bath see Kenneth James, 'Concert Life in Eighteenth-Century Bath', Ph.D. thesis (Royal Holloway, University of London, 1987).

⁶³ Grano, *Journal*, 27 December 1728 (*Diary*, pp. 159–60).

⁶⁴ For a full account see M. Dorothy George, *London Life in the Eighteenth Century* (London: Penguin, 1965), especially chapters 1 and 6.

caused Lewis to leave the country in 1736.⁶⁵ He went with his wife Sophia to Dunkirk, where they resided until at least 1738. In 1743 he met the Marquis of Annandale at a concert in Amsterdam.⁶⁶ The Marquis was a young man just setting out on his European tour. He expressed a wish to learn to play the ‘German flute’ and invited Lewis to accompany him on his travels. Their tour, from January to October 1743, included Hanover, Hamburg, Leipzig, Berlin and Prague. All the evidence suggests that Lewis was living abroad continuously from 1736 until his return to England late in 1743, for until his debts were settled it would not have been safe for him to return. During this seven-year period he attended concerts in a number of European cities at which he would have heard a rich variety not only of music but also of performers and performing styles, which may well have subsequently influenced his own compositions.

At the end of the tour the Marquis offered to pay off Lewis’s debts. John Greenhill, Lewis’s solicitor, received two promissory notes from the Marquis, each for £500 and made out in Lewis’s favour. On reflection, the Marquis (who was only to reach his majority in October 1743) must have considered that he had been too generous. The ensuing legal proceedings, which came to court in 1745, were brought about by the Marquis, who denied nothing, but declared he had been taken advantage of by Lewis on the grounds of his young age.

While evidence of the final judgement of this case has not yet been discovered, several details of Lewis’s life are pertinent here. The year after the case came to court (1746), Lewis’s father John Baptist died, and his mother died two years later. In her will she divided her property between Lewis and his sister Mary, an indication that both John and his sister Jane had

⁶⁵ An affidavit signed by both Lewis and his wife authorising their solicitor, John Greenhill, to act for them in their absence abroad is dated 8 March 1736. *Haughton v Granom*, TNA: PRO C11/267/45.

⁶⁶ *Marquis of Annandale v Granom*, TNA: PRO C11/2487/1. Details of the meeting, the subsequent tour and court case are recorded in this document.

died some time previously.⁶⁷ The address given for Lewis in his mother's will was Ludgate Hill which, as John Ginger has observed, was very close to the Fleet Prison, suggesting that Lewis might have been experiencing financial difficulties of his own at this time.⁶⁸ Due to overcrowding, the prison rules stipulated that it was possible, in certain cases, to avoid incarceration by living sufficiently close by in the notoriously dangerous area bounded by Ludgate Hill, Old Bailey, Farringdon Street and Fleet Lane.⁶⁹ Court of Chancery papers confirm that Lewis was indeed under a prison sentence at this time, possibly as a result of the legal proceedings brought by the Marquis. It is not clear exactly when the prison sentence began, but it had finished by 1749, when Lewis was registered as a member of Clement's Inn.⁷⁰ He had procured his release by borrowing the required fee of £200 from a John Mitchell, a transaction which resulted in legal action when Mitchell laid a Bill of Complaint in the Court of Chancery that he had not been repaid.⁷¹ The whole of this unfortunate chain of events appears to have been triggered by the original debts of £1200; evidence enough that Lewis was in the grip of gambling fever at this time.

Notwithstanding these events, Lewis appears to have been generally shrewd in the management of his affairs. His choice of colleagues, not to mention his second wife (which gave him a social as well as a financial advantage), reveals a certain clear-sightedness and he was rewarded with a long and successful career. When his second wife died in 1750 she left

⁶⁷ The will of Jane Granom, TNA: PRO PROB 11/764. Two episodes of epidemic diseases, each rated as an 'exceptionally severe national mortality crisis' swept through the country between July 1727 and June 1730 and in 1741–1742, see Geoffrey Holmes and Daniel Szechi, *The Age of Oligarchy: pre-industrial Britain* (London: Longman, 1993) p. 352. It must be considered that John and/or his sister Jane could have been victims of an epidemic disease.

⁶⁸ Ginger, Commentary, p. 336.

⁶⁹ Mark Herber, *Clandestine Marriages in the Chapel and Rules of the Fleet Prison 1680–1754* (London: Francis Boutle, 1998), p. 13.

⁷⁰ Cecil Carr (ed.), *Pension Book of Clement's Inn*: The Selden Society, vol. 78 (London: Bernard Quaritch, 1960), p. 279.

⁷¹ Mitchell v Granom, TNA: PRO C12/1475/7.

everything to him in her will, with no mention of her son.⁷² Her fortune would have alleviated any immediate financial difficulties Lewis may have had and it would appear that from this time onwards he kept his gambling activities under control.

Two newspaper articles from the 1750s attest to the esteem in which he was generally held. Both are philosophical musings written under the name ‘The Inspector’. In one article, the author describes how a friend had written some poetry while suffering from an unrequited passion and continues:

Every Piece of Poetry in Proportion as it has more Passion is better adapted to Musick. I have given this to Mr. Granom, whose Expression in Composition can only be equalled by his fire as a performer.⁷³

This double tribute to Lewis can be placed in the context of the second article, in which he is also mentioned. Written a year later than the quotation above, it is concerned with the judgment and appreciation of musical works. It begins:

In the midst of that Encouragement Musick receives among us, and the Patronage which it is our honour to bestow upon the Professors of that Science; we seem unsettled about what is most valuable in it; and at a Loss where to bestow our greatest attention [...] ’Tis not less unhappy with Respect to the Composers: For while we judge them by their lightest Pieces, we urge them to neglect the greater Excellencies: Our Applause is their Aim, and their reward is proportioned to the degree of it; they must court it therefore our own way. If two of them are Rivals, it will be a Catch, rather than a Concerto; and what better can we expect, when they plead to those who judge of an Overture by the Minuet, and of an Oratorio by the best Ballad.⁷⁴

The article continues in praise of the *Academy of Ancient Music* (directed by Pepusch until his death in 1752) which, according to the writer was:

formed for standing between us and the present Decline of true Judgment in the Science, and of proper Encouragement. We may at this place hear Harmony in its most full and perfect Force; and begin, like the wise and modest Greek, to know something by first discerning where we have been deficient. Our improved Taste will make the Composers, as well as the Performers know that to please they must excel in Judgment and in

⁷² The will of Dame Osbaston Sophia More, TNA: PRO PROB 11/778.

⁷³ *London Daily Advertiser*, 6 April 1752.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 2 March 1753.

Knowledge: And there is one thing more that we shall learn from it: we shall find Excellence even in our Countrymen, that will Court and command our Patronage [...] and we shall learn that Boyce and Granom want only Italian names, to be 'most favourite Composers.

On this evidence it can hardly be doubted that Lewis Granom was well known and highly regarded and not just with the general public. That he achieved considerable status among his contemporaries can be seen from six volumes of the *Musical Magazine* (published jointly by T. Bennett and W. Bingley) which were issued annually from 1767 to 1772 inclusively. Six of the composers who contributed to, or had pieces included in, these anthologies of songs and airs for the flute, violin, guitar and harpsichord, are depicted in turn on the title page of each volume. These are: vol. 1, G. F. Handel (1685–1759); vol. 2, L. Granom; vol. 3, F. Geminiani (1687–1762); vol. 4, J. Stanley (1712–1786); vol. 5, H. Purcell (1659–1695); and vol. 6, A. Corelli (1653–1713), making Granom and Stanley the only two living contributors to be featured in this way. This might be considered surprising given that William Boyce (1711–1779) and Thomas Arne (1710–1778) also provided material, among many other popular composers of the day.⁷⁵

Included in the sale of William Boyce's library, which took place in the same year as Boyce's death, were a volume of Granom's op. 6 songs and 'Two superb books of Vocal Music by Lewis Granom Esq. fit for the use of the Grand Monarch, or the Emperor of Morocco, whose Livery they wear'.⁷⁶ These volumes can be identified as Granom's op. 13, *A Second Collection of favourite English Songs with their Full Accompaniments* (London: T. Bennett, n.d.), which were dedicated to Boyce; the list of subscribers attached to this work confirms that Boyce received two copies.⁷⁷ R. J. Bruce and H. D. Johnstone comment that the description of the

⁷⁵ Also included are C. F. Weideman, C. Dibdin, J. A. Hasse, J. Hook and G. San Martini.

⁷⁶ Robert J. Bruce and H. Diack Johnstone, 'A Catalogue of the truly valuable and curious library of music late in the possession of Dr. William Boyce (1779)', *RMA Research Chronicle*, 43 (2010), 111–71.

⁷⁷ The British Library copy fits the description given in the Boyce catalogue.

volumes is ‘distinctly Masonic’, adding (possibly erroneously) that there is nothing to suggest that Boyce had any connection with freemasonry.⁷⁸ Granom was a Freemason, although no evidence has so far come to light to indicate when he first joined, or to which lodges he belonged.⁷⁹ His song, *A New Mason’s Song: the words by Brother J. Williamson, set by Brother Granom*, published by T. Bennett (c. 1760), confirms this incontrovertibly.⁸⁰ How significant his association with the Freemasons was from a professional point of view, in particular with other Masonic musicians, is not known, but whenever it brought him into contact with those of Boyce’s standing it can have done no harm.⁸¹

Lewis married for a third time in 1772. He had been a widower for 22 years and it is plausible that as he grew older he wanted someone to take care of him. The parish register gives the bride’s name as Martha Luke, which she signed phonetically ‘Martha Look’.⁸² There is no mistaking Lewis’s signature with its abbreviated first name and the usual flourish under the final letter of Granom.

In 1778 he announced that he was opening a subscription to his Songs, op. 13, with an advertisement in the press. It concludes:

Mr. Granom teaches the harpsichord and the German flute as usual and maybe spoke with any Day in the Week, Mondays and Saturdays excepted.⁸³

⁷⁸ William Boyce was a Freemason according to Brother William Alexander Barrett, ‘Masonic Musicians’, in G. W. Speth (ed.), *Quatuor Coronatorum Antigrapha*, (Margate: n.n., 1891) vol. 4, 90–96 (p. 92). However, this is contested by Ian Bartlett in, ‘Was Boyce a Mason?’, *MT*, Spring 2012, 87–95, who argues that this conclusion is based on false assumptions. It would seem that the evidence is inconclusive.

⁷⁹ I am grateful to the librarian at Freemason’s Hall for the following information. There is no trace of Lewis Granom in the records at Freemason’s Hall, London. Organised Freemasonry started in England with the formation of the premier Grand Lodge in 1717 but early records are scanty and incomplete. It was not until the late 1760s that detailed registers of members were kept and correspondence preserved.

⁸⁰ John Granoe (sic) was admitted to membership of the Freemason’s Lodge at the Queen’s Head in Bath in 1725, and in 1729 he also joined the Lodge at The Swan in East Street, Greenwich. W.J. Songhurst, (ed.), *Quatuor Coronatorum Antigrapha* (Margate: W. J. Parrett, 1913), vol. 10, pp. 37 and 40.

⁸¹ For further general information see Andrew Pink, ‘The Musical Culture of Freemasonry in Early Eighteenth Century London’, PhD thesis (Goldsmith’s College, University of London, 2007).

⁸² See the family tree. This updates the information found in *New Grove* (2001), vol. 10, p 299. I am indebted to M.A.B. for details of the children of the marriage.

⁸³ *Public Advertiser*, 15 September 1778.

This is a clear statement that he was well (or well enough) and continuing with his business as usual. Advertisements prior to this date, which appeared in the press approximately annually, mention only that he taught the flute, as does his entry in Mortimer's *London Universal Director* (1763).⁸⁴ That he latterly expanded his teaching practice to include the harpsichord was probably out of financial necessity.

Given that he was so well known, it is something of a surprise that the date of his death remains a mystery; neither is there any trace of his will. In later life he sometimes styled himself 'Lewis Granom of Brabant', no doubt a reference to his father's origins, and it is possible that he went abroad.⁸⁵

Lewis's professional life encompassed performing, teaching and composing. Each of these activities will be explored below.

THE PERFORMER

Lewis had to establish himself in the musical profession in the shadow of an older brother who had begun performing professionally in 1710. It is quite conceivable that it is John who is referred to as the trumpet player in the advertisement that appeared in the *Daily Courant* on 22 January 1703:

York Buildings, 24th February: a consort of music by the best Italian and English Masters, and a Boy of about Eight Years of Age, will perform an Italian Sonata on the Trumpet.

The opportunities for musicians to perform in public included concerts in halls, such as York Buildings, Stationers' Hall or Hickford's Room, or in the musical entertainments played

⁸⁴ Mortimer, *London Universal Directory* (1763), reprinted in Thurston Dart, 'An Eighteenth-Century Directory of London Musicians', *GSJ*, 2 (1949), pp. 27–31.

⁸⁵ *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*, 29 August 1775 and 15 August 1776.

‘entr’acte’ in the theatres. These occasions provided valuable opportunities for self-advertisement, perhaps leading to private engagements at the homes of the aristocracy or the acquisition of pupils. A concert invariably consisted of a mixture of vocal and instrumental music, with a number of musicians performing a variety of solo pieces on several instruments.⁸⁶ These events were advertised in the press. Sometimes the names of the composers whose works were to be played would be included, or performers’ names, or the instruments that were to be heard; but more often than not very little information was provided. A typical example of such vagueness is the advertisement dated 14 March 1719 in the *Weekly Journal* for an event on 18 March at the Haberdashers’ Hall, which reads ‘by permission of the Lord Mayor, a consort by the best Masters’.

By 1714, when his name appeared in concert advertisements for the first time, John Grano was well known. It was noted that he was to perform ‘At the Desire of Several Gentlemen’ for the concert that took place at Stationers’ Hall on 6 April; on this occasion he played both the trumpet and the German flute.⁸⁷ From this time, John’s name appears regularly in concert notices. Lewis is first mentioned in 1722, and his name appears only three times subsequently. This should not be taken as an indication that he did not perform as much as his brother, but only that he was not named. Lewis’s apparent anonymity could simply be explained by the fact that he was considered a lesser light, at least initially. John may have been a child prodigy, and capitalised on that fact; he certainly entered the profession at a young age. Lewis, on the other hand, may not have been so precocious; he apparently made his way steadily and less spectacularly. Having an elder brother already established may have been something of an

⁸⁶ The concept of a recital as we know it today, either for a solo performer or a small ensemble, was either unknown or very rare.

⁸⁷ *Daily Courant*, 6 April 1714.

advantage for Lewis in making important initial contacts, but the fact remained that the brothers were in direct competition with one another and Lewis needed to find his own niche in the profession.

An occasion when Lewis is very likely to have performed was on 14 March 1722 at the Drury Lane Theatre. The entr'acte entertainments included a concerto for two trumpets 'composed and performed by Grano' and it is reasonable to suppose that his younger brother was the unnamed player of the second trumpet part.⁸⁸ Only two months later, on 11 May, Lewis played the trumpet and the German flute at his own benefit concert. It was the practice that at least once per season a professional musician would be the subject of a benefit concert.

Benefit concerts were risky undertakings. It was the responsibility of the would-be beneficiary to make all the practical arrangements: the costs of hiring the hall, advertising, printing and distribution of tickets, hiring and paying musicians, and supplying the music.⁸⁹ These expenses were set against the takings in the expectation that there would be sufficient profit to make the effort worthwhile. Lewis chose the Haymarket theatre as the venue for his benefit concert on 11 May 1722.⁹⁰ The programme included two concertos by Corelli, performed by the two first violins from the opera orchestra, an oboe concerto played by Kytch, a solo on the German flute, a trumpet concerto plus a concerto on the 'little flute played by Grano'. The 'little flute' would have been a small recorder. The event was advertised as a benefit concert for 'L. Grano'(sic). This is the earliest known printed reference to Lewis Granom, and it may in fact have been the first time his name appeared in print. As John Grano was already well-

⁸⁸ *The London Stage 1660–1800*, 5 parts (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1960–68), part 2, ed. E. L. Avery (1960), p. 668. No newspaper advertisements of this event have been found.

⁸⁹ Grano, *Journal*, 1 August–5 September 1728 (*Diary*, pp. 65–84).

⁹⁰ *The London Stage 1660–1800*, part 2, p. 677. Only two months previously, at Hickford's Room on 8 March, Isabella Chambers had made her debut, *The London Stage*, part 2, p. 667. How soon afterwards she joined forces with Lewis is not known, see below.

established in the music profession before Lewis arrived on the scene, the mistake in the spelling of his surname is understandable. However, using different names was clearly wise from a professional point of view in order to minimise any confusion over the brothers' respective identities, particularly as they both played the same instruments.

Lewis is not known to have been connected with the opera, but its closure, in 1728, caused considerable difficulties for some musicians who were reliant on the income, including John whose finances may already have been in a delicate state.⁹¹ Lewis appears to have avoided the difficulties that other musicians were facing. By the late 1720s he was performing regularly in London, Tunbridge Wells and Bath with two popular and celebrated singers of the day, soprano Isabella Chambers (soprano, once a protégé of Margarita de l'Épine) and Gaetano Filippo Rochetti (tenor).⁹² As John Ginger remarks, this was a highly advantageous association which would have kept Lewis in the public eye.⁹³ By putting together all the available evidence, it is possible to reconstruct an outline of Lewis's activities from June 1728 to December 1729. With his brother recently incarcerated in prison, the end of the 1727–8 season saw Lewis making arrangements to provide his brother with necessities such as music and instruments and other basic provisions: religious books, clothing, some groceries and a small amount of cash. Some

⁹¹ For a full discussion of the Opera see Elizabeth Gibson, 'The Royal Academy of Music (1719–28) and its Directors', in *Handel Tercentenary Collection*, ed. Stanley Sadie and Anthony Hicks (Basingstoke: for the Royal Musical Association by Macmillan, 1987), 138–64. It is notable that Matthew Dubourg, leader of the Opera orchestra and a well-known soloist, left London in 1728 for a post in Dublin. John's name, which had appeared so regularly in concert notices from 1714, is noticeably less frequent from about 1723, although that cannot necessarily be taken as significant. It could simply be that as a long-established performer he no longer had novelty-value, or the draw that a new player would have excited. If times were becoming harder for John, he may have already succumbed to the heavy drinking so apparent in his *Journal*.

⁹² Chambers's last documented performances were in the 1740–41 season, see *The London Stage*, part 3, ed. Arthur H. Scouten (1961), p. 848. Rochetti performed opera and oratorio, including those by Handel (under the composer's direction). See Winton Dean, 'Rochetti, Gaetano', *New Grove* (2001), vol. 21, 484. Rochetti was also a dancer. His last recorded appearance as such was in the 1739–40 season, see *The London Stage*, part 3, p. 784.

⁹³ Ginger, *Commentary*, p. 245.

items he delivered himself while others, including a flute, were sent separately.⁹⁴

It would seem that Lewis was in great demand at this time. He spent the summer and autumn of 1728 performing in Tunbridge Wells and Bath with Chambers and Rochetti, but the only recorded details of these months are the reports that Lewis lost some money gambling.⁹⁵ Although no particular sum was mentioned, Lewis referred to it as a ‘great loss’ when he visited John on his return in December.⁹⁶ Lewis also described the plans he had already made for a series of subscription concerts at Hickford’s Room, to start on 4 January, and he asked John to compose ‘a grand concerto for the trumpet’ as a concluding piece for one of them.⁹⁷ The advertisement begins:

L. Granom’s Weekly Concerts of Musick to begin this day. Each subscriber may have two printed tickets each night for ladies only at a half guinea for the two tickets.⁹⁸

Details of the individual concerts are not recorded but it turned out to be a long-running series, which ended with benefit concerts for both Lewis (23 April) and Rochetti (30 April). A benefit concert for Isabella Chambers, which was outside the series, took place in Lincoln’s Inn Fields Theatre on 15 April 1729. The occasion was George Farquhar’s play *The Recruiting Officer*, and the music, which would have been performed in the intervals, was briefly advertised as, ‘Singing by Mrs Chambers, Trumpet Song sounded by L. Granom, Solo on the German Flute by M.

⁹⁴ Grano, *Journal*, 13 July 1728 (*Diary*, p. 54). According to a byelaw of 1606, it was not permitted for a musician, his servant or his apprentice to go about ‘in any open street within this city or liberties thereof, or within three miles of the same city, from house to house with any instrument or instruments uncased or uncovered in any part, to be seen by any passing by, upon pain or forfeiture of twelve pence for every offence’, described in H. A. F. Crewdson, *The Worshipful Company of Musicians – A Short History* (London: Constable, 1950), p. 116. This law was probably intended to dissuade the performing vagabond. There are many occasions in the *Journal* when John arranges for instruments to arrive at a venue before or after him.

⁹⁵ Grano, *Journal*, 1 August 1728 to 27 December 1728 (*Diary*, pp. 65–159).

⁹⁶ Grano, *Journal*, 27 December 1728 (*Diary*, pp. 159–60).

⁹⁷ The piece was ready on the morning of the concert, but John sent a message to his brother that he would not part with it because ‘there was something new and particular in the same’. Grano, *Journal*, 4 January 1729, (*Diary*, p. 162).

⁹⁸ *Daily Post*, 13 December 1728.

Granom'.⁹⁹ It can only be assumed that 'M.' was either a printing mistake, or it indicated 'Mr'. The only performers mentioned by John for Lewis's benefit concert one week later (23 April) were: Lewis, John, Chambers and Rochetti. The concert included one of John's songs, sung by Chambers and accompanied by Lewis on the trumpet, and also part of John's *Water-Musick*.¹⁰⁰

Unusually, the complete programme of Rochetti's benefit concert the following week was advertised as follows:

1) Overture out of *Ptolemy*

Songs: *Dico su questa sponda; Svenalo traditor*

A sonata by Corelli

Songs: *Ombre piante sgombra dall'Anima*

Solo for German Flute by L. Granom

2) Concerto by Castrucci

Songs: *Non lo diro col habro; La mia speranza*

A trumpet piece by Granom

Songs: *No, No, my Heart*, from an Italian song out of *Ptolemy*; *Si caro Si*

Concerto for Trumpets by J. Granom [sic] and L. Granom¹⁰¹

That benefit concerts were always highly risky events is illustrated by the contrasting outcomes of those of Lewis and John at this time. Lewis's concert (23 April 1729) was a resounding success. He reported that he had cleared £200.¹⁰² It provides a cruel comparison with the disastrous outcome of the concerts that John had organised for himself during his time in the Marshalsea. The first, on 5 September 1728 at Southwark Town Hall, made a loss, which was a

⁹⁹ *Daily Journal*, 15 April, 1729. Grano's *Journal* does not mention the concert; clearly John took no part in it.

¹⁰⁰ Grano, *Journal*, 23 April 1729 (*Diary*, pp. 237–8). John's *Water-Musick* is no longer extant.

¹⁰¹ *Daily Journal*, 29 April 1729.

¹⁰² Grano, *Journal*, 27 April 1729 (*Diary*, p. 238).

huge blow and something Grano could ill afford. A clash of dates was unfortunate, although not always avoidable, and the choice of venue could also have affected the outcome. Southwark Town Hall was neither a noted concert hall nor was it situated in a salubrious part of London, and therefore not likely to be attractive to an audience (certainly not to ‘persons of quality’ so frequently mentioned in the press) and John was doubly unfortunate in that his concert clashed with Southwark Fair.¹⁰³ The second of John’s benefits, on 21 November at the Crown Tavern, made only about thirty shillings.¹⁰⁴ Lewis was away on both these occasions, but he was back in London for what became John’s third and final attempt to raise much needed funds while in residence in the Marshalsea. Unfortunately, this event turned out to be a fiasco. 27 March 1729 was evidently a popular evening when a plethora of concerts and entertainments meant that there were not enough musicians or audience to support them all. On this occasion John’s fellow performers were Lewis, Rochetti and Mr Neal (an oboist and colleague of John’s in the opera house orchestra),¹⁰⁵ but John had expected several other musicians in addition and the audience was small. Nevertheless, the evening ended in the usual way with the musicians retiring to an inn and drinking into the early hours.¹⁰⁶

Music was also part of the performance at Lincoln’s Inn Fields on 19 May 1729, when the plays were Christopher Bullock’s *A Woman’s Revenge*, Sir John Vanbrugh’s *The Country House* and John Hippisley’s *Flora*.¹⁰⁷ John recorded that on this occasion he played both the

¹⁰³ Ibid., 5 September 1728 (*Diary*, pp. 82–4).

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., 17 December 1728 (*Diary*, pp. 156–7).

¹⁰⁵ Lasocki, ‘The French Hautboy’, p. 353, and Burrows, ‘Handel’s London Theatre Orchestra’, p. 355.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., 27 March 1729 (*Diary*, pp. 209–11).

¹⁰⁷ The advertisement in the *Daily Journal*, 16 May 1729, does not mention that music was to be part of the performance.

flute and trumpet and that the other performers were Lewis, Chambers, Rochetti and a Mr Bishop. There are no further details of the programme.¹⁰⁸

When changes to the law regarding debtors came into force on 14 May, Lewis began to make efforts that would eventually bring about his brother's release. On the morning of 28 May Lewis visited the prison governor to settle some of the prison debts that were outstanding, ate lunch with his brother in an inn and then travelled to Burghley House near Stamford, Lincolnshire.¹⁰⁹ This was the seat of Lord Brownlow, 8th earl of Exeter (1701–1754), a man of about the same age as Lewis. High-society connections of this sort would have been considered very valuable by any musician. No doubt Lewis had been invited to entertain the guests, perhaps only for a few days. The only indication of the length of the visit is that John's *Journal* entry for 10 June states an expectation of seeing Lewis that day. The last reference to Lewis in the *Journal* is on 18 June when he and Rochetti called on Dr White to find John already there.¹¹⁰

Lewis was apparently out of London soon after this date, perhaps appearing in Bath and Tunbridge Wells with Chambers and Rochetti, possibly following the same pattern as he had done the previous year. It would seem unlikely that he would otherwise not have been involved with John at the time of his release from prison, on 23 September. A *Journal* entry from the end of August 1729 confirms that Lewis had indeed been in Bath recently, for John reports that he met a gentleman in the London Tavern who had won £50 from Lewis in Bath just 'a little while

¹⁰⁸ Grano, *Journal*, 19 May 1729 (*Diary*, p. 255). No information has been found about Mr Bishop. When a performance was over, the musicians would normally go for supper to an inn or, on the evening of Lewis's benefit, to his house. On such occasions the company often did not break up until 2 or 3am.

¹⁰⁹ From this time on it is apparent that John had more freedom to come and go from the prison. He spent a lot of time visiting family or colleagues.

¹¹⁰ This was presumably the same Dr White that the poet John Byrom describes as a pupil of John's. Some years previously Byrom met John Grano at Bressan's house (Bressan the woodwind instrument maker) and recorded, 'we heard Mr. Granont (sic) play on the German flute, who was the only man for it, he was Dr. W[hite]'s master; he played most sweetly'. John Byrom, *The Private Journal and Literary Remains of John Byrom*, ed. Richard Parkinson (Manchester: The Chetham Society, 1854), Saturday [April 3rd 1725].

ago'.¹¹¹ Lewis's absence from London would also explain the brothers' advance planning in early May for a benefit concert for John at Stationers' Hall. It may have been the anticipated news of the proposed change in the law that gave them the confidence to embark on this new project. In the event this concert took place on 12 December 1729, well after John's release.¹¹² Curiously there is no record of John after this date and it is also the last time Lewis is known to have performed in public.¹¹³

Evidence shows that Lewis was much in demand as a performer at the end of the 1720s. He had secured valuable connections in high society and established himself in the public eye not only in London, but also in Bath and Tunbridge Wells. That he suddenly disappeared from the concert platform seems unlikely, unless an unexpected and unexplained event occurred. It is clear that he performed on more occasions than there are extant records, such as his benefit concert on 23 April 1729 for which the only reference is found in John's *Journal*. His abilities as a performer were clearly known to 'The Inspector' who made reference to them in his newspaper article in 1752 (see above). As it seems unlikely that this article was written on the basis of a distant memory, the only conclusion is that Lewis did perform, but possibly less frequently than hitherto. Perhaps he favoured private audiences rather than public events, hence the lack of extant details. Given his social connections this would seem feasible. Nevertheless, it is evident

¹¹¹ Grano, *Journal*, 28 August 1729 (*Diary*, pp. 315–6). The gentleman gave John £4.

¹¹² *The London Stage*, part 3, p. 23. No newspaper advertisements of this event have been found.

¹¹³ That the only references to Lewis's benefit concert on 23 April 1729 and the entertainments at Lincoln's Inn Fields on 19 May are in John's *Journal*, illustrate how incomplete are the extant records of performances. The many concerts that advertised 'instrumental music by the best hands' may well have involved Lewis. The fact that instrumentalists were usually considered to be anonymous artisans is an accurate reflection of their social standing. For a discussion of these issues at a slightly later time see Deborah Rohr, *The Careers of British Musicians 1750–1850* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

that teaching occupied him for a greater part of his life, as will be seen below.

THE TEACHER

Lewis was already active as a teacher in 1729, even if only in a small way as his other engagements allowed, particularly those out of London.¹¹⁴ Who he taught, and whether he was teaching both the flute and the trumpet at this stage, is not known, although given that he was performing professionally on both instruments there is no reason to suppose that he was not also teaching them both. This was a period of rapidly growing enthusiasm for the flute, which began early in the 1720s, and it soon became the wind instrument of choice for amateurs.¹¹⁵ At some point Lewis made the decision to specialise in the flute. He eventually built up a sufficient reputation to be included in Mortimer's *London Universal Director* (1763) where he is listed as a 'teacher on the German Flute'.¹¹⁶

Teaching was a profession that several musicians found much to their liking, some so much so that they absented themselves from the concert platform to devote most of their energies to it. One of the more celebrated musicians who did that was John Loeillet (1680–1730) who, when he died, left £16,000.¹¹⁷ He was a skilled oboe, flute and harpsichord player who may have been one of the first flute teachers in the country. A clue to his activities is found in the

¹¹⁴ There is a passage in Grano, *Journal*, 5 May 1729 (*Diary*, p. 251), which states that Lewis 'went out and taught a scholar or two'. John's pupils were trumpeters.

¹¹⁵ At the beginning of the eighteenth century the recorder 'was the pocket companion of many who wished to be thought fine gentlemen' until it began to be superseded by the flute. Hawkins, *A General History*, vol. 2, p. 738. The recorder suffered a similar decline in professional circles, with fewer appearances in concerts and a corresponding decrease in the number of works published for it.

¹¹⁶ Dart, 'An Eighteenth-Century Directory', pp. 27–31.

¹¹⁷ Hawkins, *A General History*, vol. 2, p. 823. Born in Ghent, he was baptised Jean Baptiste Loeillet. The difficulties caused by his name led to his being frequently referred to as John Luly (and other corruptions), see Tilmouth, 'Calendar' entries for 10 April 1705, 21 May 1707 and 21 January 1708.

advertisement for ‘Lully’s lessons for ye German Flute’, which appears on the title page of Pietro Chaboud’s anthology *Solos for the German Flute* (London: Walsh and Hare, c. 1725), but no extant copy of these ‘lessons’ has so far been found. In the absence of any published material for the instrument in the first two decades of the century, flute technique can only have been learned directly from other players, with compositions for other instruments used and adapted for the purpose.

The popularity of the flute generated a demand for reputable teachers and it was evidently possible to make a good living from teaching. John Festing (*d.* 1772), the brother of violinist Michael (1705–1752), was an oboist in the Opera in 1727.¹¹⁸ He also taught the German flute,

for which latter instrument he had more scholars than any master in London; and whose success in this his profession affords a very remarkable instance of what industry and economy are capable of effecting in the exercise of it; for he died [...] possessed of the sum of £8,000, acquired chiefly by teaching.¹¹⁹

It is notable, however, that he was not listed in Mortimer’s directory. In fact, apart from Lewis, the only other person listed exclusively as a flute teacher was Charles Weideman.¹²⁰ Flute lessons

could be had from Charles Jones, who was principally a French horn player, or from the Kettle-drum player Jacob Neilson. William Teide was listed as ‘German flute and Hautboy’, but whether he was a performer or teacher is not specified.¹²¹

¹¹⁸ Quantz remarked that when saw Handel’s *Admeto* in London in 1727, the flute [and oboe] players were C. F. Weideman and John Festing. Paul Nettle, ‘The Life of Herr Joachim Quantz as Sketched by Himself’, in *Forgotten Musicians* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1951), 280–319 (p. 314).

¹¹⁹ Hawkins, *A General History*, vol. 2, p. 892; Lasocki, ‘The French Hautboy’, p. 352.

¹²⁰ Weideman was originally an oboist who doubled on the flute. Twice he attended the musical events at Thurtel’s Club on Tuesdays where he performed on the oboe. See Grano, 11 February and 11 March 1728/9 (*Diary*, pp. 188–9 and pp. 202–3). Grano referred to him as ‘Mr Weideman the Hautboy’, an indication that this was how he was generally known. When Mortimer compiled his directory, Weideman was listed solely as a flute teacher; an indication one suspects that, at this time, this was the most lucrative option.

¹²¹ Dart, ‘An Eighteenth-Century Directory’, pp. 27–31. Teide evidently performed on the oboe, see Donald Burrows, ‘Lists of Musicians for Performances of Handel’s *Messiah* at the Foundling Hospital, 1754–77’, *RMA Research Chronicle*, 43 (2010), 85–109.

It would seem that Granom's teaching experiences inspired the writing of his flute treatise, *Plain and Easy Instructions on Playing the German Flute* (London: T. Bennett, 1766), which he dedicated to John Bourke Esq., one of his pupils.¹²² Before the publication of this work, teaching material for the flute was somewhat limited. The first treatise to be written for the flute, *Principes de la flûte traversière* by Jacques Hotteterre le Romain (Paris: Christophe Ballard, 1707), was translated and published unattributed as *The Rudiments or Principles of the German Flute* (Walsh & Hare, 1729). Thereafter, for the best part of forty years, selected extracts were repeatedly published anonymously in clearly plagiarised editions, frequently appearing under the title *The Compleat Tutor for the German Flute*. These will be discussed in detail in the next chapter.

Lewis was still teaching at his house in the late 1770s (as seen above), but ten years earlier there had been rumours that he had ceased, prompting the following response:

Whereas it has been industriously reported that the above Author has left off teaching the German Flute, and that when he did his price was so exorbitant that few were able to comply with it, Therefore this is to assure the public that he not only teaches as usual, but that his price is as reasonable as most of his profession, and how much more profitable his instructions may be to his pupils he leaves to the determination of those he has already taught.¹²³

Lewis's price was 'three guineas for eight lessons'.¹²⁴

Teaching and performing occupied Lewis from the beginning of his career. His life as a composer, with its consequent reputation, did not begin until the 1740s.

¹²² John Bourke was also one of the subscribers to Lewis's op. 13.

¹²³ *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*, 21 April 1768.

¹²⁴ Letter from Lewis Granom to John Bourke, 4 March 1768, see *Bourke v Granom* TNA E 140/8/4. In this letter Granom claims payment for unpaid music and lessons amounting to £78 2s. 9d., apparently it was used in evidence and held in the records of the Exchequer.

THE COMPOSER

Music Publishing

In London, all aspects of the music business as a profession had developed from the beginning of the eighteenth century while Lewis was growing up. When John Playford (1623–86) first began publishing music (from 1651) there was virtually no competition, but as interest in amateur music-making grew, the publishing trade expanded to accommodate the increasing demand for printed music. Playford and his contemporaries used typesetting, but by the end of the century music was advertised as being ‘fairly engraven on copper-plates’.¹²⁵ By the time John Walsh (1666–1736) began publishing in 1695, at ‘The Harp and Hoboy’, Catherine Street, in the Strand, numerous small music businesses had sprung up: instrument makers and repairers, instrument and music sellers, and music publishers. Many of these were located in and around St Paul’s Churchyard, making this area a focus for musicians who frequented the many taverns and coffee houses in the locality.¹²⁶ Playford had published collections of songs, psalm books, instrumental anthologies, and theory and instruction books. Walsh carried on in much the same way, with the exception of the psalm books, but on a much bigger scale. He published the works of popular European composers, including copies of foreign editions, such as Corelli’s works published in Amsterdam by Estienne Roger.¹²⁷ Walsh’s business connection with John (and later Joseph) Hare began before 1700. It was Walsh who had published John Grano’s volume, [six] *Solos for a German Flute, Hoboy or Violin with a Thorough Bass for the Harpsicord or Bass Violin* in 1728, before John entered the Marshalsea Prison.

¹²⁵ Frank Kidson, ‘Handel’s Publisher, John Walsh, His Successors and Contemporaries’, *MQ*, 6 (1920), 430–50 (p. 434).

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 434–6.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 441.

Without anything like the modern concept of copyright for musical works until 1777, music publishing worked in favour of the publisher rather than the composer. A manuscript would typically be sold for a one-off payment at which point the publisher could then do what he liked with it.¹²⁸ If a work proved to be popular it was the publisher only who benefited, as the composer had forfeited any rights initially with the sale. Composers were clearly, and understandably, unhappy with this state of affairs. F. Kidson relates that Walsh Snr made £1500 from publishing extracts and songs from *Rinaldo* (1711) and when Handel became aware of this he remarked that Walsh should write the next opera and he (Handel) would publish it.¹²⁹ As another example, Thomas Arne (1710-1778) was paid 20 guineas (by Walsh Jnr) for each collection of eight or nine songs.¹³⁰ Publishing certainly proved to be very lucrative for Walsh Snr, who left £30,000 on his death in 1736. Thirty years later his son John, who had taken over the business, died leaving £40,000.¹³¹

The worst thing that could happen to a composer was to find that his music had been pirated, that is, published without authorisation. One means of protection was the award by the Crown of letters patent which lasted for a term of fourteen years. This was neither a simple procedure nor was it achieved without expense, for a lawyer had to be paid and the permission of the monarch obtained.¹³² Lewis found it necessary to take this course of action and in 1752 was awarded such a privilege,

¹²⁸ David Hunter, 'Music Copyright in Britain to 1800', *ML*, 67 (1986), 269–82 (p. 271).

¹²⁹ Kidson, pp. 442–3.

¹³⁰ Hunter, p. 276.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 275.

¹³² *Ibid.*, pp. 276–7.

Strictly forbidding all our subjects within our Kingdoms and Dominions to Reprint, Abridge, Copy out in Writing for Sale or Publish the same, either in the like or any other Volume, or Volumes whatsoever, or to Import, Buy, Vend, Utter or Distribute any Copies thereof Reprinted, or Written for Sale beyond the Seas [...] without [...] Consent.¹³³

It quickly proved to be a very wise move, for only a year later Granom had cause to issue the following warning:

This day is published: Twelve songs with their Symphonies for a German Flute or violin composed by Lewis Granom Esq as they were sung at Cuper's Gardens by Miss Maria Bennett, to be had at Richard Bennett's Music Shop, the Corner of Clement's Inn, Butcher Row, near Temple Bar, where all Masters of Musick may have their respective Works sold at half a Crown in the Pound profit [...] Whereas Mr. Granom has been informed that a certain Master of a Music Shop bought one of Mr. Granom's Books of Songs and carried the same immediately to an Engraver of Musick, with an intent to pirate and vend the same to the great Prejudice of the Author; therefore (notwithstanding the Badness of the Action) Mr. Granom, in consideration of those who may be concerned in the above scandalous Undertaking, forewarns all such persons to desist, for not only they who gave the Orders for this unwarrantable Work to be done, but the Engravers, Printers or Vendors of the same shall be prosecuted to the utmost Severity of the Law, Mr. Granom having his Majesty's Patent for all his works in general.¹³⁴

The case came to court the following year when the culprit was revealed as John Cox, a publisher, who sold the songs to other publishers under the pretext that they were his property.¹³⁵ Clearly there was a demand for Lewis's music.

David Hunter has stated that at least sixteen privileges were granted to composers between 1710 and 1770, although Lewis is not present in the list.¹³⁶

Published works

Lewis left a body of compositions for the flute, a number of songs (the majority include a flute) but nothing for the trumpet.¹³⁷ The publication dates are taken from three sources: *New Grove*,

¹³³ Extract of Granom's Privilege, awarded 29 November 1752.

¹³⁴ *London Daily Advertiser*, 8 December 1752.

¹³⁵ Granom v Cox, TNA: PRO C12/2371/34.

¹³⁶ See Hunter, p. 51, fn. 51.

¹³⁷ He also contributed short flute pieces and songs to anthologies and collections. The melody of a song was invariably printed at the end of the page in a version suitable for one or more flutes to play.

2001 (NG),¹³⁸ the British Library catalogue (Lbl) and Franz Vester's annotated bibliography (V).¹³⁹ Abbreviations are not given where the sources agree. Where I have discovered anything further, the information is added where relevant.

TABLE 2.1. *Granom's publications*

Opus number	Title	Contents	Libraries
1	<i>XII Sonate per flauto traversiere solo e basso continuo da signore di Granom gentiluomo Inglese</i> (London: n.n., c. 1745 NG and Lbl, c. 1741 V)	An advance notice in the <i>Daily Post</i> (4 December 1742) announced the publication date as 6 December 1742 for both op. 1 and op. 2, 'They being the first works ever published by the said Gentleman'. Another edition was published by Walsh, announced in the <i>London Post and Advertiser</i> 12 February 1743. This edition is no longer extant.	GB-Lbl , Ckc, CDu
	<i>XII Solos for a German Flute with a thorough bass for the Harpsicord or Violoncello</i> (London: J. Simpson, c. 1745 V, c. 1750 Lbl)	This is probably an unauthorized edition, see p. 38.	GB-Lbl
2	<i>Sei sonate a tre, due flauti o due violini col basso</i> (London: n.n., n.d.)		S-Sk
	<i>Six sonatas for two German Flutes or two Violins with a Thorough Bass for the Harpsicord or Violoncello</i> (London: J. Simpson, c. 1746)	This is probably an unauthorized edition.	GB-Lbl CDN-Tu

¹³⁸ Maurice Byrne, 'Granom, Lewis Christian Austin', *New Grove* (2001), vol. 10, 299.

¹³⁹ Frans Vester, *Flute Music of the 18th Century* (Montreux: Musica Rara, 1985).

3	<p><i>XXIV Duets for two German Flutes adapted to the capacity of all degrees of performers</i> (London: J. Simpson c. 1747)</p> <p><i>XXIV Duets for two German Flutes adapted to the capacity of all degrees of performers</i> (London: R. Bremner, n.d.)</p> <p><i>XXIV Duets for two German Flutes, the second edition, with corrections and method of playing them</i> (London: for the author, c. 1752 NG and V, c. 1755 Lbl)</p>	<p>This is probably an unauthorized edition.</p> <p>In the <i>Public Advertiser</i>, 13 October 1764, Bremner advertised that he had bought the plates of this work (along with others) in an auction at Simpson's music shop. He subsequently published the duets, which were advertised as before, 10 August 1765.</p> <p>This is the first work published which bears a copy of the privilege, granted 29 November 1752. It presumably predates the publication of op. 4.</p>	<p>GB-Lbl US-Wc</p> <p>US-Wc</p> <p>GB-Lbl US-Wc</p>
4	<p><i>XII New Songs and Ballads, with their Symphonies, for the German Flute or Violin, sung by Miss Maria Bennett, at Cuper's Gardens</i> (London: R. Bennett, c. 1752 NG and Lbl)</p>	<p>The <i>London Daily Advertiser</i> (8 December 1752) announced the publication of this work 'this day'.</p>	<p>GB-Ckc, Lbl</p>
5	<p><i>Six Grand Concertos in Eight Parts for a German Flute, four Violins, Tenor, Violoncello and Harpsichord</i> (London: Richard Bennett, c. 1753)</p>	<p>An advance notice in the <i>London Daily Advertiser</i> (14 December 1752) announced the publication date as 16 December 1752.</p>	<p>GB-Ckc</p>
6	<p><i>A Second Collection of Favourite Songs</i> (London: R. Bennett, 1753)</p>	<p>The <i>London Daily Advertiser</i> (10 February 1753) announced the publication 'this day'.</p>	<p>US-Wc</p>
7	<p><i>Six Solos or Sonatas for a German Flute with a Thorough Bass for the Harpsicord or Violincello</i> (London: R. Bremner, c. 1752 NG and V, c. 1762 Lbl)</p>	<p>The <i>Public Advertiser</i> (15 March 1755) gave advance notice of a concert on 18 March at the Great Room in Dean Street, Soho, in which 'the first new solo of Granom op. 7' would be performed. This implies that 1755 was also the year of publication.</p>	<p>GB-Lbl</p>

8	<i>Six Solos or Sonatas for a German Flute with a Thorough Bass for the Harpsicord or Violincello</i> (London: R. Bremner, c. 1752 NG, c. 1765 Lbl)	This publication is omitted from Vester's catalogue.	GB-Lbl
9	<i>Six Sonatas or Duets for Two German Flutes or Violins</i> (London: Bennett, c. 1755)		GB-Lbl US-Wc
–	<i>Musical Miscellany, Duetts</i> (sic) <i>for German Flutes, Violins and Guittars, Airs and Songs, with Figured Basses for the Harpsichord</i> , printed for the author and to be had at his chambers, no. 1 Coney Court, Gray's Inn and at all the Music Shops (c. 1755 NG, Lbl).	This was a monthly publication of 13 parts from January 1761, which were announced in <i>The Public Advertiser</i> . It is advertised in lieu of an op. 10 on all the title pages of T. Bennett's publications of Granom's works.	GB-Lbl (1 copy) US-Wc (1 copy)
11	<i>XXIV Duets for Two German Flutes or Violins, being a third collection and sequel to Mr. Granom's first set</i> (London: T. Bennett, c. 1755)		GB-Lbl US-Wc
12	<i>Six Sonatas</i>	This is not listed in NG or in V. It appears on the title page of both op. 13 and <i>Instructions</i> . No other reference to it or any trace of it has so far been found. Previously, Granom used the term 'sonata' for flute duets, while works for a single flute with basso continuo were referred to as 'solos'. Assuming he was consistent, these missing pieces were likely to have been for two unaccompanied flutes.	
13	<i>A Second Collection of Favourite English Songs, with their Full Accompanymnts</i> (c. 1760 NG, 1753 Lbl)	It can reasonably be supposed that this is a revised version of op. 6. The title page of op. 13 does not mention op. 6, but lists <i>A Collection of Minuets</i> in its place. The title page of <i>Instructions</i> is the same. <i>The Public Advertiser</i> (15 September 1778) carried an announcement that	GB-Lbl US-Wc

		<p>Lewis Granom had opened a subscription for a second book of songs, being 'a large and expensive work'. The subscription was to close at Christmas. Boyce was listed as subscribing to two copies which were subsequently sold with the rest of his library in 1779 (as seen above). The total number of subscribers was 560, each of whom took between one and ten copies. Prominent members of the aristocracy who subscribed included the Dukes of Devonshire, Marlborough, Northumberland, Portland, Rutland, and Richmond. Other listings, such as 'Mr. Jeffereys of North America,' point to an international circulation. The total number of subscribers in North America was eight; there were three in the West Indies, seven in France and the Netherlands, and one in Bengal. Granom's reputation must have been formidable to have elicited this response.</p>	
	<p><i>Plain and Easy Instructions for Playing on the German Flute</i> (London: T. Bennett, 1766)</p> <p>The second edition (1768)</p>	<p>The first edition of Granom's treatise was announced in the <i>Public Advertiser</i> of 15 December 1766 (the date on the frontispiece of the treatise is 13 December).</p> <p>The second edition was announced in the <i>Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser</i>, 21 April 1768. 'This edition contains rules for preluding in all the different modes or tones never before published, with thirty six preludes by way of example. To which is added a Dictionary, explaining such words as frequently occur in music, of upwards of two hundred words by Lewis C. A. Granom'. There is no known extant copy of this edition</p>	<p>US-Wc</p> <p>US-Wc</p>

	The third edition (c. 1770)	The third edition concludes with an extensive supplement of fingerings for trills.	GB-Lbl
	The fourth edition (1772)	The fourth edition was announced in the <i>Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser</i> , 9 July 1772. ‘Just published, the fourth edition with additions 10s 6d. And this day is published a Supplement to the above book wherein is declined every Shake with its preparative and resolution throughout all the different flat and sharp modes; a work extremely curious and never attempted before by Lewis Granom’.	

Lewis’s status and success as a teacher is evidenced by the popularity of his treatise, the sales of which were extensive, with four editions in six years. The third edition includes a comprehensive trill chart running to nineteen pages, which was added as a result of popular demand.¹⁴⁰

Further Considerations of Publication Dates

Lewis was living abroad from 1736 until the end of 1743 on account of the gambling debts he had accrued at home (discussed above). It was during this period that op. 1 and op. 2 were published. Presumably he sent them to London and had them printed at his own expense, for they bear no publisher’s name, and a publisher gained nothing by remaining anonymous. The choice of Italian title pages for both volumes is intriguing, explained perhaps by the general enthusiasm for Italian music and musicians at the time. In this case it is not without irony, for the name

¹⁴⁰ Granom, *Supplement to Mr Granom’s Book of Instructions*, third edition, (London: T. Bennett, c. 1770), pp. 120–138.

Granom was intended to reflect the family's French connection (as seen above), while Grano is common in Sicily.¹⁴¹

On the basis that once a composer sold his work, the publisher had sole rights to it, it would appear that John Simpson's editions of Lewis's opp. 1, 2 and 3 were all pirated. Lewis's second edition of op. 3 was issued presumably as an answer to Simpson's unauthorised copy as a means of rendering it out of date. Lewis's frustration and exasperation is clearly expressed on the title page where he issued an explicit warning:

N.B. as this Book is published under His Majesty's Royal Licence, whomsoever shall sell, vend, or dispose of any other edition than this shall be prosecuted as the law directs.¹⁴²

A full copy of the privilege (dated 29 November 1752) was included on an inside page, in keeping with common practice. This was the first of Lewis's publications to be protected in this way. Others followed in quick succession with op. 3 to op. 7 appearing between 1752 and 1755. The monthly publication *Musical Miscellany* is listed instead of an op. 10 (as stated above, no work is assigned this number) on the cover of subsequent publications. As the *Musical Miscellany* first appeared in January 1761, this puts opp. 8 and 9 sometime between 1755 and the end of 1760. Similarly opp. 11 and 12 must have been published between 1761 and 1766, assuming the chronology is correct, as they are advertised on the cover of the first edition of *Instructions*.

Previous attempts to date Lewis's works appear to have relied heavily on the presence or absence of a copy of the privilege. The original range of dates given for his compositions is

¹⁴¹ See p. xvi.

¹⁴² Title pages frequently listed other works available from the same publisher. For Granom to discover that, in the case of his op. 3 duets, not only had he yet again been pirated by Simpson but also that the title page blatantly advertised the unauthorized editions of Granom's op. 1 and 2 must have been a serious case of salt in the wound. Bringing out a second edition of the same work with the protection of a privilege was probably designed to send a strong message to Simpson.

1741–1760, with the privilege acting as a watershed and from which it was considered unsafe to stray too far for the later works. In reality the range of dates is somewhat greater: 1742–1779.

There is no doubt that it can be very difficult, and often impossible, to fix the exact date of publication of many works published in the eighteenth century, as this information is so often not given and it can be difficult to find. According to Charles Burney, it was Walsh who was responsible for this policy.

The late Mr. Walsh [Snr], finding that *old* music-books were like old almanacs, ceased very early in this century to ascertain their birth by dates, which have ever since been carefully concealed as the age of stale virgins.¹⁴³

Burney may not have fully comprehended the situation. Because music was engraved, the plates could be kept on a shelf and copies run off whenever they were needed. This was in contrast to typeset editions, which had to be reset every time more copies were needed and therefore had to be dated to distinguish the editions.¹⁴⁴

The publication of Robert Bremner's edition of the flute sonatas opp. 7 and 8 raises some questions when it is considered that he did not open his premises in London until 1762.¹⁴⁵ As has been seen above, op. 7 dates from 1755. Lewis's publisher for opp. 4, 5 and 6 was Richard Bennett, for op. 9 it was simply Bennett and thereafter Thomas Bennett. It is not known whether they were related, but Thomas seems to have started in business as Richard ceased.¹⁴⁶ The only extant copies of opp. 7 and 8 are Robert Bremner's editions. It is most likely they were published after the privilege expired in 1766 and the fact that the title pages of these editions announce that Bremner could supply all of Lewis's works could be seen as further evidence in favour of this suggestion.

¹⁴³ Burney, *A General History of Music*, vol. 2, p. 487.

¹⁴⁴ For further information see D. W. Krummel and Stanley Sadie (eds.), *Music Printing and Publishing* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1990).

¹⁴⁵ Charles Humphries and William C. Smith, *Music Publishing in the British Isles*, second edition (Oxford: Blackwell, 1970), pp. 83–4.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 68.

CHAPTER 3

EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY ENGLISH INSTRUMENTAL TUTORS

AN OVERVIEW

As music became an increasingly popular leisure activity in the eighteenth century, the demand for instrumental tutors grew.¹⁴⁷ Publishers were keen to supply the growing numbers of amateur musicians with these volumes, which they advertised from the beginning of the eighteenth century.¹⁴⁸ These tutors were invariably anonymous, a fact that will be explored below. A tally of those published for individual woodwind instruments is presented in table 3.1 (later editions of the same work are excluded).¹⁴⁹

TABLE 3.1. *Woodwind tutors known to have been published in England 1697–1799*

	1697–1699 Seventeenth-century tutors	1700–1719 Early eighteenth-century tutors	1720–1730 The first decade of flute tutors	1731–1749 Plagiarised versions of Hotteterre's <i>Rudiments</i>	1750–1765 Revised versions of Hotteterre's text	1766–1799 Granom's treatise to the end of the century
Recorder	13	12	4	5	7	1
Flute	None known	None known	5* (see fn. 3)	2	11	22
Oboe	5	2	1	2	1	7
Bassoon	None known	None known	None known	None known	1	4

¹⁴⁷ See H. Diack Johnstone and Roger Fiske (eds.), *Music in Britain: The Eighteenth Century* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1990) especially chapter 1, Roger Fiske, 'Music and Society' 3–27. Also, J. H. Plumb, 'The Commercialization of Leisure in Eighteenth-Century England', in *The Birth of a Consumer Society: The Commercialization of Eighteenth-Century England*, ed. Neil McKendrick, John Brewer and J. H. Plumb, (London: Europa, 1982), 265–85.

¹⁴⁸ Anon., *The New Flute Master* (Walsh, 1699) is one such example. This tutor for the recorder was advertised in the *Post Boy*, 8–10 June 1699. It is no longer extant.

¹⁴⁹ These data are mostly taken from Thomas E. Warner, *An Annotated Bibliography of Woodwind Instruction Books, 1600–1830* (Detroit, Michigan: Information Co-ordinators, Inc., 1974). The location of some of these tutors is currently unknown. *Two of these are not listed in Warner. One is '*Lessons for the German Flute*' c. 1730, which is held in US-Wc. It consists of fingering charts and a selection of tunes. The other is *Lully's* [Loeillet's] *Lessons for ye German Flute*, c. 1725 (no longer extant).

What the table above indicates is the dominance of the recorder until the 1720s followed by the steady, increasing popularity of the flute. Evidence suggests that treatises for the flute were first published in the 1720s, the earliest recorded being *Instructions for the German Flute* (London: J. Walsh, c. 1720), which is no longer extant.¹⁵⁰ As mentioned in the previous chapter, *Lully's lessons for ye German flute* was in print a few years, advertised in 1725, but is no longer extant. In addition, there were the following compilations:

- 1) Anon., *The Compleat Music Master* (London: W. Pearson, 1722); with instructions for the recorder, oboe, violin, bass viol, tenor viol and treble viol.
- 2) Peter Prelleur, *Modern Musick-Master* (London: Cluer & Dicey, 1731); with instructions for the recorder, flute, oboe, voice, violin, and harpsichord. This is seven separate works, each independently paginated, with individual title pages. A later edition appeared c. 1742. The texts for the recorder, flute and oboe are largely pirated from earlier sources.
- 3) Anon., *The Muses Delight* (Liverpool: John Sadler, 1754); with instructions for the recorder, flute, oboe, bassoon, the voice, violin, harpsichord or spinet, French horn and bass violin). This was reissued in 1756, 1757 and 1758 as *Apollo's Cabinet: or The Muses Delight*, (second edition, London: H. Purcell, 1754). The text of the section for the flute is identical to that in Prelleur's *Modern Musick-Master*.
- 4) William Tansur, *The Elements of Musick made Easy* (London: S. Crowder, 1767); with instructions for the recorder, flute, oboe, bassoon, organ or harpsichord, bass viol, violin, guitar, trumpet and French horn.

¹⁵⁰ See William C. Smith, *A Bibliography of the Musical Works Published by John Walsh during the Years 1695–1720* (London: Bibliographical Society, 1948), p. 170.

In order to estimate properly Granom's *Instructions*, I have examined the early flute treatises and have compared them to the contents of contemporary recorder and oboe treatises. The title pages made extravagant claims. For example, they were declared to be 'the best and easiest instructions for learners to obtain a proficiency',¹⁵¹ or else 'made easy to the meanest capacity by very plain rules'.¹⁵² Each instrument had its own particular set of instructions which was repeated in every subsequent publication (for that instrument) with little, if any, alteration. The instructions were basic, limited in scope and detail, and not always clearly written, and it is unlikely that many amateurs could have made significant progress without resorting to professional help. Nevertheless, these treatises proved to be popular for, according to Roger North, 'more teach themselves than are taught'.¹⁵³ The contents of these volumes (including those for the violin and other instruments also) invariably comprised:

- 1) A brief description of how to hold the instrument and produce a sound
- 2) One or more fingering charts
- 3) The rudiments of notation
- 4) A few ornaments
- 5) A collection of the latest popular tunes

It was the collections of tunes that formed the bulk of these volumes (on average, about eight pages of instructions were followed by about twenty-five pages of tunes). The fact that a new selection of tunes was provided with each publication implies that publishers appreciated that the tunes were the selling point rather than the oft-repeated, rather perfunctory instructions.

¹⁵¹ *Compleat Tutor for the German Flute* (London: Henry Waylett, c. 1745).

¹⁵² *Compleat Tutor to the Hautboy* (London: Walsh & Hare, 1715).

¹⁵³ John Wilson (ed.), *Roger North on Music* (London: Novello, 1959), p. 238. Here, North was commenting on the fact that there were no specialist music academies in England for teaching music.

From my investigations, it is possible to trace the origins of all eighteenth-century texts for a given instrument back to a common source. In the case of the recorder, all subsequent publications seem to have been based on the anonymous *Fifth Book of the New Flute Master* (London: Walsh & Hare, 1706). In practice this meant that the same basic information (essentially fingerings and ornaments) was repeated from 1706 for the next six decades.¹⁵⁴ For the oboe, the original source seems to have been the anonymous *Compleat Tutor to the Hautboy* (London: Walsh & Hare, 1715). *Compleat Tutor* was the title that became the most commonly used by publishers for their instruction books for a variety of instruments, at least up to about 1765. The recorder, flute, oboe and bassoon were all included in this ‘series’. Variations on this title appeared from c. 1770, such as *Compleat Instructions* or *New Instructions*, perhaps in an attempt on the part of publishers to persuade the public that the contents had been updated, while in fact they were largely the same.

Once a text was in print it was re-issued repeatedly by different publishers. In spite of considerable public demand for these volumes, there was little attempt to revise, expand, or bring them up to date. This requires some explanation. It could, I suggest, be a consequence of the absence of any effective copyright protection. For professional musicians, there was nothing to be gained from writing a tutor that would effectively deprive them of income by encouraging potential pupils to become self-taught. Moreover, publishers had the upper hand over authors and composers (as discussed in chapter 1), and it was inevitable that any new tutor would be plagiarised and re-issued many times over. Sometimes a much-used text was even claimed by a would-be author for himself. David Rutherford published and claimed to be the author of *The Art of Playing the Violin* (c. 1755) and also of *The Gentleman’s Pocket Guide for the German Flute*

¹⁵⁴ For example, *Compleat Tutor for the Flute* [recorder] (London: R. Bremner, c.1765) is essentially the same text.

(c. 1765), but in spite of their titles suggesting something original, both of these texts had first seen the light of day in earlier publications.¹⁵⁵

FLUTE TUTORS PUBLISHED IN ENGLAND TO 1765

It is unfortunate that the contents of the two early flute treatises previously mentioned (c. 1720 and c. 1725) cannot at present be studied because an extant copy has not been located. It would have been very interesting to compare them with what is the earliest extant flute treatise to be published in England: Jacques Hotteterre's *Principes de la flûte traversière* (Paris: C. Ballard, 1707), which was translated anonymously into English and published as *The Rudiments or Principles of the German Flute* (London: Walsh & Hare, 1729), hereafter referred to as *Rudiments*.¹⁵⁶ The title page acknowledges its origins:

The Rudiments or Principles of the German Flute, explaining in an easy method everything necessary for a learner thereon, to a greater nicety than has been ever taught before. Wrote in French by Sieur Hotteterre le Romain; Musician in Ordinary to the late French King; and faithfully translated into English. To which is added a collection of familiar Airs for Examples.¹⁵⁷

The unaccompanied 'airs' mentioned on the title page comprise two suites, one in G major (Prelude–Gavot–Saraband–Boree–Jigg–Minuet) and the other in G minor (Prelude–Saraband–Rondeau–Minuet). There are eleven further minuets, including 'Minuet de Paris' and 'The King of France's Minuet'. English pieces are represented by 'Grano's Trumpet Minuet', 'St. Alban's Minuet and Rigadoon by Mr. Sunderland', 'An Opera Aire', and 'Capt Bell's March by Mr.

¹⁵⁵ The text of *The Art of Playing the Violin* is identical not only to that in *The Modern Musick-Master* (1731), but also to the *Compleat* tutors for that instrument published by John Simpson (c. 1746) and John Johnson (c. 1750). *The Gentleman's Pocket Guide to the German Flute* is a copy of a much repeated text from the *Compleat Tutor for the German Flute* series, see below.

¹⁵⁶ Jacques Hotteterre, *Principes de la flûte traversière, ou flûte d'Allemagne ; de la flûte à bec, ou flûte douce ; et du hautbois* (Paris : Christophe Ballard, 1707). Only the section concerning the 'flûte traversière' was translated and published in England.

¹⁵⁷ Anon. *Rudiments* (London: Walsh & Hare, 1729).

Carry'. The ornaments marked in them comprise slurs, trills and 'softenings' (description given in Table 3.2. below).

The information on playing is given concisely in nine chapters. There can be little doubt that these same techniques would have been brought to England at the beginning of the century with the first immigrant flute players and passed on to their new pupils, although how relevant they were in the late 1720s is a matter for conjecture.

TABLE 3.2. Hotteterre's *Rudiments*

Chapter and contents	Description
Preliminary pages	Frontispiece Preface A composite fingering chart for notes and trills
1. Posture and holding the flute	The frontispiece is referred to as an example.
2. Blowing and embouchure	The advice is to practise blowing the flute with all the holes open until the sound is reliable.
3. The natural notes	Fingerings are described for each note in turn with the adjustments needed to correct intonation as necessary. It is suggested that the flute should be turned inwards to flatten sharp notes and, conversely, turned outwards to sharpen flat ones.
4. Trill fingerings	Required fingerings are described for each trill in turn.
5. Fingerings for sharps and flats	Each note is discussed as for chapter 3. Hotteterre encouraged the distinction between enharmonic notes (for example, b-flat sharper than a-sharp).
6. Particular trill fingerings	Some special trill fingerings are discussed.
7. Alternative fingerings	Further alternative fingerings for notes and trills are discussed.
8. Ornaments and articulation	Double cadences, slurs, accents, port de voix, slides (<i>coulements</i>), rhythmic alteration (<i>notes inégales</i>) and <i>tu ru</i> syllables for articulation are discussed, with musical examples.
9. Softenings (<i>flattements</i>) and beats (<i>battements</i>)	The softening (sometimes termed a sweetening in other English treatises) is made on long notes by repeatedly striking the edge of an open hole. ¹⁵⁸ This creates a subtle wavering to the flat side of the note. The beat is a mordent. Fingerings are described for the less obvious cases.

¹⁵⁸ The 'softening' is referred to as 'an open shake or sweetning' (sic) in the anonymous, *Fifth Book of the New Flute [recorder] Master* (London: Walsh & Hare, 1706), p. 4.

Shortly after the appearance of *Rudiments*, an abbreviated version of the same text under the title *The Newest Method for Learners on the German Flute* was included in Peter Prelleur's compendium *The Modern Music Master* (1731). A brief summary of the rudiments of music was added and the collection of tunes updated.¹⁵⁹ Some of the same Minuets (such as Grano's *Trumpet Minuet*) were repeated, but the French suites were replaced with opera arias by Handel and Bononcini. For the next forty years the majority of the anonymous, plagiarised and abbreviated versions of Hotteterre's text appeared under the title, *The Compleat Tutor for the German Flute [...] translated from the French*. These volumes were relatively inexpensive to buy (1s. 6d.) and the information on flute technique was kept to a minimum. I have identified three versions of this text that appeared prior to Granom's *Instructions* (1766):

Text A) Those that are simply abbreviated versions of *Rudiments*

Text B) *Rudiments* revised, as published by Peter Simpson (c. 1755). This appears to be the first up-dated version of *Rudiments*. Fingerings are displayed in simple tablature up to g³ (or a³ in later editions) and enharmonic pairs are shown with the same fingering. Trill fingerings are displayed in chart form only in Richard Duke's publication (c. 1765). All texts regarding trills are derived from the general description of trills in *Rudiments*. Ornaments are limited to trills, slurs, the double relish and 'diminutive notes'. French articulation has been excised. There are added examples of beating time and rules for transposing music on account of 'tunes for the violin or hautboy being sometimes too low for the German Flute'.¹⁶⁰

¹⁵⁹ In the final section of the Preface in *Principes* (which was not translated for *Rudiments*) Hotteterre states, 'Au reste, je ne parle point ici de la valeur des Notes, ny la Mesure; Ce sont des choses qui appartiennent plutôt à un Traite de Musique, qu'à un Traite de Flute', which translates as 'I do not discuss here the value of notes or metre. These are things that belong to a treatise on music rather than to a treatise on the flute'.

¹⁶⁰ *Compleat Tutor for the German Flute*, (London: P. Thompson, c. 1755), p. 9.

Text C) *Rudiments* revised, as published by John Johnson (c. 1745). T. Warner suggests c. 1760 for this treatise without giving any reasons.¹⁶¹ Much of the text, including the examples for beating time and for transposing music, is identical to text B. New features include: ‘dodging notes’ (an exercise for playing octaves in tune), new examples for slides and port de voix, and trills shown with a single and a double relish. The beat (mordent) is described. Fingerings are shown to a³, which is common to publications from about 1760 onwards. It was this text that formed the basis of many of the anonymous tutors published after Granom’s *Instructions*.

In order to investigate what material was available to flute players prior to the publication of Granom’s *Instructions*, and to judge to what extent Granom’s ideas were original, the following secondary sources have been consulted:

- 1) RISM, B II, *Recueils imprimés XIIIe siècle* (Munich-Duisburg: G. Henle, 1964).
- 2) RISM, B VI, *Ecrits imprimés concernant la musique* (Munich-Duisburg: G. Henle, 1971).
- 3) Adrienne Simpson, ‘A Short-Title List of Printed English Instrumental Tutors up to 1800, held in British Libraries’, *RMA Research Chronicle*, 6 (1996), pp. 24–50.
- 4) *The British Union Catalogue of Early Music printed before the year 1801*, ed. Edith Schnapper (London: Butterworth’s Scientific Publications, 1957), 2 vols.
- 5) *The Catalogue of Printed Music in the British Library to 1980*, ed. Laureen Baillie (London, Munich, New York, Paris: K.G. Saur, 1984), 62 vols.
- 6) Thomas E. Warner, *An Annotated Bibliography of Woodwind Instruction Books, 1600–1830* (Detroit: Information coordinators, 1974).

¹⁶¹ Warner, *An Annotated Bibliography*, p. 24.

In the majority of cases the publication dates given in these volumes are not reliable, but comparing the publishers' addresses with the dates given in Smith and Humphries can provide an approximate guide.¹⁶² English flute treatises up to 1765 are shown below in Table 3.3. Dates for copies held in the British Library are from the British Library Catalogue. Those held elsewhere are taken from *RISM*. Re-issues and editions of previous tutors are indicated by both Simpson and Warner and this information is repeated in the absence of any other. Items listed in Warner's catalogue are identified by the letter W followed by the corresponding catalogue number. Warner does not identify later editions of a tutor as separate items but remarks on them in his commentary. Several editions may therefore have the same W number, unless there has been sufficient revision for a work to be regarded as different, or if a work has been republished under a different imprint.¹⁶³ Each series, such as the *Compleat Tutor* or *New Instructions*, contains very similar or even identical texts. Library sigla are those listed in *RISM–Bibliothekssigel* (Kassel, 1999). Incomplete copies are indicated with an asterisk*. The dagger sign (†) denotes that I have examined a copy of the treatise (the particular library copy is also indicated) and made comments accordingly.

¹⁶² Charles Humphries and William C. Smith, *Music Publishing in the British Isles*, second edition (Oxford: Blackwell, 1970).

¹⁶³ Warner, *An Annotated Bibliography*, p. xvi.

TABLE 3.3. *Extant English Flute Treatises to 1765*

Publication	Comments	Libraries
<i>The Rudiments or Principles of the German Flute.</i> (London: J. Walsh, 1729) It was announced on 25 October in the <i>Daily Post</i>	† W. 58 For contents, see table above.	GB-Ge, US-†Wc
<i>The Modern Musick Master</i> , compiled by P. Prelleur (London: at the Printing Office, Bow Church Yard, 1731) ¹⁶⁴	† W. 59 This version is referred to as Text A. <i>The Newest Method for Learners on the German Flute</i> is a slightly abridged version of <i>Rudiments</i> . The added information on notation, time signatures and tempos is very similar to the ‘Rules for Graces’ found in H. Purcell, <i>The Harpsichord Master</i> (1697).	GB-Ckc (2), Du, En, Ge, Gm*, †Lbl, Lcm, Lsc, Mp*, Ob, Oc, Ouf, WI US-Cn, NYp, Wc
<i>The Modern Musick Master</i> , compiled by P. Prelleur (London: W. Dicey & J. Simpson, c. 1742)	Another printing	GB-Cu, Lbl
<i>Compleat Tutor for the German Flute</i> , (London: H. Waylett, c. 1745)	† W. 73 Text A	GB-†LEc US Cn, Wc
<i>Compleat Tutor for the German Flute</i> , (London: J. Simpson, c. 1746)	† W. 76 Text A	GB †Lbl, Oc US-Wc
<i>The Compleat Master for the German Flute</i> (London: J. Tyther, c. 1750 Warner)	W. 83	US-Wc

¹⁶⁴ The publishers were Cluer & Dicey according to Hawkins, *A General History*, vol. 2, p. 896.

<i>The Muses Delight</i> , [a compilation] (Liverpool: J. Sadler, 1754)	† W. 88 Text A	GB -Bp, Eu, Ge, Gm, †Lbl, Lco, Mp, Wl IRL -Dn US -CA, NH,Wc
<i>The Muses Delight</i> (London: H. Purcell, 1754)	W. 88 Text A	GB -Lbl, Mp IRL -Dn
<i>Apollo's Cabinet: or The Muses Delight</i> (J. Sadler, Liverpool, 1756)	W. 88 A re-issue of <i>The Muses Delight</i> (1754)	GB -En (2), Lbl, LVp, Oc
<i>Apollo's Cabinet: or The Muses Delight</i> (J. Sadler, Liverpool, 1757)	W. 88 Another printing	GB -Ckc, Gm, Lbl*
<i>Apollo's Cabinet: or The Muses Delight</i> (Liverpool: J. Sadler, 1758)	W. 88 Another printing	GB -DU, Eu
<i>The Compleat Tutor: [The Muses Delight]</i> (Liverpool: J. Sadler, c.1760)	W. 88 Another printing	GB -Ckc
<i>Compleat Tutor for the German Flute</i> (London: P. Thompson, c. 1755, c. 1750 Warner)	† W. 81 This version is referred to as Text B.	GB -†Lbl (2 copies) US -Wc
<i>Compleat Tutor for the German Flute</i> (London: P. Thompson, c. 1755)	W. 89 Another issue	GB -Gm, Oc
<i>Compleat Tutor for the German Flute</i> (London: J. Johnson, c. 1745 [<i>RISM</i> c.1755; Warner suggests c.1760]).	† W. 96 This version is referred to as text C, see above.	GB -†Lbl US -Wc (2 similar editions with different tunes)

<i>Compleat Tutor for the German Flute</i> (London: Thompson and Son, c. 1760)	† W. 97 Text B with the fingering chart extended to a ³ .	GB-†Lbl (2 copies)
<i>Compleat Tutor for the German Flute</i> (Richard Duke, c. 1765)	† W. 105 Text B Identical to Thompson & Son c.1765 although the fingerings are displayed in four, rather than two, charts. The first chart shows naturals, the second shows trills for the naturals. Chromatic notes are shown in the third chart with trills for these notes up to c-sharp ³ in a fourth chart.	GB-†Lbl
<i>Compleat Tutor for the German Flute</i> (London: R. Bremner, c. 1765)	† W. 104 Text B	GB-†Er, P
<i>Compleat Tutor for the German Flute</i> (London: J. Fentum, c. 1765)	W 106	GB-Oc
<i>The Gentleman's Pocket Guide to the German Flute</i> (London: D. Rutherford, c. 1765)	† W. 110 Text B	GB-†Lbl
<i>Compleat Tutor for the German Flute</i> (London: M. Whittaker, c. 1765)	W. 109	US-Wc

That so many publications were based on Hotteterre for such a long time suggests an acceptance of at least some aspects of French performance practice until about the middle of the century. This could, however, be a false impression given by the lack of any alternative publications. While *The Muses Delight* or *Apollo's Cabinet* continued to repeat the contents of *Rudiments* into the 1750s, other publications dispensed with the particularly French aspects of *Rudiments* such as the *tu-ru* articulation syllables and *notes inégales*. Ornaments received varied treatment. Text B (Thompson, c. 1755) limited ornaments to brief examples of appoggiaturas and trills, but Text C (Johnson, c. 1745) contained new examples of port de voix and slides, and these

found their way into later texts after Granom. It should be considered, therefore, that they were authentic aspects of performance practice in England. They will be discussed in the next chapter.

Rudiments provided detailed descriptions of fingerings (with many alternatives) for chromatic notes up to g^3 with advice on how to manage the intonation for each note. Players were also encouraged to make differences of pitch for enharmonic notes, using special fingerings wherever possible. On the other hand, the fingering charts in versions B and C of the text showed a single fingering per note without further comment. In these updated texts enharmonic notes were given the same fingering, accompanied by the explanation that they were ‘both play’d the same way [... as] on the Harpsicord or Organ’.¹⁶⁵ Even so, there was still no authoritative treatise to take the place of *Rudiments*. It was not until 1766 that flute technique and performance practice in England was described in print by an established professional English player. Before we discuss Granom’s achievement in more detail, however, we need to appreciate the place of Granom’s *Instructions* in the context of other flute tutors in Europe.

FLUTE TUTORS PUBLISHED IN EUROPE

Hotteterre’s *Principes* was not only the starting point for flute pedagogy in England, but also in Europe. Translated into Dutch, it was published as *Grond-Beginselen Over de Behandeling van der Dwars-Fluit* (Amsterdam: Le Cene, 1728). It was also published under its original title but with a translation into German by H. J. Hellwig (Amsterdam: Roger, 1728). Table 3.4 shows the principal flute treatises published in Europe (excluding the translations of Hotteterre).

¹⁶⁵ *Compleat Tutor for the German Flute* (London: P. Thompson, c. 1755), p. 3.

TABLE 3.4. *Flute Treatises published in Europe in the Eighteenth Century*

Country	1700–1720	1721–40	1741–60	1761–80	1781–1800
France	J. Hotteterre <i>Principes de la flûte traversière</i> (Paris: C. Ballard, 1707)	M. Corrette, <i>Méthode pour apprendre aisément à jouer de la flûte traversière</i> (Paris: n.n., c.1735)	T. Bordet, <i>Méthode raisonné</i> (Paris: n.n., 1755) C. Delusse, <i>L'art de la flûte traversière</i> (Paris: for the author c.1760) A. Mahaut, <i>Nouvelle méthode pour apprendre en peu tems à jouer de la flûte traversière</i> (Paris: La Chevardière, 1759)	Mussard, <i>Nouveaux principes pour apprendre à jouer de la flûte Traversière</i> (Paris: for the author, 1778)	F. Devienne, <i>Nouvelle méthode théoretique et pratique pour la flûte</i> (Paris: Naderman, c.1792)
Netherlands			A. Mahaut, <i>Nieuwe Manier om binnen korten tyd op de Dwarsfluit te leeren speelen</i> (Amsterdam: J. J. Hummel, 1759)		
Germany			J. J. Quantz, <i>Versuch einer Anweisung die Flöte traversiere zu spielen</i> (Berlin: J. F. Voss, 1752)		J. G. Tromlitz, <i>Ausführlicher und gründlicher Unterricht die Flöte zu spielen</i> (Leipzig: A. F. Böhme, 1791)
England				L. Granom, <i>Plain and Easy Instructions for Playing on the</i>	

				<i>German Flute</i> (London: T. Bennett, 1766)	
Italy				A. Lorenzoni, <i>Saggio per ben sonare il flauto traverso</i> (Vicenza: F. Modena, 1779)	

Corrette (1709–1795) was an organist by profession and he wrote tutors for several instruments. His flute tutor is the first for the four-piece flute. While he endorses Hotteterre’s interpretation of ornaments, *tu-ru* articulation syllables are dismissed in favour of a simple tongue attack. The work concludes with some simple preludes.

Quantz (1697–1773) provides detailed examples of the use of the articulation syllables *ti*, *di*, *tiri*, *diri* and, for double tonguing, *did’ll*. He discusses breathing in quick passagework, essential ornaments (those indicated in the music) and advises on improvised ornaments. An adagio is described note by note in terms of musical expression and nuance. The fingering charts are for flutes with both d-sharp and e-flat keys.

Mahaut (c. 1720–c. 1785) was a Dutch flute player. His treatise was printed in both French and Dutch. In the introduction he states that the purpose of the book was to expand Hotteterre’s excellent principles and bring them up to date. The treatise is written concisely with a focus on fingerings, in particular an extensive choice of trill fingerings. Ornaments are explained simply and his brief remarks on articulation confirm that *tu* and *ru* had been abandoned. Double

tonguing is articulated as *Di Del*. The treatise concludes with duets suitable for flutes, violins or treble viols.

T. Bordet (1710–1775) produced a composite tutor for the flute, violin, viola and musette.

Beyond basic notation and rudiments of music little is discussed, rather it is illustrated, such as different slurring patterns. There is a flute fingering chart and some duets.

C. Delusse (c. 1720–1774) was a Parisian flute player and composer. His tutor consists mainly of music while much of the text taken from Geminiani's *A Treatise of Good Taste in the Art of Musick* (London: n.n., 1749). Articulation is illustrated by way of musical examples with syllables indicated as *tu hu*, with *loul* for the double tonguing. The music is noteworthy. There are twelve caprices written without time signatures or bar lines, presumably to suggest some flexibility in performance. They are of unprecedented difficulty and show Delusse to have been a formidable player.

Mussard is known only by his last name. His flute treatise begins with a few perfunctory remarks about blowing little changed from Hotteterre's *Principes* and an identical fingering chart to that found in Bordet's treatise. There is a selection of duets.

A. Lorenzoni is the author of the only eighteenth-century Italian tutor of significance for the Baroque flute. It consists of material borrowed from other authors with about a third from Quantz's *Versuch*.

J. G. Tromlitz (1725–1805) wrote primarily for the one-keyed flute, although he clearly approves of the additional keys and states that it is not possible to play in tune without at least both e-flat and d-sharp keys (as advocated by Quantz). The comprehensive discussion of articulation show that French-style tonguing syllables (*ta-ra*, *da-ra* and other permutations) were still in use in Germany at the end of the century. This is an extensive treatise which points to the keyed flute and virtuoso style of the nineteenth century.

F. Devienne (1759–1803) was one of the original professors of the flute when the Paris Conservatoire was founded in 1795. This is the last French tutor for the one-keyed flute. The written part of the treatise is very brief, with most aspects of flute technique illustrated in musical examples. Articulation is described as the equivalent to the bow strokes on the violin. The fingering charts are without any explanation or comment. Ornaments are limited to trills, appoggiaturas and turns, reflecting the taste of the Classical period. The majority of the work consists of tuneful duets.

There was a partial English translation of Quantz's *Versuch*, published as *Easy and Fundamental Instructions* (London: Welker, c. 1780). As is easily noted on reading this 32-page publication, there is no mention of the flute. It consists of an abridged version of chapters 13 (of extempore variations on simple intervals) and 15 (of cadenzas). It is presented as a general work for singers or instrumentalists 'translated from a famous Treatise on Music, written by John Joachim Quantz'. None of the other tutors in table 3.4 was translated into English in the eighteenth century.

CHAPTER 4

PLAIN AND EASY INSTRUCTIONS FOR PLAYING ON THE GERMAN FLUTE

CONTENTS

Granom's flute tutor was not only the first to be written for the flute in England by a named English author, it was also the first by a named English author for any woodwind instrument. The frontispiece announced that it was 'Publish'd according to Act of Parliament, 13th December 1766'. Granom's privilege, however, would have recently expired (29 November) opening the door to possible unauthorised 'borrowings' of his material, which is exactly what happened, particularly to the instructions on articulation (discussed below). He was no doubt well aware of this likely outcome (he had already experienced this with Simpson's editions of opp. 1, 2 and 3) and the prospect may have served to limit the scope and detail of his work. Designed for the complete beginner, *Instructions* explained the basic rudiments of music and various aspects of flute technique, and included exercises in virtually all keys. It is notable that whereas other treatises concluded with collections of popular tunes for a single unaccompanied flute, Granom chose to write 77 pages of duets for two flutes in a variety of styles, mostly in key signatures with no more than two sharps or two flats. While it was extremely unusual for such pieces to be composed specifically for inclusion in a treatise, all the musical examples in *Instructions* are apparently by Granom himself and, plausibly, reflect the material he used in his own teaching. In order to assess Granom's contribution, each topic in *Instructions* will be compared with the information given in *Rudiments* and the anonymous flute tutors. As stated on p. viii, the fourth edition of *Instructions* (1772) will be used for this purpose, unless otherwise stated.

Granom was familiar with the contents of treatises that had been in circulation for decades. He described their influence as having 'done more hurt [...] than even the corrupt

lessons given by ignorant professors'.¹⁶⁶ His experience of approximately 40 years and his listing in Mortimer's *Directory* (1763) would have given *Instructions* considerable authority. The layout and content of the work is modelled to a certain extent on *Rudiments*. Written as a continuous narrative, the contents are not separated into chapters but the topics are self-contained. Those marked * are directly related to flute technique and will be explored below. They comprise:

Embouchure and blowing*

Assembling and holding the flute*

Explanation of clefs and pitches

Fingerings*

Note lengths, rests, sharps, flats and other signs

Ornaments*

Double and triple tonguing*

Key signatures explained

32 preludes in 12 major keys and 10 minor keys*

Duets for two unaccompanied flutes, and solos with figured bass*

A dictionary of musical terms

An 18-page trill chart: the most detailed for the instrument in an eighteenth-century tutor.*

Granom assumed some techniques to be common knowledge, referring to them either briefly in passing, or not at all. Routine (single) tonguing is a case in point. Nowhere does Granom inform the reader what is required, although the technique can be inferred from his discussion. Likewise the sign for a slur is illustrated, but without any explanation of its significance.

¹⁶⁶Granom, 'Supplement' to third edition, p. 120.

Embouchure and Blowing

Whereas previous treatises described using the fully-assembled flute to try the first sounds (without closing any of the holes), Granom advised using only the head-joint until the embouchure was secure.¹⁶⁷ This suggestion simplified the process by avoiding any potential awkwardness arising from supporting the entire instrument, thereby allowing the player to concentrate on the task in hand. He expressed a new method of finding the optimum position for the flute on the lip:

Place the [... hole of your flute in the centre of your mouth; the upper part of the hole to the upper lip and the under part to the under lip, turning it gently, more or less from your upper lip until you can make it sound with ease. This you must do for some time (without adding ye other pieces to it).¹⁶⁸

He advised that a clear tone could only be achieved by focusing the breath through a small gap in the lips, warning that extraneous hissing noises would result if the embouchure was not sufficiently firm. Furthermore, he advised against blowing strongly; rather, the breath should be held back.¹⁶⁹

Establishing a reliable embouchure and a good sound was therefore, in Granom's opinion, not to be rushed. His concept of retaining the breath is particularly descriptive, and potentially more helpful than 'blow moderately' or 'blow down'.¹⁷⁰ Experimenting with the head-joint in the way he suggested would have given the beginner an opportunity to discover the variations of tone and pitch that were possible for a single note, depending on:

- a) Shape of the embouchure
- b) Degree of firmness of the embouchure

¹⁶⁷ This is a very different approach to Hotteterre *et al.*, where the starting points are holding the flute and posture.

¹⁶⁸ Granom, *Instructions*, p. 2.

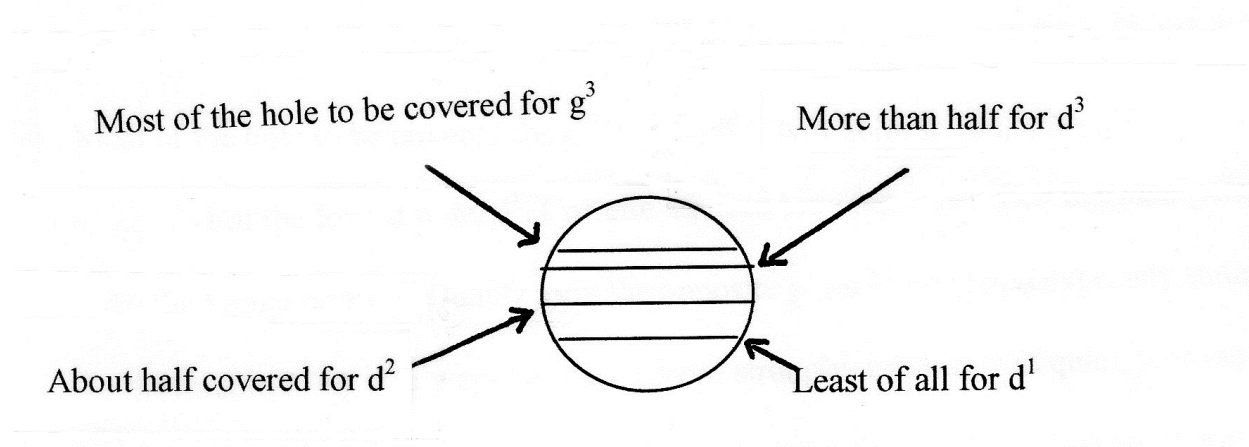
¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 2–3.

¹⁷⁰ 'Blow moderately' in *Rudiments*, p. 3. 'Blow down' in the *Compleat Tutor for the German Flute* (London: P. Thompson, c. 1755), p. 1.

- c) Amount of breath used
- d) A raised or lowered air stream
- e) The head-joint turned in or out
- f) A more or less covered embouchure hole

Quantz provided a diagram to show the optimum amount the embouchure hole should be covered for each octave.¹⁷¹ It has been enlarged for clarification and reproduced as Figure 4.1.

Fig. 4. 1. An illustration of the required coverage of the embouchure hole



This applies just as much to playing modern flutes as it does to the Baroque flute; however the embouchure holes are very different as shown in Figure 4.2 below.

¹⁷¹ Quantz, *On Playing the Flute*, p. 53.

Fig. 4. 2. Different embouchure holes



The head joint at the top of the picture is by Hotteterre (*c.* 1700). Its embouchure hole is rounder and slightly larger than that of the Stanesby Jnr (*c.* 1730) in the middle. The modern flute (*c.* 1990) has a considerably larger embouchure hole than either of the others, which contributes to its more powerful sound. There is little appreciable difference in the tone quality of the eighteenth-century instruments.

Practical experience reveals that a particularly flexible embouchure is needed in order to produce the full range of notes on Baroque flutes, for manoeuvring through passages of widely spaced notes (such as found in Granom's flute sonatas) and for playing the less stable notes in tune. Some of these wayward notes have forked fingerings and are naturally weak, such as f-natural (which is sharp in intonation), while others which although strong (not forked) still

require adjustment, such as f-sharp (which is flat). Control is achieved by lipping up or down, making a quicker or slower air stream or, as is frequently advised in *Rudiments*, turning the flute out or in. Each of these pairs of opposite actions has the effect of sharpening or flattening the pitch respectively. A crescendo and diminuendo on one note (the ornament known as the swell in English treatises) is one that Granom recommended for frequent use.¹⁷² In practice, compensation must be made for the automatic sharpening effect of the crescendo and the flattening effect of the diminuendo. Therefore, as the breath is increased for the crescendo the jaw must be moved back and the breath gradually directed downwards, while the flute is turned in as much as necessary. For the diminuendo the process is reversed. For notes that tend to be naturally either sharp or flat the process is more complex resulting in many instances in a more subtle effect.

To illustrate what was expected of flute players in this regard is the example of the artificial note c-sharp¹. Described as ‘the lowest note of all’ in *Rudiments*, it can only be played by lipping down d¹ ‘sufficiently to lower the sound by half a note [tone]’.¹⁷³ Granom evidently took it for granted that players of a certain standard would be able to play it, for c-sharp¹ appears several times in his flute sonatas, and in one instance the note is marked with a trill. In this instance, avoiding a glissando from the appoggiatura (d¹) to the trill as the flute is turned in requires an accuracy and control of the embouchure beyond what could be expected of beginners. It is hardly surprising that Granom does not mention this note in his treatise.

¹⁷² Granom, *Instructions*, p. 8.

¹⁷³ *Rudiments*, p. 12.

Assembling and Holding the Flute

Granom evidently considered that holding the flute correctly was so important that it was best to separate it from the process of attempting the first sounds. In this way it was possible for the beginner to concentrate on one aspect of playing at a time. Once the flute was assembled, having ensured that the embouchure hole was turned inwards and not in a direct line with the finger holes, the next step was to support it correctly. Granom made a crucial point about holding the flute. It should rest, ‘upon the third Joint of your [left] forefinger, embracing it with your thumb’.¹⁷⁴ Experience shows that if the flute does not ‘sit’ securely on this finger joint it will tend to slip, according to the activity of the fingers. Support from the thumb helps to keep it stable even when there are few fingers in use to provide extra balance. Granom described a relaxed position for the hands, with the fingers ‘lying easy’, curving them if necessary (the middle fingers particularly) so that the holes could be covered accurately using the fleshy part of the top of the finger. Any tension in the hands or fingers was to be avoided as it impeded dexterity. Previous advice on how to hold the instrument relied heavily on imitating the illustration of a flute player found usually as a frontispiece. Of these, the illustration found in *Rudiments* is the clearest by far, but still inadequate for the kind of detail required.

The purpose of Granom’s frontispiece was to show the upright stance that he favoured with the flute held almost straight. He reasoned that it would always be detrimental to the tone if the flute was allowed to slant too much and, in addition to making an unattractive sound, the player would also make an ‘ungraceful figure’.¹⁷⁵ There is also the consideration that bad posture hampers breathing, but Granom did not address this point in print.

¹⁷⁴ Granom, *Instructions*, p. 3.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid. It is notable that an elegant appearance was considered so desirable that it is this that is described first of all in *Rudiments*, p. 2.

Flutes and Fingerings

The fingerings notated and described so comprehensively by Jacques Hotteterre in *Rudiments* were evidently the result of a thorough exploration of all the possibilities. His account includes his own opinions and preferences, with the proviso that not all fingerings worked equally well on all instruments.¹⁷⁶ After all, each maker had his own preferences for the size, shape and position of the embouchure and finger holes, not to mention the variables in the dimensions of the bore. The four-joint instrument, which came into being in the 1720s, was slightly different in response. Working with shorter lengths of wood made it easier for makers to control precisely the degree of bore taper, which was greater than hitherto,¹⁷⁷ and consequently these instruments were freer and more secure in the high register than before, effectively extending the range of available notes, as reflected in fingering charts. In England, the first charts to extend to a³ were supplied in the *Compleat Tutor* published by J. Johnson (c. 1745), and Thompson & Son (c. 1760), but neither gives a fingering for g-sharp³, whereas Granom is complete to a-sharp³. All published fingering charts in England post-*Rudiments* were for the four-joint instrument. They invariably show only one fingering per note, each of them being among the many recommendations in *Rudiments*, and they presumably represented those most commonly used for the four-joint instruments made by English makers. For the amateur this would have appeared as a considerable simplification.

Granom recommended that a beginner should first learn the scale of D major.¹⁷⁸ Beginning with d¹, the lowest fingered note, Granom displayed each fingering in tablature beneath each note. All six open finger holes on the flute must be closed for d¹ (the seventh hole remains closed unless opened by depressing the key with the right little finger) and when each of

¹⁷⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷⁷ Ibid., p. 67.

¹⁷⁸ Granom, *Instructions*, p. 4.

the six fingers is lifted in turn a scale of D major emerges. This is the simplest sequence of notes to play although the f-sharps are too low without adjustment. Notes foreign to D major are produced by means of forked-fingerings (where holes are closed below open ones) and consequently the timbre of these notes is more clouded and the intonation less secure. Assuming that Granom followed this procedure with his own pupils (which is implied), playing the f-sharps in tune would necessarily have been part of this exercise. Next, Granom showed all the naturals ascending from d¹ to g³, thereby introducing f-natural, a note with a comparatively dull tone quality on account of its forked fingering. This note is also sharp in pitch, thus providing an opportunity to practise an adjustment in the opposite direction (from f-sharp). These idiosyncrasies of pitch are common to all one-keyed flutes and must be managed appropriately. As mentioned above, flattening a sharp note involves turning the flute inwards or, conversely, sharpening a flat note requires turning the flute outwards. These methods are recommended in *Rudiments* but they are not repeated in the *Compleat* series and neither does Granom mention how these wayward notes should be adjusted, although he made it plain that there were no excuses for out of tune playing:

Blowing the flute in Tune does not so much depend upon the Flute as on the Player: for a Performer who has a good Ear will play in Tune even on a very indifferent Instrument [...] since every note on the Flute may be blown either Sharper or Flatter [...] intonation totally depends upon the Ear of the Performer.¹⁷⁹

Granom's third fingering chart displays a chromatic scale from d¹ to a-sharp³ showing the same fingering for enharmonic notes and including alternatives for c², c³, and b-flat². Some of the many alternatives in *Rudiments* were specified for distinguishing between enharmonic notes

¹⁷⁹ Ibid., p. 16.

(such as f-sharp and g-flat). This practice was encouraged by Hotteterre even though he acknowledged that not everyone bothered to make the difference.¹⁸⁰

Granom first published his fingering chart in the 7th volume of his *Musical Miscellany* (July 1761). He advertised its significance in the press:

N.B. From the great Desire Mr. Granom has of rendering the German flute one of the most perfect, as well as the most agreeable Instrument yet known, has in this Number (over and above the usual quantity of Plates promised in this Work), given a true and perfect Scale of all the Flats, Sharps and Naturals used on the German flute whereby the meanest capacity may teach themselves, without the assistance of a Master; and those who have already learnt may thereby correct the Errors they have imbibed from bad Instructions. This scale is not only of the utmost importance to the playing Well and with Ease, but is vastly more extensive than any yet published.¹⁸¹

Granom's fingerings differ in only a few ways from those found in *Rudiments*, the main exceptions being those for f-natural³ and above, which were new. It must be expected that, just as now, professionals had their own personal solutions for awkward passages, particularly where fingering combinations required the negotiation of forked-fingered notes at high speed.

Alternative fingerings have a role in rendering these otherwise technically awkward passages less problematic. This may have been Granom's intention for giving ●●○|●●●○ as an option for b-flat².¹⁸² Appearing in *Rudiments* as a trill fingering, it would have proved more practical in some situations than the more usual ●○●|○●○●. For example, one of the two fingerings Granom gives for c³ is ○●○|●●●○ which, if combined with this 'alternative' way of playing b-flat² (●●○|●●●○) could be useful in passages involving these notes, or more generally when playing in key signatures with flats.

¹⁸⁰ *Rudiments*, p. 11. Hotteterre's fingering for g-flat is sharper than the usual fingering for f-sharp. M. Corrette reported that the practice of maintaining enharmonic differences in pitch was outdated, see *Méthode pour apprendre aisément à jouer de la Flute Traversière* (Paris: c. 1735); facsimile edition (Florence: Studio per editioni scelte, 1995), pp. 18–19. Quantz continued to recommend it, see *On Playing the Flute*, pp. 42–3.

¹⁸¹ *Public Advertiser*, 14 July 1761.

¹⁸² Granom, *Instructions*, pp. 4–5.

Granom's fingerings must be viewed in relation to the style of music that was being played. Italian instrumental music had caught the public imagination and it made considerable demands on the player. Continuous passagework comprising scales, leaps and broken chords needed to be negotiated accurately, and sometimes at high speed. Acquiring a reliable agility throughout the flute's compass would have been greatly assisted by 'helpful' fingerings. A comparison of Granom's fingerings with those in contemporary European treatises by Quantz (Berlin, 1752) and A. Mahaut (Paris, 1759) show that there was broad agreement, with minor differences for notes above f-natural³ possibly due to differences in the instruments themselves.¹⁸³

There were only two notable differences. Firstly, Granom did not use the standard fingering for c² (○●●|○○○●) given by Hotteterre, Quantz, Mahaut and found in all the *Compleat* series. Instead Granom took two of Hotteterre's common fingerings for c³ (○●○|●●○● and ○●○|●●●○) and showed that they could both also serve for c². Using the same fingering in different octaves could be an advantage in some situations and it could be that Granom considered that the common fingering for c² (○●●|○○○●) was too much like d³ (○●●|○○○○). Later authors J. Wragg (1792), John Gunn (c.1793) and Edward Miller (1799) also recommended ○●○|●●●○ for both c² and c³ in their fingering charts (for details of their publications see Table 4.2 below). Secondly, the fingering Granom gave for e-flat³ was ○●●|○●●○ and in this instance Granom differs from Quantz, Mahaut and other European sources. The common fingering given for this note in England found in *Rudiments* and in the anonymous tutors before Granom's *Instructions* was ●●●|○●●○ and it was this that was used by Quantz, Mahaut *et al.* With this fingering the note is

¹⁸³ Quantz, *On Playing the Flute*, pp. 42–3. Antoine Mahaut, *Nouvelle Méthode pour apprendre en peu de tems à jouer de la flûte traversière* (Paris: La Chevadière, 1759); trans. and ed. Eileen Hadidian as, *A New Method for playing the Transverse Flute by Antoine Mahaut* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1989), p. 7.

coloured with the sound of f-sharp; without the first finger the sound is more open and true. Perhaps it was Granom's sensibilities that led him to promote his fingering for this note. The only other source I have found with this fingering is the *Complete Tutor* (London: J. Johnson, c.1745).

Trills are given extensive coverage in *Rudiments* and much of this information was included in Prelleur's *Modern Music Master* (1731) along with a fingering chart. The only pre-Granom tutor in the *Compleat* series that I have found to include a trill chart was published by Richard Duke (c. 1765). It is limited, extending only to c-sharp³. However, the other volumes in the series described the manner of performance and specified a few of the fingerings. Similarly, fingerings for trills were neither explained nor illustrated in Granom's original text. The supplement to the third edition (c.1770) was explained thus:

It having been represented to Mr. Granom, by several Purchasers to his Book of Instructions, that they were very desirous of having a Scale or Method whereby they might know how to shake in the several Modes [keys] he has given them to play in; as they were (until the publication of this Book) totally ignorant that the German Flute was capable of playing with propriety or Ease in any other Mode than that of G and D.

Mr Granom, from a true sense of the Obligations he owes the Public, and out of Gratitude for their kind reception and the extensive sale of the above Book (notwithstanding the many malicious and malevolent Insinuations which were flung out Daily by some Music Sellers in order to depreciate from the merits of the above Work; fearing lest its success might totally extirpate the sale of their Eighteen penny books of Instructions, which have done more hurt in the progress of the above Instrument than even the corrupt Lessons given by Ignorant Professors) hath, as well in regard to the aforesaid request, as the ardent desire he ever had to render that delightful Instrument more universal, and consequently more in Esteem, comply'd with their desires; and hopes in such a manner as may give a general satisfaction, as such a scale has never been communicated to the Public.¹⁸⁴

Each trill is displayed in the same three-part format that Granom used to describe them in the main part of the text: with a preparative note, shake and a resolution (see 'shakes' below). Rather than providing a simple trill chart in tablature, as was common practice, he used a series of

¹⁸⁴ Granom, *Instructions*, third edition (c. 1770), p. 120.

ascending major and minor scales with a trill on each degree of each scale.¹⁸⁵ Given the degree of repetition, this might have appeared rather long winded (taking up 18 pages), but the text makes it plain that maximum clarity was the aim.

While the normal fingering was used for the upper-note appoggiatura, many trills could not be fingered directly but could only be produced as the result of a compromise. In some cases the only way to distinguish between semitone and whole tone trills depended on lifting the trilling finger to the appropriate height. For example, in the case of c-sharp to b-natural the trilling finger should be lifted high so it is not confused with c-natural to b-natural, whereas from b-flat to a-natural the trilling finger should not stray far from the hole or it will sound as b-natural to a-natural. Adjustments of the embouchure and moderation of the breath are further skills associated with trills, so practising them in relation to a particular key would have allowed for these specific techniques to become the focus of the exercise. Relating trills to a given key is a perfectly sensible, methodical approach and, arguably, allows for a more thorough and accurate study than learning each one piecemeal, as they arise in the context of a piece of music. It is entirely plausible that Granom instructed his pupils to practise trills in this systematic way.

Articulation

The use of paired syllables for the articulation of woodwind instruments goes back to the sixteenth century and this practice was evidently transferred to the new 'Baroque' instruments.¹⁸⁶ Hotteterre prescribed *tu* as the main articulation syllable, alternating with *ru* in particular circumstances:

¹⁸⁵ Ibid, pp. 121–38. Only the following minor scales are excluded: c-sharp, f-sharp and b-flat.

¹⁸⁶ Bruce Dickey and David Lasocki, 'Tonguing', *New Grove* (2001), vol. 21, 600–2. See also Raymond Meylan, *The Flute* (London: Batsford, 1988), pp. 75–8 and Bruce Haynes, 'Tu ru or Not tu ru: Paired Symbols and Unequal Tonguing Patterns on Woodwinds in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries', *PPR*, 10 (1997), 41–60.

To render the playing more agreeable, and to avoid too great a uniformity in tonguing, 'twill be proper to vary it after different manners, as for example, we use two principal articulations viz. Tu and Ru.¹⁸⁷

This was linked with the practice of *notes inégales* in which *tu-ru* produced a cross-beat effect with the placing of *ru* on the longer note on the metrical beat.¹⁸⁸ No doubt the first foreign flute players disseminated this practice in England at the beginning of the eighteenth century. It is not clear whether English recorder players were familiar with *notes inégales* or *tu-ru* articulations, but neither practice was discussed in recorder treatises. Whether or not *notes inégales* could be appropriate for any of Granom's pieces will be discussed later.

In France, paired syllables were out of favour by about 1735. Corrette referred to them as 'une chose absurde',¹⁸⁹ and in 1759 Mahaut provided the following explanation:

Formerly tongued articulation used the syllables *tu* and *ru*, which were sufficient for the music of earlier times, when notes were nearly always grouped in pairs. It is no longer the same with modern music, which requires different kinds of articulation to express slurred and detached notes. Each player should attempt to develop the most precise articulation possible, according to his natural ability, without worrying too much about various syllables.¹⁹⁰

As we have seen, Hotteterre's text with its *tu-ru* articulations was repeatedly published in England up to the late 1750s, latterly under the title *The Muses Delight*. It was about 1755 that Thompson's revised version of the text appeared (Text B), which made no mention of them. It is curious that so little was said in any English flute tutor on the subject of routine articulation (single tonguing). The basic requirement to start each note with a tongue stroke appears to have been taken for granted, as though it were common knowledge. It has a passing mention in *Rudiments*, somewhat in the manner of an afterthought. Having begun a detailed description of fingerings, Hotteterre broke off to add that 'you must strike every note with the tongue, as if you

¹⁸⁷ Hotteterre, *Principes*, p. 23; *Rudiments*, p. 16.

¹⁸⁸ Hotteterre, *Principes*, pp. 22–9; *Rudiments*, pp. 16–21.

¹⁸⁹ Corrette, *Méthode*, facsimile edition, p. 20.

¹⁹⁰ Mahaut, *Nouvelle Méthode*, Hadidian edition, p. 21.

pronounced the syllable *tu*'.¹⁹¹ Even this brief reference was omitted from the *Compleat* series (Text B: P. Thompson, c. 1755 *et al.* and Text C: J. Johnson, c. 1745 *et al.*). The only mention of articulation in these volumes occurs in association with the slur, where the action is described as 'pronouncing only the first of them [the first note] with the tongue'.¹⁹² Even Granom neglects to mention it, although it can be inferred from his instructions on double tonguing that his basic tongue stroke was '*too*' (cf. 'tootle-too' below). What no one could mistake was the importance that Granom attached to clean articulation:

Whoever does not articulate distinctly every Note of an Allegro, or quick movement, but Slurs and Slobbers them over, cannot be looked upon as a Player.¹⁹³

In order to play extended passages of quick notes, alternating tongue strokes were necessary. The preface to Edward Miller's *Six Solos for a German Flute* (London: John Johnson, 1761) contains a reference to 'an invention [...] which the French call *le double coup de langue*'.¹⁹⁴ He also supplied a brief description using the syllables 'tut-tle' with musical examples, which are similar to those provided by Mahaut.¹⁹⁵ This is the earliest mention of double tonguing in a printed English source.

While Miller (like Mahaut) gave a simple illustration of double tonguing, Granom provided a detailed and systematic approach to acquiring the technique. He also reconsidered his first ideas on this topic, contained in the first edition of *Instructions*, and subsequently expanded

¹⁹¹ Ibid., p. 5.

¹⁹² *Compleat Tutor for the German Flute* (London: P. Thompson, c. 1755), p. 6.

¹⁹³ Granom, *Instructions*, p. 16.

¹⁹⁴ The title page of Miller's *Solos* was originally to include *Hautboy or Violin* according to an advertisement in the *Norwich Mercury* (20 June 1761), but they were dropped prior to publication.

¹⁹⁵ Mahaut, *Nouvelle Méthode*, Hadidian edition, p. 21. Every practitioner had their favourite articulation syllables; Mahaut used 'di-del'.

them with an extra page of examples and observations.¹⁹⁶ He recommended that the flute should not be used at all to start with. Instead, one should simply practice,

the action and reaction of the Tongue against the roof of your Mouth, pronouncing the Words toot-tle, toot-tle, toot-tle to yourself.¹⁹⁷

The next step was to try this using the head joint only, taking care to ensure that the embouchure was secure and the tone quality was maintained. Only when this could be done satisfactorily should the instrument be fully assembled and the technique practised, firstly by repeating notes on one pitch and then trying a different note for each syllable. Triple tonguing was not so named but it was explained nonetheless and the three syllables specified were ‘*toot-tle too*’. Granom then provided two final ‘lessons’ for further practice once all the previous stages had been mastered: the first for double tonguing, the second for triple tonguing.

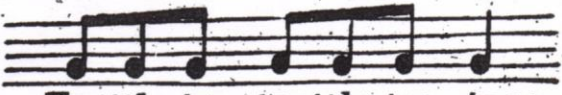
Granom’s approach was completely new. He took the double tonguing technique and broke it down into separate steps. He showed how each stage should be practised, advised what the main things were to look out for (clarity of sound on all syllables) and warned what the pitfalls might be (co-ordinating tongue and fingers).¹⁹⁸ Not surprisingly, Granom’s double tonguing instructions (the revised version) were subsequently to be found in many other flute treatises. The first case was in the *Compleat Tutor* published by T. Cahusac. Dates for this volume are repeatedly given in library catalogues as 1766, but this cannot be so because it post-dates *Instructions*. Granom described the articulation of a passage in compound time thus:¹⁹⁹

¹⁹⁶ These revisions are included in the third edition (c. 1770) and fourth edition (1772) and may have also been in the second edition (1768), which, as far as I am aware, is no longer extant.

¹⁹⁷ Granom, *Instructions*, p. 13.

¹⁹⁸ Ibid., pp. 13–14.

¹⁹⁹ Ibid., p. 14.

We have but one more Observation to make, which (we hope) will complete the Pupil in the thorough knowledge of the double Tongue, which is, that, in the second Bar of the second Lesson, you will see six Quavers and a Crotchet, which must be expressed in the following manner; thus,  The method of playing the above Toottle too, toottle too, too; three Notes, must be used in all Gigs, and wheresoever they are intended to be play'd in the time of one, be they Crotchets, Quavers, or Seme-quavers.

In Cahusac's publication the words 'method of playing the above' are omitted. It is easy to see how this could have happened given the arrangement of the words on the page. It does mean that there can be no doubt at all that Cahusac post-dates Granom. Moreover, all subsequent 'borrowings' repeat this flawed version of the text exactly as it appears in Cahusac's publication. Ironically, at the end of the century Miller included an abbreviated version of this portion of Granom's text in his own treatise.²⁰⁰

Ornaments

'They are essential to a performer who would execute a piece of Music with Elegance and Taste'²⁰¹

The appropriate use of ornaments contributed in no small part to the elegance and good taste that were considered highly desirable in eighteenth-century performance. Basic instructions for them were found in all woodwind tutors from the earliest publications, although the selection of them was inconsistent and the realisations did not always agree. Not all authors were as comprehensive on this topic as Purcell, so he will be referred to below as a yardstick of English

²⁰⁰ Edward Miller, *The New Flute Instructor* (Broderip & Wilkinson, 1799), p. 13.

²⁰¹ Granom, *Instructions*, p. 8.

practice when necessary. *The Harpsichord Master* (London: John Walsh, 1697) turned out to be a particularly influential work (the thirteenth edition appeared in 1728).²⁰² According to the title page it was written by

the late famous Mr H. Purcell at the request of a particular friend, and taken from his owne manuscript, never before publish't.²⁰³

In spite of the popularity of *The Harpsichord Master* there is no evidence that the information from Purcell's explanation of ornaments was included in any woodwind treatise.

Shakes and slurs were ubiquitous and all sources agreed on the realisation of these graces. Recorder treatises also included information on the sweetening (see *flattement* below), the sigh (the French *accent*) and the double relish (see trills below), along with the conventions when they should be applied, but they omit the 'beat' (mordent). Oboists were given information on the beat which, readers were informed, began with the main note. Violinists, on the other hand, were instructed to begin a beat with the lower auxiliary.²⁰⁴ Geminiani was an exception for he started the beat on the main note. Some of his ideas will feature below. It is clear that the various writers of the original texts of the anonymous tutors did not concur on this subject and, in the absence of any updating or editing, these differences were sustained through later editions for many decades.

Rudiments contained those ornaments which Hotteterre considered appropriate for the flute in the context of performance practice in France at the beginning of the century. As such it was an unusual source for English flute tutors, but nevertheless all the French ornaments were

²⁰² A discussion of this source in the light of modern scholarship begins on p. 90 of this thesis.

²⁰³ H. Purcell, *The Harpsichord Master* (London: Walsh, 1697); facsimile edition, (London and Wellington, NZ: Price Milburn Music, 1980).

²⁰⁴ See *Fifth Book of the New Flute Master* (London: Walsh, 1706), pp. 4–6; *Compleat Tutor to the Hautboy* (London: Walsh, 1715), p.8; 'Directions for playing on the violin' in *The Compleat Musick-Master* (London: W. Pearson, 1722), p. 41. This same text is repeated in *Compleat Tutor for the Violin* (London: J. Simpson, 1746) and in *The Art of playing the Violin* (London: D. Rutherford, c.1755), p. 7. Ornaments for oboists in the *Compleat Musick-Master* were identical to those for the violin, so in this tutor alone oboists were encouraged to begin a beat with the lower auxiliary.

retained in Text A. Table 4.1 lists the ornaments described in each of the three revised versions of *Rudiments* as well as those found in Granom's *Instructions*.

TABLE 4.1. *The Ornaments discussed in English Flute Tutors 1729–1766*

Ornament	Text A (those based on <i>Rudiments</i>)	Text B (London: P. Thompson c. 1755)	Text C (London: J. Johnson c. 1745)	Granom
Shake	✓	✓	✓	✓
Slur	✓	✓	✓	✓
Beat	✓	—	✓	✓
Diminutive notes	—	✓	—	—
Single relish	—	—	✓	—
Double relish	—	✓	✓	—
Double cadence	✓	—	—	—
Swell	—	—	—	✓
Port de voix	✓	—	✓	—
Slide	✓	—	✓	—
Accent	✓	—	—	—
Softening	✓	—	—	—
Appoggiatura	—	—	—	✓

An examination of these (and other) texts may indicate how ornaments evolved in English practice and how Granom's instructions compared with them. To this end, each type of ornament will be examined in turn.

The Shake

Purcell illustrated shakes, marked with the sign //, beginning on the metrical beat with the upper note.²⁰⁵ The same sign was used in early eighteenth-century English woodwind treatises until the 1740s when *tr* was introduced as an alternative.²⁰⁶ Flute sonatas published by Walsh from the 1720s used *tr* for trills.²⁰⁷ Hotteterre's original + was changed to *t* for readers of *Rudiments*, and this eventually became *tr* in the plagiarised volumes of the *Compleat* series.²⁰⁸ Texts B and C (first published by P. Thompson, c. 1755, and J. Johnson c. 1745, respectively) emphasized the importance of what they now termed 'a trill, commonly called a shake', as 'the Principal ornament or Grace'.²⁰⁹ Nevertheless, the accompanying explanation was rather perfunctory; selected fingerings were given in the text and the upper-note start stipulated, but there was no advice as to the relative length of this note.

The trill-fingering charts in *Rudiments* showed the upper auxiliary taking half the length of the main note and a slur connecting them. Hotteterre's text makes it clear that this notation was deliberate:

You must not press the shaking too quick, but rather suspend it about half the value or measure of the Note, especially in grave movements, as I show in the scale of shakes.²¹⁰

Granom notated trills in just these proportions. His term for the upper note was the 'preparative note', which

in order to render the Shake more Elegant, must be dwelt upon as long as the time of the Piece of Music you are performing will admit.²¹¹

²⁰⁵ Purcell, *The Harpsichord Master*, facsimile edition, 'Rules for Graces'.

²⁰⁶ // was used as the sign for a shake in the *Fifth Book of the New Flute Master*, p. 4. Both // and *tr* are found in the *Compleat Tutor for the Hautboy* (London: J. Simpson, c. 1745), p. 7.

²⁰⁷ There are no trills marked in C. Schickhard's sonatas op. 20 (London: Walsh, 1718). In T. Roseingrave's flute sonatas (London: B. Cooke, 1728) *t* is used to indicate trills.

²⁰⁸ *Rudiments*, p. 20. Hotteterre, *Principes*, p. 28.

²⁰⁹ *Compleat Tutor for the German Flute* (London: P. Thompson, c. 1755), p. 6.

²¹⁰ *Rudiments*, p. 8.

²¹¹ Granom, *Instructions*, p. 9.

Opportunities for lingering on the upper note were more frequently to be found in slow movements, but as for the trill itself, Granom advised that it should start at full speed:

The two Notes [...] must be put into motion, as fast as possible, but not so fast as to hinder the Ear from distinguishing the two sounds distinctly.²¹²

An interesting distinction between the French and Italian manner of performing trills was drawn by Mahaut in 1759:

The French sustain the borrowed note before the trill and accelerate the beats towards the end of the ornament. The Italians on the other hand do not sustain the borrowed note and play the beats at the same speed throughout.²¹³

French Style



Italian Style



According to this description, Granom's trill combines elements of both styles beginning in the French manner (prolonging the 'preparative note') and continuing in Italian style (at a fast, uniform speed) as shown in example 4.1.

²¹² Ibid.

²¹³ Mahaut, *Nouvelle Méthode*, Hadidian edition, p. 10. As Hadidian points out, Quantz describes different ways of performing trills but he does not suggest any national preferences, p. 71. Mahaut's example of a French trill is taken from Corrette, *Méthode*, facsimile edition, p. 22.

Ex. 4.1. Granom's 'Shake on D'



Although notation is necessarily exact, Granom's lack of time signature, the choice of note values and the stipulation that the preparative note should be prolonged, suggest that he favoured some flexibility in performance as long as the overall structure of the ornament was maintained. Wherever possible, the trill should have a 'resolution'.

At the end of every Shake, there must be two Notes added to it, and, as D is the Note here to shake on, C and D must be heard distinctly and clearly at the end of the shake, and even somewhat slower than the Shake itself.²¹⁴

Granom's three-part prescription (preparative note, trill, resolution) allowed the performer a great deal of freedom in pieces in a slow tempo where, in some cases, the preparative note could be dwelt on for longer than half the written length of the note. Exceptions had to be made when the two notes that followed the resolution happened to be the same as those of the resolution itself. In such a case Granom stated that the trill should not be resolved as it would be a musical 'tautology'.²¹⁵

Trills within a melodic line in a 'somewhat fast' tempo should also be played without a resolution. The following illustration shows trills in a descending diatonic progression. Here the trilled note 'must immediately descend to the next Note, as in the following example'.²¹⁶

²¹⁴ Granom, *Instructions*, p. 9.

²¹⁵ Ibid.

²¹⁶ Ibid., p. 10.

Ex. 4.2. Granom, trills without resolution



How many times the alternations could be made between the main note and its upper auxiliary would be determined by the tempo. Hotteterre's advice that 'the fewest beats you can well give with your finger are three' may not have been applicable to some of the contexts in which Granom placed trills, such as that shown above in example 4.2.²¹⁷

Trills 'with resolution' were generally termed 'double relish' in both the flute and recorder tutors of the *Compleat* series. This term was used at the beginning of the century for an ornament which was used whenever three crotchets ascended in conjunct motion. It was common practice to divide the second of these crotchets 'into a quaver and two semiquavers slurred' and, as shown in example 4.3 below, the quaver should be 'shook'.²¹⁸

Ex. 4.3. D is 'double relish't'



This is very similar to the illustration of the 'double cadence' found in *Rudiments* which shows just the same ascending motion as described above, the only difference is that the resolution is shown both tongued and slurred as illustrated in example 4.4.²¹⁹

²¹⁷ *Rudiments*, p. 8.

²¹⁸ *Fifth Book of the New Flute Master*, p. 5.

²¹⁹ *Rudiments*, p. 21.

Ex. 4.4. Hotteterre, ‘Double Cadence’



An alternative version appeared in some flute texts (J. Johnson’s publication of Text C, c. 1745, and those based on it). Here the ornament was taken out of the original context of ascending notes and the trill prefixed with the same two notes that formed the ‘resolution’. The term ‘double relish’ was then transferred to this version, with the original interpretation demoted to a ‘single relish’ as shown in example 4.5.²²⁰

Ex. 4.5. Single Relish



Double Relish



Granom’s ‘double shake’ would appear to be an extended version of the double relish. He described it as a combination of both the beat (this will be discussed below) and the shake, the notation for which implies acceleration towards the resolution. He commented that:

[It] has a most admirable effect; but must be used sparingly.²²¹

²²⁰ *Compleat Tutor for the German Flute* (London: J. Johnson, c.1745), p. 13. In text B this was termed a ‘double relish’, see *Compleat Tutor for the German Flute* (London: P. Thompson, c. 1755), p. 7.

²²¹ Granom, *Instructions*, p. 11.

‘Double shake of A’



In fact, given the time required for even the briefest rendition, opportunities for its use may have arisen only occasionally.

Granom provided the first clear examples and explanations of the performance of trills in any English woodwind treatise. They continue in the tradition going back to Purcell and show that the upper note may be prolonged where appropriate. They also demonstrate an overall consensus in the performance of trills from early eighteenth-century France to England in the 1760s. All the same, Granom disagreed strongly with the Italian immigrant F. Geminiani (1687–1762) on this subject. Geminiani, who lived in London from 1714, described the two notes at the end of a trill a ‘turn’ and illustrated trills without any prolongation of the upper note, as can be seen in example 4.6.²²²

Ex.4.6. Geminiani, ‘Plain shake and Turn’d shake’



Granom did not find this at all satisfactory. While not referring to Geminiani by name he remarked that:

A late Author, who has attempted to be clear in these points, in an Essay, intituled [sic] a Treatise on good Taste in the Art of Music, calls the two last Notes, above mentioned, a

²²² F. Geminiani, *A Treatise of Good Taste in the Art of Musick* (London: n.n., 1749), ‘Examples’; facsimile edition (Huntingdon: King’s Music, n.d.), no pagination.

Turn; but, as there may be many sorts of Turns put at the end of a Shake, it does not convey any determinate Idea of what is meant by that Term, therefore, by substituting the Word Resolution to the two last Notes of a Shake, the Idea will be ascertained.²²³

Geminiani's method of indicating a trill of the same type as Granom's 'Shake on D' is illustrated in his examples to show 'how several of the elements may be performed on one crotchet'.²²⁴

Ex. 4.7. Geminiani, trill with preparatory note and resolution



It could be argued that this trill is quite fussily illustrated. Each component has its own symbol which needs individual interpretation so that an appreciation of the ornament as a single entity could perhaps be lost. Furthermore, a comparison with the illustration of the 'turn'd shake' shown above reveals an inconsistency. A turned shake, like any other, should begin with the upper auxiliary, but as this is already notated the meaning of the symbol has to change.

The Appoggiatura

The term 'appoggiatura' does not appear in any of the anonymous flute treatises prior to Granom's *Instructions*.²²⁵ It was the French term 'port de voix' that was retained in *Rudiments* and used in some texts of the *Compleat* series (namely text A, first published by Prelleur, 1731 and Text C, first published by Johnson, c. 1745) and the ornament illustrated in the associated musical examples is of a very specific type, as will be shown below.

²²³ Granom, *Instructions*, p. 9.

²²⁴ Geminiani, *A Treatise of Good Taste*, facsimile edition, 'Examples'.

²²⁵ To my knowledge it does not appear in any English woodwind treatise prior to this date (1766).

Descriptions of single-note graces that ascend or descend from a tone or semitone above or below the main note were made by Thomas Mace (1676) and Henry Purcell. From their evidence it is clear that whether the ornament ascended (a fore-fall) or descended (a back-fall) it was played in place of the main note (that is, on the metrical beat). Purcell showed this by illustration as shown in example 4.8.²²⁶

Ex.4.8. Purcell, Forefall



Purcell, Backfall



Given that this was the prevailing English tradition it is tempting to speculate how Hotteterre's instructions might have been interpreted by readers of *Rudiments*. A passing reference in the text named the upper auxiliary to a trill as a *port de voix* and, as seen above, these were consistently notated on the metrical beat.²²⁷ In another context, however, the commentary and musical example of this ornament concerned only the lower auxiliary and the information given regarding performance was ambiguous.

Port-de-voix est un coup de Langue anticipé d'un degre, au-dessous de la Note sur laquelle on le veut faire [...] Ces petites Notes qui marquent les ports-de-voix [...] ne sont competées pour rien dans la Mesure; on les articule neanmoins, & on coule les notes principales. Souvent on joint les Battements avec les Ports de voix.²²⁸

²²⁶ Thomas Mace, *Musick's Monument* (London: for the author, 1676); facsimile edition (New York: Broude Brothers, 1966), pp. 104–5; Purcell, *The Harpsichord Master*, facsimile edition, 'Rules for Graces'.

²²⁷ Hotteterre, *Principes*, p. 17. *Rudiments*, p. 12. For the vocal origins of this ornament see Frederick Neumann, *Ornamentation in Baroque and Post-Baroque Music* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1978), p. 49.

²²⁸ Hotteterre, *Principes*, p. 28.

The port de voix is a tipping with the Tongue, anticipated by one Note below the Note on which we design to make it. These little Notes which denote the Port de Voix [...] are counted as nothing in the time, you Tongue them nevertheless and slide [slur] the principal Notes. We often joyn a beat with the port de voix.²²⁹

A mistranslation of ‘coule’ in the penultimate sentence in *Rudiments* resulted in the use of the word ‘slide’ instead of ‘slur’. I am not aware that this has been remarked on before. The accompanying musical example is shown below.

Hotteterre’s *port de voix*



Precise details of interpretation are not apparent from this illustration. The length of the ornament is unclear, and its position relative to the metrical beat is not defined. However, it is marked at the beginning of the second and third bars, implying on-beat placement, and if the example of the upper note to a trill is taken as a precedent, there is reason to suppose that the ascending *port de voix* would also have been played as an on-beat ornament. The example given by Corrette in his treatise (which was not published in England) appears to support this view (example 4.9 below), particularly in the third and fourth bars.²³⁰

²²⁹ *Rudiments*, p. 21. In *Principes*, signs for mordents were indicated thus: **I** over the last dotted crotchet and the semibreve. They were omitted in *Rudiments*.

²³⁰ Corrette, *Méthode*, facsimile edition, p. 34.

Ex. 4.9. Corrette, *port de voix*

The *port de voix* was included in text C of the *Compleat* series (first published by Johnson, c. 1745). The explanation and musical example are shown below.

Ex. 4.10. Hotteterre, *port de voix*

A Port de Voix is a tipping with the Tongue, anticipated by one Note below, or one Note above that on which 'tis made; and blown or held almost as long as the Note to which it belongs.²³¹



Identical instructions for this ornament appeared in later versions of the *Compleat* tutors published after Granom's *Instructions*: T. Cahusac (c. 1766) and C. & S. Thompson (c. 1770). In *New Instructions* published by Longman, Lukey & Co. (c. 1775) the first two bars of the above example are quoted and a realisation added. Moreover, examples of appoggiaturas are shown as well.²³²

Ex. 4.11. Port de voix and appoggiaturas in *New Instructions* (c. 1775)

²³¹ *Compleat Tutor for the German Flute* (London: J. Johnson, c. 1745), p. 13.

²³² *New Instructions for the German Flute* (London: Longman, Lukey & Co, c. 1775), p. 11.

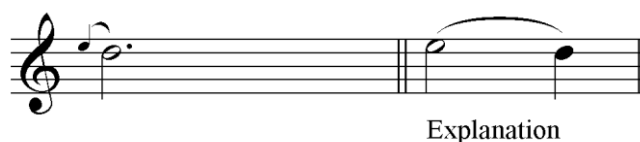
Appoggiaturas



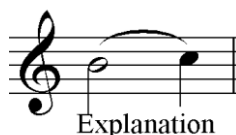
A comparison with Purcell's forefall (example 4.8 above) shows that the *port de voix* got longer over time. It is also clear that the *port de voix* is shown as an ornament that repeats the previous pitch and ascends to a resolution, while the implication for appoggiaturas is that the context is not relevant. These examples show a clear distinction between these ornaments.

Granom used the term 'appoggiatura' exclusively for an ornament played on the metrical beat: it could be long or short, and was taken from a tone or semitone above, or below, the main note. The 'greater appoggiatura' was appropriate for slow movements where,

[It] must be dwelt upon two thirds of the Note it belongs to, observing to swell the sound by degrees, as in the example following.²³³



The Appoggiatura is also placed under a Note, so as to rise up to it.



Since there are no examples in duple time, it is not clear how Granom might have interpreted them. The logical conclusion is that they were held for half the value of the note at least, bearing other musical considerations, such as the indicated harmony, in mind.

²³³ Granom, *Instructions*, p. 11.

The only ornament of this sort mentioned for the flute in the *Compleat* series was in the B version of the text (first published by Thompson, c.1755). ‘Diminutive’ notes were described as follows:

A Diminutive Note is set before a real Note and is only meant to prepare that real Note, and not reckon’d into the Time.²³⁴



Granom’s term for a short grace note of this sort was ‘lesser appoggiatura’:

[It] is most commonly used in quick movements, or where a Note is to be dwelt upon at the beginning of a piece of Music, in order to take off that harsh and abrupt falling upon a Note, which renders the first opening, or proffering of a piece of Music rude and uncouth to the Ear, and gives those who attend or listen to your performance a mean opinion of your judgment and taste. This appoggiatura must be slurred immediately into the Note it belongs to and must seem as one Note.²³⁵



Geminiani comes in for criticism again; specifically with regard to his comment that the ‘superior’ (descending) appoggiatura ‘may be added to any note you will’.²³⁶ Granom took issue with this and made the point that there are circumstances when this is just not possible:

Among all the Graces and Embellishments, which the Science of Music has been productive of, we meet with none so universally approved of, and so frequently used, as the Appoggiatura. It claims the sole privilege of being heard often without tiring the Ear; but at the same time, ’tis not to go beyond the limits prescribed by Professors of true Taste and Judgement, nor can it be added to any Note, as the aforementioned Author [Geminiani] in his Treatise affirms. For example, from F, G, A, C, and D, you cannot rise gradually with an Appoggiatura by Semitones, when any of the aforesaid Tones [notes] have Sharps annexed to them. [Thus: in the key of d major, you cannot rise from f-natural

²³⁴ *Compleat Tutor for the German Flute* (London: Thompson & Son, c. 1760), p. 6.

²³⁵ Granom, *Instructions*, p. 12.

²³⁶ Geminiani, *A Treatise of Good Taste*, facsimile edition, p. 2.

to f-sharp; in e major, from g-natural to g-sharp, etc]; and two subsequent [consecutive?] appoggiaturas cannot pass gradually by semitones from one Tone [note] to another. [Thus in C major, you cannot rise from b to c, and then c-sharp to d]. Consequently where the appoggiatura cannot ascend, it cannot descend.²³⁷

This could be thought of as rather pedantic on Granom's part; nevertheless it can also be taken as a testament to his analytical approach, his clarity of thought and a desire to be as unambiguous as possible.

Geminiani's text was a little vague. It described the length of the appoggiatura as either 'pretty long' by which was meant more than half the length of the main note, or 'short'.²³⁸ His illustration of the 'superior' appoggiatura (example 4.12) shows it taking most of the value of the main note.

Ex. 4.12. Geminiani, Superior Appoggiatura



The length of the long, variable appoggiatura depended largely on the context, and relied on the good taste of the performer, so any description could only be given in general terms. Geminiani may have been the first to write about appoggiaturas in an eighteenth-century English instrumental treatise, making it the only text of any authority that Granom had to compare with his own experience and practice. It seems remarkable if that was the case, for a description of the ornament would have been highly relevant to the performance of many of the flute sonatas in circulation from the 1720s, including Granom's own.

²³⁷ Granom, *Instructions*, p. 12.

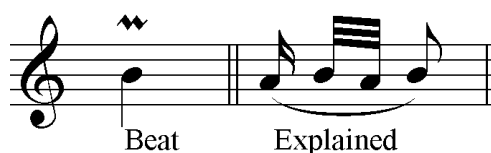
²³⁸ Geminiani, *A Treatise of Good Taste*, facsimile edition, p. 2.

There is a sense that the *port de voix* had a special place in French music. As we have seen, one of its characteristics is that it repeats the pitch of the preceding note, and this note is one step below the main note. It is not quite the same as the old English fore-fall. The illustration above (example 4.11.) which shows *appoggiaturas* side by side with the *port de voix* seems to confirm this. Its continued presence in the anonymous flute treatises is not easy to account for.

The Beat (mordent)

Differences of opinion about the definition of this ornament are evident in English sources from the end of the seventeenth century. At the very least it consisted of three notes: the main note, the lower auxiliary and a return to the main note. This was Thomas Mace's understanding. He specified that it should begin with the main note on the metrical beat and continue for as long as the time allowed.²³⁹ According to Purcell, however, it began with the lower auxiliary, creating an ornament with a minimum of four notes.²⁴⁰

Ex. 4.13. Purcell, beat



The difference in effect is significant. The simple three-note mordent adds a rhythmic impulse, whereas the addition of the lower auxiliary introduces a harmonic dissonance which displaces the mordent, reducing it to a weak, albeit decorative, resolution.

²³⁹ Mace, *Musick's Monument*, facsimile edition, p. 105.

²⁴⁰ Purcell, *The Harpsichord Master*, facsimile edition, 'Rules for Graces'.

According to Howard Ferguson, the omission of the basic three-note mordent from Purcell's 'Rules' must have been a mistake.²⁴¹ He suggested that through a printing error a line of text was omitted, with the result that the name of one ornament (the absent three-note 'beat') was applied to the illustration of another which should have been termed 'fore-fall and beat' (as shown above in example 3.13). In 1996 H. Diack Johnstone showed that there are two versions of Purcell's Rules in which the lineation of the text is slightly different.²⁴² This is significant because it shows that nothing is missing. Also taking up the argument was Christopher Hogwood, who saw no reason why Purcell 'should not be taken at face value'.²⁴³ Hogwood quoted an unnamed source from 1694:

The Beat is after this manner; the Grace for it comes from the Note next below, which is to be heard before you beat down your proper note, which must be also heard clearly at the last.²⁴⁴

Nevertheless, Ferguson accepted that from about the mid 1720s the fore-fall had become an integral part of the beat.²⁴⁵ Certainly, violinists found it interpreted in this way in the *Compleat Music Master*,²⁴⁶ but for readers of oboe treatises it was consistently defined as the basic three-note ornament.²⁴⁷ Flute players were informed in *Rudiments* that it was performed:

Hitting once or twice as quick as we can, full on the hole, and as near the Note we beat upon as possible, we ought also to end a Beat with the finger off.²⁴⁸

²⁴¹ Howard Ferguson, 'Ornamentation', in *Keyboard Interpretation* (London: Oxford University Press, 1995), 112–52 (pp. 149–50).

²⁴² H. Diack Johnstone, 'Ornamentation in the Keyboard Music of Henry Purcell and his Contemporaries', in *Performing the Music of Henry Purcell*, ed. Michael Burden (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 82–104 (pp. 83–5).

²⁴³ Christopher Hogwood, 'Creating the Corpus: the Complete Keyboard Music of Henry Purcell', in *The Keyboard in Baroque Europe*, ed. C. Hogwood (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003) 67–89 (p. 73).

²⁴⁴ Ibid.

²⁴⁵ Ferguson, 'Ornamentation', p. 151.

²⁴⁶ *Compleat Musick Master* (W. Pearson, 1722), p. 41.

²⁴⁷ Prelleur, 'Instructions upon the Hautboy', p. 7 in *The Modern Musick-Master* (1731).

²⁴⁸ *Rudiments*, p. 22.

In other words, the ornament began with the main note on the metrical beat. The lower auxiliary alternated rapidly with the main note by beating the finger ‘once or twice’ on the next open hole (usually) and ending with the main note.

The practice of attaching a mordent (the three note beat as defined above) to a port de voix was common practice in France according to Hotteterre (see *port de voix*, above) and perhaps because it was so, this combination was understood by some to exist as a separate entity in its own right. Corrette (who retained the term *battement* for the simple mordent) called this composite ornament *martellement*. He reported that it was customary to prolong the dissonance when it was used in slow movements in Italian style.²⁴⁹ On this evidence, it would seem that both Mace and Hotteterre conceived of the beat (*battement*) in its simplest form, whereas Purcell (possibly, ironically, through some French influence) automatically combined a fore-fall (*port de voix*) with a mordent.

Granom’s ornament (example 4.14) conforms to the definition of a *martellement*, with a prolonged dissonance (the port de voix) and a generous number of alternations.

Ex. 4.14. Granom, beat



as a Beat is very essential to those, who aspire to be finished Performers I shall endeavour to explain it in such a manner, that the meanest capacity can never Err in the execution of it [...] the Beat is to be prepared from the Note below that which is to be beat, and must have the same diatonic progressive motion with that of the Shake, its preparative must also be dwelt upon, and swelled, as long as the time of the piece, which you perform, will admit of. I recommend Beats in many places where shakes have been

²⁴⁹ Corrette, *Méthode*, facsimile edition, p. 35.

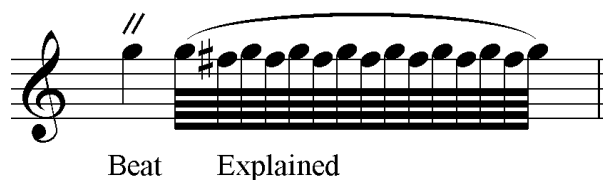
put through the inattention or unskilfulness of the Master, which has often rendered the Harmony less agreeable, by misplacing the one for the other.²⁵⁰

Accompanying these remarks were further strong criticisms of Geminiani,

who through negligence, or being totally unacquainted with its construction, has given us a wrong and imperfect Idea of that which is universally understood by a Beat, as he has done in those of a Shake or a Swell.²⁵¹

Geminiani shows the beat beginning on the main note apparently performed in equal note values.²⁵²

Ex. 4.15. Geminiani, beat



This appears to be the same as Mace's interpretation. Hotteterre's specification for beats of shorter duration was suitable for use in French suites, where melodic ornaments were typically brief. Granom does not show a simple mordent beginning on the main note. For him the lower auxiliary (the *port de voix*) was an integral part of the ornament.

The Swell and the Softening

The swell (*messe di voce*) was a crescendo and diminuendo performed on single notes where time allowed. Hotteterre did not describe this aspect of technique; possibly it was considered too advanced to be included in a treatise for complete beginners. Granom described it thus:

[It] is executed by touching a Note at first gently and softly, and by degrees to give it more power until you come to be as loud as is agreeable to the Ear, then falling off, or

²⁵⁰ Granom, *Instructions*, pp. 10–11.

²⁵¹ Ibid., p. 10.

²⁵² F. Geminiani, *A Treatise of Good Taste*, facsimile edition, 'Examples'.

lessening the sound to its first softness. I cannot too much recommend its frequent use, being one of the greatest Ornaments in Singing or playing on any instrument.²⁵³

He specifically associated it with greater appoggiaturas and beats (see below), and for the ‘preparative’ notes to trills.²⁵⁴ Performing it required a sufficient control of the embouchure to prevent any variation in pitch, a technique which Granom evidently regarded as essential for, as seen above, he did not tolerate out of tune playing.

Granom objected to Geminiani’s description of the swell as quoted above. Again Geminiani divided the ornament into its two component parts: ‘swelling and falling the sound’:

These two Elements may be used after each other; they produce great Beauty and Variety in the Melody, and employ’d alternately, they are proper for any Expression or Measure.²⁵⁵

This rather loose account was apparently considered by Granom to be insufficient for the amateur. It contrasts greatly with the detail of Granom’s arguably more helpful description (example 4.14 above).

A technique that was discussed by Hotteterre and included only in Text A (P. Prelleur 1731 *et al.*) was the ‘softening’ (the French *flattement*).²⁵⁶ This was a very subtle nuance made by beating the finger gently on the edge of the next open hole, or full on a more distant one, raising the finger to finish. This produced a wavering in pitch to the flat side of the given note. In France, Corrette described its suitability for long notes in tender pieces.²⁵⁷ It was an ornament well known in England for it was described in all contemporary recorder treatises.²⁵⁸ It was evidently still in use at the end of the century for it was mentioned by Edward Miller whose term

²⁵³ Granom, *Instructions*, p. 8.

²⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 9–11.

²⁵⁵ Geminiani, *A Treatise of Good Taste*, facsimile edition, p. 3.

²⁵⁶ *Rudiments*, pp. 22–4.

²⁵⁷ Corrette, *Méthode*, facsimile edition, p. 30.

²⁵⁸ *Fifth Book of the New Flute Master* (London: Walsh, 1706), p. 4, and repeated in subsequent publications, until the *Complete Tutor for the Flute* (London: R. Bremner, c. 1765), p. 4. In these publications it is termed a ‘sweetening’.

for it was a close shake, which was made

by either beating the finger immediately below on the SIDE of the Hole; or a distant finger on a distant FULL Hole.²⁵⁹

Significantly, Miller's instructions associated the close shake inextricably with the swell, a combination which produced 'a beautiful effect on the flute'. He stated that to his knowledge the close shake had not previously been mentioned in a book of instructions for the flute.

Nevertheless, Geminiani had described an ornament with the same name for the violin.

To perform it, you must press the Finger strongly upon the String of the Instrument, and move the Wrist in and out slowly and equally, when it is long continued swelling the Sound by Degrees.²⁶⁰

The technique so described is that of a slow vibrato which oscillates equally to the sharp and flat sides of the note, unlike the ornament for wind instruments, which (as seen above) uses only the flat side of the note. In his description of the swell and the *flattement* Quantz was at pains to point out that special attention should be paid to the embouchure to ensure that there was no deviation in the intonation.²⁶¹ Why Granom did not mention it is again open to speculation because it would appear to have been part of normal performance practice throughout Europe. It is plausible that he thought it was a technique best taught face to face, that it was too complex to be described precisely or that it simply had no place in a book of instructions for beginners.

The Slide and the Slur

Granom did not mention the quintessentially French ornament the 'slide' (originally termed *coulement* by Hotteterre),²⁶² and I have not seen it described in any other English tutors for other

²⁵⁹ Edward Miller, *The New Flute Instructor* (London: Broderip & Wilkinson, 1799), p. 11. My research so far confirms that Miller was indeed the first English author to describe this ornament for the flute.

²⁶⁰ Geminiani, *A Treatise of Good Taste*, facsimile edition, p. 3.

²⁶¹ Quantz, *On Playing the Flute*, pp. 165–6.

woodwind instruments. It was omitted from Text B (P. Thompson, c. 1755), but retained with new examples in Text C (Johnson, c. 1745) and subsequently carried through to several anonymous treatises post Granom. The text reads:

A Slide is a tipping with the Tongue anticipated by one Note above that on which it is made, & is never practised but in descending a third. These little Notes are never reckon'd in the Time but are used to grace or sweeten the principal Note.²⁶³



Quantz showed that the grace notes were played before the beat in the French style.²⁶⁴ The fact that the same grace note sign is used to indicate an appoggiatura means that the identity of the slide may easily be overlooked. Kenneth Gilbert has specified a particular set of circumstances in which this ornament (Couperin's term for it is *tierce coulée en descendant*) performs a unique function, for which Gilbert uses the term *coulé de tierce mélodique*.²⁶⁵ The function is served when both the following conditions exist: 1) it is the end of a phrase, even a small internal phrase, and 2) there is a descending leap of a third from a strong to a weak beat (or portion of a beat). If, in such cases as these, the grace note is mistakenly performed as an appoggiatura an incongruous accent is produced where there should be none. Furthermore, the use of the *coulé de tierce mélodique* was not confined to France because,

It was part of the musical vocabulary of every composer of the period when the French style had become international.²⁶⁶

That this ornament was included in some English treatises suggests that this was indeed the case.

²⁶² Hotteterre, *Principes*, pp. 32–3.

²⁶³ *Compleat Tutor for the German Flute* (London: Charles & Samuel Thompson, c. 1775), p. 11.

²⁶⁴ Quantz, *On Playing the Flute*, p. 93.

²⁶⁵ Kenneth Gilbert, Introduction to his edition of François Couperin, *Pièces de clavecin, premier livre* (Paris: Heugel, 1972), xv–xxiii (p. xviii).

²⁶⁶ Gilbert, Introduction, p. xviv.

While the slur was inextricably linked to all other ornaments, it was also described as an ornament in its own right from the beginning of the century. From a technical point of view it needs little explanation and little is written about it, beyond the absence of articulation after the first note for the duration of the sign. It is clear from a study of original sources that slurs were used sparingly for special effects. Typically they gave character to motifs written in short note values (such as semiquavers) mainly in conjunct motion (or thirds), and usually confined to the notes within one metrical beat. Many publications were marked inconsistently, leaving it for the performer to decide whether slurs that were indicated only at the beginning of a passage, applied to the same or similar material, when it appeared at a later stage. It is perhaps worth repeating Granom's comment on articulation in this regard:

Whoever does not articulate distinctly every Note of an Allegro, or quick movement, but Slurs and Slobbers them over, cannot be looked upon as a Player.²⁶⁷

Some performers evidently added slurs indiscriminately, perhaps because they had yet to acquire the technique of double tonguing. However, it is clear that Granom expected the musical score to be followed as presented in this respect, and any additional slurs carefully justified.

As different attitudes, fashions and tastes prevailed among authors and performers, disagreements were inevitable. The illustrations of many ornaments could only be given in general terms and it was up to the individual performer to adapt these formats to a wide variety of musical contexts.

Granom's Preludes

A musician's warming-up prior to a performance, whether consisting of only a few notes or something more extensive, was known as a prelude. Spontaneous improvisation of this sort for the flute was first written about by Hotteterre, whose *L'art de preluder* (Paris: n.n., 1719)

²⁶⁷ Granom, *Instructions*, p. 16.

contains examples in a range of keys.²⁶⁸ Some consist of just a few bars, while others are more extensive. Many of them have the bar lines only partially marked, reflecting the freedom in rhythm or tempo inherent in performance. Hotteterre's remarks in the Preface explain that

Le Prelude doit estre produit sur le champ sans aucune preparation²⁶⁹

The prelude should be played without any preparation

This practice was evidently the norm in England, for James Grassineau explained the prelude as

a flourish or an irregular air, which a musician plays off-hand to try if his instrument be in tune and so lead him into the piece to be played.²⁷⁰

It was evidently a well-established practice in seventeenth-century England, for an instruction in the score of Purcell's *Dioclesian* (1690) reads 'Flourish with all instruments in *C-fa-ut* key', that is in C major.²⁷¹ In his play *The Kind Keeper; or Mr Limberham* (1678) John Dryden says that 'a good musician always preludes before a tune' and in his *Art of Rhetoric* (1681) Thomas Hobbes refers to 'the prelude of musicians, who first play what they list and afterwards the tune they intended'.²⁷² I have not found any examples of preludes in any of the English instrumental treatises consulted that were published before 1766, although the title page of *The New Flute Master for the Year 1729* (Walsh & Hare) advertises 'with Preludes and Flourishes in all keys'.²⁷³ This recorder treatise may have been an exception. Publications with collections of well-known tunes may have been more popular with the amateur. A few anonymous pieces with the title 'prelude' are included among the large number of solos and duets in the anthology *The Delightful Pocket Companion for the German Flute* (London: J. Simpson, c. 1750). Each prelude

²⁶⁸ There is no record of this volume being translated into English in the eighteenth century.

²⁶⁹ Hotteterre, *L'art de preluder* (Paris: n.n., 1719); facsimile edition, (Florence: Studio per edizione Scelte, 1999), p. 1.

²⁷⁰ James Grassineau, *A Musical Dictionary* (London: n.n., 1740); facsimile edition (New York: Broude Brothers, 1966), p. 183.

²⁷¹ Quoted in Betty Bang Mather and David Lasocki, *The Art of Preluding 1700–1830* (New York: McGinnis and Marx, 1984), p. 6. This fascinating publication omits any examples of Granom's preludes.

²⁷² Ibid.

²⁷³ Warner, *An Annotated Bibliography*, p. 13.

consists of passagework created from a repeated figure much in the manner of a simple technical study.

Granom described preludes as ‘irregular pieces of music, depending on the fancy of the performer’, which may consist of no more than a few notes in the key of the piece to be performed.²⁷⁴ As examples, he provided 36 such pieces.²⁷⁵ I suggest from practical experience that the underlying purpose of preludes may be gleaned from Granom’s remark that ‘every note on the Flute may be blown either Sharper or Flatter’.²⁷⁶ Even though there are some notes that undoubtedly tend towards sharpness or flatness, the degree of adjustment for these, or any other notes, depends on the context. As part of the warming-up procedure, a prelude in an appropriate key sought to establish this context for each note in relation to the tonal centre.

Granom provided examples for performing in nearly all keys, as f-sharp minor and c-sharp minor are the only ones not represented. He apparently considered the technical difficulties of each key and tailored each exercise accordingly. Some are only a few bars long and consist of little more than a simple scale or arpeggio figure, such as the prelude in c-sharp major. Others are expansive, elaborate and technically demanding, going beyond the requirement of the ‘few notes’ stipulated as necessary preparation for a performance to include technical elements as well.²⁷⁷ That Granom felt it desirable to include such a comprehensive selection in a treatise for beginners suggests he expected preludes to have some place in the practice routine of a pupil. They would undoubtedly have had great value as technical exercises, and as such I would suggest that they could be thought of as precursors to the technical study which came into being in the nineteenth century. Granom was the first eighteenth-century English author to include

²⁷⁴ Granom, *Instructions*, p. 17.

²⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 22–31.

²⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 16.

²⁷⁷ Hotteterre included some short exercises in *L’art de preluder* based mainly on broken chords and arpeggio figures, see pp. 18–26.

exercises of this sort in a flute treatise. Many of them would have presented a rigorous challenge for a beginner; they were something to aspire to rather than something with which to begin. A selection of them is provided below.

11th G Sharp.

12th Another.

13th G Flat.

Musical notation for exercise 13, titled "13th G Flat." It consists of two staves in G-flat major (one flat) and common time. The melody is written on a treble clef staff, and the bass line is on a bass clef staff. The piece features various musical ornaments, including trills (tr) and mordents (w), and ends with a double bar line.

14th Another.

Musical notation for exercise 14, titled "14th Another." It consists of two staves in G-flat major (one flat) and common time. The melody is written on a treble clef staff, and the bass line is on a bass clef staff. The piece features various musical ornaments, including trills (tr) and mordents (w), and ends with a double bar line.

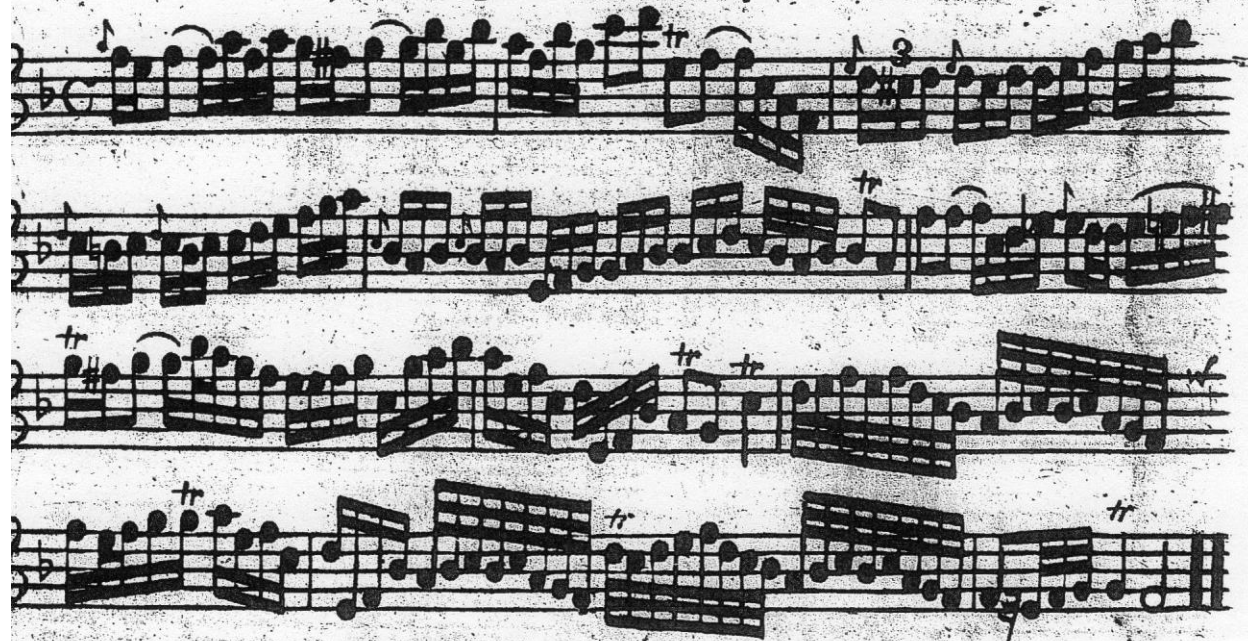
15th G Flat by Sharps.

Musical notation for exercise 15, titled "15th G Flat by Sharps." It consists of a single staff in G-flat major (one flat) and common time. The melody is written on a treble clef staff. The piece features various musical ornaments, including trills (tr) and mordents (w), and ends with a double bar line.

33.^d F Sharp by Flats.



+ 34th Another.



3.5th F Extreme Sharp.



Granom's Duets

Granom was scathing about the practice of attaching popular tunes to the anonymous treatises.

I must give one necessary Caution, which is not to apply to a Music-Seller for his opinion in the choice of your Music, especially if he publishes on his own account, for instead of recommending the Works of approved Authors, he immediately loads you with all the Trash he himself has published which, in general, is such Stuff that if you have any Claim to a natural good Taste, or a Tolerable Ear, by frequently playing his John-Trot Airs your taste will become vitiated and your Ear ruined to such a Degree as will render you incapable of distinguishing good Music from bad and leave you unable to judge for yourself. Such is the unhappiness of bad Impressions fixed on the minds of youth at first setting out, that they seldom, if ever, get the better of them.²⁷⁸

Granom's answer to was to provide 77 pages of music, which consisted mainly of tuneful duets in a variety of styles and in keys that are mostly limited to no more than two sharps or two flats. Also included are nine pages of solos with figured-bass accompaniment. Dance movements are represented by minuets, gavottes, gigue and hornpipes, while other pieces have Italian tempo indications. In the majority of cases the lower of the two parts is perhaps slightly less demanding, because the range of notes used is usually more restricted, but in other respects the technical demands are comparable. In fact, the duet *Tempo di Minuetto* (p. 36)¹ has a c-sharp¹ for the second player (as we have seen, this note is a semitone below the lowest natural note and is only achieved by turning the flute inwards). These pieces complement the aspects of technique covered in the treatise. Double tonguing would be appropriate in some of the *vivace* movements, while triple tonguing could be practised in the *giga* marked *presto*. Ornaments (trills, beats and appoggiaturas) are clearly marked, syncopations are introduced in some pieces, and *forte* and *piano* dynamics required in others.

Playing duets would have provided a valuable way of learning to play in time, in tune, and with fluency, and it is reasonable to suppose that Granom used such pieces as these in his own teaching. From the point of view of the serious beginner, they would have been infinitely

²⁷⁸ Ibid., pp. 12–13.

more useful and of higher musical value than any number of unaccompanied ‘John-Trot Airs’, as condemned by Granom in the quotation above.

EVALUATION OF GRANOM’S TREATISE

Granom’s treatise for the one-keyed flute would have provided the beginner with sound principles on which to build a technique. The initial guide to forming an embouchure, the importance of holding the flute correctly, and the advice on blowing, express concisely the requirements necessary to prevent the formation of bad habits. The presentation of double tonguing exercises and trill fingerings provide a glimpse of Granom’s thorough and systematic approach to teaching. Within a remit of presenting no more than the basic essentials, what he provided was thorough, thoughtful and imaginative. In contrast with previous publications he wrote clearly and without ambiguity, and several authors chose to copy some sections for inclusion in their own publications, no doubt to Granom’s annoyance.

Reminding the reader that the treatise was meant only for the preliminary stages, Granom advised on the choice of a ‘Master’ with whom to study.

Prefer not [...] the florid or pretty Performer before one of undoubted knowledge and sound Judgment: tho’ the price of the latter should exceed that of the former, yet in the end it will prove the cheaper as the progress will be much greater.²⁷⁹

Granom also recommended that the best music to play was that composed by flute players themselves. Apart from his compositions, that would also have included the works of John Ranish and C. F. Weideman, as will be seen in the next chapter.

His tantalising comment ‘much might be said on this subject, but ’tis not my business at present to say more than to instruct the Learner in the first Rudiments and essential Principles of good Taste’ indicates perhaps that he may have been torn between the limitations of writing for

²⁷⁹ Ibid., p. 16.

beginners (along with the constraints he may have felt by an absence of adequate copyright protection) and a desire to be more wide ranging in his writing.²⁸⁰ It is unfortunate that we do not have something more comprehensive by this articulate, entertaining and highly opinionated musician and pedagogue. Nonetheless, his treatise turned out to be highly influential. Flute treatises published in Britain from 1766 to the end of the century are shown in table 4.2. It begins with Granom's *Instructions*.

TABLE 4.2. *Flute Treatises from 1766–1799*

Publication	Comments	Libraries
<i>Plain and Easy Instructions for Playing on the German Flute</i> by Lewis Granom Esq. (London: T. Bennett, 1766)	W. 112 There are three extant editions: † first edition. The frontispiece has a printed date, 13 December 1766. † third edition. The title page states 'the third edition with additions'. (c. 1770). † fourth edition. The title page states 'the fourth edition with additions' (1772).	GB-†Lbl (fourth edition) US-†Wc (first and third editions)
<i>Compleat Tutor for the German Flute</i> (London: T. Cahusac, c.1766) It was advertised in the <i>Gazetteer</i> on 2 October 1766. (I suggest publication was 1767 at the earliest, in view of the fact that material from Granom's <i>Instructions</i> was included).	† W. 111 This contains elements of several previous publications. Ornaments from Text C. Fingering charts (including those for trills) are from Richard Duke. Granom's text and exercises for double tonguing are lifted verbatim from <i>Instructions</i> , 'the fourth edition with additions'. A mistake in copying omits 5 words of Granom's text. There is an extra fingering chart for flutes with additional keys.	GB-†Lbl NL-DHgm US-Wc
<i>Compleat Instructions for the German Flute</i> (London: J. Longman, c. 1767)	Not in Warner	GB-Lbl
<i>Compleat Instructions for the German Flute</i> (London: J. Longman, c. 1768)	Not in Warner Another printing with more pages	GB-Lbl*

²⁸⁰ Ibid., p. 12.

<i>The Elements of Musick made Easy</i> (London: S. Crowder, 1767)	† W. 113 Apart from a fingering chart, there is no specific information for the flute.	GB-†Lbl US-Cn, Wc
<i>Compleat Tutor for the German Flute [...] the second addition with alterations and the method of double tonguing.</i> (London: J. Fentum, c. 1770)	† W. 106 Missing pp. 1–4, otherwise as Peter Thompson. Following the collection of tunes is appended ‘The Method of Double Tonguing’ taken from Granom and appearing just as in Cahusac.	GB-†Lbl* US-Wc
<i>Compleat Tutor for the German Flute</i> (London: Charles & Samuel Thompson, c.1770; c. 1775 RISM and BUCEM, c. 1765 Warner)	† W. 107 This is the same as Cahusac (W 111), slightly re-ordered and without the extra fingering chart.	GB-Gm, †Lbl, US-Io, Wc
<i>Compleat Tutor for the German Flute</i> (London: Charles & Samuel Thompson, c. 1770, c. 1765 Warner)	W. 108 Another printing with more pages of text.	US-Wc
<i>Compleat Tutor for the German Flute</i> (C. & S. Thompson, c. 1775 RISM and BUCEM, c. 1770 Warner)	W. 118 Another printing	GB-Du, Oc D-Hs US-Wc
<i>Compleat Instructions for the German Flute</i> (London: Straight and Skillern, c. 1770, c. 1775 Warner)	† W. 125 Elements of several previous tutors make up the text of this publication. It is largely based on Cahusac (W. 111) (including Granom’s double tonguing) with examples of <i>port de voix</i> from Antoine Mahaut’s <i>Nouvelle méthode pour apprendre en peu de tems à jouer de la flûte traversière</i> (Paris: La Chevardière, 1759).	GB-†Lbl
<i>Compleat Instructions for the German Flute</i> (London: J. Longman, c. 1770, c. 1775 Warner)	W. 115	GB-Cu, Gm, Mp, Ouf* US-Cn*
<i>A Treatise on the German Flute</i> by Luke Heron (London: W. Griffin, 1771)	† W. 123 The author is remembered solely on the basis of one extant copy of this work. It is possible that he was Irish, for the title page states that	US-†Wc

	the treatise was sold ‘at all the music shops in London; by Luke Heron at his house in Great Britain Street, Dublin; and at all the music shops in the city’. No further information has come to light about him. This is a philosophical work with nothing original to say about the flute. The opening chapter is a lengthy, historical account of the effect of music at the time of the ancient Greeks. Flute technique is described with many words and minimal musical examples. Rudiments of music, including syncopated notes, are more generously illustrated. Many of his ideas are based on comments first made by Granom; for instance the instructions for double and triple tonguing, which are covered very briefly, are prefaced with a remark copied (unacknowledged) from Granom’s <i>Instructions</i> .	
<i>New Instructions for the German Flute</i> (London: Longman, Lukey & Co, c. 1775)	† W. 127 The introductory remarks on the characteristics of the flute resemble closely some of observations made by Heron. The remainder of the contents are based on Cahusac, W 111 (including Granom’s double and triple tonguing). The text on p. 2 refers to the frontispiece, which is missing in this copy.	GB-†Lbl*
<i>New Instructions for the German Flute</i> (London: Longman & Broderip, c. 1776)	Not in Warner Another printing of W. 127	GB-Gm (2), Mp
<i>Compleat Tutor for the German Flute</i> (London: T. Cahusac, c. 1780)	Another edition of W. 111 slightly abridged and the price changed to 2s.	US-Cn, NYpl
<i>Compleat Instructions for the German Flute</i> (London: J. Bland, c. 1780)	W. 137	US-Wc
<i>Compleat Tutor for the German Flute</i> (London: S. A. & P. Thompson, c. 1790 RISM and BUCEM, c. 1780 Warner) The copy in US-Wc is signed and dated 1784. On this basis 1780 seems more likely.	W. 139 Another printing of Chas. & Saml Thompson c. 1770, W. 108	GB-Du, Gm NL-DHgm US-Wc

<i>New Instructions for the German Flute</i> (London: Longman & Broderip, c. 1780)	† W. 143 Another edition of W. 127 An extra fingering chart is included for flutes with additional keys.	GB -Lam, †Lbl US -Wc
<i>New Instructions for the German Flute</i> (London: J. Preston, c. 1780)	† W. 144 Another printing of W. 143	GB - †CDu, Gm US -Wc
<i>New Instructions for the German Flute</i> (London: S. A. & P. Thompson, c. 1783)	W. 155	GB -Gm*
<i>Preston's Pocket Companion for the German Flute</i> (London: J. Preston, c. 1785)	W. 150	GB -Lbl
<i>Dr. Arnold's new Instructions for the German Flute</i> by Samuel Arnold (London: Harrison & co., 1787)	† W. 158 Only the tunes have survived. The all-important 'Instructions' are missing.	GB -†Lbl*
<i>New Instructions for the German Flute</i> (London: Preston & Son, c. 1790)	Another edition of W. 155	GB -Gm (2copies), Lam, Lbl
<i>The Flute Preceptor; or the whole art of playing the German Flute</i> by J. Wragg, teacher of the German flute and Hautboy (London: for the author, 1792)	† W. 178 (op. 3), † W. 284 (op. 6) This was a popular series of flute instruction books which, as op. 3, went through twenty editions until 1802. From 1806 until 1818 it appeared as op. 6 in fourteen editions as <i>The Improved Flute Preceptor</i> . The copies I have examined are op. 3; 1792, 1799 (18 th edn) and op. 6; 1806. They are largely plagiarised versions of Granom. The text, the layout, the fingering charts, ornaments and musical examples are taken from Granom's <i>Instructions</i> while the description of double (and triple) tonguing is Granom's in abbreviated form. A separate fingering chart is included for flutes with additional keys.	GB -Ckc (1798), †Lbl (1792, 1793, 1796, †1799, 1802, †1806 ...) Ob (1792) US -Wc (1796, 1798, 1806)
<i>The Art of playing the German Flute</i> by John Gunn, teacher of the German-flute and Violoncello (London: sold by	† W. 180 Various aspects of musicianship and flute playing are covered, which reflect the differing opinions of those who favoured the	GB -†Lbl (this copy has a 1795 watermark)

the author, 1793). Reviews appeared in the <i>Critical Review</i> in October and in the <i>Monthly Review</i> in December	possibilities offered by the multi-keyed flute with its more homogenous tone colour and those who preferred the more varied, tender and graceful sounds of the one-keyed instrument. The author refers to Haydn and Mozart in the text, and to sonatas by Pleyel and Hoffmeister in which the flute accompanies the pianoforte. This is a forward-looking tutor more in the classical style. Surprisingly the trill chart only goes up to d ³ .	US-Wc
<i>Compleat Tutor for the German Flute</i> (London: S. A. & P. Thompson, c. 1795)	† Not in Warner Largely the same as Longman, Lukey and Co., W 125 (including Granom's double tonguing).	GB-†Lbl
<i>Compleat Tutor for the German Flute</i> (London: T. & W. M. Cahusac, 1797) the watermark confirms the date	† W. 186 The text much as Longman & Broderip W 143, with Granom's explanation of double tonguing and examples as before. Ornaments are clarified with examples of the performance of turns, beats, slides, <i>port de voix</i> and appoggiaturas.	GB-†Lbl*
<i>The New Flute Instructor</i> by Edward Miller (London: Broderip & Wilkinson, c.1799)	† W. 197 In his 'Introduction', Miller claims that he gave the first printed instructions on double tonguing in his book of <i>Six solos for a German Flute</i> (London: John Johnson, c. 1761). The title page of <i>Solos</i> states that he was 'Organist at Doncaster'. It is in the prefatory 'Remarks' for these pieces that he recommends articulating 'tut-tle' for the execution of quick passages. His reference to A. Mahaut (see above, Straight and Skillern W 125) indicates the origin of these ideas. This is further supported by the fact that in his treatise Miller plagiarises Granom's text and examples for double tonguing, rather than provide anything original of his own.	GB-Gm, †Lbl, Ob

It would appear that Mahaut's *Nouvelle Méthode pour apprendre en peu de tems à jouer de la flûte traversière* (Paris, 1759) was known to some flute players in England, though how soon after publication it is not possible to know. What emerges from the survey above is that Granom's explanation and exercises for double and triple tonguing were highly influential. They were included not only in all of the anonymous *Compleat* series (T. Cahusac, c. 1766 *et al.*) and the *New Instructions* series (see Longman, Lukey & Co., c. 1775 *et al.*), but also in tutors by named flute players-teachers such as Wragg and Miller. Not only this, but the twenty editions of Wragg's op. 3 *Flute Preceptor* (1792–1802) and the fourteen editions of the op. 6, *Improved Flute Preceptor* (1806–1818) were volumes entirely based on Granom's *Instructions*. In this way Granom continued to influence flute technique in Britain into the first decades of the nineteenth century. According to Warner, the 12th edition of Wragg's op. 6 was used for an American printing (Philadelphia: Bacon, c. 1818) and the same plates were then used for a reissue (Philadelphia: Klemm, c. 1823).²⁸¹ Therefore, it is evident that Granom had some considerable influence on flute technique in America in the early decades of the nineteenth century.

²⁸¹ Warner, *An Annotated Bibliography*, p. 65. Extant copies of c. 1818 edition held in US-NYpl and PrBU. Extant copies of the re-issue (c. 1823) held in US-Wc and NYCU.

CHAPTER 5

THE SOLO SONATA IN ENGLAND

The standard format of the eighteenth-century solo sonata was established with Corelli's op. 5 *Sonate a violino e violone o cimbalo* (Rome: G. P. Santa, 1700).²⁸² This work was subsequently used as a model by composers not only in Italy, but also in France, Germany and England.²⁸³ Sonatas 1–6 are in *da chiesa* style, each comprising five movements; numbers 7–11 are *da camera* sonatas, all but one of which is in four movements, and the opus concludes with a set of variations on the *Folia* theme. Corelli did not adhere strictly to the differences between the two sonata types, in so far as gigue can be found in the *da chiesa* sonatas, while the *da camera* sonatas contain passages of imitation more traditionally associated with the *chiesa* form.²⁸⁴ The enormous popularity of Corelli's works in eighteenth-century England was documented by Roger North, Charles Burney and Sir John Hawkins.²⁸⁵ Corelli's op. 5 sonatas were first published in London by Walsh (c. 1700). He also published them in 1702 arranged for recorder and 'a bass'.

One of the purposes of solo sonatas was that they were showy concert pieces and London had a well established concert season. Those that were less technically demanding were more

²⁸² William S. Newman, *The Sonata in the Baroque Era*, revised edition (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1966), p. 69. Corelli and his contemporaries distinguished more clearly between *da camera* and *da chiesa* sonatas than composers before or after. Corelli is significant because his fame rested exclusively on instrumental music.

²⁸³ Peter Walls, 'Instrumental Performance in the "Long Eighteenth century"' in *The Cambridge History of Musical Performance*, ed. Colin Lawson and Robin Stowell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 527–51 (p. 527). See also Peter Allsop, *Archangelo Corelli: New Orpheus of our Times* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999); David D. Boyden, *The History of Violin Playing from its Origins to 1761 and its Relationship to the Violin and Violin Music* (London: Oxford University Press, 1965); Neal Zaslaw, 'Ornaments for Corelli's Violin Sonatas, op. 5', *EM*, 24 (1996), 95–116. There are also numerous references to Corelli in *Baroque Music*, ed. Peter Walls (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011).

²⁸⁴ The definition of *suonata* given by Sebastien de Brossard in the sixth edition of his *Dictionnaire de musique* (Amsterdam: n.n., c. 1710) ends with the suggestion, 'Voyez pour modele les ouvrages de Corelli'.

²⁸⁵ Wilson (ed.), *Roger North on Music*, pp. 355–9; Hawkins, *A General History*, vol. 2, pp. 677 and 706; Burney, *A General History of Music*, vol. 2, pp. 437–44.

suitable for the amateur. Sonatas for the recorder were mostly written from about 1690 to 1740.²⁸⁶ Robert Valentine (c. 1680–c. 1735), an English recorder player who moved to Rome, wrote five volumes of recorder sonatas that were published in London by Walsh between c. 1712 and c. 1735. Many leading London composers also contributed to this repertory, including William Croft, J. C. Pepusch and G. F. Handel. The instrument was popularised by professional musicians such as James Paisible whose recorded concert appearances began in 1698 and continued until about two years before his death in 1721.²⁸⁷

John Loeillet's op. 3 sonatas comprise six for recorder and six for the flute (London: Walsh, 1729). They follow the common plan of a slow first movement in common time, a brisk second movement, a slow third movement, usually in triple time and a swift final movement. There are no named dances. There is no distinction between the recorder and flute collections on musical or technical grounds, but those for the 'common flute' include some flat keys, and are written in a higher tessitura than those for the 'German flute', which are all written in sharp keys.

Two eminent Italian violinists who trained in the Corelli tradition and chose to make London their home were Pietro Castrucci (1679–1752) and Geminiani. Castrucci arrived in 1715, a year after Geminiani. Geminiani's first volume of violin sonatas (London: Walsh, 1716) contains technically demanding pieces with much double stopping. There are some allusions to Corelli's op. 5, such as the alternation of slow and fast sections in the opening movements. Although there are no named dances, at least two of the final allegros could have the title gigue, while the Andante of the ninth sonata has some of the stylistic features of a sarabande.

²⁸⁶ Anthony Rowland-Jones, 'The Baroque Recorder Sonata', in *The Cambridge Companion to the Recorder*, ed. John Mansfield Thomson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 51–73 (p. 51).

²⁸⁷ Tilmouth, 'Calendar'.

Some of Geminiani's sonatas were performed by Rouse Hawley in York Buildings on 10 December 1718 and in the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane on 4 March 1719.²⁸⁸ Castrucci became a well-known performer in London concerts and contributed several volumes of sonatas to the violin repertory. His first volume of twelve sonatas was advertised in the *Post Boy* on 15 February 1718, so his performance of 'several new solos' in Hickford's Room on 20 March presumably included a selection of these pieces.²⁸⁹

ASPECTS OF ENGLISH FLUTE SONATAS

The flute had grown steadily in popularity ever since it was played in public concerts from early in the century, but very little music was published for it until 1720s. It is likely that performers made their own arrangements of pieces originally composed for the recorder or violin. The scarcity of suitable pieces for the flute is evidenced by the arrangements of violin sonatas by both Geminiani and Castrucci, which are included in Chaboud's *Solos* published in two volumes (London: Walsh, 1723 and 1725). The title page gives the choice of solo instrument as German Flute, Hoboy or Violin, but continues, 'being all choice pieces by the greatest authors and fitted to the German Flute'. F. Sardelli reports that other pieces in the collection show an affinity with other Italian composers, including Vivaldi.²⁹⁰ Puzzlingly, Sardelli comments that the inclusion of a c¹-sharp, which arose as a result of transposition, 'was incorrectly thought to be obtainable on the flute'.²⁹¹ As I have shown in the previous chapter, it was described in *Rudiments*.

Some writers in England considered that the flute should be used only occasionally and then only in particular situations. About the middle of the century the views of two musicians

²⁸⁸ *Daily Courant*, 10 December 1718; *Daily Courant*, 4 March 1719.

²⁸⁹ *Daily Courant*, 18 March 1718.

²⁹⁰ Frederico Maria Sardelli, *Vivaldi's Music for Flute and Recorder*, trans. Michael Talbot (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), pp. 66–9.

²⁹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 69.

implied that the flute was not a suitable instrument for playing sonatas. Geminiani considered that the flute was best for *cantabile* movements, ‘and not in swift movements where there are *Arpeggios* and *Jumping Notes*’.²⁹² This opinion was shared by Charles Avison, who was a flute teacher,²⁹³ who recommended that compositions for the instrument should proceed

by *conjoint Degrees*, or such other natural Intervals, as, with the Nature of its Tone, will best express the languishing, or melancholy Style. [...] The running into *extreme Keys*, the use of *Staccato*, or distinct separation of Notes; and all irregular Leaps, or broken and uneven Intervals must be avoided.²⁹⁴

Nevertheless, sonatas for one-keyed flute with basso continuo were published in England for a period of about fifty years, c. 1720–c. 1770. They usually comprised a mixture of *da chiesa* and *da camera* movements in the standard arrangement slow-fast-slow-fast (although there are inevitably departures from the plan, such as a different number, or order, of movements). Dance movements, when included, usually came towards the end, although they were not always titled.

A single volume commonly contained six or twelve sonatas by one composer and the title page often suggested a choice of solo instrument. When only one instrument was specified, it was usually an indication that the pieces had been composed for a particular player (often a wealthy amateur) who paid the costs of publication. An example is the volume of *Twelve Solos for a German Flute* by Thomas Roseingrave (London: Walsh, 1728), which carries a dedication to Herver Edgley Herver Esq. Such instances, however, are exceptions. For the most part, publishers suggested a choice of solo instrument, apparently for purely commercial reasons. Title pages gave the option of ‘German flute, hautboy, or violin’ (not necessarily in that order) regardless of whether this was in accordance with the intentions of the composer. For the casual

²⁹² F. Geminiani, Preface to *Rules for Playing in a True Taste* (London: n.n., c. 1745).

²⁹³ Charles Avison, *An Essay on Musical Expression* (London: C. Davis, 1752); ed. Pierre Dubois as *Charles Avison's Essay on Musical Expression: with Related Writings by William Hayes and Charles Avison* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), p. xi.

²⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 42–3.

purchaser the implication was that all the named instruments were equally suitable, but this could be somewhat misleading in practice because the individual characteristics of each instrument were ignored. For example, William Babell's two volumes of *Twelve Solos for a Violin or Hoboy with a Bass figur'd for the Harpsicord* were published posthumously (c.1725). The publisher John Walsh added *German Flute* to the title page of the second volume despite this being neither the composer's wish, nor were the sonatas written in keys that favour the flute but the tessitura, range of notes and the choice of keys make them ideally suited to the oboe. Conversely, John Grano's *Solos for a German Flute, a Hoboy or Violin, with a thorough bass for the Harpsichord or bass violin* (London: Walsh, 1728) are not only in keys idiomatically suited to the flute, but the required range of notes extends to e³, beyond the upper limit of contemporary fingering charts for the oboe.²⁹⁵

For a composition to be suitable for all three instruments it would have had to be composed within certain limitations. With c³ as the upper limit of fingering charts for the oboe and d¹ the lowest note of the flute, the range of notes available for these works was less than two octaves. There may have been a more general appreciation of each instrument's characteristics and capabilities from the mid 1730s onwards because the oboe was mentioned less frequently on title pages. Flutes are more suited to key signatures with sharps rather than flats. This is because the weak tone of the forked-fingered notes (particularly f-natural, b-flat and a-flat) is not

²⁹⁵ The fingering chart in the *Compleat Tutor for the Hautboy* (London: J. Johnson, c. 1750) goes up to c³, which is described as 'the highest note' on the instrument in the text, p. 3. This same chart was reproduced in most, if not all, English oboe treatises of this period, suggesting that notes higher than c³ were exceptional. In his description of the baroque oboe, Paul Carroll refers to e-flat³ as 'a stratospheric note which places huge demands on the performer'. See Paul Carroll, *Baroque Woodwind Instruments: A Guide to their History, Repertoire and Basic Technique* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999), p. 108. Presumably most eighteenth-century oboists avoided sonatas which demanded these high notes.

desirable in keys where they would be the tonic or dominant notes.²⁹⁶ Additionally, sonatas for the flute could, undoubtedly, be played on the violin, notwithstanding that the lowest string would be redundant.

Flute players found that the notes d^3 or, very occasionally, e^3 were still regarded as the working upper limit for the instrument, a view that had not changed in England since Hotteterre's remark that f^3 was generally unavailable.²⁹⁷ Practical experience shows that for the three-joint Hotteterre-style instruments in use during the first two decades of the century this was undoubtedly true, but the four-joint instruments which were made from the 1720s afforded greater possibilities. Nevertheless, in spite of fingering charts extending to a^3 from the 1750s, the minds of composers appear to have been closed and the artificial pitch ceiling was maintained. It was not until the appearance of Granom's sonatas that flute players in England were asked for hitherto unexplored extremes. Granom used a compass from c-sharp¹ to g^3 in works that expanded flute technique in England further than before. In France, however, Michel de La Barre included a solitary c-sharp¹ in the *Allemande, La Marine* from Suite V, *Pièces pour la flûte traversière* (Paris: for the author, 1702) and in Germany J. S. Bach wrote flute parts that frequently reached the highest notes, of which the a^3 at the end of the *Allemande* in the unaccompanied Partita BWV 1013 (c. 1723) is a notable example.

The composers of flute sonatas published in England came from a wide variety of backgrounds.²⁹⁸ They included famous foreigners (non-resident), foreigners resident in Britain, and native British composers. As stated in the following quotation from 1826, only a few of these composers were known to have been flute players:

²⁹⁶ The reason for the different quality of sound of these notes is that they do not produce the normal octave and twelfth as the second and third notes respectively of the harmonic series. From my own experiments, a-flat produces a ninth and a fourteenth, f-natural an octave and a thirteenth, and b-flat a minor ninth and a fourteenth.

²⁹⁷ *Rudiments*, p. 7.

²⁹⁸ For a chronological list of flute sonatas published in London, see Appendix.

In the beginning of the eighteenth century music for flute abec and for the German flute was quite common; but was generally composed by some harpsichord, violin or hautbois player, and seldom, if ever, by a person who solely dedicated himself to the study of the flute.²⁹⁹

With the exception of his brother John Grano (d. before 1746), Granom is the only known English flute player-composer of this period. He had two contemporaries: John Ranish (1693–1777) possibly of eastern European origin,³⁰⁰ and German-born Charles (originally Carl) Weideman (c. early eighteenth century–1782).³⁰¹ Ranish lived for many years in Cambridge. As Richard Platt has pointed out, Ranish's first volume of flute sonatas (London: Benjamin Cooke, c. 1737) had a list of 71 subscribers, many of whom were connected to the University, indicating that by the time of publication he been there long enough to establish a reputation.³⁰² After his death in 1777, the following tribute appeared in the press:

Yesterday died aged 84 Mr. Ranish, many years an eminent teacher and performer on the German Flute in this town. He always supported the character of a Gentleman and was respected by all that knew him.³⁰³

On this evidence alone it is unlikely that Granom ever knew him. However, without giving a source for his information, Christopher Hogwood states that Ranish had played in the Covent Garden orchestra (presumably before establishing himself in Cambridge), in which case a personal connection might not be out of the question.³⁰⁴ More importantly, Granom was very much in favour of promoting music written by flute players, and therefore he is likely to have known Ranish's flute sonatas.

²⁹⁹ W. N. James, *A Word or Two on the Flute* (Edinburgh: Charles Smith, 1826), p. 79.

³⁰⁰ Christopher Hogwood suggests 'Wranisch' may have been the original spelling see, Christopher Hogwood, 'A Note on the Frontispiece: a Concert in Cambridge', in *Music in Eighteenth-Century England: Essays in Memory of Charles Cudworth*, ed. Christopher Hogwood and Richard Lockett (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), xv–xviii (p. xvii).

³⁰¹ Pippa Drummond, 'Weideman, Carl Friedrich', *New Grove* (2001), vol. 27, 213–14.

³⁰² Richard Platt, 'Ranish, John Frederick', *New Grove* (2001), vol. 20, 823–4.

³⁰³ *Cambridge Chronicle and Journal*, 15 March 1777.

³⁰⁴ Hogwood omits to provide a reference for this information, see 'A Note on the Frontispiece', p. xvii.

The Music I would chiefly recommend to the Performers on this Instrument, is that which is composed by those who play upon it themselves.³⁰⁵

Weideman (like Ranish) was also an oboist. He was known personally to Grano (see chapter one in this thesis, fn. 81) and it seems inconceivable that Grano was not acquainted with him. However, Grano did not become a member of the Society of Musicians, of which Weideman was a founder member.³⁰⁶ A note made by Weideman in his oboe part of Handel's trio sonatas, 'Tamerlan 1725 which was the first opera I play'd in', suggests that he may have arrived in London in time for the opera's opening in October 1724.³⁰⁷ The other known flute players in England who were also composers were Loeillet, who died in 1730 (Grano is also not heard of after this date), and later Edward Miller (1735–1807),³⁰⁸ and Joseph Tacet (of whom there is no biographical information).³⁰⁹ Single volumes each containing six flute sonatas were published by Grano (London: Walsh, 1728), Loeillet (London: Walsh, 1729), Miller (London: J. Johnson, 1761) and Tacet (London: for the author, c.1767). Ranish contributed eight and twelve sonatas in his two volumes (op. 1, c. 1735 and op. 2, 1744) respectively, which were his only published works. Only Weideman had an overall output comparable to that of Grano and this included two volumes each of twelve flute sonatas (op. 1, 1737 and op. 5, 1760).

John Grano's sonatas (1728) appear to be the first that were published for the flute by an English flute player. The range of notes to e³ and choice of keys make them highly suitable for the flute (with the possible exception of the third sonata in e-flat major). Each opening largo consists of a lyrical, decorated melody supported by a simple accompaniment. The following faster movements frequently include demanding passage-work written in disjunct figures in

³⁰⁵ Grano, *Instructions*, p. 13.

³⁰⁶ *The Royal Society of Musicians of Great Britain: List of Members 1738–1984*, compiled by Betty Matthews (London: The Society, 1985).

³⁰⁷ O. E. Deutsch, *Handel: A Documentary Biography* (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1955), p. 174.

³⁰⁸ On the title page of his flute sonatas it is stated that Miller was 'Organist at Doncaster'.

³⁰⁹ Tacet is referred to as a 'celebrated master' on the title page of the *Complete Tutor for the German Flute* (Cahusac, c. 1767), where we are informed that Tacet played flutes with additional keys made by Cahusac.

Italian style. A slow third movement leads to a dance or dance-inspired final movement, often a minuet. Ornaments are not liberally marked and slurs feature mainly in slow movements. As works for the flute they are perhaps more enterprising than some others published in the 1720s.

A figure such as Handel could not be ignored, especially at a time when there were few flute sonatas in circulation by English composers. A mixed volume of twelve sonatas for German flute (3), oboe (2), recorder (4), and violin (3), was arranged and published by Walsh (as op. 1) around 1730 (second edition, c. 1732).³¹⁰ Handel's inventive use of thematic motifs and characteristically poised melodic lines may have provided models for Ranish and Granom, particularly, perhaps, for Weideman. Not long afterwards Locatelli's op. 2 *Sonate à flauto traversiere è basso* (Amsterdam: for the author, 1732) also had an impact in England. Pirated copies of this work were found in Paris and London soon after publication and in 1737 Walsh selected six out the original twelve sonatas for publication.³¹¹ The popularity of this work was due perhaps to the graceful, flowing melodies and the abundance of rhythmic detail which combined to express a freedom and brilliance amply suited to the flute. It is hard to say whether either Ranish or Weideman were influenced by these pieces but, as will be seen in chapter six, there is evidence that Granom knew them.

Both Weideman and Ranish adopted the following general slow-fast-fast plan for their flute sonatas:

- 1) Adagio or andante
- 2) Allegro (followed sometimes by a slow movement between 2 and 3)
- 3) Gigue, minuet or allegro

³¹⁰ Terence Best, 'Handel's Chamber Music: Sources, Chronology and Authenticity', *EM*, 13 (1985), 476–99.

³¹¹ Fulvia Morabito, Introduction to A. Locatelli, *Dodici sonate per flauto traverse e basso, opera II*, edizione critica diretta da Albert Dunning, vol. 2 (London and Mainz: Schott, 2000), p. xxxviii.

Weideman usually reversed the order of the first two movements in op. 5, which are all works in three movements with the exception of one, which is in four movements. The opening slow movements of both composers invariably consist of stately, sometimes lyrical, melodies supported by simple accompaniments. Ranish embellished some of these melodies in his second volume, notably ending some with a short cadenza for the flute. Weideman's second movement allegros in op. 1 are characterised by the time signature C and long passages of semiquavers for the flute, in one instance the sequence extends for seven bars.³¹² He adopted a simpler approach in op. 5 where the opening allegros are written with the time signature 2/4, they are lighter in character, with shorter phrases containing syncopations and some dynamic markings indicating echo effects.

As seen in chapter one, Granom's three extant volumes, opp. 1, 7 and 8 were published in 1742, 1755 and c. 1760 respectively. Op. 1 contains twelve sonatas while opp. 7 and 8 each contain six. Beyond the fact that Granom ordered the sonatas so that the first and last work in each volume are in the same key, there is no discernible overall plan to any of the three collections.

A standard exemplar of Granom's slow-fast-slow-fast format is:

- 1) Largo
- 2) Allegro
- 3) Sarabande or siciliano (occasionally gavotte or minuet) – sometimes in a related key
- 4) Gavotte, minuet or gigue

Some sonatas in opp. 7 and 8 have three movements, following the plan slow-fast-fast (for example op. 7 no. 6: Largo, Allegro, Minuet with variations) or fast-slow-fast (such as op. 8 no.

³¹² See Weideman, Sonata op. 1 no. 1, second movement (*Allegro*).

3: Allegro, Siciliana, Giga). The decrease in the number of movements followed a general trend in English flute sonatas over time. Five or four movements were the norm up to about 1740, whereas three movements became more common thereafter, but it was not just a matter of length. In three-movement sonatas, the opening movement tended to be light in mood (and hence quicker in tempo), as can be seen in Granom's opp. 7 and 8, where an andante, spirituososo or even an allegro replaced the previously customary largo.

PERFORMANCE PRACTICE RELATING TO DANCE

Social and theatrical dancing reached a peak of refinement and popularity at the court of Louis XIV, setting a standard that influenced the rest of Europe.³¹³ Lully's opera-ballets played a large part in this success. The various dances they contained were disseminated by dancing masters throughout Europe, and purely instrumental versions were included in sonatas and suites. By the beginning of the eighteenth century the characteristics of many dances had diverged to form at least two national styles, predominantly French and Italian, and most likely regional ones as well.³¹⁴ The Italian style, exemplified initially by Corelli, was considered by Quantz to be 'more arbitrary' than the French.³¹⁵ In Corelli's melodies disjunct motion is common, with large leaps and broken chords. Italian dances generally tended to be faster and more virtuoso than French dances because they were more old-fashioned.³¹⁶ It is highly likely that with the dissemination of French dance styles throughout Europe each individual country's own stylistic nuances became mixed with the imported styles. For example, Purcell's almands retain the binary form and balanced phrase structure of the French dance, but the characteristic conjunct motion can be

³¹³ Meredith Little and Natalie Jenne, *Dance and the Music of J. S. Bach*, second edition (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2001), pp. 4–8.

³¹⁴ David Ponsford, 'Instrumental Performance in the Seventeenth Century', in *The Cambridge History of Musical Performance*, 421–47 (p. 430).

³¹⁵ Quantz, *On Playing the Flute*, p. 335.

³¹⁶ M. E. Little, 'Minuet', *New Grove* (2001), vol. 16, 743.

replaced by highly disjunct melodic figures and notated *inégalité*, including Scotch Snaps, in addition to typical French decorations. Such an example is the Almand from Suite 7, which contrasts strongly with the conjunctly notated allemandes in the *Pièces de clavecin* of L. Couperin, J-H d'Anglebert and F. Couperin.

Ornaments were rarely indicated in Italian music before the 1720s, when French symbols were adopted, particularly those for trills and appoggiaturas.³¹⁷ Evidence that the origins of at least some French characteristics may have come from song can be found in Michel L'Affilard's treatise on singing (1705), in which he describes the vocal versions as models for dances.³¹⁸ Once removed from their original context, however, dances evolved and the independent existence of each genre in the form of a song, dance or instrumental composition was attested to by Johann Mattheson.³¹⁹

Although the celebrated argument between La Cerf de la Viéville and F. Raguenet just after the turn of the century demonstrates the considerable resistance to the spread of Italian style,³²⁰ the solo flute repertory, which began in France in 1702, shows signs of Italian influence almost from the outset. For instance, French dotted rhythms in giges, so characteristic of Lully's examples, are virtually absent from the Italianate giges in La Barre's (1702 and 1710) and Hotteterre's (1708 and 1715) *Pièces* for the flute. In England, the synthesis of both French and Italian styles had begun at the end of the seventeenth century.³²¹ By the time flute sonatas began to be published in the 1720s, resident British composers, such as Grano and Roseingrave,

³¹⁷ Neumann, *Ornamentation*, p. 164.

³¹⁸ Michel L'Affilard, *Principes très-facile pour bien apprendre la musique* (Paris: Ballard, 1705), cited in Little and Jenne, *Dance*, p. 21.

³¹⁹ Johann Mattheson, *Der Vollkommene Cappellmeister* (Hamburg: n.n., 1739); trans. Ernest C. Harriss as *Johann Mattheson's 'Der Vollkommene Cappellmeister': A Revised Translation with Critical Commentary* (Ann Arbor, Michigan: UMI Research Press, 1981), pp. 451–63.

³²⁰ See 'François Raguenet', 670–8 and 'Jean Laurent Le Cerf de la Viéville', 679–82 in *Source Readings in Music History*, ed. O. Strunk (1950); revised edition, ed. L. Treitler (New York and London: Norton, 1998).

³²¹ Peter Walls, 'Instrumental Performance', p. 550.

were writing dances predominantly in Italian style. In general, flute sonatas included dance movements less frequently as the century went on and some collections have none at all. Titles that appeared with the prefix ‘tempo di’ denoted a looser connection with the original dance characteristics, while other movements based on dances were hidden behind Italian tempo marks. It is interesting to note that among the many volumes of solo sonatas published for the flute in England during the period in question (*c.* 1720–*c.* 1770) few were by French composers, as can be seen in the Appendix.

While *Instructions* provides details for the performance of ornaments, the finer points of stylistic interpretation are, tantalisingly, omitted. It can reasonably be assumed that Granom was familiar with French music and performance practice, for French flute players who were active in London at the beginning of the century undoubtedly promoted their traditions and techniques directly to London musicians. In particular, Granom’s French mother lived until 1748, several years after the publication of the op. 1 sonatas. During his period abroad (1736–1744/45) he would have had further first-hand experience of French music and performance at the concerts he attended while resident in France prior to his tour through Germany. Some of Granom’s dances appear to be influenced by French tradition, particularly those in his first volume, op. 1. It may be a coincidence, but in this volume trills are found marked with a cross (+) according to French custom, whereas *tr* had long been the norm in England.

It is necessary to recognise the national characteristics of dance movements. Although dances in Italian style are played largely as written, the characteristics of French dances need to be identified if they are to be performed stylistically. François Couperin made the distinction between French and Italian styles in *L’art de toucher* (Paris: for the author, 1717) when he stated:

Il y a selon moy dans notre facon d'écrire la musique, des deffauts qui se raportent à la manière d'écrire notre langue. C'est que nous écrivons différemment de ce que nous exécutons: ce qui fait que les étrangers jouent notre musique moins bien que nous ne faisons la leur. Au contraire les Italiens écrivent leur musique dans les vraies valeurs qu'ils l'ont pensée. Par exemple, nous pointons plusieurs croches de suites par degrés-conjoints; et cependant nous les marquons égales; notre usage nous a asservis; et nous continuons.³²²

In my opinion, there are faults in our way of writing music, which correspond to the way in which we write our language. The fact is we write a thing differently from the way we execute it; and it is this that causes foreigners to play our music less well than we do theirs. The Italians, on the contrary, write their music in the true time-values in which they have intended them to be played. For instance, we dot several consecutive quavers in diatonic succession, and yet we write them as equal; our custom has enslaved us; and we hold fast to it.

How much the practice of *notes inégales* was used in England in the eighteenth century it is difficult to ascertain, and the many instances of notated dotted rhythms in English music might indicate that a general knowledge of the practice was not taken for granted.³²³ It is plausible to assume that later in the century Italian and French styles became more amalgamated, gradually diffusing into one international style. Nevertheless, recognising the stylistic trademarks of different national styles is important for performance-practice considerations.

There are many examples of rhythmic discrepancies between versions of the same piece as well as inconsistencies within a single movement, for which the first movement, *Grave*, of Handel's flute sonata in E minor (London: Walsh, c.1732) is a notable example.³²⁴ In particular, the opening bar begins with equal semiquavers for the flute, whereas when the same material

³²² François Couperin, *L'art de toucher le clavecin* (Paris: for the author, 1717); facsimile edition (New York: Broude Brothers, 1969), pp. 39–40.

³²³ This is the rhythmic convention in which, under certain conditions, particular note values which are subdivisions of the beat are performed unequally, even if these same note values are notated equally. For a full discussion of this practice see Stephen E. Hefling, *Rhythmic Alteration in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Music* (New York: Schirmer Books, 1993) and David Ponsford, 'The Conventions of *notes inégales*' in *French Organ Music in the Reign of Louis XIV* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011) pp. 25–56. Roger North provided evidence for the continuing practice of *notes inégales* in early eighteenth-century England; see Wilson (ed.), *Roger North on Music*, pp. 223–4.

³²⁴ The problems of this movement are discussed in Terence Best, 'Interpreting Handel's Rhythmic Notation – Some Reflections on Modern Practice', *Handel Tercentenary Collection*, ed. Stanley Sadie and Anthony Hicks (Basingstoke: For the Royal Musical Association by Macmillan, 1987), 279–90.

returns (fourth system, second bar) it is in dotted notation. This movement is shown below on p. 125.

SONATA I

Grave

SONATA I

Grave

A handwritten musical score for the song "The Rose Tree". The score is written on two staves, Treble and Bass clef, in G major (one sharp). The melody is in the Treble staff, and the accompaniment is in the Bass staff. The piece is in 2/4 time. The melody consists of eighth and sixteenth notes, with a trill (tr) on the final note. The accompaniment features a steady eighth-note bass line with various chords and fingerings indicated by numbers 6, 7, and 65. The score is written in ink on aged paper.

A handwritten musical score for the song "The Rose Tree". The score is written on two staves, treble and bass clef, with a key signature of one sharp (F#). The melody is in the treble clef, and the accompaniment is in the bass clef. The melody consists of a series of eighth and sixteenth notes, with some triplets. The accompaniment features a steady eighth-note bass line with some chords and rests. The score is written in ink on aged paper.

A handwritten musical score for the song "The Rose Tree". The score is written on two staves, a treble staff and a bass staff, both with a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a common time signature (C). The melody is written in the treble staff, featuring a series of eighth and sixteenth notes, often beamed together. The bass staff provides a simple accompaniment, primarily using quarter and eighth notes. The lyrics "The Rose Tree" are written below the bass staff, aligned with the notes. The handwriting is in ink on aged, slightly yellowed paper.

Traversa Solo.

Volta

The conventions of *notes inégales* were not documented in English instrumental treatises apart from a few for the flute (transferred from *Rudiments* into Text A, and then into *The Muses Delight*), but the fact that they persisted in print into the 1750s could suggest that for some musical contexts it was considered appropriate practice. Anselm Bayly's words of advice to singers and instrumentalists in England in 1771 implied that this was the case:

The scholar would do well to practice the marked divisions carefully [...] avoiding to mark them unequally, unless so directed with a peck [dot] by the composer [...] Marking divisions unequally, without leave of the composer, often produces an ill effect alone, but especially in parts, while one sings the division equally, and another unequally.³²⁵

This is not just a specific warning of the undesirable consequences that might arise from the spontaneous use of *inégalité* when several parts are involved; it is clearly implied that this practice might not always be considered to be in the best taste. Nevertheless, the conclusion to be drawn is that these conventions were still being observed by some performers even at this date.

As ever, opinions differ on the subject of *notes inégales*. The author subscribes to the same view expressed by David Fuller in his article in *New Grove* (2001). He states that to define *notes inégales* as equal notation performed unequally is too narrow, and to do so masks a great deal of evidence that certain composers in France, as well as England and Germany, used notated dotted rhythms to indicate *inégalité* in the French style: 'To insist that *notes inégales* are always written equal is to insist that a style of performance has no existence apart from notation'.³²⁶ In general, notated *inégalité* (as dotted rhythms) appears to have become standard in many *da chiesa* movements in flute sonatas in England. Opening slow movements, often a largo or an adagio, are often particularly detailed in this respect. It is therefore dance movements in French style that might be eligible for *inégalité* (i.e. not notated). Quantz warned:

³²⁵ Anselm Bayly, *A Practical Treatise on Singing and Playing* (London: J. Ridley, 1771), pp. 55–6.

³²⁶ David Fuller, 'Notes inégales', *New Grove* (2001), vol. 18, 190–200 (p. 190). See also Hefling, *Rhythmic Alteration*, pp. 32–61, and Ponsford, *French Organ Music*, pp. 43–6.

It is indeed undeniable that French dance music is not as easy to play as many imagine, and that its execution must be clearly distinguished from the Italian style if it is to be suitable for each type of piece.³²⁷

Performing in the French style required,

A clean and sustained execution of the air, and embellishment with the essential graces, such as appoggiaturas, whole and half shakes, mordents, turns, *battemens*, *flattemens* &c., but no extensive passage-work or significant addition of extempore embellishments.³²⁸

In particular, the ornament described by Hotteterre as a *coulement* (translated as a ‘slide’ in the anonymous English flute treatises) was performed before the beat to fill descending thirds, sounding *inégalement*.³²⁹

Performing in the Italian style needed more than knowledge of pure Italian practice:

extensive artificial graces that accord with the harmony [Italian style] are introduced [...] in addition to the little French embellishments.³³⁰

Italian style undoubtedly dominated both *da camera* and *da chiesa* movements of flute sonatas in England and it would be easy to assume that the practice of *notes inégales* was no longer appropriate, but I shall show in chapter six that in some of Granom’s dances it could be considered. No doubt opinions differed on specific issues of performance in eighteenth-century England, and performers in London may not always have realised the intentions of particular composers.

A greater number and variety of dances can be found in Granom’s flute sonatas than in those of his contemporaries. He commonly included two dances in a sonata, while only two sonatas have none. The only dances to appear in Weideman’s sonatas are minuets, invariably in Italian style with extended phrases and sometimes with one or two variations on a modest scale. Ranish’s minuets are similar to Weideman’s in style and scope but with more well-defined four-

³²⁷ Quantz, *On Playing the Flute*, p. 290.

³²⁸ Ibid., p.162.

³²⁹ See ‘slide’, chapter 3.

³³⁰ Quantz, *On Playing the Flute*, p. 162.

bar phrases. Ranish also wrote two sicilianos, both as opening movements, and a number of giges. The Siciliana in op. 2 no. 5 is notable for the flourishes incorporated into the melody and a cadenza for the soloist in the penultimate bar. Ranish apparently conceived all giges in the same manner, with melodic lines consisting of equal quavers often forming long phrases, supported by a simple continuo line. As seen above, Granom's dances include sicilianos, sarabandes, gavottes, minuets and giges. These will be examined in chapter six.

ASPECTS OF PERFORMANCE PRACTICE RELATED TO GRANOM

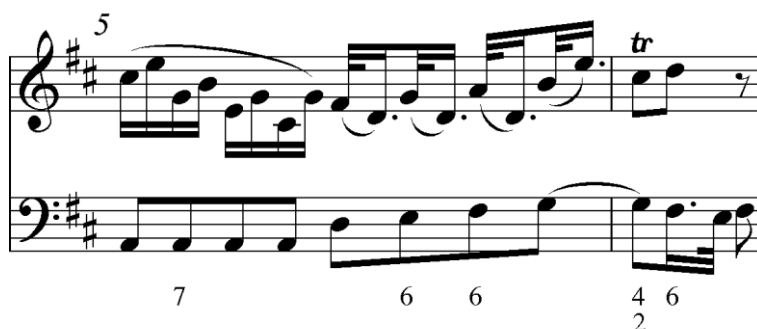
Extending the Range

As previously discussed, the artificial note c-sharp¹ is produced by turning the flute inwards and lipping down. Although rarely used by other composers, Granom used it freely in his duets and sonatas. In the context of disjunct figures, the performer must pitch the note accurately while moving quickly between octaves. On the other hand, when it is placed within a legato phrase, the technical challenge becomes one of moving to and from the c-sharp¹ without any loss of pitch while sustaining the sound. Two such cases are shown in example 5.1.

Ex. 5.1 a. Granom, op. 1 no. 1, Spirituoso Staccato, bars 5–6



b. Granom, op. 8 no. 5, Largo, bars 5–6



At the other extreme, g^3 can be found in movements marked andante, allegro and in variations to minuets. Granom usually uses it just once in a movement and often to maximum dramatic effect, as in example 5.2.

Ex. 5.2. Granom, op. 8 no. 3, Allegro, bars 59–64

Slurs and Articulation

As seen in the previous chapter, Granom strongly disapproved of the addition of extra slurs in allegros or other quick movements; clear articulation was paramount. Extended passages of semiquavers (duplets and triplets) and demisemiquavers feature in some allegros and the variations that follow some dance movements, for which a mastery of double and triple tonguing is essential. It is important to consider that double tonguing using eighteenth-century articulation methods such as Granom's *toot-tle* is very different from the modern *te-ke* or *de-ge*. The former

provides a strong note (*toot*) alternating with a weaker one (*tle*) throughout the passage in which it is used, whereas modern articulation practice can produce equally weighted sounds with both syllables.

Common slurring patterns of 3 + 1 (or 1 + 3) are marked in some extended sequences of semiquavers, particularly where the figures suggest typical string bowings. Often they are indicated just at the beginning of the passage, presumably leaving the performer to continue in like manner. The slurs in bars 5 and 7 of example 5.3 could reasonably be applied to bars 9, 10 and 11.

Ex. 5.3. Granom, op. 1 no. 10, Allegro, bars 5–12

The musical score for Example 5.3, Granom, op. 1 no. 10, Allegro, bars 5–12, is presented in two systems. The first system covers bars 5 to 8, and the second system covers bars 9 to 12. The music is written in G major (one sharp) and 2/4 time. The upper staff features rapid semiquaver passages, often with slurs. The lower staff provides a harmonic accompaniment with notes and rests. Fingerings are indicated by numbers 1-5 below notes. Bar numbers 5, 6, 7, and 8 are marked below the first system, and 9, 10, 11, and 12 are marked below the second system.

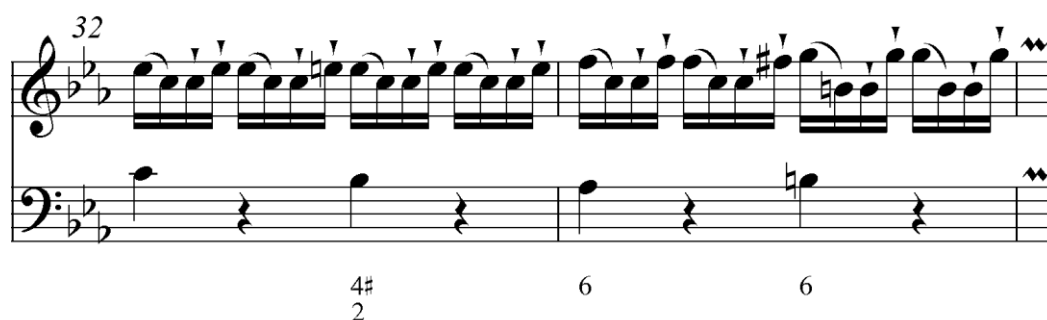
Decisions have to be made for the performance of other allegros in the op. 1 collection where similar figures occur but there is a complete absence of slurs, such as the last movement of sonata 3 and the second movement of sonata 4. By and large, slurs are marked more consistently in opp. 7 and 8, and while they are usually found in the context of conjunct or mildly disjunct

motion within a beat, there are some notable exceptions, as in the Tempo di Minuetto op. 8 no. 1 (example 6.45, p. 188).

Staccato and Mezzo Staccato

Markings indicating staccato occur infrequently in the sonatas of Granom, Ranish and Weideman's sonatas op. 1. However, they are marked liberally in Weideman's sonatas op. 5, the only exceptions being the slow movements. It may have been the publisher who selected the sign. Dashes are used in Ranish's and Weideman's sonatas, and Granom's op. 1. The only extant copies of Granom's opp. 7 and 8 are those published by Bremner, in which the staccatos, which appear rarely, are indicated by dots. A passage in one of Granom's Italianate allegros illustrates a use of staccato in the op. 1 sonatas. In this passage (Ex. 5.4) the need for crisp articulation of the tongued notes may have been obvious to many performers. Nevertheless, the marking is a reminder that normal tonguing is insufficient.

Ex. 5.4. Granom, op. 1 no. 7, Allegro, bars 32–33



Many of Granom's later sonatas use themes comprising several motifs. Example 5.5 shows a use of staccato for one element of an opening movement. In this case the indication is that a distinction should be made between the triplet at the beginning of the first bar and the staccato

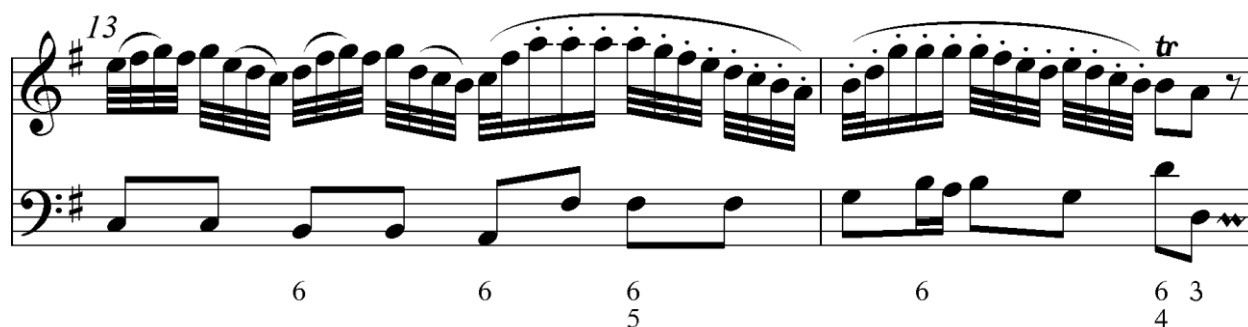
sextuplet at the beginning of the second bar. The dots here are the equivalent of (and were presumably derived from) violin portato.

Ex. 5.5. Granom op. 8 no. 6, Andante, bars 1–2



Although there is no mention of mezzo staccato in *Instructions*, Granom indicated it for both repeated notes and notes in conjunct motion as shown in example 5.6.

Ex. 5.6. Granom, op. 1 no 12, Largo Affettuoso, bars 13–14



Corrette, who observed that Locatelli used this marking frequently in his flute solos, stated,

qu'il faut articuler toutes les notes du même coup de vent.³³¹

that it was necessary to articulate all the notes in the same breath.

³³¹ Corrette, *Méthode*, facsimile edition, p. 21.

Quantz was more explicit on this point, describing it as an articulation ‘from the chest’, although his illustration shows only repeated notes.³³² In other words, the first note should be tongued as usual and the other notes produced without a consonant.

Dynamics

Dynamics markings are virtually absent from Granom’s sonatas. The Gigue from op. 8 no. 3 alternates *piano* and *forte* markings and it is clear that the movement relies on these echo effects for its musical impact. This movement will be discussed in chapter six. Granom may have had something more subtle in mind for the ending of the opening movement, Siciliana, from op. 1 no. 4. The only dynamic indication is the *pianissimo* (Ex. 5.7), which begs the question what sort of dynamic level should be chosen leading up to this point. A generous dynamic level would allow for maximum drama through the sudden drop in level, conversely a gradual reduction in dynamic from about bar 18 to the end could be effective in a rather different way.

Ex. 5.7. Granom, op. 1 no. 4, Siciliana, bars 18–21

The musical score for Granom, op. 1 no. 4, Siciliana, bars 18–21, is presented in two systems. The first system covers bars 18 to 21. The treble clef staff begins with a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a common time signature. The melody in the treble clef features a trill (tr) on the eighth note of bar 18. The bass line is marked with fingerings: 2, 6, 6, 6, 6, 4, 6, 7, 6, 6, 6, 4, 5, 3, and a natural sign for the final note. The second system shows bars 20 and 21. Bar 20 has a trill (tr) on the eighth note. Bar 21 has fingerings: 6, 6, 6, 4, 3, and a sharp sign for the final note. The word 'Pianissimo' is written above the final note of bar 21.

³³² Quantz, *On Playing the Flute*, p. 75.

In general it was left to the performer to supplement the notation and decide on the appropriate dynamics, the use of swells, and otherwise shape the melodic line. Quantz gave detailed note-by-note instructions for the interpretation of several examples in which his prescription included crescendos, diminuendos, and strong and weak notes, showing that a bland performance was not acceptable.³³³ In particular, Quantz's example of an annotated adagio shows that performance was shaped by harmony and dissonance. Granom had a reputation for playing with spirit and fire, as seen in chapter one, and this should be borne in mind when approaching his sonatas.

Granom was first and foremost a performer. As a composer he had to work out his personal style in the context of a variety of background influences. In addition to hearing the music and the playing of many musicians (foreign and native) in London, his experiences during the seven or eight years abroad (1736–1743/4) may also have informed his compositional style.³³⁴

His musical vocabulary included the popular features of the *galant* style: Lombard rhythms, drum basses, short phrases and syncopations.³³⁵ He occasionally used the chromatic fourth with various forms of embellishment in the soloist's line and also in simple form in the bass line.³³⁶

Learning by imitation was a long established and accepted part of a classical education that applied to all forms of art.³³⁷ In a culture where such practice was encouraged it should not be surprising to find that, particularly in his op. 1 sonatas, Granom sometimes imitated other

³³³ Quantz, *On Playing the Flute*, pp. 140–8.

³³⁴ As discussed in chapter one, Granom lived in Dunkirk for some years before embarking on a tour that included Hanover, Hamburg, Leipzig, Berlin and Prague.

³³⁵ Daniel Heartz and Bruce Alan Brown, 'Galant', *New Grove* (2001), vol 9, 430–2. J. J. Quantz describes this style in rather disapproving terms, see Quantz, *On Playing the Flute*, p. 326.

³³⁶ This device appeared in English music from the sixteenth century, see Peter Williams, *The Chromatic Fourth during Four Centuries of Music* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997).

³³⁷ George J. Buelow, 'Originality, Genius, Plagiarism in English Criticism of the Eighteenth Century', *International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music*, vol. 21, no. 2 (1990), 117–28 (pp. 119–20).

composers. On these occasions it is generally only a few bars at the beginning of a movement that correspond to another work, as though Granom needed an invention from which he could proceed. This was very much in keeping with the accepted principles of the practice, for it was considered essential that the original material should be presented in a new way.³³⁸

As I shall show in the next chapter, the abstract movements of Granom's op.1 sonatas display a variety of form and content that suggests a familiarity with the works of Corelli, Vivaldi, and Leclair besides his brother John Grano.³³⁹ Some of the dance movements reveal the influence of Hotteterre and Handel. Such correspondences might be expressed in a similar melodic outline, a similar style and structure, or, more rarely (in one case) a re-working of an entire movement. That Corelli's op. 5 sonatas were particularly well known to Granom will be seen below.

Granom's op. 1 sonatas are in marked contrast to those of opp. 7 and 8. It is the opinion of Stanley Sadie (the only writer I know to have expressed an opinion, albeit brief, on Granom's sonatas) that the later flute sonatas show a considerable advance in compositional technique.³⁴⁰ This difference is a reflection of Granom's development as a composer, for he found his own 'voice' in these later compositions and produced highly ornamented, virtuoso parts for the flute in a style that expresses a freedom and brilliance unique in English flute sonatas of this period. In order to appreciate these compositions, a suitable method for their discussion needs to be established.

³³⁸ Ibid., p. 121.

³³⁹ Flute sonatas by both Leclair and Locatelli were published in London by Walsh, see Appendix.

³⁴⁰ Stanley Sadie, 'Music in the Home II', in *The Blackwell History of Music in Britain, vol 4: The Eighteenth Century*, ed. H. Diack Johnstone & Roger Fiske (Oxford: Blackwell, 1990), 313–54 (pp. 326–7).

ASSESSMENT

A description and comparison of the *da camera* movements can best be achieved on the basis of genre; however it is not so obvious how to assess the *da chiesa* movements. It would appear that they cannot be classified in the same way for they have fewer marked, independent, distinctive features that could be used for the purposes of identification and subsequent repetition.³⁴¹ While a minuet is fairly easily recognised without a title, a largo with its designation removed is not always so readily identifiable.

Preconceived or fixed notions of classification have been challenged by Alastair Fowler in his study of literary genre, in which he promotes the view that genres should be considered as fluid, even overlapping.³⁴² He particularly warns against seeing them as classes: ‘a genre is much less of a pigeonhole than a pigeon’.³⁴³ His ideas have provoked considerable thought amongst scholars in relation to music. Laurence Dreyfus defines musical genres as ‘categories by which people (at any historical moment) slice up kinds of experiences and think about them as discrete objects’.³⁴⁴ He defines these objects by nouns; such as sonata, motet, minuet, and fugue. While Dreyfus’s view appears to ignore Fowler’s warning against classification, David Ponsford has embraced the flexibility implicit in Fowler’s approach. Ponsford has described the entire body of French Baroque organ music on the basis of generic division, arguing convincingly that even such diverse musical styles as duos and trios can be discussed in this way.³⁴⁵ It seems quite justifiable, therefore, to assess Granom’s *da chiesa* movements on the same basis. Further support can be found in a comment in the *Journal* of John Grano:

³⁴¹ Jim Samson, ‘Genre’, in *New Grove* (2001), vol. 9, 657–9.

³⁴² Alastair Fowler, *Kinds of Literature: An Introduction to the Theory of Genres and Modes* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), pp. 45–8.

³⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 37.

³⁴⁴ Laurence Dreyfus, *Bach and the Patterns of Invention* (Cambridge, MA, and London: Harvard University Press, 1996), p. 139.

³⁴⁵ David Ponsford, *French Organ Music in the Reign of Louis XIV*, especially chapter 2, ‘Genre’, pp. 8–24.

Before Dinner concluded the Concerto for the Bassoon, the whole consisting of five Moods, the first a Grave and Solemn Style, the Second a Lively Subject, the third a slow Complaint, the fourth a Jigg, the 5th and last a Minuet.³⁴⁶

Grano's use of the word 'Mood' not only embraces its eighteenth-century definition as a 'Stile of Musick' but he also uses it to encompass dance genres.³⁴⁷ This flexible criterion legitimises an assessment of the *da chiesa* movements by 'mood'. Furthermore, it enables Granom's compositional procedures to be noted and compared, and any external influences accounted for. In this way, therefore, the movements will be discussed by genre in the following chapter.

³⁴⁶ Grano, *Journal*, 21 March 1728/9, (*Diary*, p. 207).

³⁴⁷ Samuel Johnson, *A Dictionary of the English language*, sixth edition (London: J. F. & C. Rivington, 1785).

CHAPTER 6

GRANOM'S SONATAS

THE ABSTRACT MOVEMENTS

The general harmonic scheme of Granom's abstract movements complies with standard binary form: the end of the first section of music is defined by a modulation to a related key (usually the dominant) and the second section concludes with a return to the tonic. Repeats usually mark the beginning and end of each section. Rounded binary form (in which melodic material from the opening returns before the end in the home key) with balanced sections (where cadential material from the end of the first section is repeated, transposed to the tonic at the end of the movement) is used consistently for the abstract movements in opp. 7 and 8.³⁴⁸ Some of the movements in op. 1 are in simple binary form, in which there is little, if any, reference to previous thematic material. Overall the op. 1 sonatas display a greater variety of form and content, in which Granom explored different styles.

Not all eighteenth-century sources agree on the hierarchy of tempo markings, particularly of the slowest ones. Alexander Malcolm commented:

They have 6 common Distinctions of *Time*, expressed by these Words, *grave*, *adagio*, *largo*, *vivace*, *allegro*, *presto*, and sometimes, *prestissimo*. The first expresses the slowest Movement, and the rest gradually quicker; but indeed they leave it altogether to Practice to determine the precise Quantity.³⁴⁹

From the dictionary of musical terms in Granom's *Instructions* the corresponding sequence is: *adagio*, *grave*, *largo*, *andante*, *vivace*, *allegro* and *presto*.³⁵⁰ Although there are no examples of a 'grave' in his flute sonatas there are, additionally, *spirituosos*, a *preludio* and a *ground bass*.

³⁴⁸ W. Dean Sutcliffe and Michael Tilmouth, 'Binary Form', *New Grove* (2001), vol. 3, 576–8.

³⁴⁹ Alexander Malcolm, *A Treatise of Music: Speculative, Practical and Historical* (London: Osborn & Longman, 1730), p. 402.

³⁵⁰ Granom, *Instructions*, pp. 109–19.

While there is no qualifying tempo indication for the preludio, it is the most appropriate movement with which to begin this discussion.

PRELUDIO

The only preludio in Granom's flute sonatas is the first movement of op. 1 no. 10. Even though there is no tempo marking to indicate the type of 'mood' Granom had in mind, the C time signature was reserved for 'the slowest movement in common time'.³⁵¹ He used it consistently in his flute sonatas for movements from adagio through to andante.

The disjunct first bar of the opening melody invites comparison with Corelli's preludio from op. 5 no. 7. Both themes encompass the interval of a twelfth and are similar in shape and rhythm. Corelli's movement begins in imitation and Granom contrasts the angular shape of the melody with a rising scale in the bass line. The opening bars of both movements are shown below (example 6.1).

Ex. 6.1 a. Granom, op. 1 no. 10, Preludio, bars 1–2



³⁵¹ Granom, *Instructions*, p. 5.

b. Corelli, op. 5 no. 7, Preludio, bars 1–2



Granom continues in Italian style with flowing semiquavers marked with slurs characteristic of bowing patterns for the violin. Trills are indicated not only at cadences, as might be expected, but also liberally within the semiquaver passages. A decorated final cadence marked ‘adlibito’ allows some freedom to the flute player in the penultimate bar, although this is perhaps most effective if reserved for the repeat. A slow tempo could be implied by the succeeding Corellian allegro. Preludes were more usually associated with works in *da camera* style, such as the second part of Corelli’s op. 5. They appear rarely in flute sonatas and this is the only example by Granom.

ADAGIO

Granom’s single Adagio, the first movement of op. 1 no. 9, begins with a two bar statement that is immediately repeated in the relative major. Separating these two events is a rhetorical silence (unique in Granom’s flute sonatas) lasting for three crotchet beats, relatively long in this tempo. The practice of restarting a slow movement after a silence in a related key can be traced far back into the seventeenth century. Corelli used it for two opening movements in op.5 where, being in major keys, the themes are repeated in the dominant. In both Corelli’s Adagio op. 5 no. 3 and the Grave op. 5 no. 6, the silences, highlighted with a fermata, fall between the first statement of the

opening theme and its repeat in the new key just as in Granom's Adagio. A comparison can be seen in example 6.2.

Ex. 6.2 a. Granom, op. 1 no. 9, Adagio, bars 1–4

6 6 7 6 7 6 7 7 7 7 (6) 6

b. Corelli, op. 5 no. 3, Adagio, bars 1–5

6/5 4 3 7 7

While Granom may have taken Corelli's scheme as a model for these opening bars, he uses it to considerable dramatic effect. Corelli's melody relied on improvised ornamentation from the performer,³⁵² but there is no evidence that Granom expected the addition of any extra embellishments of a similar kind. Granom's use of the descending chromatic fourth in the bass increases the harmonic tension already created by the melodic syncopation. After the silence this expressive, somewhat languorous statement is immediately repeated in the relative major, this time with an altered bass line, creating a complete change of colour. Careful consideration should be given to the choice of tempo in order to reflect the fact that an adagio was the slowest

³⁵² Arcangelo Corelli, *Les Oeuvres de Arcangelo Corelli*, ed. J. Joachim and F. Chrysander (London: Augener, c. 1888–90), reprinted (New York: Dover Publications, 1992).

of all Granom's sonata movements, being two 'degrees' slower than largo.³⁵³ There are no other extant solo adagios by Granom.

LARGO

Both Granom and Grassineau defined largo as 'a slow movement, one degree quicker than Grave, and two quicker than Adagio'.³⁵⁴ There was general agreement that largo was only a 'degree' slower than andante at this time and so only moderately slow.

Granom's preferred opening movement of the op. 1 collection was a largo. This might have been a result of his brother's influence, for John Grano had chosen largos as the opening movement for each of his *Solos* (London: Walsh, 1728). Granom's op. 1 largos display a greater variety of influences and approaches, in terms of structure and use of thematic material, than the later and more uniformly organised largos in opp. 7 and 8.

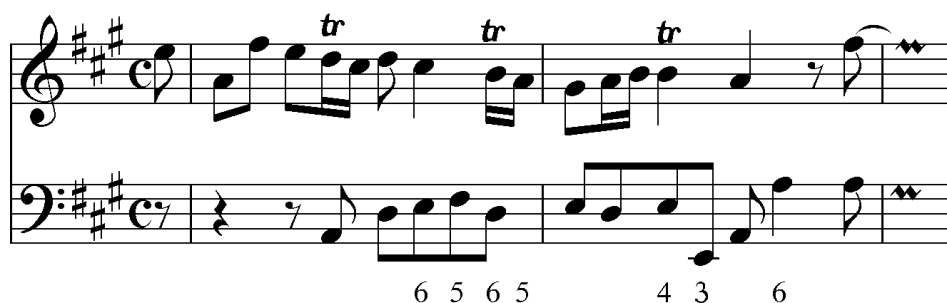
Characteristics of Corelli's style are evident in most of Granom's op. 1 largos, particularly the use of imitation, the reprise of the final phrase, simple themes, or themes with elaborate written-out embellishments.³⁵⁵ An example of thematic simplicity is the opening of Granom's *Largo* from Sonata no. 2. It is also evocative of Corelli, in particular the Preludio largo, op. 5 no. 9, which corresponds melodically in shape and rhythmic similarity as well as to the continuo entry at a similar point. As in the case of the Adagio discussed above, Granom may have looked to Corelli for an idea to use as a basis for his own invention. The opening of both these movements is shown in example 6.3.

³⁵³ Granom, *Instructions*, p. 112.

³⁵⁴ Ibid. Grassineau, *A Musical Dictionary*, facsimile edition, p. 119.

³⁵⁵ Estienne Roger and Pierre Mortier's 1710 edition of Corelli's op. 5 included elaborations for the solo violin. It was immediately published in London by Walsh & Hare (c. 1711), with the inscription, 'This edition has the advantage of haveing ye Graces to all ye *Adagios* and other places where the Author thought proper'.

Ex. 6.3 a. Granom, op. 1 no. 2, Largo, bars 1–2

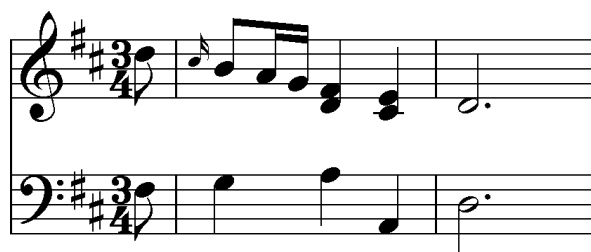


b. Corelli, op. 5 no. 9, Largo, bars 1–2



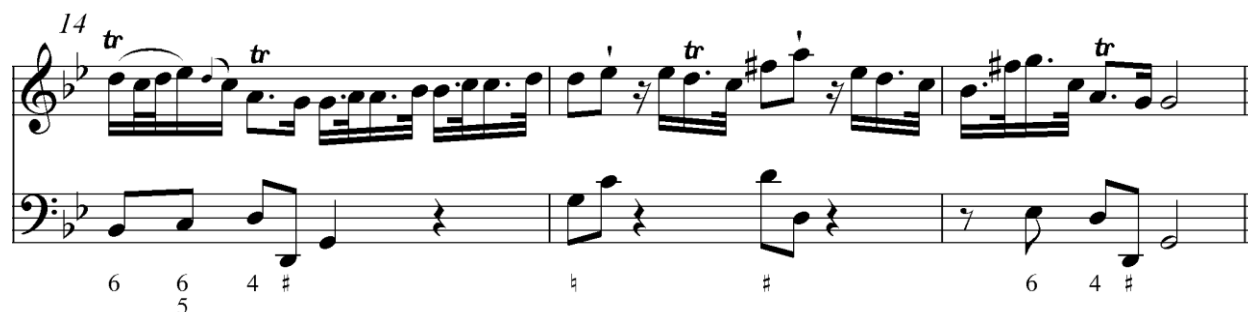
At the end of the movement Corelli repeats the final four bars. Granom ends his movement with a coda that is also repeated, and the final cadence figure is identical to that which forms the first full close in Corelli's theme. This phrase is so typical of the musical vernacular that Charles Cudworth described it as the 'cadence galante' as it occurred so frequently in this period.³⁵⁶ Nevertheless, the fact remains that it reinforces the connection (albeit loose) between these two works. Cudworth's example is shown below in example 6.4.

³⁵⁶ Charles Cudworth, 'Cadence galante: The story of a cliché', *MMR*, 79 (1949), 176–8, quoted in Robert O. Gjerdingen, *Music in the Galant Style* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), p. 146.

Ex. 6.4 Cudworth, the *galant* cadence

Reprised codas also form the endings of the largos of Sonatas nos. 8 and 12. The only coda which is not repeated is found in Sonata no. 3 where an element of drama is introduced at the end. A rhetorical silence follows the two detached quavers seen in example 6.5. This rhetorical assertion is reinforced a second time by a wider interval, not only between the melodic quavers but also between the flute and the continuo.

Ex. 6.5. Granom, Largo, op. 1 no. 3, bars 14–16



Lengthening the semiquaver rests by adding a dot and performing the following semiquaver as a demisemiquaver both times would further add to the incisiveness of the ending. This performance convention was explained by Quantz.

If in slow alla breve or common time a semiquaver rest appears on the downbeat, and dotted notes follow, the rest must be regarded as if dotted, or as if it were followed by another rest of half the value, and the following note as if it were of half the value.³⁵⁷

³⁵⁷ Quantz, *On Playing the Flute*, pp. 226.

Dotted rests were not used consistently until well into the eighteenth century. They can be found in Granom's opp. 7 and 8, but they are absent from op. 1, suggesting that later opuses were printed more accurately, and implying that this aspect of performance practice (i. e. the dotted rests) also applied to the op. 1 set, even though not notated as such.

In contrast to the simple themes of some largos, others are highly embellished such as in Sonata no. 8 (example 6.6).

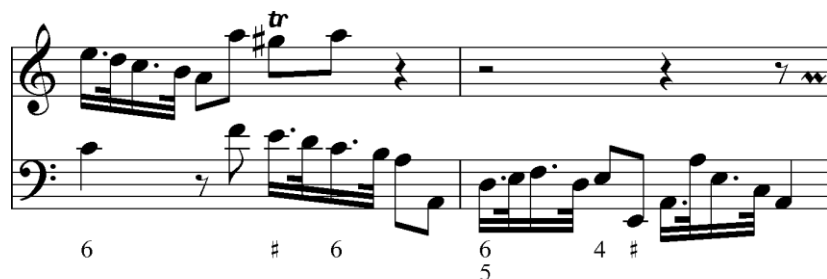
Ex. 6.6. Granom, Largo, op. 1 no. 8, bars 1–5

The musical score for Granom's Largo, op. 1 no. 8, bars 1–5, is presented in three systems. The key signature is one sharp (F#) and the time signature is common time (C). The melody in the treble clef is highly embellished with trills (tr) and slurs. The bass line is simpler, featuring dotted rests and fingerings.

System 1 (Bars 1–5): The treble clef melody starts with a quarter note, followed by a slur over a group of eighth notes, then a trill. The bass line starts with a dotted rest, followed by a quarter note, then a dotted rest, and a quarter note. Fingerings 7 and 6 are indicated for the first two notes of the bass line.

System 2 (Bars 6–10): The treble clef melody continues with a slur over a group of eighth notes, then a trill. The bass line continues with a dotted rest, followed by a quarter note, then a dotted rest, and a quarter note. Fingerings 8, 7, and 6 are indicated for the first three notes of the bass line.

System 3 (Bars 11–15): The treble clef melody continues with a slur over a group of eighth notes, then a trill. The bass line continues with a dotted rest, followed by a quarter note, then a dotted rest, and a quarter note. Fingerings 6, 5, 4, and # are indicated for the first four notes of the bass line.



Bars 21–22



One of the most interesting of the op. 1 largos is the first. The main theme, and the only material to recur, is played by the continuo alone. It is heard in full only once, at the beginning before the entry of the flute. The last part of this theme later serves as a link between two melodic phrases transposed to the dominant in the middle of the movement, and this same passage returns in the tonic where it is used as a coda. There is, arguably, a correspondence to ritornello form, with the harpsichord acting as the ‘orchestra’ to the solo flute.³⁵⁹ During the flute’s solo episodes, the accompaniment changes to simple harmonic support in quaver movement. The flute’s melodic material, entirely independent of the ritornello, consists of short figures, sometimes highly embellished, which are used sequentially and serve to extend phrases by avoiding a full close. In this case, Granom may have been inspired by Jean-Marie Leclair (1697–1764) who visited London in 1727 while on a concert tour playing his compositions.

³⁵⁹ For a full discussion of ritornello form, see Dreyfus, *Bach and the Patterns of Invention*, especially chapter 3, ‘The Ideal Ritornello’, 59–102.

Walsh published Leclair's op. 2 sonatas the following year, four of which were specified by Leclair as being suitable for the flute.³⁶⁰ Leclair used a ground bass (based on a descending chromatic fourth) for the first movement of his E minor flute sonata. This ground is played by the harpsichord alone at the beginning and end of the movement, and repeated four more times with the flute melody above. It is not treated as a series of variations, for the bass figures differ for each repetition and the melodic line overlaps the cadences.³⁶¹ Both themes are three and a half bars in length and are presented in example 6.8 for comparison.

Ex. 6.8. Granom op. 1 no. 1, Largo, bars 1–4

Leclair, op. 2 no. 1, Adagio, bars 1–4

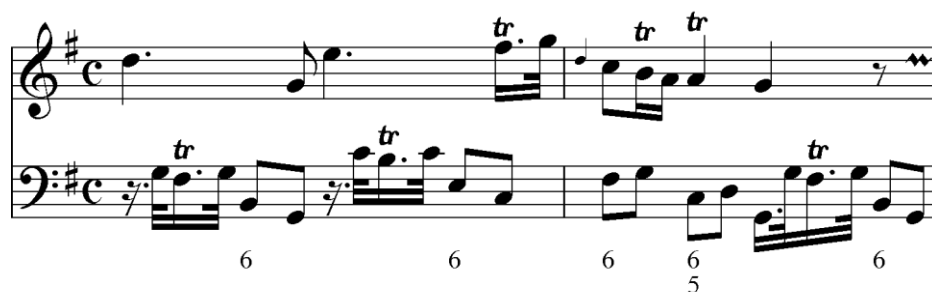
³⁶⁰ Neal Zaslaw, 'Jean-Marie Leclair' in *New Grove* (2001), vol. 14, 443–7.

³⁶¹ Purcell had used a similar procedure in *Dido's Lament*.



Every largo in Granom's opp. 7 and 8 is in both rounded and balanced binary form, a degree of organisation of melodic material that reinforces structural unity. Most of these largos display an abundance of rhythmic detail in the flute writing with the melismatic flourishes found in some of the op. 1 largos replaced in these later pieces with shorter figures. Typically, a lyrical opening flute theme, written in quavers and shorter note values, is supported by a contrasting bass line, which frequently features disjunct motion and dotted (long-short) rhythms. Notable for its unusually sustained opening melody is the Largo in op. 7 no. 1, shown in example 6.9.

Ex. 6.9. Granom, op. 7 no. 1, Largo, bars 1–2



In all of these later largos, the melodic lines become more complex as each movement progresses to the point of the return of the opening theme. Sequential and other connecting material is formed from elements of the flute's theme, adding further to the sense of cohesion. The extreme leaps encountered not only in Granom's largos but also even more spectacularly in extended passages in the faster movements require a virtuosity not evident in other contemporary works

for the flute, and point to Granom himself being a flute player of some formidable technique.

Example 6.10 below shows one such passage.

Ex. 6.10. Granom, op. 7 no. 1, Largo, bars 15–17

The musical score for Example 6.10 is presented in two systems. The first system contains bars 15 and 16, and the second system contains bar 17. The key signature is G major (one sharp). The melody is written in the treble clef and the bass line in the bass clef. The melody is characterized by frequent trills (tr) and grace notes. The bass line is more straightforward, with some grace notes. Fingerings are indicated by numbers 1-5 and sharps (#).

In order to preserve the dignity and poise of these opening movements the tempo should be judged according to the complexity of note values and figures contained therein.

ANDANTE

Granom used andantes exclusively as opening movements. Each has a C time signature indicating a steady tempo. Associated with this time signature are continuo parts dominated by quaver movement. Sébastien de Brossard defined andante as:

Aller, *cheminer a pas égaux*, veut dire sur tout pour les Basses-Continues, qu'il faut faire toutes les Nottes égales, & bien séparer les Sons.³⁶²

To go, to proceed by equal steps, that is to say for the basso continuo it is necessary to make all the notes equal and separate the sounds well.

Grassineau in 1740 condensed this to:

Andante signifies especially in the thorough basses that the notes are to be played distinctly.³⁶³

Repeated notes (in pairs or groups of four), disjunct intervals and the occasional dotted-quaver-semiquaver 'skip' to link phrases together are common features of these continuo lines. As a result there is never any loss of momentum and the free-flowing melodies, uncluttered by an excess of ornament, express an exuberance that is quite different from the mood of the more sedate largos usually found as the opening movement. Dotted rhythms, either long-short or Lombard (short-long), alternate with triplet semiquavers in each of these flute themes and, although melodically unsophisticated, they flow freely in an easy, animated manner, using the full range of the instrument. All andantes are in rounded binary form.

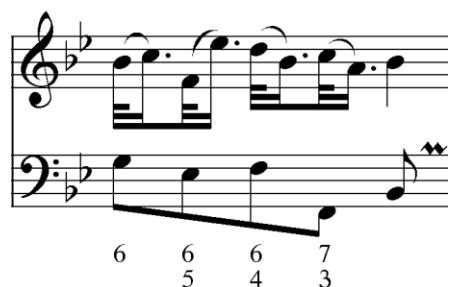
A notable feature of the single Andante in op. 1 is the similarity it has with the Adagio (see Ex. 6.2 above) in terms of the opening melody and the structure.

Ex. 6.11. Granom, op. 1 no. 10, Andante, bars 1–4



³⁶² Sébastien de Brossard, *Dictionnaire de musique*, sixth edition (Amsterdam: n.n., c. 1710), p. 9.

³⁶³ J. Grassineau, *A Musical Dictionary*, facsimile edition, p. 4.



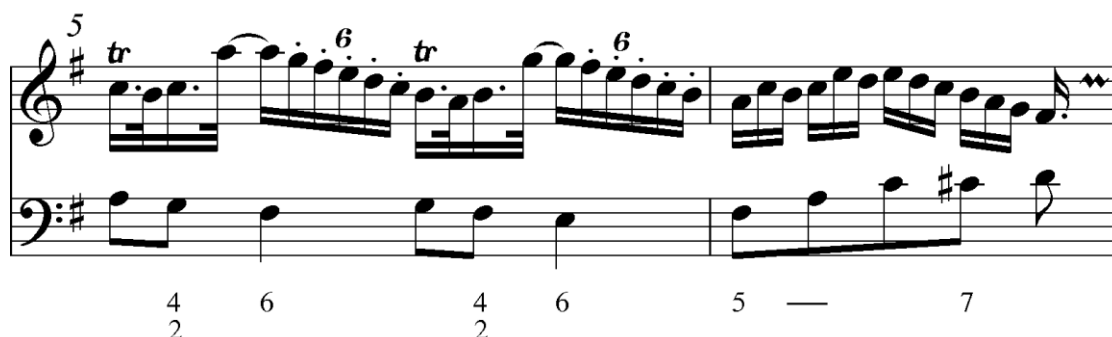
The use of Lombard rhythms is notable in the melody of the Andante, suggesting a more carefree mood than the ponderous syncopations of the Adagio. Similarly, short motifs form the sequences of the Andante rather than the long-breathed phrases that make up much of the Adagio; however, the endings are similar. Notwithstanding the contrast in tempo between these movements, I would suggest that while the Adagio is best performed with well-sustained lines to convey its seriousness as fully as possible, the mood of the Andante is best conveyed if the quavers and semiquavers in the Andante are slightly detached and the phrases shaped accordingly.

The andantes in opp. 7 and 8 are characterised by mixtures of figures marked with a variety of articulation. This lively mix is organised so that each phrase of the opening theme has a recognisable identity and as fragments of the material are subsequently repeated or used in sequences, a natural, coherent flow results even when new ideas are introduced. Example 6.12 shows two opening bars followed by a subsequent combination of these ideas.

Ex. 6.12 a. Granom, op. 7 no. 4, Andante bars 1–2



b. bars 5–6



One movement, found in op. 8 no. 2, is marked *Andante spirito*. Here, the melodic line displays the lively characteristics found in the vivaces, such as the wide intervals and syncopations, and also some very extensive sequences, whereas the accompanying bass line is dominated almost exclusively by continuous quavers, mostly in the manner of a walking bass. As in the case of the andantes, fragments of thematic material are turned into sequences and themes themselves are recycled, referred to or repeated (in whole or part) to create balance and unity within the movement. The time signature here is C, indicating a livelier tempo than for the andantes.³⁶⁴

SPIRITUOSO

Granom's two spirituosos occur as opening movements; one each in op. 7 and op. 8. His definition of spirituososo was 'to play on any instrument with vigour, life and spirit',³⁶⁵ indicating the required manner of performance rather than merely indicating the tempo. Lively melodies are characterised by dotted disjunct movement accompanied by lively, angular bass lines as illustrated in example 6.13.

³⁶⁴ For information on the relationships between time signatures, see Granom, *Instructions*, p. 5.

³⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 115.

Ex. 6.13. Granom, op. 7 no. 5, Spirituoso, bars 1–3

6 6 4 2 6 6 5 6

The melodies often use similar figures as found in the andantes, but in these movements Granom linked them together creating some extensive passages eventually leading to a fermata, or culminating with a sweeping phrase, as shown below in example 6.14. This is characteristic of the exuberance of the Spirituosos, requiring a great deal of stamina and control in addition to the qualities Granom stipulated (given above).

Ex. 6.14. Granom, op. 7 no. 5, Spirituoso, bars 30–34

6 6 6



SPIRITUOSO, PRESTO, GIGA [VARIATIONS ON A GROUND BASS, op. 1 no. 1]

This exceptional finale of sonata op. 1 no. 1 is written in three separate movements, each with its own title. According to Robert O. Gjerdingen, the bass line is a version of the Romanesca, a harmonic sequence popular for instrumental variations in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.³⁶⁶ However, it could be argued that Granom's progression is closer to a Passacaglia or a Ruggiero. All of these harmonic schemes were inherently flexible and Granom added an element of chromaticism to his in bar 10. The bass line shown in example 6.15 below is that of the Spirituoso. There are only slight differences for the Presto (in 3/4 time) and the Giga (in 12/8 time).

Ex. 6.15. Granom's bass line



³⁶⁶ Robert O. Gjerdingen, 'The Romanesca' in *Music in the Galant Style*, 25–45. An English example is Handel's Chaconne in G major with 62 variations (1733).

Granom's printer may have misplaced the repeat sign in bar four. It would be more logical to find it at the end of bar 8 after the modulation to the dominant in the middle of the piece, as in the other sonata movements.

In each section the melody remains largely the same. It is constructed from notes of the harmony in broken chord patterns which include large leaps of a tenth or more. An important consideration for performance is the relative speed of each section. One possible solution would be to maintain a constant speed for the fundamental notes of the Ground, making the dotted minims of the Presto equal to the minims of the outer sections. In this way, the characteristics of each 'mood' could readily be displayed.

VIVACE

Granom's definition of vivace is 'with life and spirit': in other words, the same as spirituososo but without the 'vigour' of the latter.³⁶⁷ A dictionary of musical terms published in 1724 begins as quoted above and continues: 'a degree of movement between Largo and Allegro but more inclining to the latter than the former'.³⁶⁸ Allegro is defined as 'quick and lively',³⁶⁹ so vivace can therefore be understood to have neither the robustness of a spirituososo, nor the swiftness of an allegro. With just one exception, addressed below, Granom's vivaces are all in triple time and are used as final movements. Wide intervals, syncopations and long phrases constructed of chains of figures derived from the opening theme drive these vivaces with an energy that encourages incisive performance. The disjunct intervals, as seen in the opening bars of the Vivace from op. 8 no. 5 (example 6.16 a), later become a feature of the movement as seen in example 6.16 b.

³⁶⁷ Granom, *Instructions*, pp. 109–17. See fn. 25.

³⁶⁸ Anon., *A Short Explication of such Foreign Words as are made use of in Music Books* (London: n.n., 1724).

³⁶⁹ Granom, *Instructions*, p. 109.

Ex. 6.16 a. Granom, op. 8 no. 5, Vivace, bars 1–4

6 6 7 6 # 4#
2 6

b. bars 11–18

6 6 6 6 6 6 6 6 6 6 6 6 5 6 6 5 4 3

This example is typical of Granom's approach to writing vivaces, but there is one exception, which occurs in op. 1 no. 8. Normally, the second movement in this volume was an allegro, but in this sonata it is a vivace with the time signature 6/8. It is a re-working of the final movement of Corelli's op. 5 no. 1. The movements are of comparable length; Corelli's is 50 bars and Granom's is 54. Both movements are in D major, begin with imitation, and the first six notes of Corelli's violin part are quoted at the beginning of Granom's bass line. Both composers alternate material between the melody and bass and include agile violinistic passage-work. Granom ends his movement with the first six notes of Corelli's violin theme played in octaves in the bass line and by the flute. The openings of both movements are shown in example 6.17 below.

Ex. 6.17 a. Granom, op. 1 no. 8, Vivace, bars 1–6

6 6 4 3 6 4 # # #

b. Corelli, op. 5 no. 1, final movement, Allegro, bars 1–5

6 6 3 5

Granom writes a highly embellished sequence leading to the final statement of the theme in the tonic, quoted in example 6.18 below.

Ex. 6.18. Granom, op. 1 no. 8, Vivace, bars 28–36

6 6 4 3 4 5 6 5 6



The technical demands of this passage require an unusual virtuosity not expected of English flute players hitherto. The theme, which begins an octave higher than its first appearance, requires f-sharp³, a note that is not previously found (to my knowledge) for the flute in a printed score in England. It occurs twice in this volume and is possibly the first time that the soloist was required to play above e³.

ALLEGRO

The allegros fall broadly into three groups. The first group, found in op. 1, reveals imitative or unison beginnings, together with broken-chord passages and figures for the flute characteristic of violin writing, possibly inspired by the concertos of Corelli or Vivaldi. Granom wrote these movements in simple binary form, with any return to the opening theme merely a fleeting reference and invariably a starting point for thematic sequential development. It could be argued

that the opening bar of the last movement of Vivaldi's *L'estro armonico* op. 3 no. 8 was the starting point for Granom's op. 1 no. 10, Allegro.³⁷⁰ These are shown in examples 6.19.

Ex. 6.19 a. Granom, op. 1 no. 10, Allegro, bars 1–11

The musical score is presented in three systems, each with a treble and bass staff. The key signature is one sharp (F#) and the time signature is 3/4. The first system (bars 1-4) shows a melodic line in the treble staff and a supporting line in the bass staff. The second system (bars 5-8) continues the melodic development with some triplet figures. The third system (bars 9-11) concludes the excerpt with a final melodic flourish. Fingering numbers are provided for the bass staff in the first system (6, 5, 7, 6) and the second system (6, 5, 4, 6).

³⁷⁰ Another composer to imitate Vivaldi's op. 3 no. 8 was Lorenzo Bocchi in a sonata for cello, see Peter Holman, 'A Little Light on Lorenzo Bocchi: An Italian in Edinburgh and Dublin', in *Music in the British Provinces*, ed. Rachel Cowgill and Peter Holman (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), 61–86 (p. 80).

Ex. 6.19 b. Vivaldi, *L'estro armonico* op. 3 no. 8, last movement, Allegro

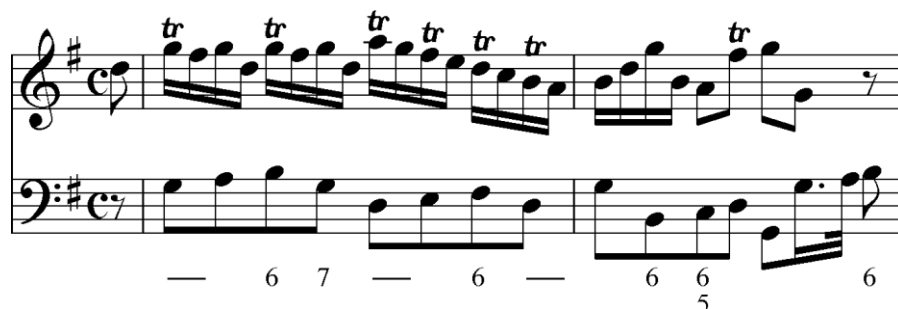
Further examples of openings in Italian style are shown in examples 6. 20.

Ex. 6.20 a. Granom, op. 1 no. 4, Allegro, bars 1–2

b. Granom, op. 1 no. 9, Allegro, bars 1–4

The allegros of opp. 7 and 8 comprise the second and third groups and they all satisfy the definitions of both balanced and rounded binary form. Those in second group are movements distinguished with the time signature C or C and they tend to be highly ornamented, such as is seen in example 6.21 below.

Ex. 6.21. Granom, op. 7 no 3, Allegro, bars 1–2



Allowing for neat execution will influence the choice of tempo or this movement. Part of another allegro of this type is shown in example 6.22. Perhaps it was the choice of key, with its forked fingered f naturals that influenced Granom to modify the tempo designation.

Ex. 6.22. Granom, op. 7 no. 2, Allegro ma non troppo, bars 26–29

The third type of allegro is written in 2/4 time. As shown in example 6.23, these movements share simple themes, sparse ornamentation and lightness of character, all suggesting great energy.

Ex. 6.23. Granom, op. 7 no. 4, Allegro, bars 1–7

Sequences developed from both the disjunct melody of the opening and the semiquaver figures in bar 4 occur later in the movement, as shown in example 6.24.

Ex. 6.24. Granom, op. 7 no. 4, Allegro, bars 65–75

In contrast, the extended passage-work used by both Ranish and Weideman (mainly in allegros) is much simpler. Weideman shows a little more adventure in some of the abstract movements in op.5 than in the first volume, op. 1. Ranish is perhaps a little more enterprising,

but neither, I would argue, have Granom's variety or inventiveness. For the abstract movements of his op. 1 sonatas Granom drew on the idioms of popular Italian composers, reflecting English tastes at this time, and yet he created some highly individual pieces, several of them unusually demanding of the flute player. His opp. 7 and 8 sonatas reveal a greater independence of thought and an even greater freedom in the melodic writing, which pushed the boundaries of flute technique even further.

THE DANCE MOVEMENTS

Out of a total of 24 flute sonatas, 22 contain dance movements and some sonatas include up to three. The slow movements are invariably either a siciliana or a sarabande even if they are not titled as such explicitly. Variations follow some of the minuets and one of the gavottes and these vary in complexity from the straightforward to the highly virtuosic. Granom's occasional use of dances in *da capo* arrangement is unusual and imaginative, with each combination unique to him. They are:


- 1) Minuetto–variation–*da capo* (op. 1 no. 4)
- 2) Gavotta–Minuet–*da capo* (op. 1 no. 5)
- 3) Minuetto–variation–Pastorale (in tonic major)–*da capo* (op. 7 no. 4)
- 4) Tempo di Gavotta–Gavotta 2 (in tonic minor)–*da capo* (op. 8 no. 6)

SARABANDE

Like other dances, sarabandes got slower over time.³⁷¹ Throughout the seventeenth century Italian composers adopted a variety of tempos for the instrumental 'sarabanda'.³⁷² Corelli's op. 5

³⁷¹ Betty Bang Mather, *Dance Rhythms of the French Baroque* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1987), pp. 295–6.

included only those marked *largo*, but those in op. 4 have the tempo indications *vivace* and *allegro*. This more lively type was evidently known in England towards the end of the seventeenth century where, in 1676, Thomas Mace described ‘*serabands*’ as being ‘of the shortest triple time; but [they] are more *Toyish* and *Light* than *Corantos*’.³⁷³

The established characteristics of late seventeenth-century French sarabandes, however, were simple melodies in a slow tempo and the rhythm  with a melodic accent or harmonic dissonance emphasising the dotted crotchet on the second beat of the bar thereby creating a sense of syncopation.³⁷⁴ In order to preserve the serious nature of these compositions, ‘running notes’ were not permitted (presumably in the melodic line).³⁷⁵ By the end of the seventeenth century this style was evidently known in England where, in 1690, James Talbot remarked on the considerable intensity of feeling expressed in performance,

Saraband a soft passionate Movement, always set in a slow Triple [...] apt to move the Passions and disturb the tranquillity of the Mind’.³⁷⁶

Granom did not include a definition in his dictionary, but the entry in Grassineau’s dictionary makes clear that these characteristics were adopted by eighteenth-century English composers.

A musical composition always in triple time, and is really no more than a minuet; the motions of which are slow and serious.³⁷⁷

Perhaps surprisingly there are very few sarabandes, untitled or titled as such, in eighteenth-century instrumental sonatas published in England. With the exception of his keyboard suites, Handel wrote none. A few untitled ones can be found in Geminiani’s op. 1 and

³⁷² R. Hudson and M. E. Little, ‘Sarabande’, *New Grove* (2001), vol. 22, 273–7 (p. 275).

³⁷³ Mace, *Musick’s Monument*, facsimile edition, p. 129.

³⁷⁴ Corrette, *Méthode*, facsimile edition, p. 4. Little and Jenne, p. 97.

³⁷⁵ Mattheson, *Der Vollkommene Capellmeister*, Harriss edition, p. 461.

³⁷⁶ James Talbot, MS notes (c. 1690) in Oxford, Christ Church Library, Music MS. 1187, quoted in R. Donington, *The Interpretation of Early Music* (London: Faber, 1963), p. 336.

³⁷⁷ Grassineau, *A Musical Dictionary*, facsimile edition, p. 208. This is a translation of the entry in Brossard’s *Dictionnaire*.

op. 4 collections, but Castrucci, who wrote a variety of named dances, excluded sarabandes entirely. Louis Mercy provided one for recorder in his op. 1, sonata no 3 (London: Walsh, 1718) and one can also be found in Sonata 6 from J. E. Galliard's *Six Sonatas for the Bassoon or Violoncello with a Thorough Bass for the Harpsicord* (London: Walsh, c. 1733). That Granom chose to include sarabandes is notable then, for he was the only eighteenth-century composer resident in England to do so in flute sonatas. Only three sarabandes have been found in the works of foreign composers whose flute sonatas were published in England. G. Boni, J. M. Leclair, and Quantz (in his collection op. 1) each featured one movement in this genre. While using the traditional rhythms, conjunct themes and ornaments of the French sarabande, Granom adds occasional leaps and some chromatic elements to the flute melodies. With just one exception, the continuo parts consist of continuous quavers. As we have seen, Corelli's op. 5 sonatas were well known to Granom, so he would have been aware of the use of the walking bass in Corelli's *Sarabanda Largo* in op. 5 no. 8. Hotteterre used a similar bass line for the sarabande *La Fidelle* in Suite no. 2 (*Premier Livre*, 1708) to which he added the instruction '*croches inégales et coulées*' in order to ensure that the quavers would be performed *inégalement* in accordance with French practice.

It is not possible to know whether these volumes of Hotteterre were known to Granom, but the bass line of his *Sarabanda Largo* in op. 1 no. 3 describes a descending diatonic fourth in a manner similar to one of Hotteterre's sarabandes. Both are quoted below for comparison in example 6.25. Harmonic dissonances correspond at the beginning of the second bar of each movement, and while Granom was able to continue the sequence exactly for the beginning of the third bar, Hotteterre slightly adjusted it to fit the melody. Granom's use of continuous quavers in the bass line conveys an expressive intensity which continues as the bass line descends by step

through an octave from bars 4–8. The simplicity of these melodies combined with the expressive harmonies makes both movements highly effective examples, demonstrating the qualities described above by Talbot.

Ex. 6.25 a. Granom, op. 1 no. 3, Sarabanda Largo, bars 1–8

6 (4) 6 (4) 7 6# # 4# 6 6 6 6 6 6 7 6 #

b. Hotteterre, *Premier Livre*, Suite 4, Sarabande, bars 1–6

2 6 7 6 # 7 5# #

The quaver movement of the bass line in Granom's Sarabanda in op. 1 no. 8 (example 6.26) is enlivened by pairs of semiquavers (in place of the second, or fourth, quaver). These semiquavers are printed as dotted rhythms in the first bar of the piece and additionally in the first bar of the second section (bar 9), whereas in all other bars they are notated equally. I would suggest that a literal performance makes little musical sense. Examples of the notational practice of dotting the initial motif and then continuing without dotting was known in France with numerous examples in the organ music of Jacques Boyvin (published 1690 and 1700) and in England with Handel's keyboard Allegro from Suite no. 3 in D minor (Suites for Harpsichord, 1720). It would be more convincing to interpret Granom's semiquaver pairs consistently, as

indicated in the first bar. Granom may have been deliberately casual in his notation, assuming that it was sufficient to indicate his intentions in this way for the dotted rhythms to be carried throughout in performance. There are no similar inconsistencies of notation in the flute part, where the dotted quaver-semiquaver pairs are notated throughout. It could be argued that this is a case of written-out *inégalité* because an interpretation in the French style would ‘dot’ the quavers had they been notated equally, the final outcome being approximately the same. However, the practice of *notes inégales* encompassed flexibility over the degree of dotting, ranging from very slight to very great, with ‘taste’ the final arbiter.³⁷⁸ From this point of view, therefore, a literal realisation of the flute part might not be considered the most appropriate. It could be argued that the chords figured ‘7’ notated in this sequence allude to French style, for such rich harmonies are characteristic of the music of late-seventeenth and early-eighteenth France,³⁷⁹ where ninth chords can be found in Hotteterre’s flute *Suites*. In Granom’s Sarabanda (Ex. 6.26) it is a matter for the soloist to decide whether to make the most of the moment by prolonging each of the appoggiaturas for a full crotchet, which would not only be in keeping with Granom’s stipulation in *Instructions* but is also implied by the figures in the bass.

Ex. 6.26 a. Granom, op.1 no. 8, Sarabanda Largo, bars 1–4



³⁷⁸ Monsieur de Saint Lambert, *Les principes de clavecin* (Paris: n.n., 1702); facsimile edition (Geneva: Minkoff, 1974), p. 26.

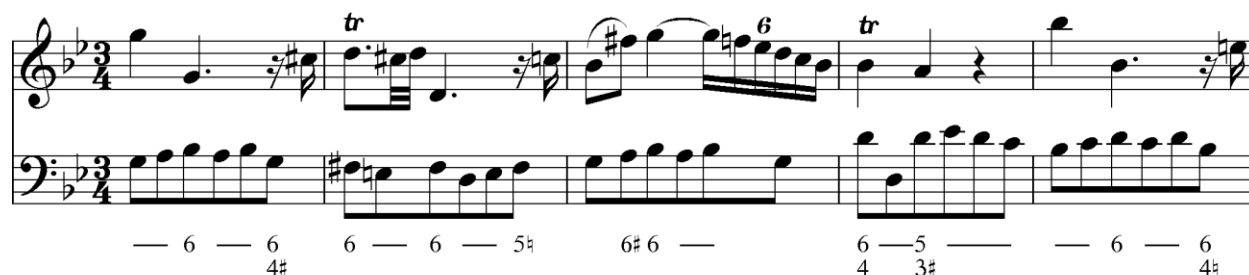
³⁷⁹ See J-H. D’Anglebert, *Pièces de clavecin* (Paris: for the author, 1689); facsimile edition (New York: Broude Brothers, 1965), where ninth and even thirteenth chords can be found in the sarabandes.

b. bars 20–22

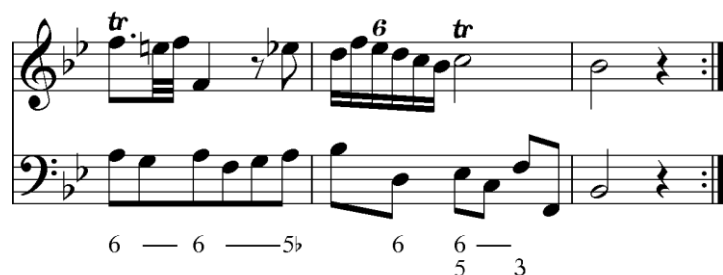


Two movements marked simply *Largo* in op. 7 have many of the features of a sarabande. The melodies are more static than those in op. 1, but the dotted crotchets on the second beat of the bar preserve the metrical characteristics of the dance. An Italianate walking bass line maintains the momentum in the *Largo* in Sonata 1 (example 6.27). The trills at the beginning of bars 2 and 6 are each preceded at the end of the previous bar by the lower auxiliary. This suggests the possibility of substituting ‘beats’ instead as encouraged by Granom: ‘I recommend Beats in many places where Shakes have been put’.³⁸⁰ A repetition of the same melodic pitch across the bar line increases the intensity of the expression in a particular way which could be in keeping with the character of the dance.

Ex. 6.27. Granom, op. 7 no. 1, *Largo*, bars 1–8



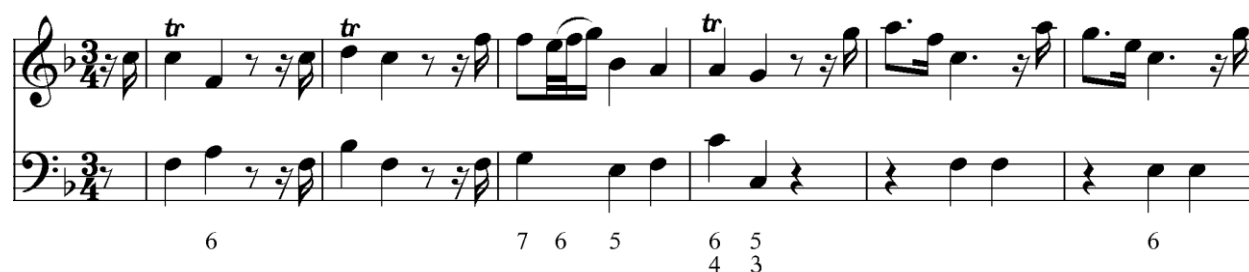
³⁸⁰ Granom, *Instructions*, pp. 10–11.



The Largo in op. 7 no. 2 also appears to be a type of saraband. The melody has the dotted rhythms typical of the genre to which the rests add poise, while the semiquaver upbeats not only act as elegant gestures but also propel the movement forward. This movement deviates from Granom's norm for sarabands, however, in that it is written in a major key, and it lacks the harmonic expression of the other movements of this type. Nonetheless, it appears to have adopted a structure similar to two of Handel's keyboard sarabands. The full-voiced texture of both these movements, from harpsichord suites no. 11 in D minor (1733) and no. 7 in G minor (1720), suggests that a similar realisation could be appropriate in Granom's Largo op. 7 no. 2.

The opening bars of Granom's Largo (Ex. 6.28 a) and Handel's G minor Sarabande (6.28b) are shown below.³⁸¹

Example 6.28 a. Granom, op. 7 no. 2, Largo, bars 1–8



³⁸¹ Whereas Granom wrote the rests in full, Handel relied on the knowledge of French conventions to lengthen the rests and shorten the upbeat, and also to interpret the grace note (bar 4) appropriately.



b. Handel, Suite no. 7 in G minor (1720), Sarabande, bars 1–4





Generally, Granom's approach to writing sarabandes was to use Italian-style bass lines with some of the freedoms inherent in Italian melodic style while (usually) preserving the rhythms and passion found in French models. These pieces illustrate the fusion of French, Italian and English styles that were prevalent in the mid eighteenth century, and are all the more interesting because sarabandes appeared but rarely in flute sonatas published in England. It may have been considerations of his French heritage that accounted for Granom's interest in this genre.

SICILIANA

The vocal origins of the siciliana can be traced back to fourteenth-century Italy where they were traditionally associated with melancholy texts,³⁸² which may account for the fact that eighteenth-century instrumental versions were often written in minor keys. Arias in siciliano style can be found in the operas of Alessandro Scarlatti (1660–1725) and Handel, where they are

³⁸² M. E. Little, 'Siciliana', *New Grove* (2001), vol. 23, 350–2.

characteristically situated within a pastoral context.³⁸³ Instrumental pieces which maintain the same association include the Pastorale from Corelli's Concerto Grosso op. 6 no. 8 (1714), and the Pastoral Symphonies from Handel's *Messiah* (1742) and J. S. Bach's *Christmas Oratorio* (1734), which are all in siciliana style. Their simple melodies are constructed in one- or two-bar

phrases using the lilting  and dotted  characteristic of the genre. Perhaps the association with Christmas arises from the origins of the siciliana as a shepherd's dance (see quotation by Quantz below, p. 173).

Exemplars entered the solo flute repertory in France in the early part of the century. La Barre included a solitary example in suite no. 4 in his *Deuxième Livre* (Paris: n.n., 1710) and Hotteterre's *Deuxième Livre* (Paris: n.n., 1715) includes a sicilienne in Suite no. 1. It is notable that both composers chose to write these movements without dotted rhythms. One of the earliest English examples of a siciliana for the flute is in Sonata no. 2 from the second part of the posthumous works by W. Babell (London: Walsh, c. 1725). Although this piece is also devoid of dotted rhythms it appears to be an exception, for sicilianas by Roseingrave (1728), John Stanley (in op. 1, 1740 and op. 4, 1744) and Handel (arr. Walsh, c. 1731), as well as those by the flute players Grano (op. 1, 1728) and Ranish (op. 2, 1744), have the dotted rhythms preserved. The siciliana made only an occasional appearance in English flute sonatas where it was sometimes used as an opening movement. Uniquely, Roseingrave used his two sicilianas as final movements.³⁸⁴ The entry in Grassineau's dictionary describes the siciliana only in general terms.

[A] Sicilian [is] a kind of air or dance in triple time, 6/8 or sometimes 12/8, played slow; notwithstanding 'tis marked the same as a jig which is generally quick.³⁸⁵

³⁸³ Ibid., p.351.

³⁸⁴ J. Ranish, J. Stanley and T. Vincent are among those English composers who began their flute sonatas with a *siciliana*.

³⁸⁵ Grassineau, *A Musical Dictionary*, facsimile edition, p. 224.

Granom, however, provided an insight into its character:

Siciliana, a slow and Pathetic movement, peculiar to that Nation of which it takes its Name.³⁸⁶

It is, therefore, a movement that expresses tender emotion, pity, or even grief, but in a more restrained manner than the saraband. Quantz referred to the simplicity of these movements and offered advice on ornaments:

An *alla Siciliana* in twelve-eight time, with dotted notes interspersed, must be played very simply, not too slowly, and with almost no shakes. Since it is an imitation of a Sicilian shepherd's dance, few graces may be introduced other than some slurred semiquavers and appoggiaturas.³⁸⁷

Granom's sonatas contain ten sicilianas (twice the number of sarabandes) of which four are untitled (they are marked largo). They have the time signature 12/8 (exceptionally, one is in 6/8) and seven are written in minor keys. They are characterised by lyrical melodies and flowing accompaniments using the dotted and lilting rhythms typical of the genre. The opening themes are simple, constructed mainly in conjunct motion, but carefully placed leaps, ornaments and small-scale embellishments (within a metrical beat) add interest to the melodic line. The least typical of all these movements is in op. 1 no. 11. Here, the somewhat perfunctory bass line accompanies a disjunct melody that does not rise above b^2 . Example 6.29 shows the opening bars.

Ex. 6.29. Granom, op. 1 no. 11, Largo, bars 1–2



³⁸⁶ Granom, *Instructions*, p. 115.

³⁸⁷ Quantz, *On Playing the Flute*, p. 168.

Unusually, Granom adds embellishments to the penultimate bar, shown in example 6.30.

Ex. 6.30. Granom, op. 1 no. 11, Largo, bars 7–8

Sonata op. 1 no. 4, unusually, contains two sicilianas: one as the opening movement and the other as the third. It would appear that Granom made a conscious effort to contrast them. The longer first movement (21 as opposed to 16 bars), is in a major key (the second is in the relative minor), and begins imitatively with a melody that descends an octave. Imitation occurs again between the flute and continuo at the beginning of the second section. One characteristic of both A. Scarlatti's and Handel's sicilianas is the Neapolitan sixth, which Granom uses in bar 8 (example 6.31).³⁸⁸

Ex. 6.31 a. Granom, op. 1 no. 4, first movement Siciliano, bars 1–2

³⁸⁸ M. E. Little, 'Siciliana', *New Grove* (2001), vol 23, 351.

b. bars 6–8

The second siciliano in this sonata has a predominantly ascending melody, spanning a ninth in the first bar (example 6.32 a). Disjunct intervals are part of the melody, which Granom exploits further in a short sequence in bar 7 (example 6. 32 b).

Ex. 6.32 a. Granom, op. 1 no. 4, third movement Siciliano, bars 1–2

b. bars 7–8

Granom never included two sicilianas in the same sonata again.

There are no sicilianas in op. 7. For op. 8 no. 2, Granom reworked and transferred some material from two of the sicilianas in op. 1. The first bar of the Siciliana in op. 8 no. 2 (example 6.33 b) is transposed from op. 1 no. 6 (example 6.33 a) as shown below.

Ex. 6.33 a, Granom, op. 1 no. 6, Siciliana, bars 1–2

6# 6 6 6 # 4# 6 6 # 6 6
5 4 b 4 5

b, Granom, op. 8 no. 2, Largo, bars 1–2

— 6 6 — 5 6 6
4 3#

The second section of this op. 8 siciliana (see example 6.34 below) begins with a reworked version of the material from op. 1 no. 4 (first movement) which was quoted above in example 6.31 b. It can be seen that the flute is supported by the continuo throughout these bars in the later version.

Ex. 6.34. Granom, op. 8 no. 2, Siciliana, bars 5–6



A particular feature of this movement is the use of ascending, melodic chromatic fourths, lightly decorated in the first section and extended in the second section over a bass line that descends almost exactly through the same interval. Square brackets mark this in example 6.35.

Ex. 6.35. Granom, op. 8 no. 2, Siciliana, bars 11–12



Ascending chromatic fourths appear in the melody of each of the three op. 8 sicilianas, in one case twice in succession (see example 6.36 below), prolonging the *affect* over three bars.

Ex. 6.36. Granom, op. 8 no. 3, Siciliana, bars 7–10

The musical score for bars 7–10 of Granom's op. 8 no. 3, Siciliana, is shown in two staves. The treble staff contains the melody, which includes several trills (marked 'tr') and slurs. The bass staff contains the accompaniment, with fingerings indicated by numbers 1 through 5 below the notes. The key signature is D major (two sharps).

In these movements Granom observed both the rhythmic and melodic discipline and the regularity of phrase structure inherent in the style, and to this extent they could be considered conservative. Trills and slurs are used sparingly in the op. 1 sicilianas, in a manner that would probably satisfy Quantz's stipulation (see quotation above). Ornaments are more liberally marked in the op. 8 sicilianas, however, with most bars containing between one and three trills, carefully marked slurs and a greater use of appoggiaturas. Combined with melodic embellishments and the use of chromatic harmonies, the op. 8 sicilianas exemplify an imaginative approach without any loss of their traditional characteristics.

MINUET

The minuet had been a popular social dance in England from the seventeenth century and one of the most frequently encountered dance genres in eighteenth-century flute sonatas.³⁸⁹ It was also the movement that was most often followed by one or more variations, possibly a reflection of the fact that a complete performance of the dance needed in excess of a hundred bars of music.³⁹⁰ Characteristics of minuets in the Italian style include melodies in eight-bar phrases, frequently

³⁸⁹ M. E. Little, 'Minuet', *New Grove* (2001), vol. 16, 740–6 (p. 743).

³⁹⁰ Little and Jenne, *Dance*, pp. 65 and 72.

featuring disjunct motion, to be played in a relatively swift tempo (indicated by the time signature 3/8).³⁹¹ French instrumental ‘menuets’ are more constrained, with melodies in four-bar phrases in predominantly conjunct motion and a slower tempo (indicated by the time signature 3/4 or 3).³⁹² There was no consensus about the ‘mood’ of these pieces among European writers. Mattheson remarked that they expressed ‘moderate cheerfulness’,³⁹³ a view endorsed by Jean-Jacques Rousseau who reported that Brossard’s perception was different:

Menuet, [a] kind of dance which, the Abbé Brossard tells us, came originally from Poitou. He says that this dance is very gay and its movement very fast. This is not quite right. The character of the Menuet is a noble and elegant simplicity; the movement is moderate rather than quick. It may be said that the least gay of all the kinds of dances used in our concert halls is the menuet.³⁹⁴

Whether by accident or design, Granom offered no explanation of the minuet. He may have considered it to be so well known that it was unnecessary, or it may have been an oversight, nevertheless, his dictionary is incomplete without it. Grassineau describes it simply as ‘a kind of dance’ in triple time, commonly constructed of two sections; the first of four or eight bars and the second of eight bars.³⁹⁵

Granom’s eleven minuet movements have a variety of titles: Minuet, Affettuoso, Largo affettuoso, Minuetto gracioso, and Tempo di minuetto. Only one has the time signature 3/8, the remaining ten have the time signature 3/4 and six are followed by one or more variations. Stylistically they range from the simplicity of the traditional French dance to those that adopt Italian traits and have elaborate variations. One of Granom’s untitled movements is shown below (example 6.37 a) for comparison with the opening of one of Hotteterre’s menuets (example 6.37 b). The movements are the same length, each comprising a first section of 8 bars and a second

³⁹¹ M. E. Little, ‘Minuet’, *New Grove* (2001), vol. 16, 740–6 (p. 743).

³⁹² For examples, see Jacques Hotteterre, *Pièces pour la flûte traversière* (Paris: n.n., 1708 and 1715).

³⁹³ Mattheson, *Der Vollkommene Capellmeister*, Harriss edition, p. 451.

³⁹⁴ Jean-Jacques Rousseau, ‘Menuet’, in *Encyclopédie*, ed. Denis Diderot and Jean d’Alembert (Paris: n.n., 1751–2), quoted in Little and Jenne, *Dance*, p. 63.

³⁹⁵ Grassineau, *A Musical Dictionary*, facsimile edition, pp. 131–2.

section of 16 bars. French style is reflected by Granom in the use of a narrow range of notes (g^1 to b^2), short phrases and a predominant conjunct motion. The similarity of the opening bars, the imitative continuo entry, and the fact that the rhythmic structure of bars 1–4 is the same in bars 4–8 of each movement suggests Granom's familiarity with Hotteterre's menuets.

Ex. 6.37 a. Granom, op. 1 no. 7, *Largo affettuoso*

Largo Affettuoso

6 6 6 5 4# 6 6 6 5

6 7 6 4# 6 6 6 7

17 6 6 5 4# 6 6 7

b. Hotteterre, *Premier Livre*, Suite 4, Menuet, *Le Mignon*, bars 1–8



An important consideration for the performance of Granom's movement is the subject of *notes inégales*. In keeping with French practice, the conjunct quavers would undoubtedly have been performed unequally in Hotteterre's minuet. Granom notated dotted rhythms in the melody once in the first section (bar 4) and more frequently in the second section. The question to be addressed is whether any of the equally notated quavers should also be performed *inégales*. The galant style came to dominate late eighteenth-century music, but Granom's op. 1 collection was published in 1741 and this particular movement conforms to French style. It could be argued, therefore that all aspects of French performance practice could be deemed appropriate, supporting the case for quaver *inégalité* (with the possible exception of bar 3). Given the notation of the quavers in bars 9, 12, 21 and 22 it would be logical to extend the *inégalité* to the continuo part. French composers used slurs and staccato dots as notated in bar 3 as a specific indication to cancel *inégalité*. According to Marin Marais, they were also used by 'foreigners',³⁹⁶ although whether they were in use in England half a century later is a moot point.³⁹⁷ The dominance of the galant style meant that only in very specific cases of movements in the French-style would this be relevant. In the case of this movement, Granom was either signifying an exception to the prevailing *inégalité* or it was simply an indication of mezzo staccato. For performance, decisions

³⁹⁶ Marin Marais, *Pièces de viole, second livre* (Paris: for the author, 1701); ed. John Hsu (New York: The Broude Trust, 1986), Preface.

³⁹⁷ For *inégalité* in Handel see Ponsford, *French Organ Music*, p. 55 and in England generally see Hefling, *Rhythmic Alteration*, pp. 51–4.

need to be made regarding the inconsistencies of notation in this movement, and included in this is the matter of the appoggiaturas.

A characteristic feature of minuets was the use of appoggiaturas, whose function was to give an accent through dissonance, particularly appropriate for strong beats. This would suggest that the first two grace notes of bar 2 are on-beat appoggiaturas. The trills in the parallel passage in bars 5 and 6, beginning on the beat with the upper auxiliary, serve the same function. The *ports de voix* in bars 12 and 16 could each be resolved in French practice with the addition of a *battement*, the sum total being identical to Granom's 'beat'.

All the conditions are satisfied for the third grace note in bar 2 to be identified as a *tierce de coul   melodique* (see page 94 in this thesis) performed before the beat. The grace notes on the third beat of bars 11 and 15 do not satisfy the first condition for the *tierce de coul   melodique* because the phrases do not end until bars 12 and 16 respectively. Example 6.38 shows a possible realisation of the opening two bars.

Ex. 6.38. Granom, op. 1 no. 7, Largo Affettuoso, bars 1–2, suggested realisation



Predominantly French characteristics, including some notated *in  galit  *, can be found in two other minuets in op.1 (the Largo affettuoso in no. 5 and the Minuetto gracioso in no. 10) inviting a similar approach to the interpretation.

The four remaining minuets in op. 1 (three are titled as such, one is marked Affettuoso) are written in a mixed style. All have the time signature 3/4, are structured in four-bar balanced

phrases, and all have one or more Italianate variations. Granom's approach to writing variations was to use a particular rhythmic and/or melodic motif for each one, with each variation using progressively shorter note values. Corelli used this method for the solo part of the Folia variations in op. 5, and it became widely adopted for variations of dance movements (particularly minuets) in English flute sonatas.³⁹⁸ Granom's variations for the minuets in op. 1 are typical in this respect, while perhaps showing more imagination than other contemporary composers. Those in opp. 7 and 8, however, are extraordinary. They make use of the full range of the instrument and make greater demands than before on the performer. Particular aspects of performance practice arise in op. 7 no. 3. In the minuet theme (example 6.39) the traditional crotchet-minim syncopation of the French dance is evident along with the descending chromatic fourth and some disjunct intervals normally associated with Italian style.

Ex. 6.39. Granom, op. 7 no.3, Tempo di minuetto

The musical score for Example 6.39 is presented in two systems. The first system contains measures 1 through 8, and the second system contains measures 9 through 16. The music is written for a single melodic line in treble clef and a bass line in bass clef, both in 3/4 time and the key of D major (indicated by two sharps). Fingerings are indicated by numbers 1 through 7 below the notes. Trills are marked with 'tr' above specific notes in measures 1, 2, 3, 9, and 10. The bass line features a descending chromatic fourth (F# to C) in measure 4. The piece concludes with a repeat sign in measure 16.

³⁹⁸Ranish, Weideman, Stanley, Locatelli and others wrote variations for minuets in flute sonatas in this manner.



The fingerings found in French keyboard menuets imply that the syncopations (bars 3 and 19) need to be articulated clearly, by slightly shortening and lifting the first beat.³⁹⁹ Lombard rhythms could be implied by the slurred quavers in bars 5, 6 and 7 in which case the first beats in bars 5 and 6, would automatically achieve this shortening *affect*. It was a long-established French practice to add a trill to the second note of a slurred pair that descends by a step and this can be seen notated in a minuet in op. 1.⁴⁰⁰ This would be appropriate for the second crotchet in bars 5, 6, 14 and 15 where, in each instance, the first note of the pair would function as a notated upper-note appoggiatura.

Throughout the variations the continuo part remains the same as for the minuet theme and problems arise when the original harmony no longer fits the elaborated melodic line. Such a discrepancy occurs at the beginning of the third variation (example 6.40) where neither of the continuo chords on the third beat of the first bar and the first beat of the second bar respectively fit with what Granom has written for the flute.

³⁹⁹ See *Menuet* by Jean-François Dandrieu, quoted in Little and Jenne, *Dance*, p. 72.

⁴⁰⁰ See *Affettuoso* in Sonata 5 op. 1. This instruction was first written for flute players by M. de La Barre in the Preface to his *Pièces* (1702). It is not in Hotteterre's *Rudiments* but it does appear in many of the anonymous treatises for the recorder published in England, including *The New Flute Master* (Walsh, 1706), p. 5, and the *Compleat tutor for the Flute* (London: R. Bremner, c. 1765), p. 7.

Ex. 6.40. Granom, op. 7 no.3, Tempo di Minuetto, variation 3, bars 1–2



Apparently such cases as these were common. In 1707 M. de Saint Lambert wrote:

Il peut meme quelquesfois changer les accords prescrits aux notes, l'orsqu'il juge que d'autres y conviendront mieux.⁴⁰¹

One can sometimes even change the chords prescribed for the notes, when one judges that other chords would suit them better.

C. P. E. Bach gave the same advice in 1762:

The accompanist may modify the bass extemporaneously [...] and how often this must be done!⁴⁰²

A possible solution is shown in example 6.41.

Ex. 6.41. Granom, op. 7 no.3, Tempo di minuetto, variation 3, bars 1–2, suggested alteration



⁴⁰¹ Monsieur de Saint Lambert, *Nouveau traité de l'accompagnement de clavecin et de l'orgue*, (Paris: n.n., 1707); facsimile edition (Geneva: Minkoff, 1974), p. 36.

⁴⁰² C. P. E. Bach, *Versuch über die wahre Art das Clavier zu spielen, zweiter Teil* (Berlin: C. F. Kahnt, 1762); trans. and ed. William J. Mitchell as *Essay on the True Art of Playing Keyboard Instruments* (New York: Norton, 1949), p. 176.

Arpeggios dominate this third and final variation. For flute players not used to playing higher than an occasional e^3 , the end of this variation might have presented something of a challenge (see example 6.42). Particular care is needed in the final bar to control the appoggiatura. There is no ‘beat’ marked here, but a short one would not be out of place.

Ex. 6.42. Granom, op. 7 no.3, Tempo di minuetto, variation 3, bars 19–20



As noted in the chapter four, Locatelli's flute sonatas op. 2 were popular throughout Europe, including England, where the *Minuetto* from the sonata in G major (no. 10 in the original edition, 1732, but placed as no. 4 by Walsh, 1737) was such a favourite that it was included in numerous musical anthologies.⁴⁰³ Seven variations follow the minuet theme over a repeating bass line. Variants of this same bass line appear twice in Granom's sonatas, on each occasion for a minuet with variations. In op. 1 no. 12 the concluding movement to the entire volume comprises a minuet theme with seven variations. While it may just have been a coincidence, or the result of Granom having heard Locatelli's original piece, the similarities are striking. Example 6.43 below shows a variation from each movement for comparison.

⁴⁰³ Fulvia Morabito, Introduction, p. xxxviii.

Ex. 6.43 a. Granom Sonata op. 1 no. 12, Minuet, variation 4

6 6 5 6 6 6# 5 7 4 3 6 4 7 #

6 5# 6 5# 6 5# 6 6 5 4 7 3

b. Locatelli, Sonata in G major no. 4 (Walsh, 1737), Minuetto, variation 3

6 4 3

4 3

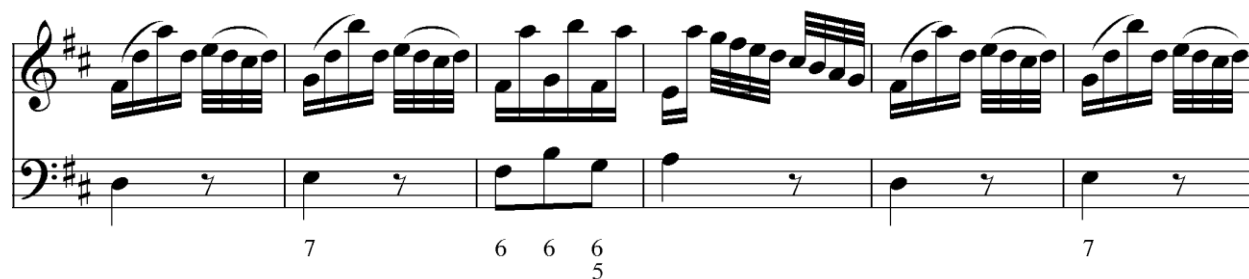
A similar bass line appears in the Minuetto from Granom's Sonata op. 7 no. 6 (example 6.44). Only the first four bars differ from Locatelli's and, whether consciously or not, Granom's variations are again similar to Locatelli's in range of notes and figures.

Ex. 6.44. Granom, op. 7 no. 6, Minuetto, bass line



The only one of Granom's minuets to have the time signature 3/8, and therefore that is presented in Italian style, is the Tempo di Minuetto in op. 8 no. 1. The theme is followed by four variations written in progressively shorter note values over a repeated bass line. Most noticeable is the unusually low tessitura, although this is not the case for the third variation. Here there are some exceptionally wide leaps, some of them marked with slurs making them even more demanding for the performer. Slurs were more usually associated with conjunct notes or intervals of a third, whereas these span intervals of twelfths and thirteenthths. Example 6.45 shows part of this variation.

Ex. 6.45. Granom, op. 8 no. 1, Tempo di Minuetto, variation 3, bars 1–12





The entire piece is a dazzling technical display ending with a fourth variation consisting of repeated figures in continuous demisemiquavers throughout.

Apart from the musical interest of these pieces, the scope of them is quite remarkable. From the French-influenced little minuets of op. 1 to the virtuosity displayed in the Italianate variations of those in opp. 7 and 8, they demonstrate a thorough knowledge and appreciation of what the flute could achieve beyond anything else written or published for it in England during this period and would have extended the technique of anyone who mastered them.

GAVOTTE

Italian and French gavottes of the sixteenth and first half of the seventeenth centuries started at the beginning of the bar.⁴⁰⁴ While Italian gavottes retained the downbeat start, French gavottes from the late seventeenth century began halfway through the bar.⁴⁰⁵ Prominent features of gavotte melodies in Italian style include large leaps and broken chords, syncopations, extended sequences and running passages.⁴⁰⁶ The majority of Corelli's *gavotta* and *tempo di gavotta* movements (in opp. 2, 4 and 5) begin on the first beat of the bar, have either a time signature of C or 2/4 and are marked either *allegro* or *presto*.⁴⁰⁷ The swift tempo and virtuoso style of

⁴⁰⁴ Little and Jenne, *Dance*, p. 51.

⁴⁰⁵ Mather, *Dance Rhythms of the French Baroque*, p. 252.

⁴⁰⁶ Little and Jenne, *Dance*, pp. 56–7.

⁴⁰⁷ Two of them have some dotted rhythms, see *Gavotta* in op. 2 no. 1 and *Tempo di Gavotta* in op. 2 no. 5.

performance associated with this style of gavotte was felt by Mattheson to be contrary to its true character, which should be joyful and ‘skipping’.⁴⁰⁸ These latter traits belonged to the traditional French type, in which a moderate tempo allowed the quavers to be performed *inégalement*.

Hotteterre’s direction *gracieusement* or *tendrement* for his gavottes (see *Pièces*, 1708 and 1715) is a clear indication of a modest tempo. Marked with the time signature 2, they begin half way through the bar and are constructed in four-bar phrase units that fall into two ‘question and answer’ phrases of four beats each, in keeping with the steps of the dance.⁴⁰⁹ Many are in rondeau form. Further characteristics of French style include melodies in predominantly conjunct motion with possibilities for *inégalité* (at quaver level), extended phrases, frequent short ornaments with opportunities for adding extra ones, and an absence of sequences (or only very short ones).⁴¹⁰

Grassineau described the gavotte as follows:

Gavotta or Gavotte is a kind of dance, the air whereof has two strains, brisk and lively by nature and in common time; each of its strains are played twice over, the first usually has four or eight bars and the second contains eight, twelve or more. The first begins with a minim, or two crotchets or notes of equal value and the hand rising; and ends with the full hand on the dominant or mediant of the mode, never on the final unless it be a rondeau.⁴¹¹

Granom made no reference to the dance, referring only to the instrumental movement.

Gavotta or Gavotte; a particular movement, brisk and lively, and is always in common time, beginning in the middle of the bar, with two notes of equal value; the hand rising, and ends with it down.⁴¹²

⁴⁰⁸ Mattheson, *Der Vollkommene Capellmeister*, Harriss edition, p. 453.

⁴⁰⁹ Little and Jenne, *Dance*, p. 50.

⁴¹⁰ M. E. Little, ‘Gavotte’, *New Grove* (2001), vol. 9, 591–3 (p. 592).

⁴¹¹ Grassineau, *A Musical Dictionary*, facsimile edition, p. 35.

⁴¹² Granom, *Instructions*, p. 111.

It is the Italian style of gavotte that is found in English flute sonatas.⁴¹³ Some start at the beginning of the bars, some in the middle of the bar (French style), while there are also instances of the use of different upbeats. Granom provides some typical examples. Of the six sonata movements titled *Gavotta* or *Tempo di gavotta* three begin in the middle of the bar, two start at the beginning of the bar, and one (in 2/4 time) has a quaver upbeat. In one case Granom reworked Corelli's *Tempo di gavotta* op. 5 no. 9. The first sections of both movements are shown in example 6.46 for comparison.

Ex. 6. 46 a. Granom, op. 1 no. 2, *Tempo di gavotta*, bars 1–16

The musical score for Ex. 6. 46 a. Granom, op. 1 no. 2, *Tempo di gavotta*, bars 1–16, is presented in three systems. The key signature is D major (two sharps) and the time signature is common time. The first system (bars 1–6) features a treble staff with a trill (tr) on the fourth bar and a bass staff with fingerings 6, 6, 4 3, 6, 5, # 6. The second system (bars 7–12) includes a treble staff with trills (tr) on the eighth and twelfth bars and a bass staff with fingerings # 6 #, 6, 6 5, 6, 6, 6 4, 6. The third system (bars 13–16) shows a treble staff with a trill (tr) on the fourteenth bar and a bass staff with fingerings 6 5, 6, 6, 6 5, 4. The piece concludes with a double bar line.

⁴¹³ The earliest English flute sonatas, such as those by Babell (c. 1725) and Roseingrave (1728) have only Italian style *gavottes*.

b. Corelli, op. 5 no. 9, Tempo di gavotta, bars 1–20

Allegro

5 6 9# 6 5 6 9 6 6 5 6 # 5 6

6

9# 5 9 6 9 6 6 5# 6 # # 6 5 6 5 6 5 7 5

11

6 5 6 5# 6 5 7 6 6 6 # 6 5 6

16

5 6 5 7 6 5 6 5 6 5 7 6 6 6 #

Corelli's melody is in disjunct motion written in crotchets, in both ascending and descending phrases, accompanied by a running bass. It is the cadence figure that first appeared in bars 13 and 14 which Granom used to create the two 4-bar phrases with which his movement begins.

Corelli's melodic ascending tenths (from bar 9) are turned into descending octaves by Granom (bar 8) and combined with an accompaniment that is manifestly Corellian.

Granom structured the second section to match the first with a simple melody and accompaniment derived as before and completed the movement with material which corresponds directly to Corelli's final bars. A significant difference between these movements is the position of the bar line. By starting at the beginning of the bar, Corelli caused the accents to fall in such a way as to create feminine endings at cadences. Granom follows the French convention by starting in the middle of the bar and phrasing the beats across the bar line, thereby providing continuous forward momentum.

A rather unusual gavotte titled *Tempo di gavotta* is found in op. 1 no. 8. There are no repeats, and each 4-bar phrase is immediately repeated in an ornamented version. Example 6.47 shows the first 8 bars.

Ex. 6.47. Granom, op. 1 no. 8, *Tempo di gavotta*, bars 1–8

The musical score for Example 6.47 is presented in two systems. The first system contains bars 1 through 8, and the second system contains bars 9 through 12. The key signature is G major (one sharp) and the time signature is 3/4. The score includes various musical ornaments such as trills (tr) and triplets (3). Fingerings are indicated by numbers 1 through 5 below the notes.

Tempo di Gavotta

This ternary form movement is constructed according to the scheme given below, with the ornamented repeats indicated by superscripts. Each section consists of 8 bars and section 3 is the only part of the movement to move away from the tonic.

- 1) Melody A (4 bars, finishing on a half close with bass line Ab) + A¹ (4 bars with written out *inégalité*, over bass line Ab)
- 2) Melody B (4 bars, finishing on a full close with bass line Bb) + B¹ (4 bars written out *inégalité*, over bass line Bb)
- 3) Melody C (8 bars, beginning in the relative minor and ending with a full close in the dominant of the relative minor, with a bass line of disjunct crotchets throughout)
- 4) Melody A (4 bars, with the bass line in continuous quavers) + A² (4 bars, the melody is decorated with triplets and semiquavers over bass line Ab)
- 5) Melody B (4 bars, the bass line is in continuous quavers with some notated *inégalité*) + B² (4 bars, the melody is decorated with triplets and semiquavers over bass line Bb)

This movement appears to represent an amalgamation of styles with the continuous quaver bass lines and some of the melodic decoration typical of Italian style with the dotted rhythms alluding to French *inégalité*. Some of the appoggiaturas could justifiably be interpreted in the manner of the *coulé de tierce mélodique*, such as those in bars 18 and 20, while Lombard rhythms could be considered for the quavers in bar 19 in example 6.48, which is the beginning of section 3.

Ex. 6.48. Granom, op. 1 no. 8, Tempo di gavotta, bars 16–20



Further examples of the *coulé de tierce mélodique* can be found in the *Gavotta* which is the final movement of op. 7 no. 1. The short, binary theme (4-plus-10 bars), is followed by four variations over the original bass line. Each variation utilises particular figures written in progressively shorter note values and featuring syncopations, wide leaps and broken chords all lightly ornamented with trills, beats and appoggiaturas. With all its ‘intemperances’ it must surely qualify for the sort of disapproval expressed by Mattheson.⁴¹⁴ The movement is notable for having the time signature 2, which Granom defined as equivalent to C.⁴¹⁵ The time signature 2 was associated with French music, especially earlier in the century, and little used in England at this time. Unusually, however, Granom used it to indicate two crotchet beats in a bar rather than in the traditional French manner of two minims as Corrette described thus:

Le 2 marque la mesure a deux tems. Cette Mesure sert pour les Rigodons, Gavottes, Bourrées, et Cotillons dans la Musique François. Les Italiens ne s’en servent guere.⁴¹⁶

‘2’ signifies two beats per bar. This time signature serves for Rigodons, Gavottes, Bourrées and Cotillons in French music. The Italians hardly use it.

Examples of notated appoggiaturas satisfying the conditions for the *coulé de tierce mélodique* can be found throughout these variations. They frequently occur at the end of a phrase where an on-beat interpretation would cause musical confusion, as is illustrated in example 6.49 below.

Ex. 6.49. Granom, op. 7 no. 1, *Gavotta*, variation 1, bars 1–4



⁴¹⁴ Mattheson, *Der Vollkommene Capellmeister*, Harriss edition, p. 453.

⁴¹⁵ Granom, *Instructions*, p. 5.

⁴¹⁶ Corrette, *Méthode*, facsimile edition, p. 4.

Articulation of the demisemiquavers in the final variation suggests a modest tempo, as implied by the time signature.

A pair of brisk Italianate gavottes in *da capo* arrangement can be found as the final movement of op. 8 no. 6. They start at the beginning of the bar, the time signature is 2/4 and the second gavotte is in the tonic minor. The melody moves predominantly in quavers with figures typical of violin style, and some trills. Although the technical demands are modest in comparison to the variations in op. 7 no. 1, the range of notes extends from e^1 to e^3 and includes some wide leaps up to a thirteenth.

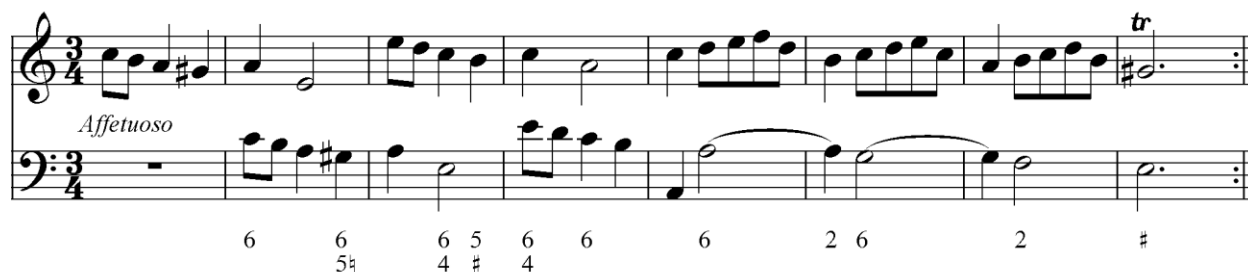
An unusual pairing of movements in *da capo* arrangement can be found in op. 1.⁴¹⁷ The first is a lively Italianate Tempo gavotta in ternary form (Ex. 6.50 a) while the second is an untitled minuet marked Affettuoso (Ex. 6.50 b) which suggests French influence, as seen above in Hotteterre's Menuet, *Le Mignon* (Ex. 6.37 b).

Ex. 6.50 a. Granom, op. 1 no. 5, Gavotta, bars 1–8




⁴¹⁷ While this pairing is unusual in flute sonatas, there are several examples of a gavotte enclosing a slow section in William Boyce's music, such as occurs in the overture to *Peleus and Thetis*.

b. Granom, op. 1 no. 5, Affettuoso, bars 1–8



Gavottes in Italian style were the norm in English flute sonatas and, by and large, Granom followed this convention although the conspicuous display of technique in the variations in op. 7 no. 1 is unprecedented in this genre. Even so, the addition of little details pertaining to French style, such as the *coulé de tierce mélodique*, make these pieces among the most interesting and varied of their kind.

GIGUE

By the end of the seventeenth century at least two distinct styles of gigue had evolved: the Italian and the French.⁴¹⁸ In examples typical of the Italian style, such as those found in Corelli's sonatas, quavers are the fastest note values, resulting in simple rhythm patterns of equal quavers (often with slurs over groups of three) the crochet-quaver 'hop'  and a fast tempo.⁴¹⁹

Large leaps and broken chords characterise the themes, as in the *giga* in op. 5 no. 8 by Corelli.

Brossard described the French version:

Giga [...] est un air ordinairement pour les Instrumens, presque toujours en triple qui est plein de Notes pointées & syncopées qui en rendent le chant gay, & pour ainsi dire sautillant.⁴²⁰

Giga [...] is a melody usually for instruments, almost always in triple time, which is full of dotted and syncopated notes that make the tune gay, and jumping, so to speak.

⁴¹⁸ M. E. Little, 'Gigue', *New Grove* (2001), 849–52 (p. 849).

⁴¹⁹ Little and Jenne, *Dance*, p. 155.

⁴²⁰ Brossard, *Dictionnaire* (c. 1710), p. 42.



The presence of semiquavers in the numerous *sautillant* figures of these French giges suggests a slower tempo in performance than those in Italian style.⁴²¹ From the beginning of the eighteenth century, however, the *sautillant* figure that distinguished French giges of the previous century is rarely found in music for the flute. La Barre and Hotteterre used it in their suites only occasionally, briefly and almost exclusively at cadences.⁴²² Their giges had already absorbed aspects of Italian style, combining mildly disjunct melodies marked with a variety of French ornaments. A sort of hybrid type also came into being in which Italian figuration (running semiquavers) was introduced into the tempo of the French gigue.⁴²³ J. S. Bach's Gigue in French Suite no. 6 in E major, BWV 817, is a specifically German example of a of this type, in compound time and fugal in style. Mattheson described four types:

The common or English giges are characterized by an ardent and fleeting zeal, a passion which soon subsides. The *Loures* or slow and punctuated ones reveal on the other hand a proud, arrogant nature: for this reason they are loved by the Spanish: Canaries must have great eagerness and swiftness; but at the same time must sound with a little simplicity. Finally the Italian *Gige*, which are not used for dancing, but for fiddling (from which its name may also derive), force themselves to extreme speed or volatility; though frequently in a flowing and uninterrupted manner: perhaps like the smooth arrow-swift flow of the stream.⁴²⁴

Unfortunately there is no way of identifying the particular pieces Mattheson refers to as 'English', for he provides no examples. Nevertheless, his remarks confirm the general character of the Italian style. Grassineau made no remarks about national characteristics. He simply differentiated between two kinds of giga, gicque, gigue or jig on the basis of tempo alone:

⁴²¹ Little and Jenne, *Dance*, p. 146–8.

⁴²² As if to make a point, Hotteterre's *Gigue L'Italienne* (Suite in G major, *Premier livre*) features a single sequence of *sautillant* figures (for one bar) which provides a contrast to the dominant movement of equal quavers. Two of the *Giges* in Schickhard's flute sonatas (London: Walsh, 1718) combine the wide intervals of the Italian style with the *sautillant* rhythms of the French.

⁴²³ Little and Jenne, *Dance*, p. 143.

⁴²⁴ Mattheson, *Der Vollkommene Capellmeister*, Harriss edition, p. 457.

some of which are played slow and others quick, brisk and lively, but are always in full measure and in triple time of some kind or other, usually 6/8 or 12/8.⁴²⁵

Granom's definition of a 'Giga' reads, 'a Jig, a lively measure either in common, or triple time, marked thus, 6/8, 9/8 or 12/8'.⁴²⁶

Gigues appear occasionally in English flute sonatas. They invariably display Italian style, with melodies predominantly in continuous quavers within a note range d^1 to d^3 . Ornaments tend to be sparse and the accompaniments functional. Granom seems to have taken the idea of a functional accompaniment to an extreme level in the Giga in op. 1 no. 9. It is so perfunctory that it is not without nonchalance, or even humour, which may have been intentional. The light-hearted melody includes some wide intervals towards the end of the movement with the final phrase reprised in the manner of Corelli. Example 6.51 shows the opening bars.

Ex. 6.51. Granom, op. 1 no 9, Giga, bars 1–4



The length of this movement is only 15 bars; relatively short in comparison with those of opp. 7 and 8, which are 75 and 105 bars respectively. Unlike the Giga in op.1, these later movements are both in rounded binary form with balanced sections.

A possible case of looking to another composer for inspiration can be seen in the single gigue in op. 7 (Ex. 6.27 a). It suggests that Granom was familiar with Handel's gigue from the

⁴²⁵ Grassineau, *A Musical Dictionary*, facsimile edition, p. 88.

⁴²⁶ Granom, *Instructions*, p. 111. 6/8 and 12/8 were considered to be versions of Common Time 'composed of triple time', p. 6. They are described as 'Jigg Times' in the chapter on the German Flute in Peter Prellleur's, *Modern Musick Master*, p. 12.

harpsichord suite no. 7 in G minor (1720, example 6.52 b) for there is a resemblance in the opening bars.

Ex. 6.52 a. Granom, op. 7 no. 5, Giga, bars 1–4



b. Handel, Suite no. 7 in G minor, Gigue, (1720) bars 1–2



From bar 5 onwards Granom's movement continues without further reference to Handel. The second section features a passage of slurred, widely spaced broken chords similar to the first two bars of the Tempo di minuetto, variation 3, shown in example 6.21 above. This gigue is an exuberant piece. It makes use of a descending chromatic fourth and a dominant pedal above which the flute climbs to a g^3 just before the end of the movement, as shown in example 6.53. The decorated chromatic fourth is indicated by the square bracket in the flute part.

Ex. 6.53. Granom, op. 7 no. 5, Giga, bars 65–71

Imitative passages utilising numerous appoggiaturas in both the flute and the bass line add to the carefree nature of the gigue in Sonata 3 op. 8. It is an unusually simple piece in which the chromatic fourth is utilised in both ascending and descending forms. Granom makes a special feature of repeated-note figures which have accompanying dynamics attached. As *piano* and *forte* markings are almost entirely absent from these flute sonatas, the uncommon use of them in this movement suggests that Granom thought them essential to the piece. Example 6.54 shows the melodies dominated by ascending and descending chromatic fourths and the dynamic markings at the end of the movement.

Ex. 6.54. Granom, op. 8 no.3, Giga, bars 89–99

95

tr

Piano

100

tr

Forte

tr

Compared to his contemporaries Granom's three gigue show originality. Features include an extended range of the flute from e^1 to g^3 , significant dynamic effects, a greater use of ornamentation (including the bass line) and the use of slurs over wide intervals, which make particular demands on the embouchure. Above all, they are joyful, light-hearted pieces with, perhaps, a suggestion of wit.

PASTORAL

Eighteenth-century pastorals took the form of songs, dances, instrumental pieces, poems, as well as entire stage productions such as Handel's Opera *Acis and Galatea*, first performed in 1718.⁴²⁷ Wind instruments were particularly appropriate for evoking nature, rural idylls, and shepherds playing on their pipes. For Granom, a pastoral movement is

composed after a very sweet, easy and natural stile, in imitation of that music which the shepherds were supposed to have performed in.⁴²⁸

For Mattheson, the pieces should be constructed simply with unadorned melodies.⁴²⁹

⁴²⁷ Geoffrey Chew and Owen Jander, 'Pastoral', *New Grove* (2001), vol. 19, 217–25.

⁴²⁸ Granom, *Instructions*, p. 114.

⁴²⁹ Mattheson, *Der Vollkommene Capellmeister*, Harriss edition, p. 443.

As seen above, some Christmas pastorals are virtually indistinguishable from the siciliana with which they share similar characteristics, but Granom's single example is somewhat different. It is a simple binary piece constructed of two 4-bar phrases, the rhythm and shape of each phrase identical. Slurs are marked over pairs and three-note groups of quavers, enhancing the oscillating theme and evoking a gentle melodic swaying, in spite of being written with the less usual time signature C.⁴³⁰ The third phrase has an extension of two bars which leads to a *fermata* with a trill indicated for the flute's held note. For such situations as these, Quantz had some particular advice.

You may strike a rather long shake if you wish, but it must be without a termination; the notes that follow do not allow it, since they must conclude in a quiet and flattering manner.⁴³¹

The supporting bass line provides a complementary swaying effect of its own as shown in example 6.55.

Ex. 6.55. Granom, op. 7 no. 4, Pastoral, bars 1–4



My research so far suggests that this is possibly the only pastoral for the flute published in England in the eighteenth century.

This movement is paired in *da capo* arrangement with an Italianate Tempo di minuetto and variation, which may explain the choice of time signature of the pastoral, for movements

⁴³⁰ Corelli's *Pastorale* from the Christmas Concerto (op. 6 no. 8), Handel's *Pastoral Symphony* from *Messiah* and Bach's *Pastoral Symphony* from the *Christmas Oratorio* all have the compound time signature 12/8.

⁴³¹ Quantz, *On Playing the Flute*, pp. 155–6.

paired in this way frequently contrasted duple (or quadruple) and triple metre, unless they were two of the same dance. Although the exuberant variation of the minuet is not included in the repeat, pairing the dances in this way enhances the *affect* of the pastoral more than if it stood alone. While F or G major would be normal keys for this dance, sharp keys are very common in Christmas pastorellas. In this case E major is the choice of key, providing a contrast with E minor, the key of the minuet.

SUMMARY

Granom drew on a wide range of sources on which to inform his approach to composition, embracing elements of French and Italian styles that served to enrich the basic format of English eighteenth-century sonata movements consisting both of *da chiesa* and *da camera* movements. His imaginative use of dance genres suitably complements the abstract movements resulting in a body of sonatas of great interest from both a musical and a technical point of view. He combined expressive writing while exploiting all the technical possibilities of the flute. In his hands the flute found a new identity and he wrote for the instrument in a way that no-one else had done previously. This individuality marks him out as a composer-performer of real significance.

Granom's sonatas are written in keys that do not exceed three flats or sharps (apart from the Pastoral in E major). Certain musical figures were characteristic of particular dance genres. The *coulé de tierce mélodique* is notable in gavottes, whereas the chromatic fourth appears in both sicilianas and giges. This might suggest that Granom considered, like Brossard, that the siciliana was a kind of gigue.

Canzonette Siciliane, sont des especes de Giges dont las mesure est Presque toûjours ou 12/8 ou 6/8.⁴³²

⁴³² Brossard, *Dictionnaire*, p. 17.

Canzonette Siciliane, is a type of gigue in which the measure is nearly always 12/8 or 6/8.

Each sonata has an attractive mixture of movements that nearly always includes at least one dance. In the twelve op. 1 sonatas Granom explores a variety of styles from Corelli to Leclair. Recommending 'the best' sonatas for modern players is subjective, and some of the most interesting movements are juxtaposed with movements of more conventional quality within a single sonata, but with musical interest and balance in mind I would highlight op. 1, no. 1 in G major for the Leclair-inspired first movement, followed by a lively allegro, a siciliano in the relative minor and, finally, the ground bass. Also from this set, no. 3 in G minor is remarkable for the drama at the end of the first movement, the two Italianate allegros and an exquisite sarabande. The five-movement Sonata no. 8 in D major, of which three are dances, is also noteworthy. The second movement is the technically demanding vivace based on the final movement of Corelli's op. 5 no. 1. This is followed by an intense sarabande followed by a gavotte and minuet, both with written out and varied repeats.

From op. 7, three sonatas are particularly fine: no. 1 in G major for its technical challenges, not least in the final Gavotta with variations; no.3 in G major for its tuneful first movement and a minuet with variations; and no. 4 in E minor for the contrasts in character between the movements (Andante, Allegro, Tempo di minuetto and Pastoral). From op. 8, the three-movement sonata no. 2 opens with a spirited andante and closes with an energetic vivace. Between these, a siciliana provides a suitable contrast with its chromatic melody and bass line. Sonata no. 5 is also in three movements. The first is a spirituosso with much rhythmic interest, followed by a lyrical largo (requiring a c¹-sharp) and finally a vivace with some highly disjunct intervals. Compared to the op. 1 set, the opp. 7 and 8 volumes are more consistent in

compositional approach and technically are more highly demanding. On the whole these sonatas comprise movements of comparable quality, which would render any attempt to select from them seem arbitrary.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

This study has shown that Lewis Granom was a significant figure in musical and social circles in England. That he was held in high esteem during his lifetime is confirmed by the remarkably large subscription list to the *Second Collection of favourite English songs* op. 13. In his treatise he expresses strong opinions in unambiguous and often humorous terms, providing the reader with a glimpse of a large personality. Granom's achievements show that he deserves to be raised from obscurity to a position of greater significance, rather than remaining a passing mention in a footnote.

Flute pedagogy in England began with a translation of Hotteterre's *Principes* (1707), a significant work but one that was already out of date by the time of publication in London (1729). By this time, flutes were no longer constructed in the three-joint French style for which *Principes* was written and therefore it was too limited for contemporary performers, even though some aspects of French performance practice may have been in use in England much later. Plagiarised versions of *Rudiments* (*Principes*, in translation) condensed the contents and the attempts to bring it up to date in the 1750s were limited and inconsistent. At this time, an amateur armed with the latest information would have found these texts woefully inadequate and largely irrelevant, both for the complete beginner or for anyone attempting the flute sonatas then in circulation. The impact of Granom's *Instructions*, therefore, should not be underestimated.

Granom was well established as a performer, composer and teacher by the time he wrote his flute treatise, a fact that would have added considerably to its authority. It is this contribution to flute pedagogy that is one of the more important findings to emerge from this research, as evidenced directly from the four editions of the treatise and the trill supplement (produced as a

result of popular demand), and indirectly through the plagiarised portions which found their way into the treatises of other authors both at home and in America into the nineteenth century. The contents of *Instructions* reveals Granom's highly disciplined approach to technique, which puts him in a pre-eminent position, for he was the first to explain clearly in print not just what a particular technique involved, but also the method by which it could be acquired. By this means, and for the first time in an English treatise, a player could discover something of the greatest value: how to practise effectively. Additionally, Granom's methodical explanations may have awakened a realisation in some beginners that the best way to learn was, after all, with the guidance of a teacher. Granom's use of preludes was particularly innovative. They were the earliest in an English treatise and the only ones exclusively for the one-keyed flute before playing styles changed. Many of them are as substantial as the technical studies that appeared in the nineteenth century, although it cannot be known whether Granom provided the initial inspiration for these later pieces.

By the 1760s instrument makers began to add five further keys to the flute: for c¹, c-sharp¹, f-natural, g-sharp and b-flat, the purpose being to extend the range, improve the tone quality and to simplify some fingerings.⁴³³ Expectations of what the flute could or should do were changing and there is no doubt that the extra keys enabled the production of a more homogenous tone. Granom was not in favour of these instruments, the players or the music:

Most of the Performers on the German Flute seem, at present, to have mistaken the nature of that Instrument, by attempting difficulties, which it is not possible for it to admit of, and, if it were, the Tone of the Flute must infallibly be lost, and consequently render that Instrument below those, which, before, it claimed a superiority over. But as this innovation has only been introduced by some Foreigners much about the same time when the multiplicity of keys were revived, I shall not lay the blame on my Country Men, but shall only make some Remarks thereon. Who ever attempts to play a piece of Music on

⁴³³ *Compleat Tutor for the German Flute* (London: Cahusac, c. 1766) appears to have been the first to include an additional fingering chart for a six-keyed flute.

the above Instrument wherein the Tone (which is the most delightful next to the human Voice) is to suffer, may be Justly pronounced no Judge of it.⁴³⁴

It is therefore for the flute in England from about 1720–1770 that *Instructions* is particularly relevant.

W. N. James's remark that few flute sonatas were written by those who were primarily flute players is borne out by the evidence in the Appendix.⁴³⁵ Although Granom was also a trumpet player at the beginning of his career, it would appear that by the time of his first publications he devoted his time to the flute. He produced flute sonatas that are unique in the English repertory using conventional genres to produce highly imaginative pieces in a wide range of styles. Although it is not clear how widespread knowledge was of French performance practice, or how much it had merged with English practice, stylistic analysis of some movements suggests that it could have been appropriate. This is an important consideration for modern-day performance.

As the dominant figure in English culture with respect to the flute, Granom was, arguably, a comparable figure to Hotteterre and Quantz. *Instructions* covers the same aspects of technique as Hotteterre's *Principes/Rudiments* but Granom provides more detailed explanations. Nothing matches Quantz's *Versuch* (1752) in terms of its scope or content but from about 1740, when he entered the service of Frederick the Great, Quantz would have had little direct influence on flute players in German speaking nations. Granom, however, was in the position of directly influencing flute playing in England through his activities as a performer, his long and uninterrupted teaching career, and his compositions as well as through his treatise.

This thesis marks the beginning of the process of restoring Lewis Granom's rightful status as an important flute pedagogue and composer. At the present time, none of his works

⁴³⁴ Granom, pp. 15–16.

⁴³⁵ See chapter 4 above, fn. 12.

exist in either facsimile or in modern editions. My focus on Granom's flute sonatas provides only a partial view of his total output and further research into his other compositions would offer a more well-rounded view of both to his significance and character. If Granom's contemporaries have necessarily been marginalised in this process, further research into the works of Weideman and Ranish would help to contextualise him further contributing to filling a vacuum in our knowledge of eighteenth-century instrumental music.

APPENDIX

A CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF SONATAS FOR FLUTE WITH BASSO CONTINUO

PUBLISHED IN BRITAIN UP TO 1770⁴³⁶

These works were all published in London unless otherwise stated.⁴³⁷ Likewise, all biographical information for individual composers is taken from *New Grove* (2001).

1700–1720

SCHICKHARD Johann Christian (c. 1682–1762): German oboist and composer, non resident.

- *Solos for a German Flute, a Hoboy or Violin, with a Thorough Bass for the Harpsichord or Bass Violin*, op. 20 (Walsh & Hare, 1718): **GB**-Lbl, CDu; **US**-WGw

1721–1730

BABELL William (c. 1690–1723): English violinist, harpsichordist and composer.

- *XII Solos for a Violin, Hoboy or German Flute with a Bass figur'd for the Harpsichord, with Proper Graces adapted to each Adagio by ye Author*, op. 2, Part the second of his posthumous works (Walsh & Hare c. 1725): **GB**-Lbl; **US**-Wc

CHABOUD Pietro: Foreign resident.

- *Solos for a German Flute, Hoboy or Violin, with a Thorough Bass for the Harpsichord or Bass Violin [...] being all choice pieces by the greatest authors and fitted to the German Flute* (Walsh & Hare, c. 1723): **GB**-Lbl

⁴³⁶ Few flute sonatas with basso continuo were published after 1770, from which date works for harpsichord or piano with flute accompaniment (in more classical style) became more common.

⁴³⁷ Publication and library details are from Vester, *Catalogue* (1985) and individual library catalogues online. Information has been verified by cross reference to Smith and Humphries, *Bibliography* (1968), as appropriate.

- *Solos for a German Flute, Hoboy or Violin, with a Thorough Bass for the Harpsichord or Bass Violin [...] being all choice pieces by the greatest authors and fitted to the German Flute*, parte secondo, (Walsh & Hare, c. 1725): **GB**-Lbl, CDu; **I**-BGi

FESCH Willem de (1687–1761): Dutch violinist and composer, resident in London from 1733.

- *12 Sonatas, Six for a Violin with a Thorough Bass several of them are proper for ye German Flute, and six for two Violoncellos*, op. 8 (Benjamin Cooke, c. 1725): **B**-Bc

LAMPE J. F. (c. 1702–1751): German bassoonist and composer, resident from c. 1725.

- *Solos for a German Flute* (Walsh, 1727) (the *Solos* are no longer extant)
There are 2 Sonatas in a private collection (possibly from the 1727 set)

BARSANTI Francesco (1690–1760): Italian composer, resident from 1714.

- *Sonate per la traversiera, o german flute, con basso per violone o cembalo* op. 2, (Benjamin Cooke, 1728): **GB**-Lbl, LEC

BONI Giovanni (fl. 1st half of the 18th century): Full name Pietro Giuseppe Gaetano Boni, Italian composer, non-resident.

- *[Six] Solos for a German Flute, Hoboy or Violin, with a Thorough Bass for the Harpsichord or Bass Violin* (Walsh & Hare, c. 1728): **GB**-Lbl

N.B. The title page advertises Grano's *Solos* and Loeillet's *Solos* (c. 1729) so the date of Boni's volume may be a year or more later than suggested above.

GRANO Giovanni Battista (after 1692–before 1746): English trumpeter and flute player.

- *[Six] Solos for a German Flute, a Hoboy or Violin with a Thorough Bass for the Harpsichord or Bass Violin*, (Walsh & Hare, 1728): **GB**-Lbl; **US**-Wc

LECLAIR Jean Marie (1697–1764): French violinist and composer, non-resident.

- *Solos for a Violin or German Flute, with a Thorough Bass for the Harpsichord or Bass Violin*, op. 2 (Walsh, 1728): **GB**-Lbl

ROSEINGRAVE Thomas (1688–1766): English organist and composer.

- *XII Solos for the German Flute with a Thorough Base [sic] for the Harpsichord* (Benjamin Cooke, 1728): **GB**-Lbl, Ckc, Cu; **US**-Wc

LOEILLET John of London (1680–1730): Oboist, flautist, recorder and harpsichord player from Flanders, resident in London from c. 1705.

- *XII Solos, six for a Common Flute and six for a German Flute, with a Thorough Bass for the Harpsichord or Bass Violin*, op. 3 (Walsh, c. 1729): **GB**-Lbl, Ckc, Mp; **US**-NH, NYpl
- Another edition (Walsh c. 1730): **GB**-Lbl, Cu; **I**-BGi

COLLECTIONS:

- *Six Solos for a German Flute and a Bass, and two for a Violin with a Thorough Bass for the Harpsichord or Bass Violin* compos'd by Mr Handel, Sigr Geminiani, Sigr Somis, Sigr Brivio (Walsh & Hare, 1730): **GB**-Lbl, Ob, LVp, Cu, En; **S**-Sk; **US**-LAcs, Wc

1731–1740

MARCELLO Benedetto (1686–1739): Italian composer, non-resident. The *Solos* were originally published for the recorder (Venice, 1712). Walsh transposed some of them to keys more suitable for the Flute (Vester p. 306).

- *XII Solos for a German Flute or Violin with a Thorough Bass for the Harpsichord or Bass Violin*, op.1 (Walsh, 1732): **GB**-Lbl; **I**-BGi; **US**-NH, Wc

QUANTZ Johann Joachim (1697–1773): German flautist, non-resident; he visited London in 1727 for about 3 months.

- *[Six] Solos for a Violin or German Flute, with a Thorough Bass for the Harpsichord or Bass Violin*, op. 1 [Quantz states that no. 3 in this collection is not his own work] (Walsh & Hare, c. 1730): **GB**-Lbl, Ckc; **D**-Ga; **US**-NH, Wc, WGw
- *[Six] Solos for a Violin or German Flute, with a Thorough Bass for the Harpsichord or Bass Violin*, op. 2 [Quantz states that nos. 4, 5 and 6 in this collection is not his own work] (Walsh, 1732 and reissued 1739): **GB**-Lbl, En; **D**-Ga; **US**-NH, R, Wc

BONONCINI Giovanni Battista (1670–1747): Italian cellist and composer, resident in London 1720-1732.

- *Sonatas or chamber aires for a German Flute, Violin or Common Flute; with a Thorough Bass for the Harpsichord or Bass Violin*, op. 7 (Walsh, 1733): **GB-Lec**; **US-Wc**

HANDEL, George Frederick (1685–1759): German composer resident in London from 1710.

- *Solos for a German Flute, Hoboy or Violin, with a Thorough Bass for the Harpsichord or Bass Violin*, op. 1 (Walsh, 1732): **GB-Lbl**, Mp. Ob, Cu, Cfm, Cjc, Cpl, En
- Another edition with the note: this is more correct than the former edition (Walsh, 1733): **GB-Lbl**, Cfm; **F-Pn**; **D-B**; **A-Wgm**; **S-Sk**

RANISH John Frederick (c. 1693–1777): English oboist and flute player.

- *VIII Sonatas or Solos for a German Flute, with a Thorough Bass for ye Harpsichord*, op. 1 (Benjamin Cooke, c. 1735): **GB-Lbl**, Ckc; **US-Wc**

SCHICKHARD Johann Christian: German oboist and composer, non resident.

- *L'alphabet de la musique contenant XXIVsonates-solos pour la flûte traversière ou pour le violon avec la basse continue*, op. 30 (Author, 1735): **GB-Lbl**

VALENTINE Robert (1674–c. 1735): English recorder player resident in Rome.

- *[Six] Sonatas or Solos for a German Flute with a Thorough Bass for the Harpsichord or Bass Violin compos'd by Mr. Valentine at Rome*, op. 13 (Walsh, 1735): **GB-Lbl**; **B-Bc**; **US-Wc**

The tessitura and style of these pieces is no different from Valentine's other sonatas, which are all for the recorder. It may have been Walsh who decided to market them for the German Flute.

TESSARINI Carlo (c.1690–c.1766): Italian violinist and composer non-resident.

- *XII Solos for a German Flute, a Hoboy or Violin, with a Thorough Bass for the Harpsichord or Bass Violin*, op. 2 (Walsh, 1736): **GB-Lbl**, Cu; **S-Sk**; **NL-DHgm**; **US-Chua**, Wc

LOCATELLI Pietro (1695–1764): Italian violinist, non-resident.

- *Solos for a Violin or German Flute, with a Thorough Bass for the Harpsichord or Bass Violin*, op. 2 (Walsh, 1737): **GB**-Lbl, Ckc, Ob, Er; **I**-BGi; **US**-Wc

MCLEAN CHARLES (1712–1765): Scottish violinist.

- *Twelve Solos or Sonatas for a Violin and Violincello with a Thorough Bass for the Harpsichord*, op. 1. The four last Solos are adapted for the German Flute. (Edinburgh: R. Cooper, 1737): **GB**-Lbl; **US**-Wc

WEIDEMAN Charles Frederick (c. early eighteenth century, d. 1782): German oboist and flute player, resident from c. 1724.

- *XII Sonatas or Solos for the German Flute, with a Thorough Bass for the Harpsichord or Violoncello* [op. 1] (Walsh 1737): **GB**-Lbl, Ckc, Mpl; **B**-Bc; **CDN**-Vu; **US**-BEm, NYpl, Wc

HASSE Johann Adolf (1699–1783): German composer, non-resident.

- *[Six] Solos for a German Flute or Violin with a Thorough Bass for the Harpsichord or Violoncello*, op. 2 (Walsh, 1740): **GB**-Lbl, Cu; **B**-Bc; **CDN**-Vu; **US**-NH, Wc

STANLEY John (1712–1786): English organist.

- *Eight Solos for a German Flute, Violin or Harpsichord*, op. 1 (Author, 1740): **GB**-Ckc; **US**-Wc
- Another edition (John Johnson): **GB**-Lbl, Lam, Gm, Cfm; **D**-B; **DK**-Kk; **US**-NH, Wc

MERCY Louis (c. 1695–1751): French recorder player and composer, resident.

- *VI Sonate a flauto traverse, violoncello o cembalo*, op. 3 (Author, c. 1740): **GB**-Lbl

1741–1750

GRANOM Lewis Christian Austin (c. 1700–c. 1780): English flute player and trumpeter.

- *XII sonate per flauto traversiere solo e Basso continuo* [...] op. 1 (n.n., n.d.): **GB**-Lbl, Ckc, CDu
- Another edition, as *XII Solos for a German Flute, with a Thorough Bass for the Harpsichord or Violoncello*, (John Simpson, c. 1745): **GB**-Lbl; **US**-NYpl

DAVIS Thomas:

- *VI Solos for a German Flute [or] Violin with a Thorough Base [sic] for thee [sic] Harpsichord* (H. Waylett, 1744): **GB**-Lbl, Ckc, LVp
- *A second collection of VI Solos for a German Flute, Violin or Harpsichord* (H. Waylett, 1744): **GB**-Lbl, Ckc, CDu

HASSE Johann Adolf: German composer, non-resident.

- *Six Solos for a German Flute or Violin, with a Thorough Bass for the Harpsichord or Violoncello*, op. 5 (Walsh, 1744): **GB**-Lbl, Bu; **CDN**-Vu; **US**-NYPL

QUANTZ Johann Joachim (1697–1773): German flautist, non-resident; he visited London in 1727 for about 3 months.

- *[Six] Solos for a Violin or German Flute, with a Thorough Bass for the Harpsichord or Violincello*, op. 4 (Walsh, 1744): **GB**-Lbl, Lcm; **US**-CHH

RANISH John Frederick: Oboist and lute player, resident.

- *XII Solos for a German Flute, with a Thorough Bass for the Harpsichord*, op. 2 (Walsh, 1744): **GB**-Lbl, Ckc, CDu; **US**-CHH

TORTORITI Gabriele:

- *Twelve Solos compos'd on purpose for a German Flute with a Thorough Bass for the Harpsichord or Bass Violin* (John Simpson, 1744): **GB**-Ckc

HEBDEN John: English bassoonist and cellist.

- *Six Solos for a German Flute or Violin, with a Thorough Bass for the Harpsichord* (John Johnson, c. 1745): **GB**-CDu, Mp; **US**-CHH

LANZETTI Salvatore (c. 1710–c. 1780): Italian cellist and composer, non-resident.

- *Six Solos for 2 Violoncellos or a German Flute and a Bass* (Walsh, c. 1740): **GB**-Lbl, Cgc, CDu, Bu; **F**-Pn; **US**-Chua, Wc
- *Six Solos for 2 Violoncellos or a German Flute and a Bass* op. 2 (Walsh, c. 1745): **GB**-Lbl, Bu, Gm; **A**-Wgm; **US**-Wc

SAMMARTINI Giuseppe (1695–c. 1750): Italian oboist and composer, resident from c. 1728.

- *Six Solos for a German Flute or Violin, with a Thorough Bass for the Harpsichord or Violoncello*, op. 2 (Walsh, 1745): **GB**-Lbl; **I**-BGi; **US**-Wc

STANLEY John (1712–1786): English organist.

- *Six Solos for a German Flute, Violin or Harpsichord*, op. 4 (John Johnson, 1745): **GB**-Lbl, Lam, Ouf, CDu, Bu, En; **D**-B; **DK**-Kk; **CDN**-Tu; **US**-BEm, NH, NYpl, Wc

THUMOTH Burk (*fl.* 1739–50): Irish trumpeter, flute player and composer.

- *Six Solos for a German Flute, Violin or Harpsichord*, the first three composed by Mr. Burk Thumot, the three last by Sig. Canaby (John Tyther, c. 1746): **GB**-Lbl

VINCI Leonardo (c. 1690–1730): Italian composer, non-resident.

- *Twelve Solos for a German Flute or Violin, with a Thorough Bass for the Harpsichord or Violoncello*, compos'd by Sigr. Leonardo Vinci and other Italian authors (Walsh, 1746): **GB**-Lbl, Ckc, Mp, Ob, Er, Eu; **S**-Sk; **A**-Wgm; **F**-Pn; **US**-NH, Wc

BESOZZI Alessandro (1702–1793): Italian oboist, non-resident.

- *Six Solos for a German Flute or Violin with a Thorough Bass for the Harpsichord or Violoncello*, op. 2 (Walsh, 1750): **GB**-Lbl; **US**-R, WGw

SAMMARTINI Giuseppe (1695–c. 1750): Italian oboist and composer, resident from c. 1728.

- *Six Solos for a German Flute or Violin, with a Thorough Bass for the Harpsichord or Violoncello*, op. 4 (Walsh, 1747): **GB**-Lbl, Ob; **S**-Sk CDN-Vu; **US**-Wc

VINCENT Thomas (c. 1720–1783): English oboist.

- *Six Solos for a Hautboy, German Flute, Violin or Harpsichord with a Thorough Bass*, op. 1 (William Smith, 1748): **GB**-Lbl, Ckc, Mp

BLAVET Michel (1700–1768): French flute player, non-resident.

- *Six Solos for a German Flute, Violin of Harpsichord, composed by Mr. Blavet, one of the greatest performers on the German Flute in Europe* (Walsh, c. 1749)

Because the edition published by Walsh is no longer extant it is not possible to know whether this was the sonatas op. 2 (Paris, c. 1732) or op. 3 (Paris, 1740)

BALICOURT (BALLICOURT) Simon: French flute player and composer, resident.

- *Eight Solos for a German Flute and a Bass* (Author, 1750): **GB**-Ckc

CAVALARI Francesco:

- *Six Solos for a German Flute or Violin with a Thorough Bass for the Harpsichord or Violoncello* (Walsh, c. 1750): **GB**-Lbl, Ckc; **I**-BGi

HORNIK Giovanni:

- *Sei soli per il flauto traversière e basso* (John Smith, 1750) : **GB**-Ckc

PIZZOLATO Antonio:

- *Sonate a violin solo, ed il basso*, op. 1 NB La 2nd e 5th sonata si può sonare nell' flauto traversiero (John Johnson, 1750): **GB**-LEc; **F**-Pn

1751–1760

GEMINIANI Francesco (1687–1762): Italian violinist, resident from 1714.

- *Three Solos containing twelve easy movements for the German Flute or Violin and a Thorough Bass* [...] for the use of young performers (J. Bland): **DK-Kk**; **US-R**

RUGE Fillippo (c. 1725–after 1767): Italian composer and flute player.

- *Six Solos for a German Flute or Violin, with a Thorough Bass for the Harpsichord or Violoncello* (Walsh, 1751): **GB-Lbl**, Ckc; **D-B**; **US-Wc**

WISEMAN Carlo (Charles):

- *Six Solos for a German Flute or Violin, with a Thorough Bass for the Harpsichord or Violoncello* (Walsh, 1753): **GB-Ckc**, Lcm

GRANOM Lewis Christian Austin (c. 1700–c. 1780): English flute player and trumpeter.

- *Six Solos or Sonatas for a German Flute, with a Thorough Bass for the Harpsichord or Violoncello*, op. 7 (Robert Bremner, c. 1755), **GB-Lbl**
- *Six Solos or Sonatas for a German Flute, with a Thorough Bass for the Harpsichord or Violoncello*, op. 8 (Robert Bremner, c. 1755), **GB-Lbl**

CERVETTO Giacobbe Basevi (?1680–1783): Italian cellist, resident in London from 1738.

- *Eight Solos for a German Flute with a Thorough Bass for the Harpsichord* op. 3 (John Johnson, 1757): **GB-Lbl**, Ge; **DK-Kk**

SAMMARTINI Giuseppe (1695–c. 1750): Italian oboist and composer, resident from c. 1728.

- *Six Solos for a German Flute or Violin, with a Thorough Bass for the Harpsichord or Violoncello*, op. 12 (Walsh, 1757): **GB-Lbl**, Ckc; **CDN-Vu**; **US-Wc**

SAMMARTINI Giovanni Battista (1700 – 1775): Italian oboist and composer, non-resident.

- *Six Solos for a German Flute or Violin, with a Thorough Bass for the Harpsichord or Violoncello*, op. 8 (Walsh, 1759): **GB-Lbl**, Ckc; **US-NYPL**, Wc

BESOZZI Alessandro: Italian oboist, non-resident.

- *Six Solos for a German Flute, Hautboy or Violin with a Thorough Bass for the Harpsichord* (Edmund Chapman, c. 1760): **GB**-Lbl, Ckc, LEc, Ob; **US**-WGw

SAMMARTINI Giuseppe (1695–c. 1750): Italian oboist and composer, resident from c. 1728.

- *Six Solos for a German Flute Violin or Hautboy with a Thorough Bass for the Harpsichord or Violoncello*, op. 13 (Walsh, c. 1760): **GB**-Lbl, Mp; **US**-Chua

WEIDEMAN Charles Frederick (b. early eighteenth century, d. 1782): German oboist and flute player, resident from c. 1724.

- *Twelve Solos for a German Flute, and Harpsichord*, op. 5. (Walsh, 1760): **GB**-Lbl

1761–1770

COLLECTIONS:

- *Six Solos for a German Flute or Violin, with a Thorough Bass for the Harpsichord or Violoncello compos'd by several eminent authors; not printed before* (Walsh, 1761): **GB**-Lbl

MILLER Edward (1731–1807): Organist and flute player.

- *Six Solos for a German Flute or Violin, with a Thorough Bass for the Harpsichord or Violoncello* (John Johnson, c. 1761): **GB**-Lbl; **US**-Wc
- The second edition (J. Longman, 1769): **GB**-Cu

GRONEMAN Jean Frederick (c. 1698–after 1754):

- *VI Sonate a flauto traversa solo e Violoncello o Basso continuo d'alcuni famosi maestri* (J. Cox, c. 1762): **GB**-CDu; **DK**-Kk

ABEL C. F. (1723–1787): German composer and bass viol player. He was resident in London by 1759.

- *Sei Sonate a solo per il flauto traversa e Basso*, op. 6 (for the author, 1763): **GB**-Lbl

- Another edition (Robert Bremner, 1765): **GB**-Lbl, Ckc, Cfm, Mp; **US**-Wc

ZANNETTI Francesco (1737 – 1788): Italian violinist.

- *Six Solos for a German Flute or Violin, with a Thorough Bass for the Harpsichord* (Thorowgood & Horne, 1763): **GB**-Lbl, Ckc; **US**-NYpl, Wc
- Another edition (Thorowgood, c. 1765), **GB**-Lam, Mp

RICHTER Franz Xaver (1709–1789): German composer, non-resident.

- *Six Solos for a German Flute or Violin with a Thorough Bass for the Harpsichord* (Walsh, 1764): **GB**-Lbl

OSWALD James (1711–1769): Scottish cellist.

- *Six Solos for a German Flute or Violin, with a Thorough Bass for the Harpsichord* (J. Oswald): **US**-Wc
- *Six Solos for a German Flute or Violin, with a Thorough Bass for the Harpsichord*, book second (for the author, 1765): **US**-NH
- *Six Solos for a German Flute or Violin, with a Thorough Bass for the Harpsichord*, first published with the title of a second set of six Solos by J[ohn] R[eid] Esq., member of the Temple of Apollo. A printed note states that, ‘some time before Mr Oswald’s death he had fitted for the Press a correct edition of his Works, as well those that were known and acknowledged to be his as those that were really such but had formerly been published under the names of others for reasons not difficult to guess. There were many excellent composers whose circumstances will not permit them to please themselves by addressing their compositions to the Heart instead of to the Ear only. His fine taste, his elegant compositions, his pathetic performance were well known and justly admired. In compliance with his own intentions a genuine edition of his works is now presented to the public. For such a publication no apology is necessary. That they were his is sufficient to justify their appearance and recommend them to all good judges and lovers of musick’ (William Randall, 1770): **GB**-Lbl, Ckc, Mp, Gm; **US**- PHu, Wc

TACET Joseph: Resident Flute player. Ref: *Compleat Tutor for the German Flute* (Cahusac, c. 1766). The sonatas carry a dedication to the Queen written in French.

- *Six Solos for a German Flute or Violin, with a Thorough Bass for the Harpsichord or Violoncello*, op. 1 (for the author, c. 1767): **GB**-Lbl; **US**-R, Wc

EIFFERT Phillip Peter:

- *Six Solos for the German Flute with a Thorough Bass for the Harpsichord*, op. 2 (Welker, c. 1769): **GB-Lbl**

BLANCK Nicholaus:

- *Six Solos for the German Flute* op. 3 (John Johnson, 1770): **GB-Lbl**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Allsop, Peter, *Archangelo Corelli: New Orpheus of our Times* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999)

Anonymous, *A Short Explication of such Foreign Words as are made use of in Music Books* (London: n.n., 1724)

____, *Compleat Music Master* (London: W. Pearson, 1722)

____, *Compleat Tutor for the German Flute* (London: H. Waylett, c. 1745)

____, *Compleat Tutor for the German Flute* (London: J. Simpson, c. 1746)

____, *Compleat Tutor for the German Flute* (London: J. Johnson, c. 1745)

____, *Compleat Tutor for the German Flute* (London: P. Thompson, c. 1755)

____, *Compleat Tutor for the German Flute* (London: Thompson & Son, c. 1760)

____, *Compleat Tutor for the German Flute* (London: R. Duke, c. 1765)

____, *Compleat Tutor for the German Flute* (London: R. Bremner, c. 1765)

____, *Compleat Tutor for the German Flute* (London: T. Cahusac, c. 1766)

____, *Compleat Tutor for the German Flute* (London: J. Fentum, c. 1770)

____, *Compleat Tutor for the German Flute* (London: Straight & Skillern, c. 1770)

____, *Compleat Tutor for the German Flute* (London: J. Longman, c. 1770)

____, *Compleat Tutor for the German Flute* (London: Charles & Samuel Thompson, c. 1775)

____, *New Instructions for the German Flute* (London: Longman, Lukey & Co., c. 1775)

____, *New Instructions for the German Flute* (London: Longman & Broderip, c. 1780)

____, *Compleat Tutor for the German Flute* (London: S., A., & P. Thompson, c. 1795)

____, *Compleat Tutor for the German Flute* (London: T. & W. M. Cahusac, 1797)

____, *Compleat Tutor to the Hautboy* (London: Walsh & Hare, c. 1715)

- ____, *Compleat Tutor for the Hautboy* (London: J. Johnson, c. 1750)
- ____, *Compleat Tutor for the Flute* (London: R. Bremner, c. 1765)
- ____, *Compleat Tutor for the Violin*, (London: J. Simpson, c. 1746)
- ____, *Compleat Tutor for the Violin*, (London: J. Johnson, c. 1750)
- ____, *The Muses Delight* (Liverpool: J. Sadler, 1754)
- ____, *The Fifth Book of the new Flute Master* (London: Walsh & Hare, 1706)
- Arnold, Samuel, *Dr. Arnold's New Instructions for the German Flute* (London: Harrison, 1787)
- Bach, C. P. E., *Versuch über die wahre Art das Clavier zu Spielen*, part 1 (Berlin: for the author, 1753; rev.1787), part 2 (Berlin: for the author, 1762; rev. 1797); trans. and ed. W. J. Mitchell as *Essay on the True Art of Playing Keyboard Instruments* (New York: Norton, 1949)
- Baines, Arthur, 'James Talbot's Manuscript 1: Wind Instruments', *GSJ*, 1 (1948), 9–26
- Barrett, W. A., 'Masonic Musicians', in *Quatuor Coronaotrum Antigraha*, vol. 4, ed. G. W. Speth (Margate: n.n., 1891), 90–96
- Bartlett, Ian, 'Was Boyce a Mason?', *MT*, Spring 2012, 87–95
- Bayley, Anselm, *A Practical Treatise on Singing and Playing* (London: J. Ridley, 1771)
- Best, Terence, 'Handel's Chamber Music: Sources, Chronology and Authenticity', *EM*, 13 (1985), 476–99
- ____, 'Interpreting Handel's Rhythmic Notation – Some Reflections on Modern Practice', in *Handel Tercentenary Collection*, ed. Stanley Sadie and Anthony Hicks (Basingstoke: for the Royal Musical Association by Macmillan, 1987), 279–90
- A Biographical Dictionary of Actors, Actresses, Musicians, Dancers, Managers and other Stage Personnel in London, 1660-1800*, ed. P. H. Highfill *et al.*, 16 vols (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1973–93)
- Black, Jeremy, *An Illustrated History of Eighteenth-Century Britain, 1688–1793* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996)
- ____, and Jeremy Gregory (eds.), *Culture, Politics and Society in Britain, 1660–1800* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1991)

- Boyden, David D., *The History of Violin Playing from its Origins to 1761 and its Relationship to the Violin and Violin Music* (London: Oxford University Press, 1965)
- Boyvin, Jacques, *Premier livre d'orgue* (Paris: Ballard, 1690); facsimile edition (Courlay, France: Fuzeau, 2004)
- , *Second livre d'orgue* (Paris: Ballard, 1700); facsimile edition (Courlay, France: Fuzeau, 2004)
- British Union-Catalogue of Early Music Printed before the Year 1801*, ed. Edith P. Schnapper, 2 vols (London: Butterworth's Scientific Publications, 1957)
- Brossard, Sebastien de, *Dictionnaire de musique* (Amsterdam: n.n., c. 1710)
- Brown, Howard Mayer, and Stanley Sadie, *The New Grove Handbooks in Music: Performance Practice, Music after 1600* (London: Macmillan, 1989)
- Brown, Howard Mayer, and Giulio Ongaro, 'Ganassi del Fontegaro, Sylvestro di', *New Grove* (2001), vol. 9, 508
- Brown, Rachel, *The Early Flute: A Practical Guide* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002)
- Bruce, Robert J., and H. Diack Johnstone, 'A Catalogue of the Truly Valuable and Curious Library of Music late in the possession of Dr. William Boyce (1779)', *RMA Research Chronicle*, 43 (2010), 111–71
- Buelow, George, J., 'Originality, Genius, Plagiarism in English Criticism of the Eighteenth Century', *International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music*, 21 (1990), 117–28
- Burney, Charles, *A General History of Music: From the Earliest Ages to the Present Period (1789)*, ed. Frank Mercer, 2 vols (New York: Dover, 1957)
- Burrows, Donald, 'Handel's London Theatre Orchestra', *EM*, 13 (1985), 349–57
- , 'Lists of Musicians for Performances of Handel's *Messiah* at the Foundling Hospital, 1754–77', *RMA Research Chronicle*, 43 (2010), 85–109
- Byrne, Maurice, 'Pierre Jaillard, Peter Bressan', *GSJ*, 36 (1983), 2–28
- , 'Granom, Lewis Austin Christian', *New Grove* (2001), vol. 10, 299
- , 'Some more on Stanesby Junior', *GSJ*, 45 (1992), 115–22

- Byrom, John, *The Private Journal and Literary Remains of John Byrom*, ed. Richard Parkinson (Manchester: The Chetham Society, 1854)
- Campbell, R., *The London Tradesman: Being a compendious view of all the Trades, Professions, Arts both Liberal and Mechanic, now Practised in the Cities of London and Westminster* (London: T. Gardner, 1747), pp. 89–93
- Carr, Cecil (ed.), *Pension Book of Clement's Inn*: The Selden Society, vol. 78 (London: Bernard Quaritch, 1960)
- Carroll, Paul, *Baroque Woodwind Instruments: A Guide to their History, Repertoire and Basic Technique* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999)
- Catalogue of Printed Music in the British Library to 1980*, ed. Laureen Baillie *et al.*, 62 vols (London, Munich, New York, Paris: K. G. Saur, 1984)
- Chew, Geoffrey, and Owen Jander, 'Pastoral', *New Grove* (2001), vol. 19, 217–25
- Corelli, Arcangelo, *Les Oeuvres de Arcangelo Corelli*; ed. J. Joachim and F. Chrysander (London: Augener, c. 1888–90); reprinted (New York: Dover, 1992)
- Corrette, Michel, *Méthode pour apprendre aisément à jouer de la flûte traversière* (Paris: n.n., c.1735) ; facsimile edition (Florence: Studio Per Edizioni, 1995)
- Couperin, François, *L'art de toucher le clavecin* (Paris: for the author, 1717); facsimile edition (New York: Broude Brothers, 1969)
- _____, *Premier livre de pieces de clavecin* (Paris: for the author, 1713); ed. Kenneth Gilbert (Paris: Heugel, 1972)
- _____, *Second livre de pieces de clavecin* (Paris: for the author, 1716); ed. Kenneth Gilbert (Paris: Heugel, 1969)
- _____, *Troisième livre de pieces de clavecin* (Paris: for the author, 1716); ed. Kenneth Gilbert (Paris: Heugel, 1969)
- Couperin, Louis, *Pièces de clavecin*, ed. Davitt Moroney (Monaco: L'Oiseau-Lyre 1985)
- Crewdson, H. A. F., *The Worshipful Company of Musicians – A Short History* (London: Constable, 1950)
- D'Anglebert, Jean-Henri, *Pièces de clavecin* (Paris: for the author, 1689); facsimile edition (New York: Broude Brothers, 1965)

- Dart, Thurston, 'An 18th Century Directory of London Musicians', *GSJ*, 2 (1949), 27–31
- _____, 'Rules for Gracing on the Flute', *GSJ*, 12 (1959), 93–4
- Deadman, Alison Patricia, "'Augeletti che cantata": Handel, his Wind Players and his London Operas' Ph.D. thesis (UCLA, 1998)
- Dean, Winton, 'Rochetti, Gaetano' *New Grove* (2001), vol. 21, 484
- The Delightful Pocket Companion for the German Flute* (London: J. Simpson, c. 1750)
- Delusse, Charles, *L'art de la flûte traversière* (Paris: for the author, c. 1761); facsimile edition (Florence: Studio per edizioni Scelte, 1997)
- Deutsch, O. E., *Handel: A Documentary Biography* (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1955)
- Devienne, F., *Nouvelle méthode théorique et pratique pour la flûte* (Paris: Naderman, c. 1792)
- Dickey, Bruce, and David Lasocki, 'Tonguing', *New Grove* (2001), vol. 21, 600–2
- Donington, Robert, *The Interpretation of Early Music* (London: Faber, 1977)
- _____, *A Performer's Guide to Baroque Music* (London: Faber, 1973)
- _____, *Baroque Music: Style and Performance* (London: Faber, 1982)
- Dreyfus, Laurence, *Bach and the Patterns of Invention* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1996)
- Drummond, Pippa, 'Weideman, Carl Friedrich', *New Grove* (2001), vol. 27, 213–14
- Dubois, Pierre (ed.), *Charles Avison's Essay on Musical Expression: with related writings by William Hayes and Charles Avison* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004)
- Eccles, John, *The Judgement of Paris* (Tunbridge Wells: Macnutt, 1984)
- Ferguson, Howard, 'Ornamentation', in *Keyboard Interpretation* (London: Oxford University Press, 1995)
- Fowler, Alastair, *Kinds of Literature: An Introduction to the Theory of Genres and Modes* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985)
- Fuller, David, 'Notes inégales', *New Grove* (2001), vol. 18, pp. 190–200
- George, M. Dorothy, *London Life in the Eighteenth Century* (London: Penguin, 1965)

- Geminiani, F., *Rules for Playing in a True Taste on the Violin, German Flute, Violoncello and Harpsichord, particularly the Thorough Bass op. VIII* (London: c. 1745)
- , *A Treatise of Good Taste in the Art of Musick* (London: n.n., 1749); facsimile edition (Huntingdon: King's Music, n.d.)
- Giannini, Tula, 'Jacques Hotteterre le Romain and his father, Martin', *EM*, 21 (1993), 377–95
- Gouk, Penelope, *Music, Science and Natural Magic in Seventeenth-Century England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999)
- Gibson, Elizabeth, 'The Royal Academy of Music (1719–28) and its Directors', in *Handel Tercentenary Collection*, ed. Stanley Sadie and Anthony Hicks (Basingstoke: for the Royal Musical Association by Macmillan, 1987), 138–64
- Gilbert, Kenneth, Introduction to his edition of François Couperin, *Pièces de clavecin, premier livre* (Paris: Heugel, 1972), pp. xv–xxiii
- Ginger, John (ed.), *Handel's Trumpeter: The Diary of John Grano* (New York: Pendragon Press, 1998)
- Gjerdingen, Robert O., *Music in the Galant Style* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007)
- Grano, John, 'A Journal of my Life while in the Marshalsea Southwark', Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson D34
- Granom, Lewis C. A., *Plain and Easy Instructions for Playing on the German Flute* (London: T. Bennett, 1766); third edition (London: T. Bennett, 1770); fourth edition (London: T. Bennett, 1772)
- , *A New Masons Song* (London: T. Bennett, c. 1760)
- Grassineau, James, *A Musical Dictionary* (London: n.n., 1740); facsimile edition (New York: Broude Brothers, 1966)
- Gunn, John, *The Art of Playing the German Flute* (London: for the author, 1793)
- Handel, George Frederick, *Klavierwerke I: Die acht grossen Suiten* (1720); ed. Terence Best (Kassel, Basel, London, New York, Prague: Bärenreiter, 1993)
- , *Klavierwerke II* (1733); ed. Terence Best (Kassel, Basel, London, New York, Prague: Bärenreiter, 1993)
- Harnoncourt, Nikolaus, *Baroque Music Today*, trans. Mary O'Neill (London: Christopher Helm, 1988)

- Hawkins, John, *A General History of the Science and Practise of Music* (1776), edited in 2 vols (London: Novello, 1875), vol. 2
- Haynes, Bruce, 'Non-Keyboard Intonation in the 17th and 18th centuries', *EM*, 19 (1991), 357–81
- , 'Tu ru or Not tu ru: Paired Symbols and Unequal Tonguing Patterns on Woodwinds in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries', *PPR*, 10 (1997), 41–60
- Heartz, Daniel, and Bruce Alan Brown, 'Galant', *New Grove* (2001), vol 9, 430–2
- Hefling, Stephen E., *Rhythmic Alteration in Seventeenth and Eighteenth-Century Music* (New York: Schirmer, 1993)
- Herber, Mark, *Clandestine Marriages in the Chapel and Rules of the Fleet Prison 1680–1754* (London: Francis Boutle, 1998)
- Heron, Luke, *A Treatise on the German Flute* (London: W. Griffin, 1771)
- Hogwood, C., 'Creating the Corpus: The Complete Keyboard Music of Henry Purcell', in *The Keyboard in Baroque Europe*, ed. C. Hogwood (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003)
- , and R. Luckett (eds.), *Music in Eighteenth Century England: Essays in Memory of Charles Cudworth* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983)
- Holman, Peter, *Life After Death: The Viola da Gamba in Britain from Purcell to Dolmetsch* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2010)
- , 'A Little Light on Lorenzo Bocchi: an Italian in Edinburgh and Dublin', in *Music in the British Provinces, 1690–1914*, ed. Rachel Cowgill and Peter Holman (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), 61–86
- Holmes, Geoffrey, and Daniel Szechi, *The Age of Oligarchy: Pre-Industrial Britain 1722-1783* (London and New York: Longman, 1993)
- Hotteterre le Romain, Jacques, *L'art de preluder* (Paris: n.n., 1719); facsimile edition (Florence: Studio per edizioni Scelte, 1999)
- , *Premier livre de pièces pour la flûte traversière* (Paris: n.n., 1708); revised edition (Paris: n.n., 1715); facsimile edition (Florence: Studio per edizione Scelte, 1980)
- , *Deuxième livre de pièces pour la flûte traversière* (Paris: n.n., 1715); facsimile edition (Florence: Studio per edizione Scelte, 1980)

- , *Principes de la flûte traversière* (Paris: Ballard, 1707); trans. as *The Rudiments or Principles of the German Flute* (London: Walsh & Hare, 1729)
- Hoyle, John, *Dictionarium Musica, being a Complete Dictionary or Treasury of Music* (London: n.n., 1770)
- Hudson, Richard, and Meredith Ellis Little, 'Sarabande', *New Grove* (2001), vol. 22, 273–7
- Humphries, Charles, and William C. Smith, *Music Publishing in the British Isles*, second edition, (Oxford: Blackwell, 1970)
- Hunter, David, 'Music Copyright in Britain to 1800', *ML*, 67 (1986), 269–82
- James, W. N., *A Word or Two on the Flute* (Edinburgh: Charles Smith, 1826)
- Johnson, Samuel, *A Dictionary of the English Language*, sixth edition (London: J. F. & C. Rivington, 1785)
- Johnstone, H. Diack, 'Ornamentation in the Keyboard Music of Henry Purcell and his Contemporaries', in *Performing the Music of Henry Purcell*, ed. Michael Burden (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 82–104
- , and Roger Fiske (eds.), *The Blackwell History of Music in Britain: The Eighteenth Century* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1990)
- James, Kenneth, 'Concert Life in Eighteenth-Century Bath'. Ph.D. thesis (Royal Holloway, University of London, 1987)
- Jones, David Wyn (ed.), *Music in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Aldershot and Burlington VT: Ashgate, 2000)
- Keefe, Simon P., *The Cambridge History of Eighteenth Century Music* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009)
- Kidson, Frank, 'Handel's Publisher, John Walsh, His Successors and Contemporaries', *MQ*, 6 (1920), 430–50
- Kummel, D. W., and Stanley Sadie (eds.), *Music Printing and Publishing* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1990)
- La Barre, M. de, *Pièces pour la flute traversière* (Paris: n.n., 1702); ed. Jane Bowers (Paris: Heugel, c. 1974)
- , *Deuxième livres de pièces pour la flute traversière* (Paris: n.n., 1710); facsimile edition (Courlay, France: Fuzeau, 1987)

- Lang, Paul H., 'The Composer' in *Man versus Society in Eighteenth-Century Britain: Six Points of View*, ed. James L. Clifford (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968), 85–101
- Langwill, Lyndesay G., 'London Wind Instrument Makers of the 17th and 18th centuries', *MR*, 7 (1946), 88–102
- _____, 'Two Rare 18th century London Directories' *ML*, 30 (1949), 37–43
- Lasocki, David, 'The French Hautboy in England, 1673–1730', *EM*, 16 (1988), 339–57
- _____, Introduction to his edition of Jacques Hotteterre le Romain, *Principles of the Flute, Recorder and Oboe* by (London: Barrie & Jenkins, 1968), pp. 7–27
- Le Huray, Peter, *Authenticity in Performance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990)
- _____, and James Day, *Music and Aesthetics in the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981)
- Little, Meredith Ellis, 'Gavotte', *New Grove* (2001), vol. 9, 591–3
- _____, 'Gigue', *New Grove* (2001), vol. 9, 849–52
- _____, 'Minuet', *New Grove* (2001), vol 16, 740–6
- _____, 'Siciliana', *New Grove* (2001), vol. 23, 350–2
- Little, Meredith, and Natalie Jenne, *Dance and the Music of J. S. Bach*, expanded edition (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2001)
- The London Stage 1660–1800*; part 2: 1700–1729, ed. E. L. Avery (1960); part 3: 1729–1747, ed. Arthur H. Scouten (1961), 5 parts (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1960–68)
- Lorenzoni, A., *Saggio per ben sonare il flauto traverso* (Vicenza: F. Modena, 1779)
- Lully, Jean-Baptiste, *Cadmus and Hermione* (Paris: Ballard, 1673), Oeuvres complètes de J. B. Lully, vol. 1, 2nd edition (New York: Broude Brothers, Paris: Editions de la Revue Musicale, 1966)
- _____, *Ballet de l'amour malade* (Paris, Ballard, 1657), Oeuvres complètes de J. B. Lully, vol. 1, 2nd edition (New York: Broude Brothers, Paris: Editions de la Revue Musicale, 1966)
- _____, *Ballet des gardes* (Paris, Ballard, 1665), Oeuvres complètes de J. B. Lully, vol. 2, 2nd edition (New York: Broude Brothers, Paris: Editions de la Revue Musicale, 1971)

- , *Xerxes* (Paris, Ballard, 1660), *Oeuvres completes de J. B. Lully*, vol. 2, 2nd edition (New York: Broude Brothers, Paris: Editions de la Revue Musicale, 1971)
- , *Amadis* (Paris, Ballard, 1684), *Oeuvres completes de J. B. Lully*, vol. 3, 2nd edition (New York: Broude Brothers, Paris: Editions de la Revue Musicale, 1971)
- Mace, Thomas, *Musick's Monument* (London: for the author, 1676); facsimile edition (New York: Broude Brothers, 1966)
- Mackerness, E. D., *A Social History of English Music* (London: Routledge & Keegan Paul, 1964)
- Mahaut, Antoine, *Nieuwe manier om binnen korte tijd op de dwarsfluit te leren spleen* (Amsterdam: J. J. Hummel, 1759); trans. and ed. Eileen Hadidian as, *A New Method for Learning to Play the Transverse Flute by Antoine Mahaut* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1989)
- Malcolm, Alexander, *A Treatise of Music: Speculative, Practical and Historical* (London: Osborn & Longman, 1730)
- Maraïs, Marin, *Pièces de viole, second livre* (Paris: for the author, 1701); ed. John Hsu (New York: The Broude Trust, 1986)
- Marx, Josef, 'The Tone of the Baroque Oboe', *GSJ*, 4 (1951), 3–19
- Mather, Betty Bang, *Dance Rhythms of the French Baroque* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1987)
- Mather, Betty Bang, and David Lasocki, *The Art of Preluding 1700–1830 for Flutists, Oboists, Clarinetists and other Performers* (New York: McGinnis and Marx, 1984)
- Mattheson, Johann, *Der Vollkommene Capellmeister* (Hamburg: n.n., 1739); trans. Ernest C. Harriß as *Johann Mattheson's 'Der Vollkommene Capellmeister': A Revised Translation with Critical Commentary*, (Ann Arbor, Michigan: UMI Research Press, 1981)
- McCleave, S. Y., *A Catalogue of Published Music in the Mackworth Collection* (Cardiff: Cardiff University of Wales, Dept of Music, 1996)
- Meylan, Raymond, *The Flute* (London: Batsford, 1988)
- Mersenne, Marin, *Harmonie Universelle* (Paris: n.n., 1636) ; trans. Roger E. Chapman, *The Books on Instruments* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1957)
- Milhous, J., and R. D. Hume (eds.), *Vice Chamberlain Coke's Theatrical Papers, 1706–15* (Carbondale: University of Southern Illinois Press, 1982)

- Miller, Edward, *The New Flute Instructor* (London: Broderip & Wilkinson, c. 1799)
- Morabito, Fulvia, 'Introduction' to *Dodici sonate per flauto traverso e basso, opera II*, edizione critica diretta da Albert Dunning, vol. 2 (London and Mainz: Schott, 2000), xxxiii–xlix
- Mozart, Leopold, *Versuch einer gründlichen Violinschule* (Augsburg: J. J. Lotter, 1757); trans. E. Klocker as *A Treatise on the Fundamentals of Violin Playing* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988)
- Nettl, Paul, 'The Life of Herr Joachim Quantz as Sketched by Himself', in *Forgotten Musicians* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1951), 280–319
- Neuhaus, Margaret, *The Baroque Flute Fingering Book* (Naperville, IL: Flute Studio Press, 1986)
- Neumann, Frederick, *Ornamentation in Baroque and Post-Baroque Music* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1978)
- Newman, William S., *The Sonata in the Baroque Era*, revised edition (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1966)
- Nicholson, Charles, *Nicholson's Complete Preceptor for the German Flute* (London: Preston, c. 1816)
- Picard, Liza, *Dr Johnson's London: Life in London 1740–1770*, second edition (London: Phoenix Press, 2001)
- Pink, Andrew, 'A Music Club for Freemasons: *Philo-Musicae et Architecturae Societas Apollini*, London, 1725–27', *EM*, 38 (2010), 523–35
- Platt, Richard, 'Ranish, John Frederick', *New Grove* (2001), vol. 20, 843–4
- Plumb, J. H., *England in the Eighteenth Century* (London: Pelican Books, 1950)
- _____, 'The Commercialization of Leisure in Eighteenth-Century England', in *The Birth of a Consumer Society: The Commercialization of Eighteenth-Century England*, ed. Neil McKendrick, John Brewer and J. H. Plumb, (London: Europa, 1982), 265–85
- Ponsford, David, *French Organ Music in the Reign of Louis XIV* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011)
- _____, 'Instrumental Music in the Seventeenth Century', in *The Cambridge History of Musical Performance*, ed. Colin Lawson and Robin Stowell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 421–47

- Porter, Roy, *Enlightenment* (London: Penguin, 2000)
- _____, *English Society in the Eighteenth Century* (London: Penguin, 1991)
- _____, *London: A Social History* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1994)
- Potter, John, *Observations on the Present State of Music and Musicians* (London: n.n., 1762)
- Powell, Ardal, *The Flute* (Yale: Yale University Press, 2002)
- Prellieur, Peter, *The Modern Musick-Master or the Universal Musician* (London: Cluer & Dicey, 1731)
- Purcell, Henry, *The Harpsichord Master* (London: Walsh, 1697); facsimile edition, (London and Wellington, NZ: Price Milburn Music, 1980)
- _____, *Dido and Aeneas*; The Works of Henry Purcell vol. 3, revised edition, The Purcell Society, (Sevenoaks: Novello, 1979)
- _____, *A Choice Collection of Lessons for the Harpsichord or Spinnet (1696)*; ed. Howard Ferguson as *Eight Suites* (London: Stainer & Bell, 1964)
- Quantz, J. J., *Versuch einer Anweisung die Flöte traversiere zu Spielen* (Berlin: J. F. Voss, 1752); trans. and ed. Edward R. Reilly as *On Playing the Flute* (London: Faber, 1966)
- _____, *Easy and Fundamental Instructions* (London: Longman & Broderip, c. 1790)
- Quarrell W. H., and Margaret Mare (eds.), *London in 1710: From the Travels of Z. C. von Uffenbach* (London: Faber, 1934)
- Registers of the Catholic Chapels Royal and of the Portuguese Embassy Chapel 1662–1829*, ed. Alphonsus Bonnar (Leeds: John Whitehead & Son, 1941)
- RISM –Bibliothekssigel: Gesamtverzeichnis* (München: G. Henle Verlag; Kassel; London: Bärenreiter Verlag, 1999)
- _____, B II, *Recueils imprimés XIIIe siècle* (Munich-Duisburg: G. Henle, 1964).
- _____, B VI, *Ecrits imprimés concernant la musique* (Munich-Duisburg: G. Henle, 1971).
- Rohr, Deborah, *The Careers of British Musicians 1750–1850* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001)

Rowland-Jones, Anthony, 'The Baroque Recorder Sonata', in *The Cambridge Companion to the Recorder*, ed. John Mansfield Thomson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 51–73

The Royal Society of Musicians of Great Britain: List of Members 1738–1984, compiled by Betty Matthews (London: The Society, 1985)

Rutherford, David, *The Art of Playing the Violin* (London: for the author, c. 1755)

—, *The Gentleman's Pocket Guide for the German Flute* (London: for the author, c. 1765)

Saint Lambert, Monsieur de, *Les principes de clavecin* (Paris: n.n., 1702); facsimile edition (Geneva: Minkoff, 1974)

—, *Nouveau traité de l'accompagnement de clavecin et de l'orgue*, (Paris: n.n., 1707); facsimile edition (Geneva: Minkoff, 1974)

Sands, Mollie, 'Music as a Profession in 18th century England' *ML*, 24 (1943), 90–2

Sampson, Jim, 'Genre', *New Grove* (2001), vol. 9, 657–9

Sardelli, Frederico Maria, *Vivaldi's Music for Flute and Recorder*, trans. Michael Talbot (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007)

Scott, Hugh Arthur, 'London's Earliest Public Concerts', *MQ*, 22/4 (October 1936), 446–57

Simpson, Adrienne, 'A Short-Title List of Printed English Instrumental Tutors up to 1800, held in British Libraries', *RMA Research Chronicle* 6 (1996), 24–50

Smith, William C., *A Bibliography of the Musical Works Published by the Firm of John Walsh during the Years 1695–1720* (London: Bibliographical Society, 1948)

Smith, William C., and Charles A. Humphries, *A Bibliography of the Musical Works Published by the Firm of John Walsh 1721–1766* (London: Bibliographical Society, 1968)

Solum, John, *The Early Flute* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992)

Songhurst, W. J. (ed.), *Quatuor Coronatorum Antigraha*, (Margate: W. J. Parrett, 1913), vol. 10

Strunk, Oliver (ed.), *Source Readings in Music History* (1950); revised edition, ed. L. Treitler (New York and London: Norton, 1998)

Sutcliffe, W. Dean, and Michael Tilmouth, 'Binary Form', *New Grove* (2001), vol. 3, 576–8

- Thompson, Gladys Scott, *The Russells in Bloomsbury, 1669–1771* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1940)
- Tilmouth, Michael, 'Some Early London Concerts and Music Clubs, 1670–1720', *PRMA* 84 (1957–8), 13–16
- _____, 'A Calendar of References to Music in Newspapers Published in London and the Provinces (1660–1719)', *RMA Research Chronicle*, 1 (1961), 1–107
- Tomlinson, Kellom, *The Art of Dancing* (London: for the author, 1735)
- Tosi, P. F., trans. Mr. Galliard, *Observations on the Florid Song* (London: J. Wilcox, 1743); facsimile edition (Ann Arbor, Michigan: UMI Research Press, 1979)
- Trevelyan, G. M., *English Social History* (London: Longmans, 1946)
- Tromlitz, J. J., *Ausführlicher und gründlicher Unterricht die flöte zu spielen* (Leipzig: A. F. Böhme, 1791); trans. and ed. Ardall Powell as *The Virtuoso Flute Player* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991)
- Vial, Stephanie D., *The Art of Musical Phrasing in the Eighteenth Century: Punctuating the Classical Style* (New York: University of Rochester Press, 2008)
- Vivaldi, Antonio, *L'estro armonico* op. 3 (1711); facsimile edition (New York: Performer's facsimiles, c. 1995)
- Vester, Frans, *Flute Music of the 18th Century* (Monteux: Musica Rara, 1985)
- Wainwright, J., and P. Holman (eds.), *From Renaissance to Baroque: Change in Instruments and Instrumental Music in the Seventeenth Century* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005)
- Walls, Peter, 'Instrumental Performance in the "Long Eighteenth Century"', in *The Cambridge History of Musical Performance*, ed. Colin Lawson and Robin Stowell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 527–51
- Warner, Thomas E., *An Annotated Bibliography of Woodwind Instruction Books, 1600–1830* (Detroit, MI: Information Co-ordinators, 1974)
- Weber, William, *The Rise of Musical Classics in Eighteenth-Century England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992)
- Williams, Peter, *The Chromatic Fourth during Four Centuries of Music* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997)

Wilson, John (ed.), *Roger North on Music* (London: Novello, 1959)

Wollenberg, Susan, and Simon McVeigh (eds.), *Concert Life in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004)

Wragg, J., *The Flute Preceptor: or the Whole Art of Playing the German Flute* (London: for the author, 1792, 1799, 1806)

Young, Phillip, T., *4900 Historical Woodwind Instruments* (London: T. Bingham, 1993)

Zaslaw, Neal, 'Jean-Marie Leclair', *New Grove* (2001), vol. 14, 443–7

____, 'Ornaments for Corelli's Violin Sonatas, op. 5', *EM*, 24 (1996), 95–116