Benjamin Cooke (1734-93), Composer and Academician:

Science, Ancient Authority and the Advancement of English Music

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Declaration

I hereby declare that this thesis is the result of my own work. Where other sources of information have been used they have been acknowledged.

Abstract

As organist of Westminster Abbey and conductor of the Academy of Ancient Music for most of the second half of the eighteenth century, Benjamin Cooke constitutes an important yet now forgotten figure. Extant Cooke manuscripts preserved in the Cooke Collection at the Royal College of Music represent an extensive though hitherto little examined source through which this study is made possible. In Cooke's compositions, musical tastes and theoretical writings may be perceived an all encompassing philosophy according to which not only the materials of music but even elements of musical style are seen to be governed by a priori principles. In this approach may be observed a philosophy consistent with wider eighteenth-century thinking, according to which antiquity and science were viewed as a source of universal and immutable truth.

Chapters 1 and 2 of this thesis set out the intellectual background to Cooke's theoretical writings and assess the significance of his unpublished treatise *Musical Conjectures*. Here we see how Cooke used his learning to resolve musical issues of his day (such as tuning) and to hone critical tools for the assessment of music. Chapter 3 provides a survey of the Cooke Collection. Here Cooke's editing of early music reveals an aspiration to map the musical past in order to establish terms of reference for the present, knowledge which impinged upon his own composing. Chapters 4 and 5 survey a representative sample of Cooke's compositions, culminating with an in-depth examination of two defining works, *The Morning Hymn* and *Collins's Ode*. Although these reveal a pronounced debt to music of the previous 200 years, they also exhibit a profound sense of innovation and creativity in style and language. In this we find an aspiration to advance music in a manner consistent with later eighteenth-century imperatives for simplicity, whilst retaining the gravitas and substance inherent in earlier styles.

Benjamin Cooke by William Skelton, after unknown artist (late eighteenth-century).
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Table of Contents

Volume I

Volume II

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Abbreviations

Gb-Lbl	British Library, London
Gb-Ob	Bodleian Library, Oxford
US-Wc	Library of Congress, Washington
GB-Lcm	Royal College of Music, London
US-NH	Osborne Collection, Yale University Library, New Haven

The Helmholtz system has been adopted for pitch notation (c^1 = middle C) and abbreviations for instrumentation are those used in *New Grove* rev. edn.

Introduction

Amidst the cosmopolitan, fashion-obsessed concert life of later eighteenth-century London there existed a discrete counterculture borne of native musical culture. Now forgotten, this Enlightenment school of musical thinkers sought through a high-minded intellectual curiosity to further music by proffering an alternative vision. Perceiving only empty ostentation in mainstream music, they pursued their vision through recourse to universal exemplars borne of science, nature and ancient authority.

Central to this counterculture was a group of ex-pupils and associates of the German immigrant composer-theorist Johann Christoph Pepusch (1667-1752). Foremost amongst these were Benjamin Cooke, John Hawkins (1719-89), William Boyce (1711-79), Marmaduke Overend (d. 1790), John Keeble (1711-86) and John Travers (*ca.* 1703-58). Common to this group was a studious enthusiasm for music's august theoretical traditions (especially Greek harmonic theory), alongside an overriding interest in collecting, studying, editing and performing earlier music. A focus for their preoccupations was provided by a concert-giving body instituted in 1726 known initially as the Academy of Vocal Music, which from the 1730s until his death in 1752 had been led by Pepusch. Under his leadership it became known as the Academy of Ancient Music and adopted a programming policy now deemed a landmark in the Western music tradition for its overriding devotion to the performance of what was termed 'ancient music'. The principal component of 'ancient music' was vocal polyphony of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. This included masses, psalms, madrigals and motets by composers such as Palestrina, Tallis, Byrd, Carissimi, Marenzio and Victoria, some of which had not been performed since their initial time of composition. By performing such music the Academy anticipated the emergence of musical classics later in the century, no comparable programming apparently occurring elsewhere in Europe until the earlier nineteenth century. Moreover, alongside this ancient music were performed works by the Academicians themselves. Although influenced by earlier forms, these works frequently exhibited a sense of innovation and artistic ambition in its way no less forward-looking than that found in contemporaneous music of mainstream concert life.

Key to this group was the now little-known figure Benjamin Cooke, who forms the subject of this study. As organist of Westminster Abbey and conductor of the

Academy of Ancient Music for much of the second half of the eighteenth century, Cooke was prominent and respected in his day as a composer, teacher, organist and theorist. The significance of Cooke both as composer-theorist and as representative of this entire counterculture is documented by the existence of an extensive collection of hitherto neglected manuscript sources once owned by him and now held at the Royal College of Music library. Existing in 27 volumes (RCM MSS 807-33) this constitutes not just the principal Cooke source but also a focus for study of this important episode in English musical history. It is partly upon the Cooke Collection that this study will focus.

The historicist preoccupations common to figures associated with this counterculture have caused subsequent commentators to deem their outlook and compositions conservative, derivative and unworthy of attention. From this study of Cooke, however, a quite different picture emerges; Cooke's interest in music and theory is revealed to be borne of a forward-looking and quintessentially Enlightenment pursuit of universal principles. The initial objective of this study is, therefore, firstly to investigate Cooke's interests in Greek theory, science and ancient music. The purpose of this is to demonstrate how these interests coalesced to form a distinctive philosophy of music common to Cooke and his circle and to show the integral role this philosophy played in Cooke's development as a composer of innovation and creativity. Following this, Cooke's own music will be examined, concentrating principally on the period 1764-77 when he reached his creative peak. In addition to unearthing long-forgotten yet ground-breaking compositions, this examination will further reveal how Cooke deployed his learning as a means of advancing music. Moreover, by considering Cooke's music and theoretical interests together, a vivid picture of the counterculture he represented will be elicited. This picture will reveal how the quest for universality underlying Cooke's activities inspired a bold musical agenda, anticipating seminal developments of the following century.

Before a brief biographical account of Cooke it maybe useful at this stage to introduce in greater detail what might be termed Cooke's alma mater, the Academy of Ancient Music.[1] Although, the Academy's main raison d'etre was the performance of ancient music it also advocated its study. This latter activity was no

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[1]Information on the Academy can be found in the following: Academy of Ancient Music: 'Orders' and other documents relating to the Academy of Vocal Musick 1726-31, BL Add. 11732; [John Hawkins], *An Account of the Institution and Progress of the Academy of Ancient Music* (London, 1770); J. Doane, *A Musical Directory for the Year 1794* (London, 1794); William Weber, *The Rise of Musical Classics in Eighteenth-Century England: a Study in Canon, Ritual and Ideology* (Oxford, 1992), especially pp. 56-74.

doubt assisted by the Academy's pre-eminent library of earlier music, described by Hawkins as 'perhaps the most valuable repository of musical treasure in Europe' but now dispersed.[2] Moreover, as a forum at which composer-members' works were performed, it seems inevitable these too were discussed along with the other interests shared by Academicians.

The later history of the Academy during Cooke's long stewardship is in present-day accounts overshadowed by the more illustrious reputation it had briefly attained earlier in the century. The Academy's founders conceived it as a professional club after the example provided by Italian academies of arts and sciences. Membership, which was by election, consisted of nobility, professional musicians and anyone else interested in ancient music. Initially the Academy had internationalist aspirations, attracting continental members of the highest calibre, such as Pier Francesco Tosi, Bononcini and Geminiani. Alongside these were musicians from the choirs of the Chapel Royal, St Paul's Cathedral and Westminster Abbey.

However, following a hugely damaging and well-documented dispute, the foreign celebrities and the musicians from St Pauls had by the later 1730s left.[3] It was also at around this time that the Academy became known as the Academy of Ancient Music and Cooke's teacher Pepusch took charge. From the 1730s until the 1770s the Academy effectively withdrew from the mainstream of musical life as the high prestige achieved in its early years was replaced by a reputation for learnedness and esotericism.

It was also at this time that London's concert life gained pace as a place of fashion, increasingly dominated by the music of foreigners such as J.C. Bach and Abel. Their repertory, dominated by symphonies and concertos, increasingly sidelined the traditions of sacred vocal music so prized by the Academy. However, although increasingly peripheral to mainstream musical life, the activities and preoccupations of the Academy retained an intellectual cachet, that inspired a significant minority of English composers at this time. Moreover, the Academy exerted more universal influence later in the century as other concert organisations emulated it. Most

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[2][Hawkins], *An Account*, p. 9. See also A. Hyatt King, *Some British Collectors of Music c. 1600-1960* (Cambridge, 1961), pp. 1-24 and D.F. Cook, 'J.C. Pepusch: An 18th-Century Musical Bibliophile', *Soundings*, 9 (1982), 11-28.

[3]Weber, *The Rise of Musical Classics*, p. 60; *Letters from the Academy of Ancient Music at London to Sigr Antonio Lotti of Venice with his Answers and Testimonies* (London, 1732).

notable amongst these was the Concert of Ancient Music (founded in 1776) that achieved levels of success and prestige way in excess of that attained by its model.[4]

At the Academy, Cooke perpetuated the practice of performing polyphonic works of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. A further constituent of ancient music of increasing importance as the century progressed was music of the later seventeenth and earlier eighteenth century such as Purcell's sacred and theatre music and Handel's oratorios and anthems. Up until 1784 meetings were held at the noted eighteenth-century venue, the Crown and Anchor Tavern on the Strand at which time they transferred to the larger Freemason's Hall in Lincoln's Inn. After Cooke's departure in 1789 the Academy continued until the earliest years of the nineteenth century, although by this time programmes were less esoteric and more dominated by favourite works by Handel.

Biographical Overview[5]

Born on 28 November 1734 in Covent Garden, Cooke was provided an early musical environment by the music publishing business of his father (also called Benjamin), who, before his death in 1743, placed Cooke under the instruction of Pepusch, by then conductor of the Academy. Thus began Cooke's long connection with that institution, initially as boy chorister, then librarian from 1749 until 1752 when on the death of Pepusch, he became conductor. Cooke's musical precocity is evident in extant dated fugal exercises undertaken for Pepusch,[6] and in his reputed appointment by the age of 12 as deputy organist of Westminster Abbey. In 1757 Cooke was appointed layman and master of the boys at the Abbey, becoming lay vicar in 1758 and full organist in 1762 until his death. In 1775 he gained the Cambridge Mus.D., his orchestral anthem 'Behold, how good and joyful', reputedly serving as his doctoral exercise,[7] and in 1782 he proceeded to the same degree in

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[4]Weber, *Rise of Musical Classics*, pp. 143-97.

[5]This draws upon Cooke entries by the present author in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart, Zweite Auflage* (Kassel, 2001) and by H. Diack Johnstone in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004). Historical sources are discussed below.

[6]Now in RCM MS 823.

[7]The oft-made claim that this anthem was used as Cooke's doctoral exercise is derived principally from information in: 'Memoir of Benjamin Cooke, Mus. Doc.' *The Harmonicon*, 9 (1831), 207-8. A slightly more detailed description of this event exists in: *The European Magazine*, 7 (1785), 15. This describes Cooke's doctoral exercise as a 'Te Deum'.

Oxford. Moreover, in that year Cooke overcame competition from Charles Burney to become organist of St Martin-in-the-Fields.

Cooke played an active part in London's musical life, joining the Royal Society of Musicians (1760), the Noblemen and Gentlemen's Catch Club (1767) and Madrigal Society (1769), and, at the request of King George III, serving as an assistant director of the Handel Commemoration (1784). However, in 1789 Cooke lost his position at the Academy to Dr. Samuel Arnold after newspaper complaints reflecting a general perception that his performances contrasted unfavourably with those of London's increasingly professionalised concert world. His bitterness at this is revealed in his initial refusal to belong to the Graduates' Meeting (a group comprising Oxford and Cambridge music graduates) where he would have encountered Dr. Arnold. Cooke continued to compose until his death from pleurisy in 1793; he was buried along with the rest of his family in the west cloister of Westminster Abbey, where a mural tablet is engraved with his famous Amen canon, a monument to his achievement in learned counterpoint. Highly regarded as a teacher, Cooke's pupils included William Parsons, John Crosdill, Thomas Greatorex and Reginald Spofforth. Cooke was widely characterised as modest and unassuming; according to Laetitia Hawkins (daughter of Sir John Hawkins), 'no one was ever less vain of superior excellence in an art, or rather, less sensible of it.' He had been, she claimed, 'one of the worthiest and best-tempered men that ever existed; and though at an early period of life he had obtained a very high rank in his profession, he had escaped all the ills connected with music and prosperity.'[8]

The ideology surrounding the Academy constituted an overriding influence on Cooke's music, engendering in it a 'correctness and learning'[9] for which Cooke was by different schools of musical thought lauded or scorned. The madrigalian imitation in the glee 'In the merry month of May' is indicative of Cooke's interests as is the Baroque idiom prevalent in his anthems and odes, albeit replete with innovations in terms of style and orchestration. It was however as one of the principal glee and catch composers that Cooke was chiefly admired, gaining seven Noblemen and Gentlemen's Catch Club prizes (for five glees, a canon and a catch).[10] Glees such as 'Hark the Lark' captured the often exuberant essence of the

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[8]Laetitia Hawkins, *Anecdotes, Biographical Sketches and Memoirs* and *Memoirs, Anecdotes, Facts and Opinions*, 2 vols. (London, 1822,1824), vol. I, p. 229.

[9]*Harmonicon*, p. 207.

[10]Viscount Gladstone, Guy Boas and Harald Christopherson, *Noblemen and Gentlemen's Catch Club: Three Essays towards its History* (London, 1996).

genre and were widely published and performed into the nineteenth century. Similarly Cooke's sacred and orchestral works were performed at Westminster Abbey, the Academy and other venues in and outside London up until some years after his death. Most notably, the orchestral anthem 'Behold how good and joyful', first used for the installation of the Bishop of Osnaburgh (afterwards Duke of York) as a Knight of the Bath in Westminster Abbey in 1774 was reputedly performed at every subsequent installation until 1812.[11] Cooke never composed in those more modern genres believed by supporters of ancient music to rely for effect upon novelty and empty virtuosity, such as the symphony or classical solo concerto.

Cooke contributed many glees and catches to Thomas Warren's collections,[12] publishing his own collection in 1775, whilst in 1795 his son Robert published a further posthumous set. Of other works published during Cooke's lifetime the nost notable include his crowning achievements, a large-scale setting of William Collins' *Ode on the Passions* and an adaptation of Galliard's *Hymn of Adam and Eve*. His psalm tunes were published in various collections during and after his life-time and two volumes of organ music were published posthumously by his son Henry.[13]

Cooke's Reputation Since his Death

In common with many composers of his generation, Cooke's works were not to remain widely known long into the next century. By the mid nineteenth century Vincent Novello, citing a list of 20 of Cooke's services and anthems, made the following statement:

> It will scarcely be believed that with the exception of the anthem for two trebles ['Wherewithal shall a young man'] the whole of the above fine collection of Church music has been allowed to remain unpublished and neglected; but it is earnestly to be hoped that those who are interested in the preservation and improvement of English sacred music will, without further delay, endeavour to rescue these musical treasures from the oblivion to which they are now hastening.[14]

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[11] *Harmonicon*, p. 207.

[12] *A First [to 32nd] Collection of Catches, Canons and Glees for Three, Four, Five, Six and Nine Voices Never Before Published*, selected by Thomas Warren (London, [1763-1794]).

[13] Principal eighteenth-century Cooke editions are indicated in Appendix 3.

[14] Inscribed in a manuscript volume of sacred music by Cooke, copied by Vincent Novello from the Cooke Collection, in the earlier nineteenth century, BL Add. 31819.

Despite this the Service in G was the only work of importance to be published by Novello. With the exception of this service and a few glees, the part played by Cooke in English music during the second half of the eighteenth century was soon forgotten. Following his demise, the life and career of Cooke therefore received little comment except that to be found in three early nineteenth-century sources. The first of these is *Anecdotes, Biographical Sketches and Memoirs* (1822) by Laetitia Hawkins.[15] This gives insightful glimpses concerning Cooke's personality and biographical details, some of which cast valuable light on the nature of Cooke's relationship with John Hawkins. More complete accounts are provided in an anonymous article published in *The Harmonicon* in 1831[16] and a biography written by Cooke's son Henry (1769-1840), published anonymously in 1837, entitled *Some Account of Doctor Cooke, Organist of Westminster Abbey.*[17] In all these sources Cooke is presented as modest in personality and as a principal exponent of an English school of composition 'which was old when he himself was young'.[18] Moreover, through his activities as a teacher he is shown to have played an important role in passing knowledge of this school on to a younger generation. The information contained in these sources has provided the basic material for all subsequent dictionary entries on Cooke.

In twentieth-century literature the work of Cooke has received little attention, tending to be seen as being of a generation of composers overwhelmed by the influence of Handel. John Bumpus has been one of the few to provide a positive appraisal. In his *History of English Cathedral Music 1549-1889* published in 1908 he recounts details of Cooke's sacred works, concluding with the following glowing, yet pertinent assessment:

> The works of Dr. Cooke do him great honour, and he is one of the most solid ornaments of the English school. As a Church composer it may be said of him that he was one of the few who, during the later Georgian era, were possessed of power and individuality of character sufficiently marked to enable them to resist certain meretricious influences from without. That he admired Handel is sufficiently evident, but still he remained master of

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[15]Laetitia Hawkins, *Anecdotes.*

[16]*Harmonicon.*

[17]Henry Cooke, *Some Account of Doctor Cooke, Organist of Westminster Abbey &c.* (London, 1837).

[18]*Harmonicon*, p.207.

> himself, and every one of his works displays the independence of his mind and the individuality of his style in composition.[19]

Ernest Walker articulated a more widely held belief when he dismissed the English composers of Cooke's generation, stating that a 'blind adoration of Handelian methods in almost every branch of the art' had 'laid a dead weight on English music which crushed out of ninety-nine of every hundred composers any vital originality that they might otherwise have displayed.'[20]

The only survey of any substantial part of Cooke's *oeuvre* is to be found in a Ph.D thesis, 'The Orchestral Anthem in England, 1700-1775', by Monte Atkinson.[21] Examining 11 Cooke orchestral anthems Atkinson considers forces employed, form, structure, text settings and stylistic influences. From this, Atkinson judges Cooke to be 'the most important secondary composer [i.e. after Handel, Boyce and Greene] of orchestral anthems in the eighteenth century.' Moreover, Atkinson argues that Cooke's works provide an 'unprecedented insight into the course of this genre outside of the Chapel Royal.' Although it is not a thorough survey, Atkinson usefully places Cooke within the broader eighteenth-century context of orchestral anthem composition. He does not, however, fully recognise the extent of Cooke's innovation, concluding somewhat pejoratively that 'while Cooke never fully moved beyond the late-baroque mannerisms, he did look forward here and there to the new *galant* spirit of the times.'[22]

Cooke has received little mention in other recent studies concerning English eighteenth-century church music. Nicholas Temperley, in his chapter 'Music in Church' in *Music in Britain: The Eighteenth Century,* simply associates Cooke along with other members of his generation with a 'general drying up of invention' after the middle of the eighteenth-century.'[23] In his role as composer of chants Cooke

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[19]John S. Bumpus, *A History of English Cathedral Music 1549-1889*, 2 vols. (London, [1908]), p. 314.

[20]Ernest Walker, *A History of Music in England*, 3rd edn., rev. J.A. Westrup (Oxford, 1952), p. 271.

[21]Monte Atkinson, 'The Orchestral Anthem in England, 1700-1775', Ph.D. diss., University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1991.

[22]*Ibid.*, p. 207.

[23]Nicholas Temperley, 'Music in Church', in *Music in Britain: The Eighteenth Century*, ed. H. Diack Johnstone and Roger Fiske (Oxford, 1990), p. 375.

has also been cited in Temperley's *The Music of the English Parish Church.*[24] These works do however present useful background to eighteenth-century church music, as does Ruth Wilson's *Anglican Chant and Chanting in England, Scotland, and America 1660-1820.*[25]

More specific and insightful treatment of Cooke is provided in Tony Trowles' dissertation 'The Musical Ode in Britain c. 1670-1800'.[26] This focuses upon Cooke's setting of Collins' *Ode on the Passions*, comparing it to contemporaneous treatments of like texts. As well as finding Cooke's setting the most 'interesting' of its kind, Trowles usefully places Cooke's historicist and neo-classical interests within a literary context. The most wide-ranging treatment of Cooke's career has been provided by Andrew Pink in his M.A. dissertation, 'Benjamin Cooke (1734-1793): A Three-Part Study comprising a Biographical Sketch of the Composer: A Performing Edition of the Christmas Ode (1763): A Catalogue of Works'.[27] Perhaps the most relevant part of this with regard to the present study is the biographical sketch. This most usefully contributes to Cooke research through examination of original sources such as wills, Westminster Abbey death and birth records,[28] recently published diaries[29] and contemporary newspaper accounts.

As already indicated, an important reason for studying Cooke is for his writings; these set out the theoretical position that helped to define a significant counterculture in English eighteenth-century music. Whilst such theories have received virtually no attention in secondary literature, a number of studies provide broader context to them. Regarding Enlightenment science and music theory, Jamie Kassler has published several highly relevant monographs. Most apposite here is her broad

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[24]Nicholas Temperley, *The Music of the English Parish Church*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1979).

[25]Ruth M. Wilson, *Anglican Chant and Chanting in England, Scotland, and America 1660-1820* (Oxford, 1996).

[26]Tony A.Trowles, 'The Musical Ode in Britain *c.* 1670-1800', D.Phil. diss., University of Oxford, 1992.

[27]Andrew Pink, 'Benjamin Cooke (1734-1793): A Three-Part Study comprising a Biographical Sketch of the Composer: A Performing Edition of the Christmas Ode (1763): A Catalogue of Works,' M.A. diss., Colchester Institute, 2000.

[28]J.L. Chester, *The Marriage, Baptismal, and Burial Registers of the Collegiate Church...of St Peter, Westminster* (London, 1876).

[29]*The John Marsh Journals: the Life and Times of a Gentleman Musician (1752-1828)*, ed. B. Robins (Stuyvesant, NY, 1998) and *Recollections of R.J.S. Stevens: an Organist in Georgian London*, ed. Mark Argent (London, 1992).

survey of *The Science of Music in Britain, 1714-1830.*[30] This helps to establish relationships between Cooke's theoretical preoccupations and those of other Enlightenment theorists. Of like relevance is Louis Chenette's thesis 'Music Theory in the British Isles during the Enlightenment';[31] this takes a thematic approach, focusing by turn on theories of sound, scale, consonance and harmonic vocabulary. A similarly thematic approach is taken with regard to seventeenth- and eighteenth-century English regulative music theory by Barry Cooper in his German-language study *Entstehung nationaler Traditionen: Frankreich, England.*[32] This is important as the only secondary source to examine theory tutors by Pepusch, Giorgio Antoniotto and others known to have influenced Cooke. Also important is Penelope Gouk's *Music, Science and Natural Magic in Seventeenth-Century England.*[33] This traces relationships between practical music, speculative theory and seventeenth-century experimental science, thereby revealing cultural and theoretical background to Cooke's theoretical writing. Of like significance is Thomas Christensen's study, *Rameau and Musical Thought in the Enlightenment.*[34] This establishes striking correspondences between the theoretical, scientific and musical positions adopted by Rameau and Cooke (as well as other supporters of ancient music in England). Moreover, in doing this, Christensen effectively relates issues of science and music theory to wider intellectual life. Also relevant to this study is *The Cambridge History of Western Music Theory*,[35] in which a wide range of issues concerning regulative and speculative music theory are placed within a broader European context.

There are no recent monographs concerning the issue of temperaments and Robert Smith's proposals concerning 'equal harmony', which form so important a part in Cooke's theoretical writing. Nevertheless, useful information on this is to be found in a series of papers given by Donald Burrows, Grant O'Brien, Dominic Gwynn and Alexander Mackenzie at a conference in 1998 at the Russell Collection of Early

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[30]Jamie Kassler, *The Science of Music in Britain, 1714-1830: a Catalogue of Writings, Lectures and Inventions*, 2 vols. (New York, 1979).

[31]Louis Chenette, 'Music Theory in the British Isles during the Enlightenment', Ph.D. diss., Ohio State University, 1967.

[32]Wilhelm Seidel and Barry Cooper, *Entstehung nationaler Traditionen: Frankreich, England* (Darmstad, 1986).

[33]Penelope Gouk, *Music, Science and Natural Magic in Seventeenth-Century England* (New Haven, 1999).

[34]Thomas Christensen, *Rameau and Musical Thought in the Enlightenment* (Cambridge, 1993).

[35]Thomas Christensen, ed., *The Cambridge History of Western Music Theory* (Cambridge, 2002).

Keyboard Instruments in Edinburgh, now posted on the Edinburgh University website.[36] Also of importance for understanding the more general circumstances regarding unequal temperament in eighteenth-century England is an article entitled 'The Adoption of Equal-Temperament Tuning: a Performing Imperative or a Fashionable Fad?' by Alexander Mackenzie,[37] and the *New Grove* entries on tuning by Mark Lindley.[38]

A further strand of literature relevant to this study concerns concert life in London during the period, foremost amongst which is Simon McVeigh's seminal work *Concert Life in London from Mozart to Haydn.*[39] Largely dependent upon newspaper sources, McVeigh describes the establishment and growth of public concerts in the fashionable calendar of high society that occurred in later eighteenth-century London. McVeigh states that this began with the arrival of Felice Giardini in London in 1751 and ended in 1795 with Haydn's departure from London, thereby delineating a period coinciding with Cooke's career. In setting out the many trends comprising this vibrant musical culture (with which Cooke's counterculture was broadly in discord) McVeigh provides key information concerning the performance and taste for ancient music. Also relevant with regard to catch and glee culture (an area not covered by McVeigh) is Brian Robins' recent publication *Catch and Glee Culture in Eighteenth-Century England.*[40]

The most extensive contribution to our understanding of the notion of ancient music in eighteenth-century England is provided by William Weber in his book *The Rise of Musical Classics in Eighteenth-Century England.*[41] Here Weber argues that the interest in ancient music emanated from pre-existing practices and circumstances

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[36]Procedings of the One-day Conference on the Historical Background to the New 'Handel' Organ in St Cecilia's Hall: Conference held at St Cecilia's Hall, Edinburgh on the 15th of August 1998, Russell Collection of Early Keyboard Instruments, Edinburgh, 1998 [http://www.music.ed.ac.uk/russell/conference/conference.html, accessed 21 February 2001].

[37]A.C.N Mackenzie of Ord, 'The Adoption of Equal-temperament Tuning: a Performing Imperative or a Fashionable Fad?', *Bios Journal*, 7 (2003), 91-111. See also his thesis 'Keyboard Temperament in England during the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries', M.Litt. diss., University of Bristol, 1979.

[38]Mark Lindley, 'Temperaments', *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, rev. edn., S. Sadie and J. Tyrrell (London, 2001).

[39]Simon McVeigh, *Concert Life in London from Mozart to Haydn* (Cambridge, 1993).

[40]Brian Robins, *Catch and Glee Culture in Eighteenth-Century England* (Woodbridge, 2006).

[41]William Weber, *The Rise of Musical Classics in Eighteenth-Century England: a Study in Canon, Ritual and Ideology* (Oxford, 1992).

resulting from social conditions and political events rather than through the influence of a single composer or an aesthetic movement.[42] He states that:

> A tradition of preserving old works developed within the cathedrals and the Chapel Royal during the early seventeenth-century that was deeply affected by the political upheavals of the next hundred years. The Restoration established services and anthems by William Byrd, Thomas Tallis, and their contemporaries in repertories; the movement for religious and social reform at the turn of the eighteenth century gave them an ideological purpose. At the same time recent works-first the *Te Deum and Jubilate* of Henry Purcell, then the oratorios of George Frederic Handel-became classics in their own right as the focus of grand music festivals.[43]

Weber argues that these developments had their social origins in England's affluence and growth as a consuming society. Furthermore he states that:

> The movement for ancient music sprang from a moral reaction against fashion, against the excesses seen in new habits of consumption. Its ideological advocates saw ancient music as a force by which not only to improve musical taste but also to reform and regenerate the society as a whole.[44]

Notions of ancient music are further addressed by Weber in a number of articles, some of which address more specificly intellectual issues. In his article 'The Eighteenth-Century Origins of the Musical Canon'[45] Weber sees the taste for Ancient music as 'part of a larger reconstitution of canons throughout the arts during the eighteenth century.'

These viewpoints are all apposite to any appraisal of Cooke and will be alluded to during the course of this study. However, it is also argued here that the activities of Cooke present additional perspectives upon the historicist musical tastes of his circle, invoking more purely aesthetic and theoretical elements not addressed by Weber. This difference in approach possibly owes to the fact that Weber's study concentrates on the later part of the century and in particular the activities of the Concert of Ancient Music. Instead of investigating musicians Weber examines the

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[42]*Ibid.*, p. 3.

[43]*Ibid.*, p. vii.

[44]*Ibid.*, pp. vii-viii.

[45]William Weber, 'The Eighteenth-Century Origins of the Musical Canon', *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, 114 (1989), 6-17.

activities of patrons and social ideologues, thereby overlooking key elements underlying the notion of ancient music raised by the work and career of Cooke.

Another recent work, also dealing with ancient music but focussing upon the years after Cooke's death is Howard Irving's study, *Ancients and Moderns: William Crotch and the Development of Classical Music*.[46] He approaches his subject via Crotch as lecturer and supporter of ancient music, also drawing upon the writings of literary figures and music commentators such as Charles Burney, Thomas Twining, John Marsh, William Mason, John Dennis and William Jones of Nayland. Irving identifies an 'ideology of the moderns' in later eighteenth-century England which he believes 'has scarcely been delineated' and contrasts this with that of the ancients (for which he relies largely on Weber's assessment). Surveying numerous references to an old and a new school in the writings of Twining and Burney, two modern music supporters, Irving provides the following useful summary:

> Ancient music is invariably linked with qualities like uniformity, learning, correctness, judgement, reason, restraint, heaviness, manliness, contrivance, seriousness and timelessness. Above all, it is universally connected with the musical element of harmony - a word used in the common eighteenth-century sense that is roughly synonymous with 'counterpoint' - and with harmony's inevitable companion or surrogate, 'contrivance'. The modern style, by contrast, is identified with an alternate set of qualities that are as much related to its secular, operatic origins as the above characterization of ancient music is to the *stile antico*. These include not only the novelty, wildness, fancy, and capriciousness mentioned above but variety, elegance, licence, imagination, feeling, delicacy, expression and, above all, the musical element of melody.[47]

In such analyses Irving identifies parameters distinct from the predominantly social and cultural conditions underlying Weber's account. In the writings of Crotch he finds not only evaluation of music on purely musical grounds but also discussion of whether music should be regarded as mere gratification of the senses or as an intellectual art form. Antecedents to such ideas are evident in the work of Cooke, thereby making Irving's study of direct relevance to the present study. However, although a composer and supporter of ancient music, Crotch fundamentally differs from Cooke and his generation in his reliance on arguments derived from 'men of letters', and in particular the artist Joshua Reynolds. Furthermore Irving, like Weber,

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[46]Howard Irving, *Ancients and Moderns: William Crotch and the Development of Classical Music* (Aldershot, 1999).

[47]*Ibid.*, p. 71.

does not approach his subject from the perspective of the composer. By exploring the literary world posed by the life of Crotch, Irving fails to exploit many other types of evidence fundamental to understanding this period of English music. Cooke research, however, introduces (through the Cooke Collection) an abundance of such interrelated research material crucial to understanding the eighteenth-century notion of ancient music and its wider context. It is argued here that the study of Cooke's theorising, collecting, editing and, most importantly, composing is key to perceiving the significant school of musical thought that gave rise to the taste for ancient music in eighteenth-century England. Thus, although previous studies impinge upon Cooke's world, they have not fully appreciated the 'counterculture' it embodies, of which the taste for ancient music constitutes just one aspect. It is argued here, however, that the hitherto neglected avenues presented by Cooke research elucidate not just a highly important dimension of English music history. By exploring these avenues we are provided with the opportunity to discover the theories and music of a remarkable, yet now forgotten, Enlightenment figure.

Chapter 1

The Academy of Ancient Music and Enlightenment Music Theory: the Intellectual Context to Cooke's Treatise, *Musical Conjectures*

During the later eighteenth century several treatises were produced by musicians associated with the Academy of Ancient Music which taken together form a highly significant intellectual statement. Although differing widely in manner, all were united in their wish to locate music's underlying principles and thereby realise a defining objective of the counterculture embodied by the Academy. This was to raise music's status by establishing it as an autonomous musical language based on universal principles. Crucially, all sought to achieve this objective through appropriation of ancient Greek harmonic theory, whilst some also invoked science. The principal exponents of this mode of discourse were Benjamin Cooke, William Boyce, John Travers, Marmaduke Overend and John Keeble, although expression of their underlying philosophy may also be found in less theoretical works by other supporters of ancient music.[1] Taken in isolation, these treatises have appeared inconsequential, abstruse and irrelevant to the few who have referred to them. This impression has undoubtedly been reinforced by the fact that only one of them (by the little-known John Keeble) ever achieved publication. Moreover, the absence of any 'great' composer associated with this school of thought has further contributed to its neglect. Nevertheless, taken as a whole and understood within the context of the counterculture which engendered them, these writings are crucial as testament to a forgotten yet important theoretical and musical agenda.

Foremost amongst the theoretical works of this school is Cooke's unpublished manuscript treatise *Musical Conjectures*, first completed in 1769 when he was at the height of his creative powers. In it Cooke argued that all parameters of music are founded on the natural model provided by the harmonics of a sounding string and that this in turn was consistent with ancient Greek harmonic theory. Moreover, according to Cooke this universality was also inherent in the music of 'masters' such as Alessandro Scarlatti, Purcell and Handel, thereby lending it its timeless pre-eminence. An indication of the nature of Cooke's conception of music as a

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[1]References to theoretical writings by William Boyce, John Travers, Marmaduke Overend and John Keeble can be found in the Bibliography of this study.

universal language is provided by the following declaration from *Musical Conjectures*:

> Music in all its parts appears to be founded on a very few original principles, which equally operate in the production of single sounds and of the whole scale, in the combinations and modulations of Harmony, in accents of Measure and Time, and in the formation of Instruments; and the Pow'r of these proportions is such, that applied singly to any one of these purposes, a musical effect is produc'd...but when all these various Pow'rs are united to express an action of worship to the great Creator... ([as] has lately appeared in the performances exhibited for the Commemoration of Handel in Westminster Abbey) what heart is there that will not glow with extasy even at the thought... Music may be compar'd to the game of Chess, the motions of the several pieces are perpetually the same, yet their various combinations are to our faculties really infinite.[2]

Over this chapter and study as a whole it will be shown how in Cooke's music and theory such universalism combined with a sublime spirituality to mark a fundamental separation from mainstream culture for which music was simply 'agreeable entertainment'. Moreover, it will be shown that in such high-minded universalism Cooke looked not just to the past, but also prefigured in certain respects Romantic conceptions of music as an autonomous and non-representative expression of profundity.

The purpose of this chapter is thus to examine the intellectual background to *Musical Conjectures*. This will begin with investigation of immediate influences provided by other Academicians and then turn to broader antecedents to both Cooke and the school of thought for which he became a key exponent. Through this it will be shown how Cooke's theories both drew on key strands of Enlightenment thought and provide evidence of a broader, now forgotten music-and-science discourse. Finally, it will be shown how the theoretical positions adopted by Cooke related to and contrasted with those informing mainstream musical life. The fascinating intellectual history this provides serves as an essential precursor to Chapter 2 in which *Musical Conjectures* itself will be examined in detail.

Although it is argued here that *Musical Conjectures* was a natural outcome of Enlightenment epistemology, the school of musical thought from which it emanates can nevertheless be traced to an initial prime-mover, Cooke's teacher Pepusch.

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[2]Benjamin Cooke, *Musical Conjectures*, Tenbury MS 1344, now in Bodl., ff. 87-8. The reference in parentheses to Handel was inserted later, presumably after the Handel Commemoration of 1784 at which Cooke officiated.

Given the pivotal role Pepusch played in forming the theoretical world of Cooke and his circle it is appropriate at this point to provide both brief details of his background and instances of his theorising.[3] Born around 1667 in Berlin, Pepusch studied music under the now little-known Martin Klingsberg, becoming music teacher of the electoral prince (later Frederick William I of Prussia) at around the age of 14. Pepusch subsequently moved to London supposedly after witnessing 'a terrible act of despotism' by the elector, arriving in September 1697. In England Pepusch initially developed a successful career as theatre composer (for which he is best known by his involvement with *The Beggars Opera* in the 1720s), as well as musical director during 1719-23 at Cannons, the estate of James Brydges, later first Duke of Chandos. It was, however, in the 1730s that the Academy became fundamental to his activities. From then on he devoted his energies to the study of ancient music and music theory. The assumptions central to the influential school of thought he engendered are encapsulated in the following account given by one of his pupils, John Wesley:

> [Pepusch] asserted, 'that the art of music is lost; that the ancients only understood it in its perfection; that it was revived a little in the reign of King Henry VIII, by Tallys and his contemporaries, as also in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, who was a judge and patroness of it; that after her reign it sunk for sixty or seventy years, till Purcell made some attempts to restore it: but that ever since, the true, ancient, art, depending on nature and mathematical principles, had gained no ground, the present masters having no fixed principles at all.'[4]

Critical here is the belief in a 'true ancient art' reflected in the music of a golden age of 'Tallys and his contemporaries', one that was dependent upon 'nature and mathematical principles'. This broadly reflects the position that would later underpin Cooke's activities: although modern-day music was considered debased, the art could yet be redeemed through recourse to its underlying a priori principles. Pivotal therefore to this discussion of the theoretical background to *Musical Conjectures* is Pepusch's allusion to mathematical principles.

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[3]Biographical details are taken from: Graydon Beeks, 'Pepusch, John Christopher (1666/7-1752)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004).

[4]John Wesley's Journal, 13 June 1748, *The Diary*, ed. Ernest Rhys, 4 vols., (London, [n.d.]), vol. II, p. 64.

Despite his widely held reputation as a theorist,[5] Pepusch left few actual writings as testament to his knowledge, his contribution being more specifically as a teacher. Nevertheless, an indication of his theoretical position exists in a paper he wrote for the prestigious scientific body, the Royal Society entitled:

> *Of the various* Genera *and* Species *of* Music *among the* Ancients, *with Some* Observations *concerning Their* Scale; *In a Letter from* John Christoph. Pepusch, *Music D. & F.R.S. to Mr.* Abraham de Moivre, *F.R.S.*[6]

This was published in the Society's journal *Philosophical Transactions* and presented by Pepusch to the Society on 13 November 1746, following his election as a Fellow of the Royal Society on 13 June 1745. As we shall see, the Royal Society was instrumental in establishing a science-and-music discourse in the Enlightenment and therefore plays an important part in this story. The fact that this paper was addressed to Abraham de Moivre (1667-1754), a renowned Enlightenment mathematician and published in *Philosophical Transactions* is itself indicative of the importance of music in scientific discourse at this time.

Somewhat obscure in its objectives, Pepusch's paper (along with his few remaining other extant speculative writings) has received little attention in secondary literature. It is however, highly relevant here for the way it anticipates Cooke's aims and methods, from which he would ultimately develop his own distinct and more extensive theoretical statement in *Musical Conjectures*. With Pepusch's paper we apparently find the earliest manifestation of the principal confluence of activities common to supporters of ancient music, namely the appropriation of Greek theory and science as a means of resolving contemporary musical issues.

Pepusch's stated purpose, to explain the '*Genera* and *Species*', concerns an issue to be examined in detail in Chapter 2. For present purposes this is sufficiently described as the complex system of varying scales used in Greek theory. Probably more telling is a further supplementary objective Pepusch cites. This was to show

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[5]This reflected in, for example, John Hawkins, *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music* (1776), new edn., 2 vols. (London, 1853), vol. II, p. 884-6, and Charles Burney, *A General History of Music* (1776-89), ed. F. Mercer, 2 vols. (London, 1935), vol. II, pp. 985-9.

[6]Johann Christoph Pepusch, 'Of the Various Genera and Species of Music Among the Ancients', *Philosophical Transactions*, 44 (1746), 266-75. The other main source of information thought to reflect Pepusch's speculative theorising is a collection of manuscript notes (not in his autograph) now in the British Library (BL Add. 29429). In addition, there are two published didactic works by Pepusch (but not in his name), a harmony treatise (discussed in Chapter 3) and a thorough bass method; references for these can be found in the bibliography of this study.

'how far the Doctrine of the Ancients in this respect is reconcilable with the true Nature of musical Sounds'[7] by which he meant the modern musical system. Due to its relevance to *Musical Conjectures* it is this latter aspect of Pepusch's thesis which will be focused upon here.

In order to achieve his stated aims, Pepusch began with a number of assertions, commonplace in speculative theoretical discourse. Foremost was the notion that musical intervals are expressible in terms of ratios, and therefore reducible to numbers as described by Greek theorists. Furthermore, he asserted these ratios could be 'analysed into the prime Numbers 2, 3 and 5' and that 'all Intervals may be found from the Octave, Fifth and Third Major; which respectively correspond to those Numbers.' Pepusch believed this to be the 'Standard of Truth' from which 'all the agreeable Variety of Relations of Sounds result' and that 'Every Interval that occurs in Music is good or bad, as it approaches to, or deviates from, what it ought to be on these Principles.'[8]

The mathematical basis to these assertions will be explained later in this study. What is essential to note here is Pepusch's belief that the musical system of his day was reducible to such mathematical principles. Having established this as the basis to his musical epistemology, it was necessary for Pepusch to dispel any apparent incompatibility between this mathematical view and the reality of modern musical practice. Both the substance of such perceived incompatibilities and Pepusch's attempts to resolve them are important to this study as evidence of the way Greek theory and science were appropriated to establish music's underlying principles.

Pepusch observed two areas where ancient Greek theories had been questioned leading 'some modern Authors to infer the imperfection of the Greek music.' Firstly, the Greek theorist Ptolemy (fl. 127-48 CE) and other ancients had introduced into their scales the primes '7, 11, &c.' in addition to two, three and five which on the face of it would have resulted in dissonant intervals and thus 'inconsistency with Experience.' Secondly, the Greek diatonic scale, termed the Scala Maxima to be discussed in more detail later, lacked mathematically pure major and minor thirds believed by eighteenth-century musicians to be essential to musical practice. For Pepusch, resolution of these particular issues was key to shedding light not just on the Greek species and genera, but also on modern theory. This was on account of

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[7]*Ibid.*, 266-7.

[8]*Ibid.*, 267.

the way they related to a perennial problem for Enlightenment music theory: namely that the standard of mathematical truth as described above could only ever apply to one key at a time.

In a scale made up of mathematically correct intervals, only the keynote enjoyed a perfect relationship with all other pitches. Using a different degree of the scale as keynote, without re-tuning, resulted in musical (and mathematical) discord. In order to use different degrees of the scale as keynotes it was thus necessary to adjust intervals by subtle degrees. It was due to this that keyboard instruments required tempering, whilst singers in certain tonal contexts were similarly sometimes required to introduce impure intervals. This was an important issue for Pepusch because it brought into question the entire notion that the modern musical system could result from mathematical and scientific principles as set out by ancient theorists. However, as the following statement shows, Pepusch believed he could resolve these issues through a typically Enlightenment recourse not just to ancient authority but also empiricism:

> What remains of the Writings of this great Musician [i.e. Ptolemy], joined to my own Observation and Experience, has enabled me, I hope, to throw some Light upon the obscure Subject of the ancient Species of Music.[9]

Significantly, in seeking to achieve this, Pepusch invoked the work of another Royal Society Fellow and key figure in the seventeenth-century scientific revolution, Christiaan Huygens (1629-95). In the field of music Huygens is now known for having established a system of meantone temperament with the assistance of the then newly established mathematical tool, logarithms.[10] Crucially, Huygens had achieved this by dividing the octave into 31 equal parts, which, as we shall see, served Pepusch's purposes perfectly.

Fundamental to Pepusch's theorising is the incorrect view that the Greek Scala Maxima constituted not a scale of fixed intervals but a scale that both ascends and descends (see Figure 1.1).

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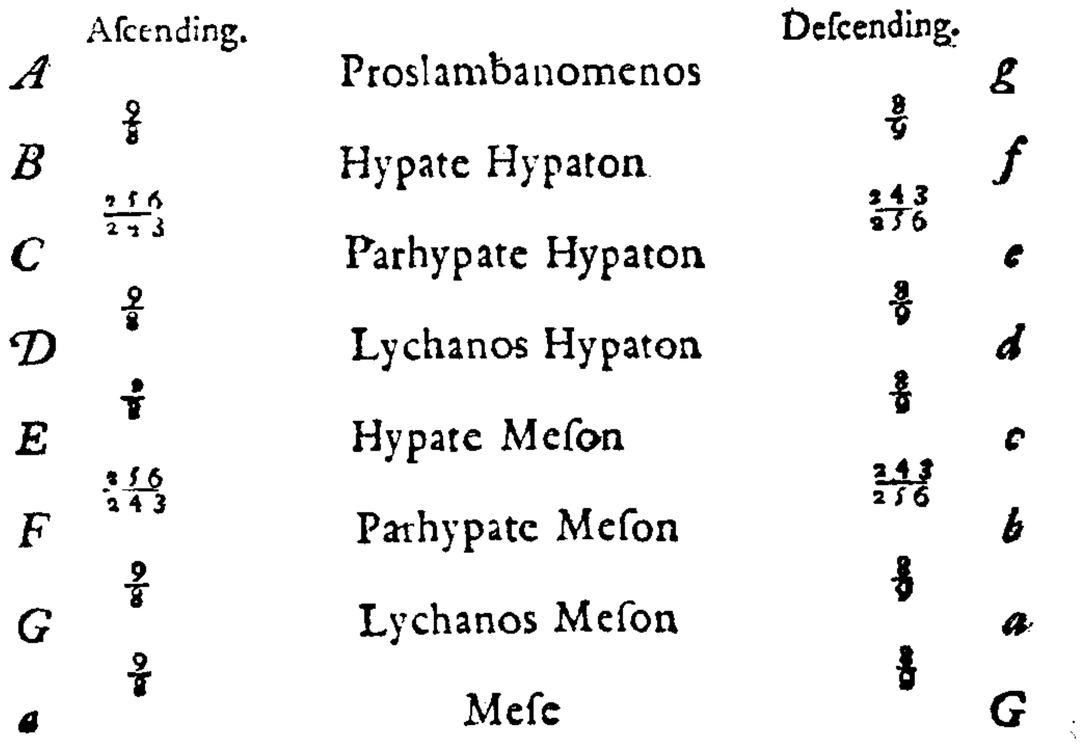
[9]*Ibid.*, 268.

[10]Rudolf Rasch, 'Tuning and Temperament', in *Cambridge History of Western Music Theory*, ed. Thomas Christensen, pp. 210-13.

Figure 1.1



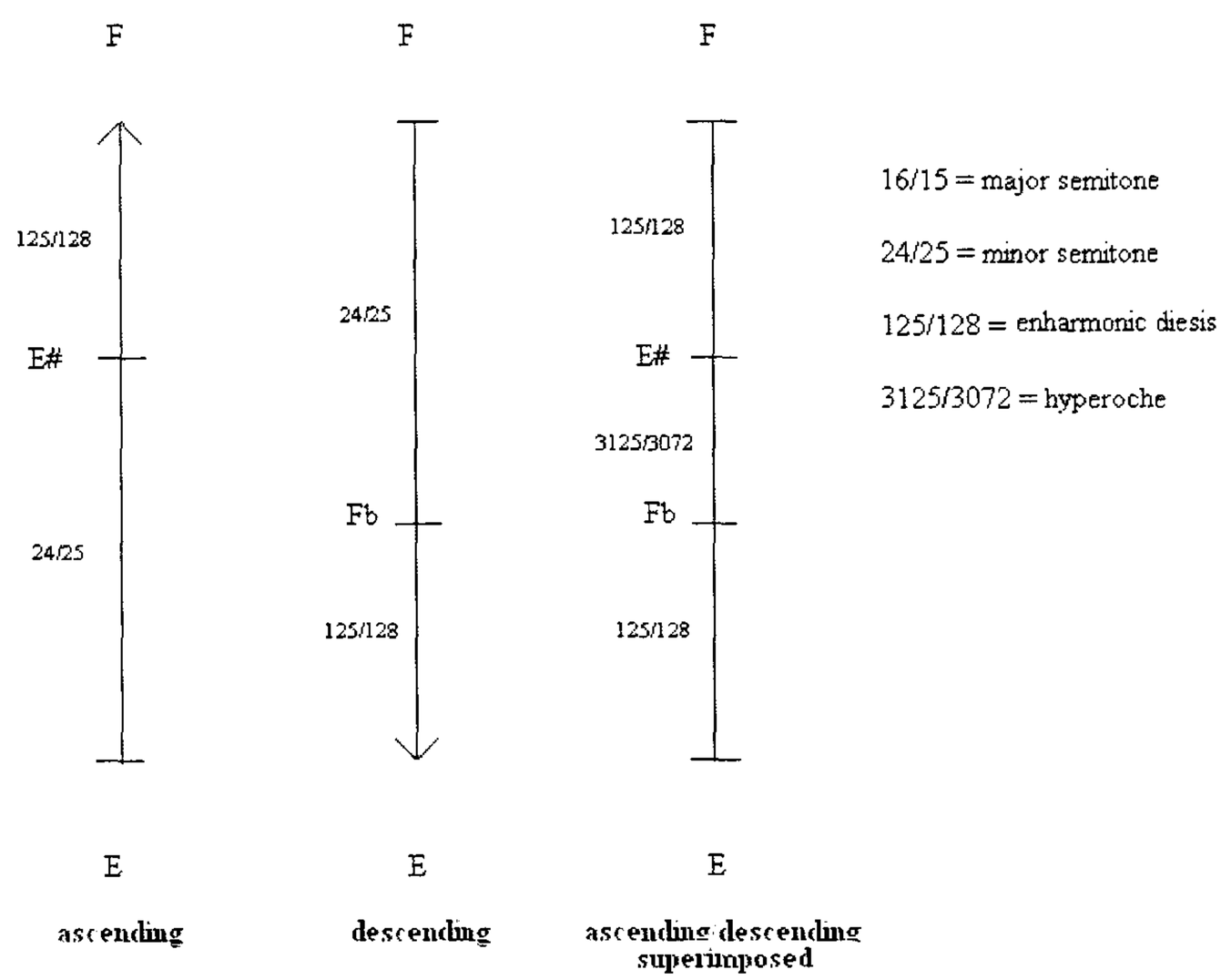
This is an intriguing interpretation of Greek theory which will be explained more fully in Chapter 2 as it plays a important part in *Musical Conjectures*; for present purposes Pepusch's use of this notion can be understood as follows:

The Greek theorist Aristoxenus and other ancients had suggested the tone to be divisible into four parts, and the semitone into two, thereby dividing the fourth into ten parts. However, according to Pepusch's rereading of Greek theory in which scales both ascend and descend, the tone was found to be divisible by five. This, he felt, had profound implications for reaching an understanding of musical systems, ancient and modern, both of which he believed to be governed by the same universal principles. This is demonstrated through the example of the semitone.

Pepusch observed that the *Major* Semitone was divisible into two constituent parts, namely the *Minor* Semitone, and the *Enharmonic* Diesis. Ascending for instance from E this would result in the progression E, E#, F. If however a descending progression is taken (F, Fb, E), the division occurs at a different point (see Figure 1.2). This was on account of the fact (much discussed by Greek theorists) that it is mathematically impossible to divide the semitone into two equal ratios. From this Pepusch deduced that if the divisions ascending and descending are superimposed 'we shall have the Semitone *Major* divided into three Parts thus, E, Fb, E#, F'. Accordingly, Pepusch observed that 'The Interval between bF and #E is less than the *enharmonic Diesis* between E and bF, and between #E and F.'[11]

[11] Pepusch, 'Of the Various Genera and Species', 273.

Figure 1.2



This established, Pepusch argued that 'when we consider all the *Dieses* or divisions of the fourth, both ascending and descending, we shall find thirteen; five to each tone, and three to the semitone major.' Moreover, application of this process to the entire octave and adjusting intervals by the degree necessary to make them all equal would result in an octave divided into 31 parts as mathematically calculated by Huygens:

> Now, if we suppose these small Intervals equal, by increasing the least Division, and diminishing the true *enharmonic Diesis*, we shall then have a fourth divided into thirteen equal Parts; and, consequently, the Octave divided into [31] such equal Parts; which gives us the celebrated Temperature of Huygens.[12]

From this it appeared 'the Division of the Octave into 31 Parts', which had been mathematically calculated by Huygens 'was necessarily applied in the Doctrine of the Ancients.' By conceiving intervals as ascending and descending, Pepusch believed he had shown ancient authority to be in accord with the scientific observation of Huygens. However, Pepusch believed Huygens had lacked 'a distinct

[12]*Ibid.*

Notion of all these thirty-one Intervals, nor of their Names, nor of their Necessity to the Perfection of Music.'[13] Whilst in Huygens' temperament the tones were all equal, Pepusch argued that 'in a true and accurate Practice of Singing' this was not the case. This stemmed from the fact alluded to earlier that in practice musicians were obliged sometimes to vary diatonic intervals in order to negotiate changes in key and execute certain melodic progressions. It was precisely these variations of intervals that introduced into practical music ratios apparently inconsistent with 'truth', as found in Ptolemy's theories and in the Scala Maxima. Moreover, Pepusch believed these variations in intervals accorded with and helped to explain the existence of the Greeks' complex system of genera and species. From this Pepusch felt able to conclude:

> We see then the Scale of the Ancients was not destitute of Reason; and that no good Argument against the Accuracy of their Practice can from thence be formed.[14]

Pepusch clearly believed here that through his knowledge of Greek theory, science and, most importantly, practical music he had made an important discovery. He had demonstrated that the innate musicianship through which musicians instinctively varied diatonic intervals depending on their tonal context was in accordance with mathematical principle as set out by Greek theory. This he believed was a cognizance musicians naturally, yet tacitly possess without need for a conscious knowledge of the mathematical principles underlying it. By dividing the octave into 31 parts Huygens had come close to this discovery, but in making all intervals equal had not ultimately achieved it. In this way Pepusch sought to present not just music theory but practical music as a fixed system grounded in principle. For him this was not a dry intellectual pursuit but integral to his broader agenda to advance the art of music by demonstrating its consistency with ancient learning and universal principles.

In assessing the significance of Pepusch's paper it must be observed that his assertions are frequently questionable and sometimes groundless. Foremost here is his erroneous conception of Greek scales as ascending and descending. Such misunderstandings do not, however, diminish the importance of Pepusch's

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[13]Pepusch at this point observes that the Renaissance theorists Vicentino, Salinas and Zarlino had also discussed the 31-note octave but that they too had not realised its true nature and significance to music.

[14]*Ibid.*, p. 273.

theorising as a means to better understand the intellectual world inhabited by Cooke and his circle. The undoubted importance of Pepusch's paper is thus in the issues it seeks to resolve and the methods it deploys to resolve them. In particular, it typifies the role of Greek theory for this school in promoting a particular understanding and view of music. Moreover, as we shall see, in establishing this mode of discourse Pepusch differentiated both himself and the school of thought he inspired from the musical mainstream.

Because of his influence over a range of areas, Pepusch will be revisited in future chapters of this study. For now it is necessary to turn to another guiding figure known to have associated with Cooke, the music historian and vociferous supporter of ancient music, John Hawkins (1719-89). Hawkins' relevance here is largely in way he helps to set out and articulate the rationale underlying the historicist activities and theoretical interests evidenced in *Musical Conjectures* and Cooke's broader career. This Hawkins reveals principally through his monumental work, *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music*,[15] which though published in 1776, was the result of over 25 years prior gestation, during which time he was a member of the Academy of Ancient Music and friend of Cooke.[16] The centrality of his *History* to this study is evident not least in the role that four of the individuals most closely involved with the ancient music counterculture played in its preparation. This is made clear in Hawkins' dedication, in which he acknowledges the 'learning and ingenuity' of Cooke and fellow composer-theorists, Marmaduke Overend and John Stafford Smith, in 'decyphering...and rendering in modern characters the compositions of greatest antiquity' reproduced in his *History*. Moreover, Hawkins explained that the selection of his collection of treatises had been 'an exercise of deep skill, the result of much erudition, and the effect of great labour, as having been for a great part of his life the employment of that excellent theorist in the science, Dr. Pepusch.' Apart from one final acknowledgement to the great composer-theorist and Pepusch-pupil William Boyce for 'the correction of the music plates',[17] Hawkins cited no further assistances. In this he confirms not just the close association of his *History* with the Cooke circle, but also, perhaps, the confined nature of this school of thought.

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[15]John Hawkins, *A General History*.

[16]Jamie Kassler even suggests that Hawkins could have been a pupil of Pepusch in: *The Science of Music in Britain, 1714-1830: a Catalogue of Writings, Lectures and Inventions*, 2 vols. (New York, 1979), vol. I, p. 836.

[17]Hawkins, *A General History*, vol. I, p. xiii.

It is, however, in his exposition of two 'ends' for embarking on his *History* that Hawkins articulates concepts essential to understanding the theorising of Cooke. The first of these Hawkins described as 'the investigation of the principles, and a deduction of the progress of a science', which he claimed had not previously been thought by the generality a subject worthy 'of sober discussion'. Such discussion as there had been had, 'instead of exercising the powers of reason', engaged only 'that faculty of the mind, which...we call Taste'. This Hawkins deemed a 'capricious arbiter' without 'some principle to direct and controul it'. His second 'end' was to establish music upon 'somewhat like a footing of equality' with 'the sister arts'. This was in order to 'reprobate the vulgar notion that [music's] ultimate end is merely to excite mirth; and, above all, to demonstrate that its principles are founded in certain general and universal laws, into which all that we discover in the material world, of harmony, symmetry, proportion, and order, seems to be resolvable.'[18] Like Pepusch's theories, these aspirations prefigure themes to be encountered throughout this study of Cooke. The ideas that the principles of music should be investigated, that they are founded on universal principles and that the discovery of such principles will enable the art of music to be the equal of other arts all inform the musical perspective shared by Cooke and his associates.

In establishing these principles, a primary area of research for Hawkins was ancient Greek music theory and the subsequent traditions of speculative music theory it had engendered. Hawkins' investigations are informative in the way they indicate how these theoretical areas relate to the other interests peculiar to this counterculture, most particularly the taste for Ancient music. In this Hawkins' *History* is relevant as both explanation and exemplar of the thinking and methodology inherent in *Musical Conjectures*.

Underlying all Hawkins' theorising was a fundamental conviction, commonplace in eighteenth-century discourse, that music's ultimate purpose was 'expression.' By this he meant 'the power to move the passions'. Without this, he claimed, music could 'be considered in no better a view than as the means of recreation to a gaping crowd, insensible of its charms, and ignorant of its worth'.[19] However, in contrast to prevalent mainstream precepts concerning music, Hawkins believed it was solely through what he called a 'language of nature' encoded in harmony that this

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[18]*Ibid.*

[19]*Ibid.*, vol. I, p. xxxvi.

'expression' was to be achieved. With this latter point Hawkins articulated a key dividing-line between mainstream musical thought and the ancient music counterculture of which he was a part.

Correspondingly, Hawkins rejected the prevalent ethos commonly articulated by aestheticians or 'men of letters', for whom music was an inferior art in the so-called 'system of the arts'. This will be examined in greater depth later, but for present purposes it can be explained thus. According to this view all arts were required to achieve expression through imitation or representation. Music could arouse passions but not definite ideas; it was only in combination with poetry that it could do this. As a result, music was considered to be inferior to poetry and painting through which more precise meaning could be conveyed. Mainstream opinion also held that the principal purveyor of musical expression was melody. Moreover the 'Harmony' (which included counterpoint) so prized by supporters of ancient music was believed to obstruct expression. For Hawkins such mainstream precepts resulted from an ignorance of music's underlying principles, as is indicated in the following comments he made concerning the writings of the eighteenth-century aesthetician Daniel Webb:

> A late writer, in a strain of criticism not less erroneous than affectedly refined, forgetting the energy of harmony, independent of the adventitious circumstances of loudness or softness that accompany the utterance of it; or perhaps not knowing that certain modulations or combinations of sounds have a necessary tendency to inspire grand and sublime sentiments, such, for instance, as we hear in the Exaltabo of Palestrina, the Hosanna of Gibbons, the opening of the first concerto of Corelli, and many of Mr. Handel's anthems, ascribes the *bursts*, as he calls them, of Boranello, and the symphonies of Yeomelli the power of dilating, agitating, and rousing the soul like the paintings of Timomachus and Aristides, whose works by the way no man living ever saw, and of whose very names we should be ignorant, did they not occur, the one in Pliny, the other in some of the epigrams in the Greek Anthologia.[20]

In Hawkins' opinion, the writings of aestheticians such as Webb showed an ignorance of the fundamental importance of harmony in musical art. Hawkins believed that it was through the energy and power of harmony and not through dynamic or virtuosic effect that music could inspire the noblest sentiments. Nor did he believe such expression to be achievable by mere imitation, harmony being in his view a universal language borne of archetypal, natural and divine truths:

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[20]*Ibid.*, vol. I, p. xvi.

> If we investigate the principles of harmony, we learn that they are general and universal; and of harmony itself, that the proportions in which it consists are to be found in those material forms, which are beheld with the greatest pleasure, the sphere, the cube, and the cone, for instance, and constitute what we call symmetry, beauty, and regularity; but the imagination receives no additional delight; our reason is exercised in the operation, and that faculty alone is thereby gratified. In short, there are few things in nature which music is capable of imitating, and those are of a kind so uninteresting, that we may venture to pronounce, that as its principles are founded in geometrical truth, and seem to result from some general and universal law of nature, so its excellence is intrinsic, absolute, and inherent, and, in short, resolvable only into His will, who has ordered all things in number, weight, and measure.[21]

In order to establish the universal and immutable principles upon which he believed music was based, Hawkins looked to ancient Greek harmonic theory. Whilst in this he pursued a similar approach to that of Pepusch and Cooke, the explanations and justifications he provided for doing it are invaluable as a reflection on all engaged in this activity. Always anxious to stress that he was not interested in antiquity for its own sake, Hawkins strongly rejected the idea that ancient Greek music was superior to that of more recent times. On the contrary, evidence as it existed suggested their instruments to be 'greatly excelled by the instruments of the moderns.'[22] More importantly, evidence suggested to Hawkins that ancient Greek music had lacked the harmony he believed essential to moving passions. Doubting the miraculous powers attributed to ancient Greek music by men of letters, Hawkins asked whether 'our reverence for antiquity has not been carried too far.'[23] In the absence of evidence of Greek music to corroborate such reports, he asked 'Where are those productions of the ancients that must decide the question? Lost it will be said in the general wreck of literature and the arts.'[24]

For Hawkins the contribution of the Greeks had been rather the 'establishment of a system'. Although Hawkins believed the modern invention of harmony had surpassed ancient Greek music, in the writings of its theorists 'the discoveries of one age' had served 'as a foundation for the improvements in the next.'[25] Such

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[21] *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. xiv.

[22] *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. xxiv.

[23] *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. xxii.

[24] *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. xxiv.

[25] *Ibid.*

discourses, by establishing the fundamental and immutable laws upon which scales are constructed and consonance and dissonance defined, had bequeathed the building blocks upon which harmony was subsequently achieved. Although the 'grace, elegance, and power of affecting the passions' inherent in the art of music was achieved through 'the genius and invention of the artist or composer', the 'syntax of his art' was founded in the 'laws of harmony' governing the 'combining and associating sounds.' Such syntax could be drawn from music as 'the rules of grammar are from speech.'[26] It was the immutable basis for 'combining and associating sounds' established by the Ancient theorists that made possible the language of harmony utilised by the greatest modern composers.

In this way, Greek harmonic theory held a legitimate place in the study of music. It was not, however, necessary for the practising musician to be aware of such principles. The matter arose only when attempting to ascertain the philosophical foundation of music. In separating the speculative (i.e. theoretical) from the practical, Hawkins was consciously following ancient precedent, as he explains in the following passage:

> In tracing the progress of music, it will be observed that it naturally divides itself into the two branches of speculation and practice, and that each of these requires a distinct and separate consideration. Of the dignity and importance of the former, Ptolemy (lib. I. cap ii.), has delivered his sentiments to the following purpose: 'It is in all things the business of contemplation and science to show that the works of nature, well regulated as they are, were constituted according to reason, and to answer some end; and that nothing has been done by her without consideration, or as it were by chance; more especially in those that are deemed the finest of her works, as participating of reason in the greatest degree, the senses of sight and hearing.' And Sir Isaac Newton, speaking of the examination of those ratios that afford pleasure to the eye in architectural designs, says it tends to exemplify the simplicity in all the works of the Creator. And farther he gives it as his opinion, 'that some general laws of the Creator prevail with respect to the agreeable or unpleasing affections of all our senses.' By practical music we are to understand the art of composition as founded in the laws of harmony.[27]

Having established his view of the existence of immutable principles in relation to music, it was left to Hawkins to link this to musical taste. This is fundamental to

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[26]*Ibid.*, vol. I, p. xxv.

[27]*Ibid.*

understanding the premise behind *Musical Conjectures* and the activities and interests of Cooke and his circle more generally:

> From this view of the comparative excellence of music, and its pre-eminence over many other sciences and faculties, we become convinced of the stability of its principles, and are therefore at a loss for the reasons why, in these later times at least, novelty in music should be its best recommendation; or that the love of variety should so possess the generality of hearers, as almost to leave it a question whether or no it has any principles at all.[28]

Hawkins believed that music's 'intrinsic powers' extended 'no farther than to those whom nature has endowed with the faculty which it is calculated to delight' and that more than 'nine out of ten' lacked such a faculty. Those insensible of its charms, had sought gratification in novelty and variety, leading 'some to imagine that music is in its very nature as mutable, as fashion itself'. Such novelty had resulted in music, characterised by Hawkins, as 'noise without harmony'. Of this cast were 'Symphonies, Periodical Overtures, Quartettos, Quintettos, and the rest of the trash daily obtruded on the world.' For Hawkins, music's basis in universal and therefore immutable principle obviated the possibility of fashion in music, thus ruling out that music deemed by Hawkins to be devoid of harmony. In his *History*, Hawkins would argue that the composition of music, borne of universal, timeless properties inherent in harmony, had reached a peak of perfection in the years between 1560 and the death of Handel:

> For the perfection of vocal harmony we must refer to a period of about fifty years, commencing at the year 1560, during which were composed madrigals for private recreation in abundance, that are the models of excellence in their kind; and in this species of music the composers of our own country appear to be inferior to none. The improvement of melody is undoubtedly owing to the drama; and its union with harmony and an assemblage of all the graces and elegancies of both we may behold in the madrigals of Stradella and Bononcini, and the chorusses and anthems of Handel; and among the compositions for private practice in the duets of Steffani and Handel. As to the harmony of instruments, it is the least praise that can be bestowed on the works of Corelli, Geminiani, and Martini, to say that through all the vicissitudes and fluctuations of caprice and fancy, they retain their primitive power of engaging the affections, and recommending themselves to all sober and judicious hearers.[29]

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[28] *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. xxxi.

[29] *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. xxxv.

In this way Hawkins sought to justify the taste for ancient music in terms of timeless, universal principles. Moreover, whilst the latter deployed the universal language of harmony to convey profound expression, music of his day wowed its listeners with novelty, virtuosic display and special effects thereby relegating the art of music to the purpose of empty recreation.

It is not argued here that the position of Hawkins and that of Cooke and other supporters of ancient music was in all respects identical. Underlying Hawkins' *History* is a broader ideology, sometimes impinging on social issues not directly relevant to *Musical Conjectures*.[30] Furthermore, there is a distinction to be drawn between Hawkins' *History* which surveys the writings of theorists and the theoretical works of composers such as Cooke who were effectively continuing the speculative theoretical tradition. Of principal relevance, however, is the way Hawkins, like Pepusch, invoked Greek music theory as a tool to understand and promote the art of music. What is revealed is a view of music governed by timeless and universal principles in which music assumes a gravitas incompatible with the world of fashion and good taste as lauded by mainstream musical opinion. The importance of the writings of Pepusch and Hawkins is thus in the way they together help to depict the counterculture and the background against which *Musical Conjectures* was conceived and created.

Before moving on to a discussion of broader intellectual antecedents to *Musical Conjectures* there is a further point to be raised concerning Hawkins' *History*, relevant to understanding the methodology followed by Cooke. As already stated, Hawkins distanced himself from the men of letters whom he believed were ignorant of music's underlying principles and had thereby devalued its status. Instead, Hawkins took his cue from other areas of learning in which he believed a truer conception of music and the methodologies by which it should be studied had been achieved:

> In a manner widely different [from men of letters such as Daniel Webb] do those poets and philosophers treat music, who, being susceptible of its charms, and considering it as worthy of the most abstract speculation, have made themselves acquainted with its principles.[31]

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[30]See William Weber, *The Rise of Musical Classics in Eighteenth-Century England: a Study in Canon, Ritual and Ideology* (Oxford, 1992). Chapter 7, 'The Ideology of Ancient Music', is particularly apposite here.

[31]Hawkins, *A General History*, vol. I, p. xvi.

In this Hawkins invoked two further figures important to this study, the first being the poet John Milton (to be discussed in Chapter 5), whom he described as having in his poetry talked 'the language of a master.' Of greater significance in the present context are the writings of the philosopher Francis Bacon (1561-1626), the relevance of which Hawkins implies in the following statement:

> Lord Bacon, in his Natural History, has given a great variety of experiments touching music, that shew him to have been not barely a philosopher, an enquirer into the phenomena of sound, but a master of the science of harmony, and very intimately acquainted with the precepts of musical composition.[32]

In writing his literary history of music Hawkins believed himself to be filling a significant gap in human learning, previously identified by Bacon back in the seventeenth century. Hawkins took as his model the aims and methodology Bacon had already set out in his *Novum Organum* and other works. Bacon had sought 'a total reconstruction' of all human knowledge through recourse to a systematic methodology for scientific enquiry applicable to normative as well as factual issues. In this Bacon constituted a principal inspiration for those intellectuals who subsequently brought about what is now termed the Enlightenment. Particularly important here is Bacon's belief that this scientific approach to knowledge should be applied to music, and that links between music, science and broader areas of knowledge should be established. This perspective constitutes a direct inspiration not just to Hawkins' *History*, but also to Cooke.

As the examination of *Musical Conjectures* in Chapter 2 will emphasise, the intellectual world inhabited by Cooke manifests a complex web of connections extending way beyond the immediate inspiration provided by Pepusch and Hawkins. Moreover, as arguably the most developed theoretical writing of its school, Cooke's treatise is the most revealing of its theoretical and methodological components. In this Cooke forged together ancient theoretical traditions with philosophies engendered by Bacon and other intellectuals associated with the seventeenth-century scientific revolution and its Enlightenment aftermath. It is to an examination of some of these strands that we turn now.

A particularly insightful feature of *Musical Conjectures* is the extensive range of musicians and intellectuals, both ancient and modern whom Cooke cites. Through this he conveys a sense of boundless intellectual curiosity wholly consistent with the

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[32]*Ibid.*

age of Enlightenment inquiry in which he lived. Those referred to include aestheticians (Harris, Rousseau, Beattie, Longinus), music theorists (Marpurg, Guido of Arezzo, Morley, Salinas, Zarlino, Mace, Rameau, Tartini, William Hayes, Avison), ancient theorists (Euclides, Aristoxenus, Ptolemy, Glareanus), and philosophers and scientists (Locke, Newton, Descartes). With regard to ancient Greek theory Cooke reserves special mention for his teacher Pepusch, who specifically instructed him in this area:

> In what I have said here and elsewhere concerning Grecian Music and Authors, I must be understood to speak not from my own particular acquaintance with them, but to relate what I have deriv'd from the knowledge of my honour'd and learned Master Dr. Pepusch, who in conjunction with that celebrated Mathematician Mr Demoivre examin'd into & decided on the truth of all these musical Ratios.[33]

However, Cooke goes on to say 'I have sometimes ventured to differ from him and form an opinion of my own, whether this is done well or ill, is with all due deference submitted to the judgment of others.' Cooke's knowledge of 'musical Ratios' and Greek theory more generally was certainly derived from additional sources, as is confirmed by the existence in the Royal College of Music library of Cooke's own annotated copy of Marcus Meibom's *Antiquae musicae auctores septem, graece et latine*.[34] This contains Latin translations of Greek texts by Aristoxenus, Euclid, Nicomachos of Gerasa, Gaudentius, Bacchius Geron, Aristides Quintilianus, and Martianus Capella. As Louis Chenette has observed, publication of this volume in 1652 had been instrumental in bringing about renewed interest in the musical writings of the ancients.[35] Moreover, this interest was subsequently further fuelled by publication in Latin of Ptolemy's *Harmonics* by John Wallis in 1682.[36] Previously available only as excerpts in general music treatises, the wider availability of these texts at this time inspired Enlightenment theorists across Europe in their attempts to establish new approaches to the study of speculative music theory.

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[33]Cooke, *Musical Conjectures*, ff. 79-80r.

[34]Marcus Meibom, tr., *Antiquae musicae auctores septem, graece et latine* (Amsterdam, 1652).

[35]Louis Chenette, 'Music Theory in the British Isles during the Enlightenment', Ph.D. diss., Ohio State University, 1967, p. 32.

[36]Claudius Ptolemy, *Ptolomaei elementorum harmonicorum libri III*, tr. John Wallis (Oxford, 1682), and in John Wallis, *Operum mathematicorum*, 3 vols. (Oxford, 1699), vol. III, pp. i-xii, 1-152.

As Pepusch's Royal Society paper showed, a key element of Greek harmonic theory exploited in his methodology entailed discussion of music in terms of intervals expressed by mathematical ratios. This was fundamental to the mode of discourse subsequently adopted by Cooke and other Pepusch pupils. Although anachronistic by the eighteenth century, this mode of discourse would have been familiar to Enlightenment mathematicians, philosophers and learned musicians. A tool crucial to this methodology was the monochord, a single stringed musical instrument with a moveable bridge designed for the purpose of demonstrating musical intervals.

In order to understand *Musical Conjectures* and related writings it is therefore necessary to explain how, through the monochord, ratios could be shown to equate with musical intervals. Although numerous lengthy and highly complex accounts of this have been given since ancient times, for present purposes the fundamentals can be explained as follows. A key element of the process is division of the monochord string into aliquot parts.[37] If the monochord string is divided into three, the interval between the pitch of two of those parts compared to the pitch sounded by the remaining third (thereby creating the ratio 2:1) would be an octave. If the string is divided into five, and three parts are compared to two (thereby creating the ratio 3:2) the interval sounded would be a perfect fifth. Comparing four equal parts to three (creating the ratio 4:3) would result in the perfect fourth, and so on. In this way the intervals of the diatonic scale were found to result from superparticular ratios (that is, ratios in which the numerator is always one integer higher than the denominator). Following on from this, consonance was deemed to be determined by the simplicity of the numerical ratio. The octave, which is considered to be the most perfect consonance, is generated by the most mathematically perfect ratio (2:1). The perfect fifth, considered to be the second most perfect consonance is generated by the next most mathematically perfect ratio (3:2), and so on.

Apparently since time immemorial great significance had been attached to the apparent relationships between musical and mathematical perfection. On account of this, ancient thinkers constructed theories in which harmonic ratios and therefore numbers were seen as key to wider mysteries. In particular, the hierarchy of consonances suggested by the diatonic ratios underpinned the Platonic notion that nature was arranged in a hierarchy of perfection. The observation that the same musical harmonies and geometric shapes can be produced in different media and sizes by the same combination of numbers and that the most beautiful harmonies

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[37]An aliquot part is a lesser number in respect of a greater, when it measures it exactly: 3 is an aliquot part of 9, because it is contained just 3 times in it.

corresponded to the most simple ratios suggested there was something significant in the numbers themselves. From this had arisen a metaphysics in which musical harmony expressed the balance of the elements, body, soul, the political state and (most importantly) the movements of the planets. As a mode of acquiring knowledge about the world the philosophical notion of universal harmony assumed an exulted status in western thinking, a position it would retain until modern times.

Such ideas certainly underlie the abstract mathematical view of music evident in the methodologies of Pepusch and Cooke. They also inform the moralistic agenda shared by supporters of ancient music, for whom Plato's view of music as a means 'to correct any discord which may have arisen in the courses of the soul'[38] was readily appropriated. Although Hawkins was a chief exponent of this view, an allusion to it is provided by Cooke in *Musical Conjectures* where he lauds 'good Music and true Harmony' as a means of ensuring the 'promotion of Religion, Virtue...to the exclusion of Idleness and Vice.'[39]

Significantly, counterpoint (another essential component of ancient music) had also been associated with this tradition. The sixteenth-century astronomer Kepler famously identified an analogy between the ratios of the aphelion and perihelion of the six planetary ratios and the six basic intervals in music. The heavenly movements were an 'everlasting polyphony (intelligible but inaudible) with dissonant tunings, like certain syncopations or cadences (wherewith men imitate these natural dissonances)'. Furthermore, according to Kepler, in imitating cosmic harmony, 'man, the ape of his Creator' had:

> Finally discovered the art of singing polyphonically [per concentum], which was unknown to the ancients, namely in order that he might play the everlastingness of all created time in some short part of an hour by means of an artistic concord of many voices and that he might to some extent taste the satisfaction of God the Workman with His own works, in that very sweet sense of delight elicited from this music which imitates God.[40]

Whilst the imperatives for scepticism inherent in Enlightenment epistemology increasingly precluded ancient thought, such Platonism nevertheless retained a degree of currency in the eighteenth century. As Roy Porter has observed, the

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[38]Plato, *Timaeus*, tr. Benjamin Jowett (Oxford, 1871), p. 47.

[39]Cooke, *Musical Conjectures*, f. 139v.

[40]Johannes Kepler, *Harmonies of the World*, tr. Charles Glenn Wallis (Chicago, 1952), p. 1048.

reconciliatory character of the English Enlightenment ensured that 'there were very few utter cynics or sceptics determined to deny cosmic truth altogether.'[41] Such reconciliation abounds in *Musical Conjectures* and writings by others of its school, an apposite explanation for which is provided in the following passage from Hawkins' *History*:

> At a time when philosophy had derived very little assistance from experiment, such general conclusions as these, that the universe was founded on harmonic principles, had little to recommend them but the bare probability that they might be well grounded; but how great must have been the astonishment of a Pythagorean or a Platonist, could he have been a witness to those improvements which a more cultivated philosophy has produced! And how would he who exulted in the discovery that the consonances had a ratio of 12. 9. 8. 6, have been pleased to hear the consonances at the same instant in a sonorous body; or been transported to find, by help of a prism, a similar coincidence of proportions among colours, and that the principles of harmony pervaded as well the objects of sight as hearing? For Sir Isaac Newton happily discovered, that the breadths of the seven primary colours in the sun's image, produced by the refraction of his rays through a prism, are proportional to the seven differences of the lengths of the eight musical strings, D, E, F, G, A, B, C, d, when the intervals of their sounds are T, H, t; T, t, H, T. [42]

This is a hugely significant passage in which Hawkins baldly exposes relationships supposed to exist between Greek harmonic theory and modern 'discoveries' concerning the material bases of sound and light. These relationships are not explored further by Hawkins but nevertheless provide key subject matter of *Musical Conjectures*. The importance of Hawkins' statement here lies in the way it reveals his attitude to the theoretical legacy bequeathed by antiquity, which although somewhat ambivalent is ultimately one of superiority rather than deference. In particular, his conviction that Platonism had been confirmed by a more 'cultivated philosophy' is an acknowledgement of the supposed pre-eminence of modern science over ancient philosophy in empirically proving what had previously been mystical notions. Significantly, it also nevertheless reveals a lingering eagerness on his part to acknowledge any possible veracity in Platonic universal harmony, an aspiration shared by Cooke and his fellow theorists.

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[41]Roy Porter, *Enlightenment: Britain and the Creation of the Modern World* (London, 2000), p. 21.

[42]Hawkins, *A General History*, vol. I, pp. 65-6.

It will be shown, however, that whilst numbers would remain essential to understanding music's underlying principles, their role had shifted. Whereas in ancient philosophy the numbers had held mystical significance in themselves, now they described actual correspondences between motions of the air, resulting in sensations in the ear of the listener. This ontological shift, like Bacon's 'reconstruction' of knowledge mentioned earlier, typifies the many philosophical and scientific developments of the seventeenth century, that later infused intellectual life in the Enlightenment period. Drawing upon the new sciences, philosophy had been reinvented as a tool to make sense of empirically observed phenomena and identify systems linking them. In the light of this, a transformation in the reception and reading of ancient Greek harmonic theory was inevitable. In a manner directly apposite, Roy Porter has made the following general observations concerning this revolution:

> The dazzling 'new sciences' of astronomy, cosmology and physics pioneered by Kepler and Galileo challenged the cosy commonplaces of both Greek philosophy and the Bible, substituting them with a new 'mechanical philosophy', which stripped Nature of its purposive vitality, reducing it to a machine made up of material particles governed by universal laws, whose motions could be given mathematical expression.[43]

This revolution was accompanied by a wholesale questioning and rejection of ancient learning in wider intellectual life whereby traditional teachings were ridiculed as 'fictions, frauds, fantasies, fables or fallacies.'[44] Despite this, in the field of speculative music theory, as Hawkins' statement previously noted implies, the newer 'philosophy' had in many respects served to reinvigorate rather than obsolesce the ancient philosophy. This is clearly reflected in *Musical Conjectures* which typifies the ways in which Platonic idealism could be accommodated with the recent scientific discoveries.

Whilst sources of this new thinking are evident in the work of many seventeenth-century intellectuals, in music a figure deserving particular mention is René Descartes (1596-1650). This is partly on account of his general philosophical stance which shaped Enlightenment thought profoundly, but also for a more direct influence exerted by his philosophy of music upon musicians.

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[43]Porter, *Enlightenment: Britain and the Creation of the Modern World*, p. 52.

[44]*Ibid.*, p. 53.

Descartes' philosophy of knowledge was characterised by an aspiration to 'show how the world of physics, the mathematically describable world, could be reliably mapped out independently of the often vague and misleading deliverances of our sensory organs.'[45] Believing all things falling within the scope of human knowledge to be interconnected, Descartes had found in the methods and reasoning of mathematics a precision and certainty lacking in ancient philosophies. Following from this Descartes proposed that all phenomena could be rationally observed and understood and that truth could be ascertained with certainty through the right method of reasoning derived from 'first principles'. These ideas were phenomenally influential in the seventeenth and earlier eighteenth centuries, nowhere more so than in the theorising of Rameau who in his *Démonstration* proclaimed himself 'Enlightened by the *Méthode* of Descartes'.[46] Although many correspondences between Rameau's theories and *Musical Conjectures* exist (as Chapter 2 will show) this reflects as much the common root provided by Descartes' speculative music theory as any debt owed by Cooke to Rameau.

Harmonic theory in its broadest sense proved highly amenable to the kinds of mathematic reasoning espoused by Descartes, which is perhaps why he chose to explore the subject in his early work, *Compendium Musicae*. Written in 1618 at the age of 22, but not published until after his death, this constitutes an incipient articulation of ideas that would later culminate in his ground-breaking mechanistic epistemology.[47] Although Descartes explored his subject through recourse to the monochord as Greeks had done, his use of numbers portrays an early instance of the ontological change mentioned earlier in connection with Hawkins and Cooke. In place of their ancient mystical significance, numbers described visible string segments, which for Descartes constituted the true foundation of musical sounds.[48] Rather than attaining diatonic intervals by dividing the string into superparticular ratios, Descartes obtained pitches by dividing the string into 1/2, 1/3, 1/4, 1/5, 1/6 resulting respectively in the octave, 12th, double octave, major 17th and perfect 19th. From these six numbers Descartes derived all the intervals used in music. By

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[45]Ted Honderich, *The Oxford Companion to Philosophy* (Oxford, 1993), p. 189.

[46]Jean-Philippe Rameau, *Démonstration du principe de l'harmonie servant de base á tout l'art musical théorique et pratique* (Paris, 1750), p. 8. Rameau is here referring to Descartes' *Discours de la méthode.*

[47]René Descartes, *Compendium Musicae* (Utrecht, 1650).

[48]Thomas Christensen, *Rameau and Musical Thought in the Enlightenment* (Cambridge, 1993), p. 77.

treating the string itself as the physical source of pitches, Descartes effectively produced the pitches of the harmonic series. In this, he anticipated the better understanding of the material basis of sound that would result from later researches into vibration and influenced Cooke, Rameau and other Enlightenment theorists for whom harmonics would represent the exemplar for music. Moreover, a less obvious though ultimately more profound significance of this treatise is as an antecedent to the mechanistic explanations Descartes would propose for the entire cosmos some years later.[49] It is thus both in the nature of Descartes' deployment of mathematics as a methodology and the more specific exploitation of the monochord that his treatise is seminal in music and science discourse.

The publication of an English translation of *Compendium Musicae* by William Lord Brouncker in 1652 fuelled and motivated a strong interest in speculative music theory in seventeenth century England.[50] Francis Bacon, whose writings had provided Hawkins with the methodological model for his *History*, is fundamental here. Proposals Bacon had made earlier in the seventeenth century for the foundation of a body devoted to experimental science had led to the establishment in 1660 of the Royal Society (of which Pepusch later became a fellow). A compelling account of the investigations into music and science undertaken at the Royal Society is provided in Penelope Gouk's book, *Music, Science and Natural Magic in Seventeenth-Century England*.[51] This shows the Royal Society to have played a seminal role in the formation of methodologies and theoretical ideas, appropriated by Cooke and his circle later in the eighteenth century. Rejecting Claude Palisca's claims that music 'ceased to be a mathematical science by the seventeenth century' when it 'took its place unequivocally among the arts',[52] Gouk has demonstrated the centrality of music to earlier Enlightenment science. Following Bacon's calls for a detailed investigation of acoustical phenomena, experiments into all aspects of sound became an important feature of the Royal Society's earlier activities. These included the measurement of the speed of sound through different media, the testing

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[49]*Ibid.* See also Bertrand Augst, 'Descartes's Compendium on Music', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 26/1 (1965), 119-32.

[50]René Descartes, *Renatus Descartes Excellent Compendium of Musick*, tr. William Lord Brouncker (London, 1653).

[51]Penelope Gouk, *Music, Science and Natural Magic in Seventeenth Century England* (New Haven, 1999). See also Leta E. Miller and Albert Cohen, *Music in the Royal Society of London, 1660-1806* (Detroit, 1987).

[52]*Ibid.*, p. 111.

and demonstration of hearing and speaking trumpets, relationships between pitch and frequency, and the physical causes of consonance.[53] In addition, more purely musical issues were addressed, some directly anticipating areas subsequently pursued in the writings of Pepusch and Cooke. In 1705 Thomas Salmon presented a performance of a Corelli sonata to demonstrate the effects of a particular tuning system which he believed would, due to its mathematical proportions, enable musicians to recreate the ethical effects of ancient Greek music. A proposal with similar aims had also been made in 1664 by John Birchensha through recourse to a particular type of Pythagorean scale. In response, the mathematicians John Wallis, John Pell, and Nicolaus Mercator proposed alternative systems.[54]

More generally, the Royal Society gave rise to an entire body of music and science literature in the later seventeenth and earlier eighteenth centuries by musicians and theorists such as Thomas Salmon, William Holder, John Wallis, John Birchensha and Robert Hooke. An important outlet for such literature was provided by the Royal Society Journal, *Philosophical Transactions*, in which Pepusch's paper described earlier was published. Through these publications a universalist view of music was frequently proffered. In this they helped to provide a basis from which Cooke and his associates later pursued their more purely musical agenda.

Of critical importance for Cooke were the musical interests of the most renowned figure to have been associated with the Royal Society, Isaac Newton.[55] Although Newton is thought to have had little enthusiasm for practical music, unpublished manuscripts reveal a profound interest in diatonic ratios, the diatonic scale and its division into atomic particles. In this Gouk has observed a recurrence of the ancient concept of universal harmony, utilised by Newton as a means of comprehending 'the whole of creation and the divine plan for mankind within it'.[56] Although traditionally acclaimed as the inventor of modern scientific method, Newton's debt to ancient learning (as revealed in his conception of music) is redolent of the similarly ambivalent attitudes held by Hawkins and Cooke. Such thinking is especially evident in the connections Newton sought to establish between the behaviour of vibrating strings, wave dynamics and the laws of gravity and light, all

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[53]*Ibid.*, p. 187.

[54]*Ibid.*, p. 188.

[55]*Ibid.*, pp. 224-57.

[56]*Ibid.*, p. 229.

of which he found to be governed by the same harmonic principles. Of particular importance here are Newton's findings concerning light, published in his hugely popular book on experimental science, *Opticks*.[57] Seized upon by Cooke as evidence that the same ratios describe diatonic intervals as colours of the spectrum, this was fundamental to his conception of music's universality. The profound prestige enjoyed by Newton throughout the eighteenth century made such deductions all the more irresistible to Cooke, who throughout *Musical Conjectures* invokes Newton's name wherever possible.

The fact that speculative music theory continued to be discussed in the nineteenth century, in (for example) the pages of *The Harmonicon* and *The Musical World* attests to the profound resonance such ideas would retain in English musical life. However, by the later eighteenth century when *Musical Conjectures* was written, its underlying philosophy would nevertheless probably have appeared to most observers anachronistic. Abstract mathematical systems borne of the systematising and certainty of thinkers such as Descartes had by this time given way to a more modest subjectivity. Furthermore, conceptions of musical harmony as a manifestation of universal harmony were no longer so meaningful in a world in which melody was thought to be the main vehicle of expression. The perception of music as an ephemeral part of fashionable life was a world apart from notions linking the materials of music and music itself to the makeup of the universe. Understanding the nature of these fundamental differences is essential to appreciating the distinctiveness of the musical philosophies which defined the position of Cooke and his circle; it is therefore to a brief examination of mainstream philosophical and musical ideas that we turn now.

A figure instrumental in the ousting of Cartesian thought was the English philosopher John Locke (1632-1704). Conscious of the diversity of beliefs, practices and customs throughout the world, Locke mistrusted the grand systematising of Descartes, the belief in innate 'cognitive and ethical truths' and the systems deducted from them. Locke maintained that the language and aims of Cartesianism had served only to create obscurity. In his view, the limitations of man meant that there could be no certainty and that the world could never be completely known. For Locke, knowledge was derived entirely from experience; the mind was at birth a blank sheet, impressioned throughout life by bodies causing sensations. Such ideas became highly influential and would be taken to further extremes by later

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[57]Isaac Newton, *Opticks* (London, 1704).

eighteenth-century philosophers, most notably David Hume. One of the consequences of the new thinking was the increasing focus upon the subjective as opposed to the general. Thus as the century progressed, areas such as philosophy, politics, mathematics and natural sciences became anchored in the human mind. As Porter observes, 'what had once been taken as objective, external commands and eternal fitnesses needed to be recast as the products of trains of associations, functions of inner powers, out-growths of circumstances...truths graven upon tablets of stone became psychologized.'[58]

One of the fields in which this new preoccupation with subjectivity was explored early on was the sub-discipline of philosophy, aesthetics. In a rapidly expanding body of literature concerning music, issues discussed included the 'Nature of aesthetic experience, the factors that determine aesthetic judgment, the qualities that comprise beauty and or sublimity, the necessity for both unity and variety within a work of art, the relevance of the principle of the "imitation of nature" in the creative process.'[59] As the century progressed, the chasm between the theoretical positions adopted by the Cooke circle and those of mainstream aestheticians became distinct. In an environment where 'musical meaning' was understood to 'lie within rather than outside the human psychology,'[60] investigations of music's relationship to nature, as revealed by vibrating strings, became increasingly irrelevant. Moreover, the essentially literary nature of aesthetics only further emphasised its disparity from the traditions of speculative music theory revered by Cooke and his fellow composer-theorists.

Earlier in this chapter it was shown that the advancement of 'imitation' by mainstream musical commentators as *the* prime purpose of music represented for Hawkins a principal bone of contention. Imitation, that is the idea that music's purpose is to represent specific ideas, is indeed a highly significant area of disagreement between the theoretical position Hawkins represents and that of the aestheticians who both reflected and formed eighteenth-century mainstream musical opinion. In its broadest sense the invocation of imitation as a governing principle in music was, of course, not new. Like Greek harmonic theory, imitation as a theoretical principle in music is tracable back to antiquity, and therefore predates by

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[58]Porter, *Enlightenment: Britain and the Creation of the Modern World,* p. 163.

[59]Peter Le Huray and James Day, eds., *Music and Aesthetics in the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries* (Cambridge, 1981), p. 1.

[60]Chenette, 'Music Theory in the British Isles during the Enlightenment', p. 33.

far its renewed appropriation by eighteenth-century aestheticians. Moreover, as explained earlier, even Hawkins believed the broader notion of expression (defined by him as 'the power to move the passions') to have been the ultimate purpose of music. What Hawkins objected to was the manner in which 'imitation' was applied to music by the eighteenth-century aestheticians. The recourse to science and ancient Greek harmonic theory by Cooke and his associates was, at least in part, a response to this. To appreciate the nature and context of this issue it is first necessary to refer back a further 200 years.

A famous milestone in the application of imitation in Western music had been passed in sixteenth-century Florence where Vincenzo Galilei and others had asserted that music's purpose was to communicate human feelings and attitudes through imitation of ordinary speech. With this, Galilei rejected the complex polyphony of his day along with the mathematical, speculative music theory associated with it by earlier Renaissance theorists. Proposing in its stead monody, Galilei and like-minded Italians famously inspired the establishment of opera and the early baroque aesthetic. Thus the long-predominant mathematical conceptions of music as an autonomous language gave way to an aesthetic which repositioned music as a language borne of verbal expression.

In the light of this, the autonomous, mathematical conceptions of music common to the Cooke circle clearly look back to a pre-baroque view. Moreover, it is argued in this study that in striving for a more autonomous music Cooke and Hawkins also prefigured the nineteenth-century reassertion of a non-verbal music aesthetic, engendered by the pre-eminence instrumental music would assume within Romantic arts. Although supporters of ancient music were primarily concerned with vocal music, their espousal of musical harmony as a language of nature constitutes a significant, if unwitting, anticipation of the later musical philosophy. This is a view indebted to ideas proposed and explored by John Neubauer in his book *The Emancipation of Music from Language: Departure from Mimesis in Eighteenth Century Aesthetics*.[61] Whilst concerned principally with developments on the Continent, Neubauer's study accurately contextualises the theoretical predicaments faced by Hawkins, Cooke and their circle in eighteenth-century England. Neubauer sees the vying of competing verbal and mathematical conceptions of music to have characterised western music theory throughout its long history. According to this view the baroque period ushered a temporary lull in the sovereignty of mathematical,

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[61]John Neubauer, *The Emancipation of Music from Language: Departure from Mimesis in Eighteenth Century Aesthetics* (New Haven, 1986).

autonomous conceptions of music, although as this chapter has shown, such conceptions nevertheless retained a degree of currency.

Neubauer argues that whilst mimetic conceptions of music in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries weakened music's association with mathematics, appropriation of mimesis by eighteenth-century aestheticians also had a devaluing effect upon music. In this observation, Neubauer touches on key points made by Hawkins above. Neubauer states that this devaluation was brought about by attempts of aestheticians to integrate music into what he terms 'the modern system of the arts'.[62] According to this, all the arts were grouped together and judged by the same criteria. Neubauer notes that one of the consequences of this for music was the re-establishment of imitation as a central theoretical concept due to the importance of imitation for the other arts.

> Whereas imitation remained a central concept in discourses on poetry and was routinely used in composition, it seldom appeared as a theoretical term in seventeenth-century treatises on music and regained its centrality only in the eighteenth century where the so-called system of arts tightened its hold. This reappearance of the term imitation did not represent, however, a new aesthetics: since representation of the passions was already demanded by affect theory, the renewed centrality of imitation in music signified only a new context and mode of discourse.[63]

It was in part this subjection of music to generalised criteria, inherent in this newly constituted artistic criticism, which so infuriated Hawkins. As the following statement by the renowned writer and aesthetician Joseph Addison suggests, this minimised the importance of specific musical knowledge, placing all arts under the general jurisdiction of Sense and Taste:

> Musick, Architecture and Painting, as well as Poetry and Oratory, are to deduce their Laws and Rules from the general Sense and Taste of Mankind, and not from the Principles of those Arts themselves; or in other Words, the Taste is not to conform to the Art, but the Art to the Taste...Musick is not design'd to please only Chromatick Ears, but all that are capable of distinguishing harsh from disagreeable Notes.[64]

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[62] *Ibid.*, p. 60.

[63] *Ibid.*, p. 61.

[64] Joseph Addison, *The Spectator*, 3 April 1711.

In such discourse, the status of music in relation to other arts was inevitably diminished. The French aesthetician Charles Batteux is particularly important here on account of his seminal work *Les beaux-arts réduits à un même principe* (1746). In this he helped to establish the still-used concept of *Les beaux-arts*, which in his scheme consisted of music, sculpture, painting and poetry. Central to his aesthetic was the Aristotelian principle of the imitation of nature. In Batteux's view, the imitation of nature involved a process of selection and idealisation, thus lending the arts an ethical function. Acknowledging that unlike other arts, music could not imitate or represent nature, Batteux considered music's principal role to be to imitate feelings. The intrinsic qualities of harmony as understood by Cooke or Hawkins were in this view of no account. Batteux asked:

> What would we think of a painter who was content to throw on the canvas bold shapes and masses of the liveliest colour without reference to any known object? The same argument can be applied to music...Although the learned musician may congratulate himself if he so wishes on having reconciled, by means of mathematics, sounds that seemed to be irreconcilable, unless those sounds mean something they may be compared to the gestures of an orator which do no more than show that the speaker is alive; they may similarly be compared to verses that are nothing but measured sounds.[65]

Thus the qualities peculiar to musical harmony were not recognised by such aestheticians unless they could express an emotion or idea, identifiable to the listener; the existence of relationships between harmony and nature was of no interest. It was thus commonplace amongst aestheticians to state that music could only achieve its potential when combined with poetry without which precise communication was impossible. Such a view was put forward by the aesthetician James Harris:

> From what has been said, it is evident that these two arts can never be so powerful singly as when they are properly united. For poetry, when alone, must be necessarily forced to waste many of its richest ideas in the mere raising of affections, when to have been properly relished, it should have found those affections in their highest energy. And music, when alone, can only raise affections, which soon languish and decay if not maintained and fed by the nutritive images of poetry. Yet must it be remembered in this

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[65]Charles Batteux, *Les beaux-arts réduits à un même principe* (Paris, 1746), quoted in Le Huray and Day, eds., *Music and Aesthetics*, p. 40.

> union, that poetry ever have the precedence, its utility as well as dignity being far the more considerable.[66]

In the union of music and poetry, poetry was always deemed superior on account of its ability to convey precise ideas. Furthermore, harmony and especially counterpoint was frequently portrayed as a purely pedantic exercise which positively hindered music from achieving its highest goal of imitation. Charles Burney felt that 'Bach though unequalled in learning and contrivance, thought it so necessary to crowd into both hands all the harmony he could grasp, that he must inevitably have sacrificed melody and expression.'[67] William Mason, another supporter of modern music, provided more invidious comments on the polyphonic cathedral music so prized by supporters of ancient music. For him such music consisted of 'abstruse harmonical Proportions, which had neither common sense, nor, in this case a better judge, the approbation of the common ear, for their Support.' From this abuse had arisen 'a multifarious contexture of parts, a total disregard for simple melody, and in consequence, a neglect even of syllabic distinction' that was necessary for the intelligible articulation of text.[68] Once again, it is useful to turn to Hawkins for an account of the standpoint shared by those on the other side of this theoretical chasm. Here Hawkins explains how aesthetic notions concerning the union of poetry and music miss the point:

> We know by experience that there is no necessary connection between music and poetry; and such as are competent judges of either, know also that though the powers of each are in some instances concurrent, each is a separate and distinct language. The poet affects the passions by images excited in the mind, or by the forcible impression of moral sentiments; the musician by sounds either simple and harmonical only in succession, or combined: these the mind, from its particular constitution, supposing it endued with that sense which is the perfection of the auditory faculty, without referring to any other subject or medium, recognizes as the language of nature; and the affections of joy, grief, and a thousand nameless sensations, become subservient to their call.[69]

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[66]James Harris, *Three Treatises. The First concerning Art, the Second concerning Music, Painting and Poetry, the Third concerning Happines* (London, 1744), pp. 99-102.

[67]Charles Burney, *The Present State of Music in Germany, the Netherlands and United Provinces*, 2nd edn., 2 vols. (London, 1775), vol. II, p. 263.

[68]William Mason, *The Poems of Mr. Gray to Which Is Prefaced Memoirs of His Life and Writing* (York, 1775), p. 327.

[69]Hawkins, *A General History*, vol. I, p. xxi.

Thus for Hawkins the arts of poetry and music operate quite separately; music does not gain from any union with poetry, nor is it inferior to it. Music is an autonomous 'language of nature' which speaks without reference to 'any other subject or medium.' For Hawkins, aesthetic discourse is founded on an ignorance of the true power of music's principal parameter, harmony.

It is certainly not argued here that Cooke was indifferent to the importance of imitation. On the contrary, subsequent chapters in this study will reveal in Cooke a keen attentiveness to the conventions of musical imitation, as well as to other aesthetic considerations. Particularly notable among the latter is a wholesale appropriation of the Sublime. This plays a prominent part in conveying the sense of profundity and gravitas which frequently characterises Cooke's large-scale works. Nevertheless, as the study of *Musical Conjectures* in the next chapter will reveal, Cooke retained a deep and overriding interest in the concept of harmony, as a language founded on natural and universal principles. Taken in combination with his interests in learned counterpoint this preoccupation with autonomous harmony represents the defining characteristic of the ideological counterculture surrounding the Academy of Ancient Music. Throughout this chapter Hawkins has been widely quoted for the way in which he so vigorously conceptualised this musical ideology. Cooke and his fellow composer-theorists on the other hand conveyed their undoubted allegiance to this ideology only tacitly, through their thoeries, music and activities. Hawkins, not being a practical composer or musician, was frequently unable to provide adequate realisation of key elements of his ideology in meaningful terms. Whilst he aspired, for example, to reveal links between music, Greek theory and nature, he was notably unable to substantiate such links. As the next chapter will show, the importance of *Musical Conjectures* is precisely in the way it does indeed provide concrete links between musical universalism and actual musical language. In this, universal harmony, reconfigured in the light of modern science is the theoretical means appropriated to free music from its subservience to other arts and realise its true potential as an autonomous language of profound expression.

Chapter 2

Musical Conjectures: a Study of its Contents

Benjamin Cooke's unpublished treatise *Musical Conjectures* forms part of the Tenbury collection at the Bodleian Library (Tenbury MS 1344) and constitutes the most significant Cooke manuscript not included in the Cooke Collection at the Royal College of Music. The work provides an evolving perspective upon theoretical matters preoccupying Cooke from before 1769 until the 1780s. As explained in the previous chapter, this entailed an attempt both to re-associate music with the universalism and status assigned it by the theoretical traditions of the ancient Greeks, and to advance this through recourse to recent scientific discoveries. This was ultimately part of a wider aspiration to establish music's theoretical basis so as to further it both as an art and as a subject of serious study. The purpose of this chapter is to explore the principal themes set out in this hugely insightful treatise so as to gain a deeper understanding of the theoretical standpoint underlying Cooke's activities as a musician.

The manuscript volume comprises 140 foliated leaves all in Cooke's hand upon which he initially wrote only on the recto. Numerous subsequent amendments and additions written on the verso of the original leaves, as well as many additional insertions, are testament to the ongoing development of Cooke's thinking. This is exemplified by the fact that the work's title page indicates its initial completion in 1769, yet an inscription at the end of the volume states that it was 'Revis[e]d & enlarg'd' in Greenwich in 'Aug[us]t 22. 1772.'[1] Even later annotations exist within the body of the text, the latest dating from 1786. Moreover, a note at the end of Section II alludes to the existence of another copy, no longer known to exist, suggesting that Cooke intended the work to be disseminated further or perhaps even published:

> The New Copy is compleated thus far and contains all that I intend to employ of the forgoing remarks, except the Conclusion or last paragraph on page 67. Oct: 27. 1781.[2]

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[1]Benjamin Cooke, *Musical Conjectures*, Tenbury MS 1344, now in Bodleian, f. 139v.

[2]f. 67v. A second copy (now lost) is listed in: *Catalogue of the...Musical Library of the Late Benjamin Cooke...which will be Sold by Auction, by Mr. Fletcher...on August 5th, &...6th, 1845...London...lot 161* (London, 1845).

Musical Conjectures was, however, never published, nor is it known to have been properly finished or widely disseminated. Its significance, therefore, remains as a reflection and manifestation of Cooke's theories rather than as a work of influence in itself.

In the biography of Cooke by his son Henry, *Musical Conjectures* is pejoratively described as an assortment of thoughts and ideas relating to music theory which 'should rather be considered as positions to be examined than as settled points.'[3] He then correctly goes on to explain Cooke's ostensible reason for writing *Musical Conjectures*. This was to respond to the writings of Robert Smith (1689-1768), a fellow of the Royal Society and Plumian Professor of astronomy at Trinity College Cambridge:

> In 1769, Mr Cooke had collected in his own hand writing, on loose sheets of paper, a number of his thoughts as they occurred on musical subjects, or conjectures on the Greek theory, &c. Kirkman about that time, had constructed some harpsichords on Dr. Smith's principles, dividing the G sharp and A flat, &c., like the organ at the foundling hospital; and Mr. Cooke had been worried for his and his master's [i.e. Pepusch] ideas and opinions on the subject.[4]

This view is corroborated throughout *Musical Conjectures* by Cooke, who explained, for example, that he had 'frequently been requir'd...to acquiesce in recommending and promoting the use of these instruments' of which he could 'by no means approve'[5] and felt therefore a necessity to record his thoughts on the subject. The work prompting this response was Smith's complex treatise entitled *Harmonics, or The Philosophy of Musical Sounds*, first published in 1749.[6] Before examining this or Cooke's treatise any further, it is first necessary to draw attention to a note dated 19 April 1786 and inserted by Cooke at the beginning of *Musical Conjectures*. In it he indicates that he subsequently felt it necessary to retract some of his earlier comments:

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[3]Henry Cooke, *Some Account of Doctor Cooke, Organist of Westminster Abbey &c.* (London, 1837), p. 6.

[4]*Ibid.*, p. 6.

[5]f. 140r.

[6]Robert Smith, *Harmonics, or the Philosophy of Musical Sounds* (1749), 2nd edn. (Cambridge, 1759)

> At the time I wrote these strictures (on Dr. S. scale) I firmly believed them true and was under a strong conviction, that my argument was irrefragable. I have since been better inform'd and perceive that I misunderstood Dr. Smiths design, and misapprehended the meaning of his lines. I therefore here detract what I have said on that Subject...Some sparks of truth I still think may exist in these papers notwithstanding the above acknowledgement and therefore I do not destroy the MS which otherwise I certainly would do.[7]

Whilst the existence of this note must be recognised, it does not undermine the importance of *Musical Conjectures* as a record of the ideas underlying Cooke's musical philosophy. The extreme complexity of Smith's theories had certainly baffled his readers, a view expressed by Hawkins who described *Harmonics* as 'so obscurely written, that few who have read it can be found who will venture to say they understand it.'[8] However, as will be seen, Cooke's objections related not to the minutiae of the complex calculations that dominate the work, but rather to Smith's fundamental premise. In this, Cooke's position was certainly well-founded, it not being clear in any case what exactly it was that he felt he had misunderstood. Much more importantly, however, Cooke's criticism of Smith's ideas represents only an aspect of *Musical Conjectures*. Although Smith provides Cooke's opening standpoint, *Musical Conjectures* is in reality devoted principally to setting out his own theoretical perspective. As in the case of the Cooke Collection manuscripts to be discussed in the next chapter, *Musical Conjectures* is clearly conceived with the intention of preserving these ideas for posterity. It is perhaps with this in mind that Cooke offered the following, Platonically inspired aspiration for writing *Musical Conjectures*, alluded to in the previous chapter:

> That good Music and true Harmony may long continue to improve & flourish in these Kingdoms to the promotion of Religion & Virtue and to the exclusion of Idleness and Vice is my hearty desire and Hope.[9]

This provides a further revealing glimpse of how Cooke viewed not just the writing of this treatise but its position within the agenda shared by supporters of ancient music. For many, in addition to re-associating music with its once prestigious position, this re-establishment of music as an art founded on universal principles would make it capable of affecting listeners on the profoundest levels and thus

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[7]f. 1r.

[8]John Hawkins, *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music* (1776), new edn., 2 vols. (London, 1853), vol. II, p. 915.

[9]f. 139v.

become an agent for moral renewal. Although this is not an area pursued by Cooke, it is nevertheless a sentiment often voiced by supporters of ancient music. Its appearance here thus further confirms that Cooke and his circle shared a comprehensive philosophy of music, of which the discussion of music theories in *Musical Conjectures* manifests just one aspect.

Cooke's stated purpose in *Musical Conjectures* was to uphold the system of tuning then in use which he termed the 'Common Scale'. This was in order to counter temperaments being proposed at the time by Robert Smith in his treatise *Harmonics*. Although Cooke presented the Common Scale as a single universally accepted system, the extent of this universality is difficult to determine, a situation compounded by the vagueness of Cooke's description of it. What is certain is that Cooke's Common Scale was a system of unequal temperament in which, although keys varied in quality, it was possible to use all of them, the most perfect keys being those with fewest sharps or flats. The universality of unequal temperament in eighteenth-century England as implied by Cooke is confirmed by the ubiquity of works containing extreme keys, most obviously those of Handel, and therefore unplayable in meantone temperaments.

Cooke was also clear that to tune this Common Scale certain fifths needed to be flattened by varying degrees whilst just one (Ab-Eb) was sharpened. In this, Cooke's Common Scale possibly corresponds to the tuning of Godfrey Keller as set out in his *Compleat Method for Attaining to play a Thorough Bass,*[10] a system known to have been popular in eighteenth-century England and republished in various different publications. Definitive confirmation of this is however impossible as Keller too was unclear in certain respects, a fact that has caused disagreement amongst modern scholars as to the true nature of Keller's system.[11]

Nevertheless, as a temperament usable in all keys, the Common Scale is to be understood as an unequal as opposed to a meantone temperament. In the latter system 11 (or most) of the fifths are treated in exactly the same way. Accordingly an element of uniformity was achieved for keys with fewer accidentals whilst those

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[10]Gottfried Keller, 'Rules for Tuning a Harpsichord or Spinnet' in *A Compleat Method for Attaining to Play a Thorough Bass* (London, 1707).

[11]See Jeffrey Evans, 'The Keyboard Tuning Rules of 'The Modern Musick-Master'', *Early Music*, 11/3 (1983), 360-363, and Peter Williams, 'Equal Temperament and the English Organ, 1675-1825', *Acta Musicologica*, 40/1 (1968), 53-65.

keys with most accidentals could not be used, thereby making it impossible to modulate across the enharmonic divide. In both recent and past discussion these two designations have sometimes been deployed interchangeably, leading to confusion concerning English eighteenth- and nineteenth-century temperaments.[12] It is precisely because of this that the following distinction was made by James Lecky in 1879, which serves as a timely point of information for the present study:

> The Meantone System is sometimes described as an Unequal Temperament, but wrongly, since in it the so-called 'good keys' are all equally good; the 'bad keys' are simply those for which the necessary notes do not exist when the system is limited to twelve notes per octave.[13]

This distinction between these two fundamentally different approaches to tuning is key to an understanding of Cooke's objections to the system of Smith who in turn profoundly rejected what he termed the 'vulgar Common Scale'.

Despite its complexity, Smith's *Harmonics* achieved some renown in later eighteenth-century England, a fact evidenced by its publication in two editions, 10 years apart (1749 and 1759). Like Cooke, Smith sought to advance his case through reference to ancient Greek theory and mathematics although in the latter as a professor of astronomy Smith had genuine authority. In his preface Smith explained, perhaps over-modestly, that the need for his treatise had arisen from 'The want of an elementary treatise of harmonics, such as might properly have been quoted in support of my demonstrations.'[14] Smith believed the need for these demonstrations arose from the fact that though ancient theorists had established the mathematical make-up of scales in whole-number ratios these had 'in practice been found disagreeable' when applied to the modern keyboard.[15] Furthermore, modern 'tempering of the antient scales, that is, in distributing those grosser imperfections in some of the concords, among all the rest or the greater part of them', which had resulted in the irregular Common Scale, remained for Smith an inadequate solution. Smith argued instead for a system in which the most, if not all, scales would sound

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[12]See A.C.N. Mackenzie of Ord, 'The Adoption of Equal-Temperament Tuning: a Performing Imperative or a Fashionable Fad?', *Bios Journal*, 7 (2003), 91-111.

[13]James Lecky, 'Temperament', *Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 3rd edn., H.C. Colles (1927), p. 301.

[14]Robert Smith, *Harmonics, or the Philosophy of Musical Sounds*, 2nd edn. (Cambridge, 1759), p. v.

[15]*Ibid.*, p. v.

the same. This stemmed from the fact that, in direct contradistinction to Cooke, he believed it to be:

> The transition from a better harmony to a worse, which chiefly gives the offence; as is evident to any one that attends to a piece of music performed upon an instrument badly tuned. It follows then that the instrument would be better in tune, if all the consonances were made as equally harmonious as possible, though none of them were perfect.[16]

From this assumption Smith sought to discover through mathematics 'whether it be possible for two imperfect consonances to be made equally harmonious; and if so, what must be the proportion of their temperaments or imperfections; and also whether different consonances require different proportions.'[17] In accordance with this, Smith premised an immensely complex 'Theory of Imperfect Consonances' wherein he claimed to have 'demonstrated as many properties of their Periods, Beats and Harmonies as [are] judged sufficient for solving that problem, and probably any other that belongs to harmonics.'[18]

It is likely that the above would have been of little or no concern to a practising musician such as Cooke had Smith's theories not entailed proposals to add extra sounds to the keyboard along with instructions as to how this should be practically achieved. These proposals had led to the manufacture of certain keyboard instruments, most notably harpsichords by Kirkman and an organ built by Thomas Parker for the Foundling Hospital, opened with a performance of Handel's *Messiah* in November 1769.[19] That Cooke was well acquainted with this organ is attested not only in *Musical Conjectures* but also by the existence in the Cooke Collection of works composed for it. In the preface to the second edition of *Harmonics* Smith gave the following account of how through these instruments his system could improve on the Common Scale:

> As the harpsichord has neither strings nor keys for any of these sounds D#,A#,E#,B#,F##,Ab, Db,Gb, &c, which yet are so often wanted that far the greater part of the best compositions cannot be performed without them,

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[16]*Ibid.*, p. vi.

[17]*Ibid.*, p.vi.

[18]*Ibid.*, p.viii.

[19]Donald Burrows, 'Organs and Organists at the Foundling Hospital, 1750-1800', Russell Collection of Early Keyboard Instruments, Edinburgh, 2000 [http://www.music.ed.ac.uk/russell/conference/burrowsonorganists.html, accessed 21 February 2001].

except by substituting for them Eb,Bb,F,C,G,G#,C#,F#, &c, respectively, which by differing from them by near a fifth part of the tone, make very bad harmony; and as the old expedient for introducing some of those sounds by inserting more keys in every octave, is quite laid aside by reason of the difficulty in playing upon them; I have therefore invented a better expedient, by causing the several keys of those substitutes, Eb,Bb,F,C,G,G#,C#,F#, &c, to strike either Eb or D#, Bb or A#, F or E#, C or B#, G or F##, G# or Ab, C# or Db, F# or Gb, &c.

> In a word, the very worst keys in the common defective scale, by changing a few sounds are presently made as complete as the best in that scale, and more harmonious too, because the changeable scale admits of the very best temperament, and...which will therefore stand longer in tune than the common scale which cannot admit that temperament.[20]

Recent research by Grant O'Brien has suggested that the application of Smith's system to the Parker organ in the Foundling Hospital resulted in a scale with 16 notes: 12 notes of the chromatic scale with the additional enharmonically related notes of C#, Eb, G# and Bb. With the organ tuned to Smith's system this enabled the performer to play consonances in four additional major keys and increased the overall number of playable major keys from six (two flats to three sharps) to eight (three flats to four sharps).[21]

As this study of *Musical Conjectures* will show, Cooke believed adoption of Smith's system would lead to nothing less than 'the destruction of music'. It is this firmly held view which provided the impetus to the creation of *Musical Conjectures*, to which we turn now. Although *Musical Conjectures* in its extant form does not represent a well-ordered document there is a coherent thrust to it. This is to establish the modern 12-note system, when tuned according to the Common Scale, as an archetype consistent with universal 'first principles' and ancient Greek music theory. For Cooke, Smith's proposals undermined such principles and were therefore incompatible with the archetypal language of music as deployed by 'masters' such as Handel, Purcell, Alessandro Scarlatti and others.

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[20]*Ibid.*, p.xvi-xviii.

[21]Grant O'Brien, 'Robert Smith's 'Equal Harmony' and the Harpsichord built for it by Jacob Kirckman', Russell Collection of Early Keyboard Instruments, Edinburgh, 2000 [http://www.music.ed.ac.uk/russell/conference/robertsmithkirckman.html, accessed 21 February 2001].

It is beyond the scope of this chapter to examine the whole of *Musical Conjectures,* but the following summary indicates the general areas covered in the five sections into which the treatise is divided:

Section I (ff. 1-41)

* Exposition of the treatise's fundamental aim: to identify the common natural principle underlying both the ancient Greek system and the modern musical system when tuned according to the Common Scale, and to demonstrate how this would be undermined by Robert Smith's innovations.

* Harmonics as revealed by different instruments.

Section II (ff. 42-46)

* Minor harmonics.

Section III (ff. 46-67)

* Music as sound magnified: the relationship between harmonics and scales.
* Newton's *Optics* and the relationships between colours and scales.
* Demonstration of how the diatonic scale can be derived from 16 major and minor harmonics.

Section IV (ff. 68-88)

* How the principles underlying scales also govern modulation and time.

Section V (ff. 89-140)

* Formation of the Natural Scale using 32 numbers (on which the Common Scale is based).
* Similarity between Grecian genders and our extreme keys.
* Superiority of modern notation over ratios as used by Greeks.
* Consequences of using extra sounds as advocated by Smith.
* Examples of works by Masters in which the Common Scale is exploited to good effect.
* How Smith's system would lead to the destruction of music.

To understand *Musical Conjectures* we must be aware of the relationships Cooke believed existed between ancient Greek music theory and the modern musical system. Although the most obvious manifestation of this relationship was in their common use of the diatonic intervals, there was for Cooke another ultimately more telling correspondence. An inherent feature of the Common Scale was the subtly different categories of diatonic scales to be derived from it, which he termed 'Genders'. Believing these to be crucial to musical language, discussion of these differing Genders constituted a principal element in *Musical Conjectures*. Significantly the term 'Gender' was derived by Cooke from Greek theory, in which the word *genos* (known in modern times by its Latin form *genus*) was similarly deployed as a means of classifying varying categories of scales.

In Greek theory, scales were comprised of smaller units known as tetrachords, each consisting of an outer perfect fourth, within which there were two varying inner intervals. Of these tetrachords there were three different categories known as *genera* (plural of *genus*), distinguished by the placing of the two inner notes. Their diatonic genera resembled the modern diatonic scale, whilst their chromatic and enharmonic genera differed due to their inclusion of non-diatonic intervals. There were also further subcategories of subtly differing tunings, known as species. In *Musical Conjectures* Cooke used the term 'Gender' to refer to all these varying categories.

Although in Greek theory there was a profusion of descriptions of genera, for the purposes of understanding *Musical Conjectures* Ptolemy's mathematical description as shown in Table 2.1 constitutes a representative summary. Each row describes a different tetrachord spanning a perfect fourth (4/3). Ratios signify monochord string lengths, each of which describe an interval within its respective four-note tetrachord (e.g. in the case of the Enharmonic tetrachord, intervals mulitplied together produce a fourth (46/45x24/23x5/4= 4/3)).

Table 2.1[22]

Ptolemy's division of tetrachords into genera and species				
Genera	**Tetrachord**	**Intervals of inner notes expressed in string ratios**		
Enharmonic (1 species)	Enharmonic	46/45	24/23	5/4
Chromatic (2 species)	Soft Chromatic	28/27	15/14	6/5
	Tense Chromatic	22/21	12/11	7/6
Diatonic (5 species)	Soft Diatonic	21/20	10/9	8/7
	Tonic Diatonic	28/27	8/7	9/8
	Tense Diatonic	16/15	9/8	10/9
	Ditonic Diatonic	256/243	9/8	9/8
	Even Diatonic	12/11	11/10	10/9

This illustrates the ancients' conception of musical intervals as whole number ratios expressive of mathematical perfection (as described in Chapter 1). In Table 2.1 such perfection is evident in the way all but one of the ratios are superparticular (meaning the first integer is one higher than the second), with the ratios of the right hand column rising smoothly from 5/4 to 10/9. In terms of tetrachord genera, Table 2.1 shows five subtly different species of diatonic, two chromatic and one enharmonic. Of the diatonic genera Ptolemy's Tense Diatonic and Ditonic Diatonic species correspond most closely to modern diatonic intervals, both containing the intervals S,T,T comparable in modern-day notation to the progression E,F,G,A. Comprising the Pythagorean semitone (256/243), major semitone (16/15), minor tone (10/9) and major tone (9/8), these intervals are of particular relevance to *Musical Conjectures* as intervals fundamental to the modern musical system. Ptolemy's Enharmonic genus includes two slightly differing quarter tone intervals (46/45, 24/23) and a major third (5/4) whilst his Tense Chromatic includes a small semitone (22/21), three-quarter tone (12/11) and a one and one-quarter tone (7/6).

Just as accounts of ancient poets told how the Greeks had exploited genders to achieve expressive effect so, believed Cooke, had certain more recent composers. This, of course, had not been through knowledge of the natural principles underlying

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[22]M.L. West, *Ancient Greek Music* (Oxford, 1994), p. 239. An English translation of Ptolemy's *Harmonics* can be found in Andrew Barker, *Greek Musical Writings*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1989), vol. II, pp.270-391; see also Thomas J. Mathiesen, *Apollo's Lyre: Greek Music and Music Theory in Antiquity and the Middle Ages* (Lincoln Nebr., 1999), pp. 355-495.

the Common Scale, but rather through their deployment of artistic judgment and discretion. A key objective for Cooke was to lay bare the workings of this musical language, which he believed could be achieved in-part through comparison with Greek theory. It will be observed that in this Cooke shares the same theoretical starting point as set out in his teacher Pepusch's Royal Society paper described in Chapter 1. Pepusch too had argued that the differing intervals described and mathematically documented in Greek theory were an essential yet little understood aspect of the modern musical system. Although Cooke proffers a theory ultimately more developed and more focused upon temperaments, Pepusch's underlying premise clearly constitutes the theoretical root to *Musical Conjectures.* Pepusch's influence is also evident in Cooke's understanding and knowledge of Greek theory. Although (as described earlier) this was informed by original Greek writings, its interpretation was skewed by a number of misunderstandings common to Pepusch and his pupils; these will be discussed as they arise.

Like Pepusch, Cooke believed that although the modern system was entirely diatonic, the correspondences between it and the entire Greek system were closer than they ostensibly appeared. To this end Cooke explained that he had been led into some of these conjectures:

> by frequently resolving in my mind, the accounts given of the Grecian Scale, which on a cursory view appears to have been materially different from the modern, particularly in regard to the Enharmonic and Chromatic Genders, these they represent as the most beautiful, and speak of the Diatonic (the only one seemingly correspondent with ours,) as almost neglected.[23]

However, subsumed within the seeming simplicity of the modern 12-note system, Cooke believed that elements of these ancient genera were not only present, but that they were essential to composition. In this Cooke was not saying the ancient and modern systems were in all respects the same; rather that they had a common basis in nature and that the judicious utilisation of Gender had enabled listeners, both ancient and modern, to perceive and be moved by music. In the Common Scale, Cooke explained:

> We obtain sev'ral repetitions or transpositions of a Diatonic Scale not indeed exactly the same as the ancient, nor as each other, but whose variations are so minute as to be nearly insensible, and besides these we also acquire sevr'al kinds or Genders both of Gradation and harmony sensibly different from each other, similar to and at least as numerous as those of the Grecians. Whether they are

[23]f. 2r.

> exactly the same as theirs requires further consideration but that they are sufficiently perfect for many purposes experience proves and if we recollect what a prodigious number of the most admired peices are composed and constantly performed...in these extreme keys we shall be almost tempted to think there must be something more than ordinarily captivating in them.[24]

The problem for Cooke (as for Pepusch) was that the tempering inherent in the Common Scale did not at first sight have any justification in nature or mathematics. For Cooke the intervals of the pure diatonic scale (comprising major tones, minor tones and major semitones) appeared 'so universally consonant to our sense of hearing' that any adjustment seemed a corruption of mathematical perfection. Yet in order to use all keys of the modern system it was necessary to make such adjustments, a fact that had resulted in the creation of the Common Scale:

> The difficulty is to adjust the scale so that every sound in the Octave may be taken for the Key Note (or Root). If you tune from any one Key or Root by the diatonic proportions described in the old Authors then altho the intervals for that one single Key will be true yet for most of the others will be false; from hence arises the necessity of what we call Bearings or Temperaments.[25]

Although temperaments of the Common Scale had given Smith and others 'cause to dispute the Truth of the old Ratios' Cooke (like Pepusch) argued that his researches would reveal them to be both integral to modern musical language and consistent with nature and Greek theory.

In Cooke's undoubted enthusiasm for Greek theory should be observed an approach ultimately more incisive and constructive than the unequivocal deference to the past of which supporters of ancient music were accused. Rather, in accordance with Hawkins' view described in the previous chapter, Cooke believed the Greeks had identified the natural principles from which more recent improvements had been made possible. More fundamental to Cooke's epistemology is a wholehearted embrace of eighteenth-century empiricism in which Greek authority served as a point of reference but never the ultimate arbiter. This, as the following comments reveal, was to be found through observation of nature:

> And thus I have been led to consider whether there are any natural principles from which the cause may be traced why sounds as certain intervals shd appear gradual and whether those intervals of gradation depend on custom

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[24]f. 3v.

[25]ff. 3-4r.

> only, and so may vary at different times & places, or whether having some original cause in Nature they have been always the same.[26]

It is with this that we turn to the beginning of *Musical Conjectures*. From its opening investigation of natural principles to the vindication of the Common Scale with which it culminates, Cooke's discourse comprises a convoluted concatenation of theoretical stages. Whilst at the outset these are broadly typical of scientifically-minded Enlightenment musicians, as his argument progresses Cooke's theoretical positions become increasingly confined to areas shared only by fellow observers of Greek theory amongst his own circle. Through this process Cooke ultimately builds on Pepusch's theoretical legacy to conclude with a theory of originality and insight unprecedented in this circle.

Cooke's search for natural principles began with an investigation of vibration. In this he was engaged in an exercise undertaken by many over the previous 100 years, from fellows of the Royal Society to theorist-musicians such as Tartini and Rameau. Cooke's debt to the latter is evident not least in his designation of a sounding string as the 'sounding body', itself a reference to Rameau's notion of the *Corps Sonore*. For Cooke, music's underlying principles were manifested most obviously in the Aeolian harp, Trumpet Marine and Trumpet. All these instruments produced 'gradual intervals rising in the numerical proportion 1.2.3.4.5', which from a fundamental bottom C would produce the notes C,c,g,c^1,e^1 of the harmonic series. Here the link to art was unambiguously self-evident in the manner these proportions generate the major triad. To emphasise this Cooke observed how 'these same proportions or sounds combined together produce a code of Harmony uncommonly perfect' deployed at the close of Gibbon's *Hosanna* as shown in Figure 2.1.[27]

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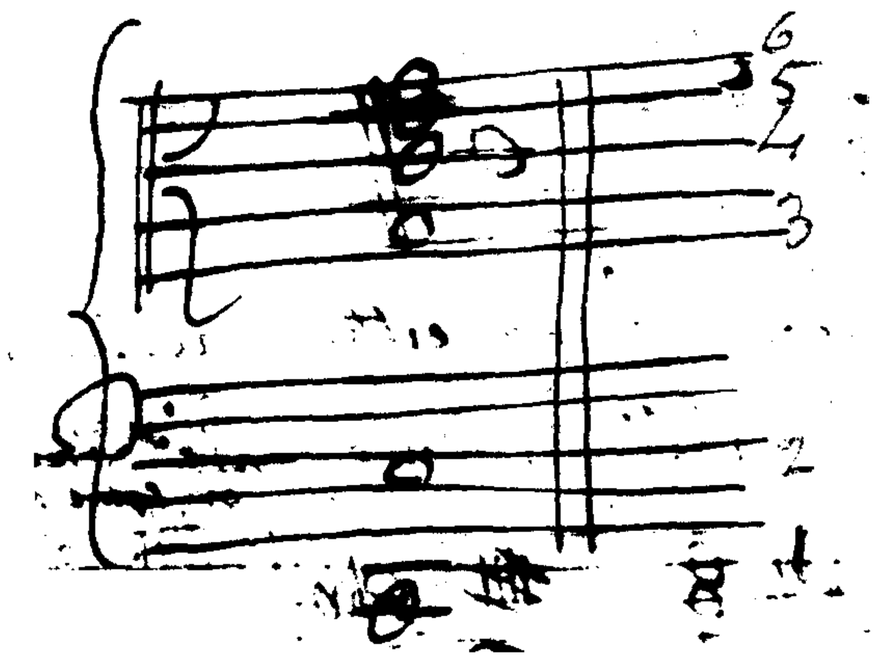
[26]f. 6v.

[27]f. 16r.

Figure 2.1



Moreover, as many others had noted, this same code was to be found replicated in the beauty of stops on the organ:

> Compounded of these very same proportions by means of the sevral stops put in for that purpose, viz: Diapasons, Principal, Twelfth, Fifteenth, Sesquialtra, Mixture, Tierce, Twenty 2d.[28]

Even more importantly, this code was also inherent in all individual sounds on the organ as well as in musical sounds made by all other musical instruments. In a rare reference to Rameau and Tartini, Cooke proclaimed the validity of the recent discoveries in the material basis of sound that would form the scientific basis for his theory of music:

> It cannot be denied but that ev'ry one of the sounds found to exist on the Organ in the composition of the foregoing Chords, must unavoidably be again recompounded with their natural Harmonics, on Mr Tartini's & Rameau's principle, which I apprehend to be established beyond dispute.[29]

However, despite the obvious correspondences between the major triad and the first five notes of the harmonic series, the construction of an entire theory of music based on harmonics was, as many had already found, highly problematic. It was in Cooke's progression beyond this point that *Musical Conjectures* becomes an increasingly individual statement.

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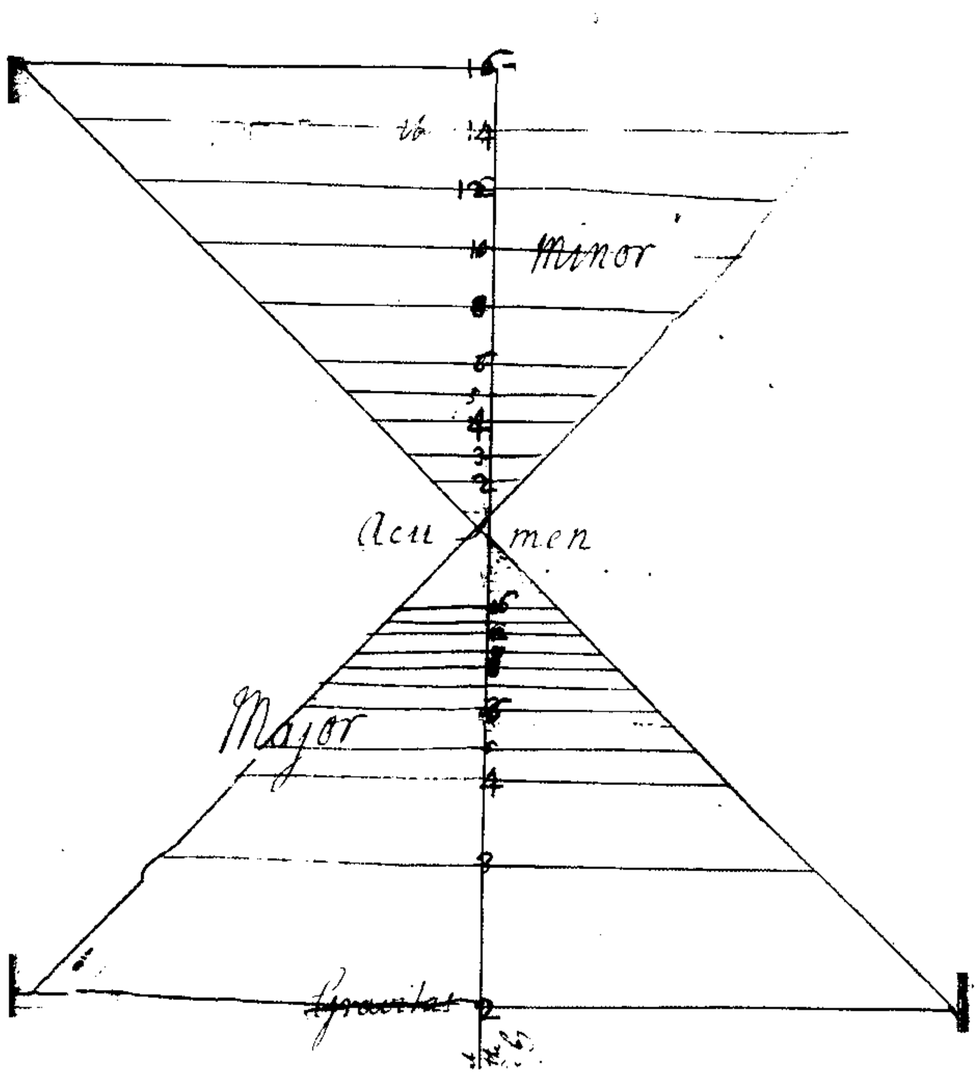
[28]f. 16r.

[29]f. 21r.

This is evident in Cooke's explanations of the relationships between a sounding fundamental and its overtones for which he drew up a triangular diagram of lines that 'would more clearly represent the proportions of these sounds than number could alone'.[30] This is essential to understanding Cooke's theory of music and in particular his attempts to link Greek theory with recent discoveries in science. Although the extant copy of *Musical Conjectures* contains only one incomplete example of this diagram (Figure 2.2),[31] Cooke provides detailed instructions on how it should be drawn up, from which more finished specimens have been reconstructed for this study. For the purposes of illustration Figure 2.3 shows the bottom half of Cooke's diagram only.

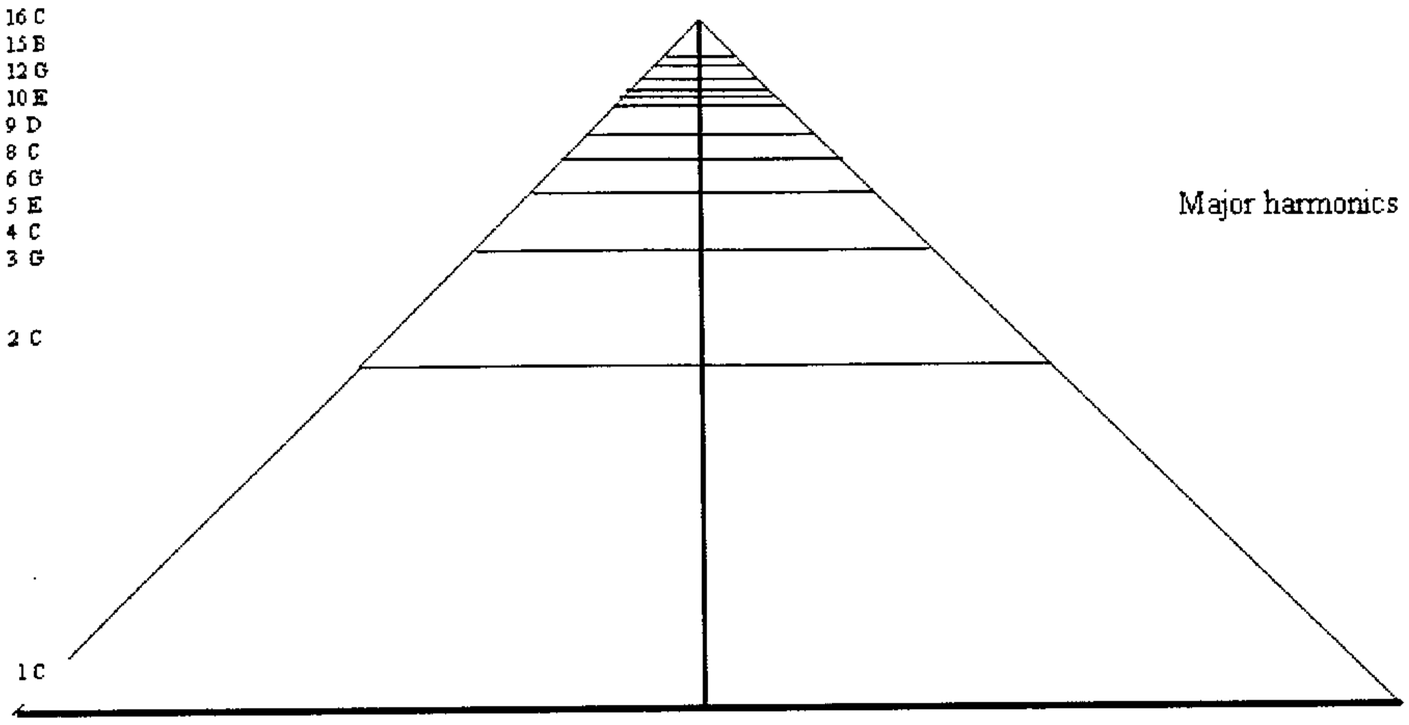
Figure 2.2



[30]f. 24r.

[31]f. 58v.

Figure 2.3



A single vertical line represents a monochord-like sounding string which is dissected by horizontal lines, the lowest of these representing the fundamental sound and those above, harmonics. Through the positioning of the horizontal lines, the vertical line is divided by 1/2, 1/3, 1/4, 1/5, 1/6 etc. according to which it would sound the pitches of the harmonic series if plucked or bowed on the shorter portion of the string.

Indicative of Cooke's entire outlook, is the role of the horizontal lines, which he states 'are of no other use at present than to prove the truth of the Proportions' of the 'old authors.'[32] Through their positioning and lengths these lines achieved this by making visually self-evident the relationship between the ratios of Greek theory and the harmonic series generated by a sounding string:

> Every 2 lines expressive of an Octave will bear this proportion 1/2, the lowest will be double the length of the highest. Two lines expressing the perfect 5th will be in this proportion 2/3, the lowest one third part longer than the highest...and so on according to establish'd ratios.[33]
>
> The lines also describe the number of vibrations each makes in comparison of any other, thus the 2d. line vibrates twice, the 3d line thrice in the same space of time that the Base line does once.[34]

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[32]f. 28r.

[33]f. 27r.

[34]f. 29r.

It is Cooke's attentiveness to this connection between ancient and modern, and his wish to demonstrate it, that makes this part of his theory so apposite to the musical outlook shared by supporters of ancient music. Alongside such correspondences there is though, as described in Chapter 1, a fundamental difference between Cooke's use of ratios and that of the Greeks. Whereas in ancient philosophy the numbers had beheld mystical significance in themselves, now they described actual correspondences between motions of the air. Moreover, whilst the ancients used the monochord string to obtain musical intervals, Cooke perceived it as a generator of pitches. As will be seen later, this fundamental difference of approach had far-reaching implications for the viability of Cooke's theory as an explanation for the musical language of his day.

Having established the existence of the harmonic series, Cooke proceeded to less well-trodden ground. This arises from his deduction that it is the mathematical model provided by the first, third and fifth harmonics of the harmonic series that constitutes the model upon which the entire musical system is founded. Although his ultimate goal was to explain the natural basis of the 12-note Common Scale and all the differing genders of diatonic scales subsumed within it, the diatonic scale in its perfect form was the most obvious result of these proportions. This Cooke believed was further confirmed by its concordance with our own natural facilities:

> The Diatonic proportions (derived as I shall endeavour to shew from the perfect harmony and inversions of unison 3d & 5th which have been proved to be the inseparable accompanyment of every individual musical sound) are undoubtedly the original & primary Root from whence all the rest are generated and are therefore the common standard of perfection and these were probably first invented not from any scientifical principles but merely by natural exertion of our inherent faculties.[35]

However, Cooke's identification of the fundamental, third and fifth harmonics as the root from which all other musical pitches are generated required a corresponding disregard for all other harmonics. In view of his overriding belief in the precedence of natural principle, it was necessary for Cooke to establish a rationale for omitting those higher harmonics inconsistent with musical practice. As Cooke freely admitted, 'Difficulty of this theory consists not in shewing how whole scale may, by

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[35]ff. 9-10r.

natural means be produced, but in shewing why we retain some sounds and reject others.'[36]

In order to achieve this, Cooke appropriated an assumption vital to Rameau's theories (and one for which Rameau had attracted much criticism). This was to argue that, although a sounding string might in theory generate an infinite number of harmonics, pitches of the major triad were the only ones actually audible, and they should therefore be the only ones taken into account. Cooke enlarged on this by saying that although in reality we hear the first five lines, of these only the fundamental, third and fifth are actually perceptible. This was because '2 & 4 tho respectively larger than 3 & 5 are octaves of the grand Root, to which they (2 & 4) are so immediately united as to be totally undistinguishable.'[37]

In this way Cooke constructed his case for arguing that the first, third and fifth harmonics were the mathematical exemplar for all music. This recalls Greek Ptolemaic theory in which all musical intervals were deduced from the primes two, three and five (as octaves of each other, the fundamental and second harmonics were in Cooke's conception commensurate). However, couching this mathematical exemplar within the context of the harmonic series was a more modern strategy. Although attractive to Cooke, this inevitably created practical problems which will be discussed as they arise. In order to overcome some of these hurdles Cooke found it necessary to appropriate two further Rameauesque ideas, minor harmonics (to be discussed later) and Octave Duplication, to which we turn now.

Although a fundamental sounds the pitches of a major triad these are all from different octaves. A fundamental C string for example sounds the notes of a major triad, G and E, but these are a 12th and 17th higher. In order for the harmonic series to act as a model for musical scales and chords, it was necessary therefore to consider these as being of the same octave. This was made possible through the deployment of a notion known as Octave Duplication, as had already been conceived and used by other theorists such as Descartes, Rameau and Tartini. In view of the fact that Cooke does not explain this critical element of his theory, it is necessary to turn briefly to Rameau for the following account:

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[36]f. 26r.

[37]f. 30r.

> The octave serves as the limits of harmony and of its succession. The near equality of the two terms of the octave gives the ear an impression similar to the terms of a circle, which are so joined that they make only one...Anything exceeding the range of this octave is really only a replica, that is, a repetition of something the octave contains. For this reason, a twelfth sounds like only a fifth...[38]

Through this line of argument Rameau had felt able to argue that although each harmonic of the major triad sounded by a bowed string is of a different octave, diatonic pitches of any octave could be considered as 'replicas' and therefore of the same octave. The fact that Cooke saw no need to explain this theory reflects the degree of acceptance it had achieved amongst music theorists in the eighteenth century.

It is, however, with the next step that Cooke's theory begins to depart from Rameau. Whereas Rameau's aim was to explain chord progressions, Cooke's was to explain scales and tunings as Greek theorists had done. Having established the all-pervading jurisdiction of the mathematical ideal one, three and five, Cooke needed to explain how this could constitute the model from which was obtained all notes used in the diatonic and chromatic scales. To do this he invoked a notion alluded to by the seventeenth-century theorist Mersenne[39] but otherwise unprecedented in music theory, which Cooke termed 'secondaries' and 'trinaries':

> If the two principal and first derivatives (octaves excepted) [i.e. third and fifth harmonics] are but just sensible to an acute ear, their secondaries and trinaries in all probability must be quite overpowered and consolidated into the common mass of sound, and yet they may very possibly exist in the same manner as the sounds of the Principal 12th.[40]

Central to Cooke's explanation of the relationship between sound and music is this idea of what might be termed 'harmonics of harmonics'. Although ostensibly improbable, Cooke was able to supply a convincing mathematical justification for this notion. Through 'secondaries' and 'trinaries' Cooke drew into the musical system further harmonics which (although inaudible) nevertheless conformed to his

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[38]Jean-Philippe Rameau, *Génération harmonique ou traité de musique théorique et pratique* (Paris, 1737), tr. D. Hayes as 'Rameau's Generation harmonique', Ph.D diss., Stanford University, 1974, p. 60.

[39]See Burdette Green and David Butler, 'From Acoustics to Tonpsychologie', in *The Cambridge History of Western Music Theory*, ed. Thomas Christensen (Cambridge, 2002), pp. 251-2.

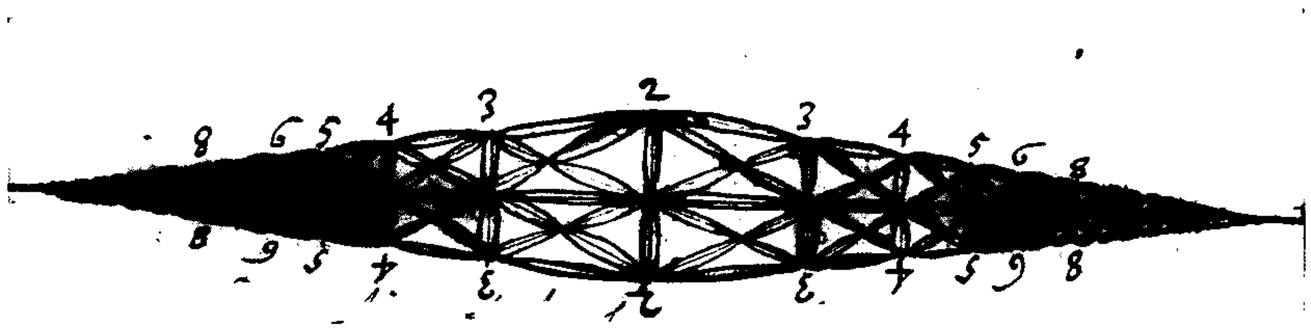
[40]f. 30r.

underlying mathematical exemplar. Thus in addition to the fundamental, third and fifth harmonics he also included their octaves, their thirds, their fifths and so on. This enabled Cooke to present the fundamental and its harmonics as the source for musical pitches in music, whilst disregarding all those non-diatonic harmonics alien to the modern musical system. Explained another way, Cooke believed that by taking into account those harmonics divisible by two, three or five and thereby reducible to one, three or five (e.g. 1,2,3,4,5,6,8,9,10,12,15,16,18 etc) he had found the natural model for the Common Scale along with the various genders of diatonic scale subsumed within it. As will be shown, this is a key point in *Musical Conjectures* through which Cooke felt justified in arguing that the:

> Various genders of different gradation spring from one original cause, namely the perpetual division of the single sounds into their Harmonics, Octaves, Fifths and Thirds, and consequently of the Lines into Halves, Thirds and Fifths, not Only from the first Grand Root or Base Line, (Key Note) but also from every particular line in the whole scale.[41]

It is helpful here to consider Cooke's conception of how a string vibrates, for which he provided a diagram shown in Figure 2.4.

Figure 2.4



Knowledge of string vibration was by now well established, Joseph Saveur (1653-1716) having been the first to draw a connection between overtones and the motion of a vibrating string at the beginning of the eighteenth century.[42] Given Pepusch's Royal Society connections, however, it is possible Cooke was also aware of Francis Roberts' earlier discussion of the vibrating string in relation to the trumpet marine as published in *Philosophical Transactions*.[43] Cooke's diagram is thus consistent with

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[41]f. 25r.

[42]See Green and Butler, 'From Acoustics to Tonpsychologie', pp. 252-4 and Thomas Christensen, *Rameau and Musical Thought in the Enlightenment* (Cambridge, 1993), pp. 135-9.

[43]Francis Roberts, 'A Discourse concerning the Musical Notes of the Trumpet, and Trumpet-Marine, and of the Defects of the Same', *Philosophical Transactions*, 16 (1686-1692), 559-63.

present-day representations, except that he used diagonal rather than curved lines, stating that although 'the suppositious lines in vibration are generally allowed to be circular' this was 'sufficient for present purpose':

> Vibration therefore upon this System is suppos'd to be forming perpetual Triangles not only in the gross motion of the whole Body, but also in the intestine motion of the constituent parts which seems to be consistent with reason and experiment. The string is acted on by two powers at once which are at right angles with each other. Its gross motion is consequently in the Diagonal, which being perpetually multiplied by reaction and subdivision or separation of parts, the motion of its component Fibres may be supposed to resemble this figure in some degree.[44]

Thus the vibrating string divides into two providing the octave, three providing the fifth (or rather 12th) and five, providing the third (or rather 17th). These parts themselves divide into two, three and five providing further diatonic harmonics. Perceived in this way it is only those harmonics useful to music that are demonstrated to result from the 'Base 3d. & 5th' which 'understood either numerically or harmonically equally produce perfect harmony.'[45] Cooke referred to all other harmonics as 'red lines', to be excluded from his system. Their inconsistency with his fundamental mathematical principle was, he felt, confirmed by a falseness of tone quality when played on the trumpet:

> The Trumpet and Horn produce [red lines] in perfect agreement with the Lines and Numbers viz 7.11. 13 (17. 19. 21. 23) but it is with difficulty and the tones appear false to the ear; neither can we perceive them in the Harmonic sounds, for which reasons they are not admitted as Roots but retain'd only as peculiars of Trumpet Gender.[46]

Nevertheless, a scale made up of notes derived from these first three harmonics (e.g. 1,2,3,4,5,6,8,9,10,12,15,16,18 etc.) would still not contain all intervals used in music. Moreover there was no natural basis in the harmonic series for the minor triad. In response to this, Cooke once more deferred to Rameau and Tartini both of whom had established a theory of minor harmonics. Perhaps surprisingly in view of the important part this notion plays in *Musical Conjectures*, Cooke once again does not explain how he believes they operate. He introduces the matter simply stating

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[44]ff. 39-40r.

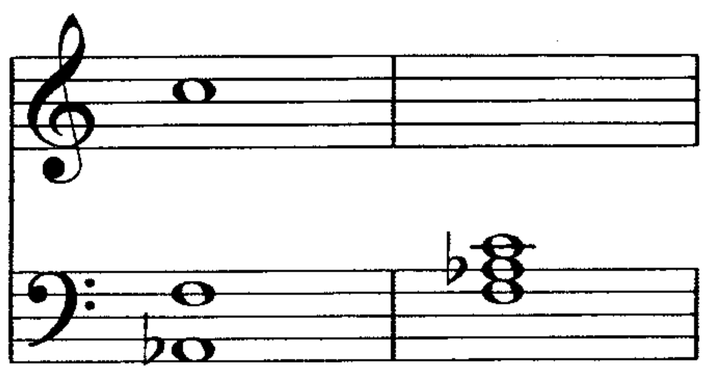
[45]f. 25r.

[46]f. 26r.

that just as 'Nature unassisted clearly forms...the major or sharp keys', there are also 'inferior or Base harmonics, in the same manner tho still less obvious.'[47]

For an explanation of this it is necessary once again to turn to Rameau's *Génération harmonique* in which he described how a sounding string, in addition to harmonics, would also produce reciprocal lower harmonics, consisting of a lower twelfth and seventeenth in surrounding bodies of appropriate length. He observed that if two strings are tuned a twelfth apart and the higher sounding string is bowed 'you will not only see the lower one vibrate as a whole, but you will also see it divide itself into three equal parts, forming three loops of vibration between two nodes or fixed points.' Similarly, two strings tuned a seventeenth apart would cause the lower to divide into five parts.[48] So, according to this theory a fundamental C would cause another string three times its length to sound a major 12th below (F) in sympathy. A string 5 times the length of the fundamental would sound a seventeenth below (Ab) as shown in Figure 2.5. Through this, the same fundamental was shown to generate a triad of C major and of F minor. Whilst the intervals of the major harmonic series are expressed by harmonic proportions: 1:1/3:1/5, the minor intervals are expressed by arithmetic proportion 1:3:5. In this way Rameau presented the sounding string as the generator for both major and minor triads.

Figure 2.5



This was of course a false argument, as strings tuned a twelfth and seventeenth below a sounding string will not vibrate in their totality.[49] One could tune any two strings below a sounding string so long as each had at least one upper harmonic that corresponded to the fundamental of the higher string. As Thomas Christensen has observed, according to this 'nature no more indicates the minor triad than it does the diminished-seventh chord'.[50] Following much criticism Rameau offered a watered

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[47]ff. 42-3r.

[48]Rameau, tr. Hayes, 'Rameau's Generation harmonique', p. 36.

[49]Christensen, *Rameau and Musical Thought*, pp. 148-68.

[50]*Ibid.*, p. 164.

down but similarly spurious version of this theory before replacing it with a quite different 'natural' explanation for the minor triad.[51] Whether or not Cooke knew this in 1769, when he first finished *Musical Conjectures,* is not known. Nevertheless, he signalled an awareness of the controversy surrounding 'inferior harmonics' by countering a rejection of the notion Rousseau had offered in his 1767 Dictionary article under the entry 'Unisson': [52]

> It is an undoubted well known fact that any of the open strings on the Violin and Violoncello will vibrate by Sympathy when the Octave above is sounded on another string of the same instrument and of this good Performers avail themselves continually. Tartini & Rameau (as I am told) have given many other experiments to the same purpose.[53]

Although Cooke's comments in support of minor harmonics are again hardly persuasive there is nevertheless a clear logic to his appropriation of the notion in *Musical Conjectures*. Here Cooke builds on Rameau's initial principle to construct a theory, that in this manifestation is quite unprecedented. Intriguingly, Cooke achieves this by invoking another natural phenomenon that had received much attention over the previous 100 years, the refraction of light. This he equates with the musical procedure of inversion in order to present the minor harmonics as the natural antithesis of the major harmonics.

Like the description of major harmonics already given, minor harmonics are explained in *Musical Conjectures* through Cooke's triangular line diagram of which a complete reconstruction may be seen in Figure 2.6.

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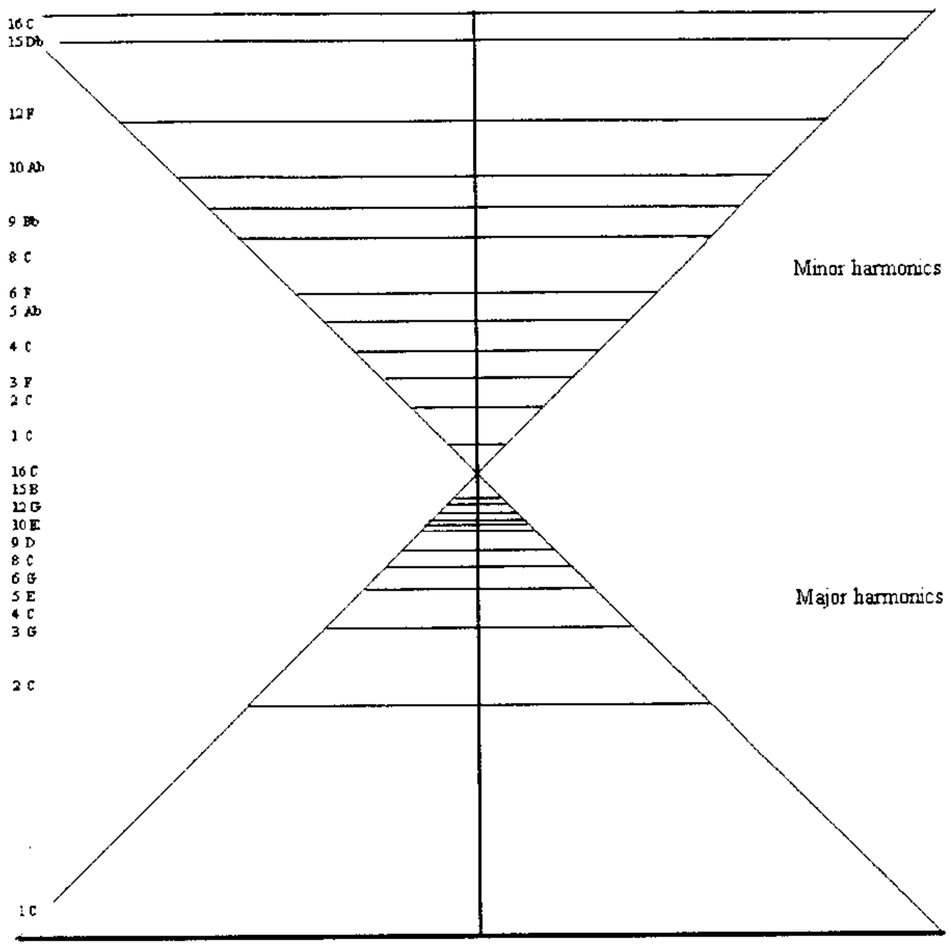
[51]Both theories proposed in Jean-Philippe Rameau, *Démonstration du principe de l'harmonie servant de base á tout l'art musical théorique et pratique* (Paris, 1750), pp. 62-7.

[52]Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Dictionnaire de musique* (Paris, 1766-78), p. 536.

[53]f. 41v.

Figure 2.6



In addition to clarifying the relationships between harmonics and ratios, this also reveals the more general relationship Cooke believed existed between the major and minor modes. Cooke described his representation of minor harmonics (as shown in the upper triangle of Figure 2.6) in the following way:

> First let us invert the scale which will be done by measuring lines in the same proportion to each other as before but beginning at the point and working [up]-ward...this is to divide the string from each end to the Centre, whereas before it was divided from the centre to the ends.[54]

In this way the numbers are 'valued contrary to what they were before. 1 is now shortest line, 2 is double the length of 1, 3 is thrice as long as the first, and so on,'[55] thereby making the lines evenly spaced. Unlike the major harmonics for which the spacing of the lines constantly narrowed through continual division of a string (known as harmonic proportion), for minor harmonics the even spacing of lines reflects continual addition by the same amount (arithmetic progression). Lengthening the upright string in this way has the effect of making the higher notes further apart and the lower notes closer together. Crucially for Cooke, this procedure results in an exact inversion of the natural (i.e. major) harmonic series, thereby

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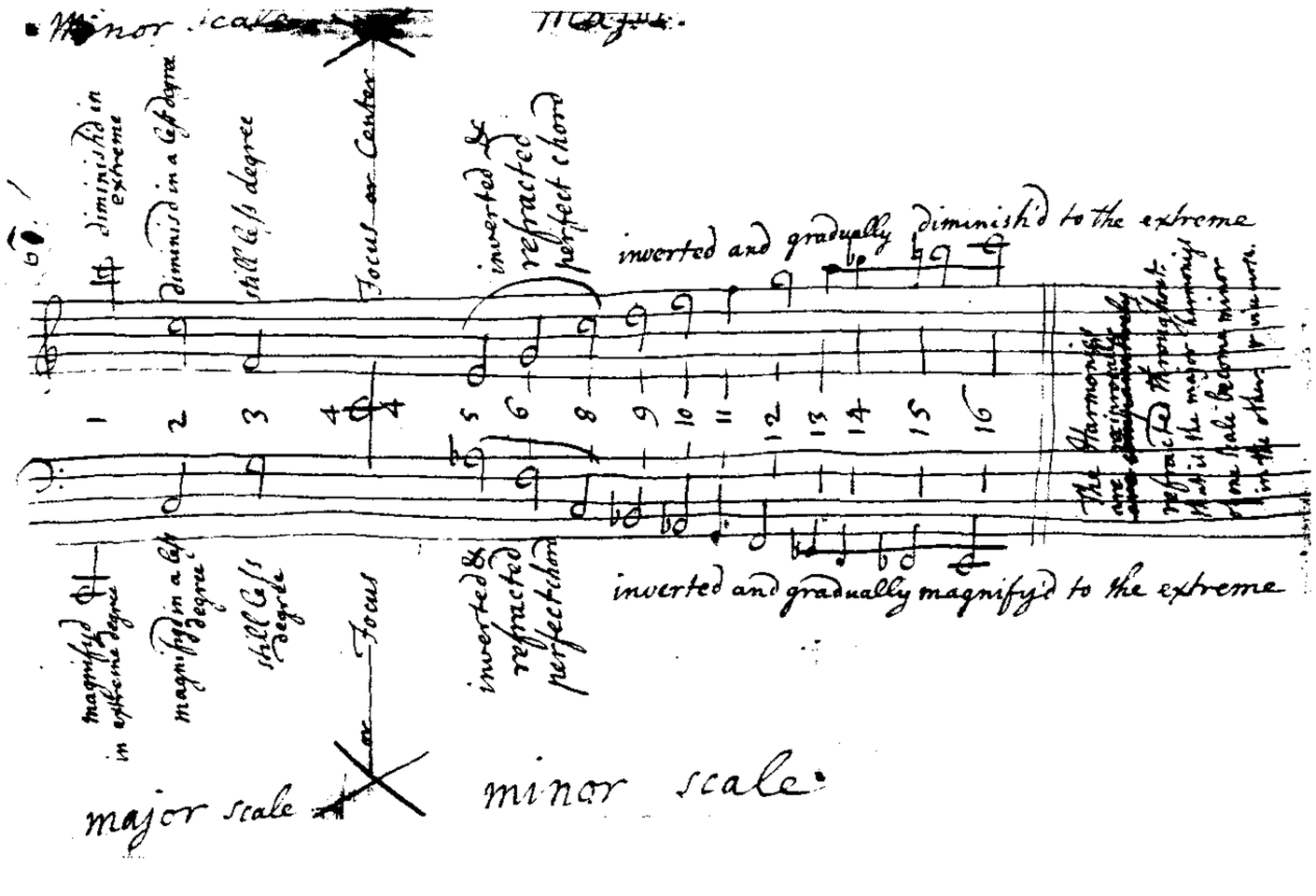
[54]f. 42r.

[55]f. 43r.

introducing minor intervals as shown in Figure 2.7. Furthermore, whereas in the major mode numbers represent the 'comparative swiftness of vibrations', in the inverted minor mode the 'numbers represent the comparative weights of the sounding bodies [i.e. lengths of strings].'[56] This and the whole matter of inversion will become clearer with Cooke's discussion of scales. First, though, it is necessary to consider how Cooke believed the phenomenon of light impinged upon this.

Figure 2.7



There were for Cooke profound implications in the symmetrical appearance of the major and minor harmonic series shown in Figures 2.6 and 2.7. Cooke's use of words such as reflection and refraction is derived from a supposed connection between sound and light for which evidence had been provided by Newton in his work of popular science, *Opticks*.[57] Whether or not Cooke had actually read the work in detail is unknown, but he nevertheless refers to particular aspects of it frequently, claiming for example that he 'shd not have presumed to use these lofty terms [i.e. reflection and refraction] had not that great man Sir Isaac Newton himself discovered the probability of sounds & colours being only diversifications of the same principles.'[58]

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[56]f. 42v.

[57]Isaac Newton, *Opticks* (London, 1704).

[58]f. 59r.

The compound nature of sound (or harmonics) was believed to have a direct correlation in light as shown by Newton's most famous experiment known as 'experimentum crucis'.[59] This revealed sunlight to be a compound of colours, which when refracted through a prism separate into a spectrum of seven colours. Even more importantly, however, Newton identified a correlation between the sines of the seven colours of the spectrum and the ratios between seven notes of the diatonic scale (although it was in fact the dorian mode).[60] This correspondence was subsequently found to be erroneous, and Newton's motives and methodology in arriving at it questioned.[61] Nevertheless the prestige lent by Newton meant that the idea was seized on in the eighteenth century, especially by those interested in the harmonic unity of nature. Cooke's treatment of this subject area must therefore be viewed in the light of this discovery, which would retain currency into the nineteenth century.

Musical Conjectures contains many diagrams and notes concerning sound and light relationships, some of which have been crossed out, suggesting perhaps that Cooke had second thoughts on the matter. In one crossed-out note Cooke suggested that Newton's proportions had been ignored 'because the octave is seemingly not complete,' a reference perhaps to the fact that Newton had discovered the dorian, rather than the major mode. However, Cooke found Newton's intervals to be 'correctly and truly harmonic intervals' expressing 'the key note and perfect chord both major & minor with some but not all the gradual sounds.' He proposed, therefore, that they be 'considered like roots containing the seeds or Embryo of a perfect Scale not yet sufficiently displayed to become an object of sense.'[62]

Cooke's discussion of scales reveals that it was the parallels between reflection, refraction and inversion that most interested him. The equating of colours with sound did not concern Cooke in any way other than that a connection had been established by Newton between sound and light. That being accepted, Cooke identified many parallels of his own between inversion with regard to scales and

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[59]Isaac Newton, 'A Letter of Mr. Isaac Newton, Professor of the Mathematicks in the University of Cambridge; Containing His New Theory about Light and Colors', *Philosophical Transactions*, 6 (1671/72), 3075-87.

[60]Newton, *Opticks*, pp. 91-3.

[61]See Penelope Gouk, *Music, Science and Natural Magic in Seventeenth-Century England* (New Haven, 1999), pp. 237-46, and Christensen, *Rameau and Musical Thought*, pp. 142-9.

[62]f. 63r.

harmonics on the one hand, and reflection and refraction with regard to light on the other. For Cooke, such correspondences were obvious in the reflection of a mirror:

> Every reflected thing becomes inverted in one sense of the word; to prove this hold an open book before a common looking glass, the letters are inverted and the words not legible, this I think may be call'd simple plain inversion and may be expressed thus by contrary motion in the same scale or key; for motion in all mirrors is contrary.'[63]

Although to the modern-day reader such a statement might seem spurious, it is wholly consistent with the climate of empiricism and interest in experimental science prevalent at the time. Moreover, here we see once more the imperative clearly felt by Cooke to establish the existence of natural principles underlying music, for which parallels with light were particularly welcome. By introducing the 'probability of sounds & colours being only diversifications of the same principles', Cooke bolstered this argument considerably and in a most unprecedented fashion. This is demonstrated by the next stage in Cooke's theory with which he introduces Section III of *Musical Conjectures*. Having explained the existence of major and minor harmonics, Cooke presents these as the natural model upon which musical scales are based.

> We have now however done with considering the Scales in Miniature, and proceed to explain them in a more enlarg'd sense. Let every line be understood a single individual sound as it appears to our senses without being analysed into constituent parts; then shall we find that one contains a gradual scale and harmony of the major key from evry Root, and the other does the same of the minor key.[64]

Figure 2.7 expresses Cooke's 16-line triangular diagram (Figure 2.6) in musical notation. Introduced as a means of showing how scales can be derived from harmonics along with their inherent symmetrical properties, this reveals each series to 'separately contain a Diatonic Octave and perfect Harmony twice over.'[65] For this 16-number demonstration Cooke included 'red lines' (lines 13 and 14), although these would ultimately be excluded from his demonstration of the complete chromatic scale. He also omitted 'line 1 because 2 has all the same Pow'rs.'[66]

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[63]f. 59r.

[64]f. 46r.

[65]f. 48r.

[66]f. 47v.

Pitches of the minor series begin in the treble stave, converge with the major harmonics and continue into the bass stave while those from the major series begin in the bass stave and continue into the treble. The numbers against pitches represent line numbers in Cooke's triangular diagram. For the major mode, the root from which everything is generated is C whilst for the minor mode it is C^3 (i.e. the same pitch as line 16 of the major series). In this way Cooke's conception of light and sound relationships are presented in a clear and convincing manner which he elaborates with the following vivid description:

> The Scales must be consider'd as reflecting each other not in a plain but a concave Mirror which on one side the Focus or point where the reflected Rays meet magnifies in different degrees and beyond that central point gradually diminishes and inverts and this completely by turning things upside down still preserving their true tho diminished and inverted proportions; all this has a strong resemblance in musical scales, or at least it appears so to me...The sounds of the Scales like the Rays of Light meet and cross each other at the Center or Focus, so that the Notes of the major scale which begun in the Bass meet the minor scale in the middle note and then cross into the Treble: the minor Scale does the same, begins in the Treble crosses at the center into the Bass, where they reciprocally and completely are inverted in the strictest sense.[67]

Although Cooke was justifiably able to claim he had extracted 'both major and minor keys...from one single root' and demonstrated 'that they are in truth the same proportions inverted', there was still a problem in the fact that these major and minor keys did not share the same tonic. It would have been much more convincing if a single fundamental had been shown to generate C major and C minor as opposed to C major and F minor. It was in part this problem that had led Rameau to drop this particular theory of minor harmonics.[68]

Cooke's treatment of this issue is highly significant as an encapsulation of his Pepusch-influenced approach, according to which both nature and earlier authority were appropriated to account for musical practice. Firstly, Cooke claimed that although in practical music the root of F minor was F, its 'real' or 'scientific' root was in fact its fundamental C. This, Cooke believed, had been made obvious by his discussion of harmonics and their symmetrical properties in which the fundamental C was shown to generate F minor. Cooke nevertheless advised against any 'change

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[67]f. 61r.

[68]Christensen, *Rameau and Musical Thought*, p. 164.

of terms' on account of this discovery, believing that 'we understand what is meant in the present practice very well.' This, Cooke believed,

> Nature insists on so powerfully that all the skill and artifice of the greatest Masters, who not perceiving the reason have endeavoured to elude the use of it, have proved ineffectual.[69]

Though the meaning of this intriguing statement is not entirely clear, it seems likely he was simply emphasising the importance of the minor mode in musical composition. This was a matter frequently discussed by Hawkins, who perceived the minor mode's absence in fashionable music of his day to have been symptomatic of its lack of principle.

Moreover, conscious perhaps of a weakness in his argument, Cooke offered further justification for the existence of differing major and minor key notes through allusion to earlier modal theory. Cooke claimed that the gradual notes in the major scale 'by means of two roots or bass notes will unavoidably be divided authentically'(i.e. C^1-G^1) whilst those of the minor scale 'for the same reason' divide plagally (i.e. C^1-F^1) 'in the usual meaning of the words' (see Figures 2.8, 2.9).[70]

Figure 2.8

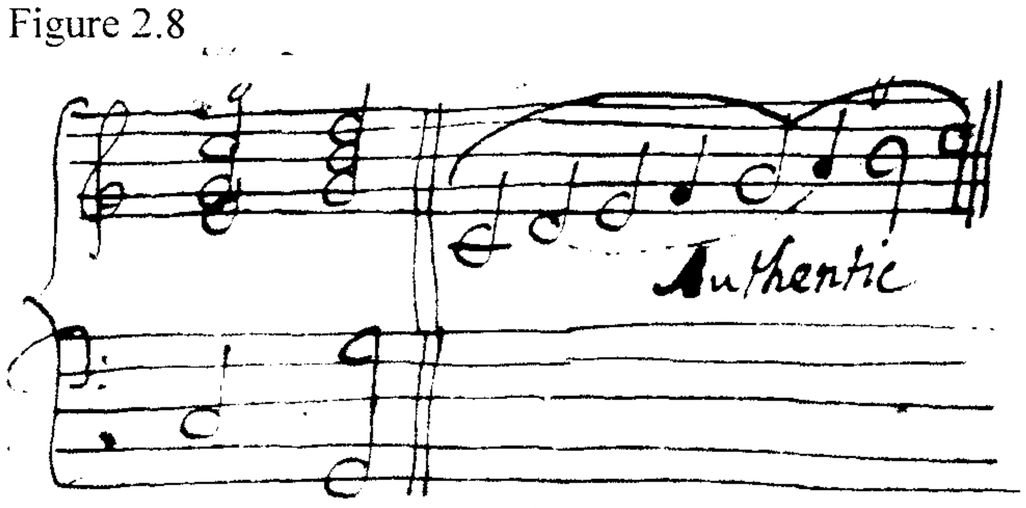
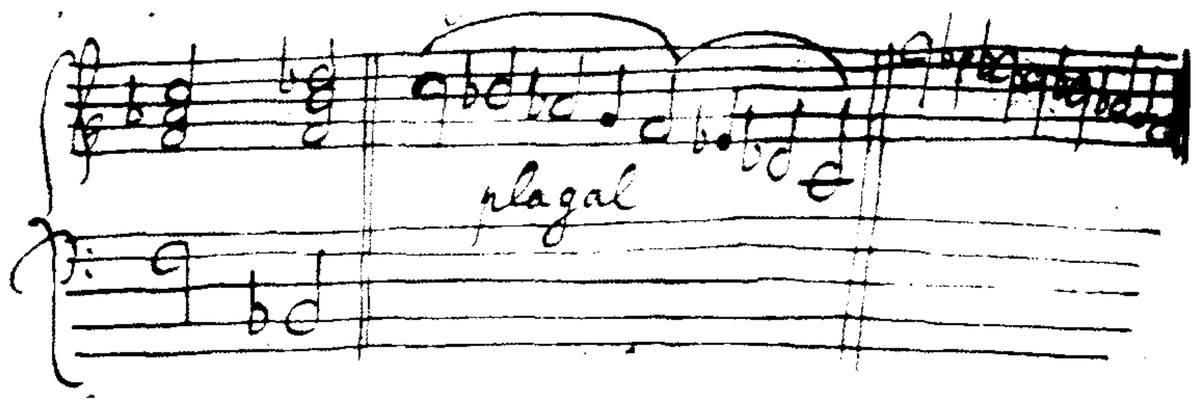


Figure 2.9



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[69]f. 54r.

[70]f. 48r.

Cooke invoked earlier theoretical precedent by likening the minor mode beginning on its fifth as revealed by his minor harmonics to plagal modes in which also divide in the same manner. Although this attempt to adapt theoretical speculation to practice might appear to overstep the boundaries of theoretical rigour, it is not in its logic indefensible. Its significance for us is as a manifestation of the methods used by Cooke to explain all aspects of music's theoretical basis and as a further example of the theoretical preoccupations shared by supporters of ancient music.

In addition to extracting major and minor keys from one single root, there were further conclusions to be drawn from this 16-number demonstration. Cooke observed that it was possible to derive from the major harmonic series its perfect cadence in C (Figure 2.8) and from the minor harmonic series its plagal cadence in F minor (Figure 2.9). For Cooke it was highly significant that 'The lines which form the chords in the minor scale will be found at same numerical places as in the major, only being inverted' (as shown in Figure 2.7). This further bolstered Cooke's argument that the 'plagal' minor mode constituted the inversion and reflection of the 'authentic' major mode.

Finally, Cooke observed that by merging the two scales it was possible to dispense with all but one of the red lines, leaving enough notes for at least two complete keys (C major and F minor). In addition, this 'merging' elicited a further matter of deep significance, which formerly had 'been deemed unaccountable'. This was the revelation of the natural origin of the sharpened seventh in the harmonic minor scale. As the fifth major harmonic (i.e. E), Cooke believed this had been 'traced to its original root' through his investigation of harmonics.[71]

Through this 16-number demonstration Cooke had sought to reveal the natural foundation of a range of elements relating not just to the materials of music but also to musical language itself. In particular, in inversion he had found the scientific bases of parameters essential to the language of music. This was manifest not only in the makeup of scales but in 'the allow'd beautiful effect of contrary motion' and 'the opposition or contrast of major and minor harmony.'[72]

The 16-number demonstration, however, forms only a precursor to Cooke's ultimate objective in *Musical Conjectures*. This was to demonstrate how the 12-note

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[71]f. 53r.

[72]f. 56r.

chromatic scale tuned according to the Common Scale was also founded on the same natural principles, a feat Cooke proposed to achieve 'by the use of 32 numbers'. This he claimed was in imitation of the 'Grecians' who had also 'divided their octave into 32 sounds'.[73]

Before proceeding to examine Cooke's theory in detail, it is necessary to acknowledge two fundamental problems inherent in this approach, one mathematical, the other historical. Firstly, whilst the generation of notes following the model provided by the fundamental, third and fifth harmonics had been an enticing idea for Cooke, it presented a problem typically encountered by those seeking to deploy the harmonic series in music theory. There was no mathematical or 'natural' principle determining how many harmonics or divisions of the monochord string to consider. Whilst the 16-number demonstration described above was convincing as a demonstration of the harmonic series' diatonic and symmetrical properties, the number 16 was arbitrarily chosen by Cooke. In his deployment of mathematics he might as well have chosen any number between one and infinity.

In this way Cooke's predicament recalls early monochord theories of Descartes and Rameau in which they too had divided a string by harmonic proportion, following the sequence 1/2, 1/3, 1/4 etc. In a manner no less arbitrary than Cooke they had dealt with this problem by limiting to six divisions, a procedure known as senary division.[74] There was no convincing mathematical reason for choosing the number six, other than that it accorded with practice and precedent. Descartes, for example, lamely justified senary division by claiming 'the ear would not be keen enough to distinguish greater differences of pitch without effort.'[75] Moreover, the number six had served a similar function for the renaissance theorist Zarlino in his *senario.* In this system Zarlino had limited the ratios of consonance to six 'sounding numbers' (1 to 6), believing the number six to possess metaphysical significance (there being six sides of a cube, six planets in the sky, six days of creation and most importantly, six being the first integer that is the sum of all numbers of which it is a multiple: 1x2x3=6; 1+2+3=6).[76] It can be seen from this that Cooke was by no means alone in

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[73]f. 89r.

[74]Green and Butler, 'From Acoustics to Tonpsychologie', pp. 253-4.

[75]René Descartes, *Compendium of Music*, tr. Walter Robert (American Institute of Musicology, 1961), p. 17.

[76]Thomas Christensen, *Rameau and Musical Thought*, pp. 74-5.

finding no convincingly scientific way of deciding how many string divisions or harmonics to take into account. This was simply an inevitable consequence of the theoretical path he had chosen to take.

Cooke's decision to use 32 equal parts (far in excess of the theories just described) owed in part to his aspiration to account not just for diatonic intervals, but for the entire chromatic scale together with its temperaments. However, a second problem arises with Cooke's argument that in doing this he was following ancient Greek precedent. Although the Greek theorists suggest many different ways of dividing up the scale none are known to have comprised 32 parts; it is not clear, therefore, why Cooke thought the Greeks had done this.

The only near precedents for Cooke's 32 divisions are to be found in more recent theories relating more purely to temperaments. It will be remembered from the discussion of Pepusch's Royal Society paper in Chapter 1 that Huygens had come close to Cooke's figure in his famous scale of 31 equal parts, devised in order to achieve a meantone temperament. Furthermore, in his paper Pepusch had argued that his re-reading of Greek theory showed the Greeks too had used a scale of 31 parts. It will be seen, however, that Cooke's use of 32 parts makes his theory fundamentally different from Pepusch's, even though the two theorists are so closely linked in many other respects. A lesser-known figure, Ambrose Warren, also linked to the Pepusch circle, had published a treatise in 1725 explaining how to divide four octaves into 32 parts as a means of tuning the Common Scale.[77] As it was dedicated to James Hamilton, Lord Paisley (later seventh Earl of Abercorn), who had been an Academician and pupil of Pepusch, it seems likely Cooke would have heard of this too. Nevertheless this theory is wholly different from Cooke's in its nature, scope and aspiration.

Moreover, although all the above mentioned figures believed themselves to be embarked on a single-minded pursuit of scientific truth, Cooke (and of course Pepusch) was to a far greater degree governed by the wish to force musical practice into compliance with ancient Greek music theory. Excepting Pepusch, only Cooke would have gone as far as to proclaim that through his researches he could 'prove

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[77]Warren Ambrose, *The Tonometer: Explaining and Demonstrating, by an easie Method, in Numbers and Proportion, all the 32 distinct and different Notes, Adjuncts or Suppliments contained in Each of Four Octaves Inclusive, of the Gamut, or Common Scale of Musick* (London, 1725).

that our gradual scale in its common or vulgar state unites both the Grecian scales, and contains probably most of their Genders too.'[78]

In Figure 2.10 may be seen the constituent parts of Cooke's scale of 32 numbers from which the 12-note chromatic scale would ultimately be formed. As with the 16-number demonstration above, this consists of two harmonic series, one major and one minor, but now with the red lines excluded. Furthermore, it will be noticed that Cooke's method of inversion differs here from that used for the 16-number demonstration (Figure 2.7). In the latter a particular type of inversion had been deployed, designated by Cooke 'lineal inversion', according to which both scales began at C, two octaves apart and crossed at the fourth harmonic. This was, Cooke explained, 'the easiest and truest way of explaining the major and minor keys.' For his 32-number scale, however, Cooke deployed a different kind of inversion, which he termed 'literal inversion.'[79] According to this, scales crossed at the centre, thereby creating a different symmetrical effect. Once again, in doing this Cooke sought to comply with Greek theory, in which he believed inversion had played a critical part. This was founded on Pepusch's quite incorrect notion (discussed in Chapter 1) that Greek scales ascend as well as descend, each note name being 'double in its sounds'.[80]

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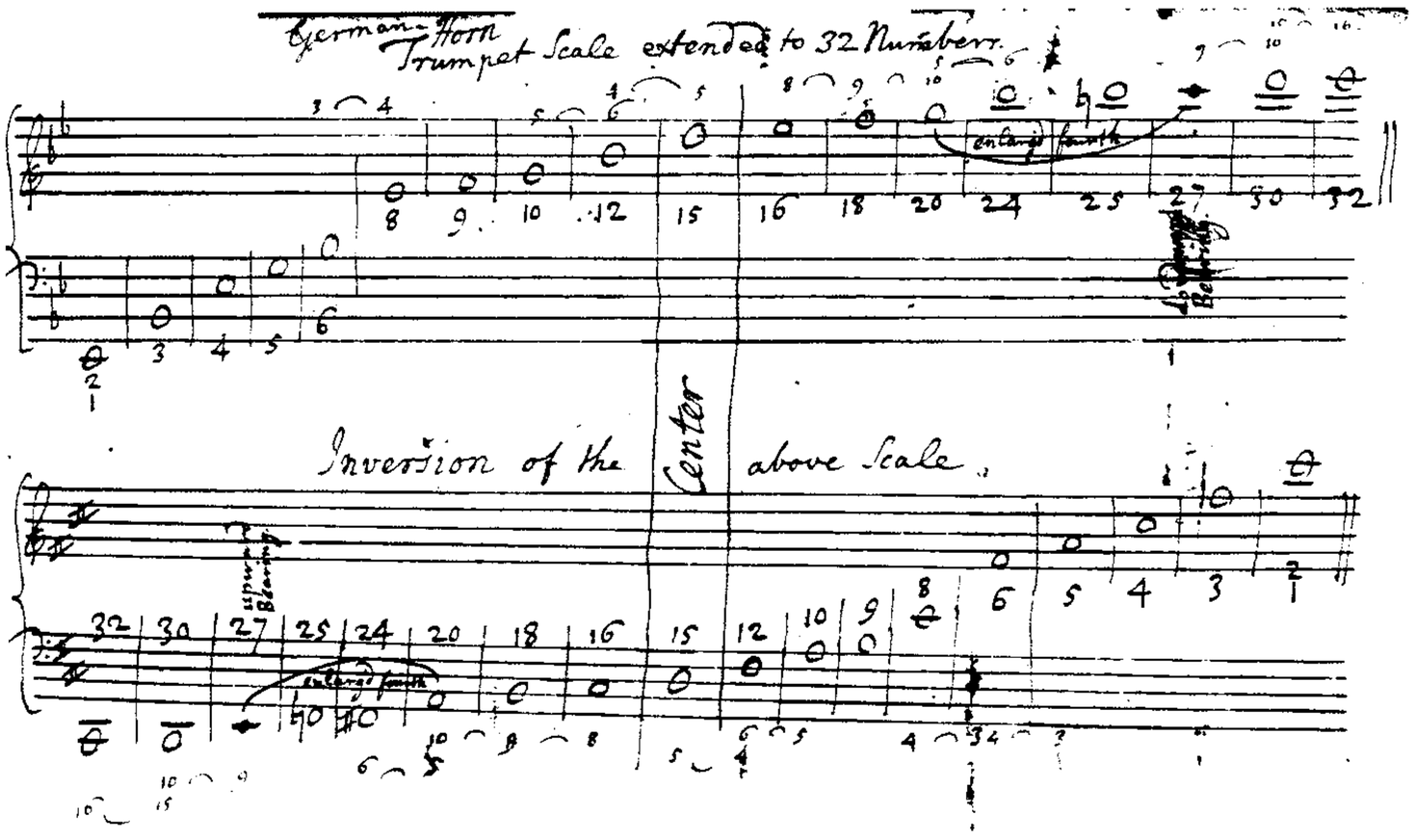
[78]f. 57r.

[79]f. 56r.

[80]This misapprehension formed a foundation stone in the theories of Pepusch, Cooke, Boyce, Travers and others in their circle, with the notable exception of Hawkins who remarked 'there are no notices of any such distinction in the writings of any of the Greek harmonicians', *A General History,* vol. I, p. 39.

Figure 2.10



Owing to its importance for *Musical Conjectures*, it will be useful at this stage to include the following extract from Pepusch's Royal Society paper, in which the theory of 'inverted' Greek scales is explained:

> It was usual among the *Greeks* to consider a descending as well as an ascending Scale; the former proceeding from acute to grave, precisely by the same Intervals as the latter did from grave to acute. The first Sound in each was the *Proslambanomenos*. The not distinguishing these two Scales has led several learned Moderns to suppose, that the Greeks, in some Centuries, took the *Proslambanomenos* to be the lowest note in their System; and, in other Centuries, to be the highest. But the Truth of the Matter is, that the *Proslambanomenos* was the lowest, or highest Note, according as they considered the ascending, or descending Scale.[81]

Although Pepusch's interpretation ultimately proved incorrect, there were a number of reasons why the confusion might have arisen, the most obvious being in the Greek note names themselves, as can be seen in Figure 2.11.[82]

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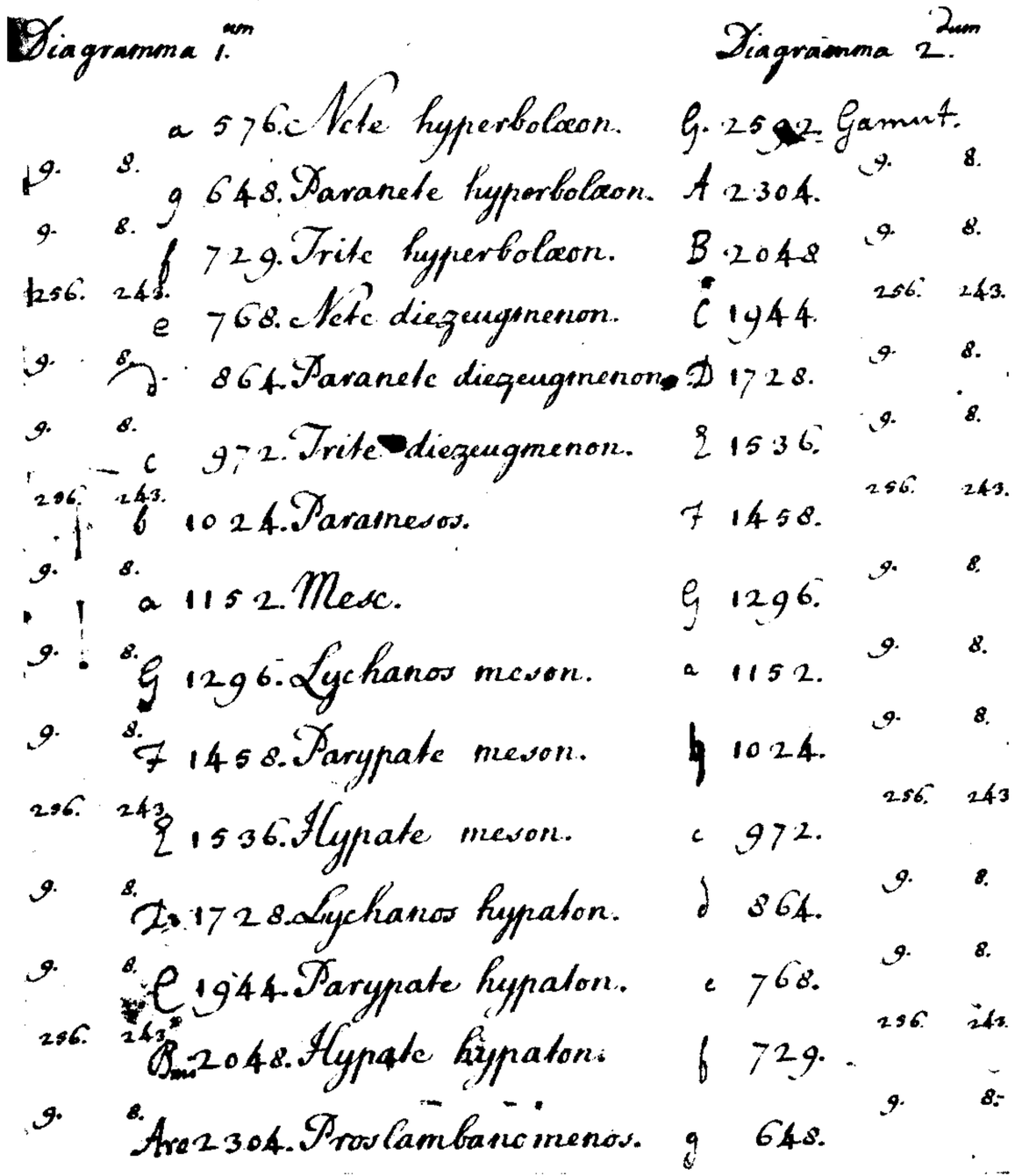
[81] Johann Christoph Pepusch, 'Of the Various Genera and Species of Music Among the Ancients', *Philosophical Transactions*, 44 (1746), 269.

[82] See also Pepusch's representation of this in Chapter 1, Figure 1.1.

Figure 2.11



This is a copy by Cooke from Meibom's volume of Greek music theory texts of the Greek 'Scala Maxima' as conceived by the theorist Gaudentius (fl. 3rd or 4th century CE).[83] Comprising just the Ditonic Diatonic species (as shown in Table 2.1), made up of major tones (9/8) and Pythagorean semitones (256/243), the Scala Maxima conformed broadly to the modern diatonic scale. In this example Cooke has included alongside each Greek note name what he believed to be its equivalents in modern notation. This shows how the Greeks conceived the scale as descending from Nete to Hypate with Proslambanomenos, 'the added note' at the bottom to provide the octave with Mese. The potential for uncertainty was introduced by the fact that the bottom note but one 'hypate' means 'highest,' and the top note 'nete' means 'lowest'. The reason for this was in part to draw a parallel with cosmology. They considered the planets which were the 'highest', that is those most distant from earth to move with the smallest velocity, and to have therefore the lowest frequency (and hence pitch), and those planets nearer to earth (i.e. 'lower') to do the opposite. In this way 'High' in the Greek system equated with low pitch, and 'Low' with high

[83]Marcus Meibom, tr., *Antiquae musicae auctores septem, graece et latine* (Amsterdam, 1652), p. 39.

pitch. Ostensibly, this particular manifestation of the Greek scale also appears to cohere with Pepusch's theory because of its symmetrical structure. According to this 'Mese', is situated in the middle with the diatonic semitones (expressed by the ratio 256/243) symmetrically placed above and below it. Furthermore Gaudentius' inclusion of mathematical ratios (along with their numerical representations) proceeding both up and down only added to the suggestion of an inverted scale. Although Gaudentius did not actually mean that the scale progressed in two directions, it certainly suggested it in the mind of Cooke as is revealed through his inclusion of modern note names which progress both up and down.

More generally, there was a further precedent for the notion of scalic symmetry which, though unmentioned by either Pepusch or Cooke, could have influenced them. This is in the palindromic mathematical descriptions of the chromatic scale to be found in unpublished manuscripts by Newton and Robert Hooke. In her discussion of these sources Penelope Gouk has observed how these Royal Society figures shared a fascination not just for the mathematical make-up of musical scales but also in establishing their symmetry (see Table 2.2).[84]

[84]Penelope Gouk, *Music, Science and Natural Magic in Seventeenth-Century England* (New Haven, 1999), pp. 235-7.

Table 2.2[85]

'Ideal' scale of Newton in the form of a palindrome, ca.1664-5

G		Ab		A		Bb		B	C		C# Db	D		Eb		E	F		F#		G
	15/16		128/135		15/16		24/25	15/16		128/135	15/16		15/16		24/25	15/16		128/135	15/16		
		8/9				9/10		15/16			8/9			9/10		15/16			8/9		

'Ideal' scale of Hooke, also in the form of a palindrome, ca.1675-6

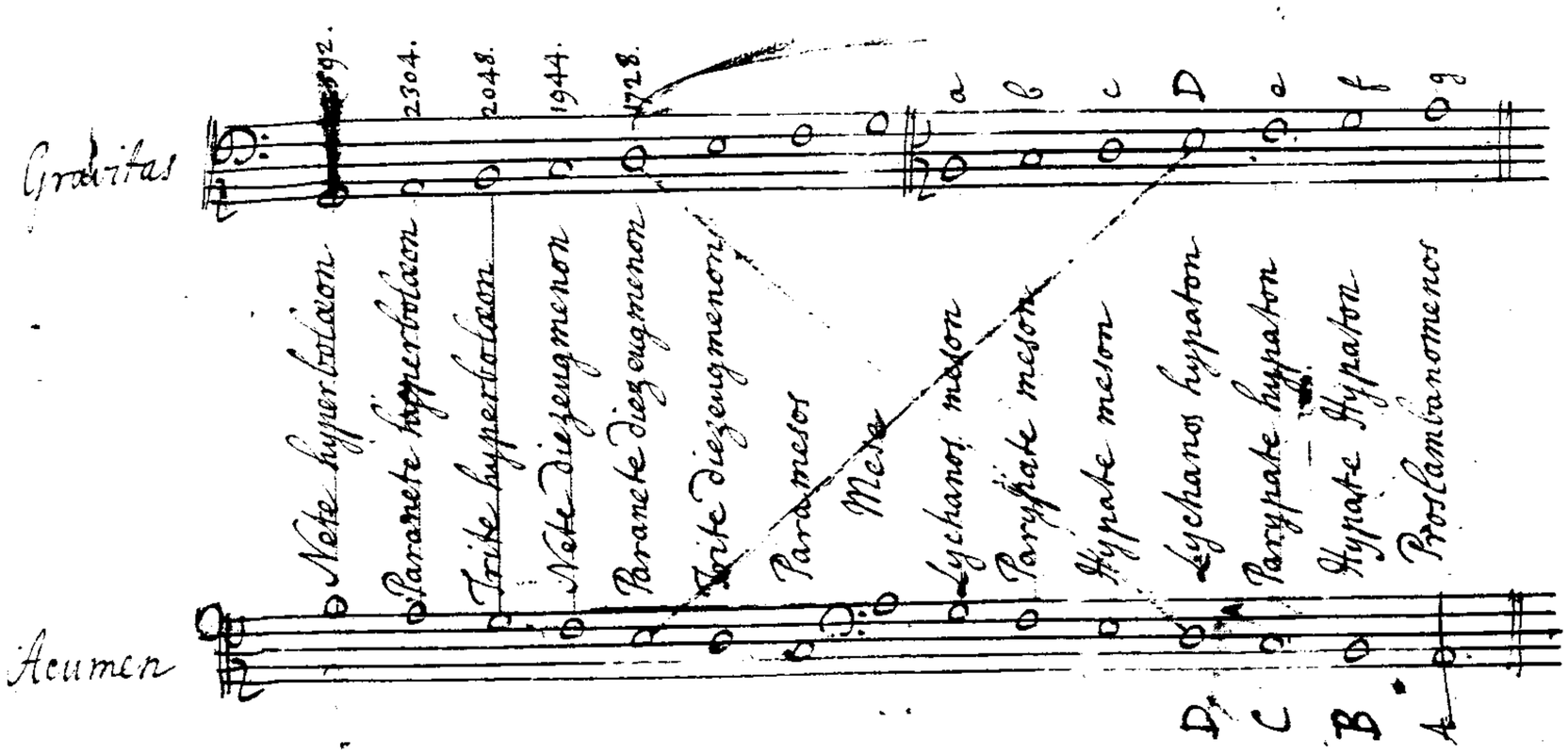
G		Ab		A		Bb		B	C		C# Db	D		Eb		E	F		F#		G
	15/16		24/25		25/27		24/25	15/16		128/135	15/16		15/16		24/25	25/27		24/25	15/16		
		9/10				8/9		15/16			8/9			9/10			8/9			15/16	

[85]Gouk, *Music, Science and Natural Magic*, p. 236.

As a Royal Society fellow, it seems entirely possible that Pepusch could have received this notion of mathematical symmetry in scales from discussions with other fellows and that this could have influenced his reading of Greek theory.

From all this it can be seen how Cooke's conception of a Greek scale 'double in its sounds tho single in its proportions and names'[86] was consistent with a more generally shared understanding concerning the materials of music and Greek theory. Furthermore it can be seen how the 'literal inversion' inherent in his 32-number scale equated with Gaudentius' scale. There were also other correspondences to be observed between the 'inversion' inherent in Greek scales and in Cooke's 'natural' scales. Just as in Cooke's triangular diagrams the ascending major lines express string frequencies and the descending minor lines string lengths, so the numbers in Figure 2.11 indicate a similar inverse relation of frequencies and string lengths. These relationships can be observed more clearly in Cooke's transcription of Gaudentius' Scala Maxima into modern notation shown in Figure 2.12.

Figure 2.12



In Cooke's use of the terms 'Acumen' and 'Gravitas' (the Latin for sharpness and depth) may be observed further concepts borrowed from ancient Greek theory. These terms had played an essential role in expressing the notion of height and depth in the study of pitch relationships, which formed so central a part in ancient Greek theory. Significantly, however, Cooke used them differently. In his triangular line diagrams, Acumen related to the descending minor key 'whose measures are taken from the point' whilst Gravitas related to the ascending major 'whose measures are from the heavy or

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[86]f. 56r.

Base side of the figure'.[87] Following from this, throughout *Musical Conjectures* he termed his major and minor series 'Gravitas' and 'Acumen' respectively.

The deployment of literal inversion, as appropriated from the 'inverted' Greek scale, had many fundamental implications for Cooke's 32-number scale. One of these was that, instead of calculating the scale from the 'grand root' as had been the case for the 16-number demonstration, attention was now focused upon the 'Mese' or middle note. Cooke surmised that in order to accord with ancient Greek practice this should be D. This required careful explanation by Cooke because in the Scala Maxima (according to his conception of it) the 'Mese' in fact corresponded with G in the Gravitas and A in the Acumen. Nevertheless, Cooke sought to argue that if the two scales are 'conjoined together we shall find D to be the common centre of both'. His justification for this was that with 'G & A (in the separate octaves) being the two extremes, D was of course the common Centre G.A.B.C.D.E.F.G.A'. Put another way, Cooke argued that when inverted literally D became the central pitch:

{A.B.C.D.E.F.G.}
{G.F.E.D.C.B.A.}[88]

Guided by a further notion much discussed in *Musical Conjectures* that the design of instruments reflects music's underlying principles (most obviously the trumpet and trumpet marine), Cooke found further justification for equating D as 'Mese' in the arrangement of the keyboard. This, Cooke believed,

> Agrees plainly with the form of the Organ and Harpsichord keys, on which D is evidently the center of the Octave, for the gradation of intervals on each side [of] D above & below it is exactly the same both in the proportion of tuning and also to the sight and the feeling, and in regard to the sharps and flats as well as to the natural notes.[89]

Cooke provided many further reasons for taking D as the central note of his 32-number scale, perhaps compensating for the clear absence of more compellingly 'natural' justifications. This established, Cooke turned to discussion of the 'Grand Root', which in his literally inverted 32-number scale (as will be seen) was inevitably Eb.

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[87]f. 47r.

[88]f. 91r.

[89]*Ibid.*

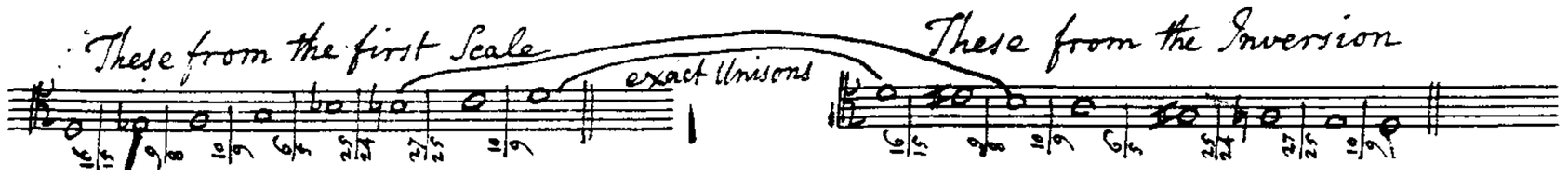
A further implication inherent in the deployment of literal inversion was that it was no longer possible for the fundamental of the major and minor series to be the same note. Just as in the Scala Maxima in which the Gravitas was bottom G and the Acumen top A, in his natural 32-number scale the Gravitas bottom Eb would be equated with an Acumen top C#. As the 'natural and common pitch' of that most 'natural' of instruments, the trumpet, foundation of this scale on Eb suited Cooke's purposes well. To sum up, the 32-number scale consisted of the following components:

> The trumpet proportions applied at the real pitch Eb and inverted by the above literal method which makes D the Center...conformable to the practice of the Grecians, and to the disposition of the Harpsichord and Organ keys, and the scale being extended to 32 numbers.[90]

In Figure 2.10 the sequences of numbers from 1 to 32 as well as indicating line numbers (and harmonics) show the ratio of each adjacent interval, which Cooke clarifies where possible by also reducing to their lowest primes. These numbers are key to Cooke's subsequent merging of the scale as are the notes shown in black. The latter, Cooke claimed, showed 'the true situation of our bearings...which when properly placed will cause the natural semitones [i.e. diatonic semitones] B.C. and E.F. to be wider or larger than any others.'[91] This was important to Cooke's argument, as a key feature of the Common Scale was the greater distance between diatonic semitones as opposed to chromatic semitones.

The final step, presented by Cooke in two stages, was to transpose the Gravitas and Acumen series into a single merged octave. The first stage (Figure 2.13) showed 'the sounds obtained from both scales drawn into one octave, in their original numerical proportions',[92] whilst the second (Figure 2.14) showed the two scales merged into a single ascending chromatic scale which Cooke termed the 'Natural Scale'.

Figure 2.13



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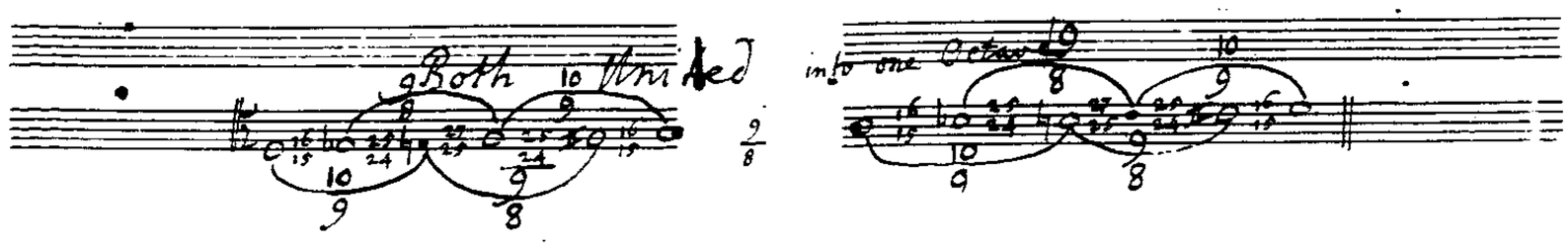
[90]f. 95-6r.

[91]f. 96r.

[92]*Ibid.*

Figure 2.14



Here we see the fundamental objective of *Musical Conjectures*, a revelation of the Natural Scale deduced through recourse to 'natural' principles. Cooke proclaimed this 'a rational explanation of dividing the octave into 32 parts' in which 'the scales are formed by 32 numbers', the Acumen and Gravitas combined in one sequence. This was the natural model upon which he believed the Common Scale was based.

For Cooke, the greater distance between the diatonic semitones (again, expressed by black notes) was a clinching factor in demonstrating his belief that this natural scale represented the natural ideal from which the Common Scale was approximated. Although empirically formed over generations by practical musicians, he believed correspondences between the Common and Natural Scales demonstrated the former to be broadly in accordance with universal principle and ancient authority. However, the correspondence was not in all respects exact. Most importantly, the Natural Scale's enlarged diatonic semitone intervals were in reality a little too great, their spacing in the Common Scale lying somewhere between the enlarged semitone (27/25) and the major semitone (16/15). In addition Cooke explained that:

> [The Natural Scale] like all other limited ones [i.e. scales limited to 12 notes] must have temperaments but there will be fewer from this than any other because two fifths one from C to G and another from A to E with strong bearings are here introduced by, [line] 27. in each scale.[93]

Thus whilst the Natural Scale as expressed in Figure 2.14 formed the theoretical model upon which the Common Scale was based, the latter (as will be shown) still required subtle adjustments inexpressible in ratios. Although such discrepancy between theoretical ideal and practice might seem to undermine his theory Cooke was wholly undeterred, believing there to be sufficient correspondences to justify his belief that the one formed the model for the other. This was evident not least in the different diatonic scales subsumed within the Natural Scale that he believed accorded with the 'genders' of the Common Scale. With the assistance of the mathematical realisation of the Natural Scale it was possible (as will be shown later) to classify these genders into broad categories.

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[93]ff. 96-7r.

To this end, Cooke made the following general observations. In this Natural Scale 'The harmonic thirds' such as D-F#, Eb-G, F-A, G-B, A-C#, Bb-D (but not C-E) were found to be 'perfect'. This was evident in the composition of their intervals, expressed by the ratios 10/9x9/8. However, 'The false related thirds [Those for which only the enharmonic equivalent is available], as from F# to A# and B to D#' agreed 'with the Grecian account of thirds being discordant intervals'. Perhaps most importantly, Cooke found all but two of the 'harmonic intervals [i.e. 4ths]' to be 'perfect', their intervals being expressed by the ratios 10/9x9/8x16/15.[94] The two exceptions were E-A and G-C, comprising the ratios 10/9x9/8x27/25. Each of these exceeded 'their due proportion one whole coma [i.e. 81/80]' which Cooke proclaimed 'is exactly what happens on the common method of tuning.'[95] Significantly both these intervals involved number 27 of their respective series, as described above.

This was of critical importance for Cooke, who believed that through recourse to 'first principles' and the resultant Natural Scale he had unearthed the natural cause and location for the two large bearing intervals in the Common Scale. In Cooke's explanation of this, given below in paraphrased form, it is necessary to remember that in the Gravitas (major) series octaves are achieved by doubling line numbers, thirds by quintupling and fifths by tripling. In the Gravitas the note C (line 27) was different from all others in its series. For most notes of the series, multiplication by three (to attain the perfect fifth) would result in a line number also divisible by two and reducible to another note in the series. For example, multiplication of line 24 (Bb) by three would achieve its perfect fifth (F) at line 72 (24x3=72). Through successive division by two (72,36,18) this was revealed to be the same note as F at line 18 (bearing in mind of course the notion of Octave Duplication, according to which the same degrees of the scale from different octaves were considered as 'duplicates'). Where this was not possible (line 15 (D) and line 25 (B)), the missing fifth could be found in the Acumen series. The exception to this was line 27 (C) for which there occurred an additional imperfect fifth C in the series. Multiplying 27 by three (in order to get its fifth G) resulted in 81, a number not divisible by two and higher than the G obtainable by taking octaves from line 5 (5,10,20,40,80). It was precisely this discrepancy that introduced the Dydimus comma, expressible by the ratio 81:80, and therefore the necessity for temperaments. Exactly the same was so of line 27 (E) in the Acumen, although here intervals descend rather than ascend.

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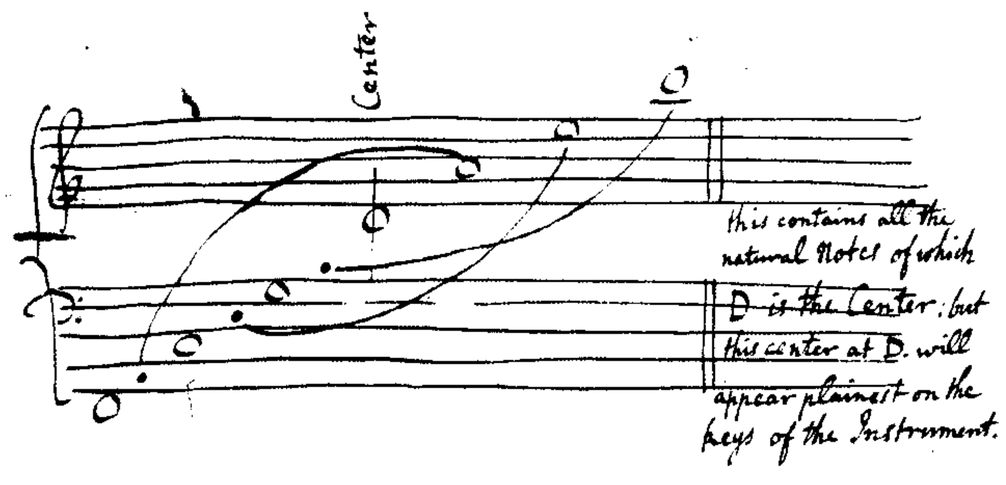
[94]f. 97r.

[95]f. 98r.

In this way Cooke demonstrated how the qualities of inversion inherent in his Natural Scale resulted in the symmetrically placed diatonic semitones (B-C and E-F) situated either side of D, the central note of the keyboard. There was, however, a fundamental weakness in this theory in that the Natural Scale had no G# or Ab. This was a consequence of the physical incapacity of a sounding body to produce a harmonic for the perfect fourth (or its upper octave 'duplications'), a problem encountered by all theorists who had sought to invoke harmonics as a generator for diatonic intervals. In Cooke's 32-number scale there was therefore no fourth above the Gravitas root (Eb) or below the Acumen root (C#), which in both cases would have been G#/Ab. Despite expending several pages examining the mathematical reason for this absence and referring to Gaudentius, Morley and others, Cooke could provide no solution to the problem, concluding simply that the note did not exist in the Natural Scale. Nevertheless, as the most problematic note in the Common Scale its absence was, as will be seen, a blessing in disguise.[96]

Having described the Natural Scale, Cooke turned to discussion of the Common Scale. In order to further illustrate the correspondences between his Natural and Common scales, Cooke provided a partial illustration of how the latter was tuned, couched in a form designed to make a particular point (see Figure 2.15).

Figure 2.15



In this the fifths were 'represented at full length only to make it easier understood' the principal purpose being to demonstrate how this tuning method engendered the Didymus comma:

> If all the fifths are tun'd to their full perfection, then will the black notes tun'd perfectly as intermediate thirds not make true Octaves to the others which are tun'd as perfect fifths respectively to each other; the difference is just the same as before explaind (81.80) and settled in the same manner; only here the Pitch

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[96]Rameau and Descartes had referred to the fourth as a 'shadow of the fifth', considering it as a lower octave replication of the fifth (see Thomas Christensen, *Rameau and Musical Thought*, p. 94). This, however, was an expedient not applicable in Cooke's harmonic series related theory.

being assumed at D, C must bear upward and E downward comparatively to D.[97]

This was in part how the Common Scale's distribution of intervals reflected the Natural Scale, in which lines 27 in both Gravitas and Acumen introduced the very same main bearing intervals. In addition, the Common Scale also required 'a gentle imperceptible bearing from the extremes toward the center' by contracting certain other fifths, although Cooke does not specify which. Finally, a single enlarged fifth between Ab and Eb was necessary, achieved by lowering the problematic G#/Ab. The requirement to justify this anomaly was fortuitously obviated by the fact that this note was absent from the Natural Scale. Not subject to the model of nature, it did not matter where it was placed.

From all of this Cooke believed he had established the universal basis for the Common Scale in the Natural Scale. This was of critical importance to him. Unlike the more in-depth and developed theories set out by other Enlightenment musicians such as Rameau and Tartini, *Musical Conjectures* does not cover in detail every aspect of music as might justify Cooke's universalist exhortations quoted earlier. For Cooke however his findings nevertheless enabled him to make the points of principle he wished to make. In this, he was wholly undeterred by any shortcomings inherent in his theory, of which there were several. Foremost among these were his deployment of literal inversion and his choice of the note D as his Mese or central note in the 32-number scale. In such strategies, Cooke's manipulation of Greek theory and natural principle seems unconvincingly motivated by the need to make immutable principle comply with practice, rather than the other way round. In this and other such instances, Cooke comes perilously close to fatally undermining the epistemology he outlined at the outset. Nevertheless Cooke's theorising, like that of Pepusch described in Chapter 1, remains of considerable interest as a record of the manner in which Cooke and his circle deployed science and Greek theory as a way of furthering their particular understanding and view of music. This becomes clearer in the lengthy conclusions Cooke draws from his deduction of the Natural Scale, which in many ways is the most interesting part of *Musical Conjectures*. It is here that Cooke's deployment of Greek theory is most insightful and where arguably *Musical Conjectures* contributes most to our knowledge of musical thought in later eighteenth-century England. Before exploring this, we will first briefly examine the implications Cooke felt his discoveries had concerning the theoretical work which initially gave rise to *Musical Conjectures*, Smith's *Harmonics*.

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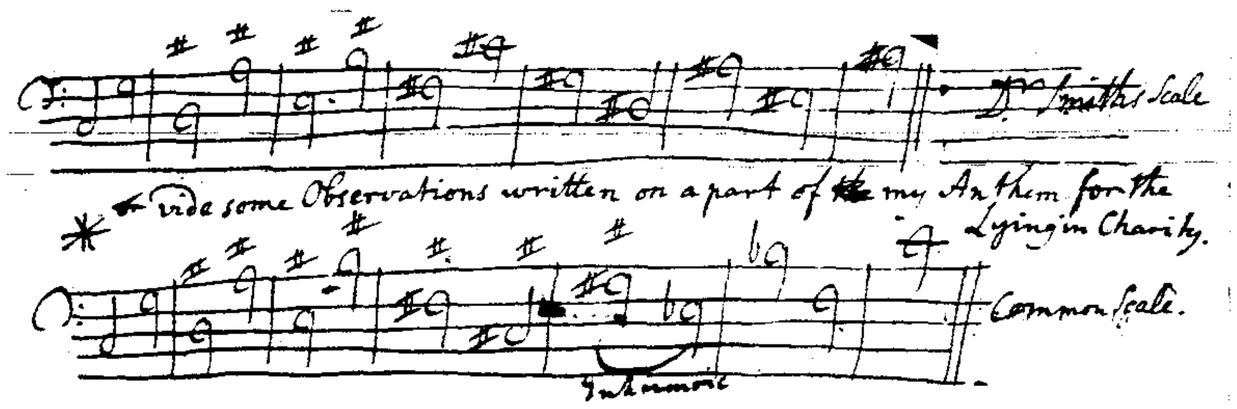
[97]f. 99.

Cooke's opposition to Smith's proposals constitutes much more than an obscure dispute about a long-forgotten system of tuning. It is testimony to the defining belief shared by supporters of ancient music in music's predication upon natural and universal principle. Viewed in this light, Smith's proposal to introduce greater uniformity into the scale by adding extra sounds to the organ keyboard constituted for Cooke a threat to the entire musical system. Of the many dangers posed by Smith's *Harmonics,* the most serious concerned modulation and thus the 'language of harmony' itself. In the Common Scale, despite the variations in intervals it was nevertheless possible to modulate through the entire cycle of fifths, and most importantly across the enharmonic divide. As Cooke constantly reminds his reader, such modulations though 'frequently employ'd by many great Masters'[98] were impossible on Smith's instruments, tuned to his temperaments. In the case, for example, of Smith's 'Perfect scale' Cooke explained 'every fifth...has at least one quarter of coma bearing...so that in a deduction of 12 rising fifths, the Pitch must have sunk 3 whole comas'[99] (Figure 2.16). Whereas in the Common Scale bearings were compensated by the enlarged fifth below Eb across which it was still possible to modulate, on Smith's instruments there came a point at which 'circular modulation' could proceed no further. By corrupting the scale in this way, Cooke believed a parameter of composition crucial to the music of the finest ancient composers was no longer available.

Figure 2.16



Another of Cooke's many objections to Smith's proposals was that the additional sounds could in theory be deployed for reasons other than their intended purpose. Cooke feared 'an affectation of novelty' woud induce future composers and performers to employ 'these additional sounds as key notes or principals.'[100] Although Cooke applauded the deployment 'by Masters' of extreme keys of the Common Scale, the latter contained just one enlarged fifth whereas the additional sounds on Smith's

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[98]f. 115r.

[99]*Ibid.*

[100]f. 128r.

instruments allowed for several such intervals. Cooke asked 'what should prevent [composers or performers] employing F as the fifth below Dbb or why should they not take D as fifth above F##.' In this way Cooke feared that 'Dr. Smith's scale under the appearance of remedying the old defects does in truth introduce a fresh repetition of them with every new sound.'[101] As Cooke eloquently put it:

> The Wolf [i.e. the enlarged fifth] who was before chain'd down to one spot where on some occasions he was thought useful if properly employ'd is set at liberty to ramble and destroy the whole scale.[102]

Cooke expressed many further objections to Smith's proposals on account of what he saw as their inherent contravention of nature. These further demonstrate Cooke's view of the Common Scale as an integral element in a language of nature for which any adjustments could have catastrophic results. Perceived in these terms, the following condemnation of Smith's innovations with which Cooke concluded *Musical Conjectures* is by no means as outlandish as it might seem:

> These instruments of Dr. Smith's if generally admitted would lead to a total destruction of Music, for the pursuit is without end, and the augmentation multiplies at evry step; musicians vying with each other, wou'd invent Ten thousand Extravagancies yet unthought of, and thus Music would become so much more difficult and intricate than it is already that few would undertake either to study or practice it unless oblig'd to it, and whenever this happens its downfall must quickly ensue.[103]

Cooke's agenda, however, entailed more than simply the repudiation of Smith's theories. Ultimately Cooke sought to establish that the modern system, when tuned according to the Common Scale, shared with the ancient Greek musical system a common root in universal, natural principle. Cooke believed adherence to this principle had made possible both the extraordinary effects attributed to music in ancient Greek literature and the music most admired by supporters of ancient music. It is to these more purely musical matters that we turn now.

Cooke's discussion of 'Gender' and his belief that the various diatonic scales inherent in the modern unequally tempered system of music equated with the Greek genera constitutes one of the most remarkable elements of *Musical Conjectures*. This was a

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[101]f. 118r.

[102]f. 119r.

[103]f. 138r.

theoretical approach broadly shared by Pepusch (as has been shown) and his pupils, Cooke's chief distinction being his association of it with harmonics. The significance of *Musical Conjectures* is, however, heightened still further when considered within the wider context of the Cooke circle. Although the related theoretical writings of Pepusch's other pupils are also of significant interest, they consist almost exclusively of lengthy mathematical workings, making them virtually unintelligible to the uninformed modern-day reader. *Musical Conjectures,* on the other hand, contains extensive explanations of the supposed significances of Greek theory thereby illuminating not just Cooke's position but also that of this school of thought more generally. Informed by his conception of the Natural Scale, Cooke's understanding of the correspondences between the ancient and modern systems is indicated in broad terms by the following statement:

> It appears that the Grecian scale resembles ours in these circumstances, that they tun'd the gradual intervals variously...that they had a Diatonic scale...and a Scala Maxima, the former we retain in our natural keys, and the latter in our extreme keys.[104]

Cooke enlarged upon this by saying that the Scala Maxima (comprising the Ditonic Diatonic species in Table 2.1) approximated to the 'scale of our extreme keys as commonly tun'd in the minor key ascending from Bb.' Similarly he believed the Greek 'Concinous' scale (a term invented by Pepusch to describe the diatonic scale comprised of the Tense Diatonic species) bore greater similarity to modern scales with fewer accidentals. Whilst the scales of the ancient and modern systems did not match perfectly, they were nevertheless governed by the same mathematical principles and thereby manifested the same minute variations in intervals. In this light, the complexity commonly perceived in the Greek system was found to be more apparent than real. Cooke argued that the Greek system was 'nothing more than an attempt minutely to describe by Numbers what we sh[oul]d now call bearing Intervals.'[105] Whilst the Greek genders were expressed in ratios, in the modern system gender differences were understood simply in terms of key differences. Moreover, as Cooke had shown, one of the reasons why the bearings of the Common Scale were not explained in terms of ratios was that due to their complexity, this was scarcely possible:

> If we were like them to be oblig'd to define all our bearing intervals of our several Instruments as well as the Organ by numbers our scale wou'd seem when compar'd to what we usually reckon the Diatonic, at least as intricate and unaccountable as

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[104]f. 109r.

[105]ff. 111-12r.

> theirs; but I believe this is scarcely possible to be done, our bearings are too minute to admit of it.[106]

Although in the modern system tuned according to the Common Scale Cooke perceived a musical language to parallel that of the Greeks, this shared level of sophistication had been achieved via different means. Whilst the Greeks had opted for differing genders through choice, the moderns had simply chanced upon them by devising the 12-note system:

> We must remember that it is suppos'd they tuned variously not for the same reason that we do which is in order to reconcile the different keys, but they deviated from truth by way of refinement and excellence tuning their Instruments differently for different pieces.[107]

The idea that the modern diatonic system with its Common Scale had been established empirically rather than through philosophy (as the Greeks had done) is a recurring theme in *Musical Conjectures*. Cooke believed it was only in the music by 'masters' of the previous 200 years that the real potential of the modern system had been realised. In this 'the modern art' had at last been able to supersede the ancients by exploiting not only gender but also the greater simplicity of the modern system:

> With an inconsiderable number of gradual sounds, (only 12. in the Octave) we reap all the advantages of a real Infinity.'[108]

For Cooke, the modern system enjoyed a further advantage in its system of notation. Cooke argued that the Greeks being 'ignorant of our ingenious lines and spaces' had been 'obliged to have recourse to numerical ratios.' The system of the Moderns, on the other hand, was not only more practical but also more effective as a means of musical expression:

> We express the same sound, when us'd in various keys, by different characters, always regarding the Effect it makes in the gradual Scale, and not its real quantity; theirs regarded nothing but the real quantity, and left the effect to speak for itself...our Characters pay no sort of regard to the proportions or real quantity; we do not distinguish even the major progression from the minor, the whole tone and the semitone.[109]

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[106]ff. 109-10r.

[107]f. 109r.

[108]*Ibid.*

[109]f. 108r.

This was particularly significant for Cooke's subsequent discussion of musical examples, in which he sought to demonstrate the advantage of modern keys as a means of rationalising and optimising the effectiveness of genders. Yet it was in part modern notation that had obscured the correspondences between ancient and modern music. Cooke believed such correspondences were nevertheless present and were to 'be found blended by the common stops of the organ'. This was an idea Cooke returned to throughout *Musical Conjectures* involving comparison between the twelfth stop and corresponding pitches a 12th or 5th below on the 8- or 4-foot diapasons. Cooke stated:

> The Enharmonic Diesis 128:125 [is present] in several places, but more particularly D# and Eb will be heard both truly express'd by comparing together the Diapasons and Twelfth on separate Rows of Keys, without inserting any new sound; and when the instrument is well tun'd, I sincerely believe, the Lemma 256/243 and Apotome 2187/2048 will also both be found between G. G# and A.[110]

Much more important for this study are the different genders Cooke understood to exist within the Common Scale and his categorisation of these into three different groups, in a manner directly reflective of the three Greek genera:

> Upon examination we shall find three different Genders of the Major key in common use; viz: C. Eb. & E. the two last have no transpostions; the first sev'ral, nearly tho not perfectly exact; there are three more not us'd as principals B. C#. & F#. besides that exceptional one G#.// and the Minor keys are more numerous and various.[111]

Cooke's conception of the 'extreme' keys B, C#, F#, G# and their enharmonic equivalents as transitional, and of E, Eb and C as principal genders is fundamental to his understanding of musical language. Before exploring this intriguing insight into eighteenth-century music theory further, it is useful at this stage to determine the extent to which this classification corresponds to Cooke's Natural Scale as shown in Figure 2.14. This shows that whilst in broad terms Cooke's genders do correspond to his Natural Scale, this correspondence is not total. Cooke's understanding of the extreme keys as being irregular and imperfect is clearly reflected in his Natural Scale where they comprise varying and irregular non-superparticular ratios. Whilst there certainly are broad categories of transposable 'gender' to be identified in the Natural Scale, these appear to be based on the keys Eb (with transpositions in G and Bb) and D (with

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[110]f. 135r.

[111]f. 136r.

transpositions in F and A) rather than C which could have no transpositions, it being the only major key to include the two enlarged diatonic semitones. Thus according to Cooke's Natural Scale, scales of the D gender all share the same first three intervals (10/9,9/8,16/15) whilst the scales of the Eb gender share the same first two intervals (9/8,10/9) and final three intervals (9/8,10/9,16/15). Moreover each of the three main genders (including the untransposable C gender) consist predominantly of the diatonic ratios of Greek theory (i.e. major tones (9/8), minor tones (10/9), major semitones (16/15) and minor semitones (24/25)) whilst the remaining keys do not.

Without a more finished treatise from Cooke it is both unhelpful to delve further into this and impossible to resolve fully why, for example, Cooke thought the key of C could be transposable. It is feasible, though, that such inconsistencies are to some degree explained by Cooke's assertions that the Natural Scale formed only the model for the Common Scale, whose bearing intervals were in reality too subtle to be expressed precisely. Such inconsistencies notwithstanding, Cooke's researches as shown present a clear case for his conception of gender, in which modern musical language not only paralleled the vaunted sophistication of the Greek system but exceeded it.

A recurring theme throughout *Musical Conjectures* is the belief that although the Greeks had discovered the principle upon which music was founded, they had not ultimately succeeded in realising its potential. If anything, Cooke believed the actual music of the Greeks to have been primitive. For him the decisive superiority of the modern system was in modern chord progressions, harmony and modulation. It was here that the true potential for expression in music had been most fully realised, in which gender played an inherent and inseparable part. In contrast to the excessive complexity of the Greek system, a central feature of the modern system was its rationalisation of keys (and Genders) into two modes:

> The moderns have reduc'd them all to two Harmonical Genders (or Sexes), namely the Major or sharp Key which is nervous, robust or masculine, (intense durum) and the Minor or flat key, which is soft, tender (or feminine molle). Sharps in some degree masculate or harden the minor keys, and Flats feminize or soften the majors.[112]

Moreover, the irregular intervals of the Common Scale enabled 'melody and the harmony [to] counteract each other'. Thus 'In the major key of Eb...the melody is

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[112]f. 137r.

softened and made delicate by the diminished semitone [between] G [and] Ab, while the harmony by the same means is rendered very nervous and robust, (almost fierce) by the increased third and fifth at Ab.' Similarly sharps, 'the extreme ones particularly', made the expression of major keys more intense, whilst flats did the same by minor keys.[113] With regard to the different qualities to be achieved by sharpward and flatward modulation Cooke observed:

> One ascends to transport, the other droops to Melancholy; but then these Effects, like the vehemence of the passions they aim at, cannot last long; when overdone they degenerate into Bombast or Fustian, like a bad imitation of the Sublime; the equivocal sharps are edge tools apt to wound those who use them unskillfully; by adhering to the perfect part of the scale we are sure to avoid giving Offence.[114]

Although extreme keys could be highly effective in the expression of certain affections if used with skill and discretion, Cooke believed it was necessary to counterbalance these with the use of more perfect keys.

The importance of Cooke's interest in gender becomes most apparent in his discussion of it in connection with actual musical works. Cooke believed that it was only in the works of those periods and styles performed at the Academy of Ancient Music that the expressive potential inherent in the modern system had been fully realised. Through a judicious utilisation of genders and modulation, perfection in nature had facilitated perfection in music. Through the mathematical ideal of the Common Scale, certain composers of the earlier eighteenth century and before had communicated in music that archetypal true language so sought after in Enlightenment arts. Through this convergence of art and universal principles, these composers had unwittingly articulated a timeless mode of expression overriding fashion.

In order to demonstrate this, Cooke provided long lists of works (both instrumental and vocal) in which he identified points where the parameter of modulation and gender had played a decisive part in the composition (see Appendix 1). These examples generally entail modulations to unrelated keys, chromaticisms and enharmonic changes. Works listed include oratorio movements by Handel, cantatas by Alessandro Scarlatti and other seventeenth-century Italians, instrumental works by Corelli, along with works by composers of the English cathedral tradition.

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[113] *Ibid.*

[114] f. 138r.

Cooke cited, for example, Handel's aria 'Return O God of Hosts' from *Samson*, identifying the words 'Distress' and 'Griefs' where flats are introduced, effecting sudden modulations. He also noted the second section of the movement where the intensity of expression is compounded by a chromatic exploration around the key of C minor (Example 2.1). Cooke also noted the famous cantata settings of 'Andate o miei sospiri' by Alessandro Scarlatti and Francesco Gasparini, through which they had famously competed with each other in their use of expressive chromaticism. With regard to instrumental works Cooke cited the violin solos of Corelli and Geminiani, where they modulate 'into C# and G# minor keys'. Similarly in movements that include the keys of A and E major Cooke explained that 'the return to the first key [is] render'd more beautiful by contrast with those imperfect keys.' Other works mentioned by Cooke include 'the Anthems & Services intended to be perform'd on the Organ only of Purcel, Croft, Blow, Humfreys, Weldon, Hall, Hine, Greene' and others.[115]

More generally, Cooke explained, 'The expression of these keys consists...not only in the Melody which by lessening the Semitones is generally allow'd to be improv'd, but also under some circumstances in the Harmony, by the excess of the major thirds and Sixths, and diminution of the Minors.'[116] Although it was purely through a 'judgment and discretion,' that composers were able to utilise genders to such effect Cooke believed this effect was ultimately founded in natural principles and that a precedent for this could be found in Greek music theory.

As important as Cooke's discussion of Gender in connection with works by other composers is its role in his own music. Although Cooke's interest in universal principles cannot account for all his choices as a composer there are nevertheless many works where it does. One such example may be seen in the first movement of an anthem by Cooke entitled *Anthem for the Lying in Charity* (Example 2.2). Surviving incomplete in just one autograph score in the Cooke Collection (RCM MS 808, ff, 47-51), it consists of three completed movements with a fourth incomplete. Scoring is for voices and organ with instrumental cues indicated. Although no parts are known to exist, for the first movement (to be discussed here) this does not in any way negate its musical effectiveness. Composed for five voices (SSATB) the score indicates that in this movement instrumental parts simply doubled vocal parts.

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[115]f. 122v.

[116]f. 122r.

The work's relevance to Cooke's theoretical outlook is revealed not least by an inscription at the top of the first folio stating that it was 'Intended as an instance of advantage gaind by maintaining the common Scale of the organ.' Further inscriptions indicate how Cooke also viewed the work as an embodiment of his ideas relating to Ancient Greek music theory. This anthem movement is also, however, of considerable importance as a hugely powerful musical statement in its own right. Couched in the manner of a Restoration full anthem movement (bearing comparison to Purcell's 'Hear my Prayer'), its musical language is nevertheless re-synthesised in a manner peculiar to Cooke's age. The text, taken from Genesis 3:16, deals with God's punishment of Eve, thereby presenting a grimly appropriate vehicle with which to express meaning through harmony.

> The lord said unto woman; I will greatly multiply thy sorrows in thy conception.
> In sorrow shalt thou bring forth children.

The movement begins with a six-bar intonation for solo bass voice on the words 'The lord said unto woman' after which it comprises two quite different sections. The first consists of a complex five-part polyphonic setting of 'I will greatly multiply thy sorrows in thy conception'. Here, Cooke exhibits a manifestation of uncompromising complexity, somewhat at odds with the simplicity to be observed in many of Cooke's other anthem movements. Lacking concise motives, the chief means of effect is a restless modulation, brought about by a highly effective interweaving of vocal lines. Proceeding through a 10-bar sequence of modulating fourths, arranged in an almost regular rhythm of one key per bar Cooke evokes a palpable sense of sadness and trauma. From its opening point of imitation in the home key of C minor the movement progresses immediately to the relative major E flat (bar 8), then D flat, at which point Cooke transfers to the minor mode. In keeping with his predilection for flatward modulation the progression then passes through 11 minor keys, returning to E flat at bar 21. Throughout the sequence a sense of restless and burgeoning dissonance is conveyed, assisted by seemingly endless entries on each part of the word 'multiply'. Following the return to E flat, Cooke affects one further subdominant modulation to the key of A flat major at which point harmonic rhythm eases as a climax is achieved. Here the word 'sorrow', sung by the first trebles with a sustained six-beat Eb^2 serves as a focal point to the movement as a whole (bars 21-4). Of particular importance is a momentary deployment beneath this pedal of the chord of A flat (bars 21-2), containing the very intervals Cooke believed rendered the harmony 'nervous and robust, (almost fierce)' on account of 'the increased third and fifth at Ab'. This is then resolved by modulation via a diminished 7th (bar 25) to a perfect cadence in G major (bar 26), followed by a general pause, creating a hiatus exactly midway through the movement.

The movement's second half (to which the second section of text is set) offers an equally evocative yet complete contrast in terms of material, harmony and texture. To the accompaniment of a drum reiterating the note G, voices enter in a staggered but homophonic entry deploying a wide tessitura of vocal range (G-g^2, bars 27-9). In contrast to the constant modulation of the first half, a mood of sombre contemplation is evoked through recourse to static harmony and dissonance generated by a long G pedal which persists until the section's closing bars.

This movement must be considered a highpoint in Cooke's output (and in later eighteenth-century English sacred music more generally), demonstrating how the anthem genre represented for Cooke a vehicle for profound artistic statements. It is therefore all the more significant that he achieved this through manipulation of Gender as established in *Musical Conjectures*. For Cooke, this progression through an entire cycle of fourths manifested the ultimate illustration of his belief in the correspondences between the ancient Greek and modern systems. In one of his annotations on the manuscript, Cooke wrote that it was only possible for the scale to be 'circular' by 'inserting either the Chromatic or Enharmonic genus which in writing we forbear to use'. By this Cooke meant that although in modern notation the ancient genders were not expressed, they were nevertheless present in practical terms. According to the mathematical ideal of the Common Scale the more perfect keys such as C minor, the home key, would be sung in relatively perfect intervals whilst elsewhere during the cycle of fifths intervals would augment or diminish by minute degrees-thereby introducing variations in pitch comparable to, and sometimes the same as those in the ancient genera and species.

Although in *Musical Conjectures* Cooke attributed the effectiveness of such modulations to properties in the Common Scale it seems certain that he was affected as much by the actual modulations. In his conceptualisation Cooke simply did not differentiate between the two. Whilst the intervals of the Common Scale would certainly have had an effect on these progressions it seems unlikely this was the only reason why they were significant for him. In this anthem, as for the examples by other composers described above, it is the modulations themselves that are in each instance remarkable and arresting.

Cooke's observations in this regard are highly significant in the way they constitute an attempt to establish the 'ground for criticism' in music that Hawkins wrote of but never managed to establish himself. In much the same way as England's Augustan poets had

deployed classical models in order to establish and develop the art of literary criticism, Cooke may be seen here to be doing the same in developing ways of evaluating and criticising music. This is all the more remarkable for the fact that discussion of actual musical works by theorists knowledgeable about music theory and composition was at this time unusual.

It is, however, by taking into consideration the entire concatenation of theoretical stages leading from the sounding string and culminating in Cooke's assessment of musical style that the true importance of *Musical Conjectures* is to be realised. By investigating vibration, scales and harmony in order to establish music's underlying principles Cooke was engaged in an exercise of great importance in eighteenth-century intellectual life. In this, many themes are certainly in need of further development, a task Cooke might have been forced to undertake had he published the treatise. The most obvious lacunae in this regard concern his discussions of 'refraction' in relation to the major and minor modes and of gender with regard to modern musical language. Both of these would have benefited greatly from more extensive explanation. Nevertheless, the treatise is characterised by a sense of ambition in its overall aims, inspired no doubt by a wish to emulate and continue the speculative traditions of Greek and renaissance theorists. In accordance with these traditions, discussion of harmony constitutes the most individual and insightful aspect of *Musical Conjectures*. It is significant that though Cooke also discussed rhythm and chord progressions (which are not discussed in this study), these are dealt with in a cursory manner, reflecting the diminished importance these areas assumed in the theorising of Cooke and his circle.

Although *Musical Conjectures* also provides abundant, more peripheral information not least in areas such as tuning and organology, its foremost contribution to this study is as Cooke's most tangible argument for the existence of immutable and universal principles underlying music. The most obvious manifestation of this is, of course, in his attempts to rationalise his high regard for ancient music by associating it with correct deployment of Gender. It must be remembered, however, that this only relates to works containing particular kinds of chord progressions; *Musical Conjectures* does not in itself constitute an all-encompassing theoretical basis for a theory of music and musical criticism. As subsequent chapters will show, discussion of the taste for ancient music and Cooke's musical style require consideration of many other factors.

There is, though, a more fundamental and far-reaching point to be inferred from *Musical Conjectures* in its definition of musical language and expression as one of pure mathematical relationships rooted in harmony. In this, Cooke (and his associates) may

be seen to have anticipated a defining development in western music. This is the establishment of the aesthetic of musical autonomy that later in the century would break once and for all with the Aristotelian doctrine of music as an imitative art, as described in Chapter 1. *Musical Conjectures* typifies this search for a philosophy of music based on its own harmonic principles, which came to fruition in the nineteenth century. Although in embryonic form, Cooke's theorising manifests the process by which music gained status as a reflection of profound abstract symbolism in place of its eighteenth-century position as at best vehicle for word expression, and at worst 'facile pleasure for the mind'. Although supporters of ancient music were opposed to the instrumental forms we now know proved integral to this transition, they nevertheless shared with later romanticism the same lofty aims for music as an autonomous art. The great prestige achieved by symphonic music is wholly in keeping with both the aims for music as articulated by Hawkins and with the sense of ambition typifying much of Cooke's music. Whilst it would be fanciful to suggest that Cooke influenced the development of absolute music, his mathematical explanation for expression (in which the emphasis was upon the language of harmony) does demonstrate him to have conformed to a key aesthetic current. It can at least be said that Cooke and like-minded associates helped establish the background against which such developments subsequently seemed natural. Although as a theoretical tool Cooke's appropriation of Greek theory to achieve this ultimately proved a dead-end, his aims nevertheless proved wholly forward-looking. In this may be observed, therefore, not the last gasp of an obsolete theoretical discipline but the incipient steps in the articulation of a new philosophy of music.

Musical Conjectures presents only one element in the theoretical and musical standpoint adopted by Cooke through which he sought to advance music. In the following chapters it will be shown how these theoretical ideas coexisted along with a preoccupation with the musical past and present. It seems likely that throughout his mature career *Musical Conjectures* posed, however, a constant if unmentioned background to Cooke's thinking and actions. It is because of this that *Musical Conjectures* assumes a position so central to this study as a whole. In this today unfamiliar area an insight is provided into the minds not only of Cooke but also of his fellow Academicians, thereby enabling a fuller understanding of the influence exerted by this school of thought on English musical life at this time.

Chapter 3

Cooke's Musical and Theoretical Interests as Documented in the Cooke Collection

Integral to this study is the existence at the Royal College of Music of Cooke's collection of music manuscripts (RCM MSS 807-33). In its present form this consists of 2,276 leaves assembled or bound into 27 volumes, amassed principally by Cooke, seemingly with a clear view to posterity. As a result, the Cooke Collection affords an in depth insight into the music, career and intellectual interests not only of Cooke but also those with whom he associated. There can be relatively few composers of the eighteenth century to have bequeathed such detailed documentation of their activities. Contained within the collection are approximately 705 copies of musical works, 423 of them by Cooke. The latter constitutes virtually all known Cooke works, of which there are around 300, comprising part songs, anthems, organ and other keyboard works, psalm settings, chants, solo songs, orchestral odes and concertos. Of the 423 copies of Cooke works, 330 are written in Cooke's hand whilst non-autograph copies are principally the work of a small group of copyists, including Cooke's sons Henry and Robert. A notable feature of these copies (both autograph and non-autograph) is the annotations Cooke inscribed on most of them, revealing dates and places of composition and performance as well as more general information. Of particular interest are the many references to Cooke's associates and the professional organisations with which he was involved, foremost among these being the Noblemen and Gentlemen's Catch Club and, of course, the Academy. The collection also contains 282 copies of works by other composers, revealing Cooke's sometimes surprising musical interests and influences. Whilst many of these are in Cooke's hand, there are also a significant number of autograph manuscripts mostly by fellow members of the Academy and Pepusch pupils.

Of particular importance for this study is the manner in which this collection reveals the nature and extent of Cooke's intellectual inquiry. In particular, transcriptions made by Cooke from early sources reveal nascent attempts to grapple with the problems of editing, criticism and other aspects of musical scholarship. These further manifest Cooke's deep preoccupation with earlier music and music theory, and complement our understanding of his own theorising in *Musical Conjectures*.

The sheer extent of the Cooke Collection is such that it cannot in this study be examined in its entirety. The aim here is only to present a brief guide to the collection as context to this chapter's overriding and fundamental aim: to assess the evidence these documents afford into the nature and significance of Cooke's historicist and theoretical researches. Unusual for their time, these activities will be shown to have been the product not of antiquarianism but of the discrete agenda shared by figures associated with the Academy, as described in earlier chapters. According to proponents of this agenda, it was believed that the discovery and investigation of pre-eighteenth-century sources would help realise their aspiration to gain a deeper understanding of music's theoretical basis. In addition, by gaining knowledge of the progress of music and theory over the ages they hoped to gain a better frame of reference for the present and thereby establish a ground for music criticism. In this will be observed further evidence of the aspiration broadly shared by Cooke's circle to raise music's status in relation to other arts. Moreover, it will be shown that Cooke's investigation of music's past was, although frowned upon by fashionable commentators, broadly consistent with the wider ordering of the arts that formed so central a feature in eighteenth-century cultural life.

The majority of the Cooke Collection appears to have been organised by Cooke into volumes between 1770 and around 1780. This can be deduced by the presence at the beginning of most volumes of a table of contents, nearly all of which were compiled by Cooke himself. These constitute valuable historical documents in themselves, revealing, in addition to titles and dates, miscellaneous details such as publishing and performance history. In most cases, these tables of contents list works dating up to but not after 1780. The works composed by Cooke after this time were generally either copied into existing volumes, with their details squeezed in at the bottom of the tables of contents, or included in RCM MSS 807, 813, 818 and 819, which were compiled in or after 1787. Compiled years and in some instances decades after the documents to which they refer were first created, these tables of contents constitute in many cases a retrospective autobiographical account of Cooke's career. Finally, some copies were assembled into volumes compiled after Cooke's death

The manner and dates in which the Cooke Collection was organised into numbered volumes is indicated in Appendix 2. This shows that of the Collection's 27 volumes, 16 (RCM MSS 807-11, 813-21, 823, 828) are known to have been arranged by Cooke. Another seven volumes (RCM MSS 826-7, 829-33) consist of unbound manuscripts (most of them orchestral parts) contained in boxes and probably gathered after Cooke's death. Of the remainder, all of which are bound, three

volumes (RCM MSS 812, 822, 825) contain material dating from after Cooke's death and one (RCM MS 824) contains no Cooke works or handwriting and is of uncertain relationship to himself.

After Cooke's death, the collection was left to his four children and subsequently sold in 1845 to the Sacred Harmonic Society, where it formed part of that society's rich collection of musical manuscripts and prints.[1] There the earliest known catalogue of the Cooke Collection was created by the society's librarian William Husk (1814-87).[2] Following the dissolution of the Sacred Harmonic Society in 1878, the collection was bought by public subscription in 1883 by the then newly instituted Royal College of Music, where it remains to this day. The Cooke Collection had one further temporary home during the war years (1939-45), when it was sent for safe-keeping to the British Museum. It was during this time that most of the Collection was rebound in black buckram and underwent considerable conservation treatment. At the Royal College of Music, the Collection was re-catalogued by Barclay Squire for the RCM type-script manuscript catalogue of 1931, and again in computerised form in the late 1990s by the author of this study.[3]

Comparison between different catalogues reveals that certain Cooke Collection items in Husk's Sacred Harmonic Society catalogue were no longer present in the collection when subsequent Royal College of Music catalogues were made. These all derive from a section at the end of the Sacred Harmonic Society catalogue sequence headed 'Compositions in Separate Parts', under which is entered orchestral vocal works by various composers. The disposal of these items is thought to have occurred shortly after the collection was accessioned by the Royal College of Music, when a substantial amount of its special collections performing material was destroyed.[4] The most serious losses from the Cooke Collection as a result of this are two large-scale Cooke works, his *Christmas Ode* and an anthem 'The Lord in his wrath'; autograph scores exist for neither of these works. Fortunately, this loss is mitigated by the fact that, during the collection's stay at the Sacred Harmonic

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[1]Included in: *Catalogue of the...Musical Library of the Late Benjamin Cooke...which will be Sold by Auction, by Mr. Fletcher...on August 5th, &...6th, 1845...London...lot 161* (London, 1845).

[2]W.H. Husk, *Catalogue of the Library of the Sacred Harmonic Society,* 3rd edn., rev. (London, 1872).

[3]The Royal College of Music library catalogue can be accessed from the main College website at: www.rcm.ac.uk.

[4]Information provided by Peter Horton, the RCM Reference Librarian.

Society, both these works were transcribed by William Husk into a score (along with Cooke's lengthy annotations), still retained in the College's collections (RCM MS 806).

Extant catalogues reveal that, in addition to the Royal College of Music manuscript numbers in use today, there have been two other numbering systems applied to the Cooke Collection during its history. Both of these appear to date from its period at the Sacred Harmonic Society, when the collection was first ordered as it is today. In the Sacred Harmonic Society catalogue, the collection was assigned a single number for the collection as a whole ('1933') along with a system of lettering ('a-x') for each of the 19 bound volumes. In addition to this, the collection has its own numbering for each of the original 30 volumes, expressed in Roman numerals (I-XXXIII). Although excluded from the Sacred Harmonic Society catalogue, this system is cited in Barclay Squire's Royal College of Music catalogue. However, the absence of the seven destroyed volumes from Barclay's catalogue means that the sequence lacks numbers XXII-XXVIII.

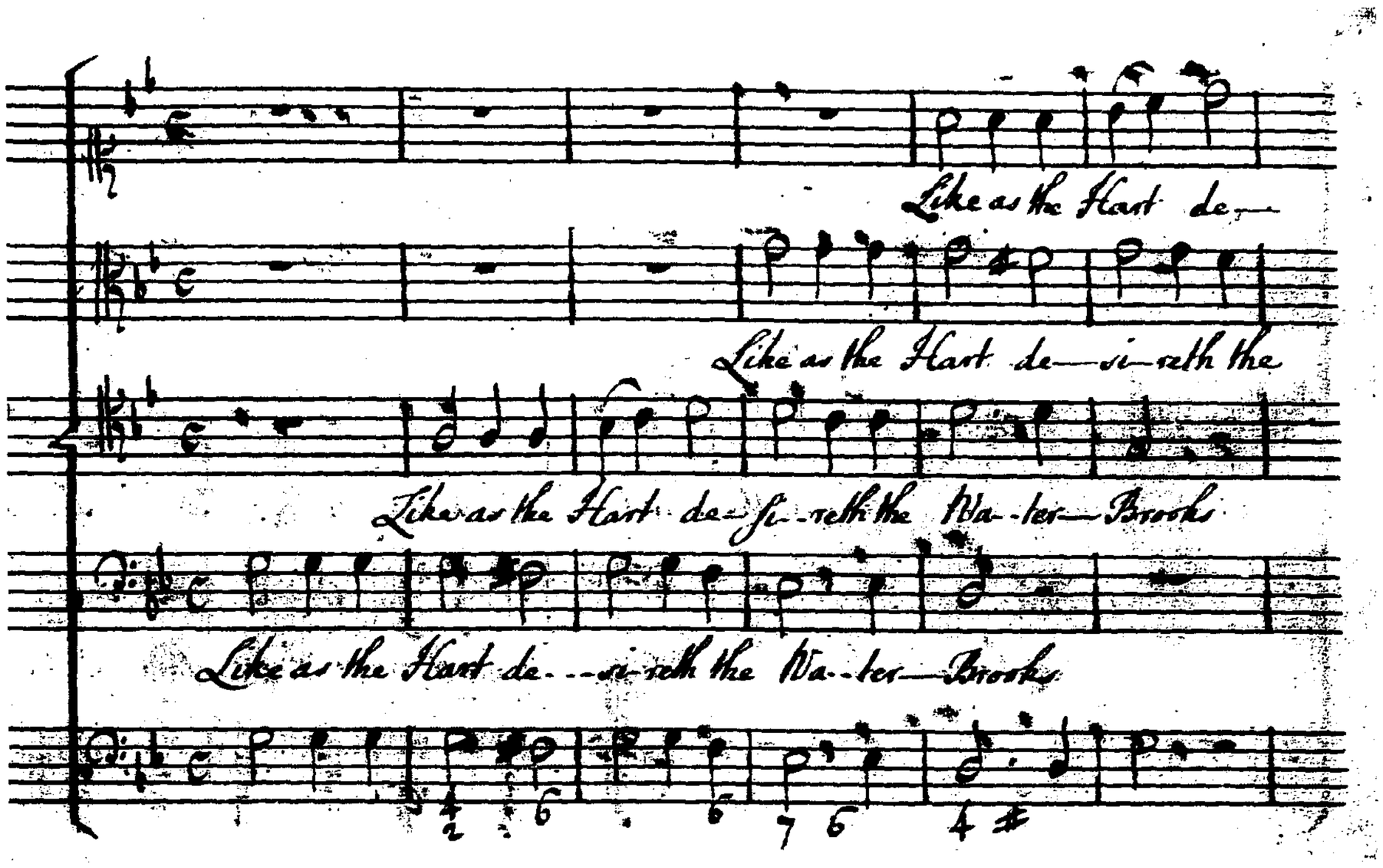
Although the Cooke Collection's importance as a historical document is greatly enhanced by its preservation according to Cooke's arrangement, this arrangement does not reveal any obvious pattern. Whilst certain volumes manifest a greater preponderance of glees or anthems, there is little other rationale concerning genre, composer or anything else. In particular, within volumes composition dates frequently range over many years or even decades. Furthermore, despite the fact that Cooke's annotations often read like an address to future perusers, he appears not to have been selective in what he included. In preserving his manuscripts for posterity, Cooke included not only fair copies and publisher's copies but also early drafts and fragments of unfinished and sometimes barely started works. It is, however, this assiduous approach to preservation that lends the Cooke Collection such boundless potential as an information source.

A prerequisite for successful analysis of Cooke's manuscripts is an understanding and familiarity with his handwriting. Whilst this was always highly distinctive, it nevertheless altered radically during the course of his long composing career. This may be observed in Figure 3.1 which reveals the differences between the careful presentation hand in which Cooke copied out some of his earlier anthems and the style that evolved during his creative peak in the 1760s and 1770s. This again contrasts markedly with the less controlled hand that characterises Cooke's final years. Although such changes in handwriting are potentially confounding to the

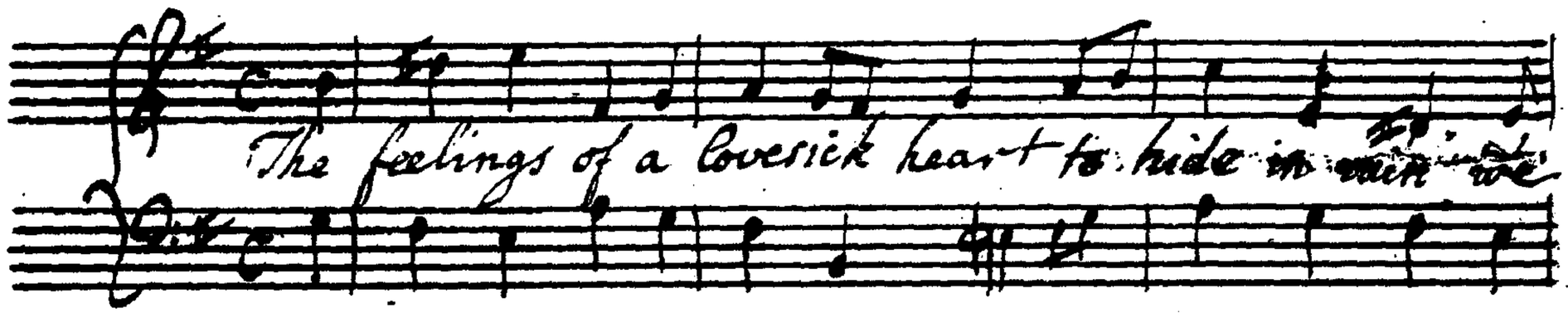
uninitiated, an understanding of them can present an additional aid for the dating of Cooke's undated works.

Figure 3.1, Cooke's handwriting

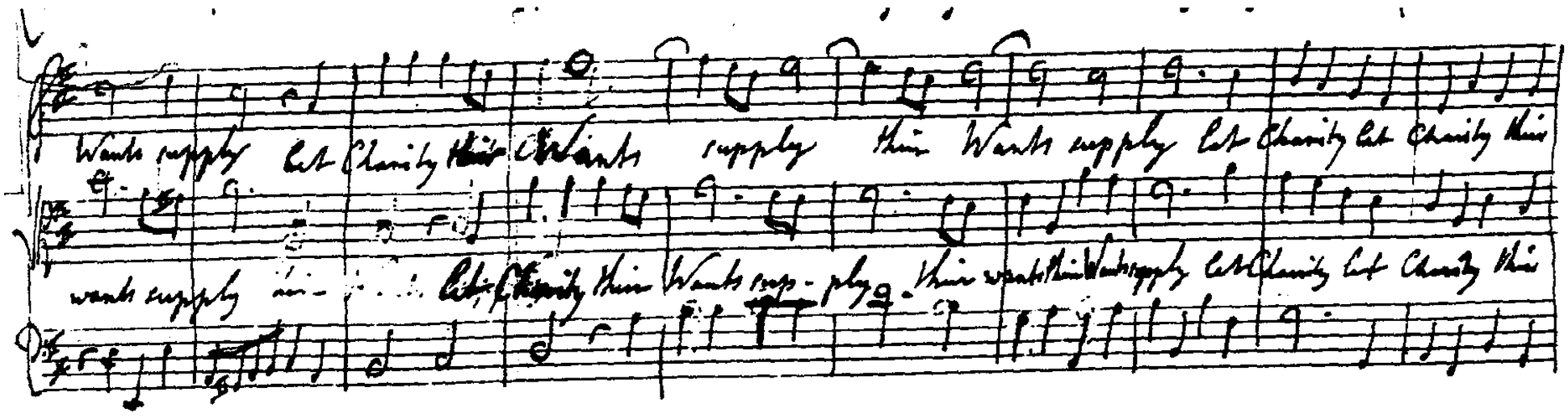
Ca. 1750



1771



1792



As has already been mentioned, a defining characteristic of Cooke's manuscripts is the copious annotations he entered onto them. These form a critical source of information in the study of Cooke and the wider environment in which he worked. A particularly apt example of this practice is to be found on the two principal sources of his large-scale orchestral anthem 'Behold how good and joyful'. These annotations will be examined here in some detail for the manner in which they typify this important aspect of the Cooke Collection as a whole. It will be seen that, taken together, these two manuscripts constitute a treasure trove of information concerning not simply this anthem, but also broader aspects of Cooke's world.

Firstly, the full score of the work (RCM MS 817, ff. 1-8) is signed by Cooke 'Greenwich June 5. 1772'. This is typical of Cooke's practice of both dating works and indicating the location of their creation. In the collection as a whole, 120 of Cooke's copies bear the ascription 'Dorset Court', his residence at Westminster Abbey from 1766 (when he became organist) up until his death. The location 'Greenwich', however, appears on just 21 copies, created during the period 1767-1772, indicating perhaps an additional place of residence during those years.

This copy also manifests Cooke's widespread practice of noting details of individuals and organisations to whom he sent his works. Here he indicates that he sent 'a Compleat Copy with the Symphony and Instrumental Parts to the Academy' in November 1774 along with 'one other to the Reverend Dr. Charles Beridge at Cambridge', January 1777. From the many such statements to be found in the collection, an impression can be drawn of the manner in which Cooke's works were disseminated. Although the Academy of Ancient Music and the Noblemen and Gentlemen's Catch Club are cited most, Cooke also sent copies to a diverse range of individuals and organisations, both famous and lesser-known in eighteenth-century musical life. In this source (as in many others) Cooke also sought to safeguard his intellectual property through the following statement: 'no other Copies unless surreptitiously obtain'd'. By this he meant no other copies should be in circulation other than those he himself had authorised.

Of broader historical interest are Cooke's annotations concerning the circumstances of the initial composition and performance of 'Behold how good and joyful'. He notes that the work was 'Composed for & Performed at the Installation of Knights of the Bath June.15.1772', stating elsewhere on the score that this event took place 'in King Henry the 7ths Chapel' in Westminster Abbey 'at the Installation of his Royal

Highness the Bishop of Osnabrugh'.[5] Cooke also indicates on the score a later occasion when the work was used to accompany this same ceremony:

> Before his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales & two young Princes at an Installation May 19. 1779: the Bishop Of Osnabrugh acting as Great Master. the Queen and Royal Family present in the Abbey to see the Procession.[6]

The Cooke Collection abounds with such historical information, which is invaluable in forming an impression of Cooke's career and the purposes for which some of his works were created. Cooke's annotations also sometimes provide details of performers of his works. Here again 'Behold how good and joyful' provides a telling example; this is to be found in RCM MS 826, an unbound set of parts of the work. In addition to its significance as a purely musical source, this cites names of performers relating to a particular (but unspecified) performance of this work, written by copyist onto the covers of nine of the parts:

> 'Henry + Robert Cooke' (canto) 'Miss T. Abrams' (canto) - 'Hawes' (alto) 'J Dupie[?]' (alto) - 'W. Clark' (tenor) 'Dr. Cooke' (tenor) - 'Mr Champnes. Bellamy' (bass) 'Mr Dale' (bass) - 'Cramer' (vln1).[7]

These details are important for the information they provide concerning Cooke's musical contacts and activities, which (due to his lack of involvement in mainstream concert life) are not generally reflected in contemporary newspaper accounts. Of particular interest here is the information given concerning Cooke's own activities as a singer and instrumentalist, and the role his family members played in performances of his works. Thus, from the two principal sources of 'Behold how good and joyful' we see some of the ways in which Cooke's annotations inform a wide range of subject areas.

Of particular importance are the dates Cooke inscribed upon manuscript copies of about half of his own compositions, thereby making it possible to chart the development of his musical style. Broadly speaking, these dates appear to indicate when Cooke completed a work, extended works sometimes including a series of

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[5]This refers to Frederick Augustus, Duke of York (1763-1827), the second son of George III, who as an infant had been elected by his father titular bishop of Osnaburg, in Westphalia.

[6]As mentioned in the Introduction, this work is reputed to have been performed at subsequent installations until 1812. See: 'Memoir of Benjamin Cooke' *The Harmonicon*, 9 (1831), 207.

[7]Of those that can be determined, these names refer to Cooke and his sons Henry (1769-1840) and Robert (1768-1814), William Clarke (1740-1820), Samuel Champness (1730-1803), Thomas Ludford Bellamy (1770-1843), Wilhelm Cramer (1746-99), Theodosia Abrams (1766-1834).

dates indicating a succession of stages of completion. The picture that emerges suggests that Cooke's productivity varied significantly during his career, his most productive period coinciding with the critical point around the early 1770s when he produced his finest and defining compositions.

The chronology indicated by the Cooke Collection also reveals there to have been a relatively small but noteworthy concentration of works dating from the 1740s and early 1750s. These are the product of Cooke's period under the tutelage of Pepusch. As mentioned earlier, autograph sources for these works are characterised by a kind of presentation handwriting, quite distinct from his later handwriting. Works from this period consist predominantly of anthems and instrumental works composed in a proficient and pleasing baroque idiom, typical of much English music of this era. Most important are four early orchestral anthems, a brief but highly attractive organ concerto and a suite for harpsichord, all of which are to be found in RCM MS 809.

One of the surprises of the Collection is a general absence of works dating from between 1752 and the early 1760s, suggesting a marked reduction in compositional activity at this time. Given Cooke's propensity to preserve his musical achievements, it seems unlikely he would not have included in his collection at least major works composed during this period, had there been any. It is perhaps significant that this dearth coincides with the period beginning with Pepusch's death in 1752, when Cooke became conductor at the Academy, and ending shortly before 1766, when he became organist at Westminster Abbey. Beyond this, clues as to Cooke's apparent lull in compositional activity during this period remain elusive.

Cooke's resumption of compositional activities in the mid 1760s is marked by the production of a series of highly accomplished orchestral anthems to be discussed in later chapters, including his attractive 'Call to remembrance' (1764) and the innovative 'The Lord in his wrath' (1765). These compositions presage a creative peak in Cooke's *oeuvre* during the succeeding decade. It was during this period that *Musical Conjectures* was written, alongside his defining compositions *The Morning Hymn* (1769-72) and *Collins's Ode* (1773-7). Also, at this time Cooke began to compose part songs, a genre that dominates the Cooke Collection and with which his name would ever-after be associated. These consist mainly of glees and catches, but also include canons and other contrapuntal works in which learned techniques are explored.

Compositions by other composers also constitute an important aspect of the Cooke Collection, both as sources in themselves and as an indication of Cooke's interests and connections. Most important are the autograph scores by Boyce, Greene, Geminiani, Nares, Travers, Pepusch and Thomas Ebdon, all of whom were associated in some way with the Academy. Of these Greene's *Spenser's Amoretti,* Geminiani's overture *La selva incantata del Tasso,* Boyce's incidental music to *Agis* and anthems 'Give the king thy judgments' and 'Sing praises unto the Lord' are of particular note as principal sources of significant works. It seems probable that all these scores would have been given to Cooke on account of his Academy connections. Their presence in the Cooke Collection acts as confirmation of the links Cooke had with these like-minded composers as conductor of the Academy. Non-autograph copies of works by composers other than Cooke exist in the collection in a variety of hands, some known (including those of Cooke and his copyists) and others unknown. Notable in this regard is the variant copy of J.S. Bach's Prelude and Fugue in C major, copied partly by Cooke and contained in RCM MS 815, ff. 42-50, a volume probably assembled around 1773. In an annotation entered probably at the time of the volume's compilation Cooke attributes this copy to John Robinson (ca. 1682-1762), his predecessor as organist of Westminster Abbey. Transposed into B flat, it constitutes an important variant of the work and is therefore assigned its own number in Schmieder's thematic catalogue (BWV545b). Its ownership by Cooke, decades before the so called 'Bach awakening' that arose toward the end of the century, has aroused much curiosity amongst Bach scholars.[8]

Other copies in the Cooke Collection are notable as a reflection both of Cooke's theoretical and more practical interests. Of particular importance with regard to the former are works copied and edited by Cooke from early sources such as the Fayrfax Manuscript, to be discussed below. Less unexpected influences are present in a range of sources created by copyists other than those responsible for the non-autograph copies of Cooke's works. These include works such as Muffat's *Apparatus musico-organisticus*, chamber duets by Steffani, opera and oratorio arias by Handel and secular works by Purcell. It seems likely that these were produced

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[8]The work comprises five movements. Between the prelude and fugue is an unknown adagio, a trio (a version of the finale of the G minor sonata for viola da gamba and clavier (BWV 1029), itself an arrangement of an organ original) and an unknown recitative section entitled 'Tutti'. See W. Emery, 'A Neglected Bach Manuscript', *Music Review*, 11 (1950), 169-74; Peter Williams, *The Organ Music of J.S. Bach*, 2nd edn. (Cambridge, 2003), pp. 105-7 and David Knight 'The Pedal Organ at Westminster Abbey in the Eighteenth Century, with some Remarks on BWV 545b', *The Organ Yearbook*, 29 (2000), 91-104.

mostly by professional copyists, purchased by Cooke perhaps for performance purposes or for perusal. There are also in the collection many sources of church music composed by Cooke's colleagues and contemporaries, a particularly interesting example of which is to be found bound at the end of RCM MS 813, ff. 100-19. This is a collection of chants and other brief sacred works all but one of them in the hands of William Sharp (d.1810) or his brother Granville (1735-1813) of Durham.[9] Composed by a range of lesser to virtually unknown English eighteenth-century composers this source sheds further light on the links developed by Cooke with other cathedrals, as well as the ways in which such music was disseminated. Also reflective perhaps of Cooke's performing activities are a consignment in an unknown hand of organ parts for English church music by Turges, Kelway, Child, Boyce, Aldrich, Blow, Goldwin and Byrd, all of which are located at the end of RCM MS 810, ff. 103-26. The inclusion of such copies seems to reflect a lifetime's activity as a performer and teacher, as well the musical curiosity which characterises Cooke's musical career more generally.

The Cooke Collection, however, constitutes more than simply a practical record of Cooke's career as a composer and performer. It also bears deep significance as an embodiment of the intellectual concerns that shaped the musical philosophy of Cooke and his associates. This is evident principally in the many copies and transcriptions made by Cooke from early manuscript sources dating back as far as the thirteenth century. Although, unlike fellow Academicians such as Travers, Hawkins, Pepusch and Edmund Thomas Warren, Cooke owned relatively few pre-eighteenth-century manuscripts and prints, the Collection manifests nevertheless his profound fascination with the musical past.[10] It is this aspect of Cooke's activities that is most relevant to this study and that forms the focus of the remainder of this chapter. Considered alongside the discussion of speculative music theory in the previous chapters, this interest in collecting and examining early sources constitutes one of the principal preoccupations of Cooke and his circle. In conjunction with *Musical Conjectures*, the Cooke Collection epitomises the impulse shared by fellow Academicians to look to the past, both to gain a better frame of reference for the present and to unearth clues to music's theoretical basis.

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[9]Information provided by Brian Crosby.

[10]See A. Hyatt King, *Some British Collectors of Music c.1600-1960* (Cambridge, 1961), pp. 1-24, and D.F. Cook, 'J.C. Pepusch: An 18th-Century Musical Bibliophile', *Soundings*, 9 (1982), 11-28. The auction catalogue for the sale of Cooke's musical library (cited earlier) indicates that Cooke did nevertheless own an autograph volume of John Bull 'Tablature, or Fantasies, Pavans, &c.'

This spirit of intellectual inquiry is highly symptomatic of a wider imperative at play in eighteenth-century arts discourse to establish what Lawrence Lipking has more recently termed the 'Ordering of the Arts'.[11] As Lipking explains, this Enlightenment movement had arisen following the recognition by many eighteenth-century commentators that 'there was no great narrative history of any art, no canon of what was best, no model of a standard of taste.'[12] The quest to set the history and criticism of individual arts in order manifested itself ultimately in the seminal arts histories of Horace Walpole (*Anecdotes of Painting in England*, 1762-80), Joshua Reynolds (*Discourses on Art*, 1769-90), Thomas Warton (*History of English Poetry*, 1774-81), Samuel Johnson (*Lives of the Poets*, 1779-81) and of course the music histories of Charles Burney (1776-89) and Hawkins (1776). Documenting England's and Europe's cultural past, much of it previously unknown, historians sought not only to establish terms of reference for the artistic productions of their own age, but also to fashion a methodology for rational criticism.

In Cooke's examination of early sources we see both the same quest to establish 'a usable past' that motivated the writing of these arts histories and a counterpart to his involvement with the then unusual practice of performing ancient music. Furthermore, as described in Chapter 1, the Cooke Collection also reveals Cooke to have played a direct role in this ordering of the arts through the assistance he provided to Hawkins in the preparation of his *History*. John Brewer has observed that the creation of these eighteenth-century histories was made possible only through the investigative spade-work of armies of unrecognised researchers.[13] The many transcriptions by Cooke from early sources bearing the inscription 'sent to Mr. H' reveal Cooke to have played such a role. Subsequently reproduced with little acknowledgement by Hawkins, Cooke's transcriptions would constitute the first appearance in modern times of a number of works now considered seminal in the history of earlier Western music.

Hawkins' *History* is also of importance here for the lengthy explanations it provides concerning the motivating impulse behind the musical historicism evident in the Cooke Collection. Although Cooke also undertook such activities independently of Hawkins, these explanations provide nevertheless a valuable articulation of what

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[11]Lawrence Lipking, *The Ordering of the Arts in Eighteenth-Century England* (Princeton, 1970).

[12]*Ibid.*, p. 3.

[13]John Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination: English Culture in the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1997), p. 471.

supporters of ancient music were trying to achieve through their investigations into the musical past. Before examining examples of Cooke's investigations of early sources, it is useful therefore to consider these motivations as explained by Hawkins.

As described in the early chapters of this study, Hawkins aspired through his *History* to re-associate music with the universalism and status assigned it by venerable canonic traditions of renaissance and ancient Greek theorists. By doing this, he sought to rescue music from the bounds of taste accorded it by fashionable commentators for whom music was merely idle amusement. For Hawkins, the way to identify music's 'excellencies' and 'assert its dignity as a science worthy of the exercise of our rational as well as audible faculties' was two-fold, not just philosophical but also historical. Thus, in addition to the imperative to investigate music's 'principles, as founded in general and invariable laws' there was also a further parameter: 'to trace the improvements' that had accrued in music, resulting 'from the accumulated studies and experience of a long succession of ages'.[14]

It was, he believed, only through this dual approach that he could achieve his ultimate aim: 'to reduce the science' of music 'to a certainty, and to furnish a ground for criticism.'[15] Recognising that music was ultimately a practical as well as theoretical subject, he believed it necessary to deduce its principles not just from theoretical treatises but from all manner of other sources, biographical, historical and musical:

> The method pursued for these purposes will be found to consist in an explanation of fundamental doctrines, and a narration of important events and historical facts, in a chronological series, with such occasional remarks and evidences, as might serve to illustrate the one and authenticate the other. With these are intermixed a variety of musical compositions, tending as well to exemplify that diversity of style which is common both to music and speech or written language, as to manifest the gradual improvements in the art of combining musical sounds.[16]

Although the welter of information this approach generated did not ultimately furnish the ground for criticism Hawkins had hoped for, it does help to articulate the rationale motivating the musical historicism of supporters of ancient music. In

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[14]John Hawkins, *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music* (1776), new edn., 2 vols. (London, 1853), vol. I, p. xvii.

[15]*Ibid.*

[16]*Ibid.*, vol. I, p. xiii.

particular, Hawkins shows the historical researches that accompany Cooke's theoretical writings to have been more than simply antiquarianism. The belief that a better understanding of music's theoretical and historical context could 'reduce the science to a certainty' and thereby inform music criticism of the present seems central to the entire ethos of Pepusch and the Cooke circle. In this way, the studies of ancient music theory and earlier music documented in the Cooke Collection form a counterpart to the underlying philosophical premise of *Musical Conjectures* that 'music in all its parts appears to be founded on a very few original principles'. In the following examples may be seen some of the many instances of these combinations of interests evidenced in the Cooke Collection.

Cooke's early introduction to the musical ideas which would preoccupy him throughout his entire career is documented in RCM MS 823, a 102-folio volume containing exercises undertaken by him during his education under Pepusch. This is of great importance as a record of the teaching received not just by Cooke, but also by the whole generation of pupils nutured by Pepusch. The earliest dated exercise in the volume (a three-part composition) was undertaken 'Wednesday, Nov 7, 1744', the year Cooke reputedly began his studies, whilst the last is dated 1752, the year Pepusch died. Assembled chronologically, this progression suggests Cooke's education was organised into stages, consisting of keyboard exercises, two, then three-part contrapuntal exercises, fugues, psalm settings, organ voluntaries and finally canons.

In addition, distributed throughout the volume are leaves detailing aspects of speculative music theory, some of them in the hand of Pepusch. Before discussing Cooke's instruction in contrapuntal and regulative theory, it is worth describing one of these sections. Towards the end of RCM MS 823 on fol. 97v is a representation in mathematical ratios and notation of 'The Twelve Gradual Intervals' along with the 'Four Motions of the Scale'. In this rationalisation of the fundamental materials of music, Pepusch sought to demonstrate specific relationships between the modern scale and the six Ptolemaic tetrachords. In addition to being another manifestation of Pepusch's conception of the links between ancient and modern theory this is of interest for a further reason. This specific manner of appropriating Greek tetrachords later formed the foundation upon which the treatises of other Pepusch pupils, William Boyce and John Travers, were based; it was not, however, taken up by Cooke in *Musical Conjectures* except in a more general sense. Its presence here is therefore significant as further evidence of the extent to which shared musicological ideas contributed to the common outlook of these figures. In science, Greek music

theory, counterpoint and source studies as manifested in this manuscript, may be seen the constituent parts of what approached (if not a coherent philosophy of music) a common agenda in the pursuit of music's underlying principles.

Speculative theory apart, the principal significance of this volume is in the evidence it affords of Cooke's instruction in practical composition and regulative music theory. An example of such theory is to be found at the beginning of the volume in statements of first theoretical principles written out in Pepusch's handwriting. Of particular interest here is a representation of the hexachordal system on the first folio, one of numerous references to be found throughout the Cooke Collection as a whole. The hexachord (a term denoting six notes ascending in the sequence: T,T,S,T,T) had first come into use in the Middle Ages as a means of teaching plainchant melodies and music theory. The revival of this theoretical tool constituted an important element in Pepusch's approach to music theory and teaching. In this way it represents a further example of how theoretical models drawn from the past were appropriated by Pepusch to provide the basis of principle for the present. Furthermore, it demonstrates how the preoccupation with principles gleaned from ancient sources as described by Hawkins was shared by composers, and in particular pupils of Pepusch. The appearance of the hexachordal system here and elsewhere in the Cooke Collection provides invaluable evidence of its practical application at this time and Cooke's early indoctrination into its use. The significance of this is made clearer through an understanding of the premise behind its resurrection as explained by Pepusch in his published *Treatise on Harmony*.[17] In the following passage Pepusch explains how the medieval theorist Guido d'Arezzo had created the hexachord by adding two full tones to the ancient Greek tetrachords, thereby providing 'a fundamental bass' for each of them:

> *Guido* of *Arezzo* finding that the *Greeks* used in their Scale of Musick *BCDE* for the *First Tetrachord*, and *EFGA* for the *Second*; and, that they also used accidentally a *Third Tetrachord*, viz. *ABflatCD*; he observ'd, that the *First Note* of the *First Tetrachord* could not be a *Fundamental Bass*, it having but a *Semidiapente* for its *Fifth*; wherefore he added two Notes of a *Whole Tone* each, to this *Tetrachord*, which he placed before it, *GA,BCDE*; for he found that the *First*, the *Fourth*, and the *Fifth* Notes of this System would (one or other of 'em) be a *Fundamental Bass* to every Note in this *Hexachord*, which he call'd *Durum*, because *B* is *Natural* in it, and makes a *Tritonus* to F.[18]

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[17]Johann Christoph Pepusch, *A Treatise on Harmony: Containing the Chief Rules for Composing in Two, Three and Four Parts*, 2nd edn. (London, 1731).

[18]*Ibid.*, p. 67.

Pepusch then goes on to explain how Guido 'Observing that the Addition he had made to the First Tetrachord was of great Use' made the same alteration to the other two Greek tetrachords, thus creating the three hexachord system. To each of these Guido applied 'the Syllables Ut Re Mi Fa Sol La, intending to give notice by Mi Fa of the Place where the Semitone falls.' For Pepusch, the fundamental rationale for deploying the hexachordal system was in the composition of fugue and counterpoint. This, he explained, was because without the 'directions and assistance' offered by the hexachordal system 'we could not be sure to write fugues true':

> In order to make the several Parts of a Fugue to proceed by the same Species of Intervals, 'tis necessary that they be taken in the corresponding Parts of *Similar Scales of Notes*. This cannot with *Certainty* be attain'd, but by the means of the *Hexachords*; from whence it becomes a necessary *Rule*, That the *Parts in* Fugue *must have the same Syllables in their Solmisation*.[19]

Throughout RCM MS 823 there are instances of lettered contrapuntal exercises and movements in which Cooke put this theory into practice. Amongst Cooke's circle at least, the hexachord's status as a tool with which to ground composition upon principle was thus assured by its efficacy with regard to the composition of strict counterpoint, itself another symbol of immutable principle.[20]

The importance of learned counterpoint to Cooke's education and the philosophy of music shared by his circle is thus clearly reflected in RCM MS 823, the most remarkable examples occurring towards the end of the volume (ff. 81v-97). Completed during 1751, these folios include a succession of canons by composers mainly of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, followed by resolutions of them, mainly by Cooke. Some of the canons, and even some of the resolutions, bear the inscription in Cooke's hand, 'made by the Doctor' or 'The Doctor's'. The majority of these are composed in accompaniment to a single cantus firmus, which occurs in different parts, sometimes in inversion. The earliest examples document Cooke's systematic attempts to master the different intervals of imitation, bearing terms such

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[19]*Ibid.*, p. 79.

[20]Although in the remainder of the Cooke Collection there is less evidence of the hexachord's use as a compositional tool, Cooke's continued interest in the system is demonstrated by the presence of several hexachordal tables copied in his mature hand. More widely however, the system is not generally known to have been used other than by Pepusch's pupils, and is not advocated in other music treatises of the period. William Hayes, a pupil of Pepusch, writes disparagingly of his indoctrination into the system in his treatise, *The Art of Composing Music by a Method entirely New, suited to the Meanest Capacity* (London, 1751), pp. 14-5.

as 'Canon in unison', 'Canon Epidiatesseron', 'Canon in Subdiapason', as well as on occasion solmisation syllables. Of principal interest is a series of canons copied from a manuscript at one time owned by Pepusch but now in the British Library, manuscript number Add. 31391. Consisting of 20 vellum leaves and vellum bound, this small volume is believed to date from the sixteenth or early seventeenth century.[21] The canons therein are based on the plainsong melodies *O Lux*, *Per Naturarum*, and *Miserere*, and signed with the letters 'WB'. This fact, the apparent age of the volume and its learned contents led Pepusch and others in the eighteenth century to attribute these canons to William Byrd. However, a perceived absence of musicality in these works along with their wanton complexity has led modern day scholars to judge these works uncharacteristic of Byrd. Philip Brett, for example, has conjectured that the initials 'WB' could signify the little-known contemporary of Byrd, William Bath.[22]

Nevertheless under the instruction of Pepusch Cooke studied these canons with extreme care, more than likely believing them to embody the theoretical essence of learned counterpoint as conceived by England's finest ever practitioner. From folios 88 to 95r of RCM MS 823 may be observed diplomatic transcriptions from Pepusch's manuscript (BL Add. 31391), replicating not just the style of notation, but also the initials 'WB'. In each case this is followed by Cooke's own resolution, the first of which can be seen in Example 3.1. For each of the eight canons transcribed, Cooke states the date on which it was copied and the date when it was resolved, usually two days later. According to this, from 7 April until 14 May 1751 Cooke worked his way through Pepusch's volume in strict order, beginning with folio 1 and abandoning the exercise at folio 7 (a third of the way through the volume).

The Cooke Collection reveals that this interest in the strictest form of counterpoint became for Cooke a lifelong preoccupation. This is reflected, not least, in the many fugues and canons composed for keyboard as well as rounds and canonic vocal works, which taken together form a significant proportion of his output. Particularly notable examples, to be discussed in the next chapter, include his published 'Amen' canon (*Canon by twofold augmentation*) and the even more elaborate nine-part 'War begets poverty'. Consisting of a five-part round accompanied by two two-part canons this epitomises the extent of his preoccupation with counterpoint. Although

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[21]Philip Brett, 'Did Byrd Write 'Non Nobis, Domine'', *Musical Times*, 113 (1972), 855-7.

[22]*Ibid.*, p. 855.

as later chapters reveal, strict counterpoint played a comparatively small part in Cooke's larger-scale works, its prevalence in the Collection attests to a specific role it played in the thinking of supporters of ancient music.

Whilst in the later eighteenth century counterpoint retained, as now, a distinct place in general musical education, it was (as discussed in Chapter 1) considered by mainstream opinion 'unnatural', 'gothic' and unfashionable. Its general position is suggested in the following comments made in a harmony treatise published in London in 1760 by the Italian theorist Giorgio Antoniotto (ca. 1692-1776). Whilst concurring that strict counterpoint might seem 'as a musical pedantry... not properly fit for the general pleasure of the public', he nevertheless maintained that its study constituted 'the best and necessary means for acquiring a perfect knowledge of all sorts of combinations and progressions of harmony.'[23]

Although Cooke and other supporters of ancient music would have agreed with the latter part of this statement, counterpoint (according to their thinking) enjoyed a position way above the requirements of mere pedagogy. This stemmed in part of course from their taste for vocal polyphony as performed at the Academy, and a belief in the enduring value of contrapuntal music by composers of the Restoration and later. The many contrapuntal workings in the Cooke Collection reveal Cooke's preoccupation with counterpoint to have been integral not just to his composing but also to his historical and theoretical inquiry. The nature and significance of this inquiry is revealed in a series of canon resolutions undertaken by Cooke in the 1770s, to be discussed next. These typify the quest to understand and identify the component parts of ancient music in order to justify its position as an archetypal language and thereby furnish 'a ground for criticism'. Significantly, in this quest may be seen a manifestation of the wider eighteenth-century imperative described earlier, to view artistic productions of the past as a source of immutable principle and frame of reference for the present.

Located in RCM MS 810, ff. 60-3, these canon resolutions were subsequently published in Hawkins' *History* in order to illustrate his discussion of the invention of fugue and canon. It is in combination with Hawkins' commentary that these specimens so effectively reveal the status of counterpoint in the minds of Cooke and his circle. Hawkins' comments help to provide the context and justification for the wider prevalence of counterpoint throughout the Cooke Collection.

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[23]Giorgio Antoniotto, *L'arte armonica; or a Treatise on the Composition of Musick*, 2 vols. (London, 1760), vol. I, p. 92.

The canons themselves were discovered in a source now in the British Library (BL RM.f.23), described by Hawkins as 'a very curious manuscript formerly in the library of Dr. Pepusch'. This includes 24 elaborate canons on plainsong tunes (chiefly *Miserere*), one of them anonymous and the rest bearing attributions (all now considered doubtful) to Clemens non Papa (1), Guillaume van Messaus (4) and finally John Bull (18) one of which is reproduced in Example 3.2. Little else is known about the source's provenance other than its end leaf inscription which reads 'ex Dono Willi Theed'. According to Hawkins this refers to a figure 'very well skilled in the science' who was 'for many years a member of the Academy of Ancient Music'.[24] In comparison with other manuscripts studied by Cooke this source is by no means early, its outward appearance being suggestive of the earlier eighteenth century. The fact that none of its contents could be found in print had led even Hawkins to conclude 'that their authenticity should be ascertained'. Nevertheless, the important place its contents held in Hawkins' *History* is testament to the extent to which these canons suited his purposes. This was in part due to the compendious manner in which they exemplify different canonic procedures, ranging from straightforward canon in unison to highly complex utilisations of inversion and retrograde motion for four and five voices. It seems likely however that another attractive feature of these canons was the geometric designs according to which they were scored, consisting of staves arranged in circles and triangles, through which relationships between the different parts were revealed. These Hawkins reproduced 'with a view to exhibit the singularity of their contexture, and the mutual relation and various progressions of the several sounds'.[25] For Hawkins and others of like mind, this format only reinforced the notion that abstract harmony could manifest those 'material forms which constitute what we call symmetry, beauty and regularity' and that 'geometrical truth' resulting from universal laws of nature. Although of course in this manifestation the correspondence with symmetry was to some extent merely visual, this quality seems to have been attractive nevertheless.

Cooke resolved five canons from BL RM.f.23., all of which bear the annotation in RCM MS 810 'sent to Mr H.'. Three of these were subsequently published in Hawkins' *History*: the famous *Canon á ronde* formerly attributed to Clemens non Papa and two triangular four- and five-part canons attributed to John Bull, the first of which is shown in both resolved and geometric form in Example 3.2.

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[24]Hawkins, *A General History*, vol. I, p. 302.

[25]*Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 301.

In a manner typical of all indoctrinated under Pepusch's sphere of influence, Hawkins sought to establish a connection between the immutable language of strict counterpoint and the authority of ancient Greek music theory. In these complex and highly theoretical examples he perceived the ultimate manifestation of the timeless basis of music in its highest form. He believed that in historical terms they manifested the 'improvements' developed soon after the invention of canon, which he surmised had taken place in the early sixteenth century. According to Hawkins, these improvements were part of the general upsurge in learning that had taken place at that time, of which Franchinus Gaffurius (1451-1522) was particularly important in the field of music. Gaffurius had had translations made of ancient Greek music theory which (along with his own 'precepts') were then disseminated across Europe. Founded on ancient Greek theory, these precepts had made possible the 'models of musical perfection' to be found among the works of Palestrina, Lassus, de Monte and Willaert.[26]

At no point did Hawkins try to explain how the canons attributed to Bull and Clemens non Papa relate to theory, or his history of counterpoint. He merely follows his discussion of Gaffurius with a brief account of the development from strict two-part canon as exemplified in Andreas Ornithoparcus's treatise of 1535, to its more elaborate manifestations culminating with the examples from BL RM.f.23 as resolved by Cooke. This he accompanied with extracts from other early treatises, principally that of Thomas Morley.

The closest Hawkins came to a successful explanation of his belief in counterpoint as a universal language of nature is in a paragraph at the end of the section. This is central not only to his entire agenda but as an explanation for the preoccupation with counterpoint shared by fellow Academicians and evidenced throughout the Cooke Collection. For this reason it is quoted in full below. Although by no means convincing, this nevertheless manifests a rare demonstration of the methodological processes through which Hawkins sought to raise music's status. Having investigated the history of theory and learned harmony, Hawkins here consummates this with an explanation of how it was that this 'language of nature' operated as a superlative art form. With this, Hawkins sought to transcend imitative explanations of music as propounded by contemporary aestheticians, and establish the immutable value of counterpoint. Firstly, he argued that the archetypal value of canon and fugue

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[26]*Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 293.

was founded upon the order imposed by its syntax, which he claimed, rather than dulling music's sense and spirit (as most argued at that time), enhanced its effect. Secondly and more importantly, he found strict counterpoint (as established more than 200 years before with the assistance of ancient Greek music theory) to be consistent with the notion of comparative beauty. This was for Academicians and supporters of ancient music perhaps the ultimate justification for their study of ancient music:

> From the foregoing explanation of the nature of canon it must appear to be a very elaborate species of musical composition, and in which perhaps, substance, that is to say, fine air and melody is made to give place to form; just as we see in those fanciful poetical conceits, acrostics, anagrams, chronograms, etc. where the sense and spirit of the composition is ever subservient to its form; but the comparison does not hold throughout, for the musical compositions above spoken of derive an advantage of a peculiar kind from those restraints to which they are subjected; for in the first place the harmony is thereby rendered more close, compact, and full; nor does this harmony arise merely from the concordance of sounds in the several parts, but each distinct part produces a succession of harmony in itself, the laws of fugue or canon being such as generally to exclude those dissonant intervals which take away from the sweetness or melody of the point. In the next place the ear is gratified by the successive repetition of the point of a fugue through all its parts; and the mind receives the same pleasure in tracing the exact resemblance of the several parts each to the other, as it does in comparing a picture or statue with its archetype; the truth of this observation must be apparent to those who are aware of the scholastic distinction of beauty into absolute and relative.[27]

With this last point Hawkins invoked the eighteenth-century philosopher Francis Hutcheson's belief in a universal sense of beauty according to which there were two varieties, original (absolute) and comparative (relative). Here Hawkins alludes to the latter, to be found in imitation when a unity between an original and its copy is achieved. In such ways Hawkins valiantly sought to lend his taste for ancient music a justification in philosophy, thereby 'furnishing' his 'ground for criticism'.

Throughout the Cooke Collection there are examples of counterpoint that in turn abut with speculative music theory in much the same way as in Hawkins' *History*. It seems not unlikely therefore that Hawkins only came to Cooke for assistance in the preparation of his *History* on account of Cooke's similarity of mind. For Cooke however, it was as a composer that his intellectual inquiry achieved its ultimate

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[27]*Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 303.

manifestation. Before examining Cooke's music there is one further aspect of the Cooke Collection to be discussed. Although this also relates to studies of ancient sources undertaken in conjunction with Hawkins, here we are concerned more with Cooke's examining and editing of actual music.

As argued earlier, the Cooke Collection manifests in many ways the preoccupations broadly shared by those engaged in the eighteenth century 'ordering of the arts' and the associated emergence of arts criticism. Borne of a two-fold preoccupation with principle and past practice, this entailed not simply the study of theoretical writings but an investigation of all manner of artistic productions of past ages, unprecedented in its scope. To achieve this, ancient documents were procured and scrutinised as a means of discovering the diversity of earlier artistic styles along with their gradual development over the course of time. For supporters of ancient music, this endeavour entailed not simply a study of the finest examples of polyphony but also of music that had either led to it or existed alongside it.

In his provision of musical examples for Hawkins' *History*, Cooke played an important part in this. By transcribing music of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries from ancient sources, Cooke not only facilitated the illustration of Hawkins' accounts but made available in modern notation and in print ancient music hitherto unknown in modern times. Although undertaken at the behest of Hawkins (who famously lacked the knowledge and skills to do it himself), it was Cooke who actually executed the task of decrypting archaic notations, which to the eighteenth-century observer would have been alien. With few or perhaps no models for guidance other than what he had learnt from Pepusch, Cooke was engaged in a groundbreaking endeavour to establish a usable musical past. It is for these reasons that the presence of such examples in the Cooke Collection is of significance to English musical and cultural history.

Perhaps the most important example of this is represented by two copies of the anonymous mediaeval round 'Sumer is icumin in' to be found in RCM MS 808, ff. 52-7. These comprise a facsimile copy of the original manuscript, according to Cooke 'Wrote by Mister Robert Hudson of St. Paul's in 1770',[28] followed on the succeeding folios with a realisation in modern notation by Cooke, as shown in Example 3.3. In another annotation (above his realisation) Cooke explains that the

[28]At St Paul's Cathedral, London, Robert Hudson served as vicar choral (1756) and almoner and master of the children (1773-93). See R.H. Sharp, 'Hudson, Robert (1732-1815)', rev. K.D. Reynolds, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004).

work was 'extracted from a MS in the British Museum no 978 in the Harle[i]an Catalogue where it stands wrote in the same Characters as the forgoing Copy, from which it was reduced into the following form.'

As the earliest extant secular composition harmonically and melodically identifiable as a 'tonal organism', 'Sumer is icumin in' [29] is fundamental to the history of western music. Now believed to have been composed in England around 1250, it constitutes a particularly elaborate example of the rota (the thirteenth-century term for a round). Set for three to twelve voices, it is supported by a texted pes, a melodic ostinato also found in English motets of the period.

In his *History* Hawkins reproduced both Cooke's realisation and a facsimile of the original manuscript of the work, declaring it 'the most ancient English song with the musical notes perhaps anywhere extant',[30] a claim that holds true to this day. However, judging this composition to be 'of the figurative kind' which he believed to have been invented by John Dunstable (ca. 1390-1453), Hawkins incorrectly surmised that the work dated from 'about the middle of the fifteenth century'. In Hawkins' discussion of canon and fugue this work was used to exemplify 'a species of fugue in the unison, wherein for particular reasons the strict rules of harmony are frequently dispensed with, namely, the catch or round', of which he claimed the English were the inventors.[31]

Cooke's realisation of 'Sumer is icumin in' in modern notation is probably the earliest printed version of the work ever to have been published. As such it played a historical role in bringing to light Europe's musical past, presented for the first time in a way understandable to modern-day readers. Cooke's treatment of it is broadly consistent with recent attempts to realise this work in modern notation, except that he chose not to transcribe ligatures in the pes. Interestingly, Cooke, who supposed the work to date from 'about the time of King Henry 3' (1207-72), came closer to the modern-day estimate than did Hawkins. Typical of Cooke's practice elsewhere, compositional procedures underlying 'Sumer is icumin in' were subsequently introduced into his own part songs, to which he applied the designation 'rota' following the Medieval use of the term.

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[29]Ernest H. Sanders, 'Sumer is icumin in', *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, rev. edn., S. Sadie and J. Tyrrell (London, 2001).

[30]Hawkins, *A General History*, vol. I, p. 201.

[31]*Ibid.*, vol. I, pp. 303-4.

Realisation of 'Sumer is icumin' seems to have presented for Cooke fewer difficulties than did the contents of another source also important in the history of English music, the Fayrfax Manuscript. Now in the British Library (Add. 5465), the Fayrfax Manuscript is considered one of two principal documents upon which present day knowledge of early Tudor secular song is based.[32] Dating from around 1500, it is named, in part at least, after the composer Robert Fayrfax (1464-1521) whose compositions it contains. Its naming, however, is also believed to relate to its seventeenth-century former owners, the famous Fairfax family of Yorkshire (which included the 'Great Lord Fairfax' (1612-71)) to whom the composer was no relation.[33] In addition to works of Fayrfax, the manuscript also includes songs by William Newark (1450?-1509), Richard Davy (ca. 1465-ca. 1507), Sheryngham (fl. ca. 1500), Browne (fl. ca. 1490), Edmund Turges (ca.1450) and William Cornysh (d. 1523). Comprising 49 part songs scored for two and three voices, the volume's contents are broadly grouped into courtly love songs followed by religious songs then songs of a lighter more satirical nature.

It is not known how Cooke obtained access to this manuscript, although it seems likely that it was through Hawkins. In an annotation in the table of contents to RCM MS 808 he describes his transcriptions as an 'Explanation of some old Manuscripts extracted from a large Vellum Book belonging to Mr. Gosling of. Canterbury. 1770'. Although William Gostling (1696-1777) was a noted collector of ancient music manuscripts, he is not known to have owned the Fayrfax Manuscript. Cooke's inaccuracy here possibly results from the length of time elapsing between examination of the manuscript and the writing of his annotation. It is believed that in the eighteenth century the manuscript was owned by Ralph Thoresby of Leeds and then John White of Newgate.[34] This is corroborated not least by Hawkins, who refers to the manuscript as 'Mr Thoresby's MS' and Charles Burney who in his *History* later praised John White for the obliging 'manner in which he allowed his collection to be viewed and examined by his friends.'[35]

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[32]*Early Tudor Songs and Carols*, ed. John Stevens, Music Britannica XXXVI (London, 1975), p. xv.

[33]*Ibid.*

[34]*Ibid.*

[35]Charles Burney, *A General History of Music* (1776-89), ed. F. Mercer, 2 vols. (London, 1935), vol. II, p. 773. Burney also included in his *History* transcriptions from the Fayrfax Manuscript, but of different songs.

In RCM MSS 808, 810, 814 and 822 can be found two copies and 11 transcriptions in various degrees of completion of eight works from the Fayrfax Manuscript, comprising two each by Cornysh and Newark, one each by Davy, Browne and Turges and one anonymous. Six of the songs transcribed are those of a lighter style located towards the end of the Fayrfax Manuscript, chosen perhaps for their similarity to eighteenth-century convivial part songs. Cooke's numerous corrections and drafts reflect the difficulties transcribing this music presented for him on account no doubt of his unfamiliarity with both its notation and style. In particular, the various versions of the same songs reveal how he experimented with different note values, clefs, metres and accidentals in order to present these works in a manner comprehensible to eighteenth-century readers. It may well have been Cooke's experiences that led Hawkins to exclaim that such sources 'written without bars and with ligatures' were in a 'character so obsolete, that all hope of rendering [them] to any tolerable degree intelligible...must be given up.'[36] This absence of bar lines would have been made all the more problematic by the use of coloration as a means of indicating changes in rhythmic values, as well as the unfamiliar modal language. Hawkins published just two Cooke realisations alongside the texts from a further eight, stating 'better success has attended the attempts to recover the mere words of these songs and ballads'. Despite the 'coarseness of the raillery' and their 'profaneness, or indelicacy of expression', these texts were included, Hawkins claimed, in order to 'present to our view a true picture of the times'.[37]

For Hawkins the Fayrfax Manuscript was key to understanding a particular phase in England's musical past. As Hawkins saw it, 'the sixteenth century had been a time of tumultuous change in church music, when books and manuscripts were destructed due to it being the end of an era.' Originating directly before this time, the survival of the Fayrfax Manuscript was thus all the more fortunate as a rare documentation of this little-known period in the development of English music. For Hawkins, its contents demonstrated English music to have been at this time behind that of its neighbours:

> Till about the commencement of the sixteenth century, it does not appear that any of the English masters had attempted to emulate the Flemmings or Italians in the composition of madrigals... Songs and ballads, with easy tunes

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[36]Hawkins, *A General History*, vol. I, p. 368.

[37]*Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 373.

> adapted to them, must at all times have been the entertainment, not only for common people, but of the better sort.[38]

One of the two transcriptions published in Hawkins' *History* was the satirical court song 'Ay besherewe me yow' by William Cornysh. Of this there are in the Cooke Collection four different manifestations comprising one sketch (RCM MS 808, ff. 58v), a copy of the original (RCM MS 822, ff. 124-6) and two fair copy realisations, both quite distinct from each other (RCM MS 814, ff. 110-11, 112-13r).

For the version published (RCM MS 814, ff. 110-11) Cooke modernised spellings of the text, doubled note values, altered clefs and transposed the pitch down a fifth (Example 3.4). By transposing from G without sharps to C major (with B naturals), Cooke negated all the flattened sevenths that characterise this work. In addition, he introduced occasional F sharps in order to establish momentary modulations to G major, alien to the style of the original. Through this, Cooke neutralised the work's modal characteristics in favour of a style more consistent with that of the eighteenth century. Similarly, the frequent triplet passages, so typical of the period, which are indicated in the original by red notation, were realised by Cooke through rigid time-signature alternations from 4/4 to 3/4. Through this Cooke achieved for 'Ay besherewe me yow' a stylistic reincarnation approaching in many respects that of part song genres of his own day. In this, however, should not be perceived an absence of empathy for earlier styles. Musical historicism being in its infancy at this time, it seems that Cooke, like Hawkins, found the work bewildering in the form in which he found it. Faced with the daunting task of presenting it to the public, his only recourse was to adapt its language and notation so as to conform better to music of his time. Nevertheless, in such transcriptions may be observed a precursor to the many publications of then long-forgotten music subsequently produced over the following decades. Particularly relevant here is the groundbreaking *Collection of English Songs...Composed about the year 1500* (published in 1779) in which Cooke's fellow collaborator on Hawkins' *History*, John Stafford Smith, published an entire selection of songs from the Fayrfax Manuscript.

The Cooke Collection contains many further instances, too numerous to mention here of Cooke's investigations into ancient music and theory, reflecting his aspiration to establish music's principles and elucidate its past. Throughout this chapter it has been argued that in this the Cooke Collection manifests a highly insightful embodiment of ideas known to have been held by fellow Academicians as

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[38] *Ibid.*

well as those intellectuals who sought to 'order the arts'. For Cooke, however, these activities are only to be understood in their most meaningful context when viewed alongside the activity for which he is most remembered, as composer. It is with this that the remainder of this study is concerned.

Chapter 4

The Recasting of Ancient Styles in a Modern Context: Cooke's Part Songs and Orchestral Anthems of the 1760s and 70s

After all that has been said thus far concerning Cooke's enthusiasm for theory and history, an element of academic pedantry might seem inevitable in his music. This however was never the case: on the contrary, throughout his long composing career Cooke exuded a distinctive musical personality borne of a genuine creative talent. A winning characteristic permeating much of Cooke's music was an unassuming directness, aptly termed by one contemporary 'a happy boldness of effect'. The same unidentified commentator summed up the constituent components of Cooke's contribution as a composer and as a man with the following remarks:

> Of his knowledge in music, it is needless to say anything; his works are a sufficient testimony: but it will not be an easy matter to determine whether he is most admired for the excellence of his compositions, or for the simplicity of his manners, and the integrity of his heart.[1]

Nevertheless, for the purposes of this study we must focus upon the way in which Cooke's *oeuvre* was conditioned by his life as an Academician and, in particular, one who sought through learning to view and create musical style anew. Like virtually all composers of his period Cooke left no manifesto or explanation of his aims as a composer. Nevertheless, the existence of broad aims is evident not just from consideration of the intellectual background described earlier but also in Cooke's music itself. In this may be perceived the same interests and spirit of intellectual inquiry that characterises his theorising and musical historicism. Whilst these interests are reflected throughout Cooke's output, it was at the critical point in his career when he was producing his defining musical statements that they were put to most effective and imaginative use.

In the previous chapter, it was observed that Cooke's peak of productivity occurred in the 1760s and 1770s when he produced his definitive works. During this period Cooke used his learning not just to emulate the past, but as a means of responding anew to musical issues of his day. It is, therefore, these works that form the focus of

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[1] *European Magazine*, vii (1785), 14-15.

this chapter. Rejecting the pleasant but undemanding styles prevalent in mid to later eighteenth-century England, Cooke clearly sought to orient his musical style in a distinctive direction. A primary objective in these works was to produce statements of grandeur, seriousness and substance, qualities generally lacking in fashionable music of his day. In this approach may be observed the embodiment in practical terms of the general aspiration of supporters of ancient music to regain for music the status it had enjoyed, both practically and theoretically, in the past.

Significantly, the majority of Cooke's most interesting and innovative works were composed either for the Noblemen and Gentlemen's Catch Club or the Academy. It was in the orchestral anthems, composed principally for the Academy, that Cooke achieved his most striking composition statements. Composed, it seems, not for use in church but for secular performance, this genre proved especially propitious as a vehicle through which to achieve his artistic aims. By setting serious Old Testament texts, and deploying the rhetoric of oratorio as well as techniques from the venerable tradition of English church music, Cooke clearly sought to build on the past.

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Cooke's orchestral anthem composition during this period never entailed slavish recreation of obsolete musical styles. Rather, he presented tradition in an entirely new light. Although substance and learning would always be overriding constants, Cooke also demonstrated a keen awareness of some of the qualities valued by mainstream musical opinion at this time. This is revealed by a tendency to simplicity and clarity of word setting, as well as occasional forays into galant style of the period. Cooke also displayed a pronounced enthusiasm for the new instruments and techniques of modern orchestration, which often play an essential role in his strategies for expression.

Throughout Cooke's mature sacred works a sense of stylistic coherence is assured by his consistency of artistic aim: namely to compose music of substance and gravitas. Through this, Cooke forged musical styles that, though essentially inconsistent with mainstream tastes, frequently anticipated later developments. This is exemplified not least in Cooke's invocations of the Sublime through which he foreshadowed similar stylistic outcomes to those achieved by Haydn in *The Creation*. In Cooke's attempts to present musical substance to audiences of his day may be observed perhaps the ultimate manifestation in compositional terms of his aspiration, cited in earlier chapters, that 'good music and true harmony may long improve and flourish in the kingdom to the promotion of religion and virtue to the exclusion of vice.'[2]

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[2]Benjamin Cooke, *Musical Conjectures*, Tenbury MS 1344, now in Bodleian, f. 139v.

Before discussing examples of the orchestral anthem in detail, it is useful at this stage to focus upon another area of Cooke's activities undertaken during the 1760s and 70s. This is the composition of part song, which for Cooke entailed glees, catches, rounds and canons. In these we see a more straightforward historicism than that manifested in his orchestral anthems. Cooke's engagement in this area of composition is of interest for two reasons. Firstly, these small-scale movements seem to have constituted for Cooke an ideal context in which to experiment and practice ancient contrapuntal techniques and ancient forms. In this, they constitute a clear counterpart to the researches prevalent throughout the Cooke Collection, described in the previous chapter. Secondly, the apparent receptiveness of convivial part song culture to Cooke's theoretical and historicist interests reveals the extent to which his historicist preoccupations extended to broader eighteenth-century musical life. Although, of course, catch clubs were to large degree places for smoking, drinking and socialising, Cooke's involvement in this sphere suggests nevertheless a high-minded and esoteric aspect to this culture.

The emergence and rapid growth of glee and catch club culture in the mid eighteenth century, around the time when Cooke reached his maturity as a composer, was itself viewed by many as a rekindling of elements of England's glorious musical past. The catch in particular was considered by eighteenth-century enthusiasts to be an ancient tradition traceable (as Cooke had found) back to the period of 'Sumer is icomen in'. It was, however, in the seventeenth century that the genre had reached its peak of popularity, as a type of bawdy, comic round for male voices. The earliest printed examples were to be found alongside rounds, sol-fa-ing pieces and tavern songs in a sequence of volumes published by Thomas Ravenscroft in the early seventeenth century. Cooke's first-hand knowledge of Ravenscroft's publications is revealed, not least, in the existence of copies of part songs from Ravenscroft's *Briefe Discourse* 'render'd into Modern Characters & Scord [by] BC' in the Cooke Collection (RCM MSS 814, ff. 118-19 and 821, f. 66).

Like Ravenscroft in the seventeenth, as well as many in the eighteenth century, Cooke's enthusiasm for the catch was accompanied by an interest in rounds and other canonic works, some of which were set to sacred words. This is one of the ways in which the historicist and theoretical preoccupations of Cooke are shown to have extended way beyond the esoteric confines of the Academy. Likewise, this demonstrates the importance of the historicist activities of figures such as Cooke in

establishing the historical background to the convivial song culture of the later eighteenth century.

In the mind of Cooke and many others in the eighteenth century, the glee too was a form strongly linked to a musical ideal of a bygone age. Although essentially an eighteenth-century invention catering for eighteenth-century musical and literary sensibilities, it was perceived as a successor to the madrigal. Ill defined as a form, the glee had the following characteristics, paraphrased here from a description of the genre by Stanley Sadie.[3] It was usually sung by male voices, generally three or four, one-to-a-part, and organised in sectional form so that changes in the mood or imagery of the words could quickly be reflected in the music. Many glees show a mixture of imitative writing and simple homophony. The verse itself is occasionally Elizabethan, or modelled on Elizabethan or Jacobean poetry: 'though very often dealing with love, requited or otherwise, it did so in idealistic terms and avoided the extreme bawdiness that marked the catch tradition.'

The convivial part song culture of later eighteenth-century England was as much a social as a musical phenomenon. Of the many catch clubs that sprang up all over England during this period the most prominent was the distinguished London-based Noblemen and Gentlemen's Catch Club (which will be referred to hereafter by its more common designation, the Catch Club), of which Cooke was a professional member from 1767. Cooke's annotations in the Cooke Collection indicate that it was for this organisation that a third of his 140 part songs were composed, with possibly more unindicated. Furthermore it was to the Catch Club that Cooke's 1775 published set of 19 part songs was dedicated, with a further 35 appearing in the collections published annually from 1763 to 1794 by the secretary of the club and Academy member, Edmund Thomas Warren.

Like the Academy, the Catch Club was a place not simply for performing and enjoying old music but also an outlet for new compositions. An important early innovation that quickly led to a rapid expansion of new part song repertoire was the introduction of annually presented prize medals for the best catches, canons and glees, of which Cooke won seven. The winners of these competitions formed the basis of Warren's collections. The ethos of musical renaissance and cultivation underlying the Catch Club's activities is conveyed by Cooke himself in the dedication he wrote in his 1775 set:

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[3]Stanley Sadie, 'Music in the Home II', in *Music in Britain: The Eighteenth Century*, H. Diack Johnston and Roger Fiske, eds. (Oxford, 1990), pp. 351-2.

> To the NOBLEMEN and GENTLEMEN Members of the Catch Club Society under whose Patronage this Species of Vocal Musick, too long neglected, has been not only reviv'd, but also by the most generous motives to Emulation among Students in the Science has been cultivated and encourag'd.

At the Catch Club, Cooke would have met many who were also in the Academy, both amongst its professional and gentlemen members. Annotations in the Cooke Collection reveal members for whom some of his part songs were written, including the Earl of Sandwich and Watkins Williams Wynn, both subsequent directors of the Concert of Ancient Music.

As a composer Cooke explored the whole gamut of convivial song culture from drinking songs, rounds and lighthearted glees, to lengthy elegies and complex contrapuntal works set to sacred texts. In the glee genre Cooke excelled as a composer, producing many well-crafted and highly expressive specimens and revealing a deep knowledge of and sensitivity to literature. In particular, glees such as 'Hark! hark the lark' and 'Hand in hand with fairy grace' captured the exuberant essence of the genre, and were widely published and performed well into the nineteenth century. In catches such as 'The longitude mist on' and 'The cock match', Cooke ably explored the baser aspects of eighteenth-century catch culture. The focus of this study is, however, on Cooke's deployment in these genres of his historical knowledge and theoretical interests. Over and above the historicist elements inherent in the catch and glee, many of Cooke's works demonstrate how for him these genres constituted a vehicle through which to realise these interests.

A prime example is one of the works for which Cooke is best known, his *Canon by twofold augmentation* set to the word 'Amen' reproduced in Example 4.1. Published in Warren's fourteenth collection, this gained a prize medal in the Catch Club competitions of 1775. Lasting just 12 bars and set for three male voices (ATB), the top part of this strict canon is imitated at the fifth and octave below in quadruple and double augmentation respectively. It is works such as this that manifest in the most explicit terms the practical application of Cooke's researches described in the previous chapter. Such display epitomised the learnedness and ingenuity for which Cooke and his circle were, by different schools of thought, lauded or scorned. Moreover, this particular example of learned counterpoint enjoys a particular distinction as one of Cooke's few works to enjoy an unbroken tradition of performance dating back to the eighteenth century: ever since it has been sung by

Catch Club members as grace at their regular formal dinners.[4] The work also achieved longevity in the form of an engraving to be found on Cooke's tombstone in Westminster Abbey.

A further two works of this nature enjoyed pride of place at the end of Cooke's set of part songs published in 1775. One of these is a retrograde and inverted canon, possibly inspired by those attributed to John Bull that Cooke had studied, as described in the previous chapter. Cooke's exercise in this form is published both in modern notation and in geometric format 'in imitation of the old method' (Examples 4.2 and 4.3). Although set to the words 'To the Father Son and Holy Ghost', Cooke indicates that it can be 'sung to any psalm in common meter'.

The work is scored for four voices (SSBB) and consists of just four phrases. Its material comprises two themes, the two upper parts sharing the first and the two lower the second. Each of the individual lines constitutes a palindrome in itself, whilst further retrograde relationships exist between each of the individual phrases of the two upper and two lower parts. This is to some degree made apparent by the square shaped score. The top and left hand side of the score contains all the material sung by the two upper lines whilst the bottom and right-side lines contain that sung by the two lower parts.

The top line of the square contains phrases 1 and 4 of the two upper parts (S1 and S2) and is explained thus:

Top line of square: = S1 phrase 1
= S2 phrase 1 backwards
= S1 phrase 4 backwards
= S2 phrase 4

The bottom line of the square contains phrases 1 and 4 of the two lower parts (B1 and B2) and is explained thus:

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[4]Viscount Gladstone, Guy Boas and Harald Christopherson, *Noblemen and Gentlemen's Catch Club: Three Essays towards its History* (London, 1996), p. 60.

Bottom line of square: = B1 phrase 1 backwards
= B2 phrase 1
= B1 phrase 4
= B2 phrase 4 backwards

Following this same pattern the right and left sides of the square contain the second and third phrases.

Cooke also composed complex rounds and canons more in keeping with the general catch tradition, but which nevertheless displayed contrapuntal ingenuity. A particularly elaborate example of this is his nine-part work to be found in RCM MS 814, f. 54r entitled 'War begets poverty' composed in 1774 (Example 4.4). Set for tenors and basses (TTBBBBBBB), this is a five-part round accompanied by a four in two canon, described by Cooke as 'A round for 5 Voices enclosing 2 Canons'. Complexity is compounded here by the existence of three different texts, sung simultaneously. Whilst the round is set to the words of the title, the two canons each have texts of their own ('all things change' along with its Latin translation 'omnium rerum vicissitudo'). In one of the sources Cooke suggests that, like the example above, this too was originally scored geometrically, in imitation of the 'old style'. In an annotation he describes how 'A Copy on a Large Card Paper in three Circles enclosing each other' had existed 'at the Crown & Anchor'. As the home of the Academy at this time, this suggests the work was perhaps composed and performed for that institution, and also offers a tantalising glimpse of how it might have been performed there by its nine singers.

Although the stirring impact such canons for men's voices would have made in performance might be considered reason enough for their creation, it seems certain that Cooke and others like him were also driven by more esoteric motives. In these works may be observed an almost ostentatious exhibition of learned counterpoint requiring an ingenuity far exceeding that required for plain part song. In particular, the palindromic qualities Cooke took such trouble to devise would certainly not have been obvious in performance, either to listener or untrained eye. It seems definite therefore that such works were composed for reasons other than mere convivial music-making. Once again, this kind of musical statement seems to cohere with patterns to be observed elsewhere in Cooke's theoretical and practical approaches to music. Free of the stylistic and aesthetic issues raised by larger-scale movements to be discussed later, small-scale part song clearly offered an ideal context in which to

put into practice elements of the universal language of music, observed from music of the past. These works and others like them by other Catch Club composers must therefore be seen, in part, as intellectual exercises, devised in the knowledge that such ingenuity would be appreciated by fellow club members.

Learned counterpoint was by no means the only aspect of composition gleaned by Cooke from ancient sources for inclusion in his own works. A quite different ancient technique is to be found in the round 'Underneath lodges Nethanial Hodges', which Cooke indicates was sent to the Earl of Sandwich on 4 June 1770 (Example 4.5). Here Cooke reveals the influence of his historical researches through inclusion of a 'burden', a kind of refrain often found in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century song of which there are several examples in the Fayrfax manuscript. A further historicism is to be found in a round designated, in accordance with mediaeval terminology, a 'Canon nel rota' (Example 4.6). This is set to the text 'UT RElevet MIserum FAtum SOLitos que LAbores', a contraction by the Italian theorist Angelo Berardi (ca. 1636-94) of the text 'Ut queant laxis' originally used by Guido d'Arezzo as the means of teaching melodies through syllables. Following that ancient model, the first syllable of each word in Cooke's round sounds a successive pitch of the natural hexachord.

Cooke's historicism could also be put to more substantial and interesting effect through a sophisticated replication of stylistic elements observed from earlier music. Certain glees in particular display carefully observed references to the genre's supposed madrigalian roots. Perhaps best known in this regard is his glee 'In the merry month of May'. Here a range of madrigalian strategies (in terms of figuration, imitation, word setting and harmony) are presented in an essentially tonal glee idiom. This work won Cooke a Catch Club prize medal in 1773; it appeared both in his 1775 part song edition and in Warren's twelfth collection, as well as in many other subsequent publications of the later eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

A further example of such historically informed glee composition is to be observed in *Susannah and the Two Elders*, composed in 1771 and published in Warren's thirteenth collection (Example 4.7). In this learning and humour combine to evoke perhaps Cooke's most successful manifestation of this particular variety of musical historicism, for which reason it is described here in detail. As is so often the case in eighteenth-century glees, choice of text is fundamental to its success. In this instance, the text was drawn from the works of Matthew Prior (1664-1721) and written in imitation of Chaucer. Although, of course, Prior's imitation of fourteenth-

century literary style is not strictly equivalent to Cooke's musical invocation of the late Renaissance, the text nevertheless constituted a highly suitable literary counterpart to Cooke's musical historicism. Prior's tongue-in-cheek treatment of this moral Apocrypha tale provided an excellent subject through which to entertain the Catch Club. His text, quoted below is only slightly changed in Cooke's treatment in which musical and literary anachronism compound each other to superb effect:

> Fair Susan did her Wif-hede well menteine,
> Algates assaulted sore by Letchours tweine;
> Now, and I read aright that Auncient Song,
> Olde were the Paramours, the Dame full yong.
>
> Had thilke same Tale in other Guise been tolde;
> Had They been yong (pardie) and She been Olde;
> That, by St. Kit, had wrought much sorer Tryal,
> Full merveillous, I wrote, were swilk Denyal.[5]

Although ultimately conforming to the glee genre, Cooke's setting for four voices (SATB) is clearly inspired by the more lighthearted elements of the English madrigal, as well as general characteristics of renaissance musical style. In accordance with both the madrigal and glee, Cooke sets each line of verse with different material as a means of responding to the sense of the text. Each begins with a point of imitation recalling sixteenth-century polyphonic procedures. Renaissance style is further invoked through, for example, the deployment of repetitive rhythmic figures and the off-beat emphases in bars 29-46. Also of interest are Cooke's allusions to renaissance modal harmony. This he achieves through, for example, abrupt subdominant modulations, which though not consistent with true madrigalian procedures nevertheless would have sounded 'ancient' (bars 18, 33). Moreover, Cooke also introduces earlier instrumental idioms, for example, canzona figures for some of the themes (bars 14, 49) and, most interestingly, a reference to renaissance dance rhythm relationships for the line progression at bar 28. Here following a general pause Cooke executes a thematically related transition from duple to triple meter, reminiscent of the sixteenth-century pavan/galliard relationship. This cleverly reflects the meaning of the new line of text, 'Had thilke same tale in other guise been tolde'.

Through these means Cooke adeptly realises in musical terms the anachronism inherent in Prior's text in a manner responsive to its suggestive humour: for

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[5]Matthew Prior, *Poems on Several Occasions* (London, 1718), p. 290.

example, in Cooke's portentous setting of the word 'Pardie' (meaning Pardieu, or by God) through recourse to a plagal amen cadence in which an entire bar is devoted to each syllable (bars 47-8). Another musical witticism is to be observed in Cooke's deployment of the English cadence in the alto and tenor parts, coinciding with the phrase 'that auncient song' (bars 21-2). Further parodying his own antiquarianism, the same text is presented in the soprano line in minims moving in stepwise motion, thereby recalling cantus firmus procedures (bars 19-22).

In addition to being a highly attractive glee, this work is significant as testament to Cooke's developed sense of style-consciousness. Whilst such consciousness was not rare in the later eighteenth century, a period of fundamental stylistic change, Cooke's deployment of it here to invoke the distant past is nevertheless remarkable. In *Susanna* and other such glees may be found more than simply a rendition of the learned canonic techniques described earlier. Here his replication of renaissance rhythm, harmony and melody constitutes an appropriation of the musical past altogether more subtle and carefully observed. Similarly remarkable is the ability Cooke displays to mold these stylistic traits into a system of four-square phrasing, cadential formulas and key deployment consistent with eighteenth-century musical discourse. Perhaps most important in this regard is the way complex line settings are juxtaposed clearly and simply. In this Cooke supplants the inherent complexity of the madrigal for a style consistent with later eighteenth-century sensibilities concerning expression and clarity of text setting.

In its references to musical styles of a past, golden age this work (like the others described above) might seem, ostensibly at least, to constitute an exercise in straightforward antiquarianism. In the orchestral anthems of the 1760s and 70s to be discussed next, however, the significance of Cookes historicism becomes clearer as it takes on a substantive role in some of his most ambitious and innovative musical statements. In these works Cooke builds upon the lofty and sublime statements of Palestrina, Byrd, Purcell and Handel in order to retain the substance and learning inherent in ancient music whilst responding to contemporary requirements for expression and simplicity. This adaptation of historicist elements to modern purposes emphasises the fact that, at his creative height, simply copying and parodying the past was never for Cooke his ultimate purpose. It is to these works that we turn now.

Cooke composed 19 anthems during the course of his career, surprisingly few considering that he was a prolific composer as well as organist of Westminster

Abbey (for details of these, see Appendix 3). Furthermore, with the exception of Handel, Cooke is unusual for his time in that he composed mainly large-scale orchestral anthems as opposed to church anthems accompanied only by organ. It is undoubtedly because of this that Cooke did not achieve the same fame for anthem composition as did Croft, Greene, Boyce and Kent, each of whom published church anthem collections which became commonplace in the eighteenth century. Nevertheless, Cooke's 11 extant orchestral 'concert anthems' represent a principal vehicle through which he sought to realise his own distinctive musical aims.

Cooke's production of anthems coincided broadly with his two peaks of compositional productivity in the late 1740s and early 50s, and in the 1760s and 70s. During the first of these (when under Pepusch's tutelage) Cooke composed a total of six anthems: four orchestral and two full anthems with continuo accompaniment. Whilst the latter two constitute recreations of antique motet style, undertaken perhaps as part of his education, the orchestral anthems are to some degree reflective of the general orchestral anthem style of this period, most particularly that of Greene and Boyce. All four are to be found in fair copy in a single manuscript volume (RCM MS 809). It seems likely it was these the former Royal College of Music Reference Librarian Watkins Shaw had in mind when he judged Cooke's anthem style as adhering 'to the style of the 1740s without much character'.[6] Although juvenilia, Cooke's annotations indicate that two of these received repeated performance at the Academy and two were composed for the annual Founder's Day celebrations of the Charter House Hall. Less extended than those by Greene and Boyce, all four display nevertheless a competence and stylish mastery of the Italianate baroque *lingua franca* common to the genre at this time. Modestly scored for strings, chorus and soloists these works include Corellian textured duets and arias typical of the period, as well as brief but successful contrapuntal choruses. Significantly, amongst the latter are the only examples to be found throughout Cooke's sacred works of the fully-fledged choral fugue.

It was not, however, until later in his career that Cooke would display the style-consciousness and innovation in orchestral anthem composition that would mark him out as a composer of note. The first works to display such characteristics were those composed in 1764, when Cooke returned to the genre following a 12-year lapse. From that year until his death Cooke produced 11 anthems, seven of which were orchestral, all but one of the latter predating 1775 (see Appendix 3).

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[6]Watkins Shaw, 'Cooke, Benjamin (ii)', *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. S. Sadie (London, 1980).

In returning to anthem composition Cooke was engaging with a genre no longer the avenue for musical greatness it had once been. Modern commentators have offered many reasons why the eighteenth-century musical environment proved less conducive to the cultivation of church music generally than the era of Byrd and Tallis. In particular, the later eighteenth-century imperatives for simplicity and expression of literal sentiment, along with the propensity for predictable four-bar phrasing have been blamed for nullifying the stylistic traditions of England's illustrious musical past. Such factors are evident in, for example, the church anthems of James Kent (1700-76) and James Nares (1715-83) that convey an insipidity of aesthetic aspiration and general triviality far removed from the works of their revered predecessors. Christopher Dearnley, for example, has observed in the progression from Renaissance polyphony to eighteenth-century style and aesthetic an accompanying subversion of music's propensity for profound expression:

> The personal mysticism that is revealed in Byrd's motets was fragmented in the struggle for order in the music of Blow and Purcell and disappeared entirely in the neat, symmetrical writing of the Georgian composers. By their time English church music was no longer in a position to enrich the symbolic expression of great mysteries but was limited to a literal and descriptive function, intensifying speech rather than by-passing words in the articulation of otherwise inexpressible thought and feeling.[7]

The problem has also been judged institutional, social and cultural. Nicholas Temperley has observed how the Anglican Church in Georgian times had engendered an environment inconducive to worship and that this in turn had had a negative effect on church music composition. A strictly rationalist belief in the 'ultimate power of man' supported by growing prosperity of upper classes minimised the 'mysticism, tradition and sentiment' that had stimulated earlier generations of composers.[8] In addition to this the development of concert life had further displaced sacred music from the revered position it held in the age of Purcell and before. As Dearnley explains, eighteenth-century English church music was increasingly diverted from the mainstream into lesser channels, 'having to negotiate all manner of obstacles before being diluted in a watery morass.'[9] This was a

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[7]Christopher Dearnley, *English Church Music 1650-1750* (London, 1970), p. 14.

[8]Nicolas Temperley, 'Music in Church', in *Music in Britain: The Eighteenth Century*, ed. H. Diack Johnstone and Roger Fiske (Oxford, 1990), p. 357.

[9]Dearnley, *English Church Music*, p. 18.

predicament also perceived at the time, and not least by supporters of ancient music such as Boyce and Hawkins, who observed that:

> The gay and the fashionable flock in crowds to places of public entertainment, to the opera, to the theatres, and concerts, and pretend to be charmed with what they hear. It was once as fashionable to be alike attracted by the charms of choral music, where the hearers were sure of enjoying all the delight that could result from the united powers of sublime poetry, and harmony the most exquisite.[10]

In the light of this it is notable that Cooke produced his definitive musical statements in a domain which proved barren at that time as an arena for musical advancement. Indeed, as we shall see, it was quite possibly the absence of convincing contemporary stylistic archetypes which assisted Cooke in forging an individualistic style in his mature orchestral anthems.

For Cooke the orchestral anthem constituted a propitious vehicle through which to further the venerated traditions of sacred music performed at the Academy. Through this genre he was able to convey profound introspection and sublime statements with the assistance of the expressive possibilities afforded by the modern orchestra. In his development and exploration of the genre's inherent possibilities Cooke's essays differed from those of contemporaries. By the eighteenth century the orchestral anthem's principal sphere of exposure had shifted from the Chapel Royal (for which Purcell and Blow had composed the defining examples of the genre) to public events. In this context orchestral anthems were composed for degree exercises, festivals and meetings of musical societies. Of the 150 surviving eighteenth-century orchestral anthems the principal composers were Croft, Handel, Pepusch, Greene, Boyce, Nares, Linley, Dupuis and Cooke.[11] As might be expected, these tended to be celebratory in nature, reflecting the events for which they were designed. Perhaps the most important examples are Handel's Chandos anthems, conceived to reflect the importance of their patron and consisting of Italianate extended cantata-like movements along with English fugal choruses. These, however, did not constitute principal antecedents for Cooke. For him, the influence of Handel would be drawn more from the rhetoric and style of the oratorio. The generally celebratory orchestral anthems by other English composers also influenced Cooke only partially during his

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[10]John Hawkins, 'Memoirs of Dr. Boyce', in *Cathedral Music*, ed. William Boyce, 2nd edn., (London, 1788), vol. I, pp. iv-v.

[11]Monte Atkinson, 'The Orchestral Anthem in England, 1700-1775', Ph.D. diss., University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1991.

mature period. This reflects the purely musical rather than celebratory environment presented by the Academy, for which most of Cooke's orchestral anthems appear to have been composed.

The stylistic dilemmas encountered by eighteenth-century composers in sacred music genres were however, if anything, heightened for an Academician such as Cooke. In reconciling the Academy's reverence for ancient 'harmony' with contemporary aesthetic sensibilities concerning simplicity and expression Cooke traversed a fundamental fault-line in eighteenth-century music philosophy. Before detailed examination of some of Cooke's mature orchestral anthems we will briefly explore these issues as they are essential to appreciating his very real achievement in this genre and thus as a composer.

Perhaps unsurprisingly it was in church music, a field prone to conservatism, that the friction between the opposing positions occupied by supporters of ancient, as opposed to modern music proved particularly apparent. This is evidenced in the writings of William Mason (1725-97), a Precentor of York Minster as well as supporter of modern music and associate of Charles Burney. Mason will be remembered from Chapter 1 where he was cited in the discussion of eighteenth-century aesthetics; this forms a useful background to the more in-depth exposition of Mason's ideas on church music to be given here. These were set out in four *Essays, Historical and Critical, on English Church Music*, published as a set at the end of his life in 1795.[12] Although postdating the period under consideration here by around 30 years (by which time their message was largely irrelevant), Mason's comments broadly reflect the musical environment encountered by Cooke. Indeed, Cooke's music and Mason's writings complement each other in the way both men appropriated the domain of sacred music in order to further their underlying musical agendas. Just as Cooke deployed the orchestral anthem as a vehicle through which to realise wider compositional aims, Mason chose sacred music as a battleground on which to oppose the entire critical tradition of ancient music.

Mason rejected not just the traditions from which the English anthem emanated but all ancient music, believing its style negated the ultimate purpose of music, which was to 'convey sentiments, and to affect the passions'.[13] For him a mass of Palestrina could 'never be found so intelligible, on first hearing, as one of

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[12]William Mason, *Essays, Historical and Critical, on English Church Music* (York, 1795).

[13]*Ibid.*, p. 112.

Pergolesi's', neither could 'a concerto of Geminiani be so readily understood as an overture of Jomelli's'.[14] This, Mason explained, was due to ancient music's inattentiveness to the powers of what he termed 'Accent and Rhythm and Cadence'. It was only through adept manipulation of these three crucial parameters that music could achieve its nobler end of moving the passions. Although the learned harmony of 'ancient music' might 'soothe the ear', it was ultimately the object of a lower species of criticism, which Mason pejoratively termed 'purely harmonical'. In a manner typifying the tone of the polemic between old and modern music, Mason sneered at all aspects of the musical culture held dear by supporters of ancient music, whom he mockingly termed 'old harmonists'. Thus, although Mason's ostensible concern in this publication was with sacred music, the following comment typifies his inability to resist denigrating all aspects of musical culture associated with the taste of ancient music:

> In their catches, their glees and their secular canons I leave them the free use of this complicated science: I only wish them to be more sparing of it when employed for the purposes of divine public worship.[15]

Mason's highhandedness was borne of the knowledge that his Rousseauian belief in the pre-eminence of melody was the dominant ideology of his day. Armed with this Mason turned Cooke's notion of a music founded on archetypal principles on its head. Rather than speaking the timeless language of harmony, the great polyphonists had subjugated melody beneath an edifice of unnatural, irrational, Gothic artifice:

> Disregard of melodious Air was a necessary consequence of this affectation of harmonical science, just as at the same time, plain and solid reasoning gave place to metaphysical subtlities, among the learned: for I am speaking of an age where every thing was scholastic; when there were School Men in Music as well as in Letters; and when, if learning had its Aquinas and Smiglecius, music had its Master Giles and its Dr Bull, who could split the seven notes of music into as many divisions as the others could split the ten categories of Aristotle.[16]

In this and other ways, supporters of modern music sought to counter the certainties of Hawkins and the intellectual curiosity of Cooke. Moreover, Mason diverged further from the Academicians' ideal of a 'language of nature' transcending words

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[14]*Ibid.*, p. 18.

[15]*Ibid.*, pp. 103-4.

[16]*Ibid.*, p. 99.

by promoting the Rousseauian notion that music should be modelled upon language and the human voice:

> In order to make Sound subservient to Sense, the Composer, on his part, will find it necessary to study the force and genius of his own language, full as much as the old laws of Counterpoint; to enter also, some-what philosophically into the nature of sounds to find those which best express the different passions, in order to adapt the tone and movement of the strain to the verbal sentiments; and though he must refrain from that part of his art which the eloquent J. J. Rousseau calls 'L' ingrate chef d'oeuvre d'un bon harmoniste' yet he is precluded from no other exertion of his Musical Science.[17]

The importance of Mason for this study is in the way he accompanied his theoretical statements with clear instructions concerning their application. For Mason, an anthem properly devised was to have the following attributes:

> Every syllable has its just length; each part of a sentence its proper pause: where the words are not confused by perplexing alternations, or rendered tedious by unnecessary repetitions; but which proceed in one full, yet distinct strain, harmonically, and, at the same time, intelligibly.[18]

Composed according to such precepts the anthem could take its place alongside modern secular forms as a 'vehicle for verbal sentiments, sentimental expression' and thereby carry 'the intellect of the ear'.[19] This polemic concerning the relative merits of harmony and melody constitutes a recurring theme in western music history, its most celebrated occurrence having been in the sixteenth century. It will be remembered from Chapter 1 however that it was the eighteenth-century recurrence of imitation as a theoretical concept in aesthetic discourse that had contributed to the reignition of this polemic at this time. It was partly against this background that the ancient music counterculture represented by Cooke defined itself.

Clearly, Mason's prescriptions contrast markedly with the views of music proffered by Hawkins in his *History* and Cooke in *Musical Conjectures*. Whereas Mason's concern was that music be judged according to the content it can convey, Cooke's concern was for more purely musical values inherent in harmony itself.

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[17]*Ibid.*, p. 152.

[18]*Ibid.*, p. 130.

[19]*Ibid.*, p. 132.

Nevertheless, in the following examination of Cooke's anthems we will see the success with which he accommodated in stylistic terms the philosophical positions represented by both sides of this philosophical divide.

Of the six Cooke orchestral anthems known to have been composed during the the 1760s and 70s those to be discussed here are 'Call to remembrance', 'I heard a great voice' and 'The Lord in his wrath'.[20] Whilst differing from each other widely in terms of form, mood and ambition, all reveal the same underlying aspiration to present ancient substance and learning in a manner consistent with modern imperatives for clarity and expression of sentiment.

The first to be discussed here is also the earliest, 'Call to remembrance'. Preserved in the Cooke Collection in just one untidy copy (RCM MS 816, ff. 51-8) in which only the first three of its five movements are in Cooke's autograph, this work constitutes one of his most affecting statements. Unusually for Cooke's anthems, there are no inscriptions indicating either its performance history or purpose of composition. At the work's conclusion Cooke states simply 'finished July 3 1764 at Vauxhall', this being one of only two autograph Cooke manuscripts in the Cooke Collection to indicate Vauxhall as its place of creation. There is, however, documentary evidence concerning this work in another source, the biography of Cooke by his son Henry:

> The anthem, beginning, Call to remembrance, O Lord! was most beautifully sung by a boy named Taylor, who, poor thing, was unfortunately drowned; and afterwards as finely by Bartleman, when a boy in the Abbey. It is said, that Dr Cooke leaped from his bed to write it down in the middle of the night. There is certainly something particularly sweet and harmonious in this anthem altogether.[21]

These latter qualities broadly characterise this anthem, in which moments of personal introspection predominate, thereby recalling more the church anthem than the large-scale orchestral anthem. The text is taken from Psalm 25, the poignancy of which is served by Cooke's modest scoring for strings, four solo voices (SATB) and four part chorus (SATB). The work consists of five movements, two solo arias

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[20]Those not discussed here comprise 'The Lord said unto Woman' (examined in Chapter 2), 'Behold how good and joyful' and 'When all Thy mercies'.

[21][Henry Cooke], *Some Account of Doctor Cooke, Organist of Westminster Abbey &c.* (London, 1837), p. 10.

followed by a quartet, a duet and a concluding chorus, all of which are composed in the key of E flat.

Although exhibiting both contrapuntal learnedness and Handelian aria style this work's most conspicuous feature is its display of the kinds of melodic expression called for by Mason. In this Cooke deployed a style far removed from the *stile antico* full anthems of Greene and Boyce or the uninspired formality of anthems by contemporaries such as Kent and Dupuis. Moreover, through this expression of religious introspection Cooke reached beyond the frivolity inherent in many contemporary secular styles. It is in the first movement that observance of Rousseauian 'Accent and Rhythm and Cadence' is most apparent:

> Call to remembrance lord thy tender mercies, thy loving kindnesses which have been ever old

Consisting of only 45 bars and scored for treble voice and strings, this aria's highly poignant, through-composed melody must surely be that referred to in Henry Cooke's account quoted above. Throughout the aria Cooke fashions this melody by a process of constant development, irregular phrasing, incessant modulation, general pauses and changes in dynamics (Example 4.8). Whilst at times redolent of Purcellian arioso, a further stylistic dimension is posed by an all-pervading, forward moving siciliano rhythm which recalls Handelian oratorio, and in particular the tranquil contemplation of 'He shall feed his flock'. In the harmonic, rhythmic and melodic context Cooke contrives here such stylistic traits coalesce to serve specifically later eighteenth-century imperatives for 'expression' and 'intelligibility'.

The movement begins with an exquisite nine-bar ritornello in which core elements of its fluid thematic material are set out. This typically eighteenth-century procedure has the effect of setting the mood as well as providing a sense of thematic cohesion. Thereafter, however, Cooke's treatment is less usual. In the eighteenth century, composers typically adopted a kind of binary form in anthem arias. In this an initial vocal phrase (drawn from the opening ritornello) would be given out and then repeated in developed form, leading to a ritornello in the dominant balanced by an eventual return to the tonic. Here, however, the voice enters at bar 10 (following the ritornello) and continues with little repetition, proceeding in the manner of a monologue, an effect that is assisted by the irregular phrasing and constant modulation. Through this a sense of narrative flow is conveyed despite the fact that, in accordance with usual practice in anthems, the text is constantly repeated during the course of the movement.

Cooke conveys this monologue effect by accenting the melody in order to emphasise particular words and the contour of sentences. This is achieved, in part, through angular intervals, irregular durations, and the careful placing of syllables on strong or weak beats of the bar. An apt example may be seen in Cooke's expression of the first and last words of this text, 'call' and 'ever of old'. As the first word of text 'call' initiates phrases and motives, a function Cooke emphasises by assigning it high points in the melodic contour and comparatively longer note values. From the opening phrase this strategy is maintained with increasing insistence until just before the aria's climax occurring midway through the movement. For this Cooke reserves the introduction of 'ever of old', which he expresses through a striking coincidence of harmonic and melodic effect, emphasised by its location toward the conclusion of a particularly drawnout phrase (bar 25). From bar 24 a bold shift from B flat minor to B flat major is initiated, assisted by a striking German sixth chord progression (on the first beat of bar 25), coinciding with the word 'ever'. By rendering this word at a high point in the melodic contour of this arioso-like phrase the impact of all these parameters is enhanced. Following this, a pronounced reduction in tension is conveyed through a slackening of harmonic rhythm accompanied by two final renderings of 'call to remembrance' (bars 26-8). In these the word 'call' reaches the highest extremes of vocal range used in the aria, and is held for increasing durations (more than a bar in the final instance). In this way the restless modulations of the first half of the movement are countered by a more stable second half, the final 11 bars being largely in E flat major.

An essential element in Cooke's apparent observance of 'Accent and Rhythm and Cadence' is his skilful manipulation of a parameter unmentioned by Mason, modulation. It will be remembered from Chapter 2 that Cooke believed that the most admired 'masters' had achieved their expression through well-chosen modulations. By executing chromatic and enharmonic shifts within the context of the Common Scale, minute variations in intervals were introduced into melody and harmony comparable to those described in Greek music theory. According to Cooke, the expressivity achieved through the use of accidentals affected both the melody and the harmony. It was argued in Chapter 2 that despite Cooke's ambiguity as to whether it was the chromaticisms that interested him or simply their tuning, it seemed highly likely it was a combination of the two. Cooke believed these composers had unwittingly exploited a feature of music inherent in the laws of vibration, the root from which the whole musical system could be mathematically deduced. Through this, Cooke had gone some way to establishing an objective

connection between an aspect of ancient music and fundamental principles underlying nature.

It is arguable that the first movement of 'Call to remembrance' constitutes a clear attempt to replicate precisely the kinds of modulations Cooke described in *Musical Conjectures*. Of significance in itself is the key of E flat major, the key not just of this movement but of the entire anthem. It will be remembered that Cooke had singled this key out as one in which melody is 'softened' by the diminished semitone between G and Ab and in which the harmony is rendered 'nervous and robust' by the increased third and fifth at Ab. Most important here, however, are the movement's modulations themselves. A prime instance occurs in the second vocal phrase where constant key changes contribute to the sense of development conveyed by the melody, already described. Over 13 bars (beginning in bar 13) the music progresses fleetingly through E flat major, E flat minor, then A flat, B flat, C minor and B flat minor (bar 25). These inflections are effected in part by the accompaniment which subtly enforces the siciliano rhythm without detracting from the melody's irregular flow. Such fluid and wide-ranging modulation is remarkable in this later eighteenth-century context, when clear-cut relationships between the tonic and closely related keys tended to predominate. Of particular interest here is the way Gb is introduced into the melody as part of the initial inflection to E flat minor (from E flat major), deployed so as to emphasise the word 'tender' (bar 13). Similar transitory shifts between the major and minor mode on the same key note occur in the densely chromatic approach to the climactic statement of 'ever of old' described above (C minor/major bars 21-3, B flat minor/major bars 24-5). Such transitions recall some of the major-minor modulations Cooke had listed in *Musical Conjectures* upon which it seems quite possible these are based (see Appendix 1). Likely exemplars for this approach, cited by Cooke, include Handel's expression of the word 'grief' in 'He was despised', and Boyce's expression of 'mourn' in 'Ye blooming virgins'. These both exhibit accidental flats in the melody similar to those in 'Call to remembrance', and thereby achieve similar harmonic and expressive results.

Reproduced within the wider rhythmic, melodic and harmonic context of 'Call to remembrance', these ancient harmonic strategies become an integral feature of Cooke's individual style without ostensibly recalling earlier eighteenth-century models. It is possible that the part they play in Cooke's fluid musical language signifies a deliberate intention to deploy the 'language of harmony' as a means of achieving the kinds of expressivity called for by contemporary commentators such as Mason. Although further instances of such expressive modulation will be found in

the works described below, Cooke's use of it was always sparing, reflecting his belief that bold modulations should be deployed with discretion and careful judgment.

In common with nearly all his anthems, Cooke does not deploy recitative in this work but fashions movements so that they naturally lead into one another. This opening aria concludes with a brief closing orchestral ritornello thereby leading naturally into the second aria, set to the following words:

> Oh remember not the sins and offences of my youth but according to thy mercy
> Think thou up on me O lord

Like the previous movement this is short in length (24 bars), scored for treble voice with strings and through-composed (Example 4.9). However, despite its penitential text it is characterised by a more cheerful and relaxed mood ('Largo and Andante') engendered in part by an all-pervading quaver accompaniment underpinned by a somewhat Handelian walking bass line. Notwithstanding this latter characteristic, the movement conveys a distinctly galant air on account of Cooke's direction that the entire string accompaniment should be performed 'staccatto e pianiss[imo]'.

Once again the most remarkable aspect of this movement is Cooke's deployment of an irregularly phrased and constantly developing vocal line. Following from a forthright opening phrase, this develops in a free-flowing, conversational manner conveyed through an irregularity of accent and note-value. A notable example of such speech-like irregularity can be observed in bars 5-8, and in particular a long minim on the word 'think' in bar 7. This approach is aided by Cooke's syllabic word setting, a characteristic common to all his mature anthems in which, in contrast to the anthems of Handel, Boyce and Greene, he almost never deploys melismas.

The expressivity of the vocal line is emphasised here by its context within the rhythmic predictability of the accompaniment and especially the active basso continuo line. Alongside the staccato strings this presents for the modern-day listener the sense of stylistic contradiction that often characterises music of this period. In the present context, however, such contradictions emphasise the frame of innovation Cooke brought to this genre and lend the musical style its interest.

Cooke's propensity to deploy stylistic strategies from varied epochs is displayed nowhere more clearly than in the third movement of this anthem. Here he

unashamedly exchanges Rousseauian expressivity for learned polyphony. Composed in a motet style the movement is scored for four unaccompanied voices and set to the following words:

> Gracious and righteous is the Lord
> Therefore will he teach sinners in the way

It is organised effectively in two halves, the first austere in its strict counterpoint, the second relaxed and homophonic, consisting of answering phrases sung in thirds (Example 4.10). The first half comprises almost entirely material drawn from just two subjects (A and B), with the first line of text sung only to subject A (bass part, bars 1-2) and the second to B (treble part, bars 2-4). This baroque procedure is highly effective here as a means of conveying both the underlying sense and narrative of this text, in which the second line answers the first. Excepting a further exposition at bar 8 there follows a 24-bar section of solid, close-knit imitation, in which cadences are seamlessly incorporated into new entries and points of imitation. The uncompromising nature of this treatment contrasts with that of Boyce and Greene who also composed contrapuntal anthem movements (such as in 'Turn thee unto me' and 'Lord let me know mine end' respectively), but couched this learned language in a manner more consistent with eighteenth-century church anthem style.

Throughout this section Cooke sustains a clear sense of key, conveyed by a sometimes hectic rate of harmonic rhythm and modulation. From its home key of E flat the music passes briefly through a sequence of keys which, typically for Cooke, gravitate in a flatward direction. In *Musical Conjectures*, Cooke had explained how through flatward modulation an expressive 'droop to melancholy' could be achieved. This would appear to be Cooke's aim in the approach to a five-bar passage in the key of F minor mid-way through this section (bars 12-16). From this point of languor Cooke then executes a counteracting sharpward modulation to B flat (which in *Musical Conjectures* he had quaintly termed 'ascent to transport'). This Cooke executed alongside a four-bar F pedal (bars 17-21), instrumental in compounding the sense of accumulating intensity that pervades the whole section. Although Cooke's stylistic model is clearly of the Renaissance, the anachronism of this particular strategy (such pedals never occur in the Renaissance) typifies the manner in which earlier style is accommodated here to eighteenth-century musical understanding.

The first half of the movement concludes with a renaissance cadence formula bringing the key to C minor (bars 24-5). After this point a complete change of technique and mood is introduced, albeit still inspired by renaissance models. Here a

modified version of the opening subject A (still used to set the first line of text) is stated in thirds and in dialogue between upper and lower voices. This passes through a variety of keys (C minor, B flat, G minor) until at bar 31 subject B is reintroduced (along with its associated text) first by the bass, then alto, then tenor and finally soprano, all at the interval of a bar. With the tenor entry a further Bb pedal is established, presaging an emphatic affirmation of E flat major and concluding statement of the second line of text 'Therefore will he teach sinners in the way'.

Through this movement Cooke reveals the multifaceted and pragmatic nature of his approach to musical style in this anthem. Whilst the sense of contemplative introspection in the first two movements was best expressed through a free-ranging vocal expressivity, the apocalyptic judgment of the third movement was conveyed through learned counterpoint. Cooke implicitly rejects the mainstream view of counterpoint as a gothic, meaningless language, just as in the earlier movements he endorses the value of clarity and simplicity of expression. Cooke seems to have perceived no contradiction in juxtaposing such varied styles. Rather he exhibits a somewhat a-historical perspective upon musical style in which learned forms represent not just a timeless language transcending fashion, but a mode of rhetoric integral to the expression of certain kinds of sentiments. Although for Cooke and his circle vocal music retained pre-eminence as the preferred mode of musical expression, this does not reflect acquiescence to the dominant conception of music as mere vehicle for words. Rather, for Cooke sacred texts provided the ideal vehicle through which to convey the true power of harmony (which for him included learned counterpoint). Devised for and performed in a secular context, Cooke's orchestral anthems are the embodiment of this view.

For the next movement of the present anthem, as if to emphasise his stylistic eclecticism, Cooke ushers a conspicuous return to modernity in the form of a duet for treble voices and strings. As ever, this stylistic transformation accompanies a shift of textual sentiment, in this case from divine foreboding to godly benevolence:

> Them that are meek shall he guide in judgement
> Such as are gentle them shall he guide in his way

Composed in a flowing 3/2 time, this duet is characterised by extreme simplicity of texture, melody, structure and regular phrasing (Example 4.11). Although this latter characteristic precludes the flexible vocal lines of the first two movements, Cooke's clear syllabic setting makes the sound of the words abundantly clear. Moreover, the

reflective nature of this text is well served by the flowing regularity afforded by this periodic phrasing, as opposed to the more declamatory style required for the texts of the earlier movements. This difference in phrasing does not, however, prevent Cooke from modelling the melody upon the opening vocal motives of the first two movements. With this, Cooke adeptly unifies this anthem, a structural goal pertaining to many of his large-scale works.

In terms of form, the movement is organised according to a clear ABA pattern in which the middle section is disproportionately extended. It is this middle section which gives the movement its greatest interest, due to its bold and expressive modulations, the impact of which is compounded by the backdrop of tonal simplicity provided by the outer sections.

The duet begins in E flat, with the two voices singing a four-bar phrase in thirds which is then answered by another four-bar phrase ending in the dominant B flat. Following this (bar 9, the beginning of the middle section) Cooke introduces the second line of text and the music departs on its wide-ranging tonal excursion. Unlike the fluid, transitory progressions of the first movement, modulations here are more abrupt, occurring at the introduction of new phrases. As in the outer sections, the phrase structure remains repetitive, consisting of three four-bar phrases, each answered by a three-bar phrase.

Remarkable here is the way that within the guise of galant simplicity, Cooke introduces into this sacred genre a wholly forward-looking approach to tonality. For this reason Cooke's modulations are explained here in full as follows. At bar 9 against a pedal Bb in the bass and first violin, the section begins in E flat minor (following E flat major of the first section). The interest created by this sudden change in mode along with the dissonance generated by the pedal is emphasised by the manner in which the voices form suspensions against each other. This effect is compounded by the ensuing three- and four-bar phrases in which Cooke effects modulations to the extreme keys of G flat major (bars 13-15), B flat minor (bars 16-20), D flat major (bars 20-2), and finally F minor (bars 23-9). The effect these flat-laden and abrupt modulations have, especially within the context of an ostensibly simple galant duet, is striking. Once again this section manifests Cooke's tendency to explore flat keys which, curiously here, form a strict rising as well as sharpward sequence. From the extreme point of E flat minor (bar 13) until the section's end (bar 29) modulations progress in a sharpward direction in a series of four alternately minor and major third rises:

E flat minor	6 flats
G flat	,,
B flat minor	5 flats
D flat	,,
F minor	4 flats

Once again, it seems likely that these consistently sharpward modulations would have had significance for Cooke in the way they interacted with the Common Scale. Perhaps even more important, though, is the way they reveal in Cooke a progressive approach to tonality and awareness of contemporary developments in musical language. Moreover, viewed alongside the diverse stylistic elements of previous movements, Cooke's incorporation of advanced tonal strategies helps us to perceive an increasingly clear picture. From this we see precisely how Cooke's used the orchestral anthem as a vehicle for exploration of judiciously chosen musical strategies borne not just of the past but also of his immediate present.

The movement concludes with a final transition back to E flat and a slightly elongated reprise of the opening section. This includes a closing four-bar instrumental passage modulating to B flat major, in preparation for the anthem's last movement. With this final gesture Cooke reveals a rare glimpse of galant instrumental idiom. Accompanied by held string chords, the first violin plays a scalic run followed by a long trill thereby bringing the movement to a stylish and attractive end.

Cooke's construction of the final movement of this anthem, a brief 36-bar setting for chorus and strings, is by far the most conventional and in consequence, the least interesting.

> All the parths of the Lord are mercy and truth
> Unto all such as keep his covenant and testimony

Following eighteenth-century church anthem conventions, the chorus renders this moral statement in a syllabic, essentially homophonic and fours-quare manner, as if commenting on what has come before. Clearly not intended to equal the considerable inventiveness displayed in the earlier movements, this movement offers a fitting low-key conclusion, wholly in keeping with the meditative nature of the work as a whole.

Such qualities distinguish this work starkly from the other orchestral anthem composed by Cooke in 1764, 'I heard a great voice'. Here may be observed a deployment of the genre as a means of awe-inspiring statement, achieved through a range of innovations both formal and stylistic. This is assisted by Cooke's creative and striking deployment of extensive vocal and orchestral forces, consisting of five solo voices (SSATB), five part chorus (SSATB) and orchestra comprising two oboes, bassoons, two horns, two trumpets, strings (including double bass) timpani and organ.

Fundamental to Cooke's approach here is his evocation of the Sublime, an aesthetic quality greatly prized in the eighteenth century, which was commonly identified in ancient music. Appropriated from the writings of the ancient Roman poet known as Longinus in the seventeenth century, it was understood to be a quality inherent in artistic creations capable of arousing states such as exultation, soul-stirring, terror and contemplation of the Creator. Throughout the later eighteenth century, Handel had been lauded (most famously by his biographer Mainwaring) for his invocation of the Sublime in, for example, coronation anthems and oratorios such as *Israel in Egypt* and *Messiah*. Massive chorus sections containing sudden textural contrasts, unexpected chromaticisms or fugal sections were deemed propitious for the evocation of this quality. However, as with other Handelian strategies and styles mentioned already, Cooke presents the Sublime here in a manner adhering to later eighteenth-century expectations. In this way, Cooke achieves moments of sheer dramatic impact through a deployment of orchestral artifice that arguably supersede in certain respects even that to be found in Handel. This is effected through a presentation of baroque rhetoric in uncomplicated and undeveloped short movements, far removed from the drawnout and complex statements of Handel and other earlier eighteenth-century composers.

The work's text is taken from the Apostle John's Revelation 19. Although the circumstances surrounding its selection are unknown, its vivid imagery certainly constituted the most auspicious of contexts through which to convey through music statements of awe-inspiring impact. Though drawn from the New Testament the apocalyptic style of Revelation presented Cooke with a text reminiscent in style and content to parts of the Old Testament, the usual source of texts for eighteenth-century anthems. The part of Revelation from which 'I heard a great voice' is taken concerns John's vision of events following the destruction of Babylon and, in particular, a triumphant and celebratory song of angels and saints.

The principal primary sources for this anthem are to be found in two Cooke Collection volumes, a full score (RCM MS 816, ff. 3-31) and set of parts (RCM MS 833). Although these indicate no specific performance context for which this work was composed, annotations on RCM MS 816, f. 31v provide the following details of its early performance history:

> First Perform'd at The Foundling Hospital Chapel 1764. and at the Academy repeatedly. Performed at St. Margarets Anniversary 1772. conducted by Dr. Howard And at Gloucester Cathedral 1784. conducted by Mr Isaac.

In common with other Cooke orchestral anthems, this suggests the Academy of Ancient Music to have been important in the work's performance history, a fact corroborated by extant programmes that indicate its continued performance there after 1789 when Cooke ceased to be its conductor. Inscriptions on Cooke's table of contents to RCM MS 816 also indicate that though the work was first composed in 1764, its overture was added in 1770 and the work as a whole was revised in 1771. It is this revised version which exists today and which is examined here.

A fundamental feature of this work is its unconventional form. Instead of the usual six or so arias and choruses to be expected in the conventional orchestral anthem of this period, Cooke provides here 14 mainly brief movements, as detailed in Table 4.1.

Table 4.1.

No.	Tempo	'I heard a great voice', Revelation 19	Instr/form	Key	Bars
1	Allegro		orchestra/ 'Symphony'	D	44
2	Allegro		orchestra/ [fugue]	D	50
3	Largo	I heard a great voice of much people in heaven	chorus	D	39
4	Allegro spirito	Halleluja	chorus	D	15
5	Andante vivace	Salvation and honor and glory and power	5 solo voices (SSATB) chorus	D	66
6	Andante	For true and righteous are his judgements	treble aria	B flat	31
7	Grave	And again they said	chorus recitative	B flat - G minor	4
8	Allegro con spirito	Halleluja	chorus	D	10
9	Largo andante	And a voice came out of the throne saying	bass arioso	A-E	12
10	Tempo giusto sostenuto	Praise our God all ye his servants Praise our God all ye that fear him both small and great	chorus	C	24
11	Allegro	Halleluja Amen	chorus	G	49
12	Maestoso	For the Lord God omnipotent reigneth	chorus	D	5
13	Allegro	Let's rejoice and be glad and give honor to him	chorus	D	90
14	Tempo giusto	Hallelujah Amen	chorus	D	8

This shows how, of the work's 14 movements, only two are longer than 50 bars, with nine less than 40 bars long. Also significant here is the work's key scheme, which departs from Cooke's usual preference for flat keys, gravitating instead around the key of D major and thus reflecting the more celebratory nature of this work.

This quality is particularly evident in the opening French overture consisting of an effervescent 'symphony' followed by a double fugue through which the mood of celebration and gravity inherent in the work's text are successfully evoked. The symphony, scored for full strings, oboes, horns and drum is dominated by driving rhythms and angular motives, motivated in part by an agile bass part which is in turn reinforced by the drum part. Also prominent are soloistic passages for pairs of instruments, mainly of the wind and violins. Through this, the section takes on characteristics of concerto grosso form, thereby anticipating the attentiveness to orchestral colour so characteristic of this work as a whole. Forces are reduced in the ensuing double fugue in which horns are omitted. Here two graceful subjects (one thematically related to the opening theme of the symphony) moving mainly in stepwise motion lend a sense of refined learnedness to the overall effect after the flourishes of the opening.

The conventionality of this baroque statement provides no indication of the formal and stylistic innovation to follow. This only becomes apparent with the work's third movement in which voices are introduced along with the first intervention of the entire orchestra. Here in the space of just 39 bars Cooke devises a hugely dramatic statement in order to convey the first portentous line of the text (Example 4.12).

I heard a great voice of much people in heaven

To the accompaniment of strings and organ playing a low D and with a tempo marking Largo, the five-part chorus is introduced incrementally singing just the first part of the text, 'I heard a great voice'. Beginning with just the basses, each part is introduced in turn over the opening five bars, as if reproducing the harmonic series. Through this a monumental chord of D major is built up which is held for a total of 10 bars. The effect of this is heightened by the gradual inclusion of string and wind instruments playing repeated and arpeggiating figures which increase in velocity and volume as the opening proceeds, reaching a frenetic climax at bar 10. This opening strategy is concluded in bars 11-15 with the chorus rendering the second half of the text, 'of much people in heaven', to the accompaniment of cadences reiterating the key of D Major.

After this theatrical opening, Cooke proceeds with a brief but highly convincing development of this material performed by full chorus and orchestra. Resuming in the dominant A major (bar 15) with a point of imitation based on the opening (but here curtailed), this concluding passage proceeds to the tonic (bars 21-4) then to G (bars 25-7), back to A for the concluding line of text. The mood created by the opening is maintained through the intervention of rapid semiquaver figuration and scalic passages in the strings, repeated quavers in the woodwind, drum rolls and trumpets fanfares. The whole winds down to a magnificent and resounding conclusion with a final statement (marked 'Ad[agi]o') consisting of a chromatic progression of five vast bar-long chords leading to the dominant.

Cooke's manipulation of vocal and instrumental forces for overpowering effect in this movement undoubtedly seeks to invoke the Sublime, for which John the Apostle's otherworldly vision of the heavenly multitude provides the ideal literary vehicle. The painstaking manner in which Cooke exploits every available parameter of rhythm, timbre and pitch in order to achieve this surpasses even Handel (not that he would have sought to make a statement quite like this). As we shall see, Cooke's tendency to explore such expressive strategies to their extremes is a common feature in his mature large-scale works, reflecting his sense of musical innovation and a definite predilection for bold statements.

Throughout this work, short, clear-cut statements integrate to convey a powerful sense of accumulative momentum culminating in the final movements. The sense of drama and gravity achieved results in a highly effective and distinctive statement, far removed from the more purely ceremonial nature that characterised the orchestral anthem genre during this period. One of the ways in which Cooke achieves this accumulative momentum is through inclusion of three brief Halleluja choruses distributed throughout the course of the work, the first of which follows the chorus just described (see Table 4.1). Although all three share the same basic material, the second and third present this in increasingly intensified form thereby conveying in addition to momentum, a sense of unity. Once again, this approach to form is unusual in an orchestral anthem and further manifests Cooke's debt to the oratorio rhetoric of Handel who had deployed a similar strategy towards the end of *Israel in Egypt*.

The first Halleluja chorus comprises just three four-bar phrases, concluded by a typically baroque cadence (Example 4.13). Although each are the same in terms of

material and chord progression these phrases intensify with each recurrence. This is achieved through a theme and variations approach, the incremental addition of instruments and a heightening of rhythmic complexity in the accompaniment. Thus whilst the first phrase is sung by unaccompanied chorus, by the end the entire orchestra is engaged, with the wind and violins playing scalic quaver passages and counter-melodies. Through these simple but effective means Cooke compounds the sense of vastness achieved in the previous movement and evokes in the mind of the listener the rejoicing of saints and angels.

The simplicity and directness characterising these opening choruses and the anthem more generally is highly significant. Underlying it is the same approach observed earlier in Cooke's recreation of madrigal style in accordance with later eighteenth-century expectations. Here it is the orchestral anthem which is presented in a manner conforming to its learned tradition but also accommodating later eighteenth-century concerns, most importantly the imperative to make 'sound subservient to sense'. Whilst the learned tradition is invoked most unmistakably by the opening fugue, the choruses too are clearly founded upon style and idioms of the earlier eighteenth century and before. This is evident in, for example, instrumental idioms (in particular the strings and high trumpet part), the active basslines, but most importantly the sense of ever-heightening momentum. In this may be observed one of the essential characteristics of baroque rhetoric, quite removed from the neat symmetry of galant style. At the same time, however, Cooke presents these 'ancient' elements in a manner accommodating expectations prevalent in his day. This is most apparent in his forthright statements in which clarity of sentiment is paramount, and in the absence of the more complex 'ancient' elements such as melismas and strict counterpoint.

In the ensuing two movements, however, Cooke reveals how in the orchestral anthem this approach could also entail sparing allusion to contemporary styles, thereby lending temporary respite to the sense of ongoing intensification. Here Cooke provides further evidence of his facility in galant style, which considering the work's repeated performance at the Academy, provides a telling insight into the eclecticism of the Academicians' musical tastes.

The first of these is a relatively extended movement lasting 66 bars, scored for five solo voices (SSATB), five-part chorus (SSATB), reduced orchestra (lacking brass and drums) and set to the following words:

Salvation and honor and glory and power be unto the Lord our God

Here Cooke presents a range of contemporary stylistic elements, evident most in the movement's clear syllabic word-setting and periodic phrasing. The predictability of these repeating four- and six-bar phrases makes for a pleasing contemplative effect after the drama of the previous two sections, as does Cooke's utilisation of woodwind as an independent section, in accordance with contemporary developments in orchestration. Further galant characteristics are to be observed in the unadventurous deployment of keys (just two brief excursions, one to the dominant, the other to the subdominant) and the movement's symmetrical structure, as shown in Table 4.2. This reveals the movement to be made up almost entirely of just two themes (A and B), with a third (C) appearing just once, exactly midway through the movement.

Table 4.2

Section	**1**				**2**						
Bars	1	5	9	15	19	25	31	43	49	53	57-66
Instr/voice	solo voices						chorus		orchestra only		
Themes	A	A	A	A	B	B	C	B	A	B	A/B
Keys	D	D	D	A	D	G	D	D	D	D	D

Through these limited means, Cooke successfully introduces galant style in a manner meaningful within the wider context of the work's apocalyptic musical statement. Such modernity is introduced with even greater success in the ensuing movement, an aria for treble voice, strings (with violin obligato) and oboes, set to the following words:

> For true and righteous are his judgments

Marked 'andante' and composed in B flat major, this movement presents a distinct contrast to the rest of the work, not least as the only aria and for being composed in a flat key (Example 4.14). Moreover B flat major, a key only distantly related to the anthem's principal key, offers a particularly sublime contrast to the surrounding movements (B flat being on the flattened submediant of D). Highly unusual in pre-classical music, this key relationship recalls slow movement transitions to be found in symphonies and concertos of Haydn and Beethoven.

An all-pervading feature of this aria is its distinctive opening semiquaver headmotive which initiates all but one of the movement's six sections. Highly idiomatic as a violin motive, this is both played by the solo violin in instrumental sections and taken up by the voice at which times the violin provides an obligato accompaniment. Lasting five beats, this motive is in each case developed so that an almost continuous semiquaver motion is maintained, consisting of notes grouped in twos and forming appogiaturas. Throughout, this material is confined to the voice and obbligato violin parts, to which the bass (consisting of repeated quavers) and other accompaniment provides a straightforward supporting role.

Within these constraints Cooke achieves variety, a sense of elegance (lent largely by the attractiveness of this opening motive) and, above all, a distinct air of modernity. This latter characteristic is manifested most obviously in the movement's leisurely harmonic rhythm, the way interest is focussed upon the voice and obligato violin and in its form (see Table 4.3). Broadly symmetrical in structure, the aria's constituent sections are arranged so that its single modulation (to the dominant F) and orchestral ritornello are situated exactly mid-way through. Furthermore, each of the vocal sections begin in the tonic, marking a distinct departure from the traditional aria form for eighteenth-century anthems, as described above in connection with 'Call to remembrance'.

Table 4.3

Section	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**
Bars	1	6	15	18	22	28-31
Instr/voice	rit	voice	rit	voice	voice	rit
Theme	A	A	A	B	A	A
Key	Bb	Bb	F	Bb	Bb	Bb

In accordance with usual practice, the opening ritornello contains the germs of thematic material upon which the rest of the aria is constructed. Lasting six bars, it is comprised of smaller sub-sections of thematic material seamlessly strung together to evoke a sense of continuous flow. The texture and harmonic rhythm established in this opening are maintained throughout this aria, with the exception of the contrasting fourth section. For the opening of, for example, section two (bar 6), the headmotive is given out by the treble voice, which then continues with an answering phrase (bars 9-11), followed by a further developing phrase and finishing cadence (bars 11-15). As in 'Call to remembrance' a significant element here is the aria's irregularly phrased and constantly developing vocal line. Following from the

headmotive that initiates each section this develops in a free-flowing, conversational manner. Its expressivity is emphasised by its contrast to the rhythmic predictability of the obligato violin, which as well as decorating the vocal line in a highly attractive manner, maintains the sense of continuity. In this way, baroque continuity is presented within the predominating elements of galant style.

In addition, Cooke skilfully invokes a sense of unity through thematic references to the opening ritornello. In section five (beginning at bar 22), for example, Cooke follows the headmotive with the single reappearance of a passage drawn from bar 4 of the opening ritornello. Furthermore, even the contrasting material in section four bears similarities to the opening ritornello material, most notably in the vocal line's descending quaver runs in bars 20-1. The subliminal element of unity lent by such procedures enables Cooke to convey in this aria, in addition to galant elegance, a sense of order.

The end result is a highly attractive aria in which the static timelessness inherent in galant symmetry contrasts with the forward movement that dominates the work as a whole. Apart from its value as an aria in its own right, its presence in this context is significant for more fundamental reasons. Firstly, in this wholesale embrace of contemporary style, Cooke signals this anthem in unambiguous terms as being stylistically removed from those of either Handel or later eighteenth-century composers. Secondly, Cooke further demonstrates the role galant style could play alongside his re-synthesis of elements of ancient music, which characterises this work more generally. In so doing Cooke showed how music could act as a vehicle for sublime statments in a manner accommodating the expectations of later eighteenth-century listeners.

With the end of 'For true and righteous are his judgments' Cooke resumes the work's momentous buildup. The ensuing movement is a brief four-bar chorus recitative setting of the words 'And again and again and again they said', providing a link from B flat major to G minor in preparation for the onset of the second of the three Halleluja choruses, in D major. This consists essentially of just two four-bar phrases, and follows the pattern set by the first Halleluja chorus, in a sense taking up where it left off. Beginning with the same level of orchestral force and rhythmic intensity achieved at the first Halleluja chorus's conclusion, Cooke introduces at bar 3 an independent and prominent high trumpet descant, thereby building on the overall sense of gathering intensity. This statement is then followed with another

moment of sheer musical theatre, this time in the form of a 12-bar recitative setting of the following words:

> And a voice came out of the throne saying

For the expression of this, Cooke adopts an approach borrowed from the rhetoric of the baroque rage aria, which in this orchestral anthem context is again unusual (Example 4.15). It is scored for bass voices, strings, organ and bassoon (the latter two doubling the voice part), although the extant score suggests it was initially intended to be sung by solo bass only. At the stave itself Cooke initially indicated that the voice part should be performed by 'Voice Solo', which he subsequently altered to 'Voices Soli'. Elsewhere on the score Cooke entered the following additional indication, which is again suggestive of the experimental frame of mind in which he approached the conception of this work:

> Mem[oran]dum: Try this with all the bass Voices & Bassoons in Unison, and the accompanyment Loud in proportion.

Moreover, on the voice stave itself he specified that the 'Diapason of the Great Organ play with the Voices single notes only, in the grave octave'. All these measures were clearly intended to convey awesome effect, in what was (as the following description shows) a grand exercise in word-painting.

First, strings play repeated and undulating quavers and semiquavers on the note A (marked 'Largo Andante') progressing then to scalic runs and undulations (bar 2). Through this, they spell out an emerging A major chord, preparing the introduction of the voices midway through bar three. Beginning with a low piano A (marked 'Canto Ferme') the basses (with bassoons and organ diapasons) give out the text with a rising arppegio motive ending on a high forte A in bar five. This is accompanied by strings, some by now playing demisemiquavers conveying a sense of freneticism, following the model already set by the chorus 'I heard a great voice' described earlier. The level of excitement generated by this is then raised further through a repeat of the same process, transposed a fifth higher on the chord of E.

Cooke expresses this ominous text in a suitably sublime and even melodramatic manner, in keeping with his propensity in this work to contrive extreme effects. Containing little thematic substance, this movement would in its original guise certainly have invited comparison with oratorio or opera. In its subsequent manifestation, however, for bass chorus, bassoons and pedal diapasons, it takes on a

wholly unusual and exaggerated quality, thereby contributing to the distinctiveness of Cooke's musical style in this anthem.

With the succeeding movement Cooke begins the dramatic built-up to the anthem's close. This is initiated by a 24-bar through-composed chorus and orchestral setting (without trumpets) of the following text:

> Praise our God all ye his servants
> Praise our God all ye that fear him both small and great

Although beginning as a straightforward chordal chorus organised into two periodic four-bar phrases, voices and instruments then quickly diverge into independent lines with repeated semiquavers in the strings. With this, Cooke introduces a faster harmonic rhythm along with harmonic dissonances and chromaticisms hitherto unseen in this work. Of particular importance here is the way Cooke again begins this movement on the flattened submediant, C major (the previous movement having ended in E). By exploiting tonal contrast in this modern way Cooke offers a decisive articulation from the previous dramatic statement and prepares his listener for the sequence of stupendous statements to follow.

First of these is the final Halleluja chorus, a monumental statement based on the same material as before but this time extended to 49 bars (Example 4.16). This Cooke achieves by transforming the movement into a quasi-double fugue. Beginning in G major (rather than D, as for the previous halleluja choruses), the four-bar Halleluja theme is heard here first as a fugal subject introduced in unison by the altos and violas. Almost from the outset a sense of burgeoning complexity is evoked, first with a counter-subject in the first violins (bar 2), taken up in canon at the unison a bar later by the second violins to form a complex web of counterpoint, characteristic of much of this movement. In bar 5 the Halleluja fugue subject is taken up at the dominant to form a real answer by the treble voices, again accompanied by first violins and basses with a similar countersubject. Complexity is further compounded as virtually all instruments participate with independent quaver counter-melodies to create an increasingly dense texture. In particular, impact is lent by Cooke's two-part horn counterpoint that persists for most of the movement.

Following this exposition (bar 9) orchestra and chorus launch into developmental material derived from the halleluja theme but here presented in a manner slightly less foursquare, more texturally complex and redolent of earlier eighteenth-century style. The four-bar halleluja theme and phrase is thus extended, curtailed, subjected

to sudden modulations or passed between different voices in the chorus. Brief orchestral passages are contrasted with resounding homophonic chorus statements (e.g. bars 18, 28) accompanied by ever more frantic levels of figuration in the upper strings so as to extract maximum effect. This wall of sound culminates with a four-bar descending sequence derived from the halleluja theme (bars 40-3), followed by four bars of cadential material presaging the movement's final two-bar amen.

Once again, Cooke's objective here is to utilise all the means at his disposal to create a colossal effect. However, unlike in earlier choral movements, here Cooke introduces a degree of contrapuntal complexity in order to achieve this effect. As observed elsewhere, this should not be seen simply as a wholesale replication of an outmoded style. Rather, it reveals a further example of Cooke's tendency to adapt earlier styles to later eighteenth-century tastes. This is evident in the fact that after the exposition (itself by no means complex in terms of real counterpoint) complexity takes the form of figuration and countermelodies rather than learned counterpoint. In this, therefore, may be seen a clear strategy to invoke the rhetoric of Baroque grandeur as the best means of expressing this apocryphal text, but without its contrapuntal complexity. Similarly in Cooke's predominantly forthright homophonic manner may be observed once again the wish to accommodate into this musical discourse later eighteenth-century imperatives concerning simplicity and expression.

Notable in this movement is the absence of trumpets and drums, which would certainly have contributed to the awesome effect Cooke no doubt desired to instil in his listener. It seems however Cooke chose to reserve these in order to emphasise even greater states of gravitas in later movements. Principal amongst these is a final extended chorus set to the following words and which, at 90 bars, is twice as long as any other in the work.

Let us rejoice and be glad and give honor to him

Devising a conclusion to surpass all the previous extravaganzas would have proved a hurdle for any composer. Whereas many composers of orchestral anthems might at this point have contrived a complex contrapuntal display Cooke simply showcases an even more extreme example of the pared-down baroque style already seen. This takes the form of a 3/4 allegro in which the clear intention is to create impact through a combination of obsessive dance rhythm momentum, burgeoning orchestral and choral force, and sheer duration. In keeping with much of this anthem,

harmonic language is unadventurous throughout, remaining mostly in D major with occasional forays to G and A.

The movement begins with a long drawn-out yet felicitous melody played by first violins to the accompaniment of other strings (Example 4.17). This forms the basis of the entire movement, which is driven forward by a vigorous bass-line throughout. At bar 17 the chorus enter with a forthright homophonic statement accompanying the first reprise of the theme, now played by strings with horns. This typifies the chorus's role throughout, in which, rather than singing the melodic material, it intervenes with big block chords serving as accompaniment to progressively frenzied renditions of the theme played by upper strings and wind. In this way the galant periodic phrasing evident elsewhere in this work gives way to long, drawn-out renditions of the thematic material, prolonged through sequences, repetitions and other kinds of development.

Integral to the movement's accumulative rhetoric is the manner in which instruments are introduced as the movement progresses, thereby conveying momentum and impact. Following the addition of horns, oboes are added from bar 41 and crucially, trumpets and drums in bar 61. The latter are instrumental in engineering the built-up and culmination to the movement's stupendous conclusion. This gathering climax is assisted by the fact that from midway through the movement the opening theme virtually ceases to be played, upper strings and wind playing instead frantic figuration along with the block chords sung by the chorus.

Although Cooke might be successful here in transporting his listener into a state of sublime disorientation (if only through obsessive vigour and sheer length), of the anthem's many innovative statements 'Let us rejoice' is perhaps the least satisfactory. Cooke's wilfully simplistic approach, which within brief movements had facilitated creative and colourful expression, seems to lack the necessary substance to be convincing in this more extended context. Nevertheless, through his striking exploitation of orchestration, texture and resounding sonority Cooke provides a fittingly momentous and extravagant finale to this anthem. Following this movement, the work winds down to a suitably imposing ending with an eight-bar amen section accompanied by brass fanfares and drums.

Taken as a whole, 'I heard a great voice' constitutes a magnificent example of later eighteenth-century English music, all the more remarkable for the fact that its existence is now virtually unknown. It is of key importance for the present study as

just one of the ways in which Cooke invoked ancient and modern elements to create strikingly inventive musical statements. In this work we see baroque style and the rhetoric of oratorio deployed as a means of evoking the Sublime. The uncomplicated and concise manner in which these ancient elements are presented, however, differentiates this anthem from those composed by the earlier generation of Handel, Boyce and Greene. Similarly, Cooke's expression of gravitas and solemnity through reference to the past also distinguishes this work from those by later eighteenth-century composers who subsequently absorbed Galant style into the orchestral anthem in a more wholesale manner. Once again, it seems Cooke's achievement here owes, in part, to the philosophical environment provided by the Academy. This is reflected in his apparent wish to re-synthesise rather than copy ancient elements, in order to articulate a language transcending fashion yet responsive to the modern requirements for 'intelligibility' and 'expression'.

The fact that Cooke's approach here is so different from that taken for 'Call to remembrance' is only partly due to its more public and large-scale nature. The wide-ranging variations in style and language between Cooke's mature anthems owes principally to his experimental treatment of the genre at this time. This is again conspicuous in the third and last anthem to be discussed, 'The Lord in his wrath'. Like 'I heard a great voice' this is a large-scale work for extensive forces, this time set to a stern Old Testament text, drawn from Lamentations and Samuel. In terms of musical language this work is, however, utterly unlike 'I heard a great voice'. Although retaining in large measure the gravity and seriousness of ancient music, this is effected alongside a deployment of modern strategies quite different from those observed thus far in this study. Here, in addition to galant elements may be observed a highly successful incorporation of strategies nowadays associated with the classical style. These are evident most in Cooke's approach to rhythm and textural transformation, along with a wide-ranging and all pervading deployment of modulation. Through these means, appropriated presumably from contemporary developments in instrumental forms, Cooke fashioned a style of astonishing power, quite unprecedented in its application to the orchestral anthem.

As mentioned in the previous chapter, 'The Lord in his wrath' exists only as a copy made by William Husk in 1858 (RCM MS 806, ff. 51-81) from Cooke's orchestral parts, destroyed shortly after their acquisition by the Royal College of Music. On RCM MS 806 Husk states the anthem was composed on the death of William Augustus, Duke of Cumberland (commander of English forces at Culloden) on 31 October 1765 and that Cumberland was 'privately interred' in Westminster Abbey at

10 p.m. on 9 November that year. Although not confirmed by Husk, it seems probable this information was taken from the set of parts from which he copied the score. Whether 'The Lord in his wrath' was composed for a particular event in connection with the death of Cumberland or whether the work was simply inspired by it is not known. Further annotations by Husk reveal however that the work's composition postdates Cumberland's interrement, thereby confirming that it was not performed at that ceremony. Husk indicates this information to have been transcribed from inscriptions on an autograph full score he subsequently obtained access to then belonging to James Turle, organist of Westminster Abbey (it is no longer known to exist). This dates the work 25 December 1765 and indicates it to have been composed at Dorset Court and performed at the Academy on the 6 and 12 February 1766. Whatever the work's purpose, its text is nevertheless wholly suitable, both as commentary upon Cumberland's death and as a literary vehicle for a Cooke orchestral anthem.

Uniquely for Cooke, the anthem consists of just three movements, the first and third being of substantial length, 102 and 134 bars respectively. Scoring is for strings, clarinets, oboes, horns, two solo voices (AT) and five-part chorus (SSATB). Husk's copy also indicates that on 27 December 1777 Cooke adapted the middle movement, a duet for alto and tenor, into a full movement for 4 voices (which Husk included at the end of RCM MS 806, ff. 78v-81), as well as 'otherwise improving it'. Cooke also made at this time 'slight modifications, principally curtailments, in the triple time of the third movement'. The version under discussion here is the initial version as transcribed from the parts by Husk, to be found in RCM MS 806, ff. 51-78r.

Of all the movements, the first may be considered the most important, constituting another remarkable example of English eighteenth-century music. Transformations of rhythmic texture, phrasing, treatment of dissonance, use of instruments, dynamics and dramatic effects all reflect contemporary developments in large-scale instrumental forms. This, however, is effected alongside a Handelian preoccupation with word-painting and (once again) an accumulative tension borne of baroque style. The end result constitutes Cooke's most successful attempt to achieve substance and grandeur, in a manner contrasting with the frivolity and tameness of much English church music of the time. Its text, taken from Lamentations 2: 2, alludes no doubt to the military activities of the Duke of Cumberland and provides for a mood of austerity and rage:

> The Lord in his wrath hath thrown down the strongholds of Judah

Integral to the movement's construction and development are two contrasting sections of thematic material, the first presented in bars 1-14 (section A material) and second in bars 14-26 (section B material). Cooke's treatment of the text is inherently linked to these sections: the first half of the verse 'The Lord in his wrath' is set only to section B material as opposed to the second 'hath thrown down the strongholds of Judah' which is set to section A material. Through the remainder of the movement (bars 26-102), Cooke juxtaposes, contrasts and combines this thematic material along with its associated texts, thereby conveying tremendous expressive power and structural cohesion.

For the opening section (bars 1-14), Cooke presents simply the orchestral accompaniment of the Section A material (without the material subsequently sung by chorus), thereby providing an orchestral introduction (Example 4.18). This is characterised by a relentless staccato descending walking bass, foreshadowing expression of the text 'hath thrown down the strongholds of Judah' which is introduced later. Over this, harmonies progress in a generally stepwise motion every second beat, conveyed by staccato crotchets in the upper strings and long tied notes in the woodwind, through which constant modulations are effected. Beginning in the movement's home key of E flat, by the 3rd beat of the first bar Cooke signals a move to A flat and then during the course of this short section touches on the keys of F, B flat, G, C minor returning to E flat in bar 13. This feature contrasts markedly with the simplicity of approach to modulation in 'I heard a great voice' (as well as in anthem composition at this time generally) and is essential to the character of this material. Similarly innovatory is Cooke's advanced harmonic language and deployment of dissonance in some of these chord progressions. This is evident, for example, in the second half of bar 6 where a French sixth chord is used and in Cooke's liberal deployment of dissonant passing notes such as the major 7th bass note in the second half of bar 10. Through this constant modulation an air of sombre and uneasy tranquillity is evoked, serving to emphasise the dramatic entrance of the voices in the following section.

This approach to modulation, chord progression, dissonance, voice leading, and general texture is an essential element in the style Cooke fashions throughout this anthem. It is appropriate therefore to mention the writings of a harmony theorist who it seems influenced Cooke in this. These are to be found in a treatise entitled *L'arte armonica; or a Treatise on the Composition of Musick* published by the Italian

composer-theorist Georgio Antoniotto (ca.1692-1776) in 1760.[22] Originating from Milan, Antoniotto is now remembered principally for this treatise, although he also published a set of contrapuntally advanced string sonatas. Barry Cooper suggests the treatise was translated into English by a fellow Italian, the Academician Geminiani, as a means of getting it published, although this is not confirmed.[23] The work's connection to Cooke is manifested not least in the fact that its subscribers' page bears his name along with those of fellow supporters of ancient music, Boyce, Hawkins and Howard. However, the presence also of other prominent English composers corroborates Cooper's belief in the powerful influence the treatise had upon thorough-bass theory in England at this time. Dealing predominantly with chord progressions, the work promotes a system based on the concept of the fundamental bass. Antoniotto claimed this theory to be a codification of the 'harmonic Art' of combining 'all the Eight primary Sounds of any Scale', which over the previous century had reached its '*Ne plus altre*' in Italian grand and solemn sacred works composed in eight real parts.[24]

Antoniotto presented his 'fundamental counterpoint' as something new, and therefore different from the 'counterpoint' commonly used in which 'bass and parts move either gradually, or skipping at pleasure.'[25] In his system 'the motions of the bass and also of the parts' would be limited, 'the bass moving only by its competent steps and the other parts moving gradually.'[26] In his treatise Antoniotto sought to provide an exhaustive compendium of all the different chord progressions derivable from "every different and particular motion of the bass". To achieve this he produced a comprehensive series of 80 musical examples (called canons) through which to set out this harmonic code according to natural (diatonic) and general (chromatic) progressions all of which began and ended on the chord of C or C minor. Passing through not just 'all eight original sounds of the natural scale' but also all '12 semitones', Antoniotto's canons demonstrated fundamental-bass progression in fourths, fifths and thirds in up to eight and more parts. Through this

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[22]Giorgio Antoniotto, *L'arte armonica; or a Treatise on the Composition of Musick*, 2 vols. (London, 1760). There are throughout the Cooke Collection many transcriptions from, and notes concerning, Antoniotto's treatise.

[23]Wilhelm Seidel and Barry Cooper, *Entstehung nationaler Traditionen: Frankreich, England* (Darmstadt, 1986), p. 179.

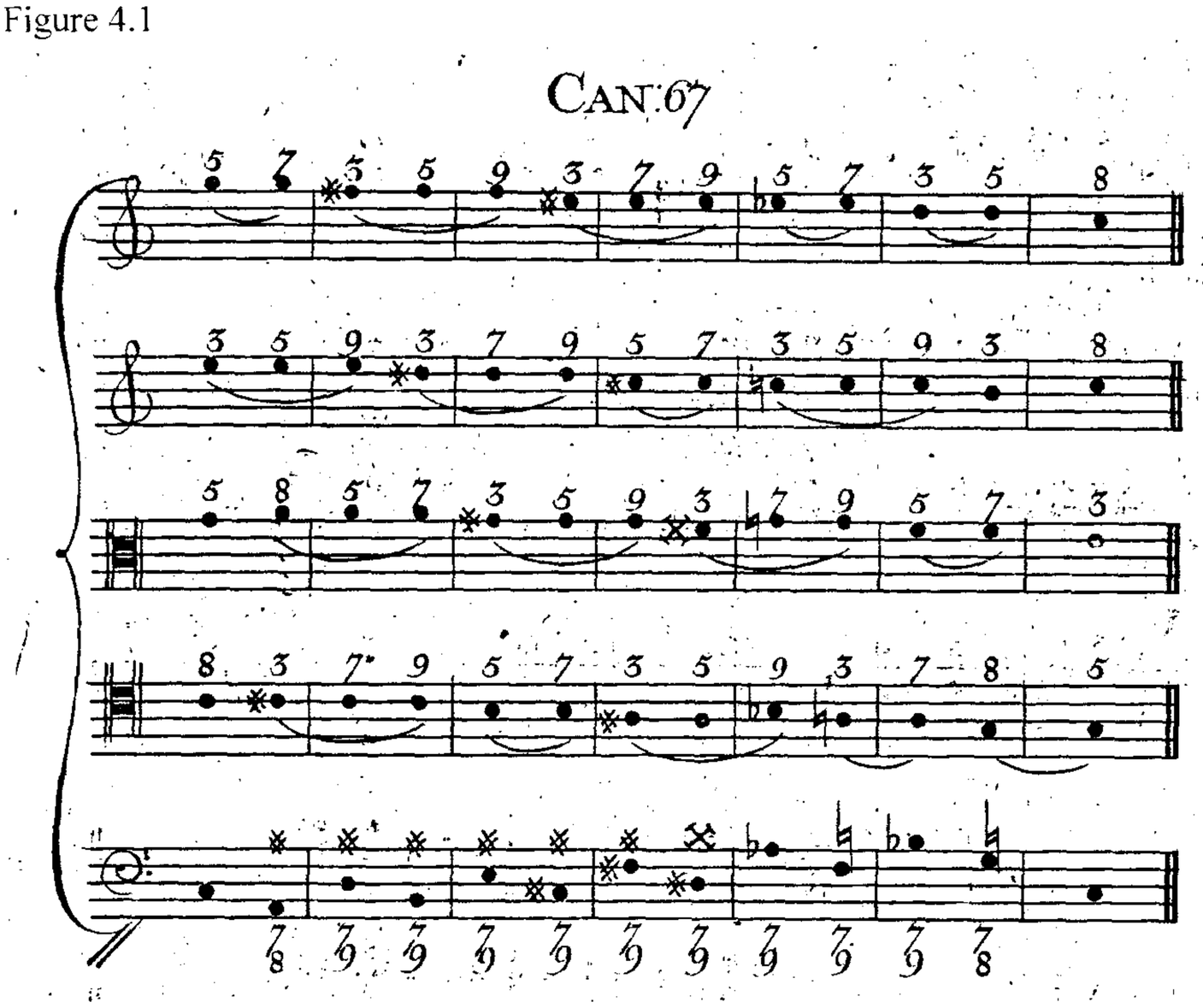
[24]Antoniotto, *L'arte armonica*, vol. I, p. 20.

[25]*Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 45.

[26]*Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 46.

he illustrated the correct use of sevenths and ninths, the upper parts always moving by step and often incorporating held substitution notes. In Figure 4.1 may be seen just one of these canons, canon 67.[27]

Figure 4.1



Here Antoniotto demonstrates 'correct' movement of the bass down a minor third and up a fourth, retaining properly prepared and resolved sevenths and ninths throughout.

The resemblance is unmistakable between Antoniotto's canons and Cooke's progressions and voice-leading in the Section A material in this first movement of 'The Lord in his wrath' (as well as in other movements). This is evidenced in Cooke's stepwise progressions of the parts, the constant harmonic rhythm, the treatment of dissonant passing notes, substitution notes and the general regularity of certain sequences.

For Section B (bars 14-25) Cooke provides a dramatic and sublime entrance of the chorus with the words 'The Lord in his wrath'. Here the sense of forward motion is momentarily checked thanks to a radical shift in harmonic rhythm, harmonic language, modulation and texture. Particularly remarkable is the way in which the altos usher in a *piano* introduction (beginning in E flat) of the text, which is then

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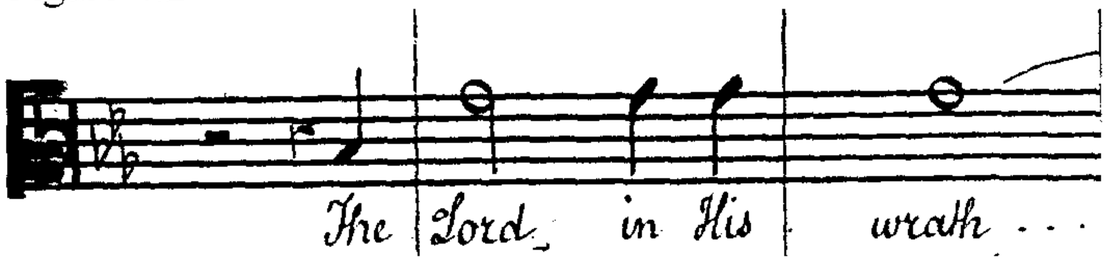
[27] *Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 41.

reiterated, *fortissimo* by the remainder of the chorus with orchestra. The effectiveness of this is enhanced by Cooke's flexible treatment of the rhythmic texture. At bar 16 violas are alone in playing a classical repeating quaver figure but as the section progresses the other stringed instruments by turn join in until the final dramatic establishment of the key of B flat major when all play unanimous dotted rhythms (bars 23-4). This flexible manipulation of textures is built upon by Cooke as the movement proceeds and is perhaps the most obvious of a range of parameters drawn from contemporary musical practices.

A key element in the work's thematic integration is the chorus's distinctive opening motive (Motive 1) which characterises all entrances of this text, shown in Figure 4.2.

Figure 4.2



Similarly, the classical repeating quaver figure in the strings in bar 15 and the subsequent dotted crotchet motive played by violins in bar 16 (Motive 2) shown in Figure 4.3 each represent essential components in Cooke's subsequent development of the movement.

Figure 4.3

Cooke's clear and diatonic harmonic language is also important in the way it contrasts with the previous section. Here harmonic rhythm is reduced to one chord every two bars and the dissonance of the previous movement is replaced by unambiguous consonance. In a manner deployed by Cooke elsewhere, progressions occur in a regular descent of a third from E flat to C minor, A flat then F, the latter leading to the sudden and striking modulation to B flat for the resolution of the section and statement of 'The Lord in his wrath' (bars 22-5).

Sublime contrasts, as achieved at the beginning of Section B, recur throughout this movement and recall the oratorio influenced statements observed in 'I heard a great

voice'. The expressive and developmental processes in this movement, however, go beyond such straightforward juxtaposing of starkly differing blocks of material. Here, through the kinds of gradual transformation it exhibited in Section B, Cooke introduced into the orchestral anthem more flexible approaches to musical discourse drawn from contemporary compositional procedures. This is, however, presented firmly within the broader stylistic confines of ancient music, as we shall see in the succeeding section (Section C, bars 26-62).

Cooke begins by presenting the remainder of text 'hath thrown down the strong holds of Judah' with a return to section A material (bar 26), this time complete with chorus but beginning on the dominant, B flat. Presented in the form of a flowing four-part polyphonic vocal exposition, this recalls the genre's learned roots which (in combination with the descending bass line material described above) makes for a very effective word-painting of this text. Before this exposition has fully run its course, a new four-note descending motive, Motive 3, is introduced into the texture by the second sopranos (bars 34-7). In the first instance (Figure 4.4) its outer pitches encompass a ninth although in later instances the interval tends to be an octave.

Figure 4.4

Set only to the words 'hath thrown down', this forms a further recurring motive for the remainder of the movement.

Although this polyphonic vocal exposition continues to be maintained, in bar 37 the words 'The lord in his wrath' are reintroduced accompanied by a tentative reintroduction of the Section B material. Remarkable here is the way in which, for the subsequent 12 bars, elements of both Sections A and B material are combined (along with their respective texts), but with the latter increasingly predominating as the passage proceeds. This counterpoint of different themes and texts reaches a climax with a resounding *forte* homophonic statement of a single statement of the text in its entirety alongside a brief modulation to A flat (bars 45-55).

However, in a development typifying Cooke's preoccupation with contrasts in this movement, this dense *forte* statement dies away to a *piano*, then *pianissimo*

statement of Motive 3 (bar 56-62). Here Cooke deploys a thoroughly modern treatment of orchestral colour as all fall silent except for strings which eventually conclude the section with a spacious staccato cadence. Significant here is the manner in which baroque forward momentum is momentarily checked by this classical rounding off, thereby reiterating the key of A flat major. This gesture is made complete with the imposition of a bar's rest before forward momentum is resumed again with the final section of the movement, Section D beginning at bar 63.

This bursts to life with a final furious homophonic statement of 'The Lord in his wrath' and its associated material followed by the remainder of the text. Alongside this Cooke lends a sense of intensification and accumulation of force as new rhythmic elements are introduced. The first of these takes the form of cascading repeated quavers in the first violins (bar 65) modelled on the descending Motive 3, previously heard mainly in the voices. Intensification is further compounded with the chorus's rendition of the distinctive 'The Lord in his wrath' rhythm (Motive 1) in diminished form (bar 73), accompanied by a two-part counterpoint of first and second violins reiterating the melodic contours of the chorus in repeated semiquavers. This final climax of activity constitutes the focal point for the movement as a whole (bars 73-8), after which the aura of angst begins to evaporate. Cooke eases the sense of forward motion by lengthening note values in the string accompaniment and then seamlessly reintroducing section A material. It seems highly likely that a softening in dynamics is also intended here, although this is not indicated in Husk's score. In bar 81 wind alone play Motive 3 after which the chorus sing the final *piano* rendition of the text. The movement's momentum finally disperses through careful manipulation of dynamics, orchestration and rhythmic texture leading finally to a general pause. In a manner similar but more extreme than in the previous section, this movement ends softly and poignantly with the falling motive (Motive 3) providing a fitting conclusion to this funereal text.

Compared to 'I heard a great voice' composed just one year before, and indeed anything else previously composed by him, this movement constitutes a landmark in Cooke's stylistic development. In this highly successful assimilation of modern elements into the orchestral anthem may be seen evidence not just of a wish to develop the genre in new ways, but of an aspiration to further music in a more general sense. Nevertheless, the success of this movement is made possible by the fact that, despite the modern elements, its overall aesthetic and stylistic coherence is still borne of the earlier stylistic era. In no way are the modern elements exploited to

the same ends as in works conforming to modern-day conceptions of the classical style. In the works of Mozart or Haydn articulated events such as those introduced by Cooke at the beginnings of Sections C and D might be used to establish a secondary key or to achieve some other real structural aim. For Cooke, however, these events are merely temporary checks in the onward progression of the movement, designed to instil an element of poignance amid the gathering storm that predominates. Similarly, Cooke's overall use of key here shows no aspiration to explore the possibilities inherent in the language of tonality. Later in the century symphonic composers invoked a long range harmonic tension and resolution borne of a hierarchical perception of triads in relation to a tonic as a means of symmetrically structuring movements. Cooke, however, simply follows his usual practice of progressing through a succession of related flat keys, motivated, in part perhaps, by a wish to exploit the qualities of those keys according to the properties of the Common Scale.

Although the first movement of this anthem is the most significant in terms of its musical and stylistic interest, the remaining two movements are also both worthy of note. The middle movement presents a foil to the severity of the outer movements. Scored for two altos, two clarinets, two horns and strings, its text is from Lamentations 2: 10.

> The Elders of Israel sit on the ground
> Sit and keep silence

Here Cooke writes a pastoral statement of extreme elegance in which orchestration (and in particular clarinets), harmonic language and phrasing combine to produce a movement of convincing modernity. Once again, a principal characteristic here is Cooke's deployment of balanced, answering phrasing. This along with the movement's relaxed pace ('Largehtto'), slower harmonic rhythm and 3/4 time-signature, coalesce to conjure a mood wholly in keeping with the sense of the text.

Like the galant arias described earlier, this movement is sectional and organised symmetrically. It begins with a lengthy and spacious orchestral introduction made up of three sub-sections, each of which contain in truncated form thematic material upon which the movement is based (see Example 4.19). In this way Cooke once again provides a clear sense of thematic integration for the movement.

At Section 2 (bars 17-25) the voices enter in thirds with a setting of the first half of the text consisting of two four-bar phrases accompanied by staccato arpeggio figures

in the violins and a predominantly static bass line. The sense of symmetrical elegance evoked here is compounded in the following section (Section 3, bars 26-33), constituting a highly effective word-painting of the words 'sit on the ground'. This, too, is made up of two four-bar phrases in which descending arpeggio motives are sung by each voice in turn. In addition, the orchestral accompaniment mimics this falling motion with a correspondingly stepwise descent in pitch, most evident in tied dotted minims through which clarinets form highly expressive suspensions. Typical of the movement as a whole, these sections demonstrate once again both Cooke's facility in this style and his ability to integrate it successfully alongside the more ancient elements to be found in the outer movements.

The stepwise motion of this texture, which is prevalent throughout the movement, is once again of interest here in the way it recalls the influence of Antoniotto's harmony treatise upon Cooke at this time. This influence is also evident in the anthem's third and final movement, set to the following words from 2 Samuel 1: 27:

How are the mighty fallen and the weapons of war are perished

This ushers a return to ancient grandeur and learning, manifested most obviously by that most potent symbol of learned style, the fugal exposition. As in the first movement, however, this and other 'ancient' parameters are made to coalesce with a range of modern stylistic elements, through which Cooke presents a statement of innovation and ingenuity.

Lasting 134 bars, this movement is constructed according to an ABA plan, consisting of two brief outer statements lasting 20 and 12 bars respectively and sharing the same material. These surround an extended middle section lasting 102 bars. Scoring is for five-part chorus (SSATB) accompanied by the first appearance in its entirety of the full orchestra, consisting of two oboes, two clarinets, two bassoons, two horns and strings.

In the opening section, the text is set out in full, accompanied by elements of thematic material that later form the substance of the middle section. Beginning in E flat in 4/4 time, a funereal aura is evoked through the deployment of adagio dotted rhythms and falling motives throughout the orchestra, representative of 'How are the mighty fallen' (Example 4.20). In the accompaniment, clear diatonic harmonies predominate until near the conclusion when there is a modulation to C minor, the key of the ensuing section.

It is, however, this dance-like main central section that is of principal interest. Its opening 3/4 time minor-key fugal exposition not only places the movement firmly within the traditions of English orchestral sacred music but also, once again (but for different reasons), in the Handelian oratorio style. This mode of expression sits very appropriately with the Old Testament text, which in this section is confined solely to the words 'and the weapons of war, perished'. Expounded in turn by basses, tenors, altos and finally trebles, this fugue subject consists of just six notes (bars 21-3) followed by a flowing quaver counter-subject (bars 23-6). It is the latter, with its potential for melismatic treatment, that most links this exposition to Handel. In view of the fact that such text-setting was frowned upon by those calling for a return to simplicity this represents a conspicuous departure for Cooke from his more usual practice of syllabic word-setting. However, after the exposition, except for occasional references in the orchestral parts, this counter-subject is no longer heard.

Having set the tone of the movement, the exposition concludes with a modulation to B flat major on the first beat of bar 30. After this point the element of fugue is more apparent than real, the ensuing development having shed conventionality in order to exhibit a conflation of stragies, both ancient and modern. Here word-painting, counterpoint and driving rhythms coexist with a modern approach to texture and orchestration, all of which ultimately serve the purpose of conveying thrusting impetus and a sense of angst called for by the text.

The principal thematic motives deployed in this development are the six-note fugue subject (without the melismatic counter subject) and a dotted motive introduced in bar 46, but heard earlier in the opening introduction (bars 16-17). As in the opening movement, Cooke utilises the baroque strategy of associating different words or sections of text with particular themes to great expressive effect. In accordance with this, the words 'and the weapons of war' are set to the fugue subject whereas the word 'perished' is always set to the dotted motive. Throughout, Cooke introduces points of fugal imitation answered by dramatic homophonic responses from the chorus (singing the word 'perished') and orchestra. There is thus a simplicity of approach here in which real counterpoint plays little part and the strings frequently invoke modern symphonic textures through repeated string semiquavers.

The ensuing section at bar 44 provides a revealing insight to Cooke's adoption of modern developmental practices in this ostensibly ancient fugal chorus. The section begins with a quotation of the six-note fugue subject sung by altos and tenors to the words 'and the weapons of war', marked *piano*, and accompanied by quavers in the

bass. This is quickly answered at bar 46 by the remainder of the chorus with the dotted motive and the word 'perished', this time *forte* and accompanied by the whole orchestra. Through such sudden and emphatic contrasts in terms of dynamics, material and textures, Cooke achieves a sense of drama and discourse that is repeated with increasing vehemence as the movement proceeds. Moreover, by presenting the same point of imitation with its associated texts in numerous different keys and contexts, Cooke invokes developmental practices to be found in more modern instrumental works. Key to this (as for the first movement) is Cooke's treatment of rhythmic texture, which is characterised by numerous transitions emanating from the introduction of each new statement of the fugue subject. In addition to sudden transitions (as in bar 46) Cooke sometimes introduces more incremental intensifications achieved by successive introduction of the classical quaver string accompaniment (see for example bars 98-103). The sense of sublime impact achieved by these strategies is assisted by Cooke's deployment of key. Although adhering mainly to the tonic and related flat keys, Cooke's occasionally glaring juxtaposition of keys leads at times to striking effects. An example of this may be observed at bar 75 where Cooke deploys a diminished chord on B flat whilst engineering a modulation from B flat major to F minor, thereby confounding expectation. A further exhibition of modern drama takes place midway through the movement at bar 53, where amidst the striving energy already generated by the fugal exposition, Cooke imposes a hiatus in the movement's forward impetus. Suddenly, and somewhat unexpectedly, a cadence formula (complete with trill in the first violins) is introduced, ending on the chord of E flat followed by a general pause lasting a beat. This is then followed by a dramatic and sudden tutti resumption of forward motion on the jarringly unrelated chord of G major, leading back into C minor and a return to the original rate of harmonic rhythm.

In addition to drama and discourse Cooke also evokes an overriding sense of gathering forward momentum similar to that observed in the first movement. The final section beginning at bar 96 is notable in this regard. Instead of the fugue subject, unaccompanied chorus basses and instrumental basses reintroduce in unison the four-note descending motive from the first movement (Motive 3), which is then imitated by trebles two bars later and subsequently by all voices. Alongside this, Cooke introduces the most prolonged reiteration of repeated quavers in the strings so far. This is accompanied by a similarly sustained full woodwind passage of long tied notes in stepwise motion thereby traversing a final sequence of flat keys, once again recalling the fundamental bass canons in Antoniotto's treatise. A particularly effective progression occurs just before the conclusion to the section, where

thrusting momentum generated by strings and chorus is emphasised by an Antoniottoesque seven-bar succession of seventh chords (bars 105-11). These lead to a final interrupted cadence in C minor (bars 115-16) with which this freneticism ends abruptly, to be followed by a sombre *piano* rendition of the word 'perished' (bars 117-22), and then a reprise of the solemn adagio A Section (bars 123-34).

Once again, Cooke invokes here the Sublime through a combination of ancient accumulative force and modern dramatic discourse, thereby presenting this venerable sacred genre in a new light. It is precisely such stylistic eclecticism that invokes comparison with Haydn's *Creation*, a work which later in the century would integrate powerful 'ancient' gestures within a predominantly modern musical discourse. Although of course also bearing fundamental differences (Cooke's anthems being less soloistic, less symphonic-more clearly sacred and 'ancient'), there are nevertheless underlying objectives common to both composers. This is evident most obviously in their deployment of Handelian word-painting, sublime statements, brief contrapuntal choruses alongside galant episodes, all assisted by a highly creative exploitation of the later eighteenth-century orchestra. Such comparisons are further invoked through their common deployment of this quasi-religious means to create a profound musical statement whose fundamental purpose is artistic rather than liturgical or religious. It is not argued here that Cooke in any way influenced Haydn but simply that in developing the orchestral anthem Cooke was responding to musical and aesthetic requirements prevalent at the time. Although Cooke forged musical styles that were essentially inconsistent with mainstream tastes he was by no means unresponsive to his present, and indeed anticipated later developments. This point is fundamental to this chapter, whose objective has been to demonstrate how Cooke appropriated theoretical and historical learning in a manner designed to advance music. Cooke's deployment of baroque rhetoric and classical drama is however only one element in a whole array of stylistic traits and strategies appropriated from various ages. As was shown in earlier chapters of this study, the defining element in this was an abiding conception of 'harmony' as a language borne of universal principle. It will be recalled that for Cooke this 'principle' governed sound, harmony and rhythm, which when deployed together in divine worship served to fill 'the heart with ecstasy'. In this we find perhaps the ultimate inspiration for the grandiose and sublime pronouncements that dominate his mature orchestral anthems.

In all the works examined here may be observed this learned endeavour to explore the language of harmony. This is most obvious in Cooke's canonic part songs, his

manipulation of the Common Scale and in his apparent attempts to enact Antoniotto's harmonic precepts. In these and many other instances may be observed a practical counterpart to Cooke's mathematical conception of harmony shown in *Musical Conjectures*. It will be remembered from Chapter 1 that harmony formed a defining preoccupation of the counterculture surrounding the Academy, and that this counterculture had found expression in Hawkins' rejection of the moderns' aesthetic of imitation. Mason's comments above show, for supporters of modern music it was precisely this 'affectation of harmonical science' and its alleged obfuscation of verbal sentiment that made ancient music so unsatisfactory. In reality, the orchestral anthems discussed here reveal that for all Cooke's reverence for abstract harmony, words remained nevertheless important. Words, it seems, were crucial for providing the context through which to unleash the power of harmony and evoke that sense of ecstasy. In the two sides of this philosophical divide may be perceived therefore a difference in emphasis rather than a mutually exclusive dichotomy. Although Cooke would not have entirely agreed with Mason's precepts, he nevertheless retained a sensitivity to the role of words in music. It is this aspect of Cooke's musical language that came to the fore in his two most important works, to be discussed in the next chapter.

Chapter 5

The Apogee of Cooke's Composing Career: *The Morning Hymn* and *Collins's Ode*

Cooke's arrangement of John Ernst Galliard's *Hymn of Adam and Eve* (1769-72) and setting of William Collins' *Ode on the Passions* (1773-7) constitute perhaps the two defining works of his career. Both bear similarities in terms of scale, orchestration, rhetoric and style thereby revealing a close conceptual relationship between each other. Undertaken consecutively, their creation reflects in Cooke a single process of musical discovery, which with the ode reached its ultimate conclusion. The sheer artistic achievement of these two settings, along with the fact that they are Cooke's only large-scale published works, have ensured their place as the extended works upon which Cooke's reputation was built. Created directly after the orchestral anthems described in the previous chapter, these later works clearly build upon, yet also differ from their sacred precursors owing in large part to their literary nature. As in the previous chapter, the aim here is to examine these settings, both as ground-breaking compositions in their own right, but also for the insight they offer concerning Cooke's philosophy of music.

This endeavour is enhanced considerably by the nature of the texts to which these works are set, knowledge of which is fundamental to understanding Cooke's musical treatment of them. Collins' ode *The Passions* and Milton's *Hymn of Adam and Eve* from book five of *Paradise Lost* constitute two texts fundamentally different from each other in terms of period, style and content. Despite this, both resonate strongly with Cooke's agenda as composer and theorist. Once again, a principal feature in both settings is Cooke's deployment of specific elements of earlier musical style as an archetypal, timeless language. The ways in which these texts so ably assist this process, however, differ. In Milton's *Hymn of Adam and Eve* the notion of a paradise in which a Platonic universal harmony prevails is invoked to suggest a lost age of perfection. This encapsulates attitudes held by supporters of ancient music, who perceived in Galliard's learned musical style archetypal values absent in music of the later eighteenth century. The connection between archetypal principles and the past is established most clearly in Collins' *The Passions* where allusions to ancient Greek literary and musical traditions constitute an underlying feature. For this, Cooke fashions a mode of musical expression predicated upon baroque idiom to

a degree unparalleled in his other works of this period. Fundamental to this is a conspicuous deployment of earlier expressive devices, and in particular word-painting, as a means of conveying the emotions of Collins' personified 'passions'. In contrast to Cooke's mature orchestral anthems in which modern influences frequently prevail, in these settings such influences are less prominent. It will be shown, however, that through his consistent, emphatic and idiosyncratic deployment of earlier styles Cooke constructs a mode of musical discourse both highly individual and of the later eighteenth century.

Cooke's arrangement of the *Hymn of Adam and Eve*

First to be considered here is the arrangement of Galliard's setting of Milton's *Hymn of Adam and Eve* from book five of *Paradise Lost*. Published by Galliard in 1728, the work is essentially an extended chamber cantata in which Milton's verse is sung by two solo voices, Adam (tenor) and Eve (soprano) accompanied by basso continuo. Cooke's arrangement of the work, published in 1773 as *The Morning Hymn*, constitutes a fundamental reappraisal.[1] Instead of two solo voices for Adam and Eve there are in Cooke's version three uncharacterised solo parts for soprano, tenor and bass, accompanied by four-part chorus and extensive orchestra comprising strings, 'small flute a 6th higher', two flutes, two oboes, two bassoons, two horns, two trumpets, drums and continuo. Furthermore, Cooke added instrumental passages and whole movements thereby transforming Galliard's chamber cantata into a large-scale work conforming more to the model of the English oratorio or orchestral ode. In Table 5.1 a listing of movements is shown, offering comparison between Galliard's original and Cooke's refashioning of it; this will be referred to in the discussion which follows.

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[1]For all further references to Cooke's arrangement of Galliard's setting, Cooke's designation '*The Morning Hymn*' is used. Galliard's setting is referred to as the '*Hymn of Adam and Eve*'.

	Milton's *Hymn of Adam and Eve* from book five of *Paradise Lost*[2]	**Galliard's setting**			**Cooke's arrangement**	
No	**Text**	**Form/voice(s)**	**Key**	**Bars**	**Form/voice(s)**	**Bars**
	n/a	*n/a*	[D minor-A]		orchestral overture introduction	11
	,,	,,	[D minor]		Fuga	46
	,,	,,	[B flat]		Larghetto	32
1	These are thy glorious works, Parent of Good, Almighty! thine this universal Frame, Thus wonderous fair; thy self how wonderous then! Unspeakable, who sitt'st above these Heavens To us invisible or dimly seen In these thy lowest works, yet these declare Thy Goodness beyond Thought, and Power Divine: Speak, ye who best can tell, ye Sons of Light, Angels, for ye behold him,	Adam and Eve recitative	D minor-C	15	tenor recitative secco	15
2	And with Songs And Choral Symphonies, Day without Night, Circle his Throne rejoicing; ye in Heav'n, On Earth, join all ye Creatures to extol Him first, him Last, him midst, and without End.	Adam and Eve duet	F	63	tenor and chorus	70

[2]Transcribed from Galliard's published setting. Barring minor variations in punctuation and spelling, this is the same as that published in Milton's original 1667 edition of *Paradise Lost* and Cooke's setting.

3	Fairest of Stars, last in the Train of Night, If better thou belong not to the Dawn, Sure pledge of Day, that crown'st the Smiling Morn With thy bright Circlet,	Eve secco recitative	B flat - F	6	soprano accompanied recitative	6
4	Praise him in thy sphere While Day arises, that sweet hour of Prime.	Eve aria	B flat	25	soprano aria	28
5	Thou Sun, of this great World both Eye and Soul, Acknowledge Him thy Greater;	Adam secco recitative	G minor	3	bass accompanied recitative	3
6	Sound his Praise In thy Eternal Course, Both when thou climb'st, And when high Noon ha'st gain'd, & when thou fall'st.	Adam aria	G minor	28	bass aria	32
7	Moon, that now meet'st the orient Sun, now fly'st, With the fixt Stars, fixt in their Orb that flies, And ye five other wandering Fires, that move In mystic Dance, not without Song,	Eve secco recitative	E flat - B flat	7	soprano accompanied recitative	9
8	Resound His Praise, who out of Darkness call'd up Light,	Eve aria	E flat	24	chorus	24
9	Air, and ye Elements, the Eldest Birth Of Nature's Womb, that in Quaternion run Perpetual Circle, multiform, and mix & nourish all things;	Adam secco recitative	C minor - E flat	6	tenor secco recitative	6
10	Let your ceaseless Change Vary to our Great Maker still new Praise.	Adam aria	C minor	66	tenor aria	66

11	Ye Mists, and Exhalations, that now rise From Hill or Steaming Lake, dusky or grey, Till the Sun paint your fleecy Skirts with Gold, In honour to the world's Great Author rise, Whether to deck with Clouds the uncolour'd Sky, Or wet the thirsty Earth with falling showers,	Eve secco recitative	G-D	10	soprano accompanied recitative	12
12	Rising or falling, still advance his Praise.	Eve aria	G	33	soprano aria	35
13	His Praise, ye Winds, that from four Quarters blow, Breathe soft, or loud; and Wave your Tops, ye Pines, With every Plant,	Adam secco recitative	D-A	6	tenor accompanied recitative	13
14	In Sign of Worship Wave.	Adam aria	D	23	tenor aria	27
15	Fountains, and ye, that warble as ye flow, Melodious Murmurs,	Eve recitative secco	B minor	2	soprano accompanied recitative	3
16	Warbling tune his Praise.	Eve aria	B minor	24	soprano aria	25
17	Join Voices, all ye living Souls, ye Birds, That Singing up to Heaven Gate ascend, Bear on your Wings & in your Notes his Praise.	Adam and Eve duet	D	44	chorus	50
18	Ye that in Waters glide, and ye that Walk The Earth, & Stately tread, or lowly Creep, Witness if I be Silent, Morn or Even, To Hill, or Valley, Fountain, or fresh Shade, Made Vocal by my Song, and taught his Praise;	Adam and Eve duet	B minor	41	soprano and tenor duet	41

19	Hail, Vniversal Lord, Be Bounteous Still To give us only good; and if the Night Have gathered aught of Evil or Conceal'd, Disperse it, as now Light dispells the Dark!	Adam and Eve duet	G-D	39	chorus	41

Study of *The Morning Hymn* is well served by the existence of three principal primary sources. Within the Cooke Collection there is an early version (RCM MS 808, ff. 1-46) dated variously between and including the years 1769 to 1771. Consisting of manuscript folios interleaved with pages from Galliard's original printed edition this constitutes Cooke's original working copy. There is also a fair copy (RCM MS 815, ff. 1-40) bearing the following inscription: 'Second copy with improvements finished at Greenwich July 1, 1772.' This is the version subsequently published in 1773, the latter providing the reading upon which this study is based.

Of particular importance to understanding the genesis and purpose of this work is Cooke's dedication to be found in the published edition reproduced in Figure 5.1.

Figure 5.1

To the Academy of Ancient Music.

GENTLEMEN

To You, in whose School I was educated, and to whose friendly & Generous Protection, ever since continued, I am so much indebted, I beg leave, with the utmost Gratitude, Respect & Esteem, to dedicate the following Piece: should these Additions to it, made at Your request and which You have so kindly approved, any way contribute to revive or preserve the Memory of an ingenious Man, who was once an Ornament to Your Society, I shall think [illegible] employed

[illegible] ACADEMY may long prosper, and You continue Members of this laudable Institution, which for these last Three-score Years has been promoting and encouraging in this Kingdom the study & practice of real and undoubted good Harmony, is sincerely the earnest wish of him, who is with filial Regard

Gentlemen,

Your much obliged

and most faithful Servant

Benjamin Cooke

Dorset Court Westminster.

January 7th 1773

Key here is Cooke's statement that 'these additions' had been made at the 'request' of the 'Gentlemen of the Academy of Ancient Music' and his hope this work would 'revive or preserve the Memory of an ingenious Man' who had been 'an Ornament to the Academy of Ancient Music'. This alludes to the fact that Galliard had been a founder-member of the Academy of Ancient Music. Perhaps of greatest importance is Cooke's penultimate line, which associates Cooke's project with the Academy's policy of 'promoting and encouraging in this Kingdom the study and practice of real undoubted good harmony'.

This latter point is important for the glimpse it affords into the motivations underlying the activities of both the Academy and Cooke. As shown throughout this study, this notion of an archetypal 'good harmony' is highly consistent with the known views of Cooke, Hawkins and other Academicians, who perceived timeless qualities in music of the past. Furthermore, as will be seen, both the notion that this work constituted 'good harmony' and the importance of Galliard to this concept underlie Cooke's subsequent conception of *The Morning Hymn.*

As a co-founder of the Academy, John Ernst Galliard (ca. 1687-1749) would certainly have been known personally to Cooke. Originating from Germany, Galliard had been a pupil of Steffani, the noted contrapuntalist who had for a brief period earlier in the century been President of the Academy of Ancient Music. Galliard initially came to England in 1706 to act as court musician to Prince George of Denmark, Queen Anne's consort. As a composer, his known works suggest his principal area of interest and activity to have been theatre music. In particular, he is noted for his ultimately unsuccessful attempt, along with the poet John Hughes, to stage an English opera *Calypso and Telemachus* in 1712 at the Queen's Theatre, London.[3] A less prominent aspect of Galliard's work, apposite to this study, is his composition to texts by John Hughes and Richard Congreve of English cantatas following the Italian style. It is in the spirit of this esoteric and learned genre that he set Milton's *Hymn of Adam and Eve*, the title page of which can be seen in Figure 5.2.

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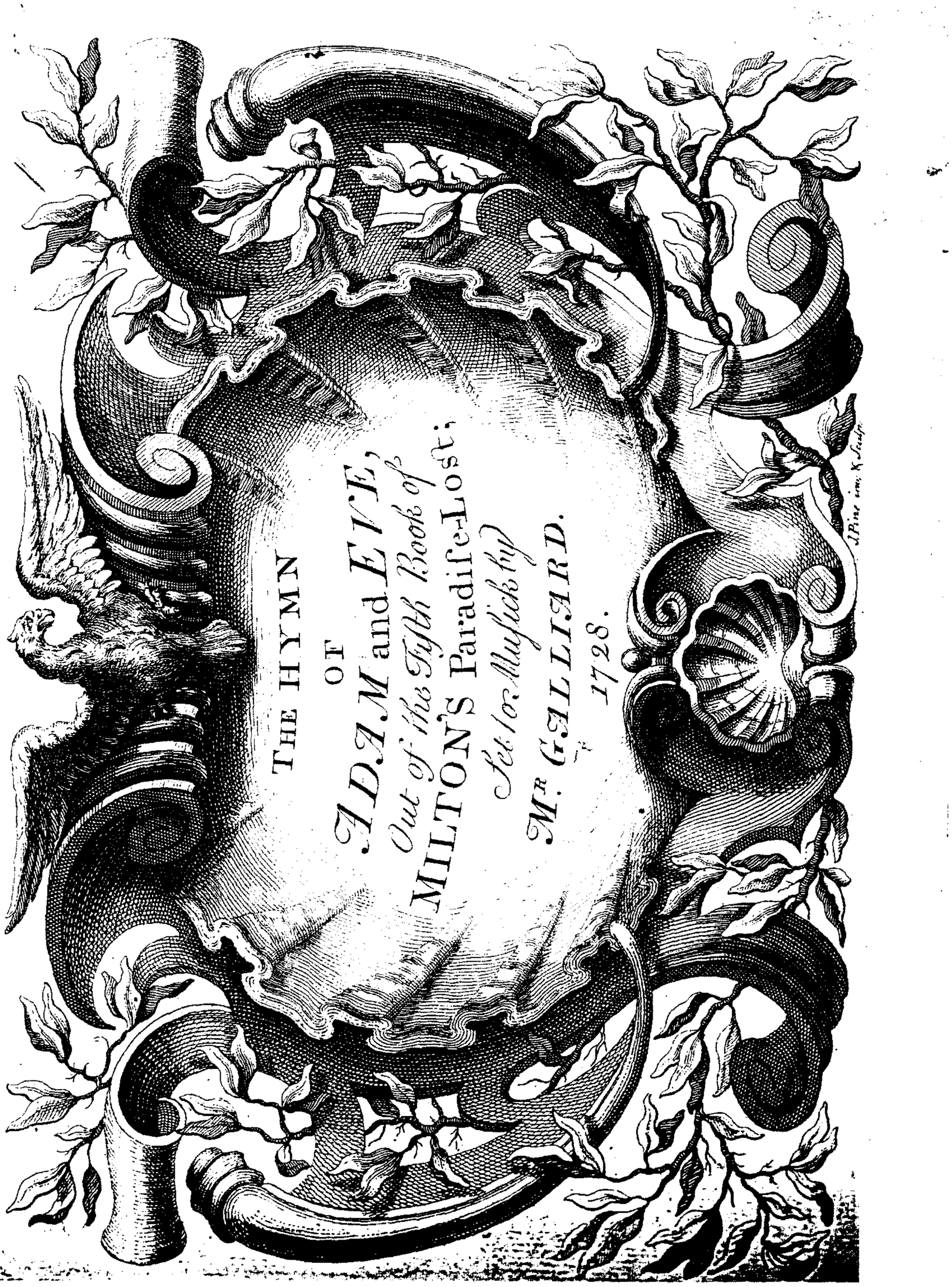
[3]Roger Fiske, 'Galliard, John Ernst', *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. S. Sadie (London, 1980).

Figure 5.2



Consisting of 19 numbers, Galliard's *Hymn of Adam and Eve* comprises recitatives, arias and duets in accordance with cantata form (see Table 5.1). The duets both introduce and conclude the work, one at the beginning and a succession of three at

the end. In between, Galliard provides a series of seven sequences of solo recitative and aria sung in turn by one or other of the two protagonists, Adam and Eve. Although fairly unusual in this extended form, the work's resemblance to seventeenth- and earlier eighteenth-century Italian cantatas would have made its mode of expression familiar to members of the Academy. The taste for Italian chamber cantatas amongst supporters of ancient music is strongly attested to, for example, in the library of the Concert of Ancient Music,[4] now a significant source for early manuscript copies and autographs of works by the principal Italian masters of the genre. Furthermore, it was in the Italian *accademie* (which the Academy of Ancient Music had sought to emulate), that this genre and mode of expression originally flourished. Throughout its history the form had been associated with notions of erudition venerated by academic organisations such as the Academy. In his study of Alessandro Scarlatti's chamber cantatas Malcolm Boyd makes the following observations regarding the form's inherent esotericism:

> To the mature composer the form afforded the opportunity of expressing himself freely, without having to satisfy the desires of a capricious audience. He was therefore at liberty to adapt a more serious style and to experiment with technical problems, knowing that he would be serving an audience less likely to misunderstand him, and less impatient with music which did not merely satisfy the craving for a pretty tune.[5]

In the light of this, it is perhaps not surprising that the two earliest composers of the genre in England were two founder members of the Academy of Ancient Music, Galliard and Pepusch. Both published cantatas to English texts, following Italian models, Pepusch two sets (1710, 1720) and Galliard one set (1716) entitled *Six English Cantatas after the Italian Manner.*

Galliard's set is of particular interest here both as a precursor to his setting of the *Hymn of Adam and Eve* and for its preface addressed to 'The Lovers of Musick' containing a 'historical account' of the cantata. This provides apposite insights into Galliard's perspectives on music history and his stated objectives for composing in cantata form. Galliard identifies the predominantly Italian origins of the genre: it was Italian composers that had provided such 'excellent Patterns for other Nations to go by.' Such patterns were to be found in the cantatas of Barbara Strozzi, Agostini, Stradella and most importantly Alessandro Scarlatti and Bononcini. These last two

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[4]A foundation collection of the Royal College of Music Library.

[5]Malcolm Boyd, 'Form and Style in Scarlatti's Chamber Cantatas', *Musical Review*, 25 (1964), 18.

in particular had 'brought cantatas to what they are at present; Bononcini by his agreeable and easie Style, and those fair inventions in his Basses...and Scarlatti by his noble and masterly Turns'. In composing his own set, Galliard had attempted to adapt this style to the English language. Owing, however, to the English tongue being less 'Harmonious than the Italian', Galliard had been particularly 'attentive' to 'The expression of the Words', which for him was 'what [sic] ought to be the most observ'd.' Through this endeavour Galliard hoped ultimately 'to assist, not only in what may tend to the Improvement of the *Art of Musick*, but also to its being *lasting in England.*'

In this high-minded way, Galliard sought to achieve advancement in music through the adaptation of a prestigious mode of musical expression. This taste for cantatas amongst the gentlemen at the Academy, as suggested by their interest in Galliard's *Hymn of Adam and Eve* is significant as confirmation that for them 'good harmony' was in no way restricted to English music. The Italian chamber cantata form adopted in the *Hymn of Adam and Eve* differed greatly from native traditions which, for example, favoured Purcellian arioso to secco recitative as well as greater variation in instrumentation. It is notable that in the preface to Pepusch's first set of cantatas he felt a need to excuse his own use of secco recitative to his English audience who were accustomed to thinking 'all Musick should be Air'. It seems likely that in their deployment of secco recitative, both Galliard and Pepusch sought, in part, to invoke the kudos of the style adopted by the great Italian masters such as Scarlatti and Bononcini. It also seems possible that they perceived in this uncompromising device a manifestation of the expressive power of pure harmonic progressions. Certainly, as we shall see, Italianate secco recitative forms a principal component in the *Hymn of Adam and Eve* which includes many long and well thought out examples.

Perhaps more important, however, for understanding the musical objectives of Galliard, and Cooke's ultimate treatment of this work, is the musical style and language of the arias and duets. Many of these exhibit canonic and other contrapuntal procedures in a manner consistent with the Italianate cantata genre. An instance of this may be observed in the work's second aria, 'Sound his praise in thy eternal cause' sung by Adam (Example 5.1). Written in the minor mode, its opening ritornello given out by the basso continuo constitutes a forceful and distinctive theme which dominates the bass line for the entire movement. A principal feature of the aria is the way this bass line vies with the vocal line, which throughout deploys entirely different material. This explicit juxtaposition of different material lends a sense of contrapuntal rigour which Galliard executes with great elegance. A further

case of such a technical device, typical of the cantata genre, may be seen in the sixth aria, again sung by Adam, set to the words 'In sign of worship wave' (Example 5.2). Here a closely-knit contrapuntal texture based on canonic imitation between bass line and voice predominates. Notable is Galliard's exclusion of other material and the manner in which entries continually overlap to achieve an effect of unconstrained continuity. An antecedent of this kind of strategy may also be found in the chamber duets of Galliard's teacher Steffani, whose pre-eminence in learned counterpoint had been singled out by Hawkins for the highest praise.[6] However, supporters of ancient music perceived in such techniques a link, not only to the art of Steffani and the earlier Italian masters, but also to polyphony of the previous two hundred years.

Before proceeding to consider Cooke's arrangement of this work there is a further aspect of Galliard's original composition to be discussed, namely its text. Galliard's choice of Milton, a writer fundamental to English eighteenth-century cultural life, is in no way surprising. The musical imagery that abounds throughout Milton's *oeuvre* has in all subsequent ages served to make it an abundant source of texts to be set to music. This was particularly so in the eighteenth century, when numerous composers in England such as Handel, Arne as well as Cooke made widespread use of Milton's verse. To the minds of supporters of ancient music, however, Milton was of importance for further reasons. Firstly, the canonic status conferred upon Milton's works in the eighteenth-century undoubtedly presented a counterpart and exemplar for their own veneration of ancient music. Secondly, and most importantly, the Platonic allusions prevalent in Milton's poetry resounded powerfully with the musical philosophy shared by Cooke, Hawkins and other like-minded musicians.

For Hawkins, the fact that Milton (1608-74) was born during the period when music reached its peak of perfection only served to reinforce his authority. Enjoying the distinction of having had a madrigal published in *The Triumphs of Oriana*, Milton's *dilettante* father John Milton (ca. 1563-1647) was considered by Hawkins to have provided a propitious upbringing for his son. This included a Cambridge education and tour of Europe where in Italy the young Milton had famously met Galileo, a key figure in the discovery of the material basis of sound. Such connections, alongside Milton's association of music and Platonic harmony, suggested to Hawkins their perspectives upon music to have been at one. In contrast to those contemporary aestheticians who viewed music in relativist terms, as an art inferior to poetry,

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[6]John Hawkins, *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music* (1776), new edn., 2 vols. (London, 1853), vol. II, pp. 666-7.

Hawkins perceived in Milton a conception of music governed by absolute 'principles' and 'abstract speculation':

> Milton, wherever he speaks of the subject, and there are many passages in the Paradise Lost and his other poems where he has taken occasion to introduce it, besides expressing an enthusiastic fondness for music, talks the language of a master.[7]

It was partly from the same traditions of 'abstract speculation' that Hawkins, Cooke and other supporters of ancient music had sought to develop their own critical and theoretical understanding of music. Milton's canonic status in eighteenth-century England would undoubtedly have made this tacit endorsement of their speculative approach all the more attractive.

In the *Hymn of Adam and Eve* Milton implicitly invokes a state of Platonic universal harmony in which man inhabits Paradise and offers a hymn of praise to his Creator. Although, as we shall see, this presented Galliard with an ideal text to set to music it was elsewhere in Milton's works that more explicit references to Platonic imagery were to be found. For Cooke and the Gentlemen of the Academy, such works would have formed the context for their understanding of the *Hymn of Adam and Eve*. A prime example of such musical and metaphysical imagery may be found in Milton's *Nativity Hymn,* and in particular the following lines, where the planets, or 'sphears' are commanded to 'ring out' in honour of the Saviour's birth:

> Ring out ye Crystall sphears,
> Once bless our human ears,
> (If ye have power to touch our senses so)
> And let your silver chime
> Move in melodious time;
> And let the Base of Heav'ns deep Organ blow,
> And with your ninefold harmony
> Make up full consort to th'Angelike symphony.
>
> *Hymn on the Nativity*, 112-132[8]

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[7]*Ibid.,* vol. I, p. xvi.

[8]John Milton, *Poems of Mr. John Milton both English and Latin* (London, 1645), p. 7. Both William Crotch and John Stafford Smith set this text as a glee: Percy M.Young, ed., *The English Glee* (Oxford, 1990), pp. 65-70, 127-37.

Here allusions to cosmic harmony, ancient Greek music theory and polyphony invoke key components of the musical philosophy shared by supporters of ancient music.

Although such imagery was intended to be, and undoubtedly was, understood in metaphysical terms, it nevertheless informed the rationalising not just of figures such as Cooke and Hawkins but of eighteenth-century thinkers more generally. In particular, it was Milton's notion of a Platonic or Pythagorean universal harmony that made such passages attractive. As Milton had explained in his early work *De Sphaerum Concentu*, Pythagoras had not intended this harmony of the spheres to be taken literally as music. Rather, it was that the 'friendly relations of the orbs, and their uniform revolutions' accorded 'to the fixed law of fate'.[9] For Cooke, as has been shown in earlier chapters, this fixed law had been revealed not only in the makeup of sound and light, but it had constituted a critical tool in his assessment of music.

Cooke would have made similar inferences from Milton's allusion to Greek music theory in the line 'let the bass of heaven's deep organ blow'. This invokes classical accounts of the diatonic scale according to which the lowest notes were assigned to the furthest planets (as described in Chapter 2). For Cooke, music in its highest manifestations accorded to those fixed laws of nature, which were to be found codified in ancient Greek music theory. Furthermore, Milton's allusion to 'ninefold harmony' invokes the Keplerian notion (described in Chapter 1) whereby, through polyphony, man had imitated cosmic harmony.

A final point of importance in this example is Milton's invocation upon God to 'Once bless our human ears / (If ye have power to touch our senses so)'. According to Milton's Christianised modification of Platonic imagery, God had made this harmony of the spheres incomprehensible to humans. Although humans could decode it through the laws of mathematics, they could never fully understand it. Sigmund Spaeth in his study *Milton's Knowledge of Music* has made the following observations concerning this.

> [Milton] finds a conception of universal harmony, allegorically stated, possibly resting on a scientific foundation. For some reason the music is inaudible to human ears. Various explanations are suggested most of them hinting vaguely at the grossness of mankind, unable to appreciate divine

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[9]Translated by Speath in: Sigmund Spaeth, *Milton's Knowledge of Music* (Michigan, 1963), p. 134.

> things. Milton, however, makes the conception very definite. Before sin entered into the world, he says man *was* able to hear the heavenly music. Even now a man may hope to attain to some degree of apperception and appreciation by ridding himself of the fetters of sin. And when he once leaves this world and joins the heavenly choirs, he becomes again a part of the universal music and finds therein complete harmony.[10]

Of special interest here is this notion, central to *Paradise Lost,* that sin had caused discord, after which all Nature was disturbed, making it impossible for man to hear the heavenly music. The very subject matter of Milton's *Hymn of Adam and Eve* concerns human existence before sin introduced discord. Particularly important is the inference in Milton's preamble to the *Hymn* that prior to their fall, the earthly music of Adam and Eve had in fact corresponded to that of heaven.

> Their Orisons, each Morning duly paid
> In various style, for neither various style
> Nor holy rapture wanted they to praise
> Their Maker, in fit strains pronounced or sung
> Unmeditated, such prompt eloquence
> Flowed from their lips, in Prose or numerous Verse,
> More tuneable than needed Lute or Harp
> To add more sweetness:
>
> *Paradise Lost*, 145-52[11]

The notion of the existence of a perfect earthly music that had subsequently been corrupted by sin underlies not only *Paradise Lost*, but also the moralistic attitudes shared by certain supporters of ancient music. Their writings often imply that music of the earlier eighteenth century (and before) had corresponded to universal principles, but that following a general moral malaise it no longer did so. An example may be seen in the following passage from an anonymous publication dedicated to the Concert of Ancient Music entitled *Euterpe; or, Remarks on the Use and Abuse of Music.*[12] Although here links between morality and music grounded on universal mathematical principles are traced back to ancient Greece rather than Eden, the sentiment is the same:

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[10]*Ibid.*, p. 72.

[11]John Milton, *Paradise Lost, a Poem Written in Ten Books* (London, 1667), p. [123].

[12][Anonymous], *Euterpe: or, Remarks on the Use and Abuse of Music, as Part of Modern Education* (London, [n.d.]).

Plutarch tells us, that a man who has learnt *Music* from his youth, will ever after have a proper sense of *right* and *wrong*, and an habitual persuasion to *decorum*: This is undoubtedly true, if we consider the ancient manner of inculcating the *laws* of their *Country*, the great *actions* of *Heroes*, the praises of their *Deities*, which were the subjects of this Art, not to mention its *mathematical* principles, which made a part of the *Greek* education, and induced the youth to *serious* inquiry, and let them to noble truths. But I fear a general corruption has taken place, and defaced all hopes of producing these good effects, if we consider the present state of this Art.[13]

According to such commentators, it was the prevalent climate of affluence and increased consumerism that was chiefly responsible for this moral decline. A defining characteristic of eighteenth-century social life was this expansion of consumption, brought about by a commercialisation of buying habits and manipulation of markets, unprecedented in its scale. In response to this there evolved a critique of luxury and fashion as well as 'a questioning of the moral value of the new cultured life.'[14] In terms of general musical tastes it was believed by some that such developments had led to a craving for empty virtuosity, novelty and ostentation. As Hawkins had put it 'The love of pleasure is the offspring of affluence, and, in proportion as riches abound, not to be susceptible of fashionable pleasures is to be the subject of approach.' Artists who in this age 'lived by the favour of the public' had been compelled to 'gratify the many rather than the judicious view'.[15] In the minds of Hawkins and others like him this had engendered a music lacking the 'good harmony' that the Academy sought to nurture.

Its profundity and philosophical resonances apart, the vivid imagery of Milton's *Hymn* alone would have ensured its suitability as a musical setting. In *Paradise Lost*, Milton tells the story of Man's creation, fall and redemption. Satan, the fallen rebel angel exiled from Heaven by God, seeks to exact revenge by seducing Adam and Eve into disobedience to their creator. The *Hymn* takes place in *Paradise Lost* after Satan's penetration of Eden, but before their ultimate 'fall'. As yet unblemished, they awake to praise God, in so doing revealing the perfection of Eden before Satan brought about 'jarring discord'. In the course of 56 lines all parts of the universe are called upon in turn by Adam and Eve to glorify God. As the orison progresses their attention descends from celestial to earthly. Beginning with angels,

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[13]*Ibid*, p. 2.

[14]William Weber, *The Rise of Musical Classics in Eighteenth-Century England: a Study in Canon, Ritual and Ideology* (Oxford, 1992), pp. 18-21; see also pp. 198-222.

[15]Hawkins, *A General History*, vol. II, p. 919.

sun, stars and moon, they then proceed to air, mists, clouds and rain. Finally, Adam and Eve call upon things earthly, including fountains and rivers then birds, fish, animals and insects to praise God.

Throughout his setting Galliard's objective is to capitalise on Milton's descriptive imagery, which within the confines of the Italianate chamber cantata genre he achieves to great effect. A further characteristic of Galliard's treatment is the sense of continuity between numbers, conveyed principally by the seamless progressions between recitatives and arias. This continuity is also achieved by the use of through-composed, and often brief arias and duets. This constitutes Galliard's only significant departure from Italianate cantata style, in which *da capo* aria form was favoured. Although Galliard adheres faithfully to Milton's lines he does diverge from the original in one significant respect. Whereas, according to Milton, this entire orison was sung by both Adam and Eve together in concert, in Galliard's arias (and to a lesser extent the duet settings), the text is divided between the two protagonists who take turns in singing alone. Through this Galliard introduced a sense of interacting discourse between the two parts.

In Galliard's setting of this revered text, in an erudite musical style and genre, we see a confluence of components which taken together would have ensured its veneration by members of the Academy throughout its existence. Cooke's 'additions' to the work, however, constitute an utter transformation, from chamber to large-scale work for orchestra and chorus. Whilst it is easy to see why the original work interested Cooke, it is harder from a modern-day perspective to appreciate why he (under the auspices of the Academy) undertook an approach that virtually subsumes Galliard's original, making it a work as much by Cooke as Galliard. The purpose of the investigation that follows is to shed light upon two areas of interest central to this study. Firstly, by comparing Cooke's arrangement with Galliard's original, this work (perhaps more than any other) brings into relief those elements of musical style Cooke believed to be immutable, as opposed to those he believed could be 'improved' or 'modernised'. *The Morning Hymn* provides us with an insight not only into Cooke's critical perspectives concerning music generally, but also into the stylistic goals and strategies that oriented him as a composer; it also helps to explain some of the apparent stylistic ambiguities inherent in the compositions of Cooke during this period. The second area of interest is simply in bringing to light another Cooke work that is in itself a remarkable achievement and of considerable impact. As for Cooke's mature anthems, *The Morning Hymn* includes many instances of innovation as well as occasional moments of

monumental excess. In this literary context, however, dramatic and overwhelming statements assume an even more unrestrained dimension, a result Cooke achieves through a broad range of strategies, some unprecedented in his *oeuvre*.

One strand of Cooke's approach is evident in the lengthy opening instrumental section scored for strings and oboes, he adds to Galliard's cantata. In what might be best understood as an exercise in pastiche, Cooke begins this extensive section in the manner of a sombre French overture in the key of D minor (Example 5.3). As the earliest example of such an overture by Cooke, it is clear that he was striving for a particular kind of statement here, rather than drawing on a language or procedure commonplace to him. Such style-consciousness is integral not only to this work but also to *Collins's Ode*, to be discussed later; through this statement, Cooke invokes not simply an association with the ancient overture style but a sense of unequivocal seriousness, wholly appropriate to Milton's text.

Of particular interest in this opening section is Cooke's harmonic language. Instead of the blandness now associated with much English music of this period, Cooke introduces a pronounced chromaticism. Although such chromaticism is largely absent from Galliard's original it is nevertheless consistent with cantata styles of the earlier eighteenth-century and before. During the course of its 11 bars the music modulates almost constantly as all the string parts weave a texture of independent lines. This unmistakable reference to earlier style typifies much of Cooke's treatment of Galliard's cantata. Thus for the fugue that follows, Cooke convincingly constructs a subject typical of earlier eighteenth-century models. Beginning with a dominant, tonic, dominant leap and followed by a long modulatory scalic passage, it is wholly amenable to the contrapuntal development of the ensuing exposition, which Cooke deftly executes in accordance with earlier stylistic practices. Curiously, however, in the following episodes Cooke freely betrays his later eighteenth-century stylistic conditioning. After the end of the exposition (bar 22), the movement is in large part given over to interjections of broken chords linked by material derived from the exposition. For example, in bars 23-4, 26-7, 29-30 these broken chords reiterate dominant and second inversion tonic chords in a succession of keys, namely D minor, C major, and B flat major respectively, thereby reducing the rate of harmonic rhythm. In this way the remainder of the fugue is characterised by an alternation between two essentially differing modes of expression. In contrast to the typically baroque themes, texture and driving momentum of the exposition material these languorous interjections suggest a sudden switch to galant inertia.

Given Cooke's ability to adapt to earlier musical styles (as demonstrated elsewhere in his *oeuvre*), it is notable that in this work in particular he chose to introduce material that to the modern observer might seem stylistically inconsistent. It is, however, such features that reveal the true nature of Cooke's musical historicism. Whereas nowadays the primary aim in a project such as this might be to expunge any hint of stylistic inconsistency, for Cooke such inconsistency is apparently a deliberate feature. Most importantly, we see here another manifestation of the philosophy that led Hawkins to insist that the Academy was not motivated simply by 'an unwarrantable fondness for antiquity'. Rather, as in his anthems, Cooke here attempts to exploit contemporary 'advances' in music whilst maintaining essential elements of earlier styles.

In presaging his arrangement with this grandiose statement Cooke signals his intention to eradicate the outward characteristics of the Italianate cantata genre, inherent in Galliard's original. Given the undoubted importance of this genre to later eighteenth-century Academicians this is notable as a further indication of how Cooke viewed his task and where he believed the 'good harmony' intrinsic to Galliard's original truly resided.

The precise nature of Cooke's position becomes more apparent in his treatment of Galliard's material itself for which Cooke imposed severe constraints upon himself. Before proceeding to examine Cooke's actual arrangements, it is worth setting out in general terms the nature of these constraints.

Throughout the duets and arias, Cooke adheres quite strictly to Galliard's contrapuntal lines. Vocal lines are rarely altered in any way except for occasional changes of octave, mainly in Cooke's choruses. Similarly, but to a slightly lesser extent, Galliard's bass lines remain largely intact. Furthermore, within the arias and duets Cooke very rarely inserts or deletes bars from Galliard's original, except at the end of movements where he mostly adds a brief concluding ritornello. Finally, Cooke rarely altered Galliard's harmony, thereby resisting any temptation to impose the kinds of extreme modulations he admired in the cantatas of earlier Italian cantata composers as shown in *Musical Conjectures* (described in Chapter 2). Alongside this self-imposed adherence to Galliard's original, Cooke nevertheless adopts a broad range of additional strategies in his execution of this arrangement. One such strategy may be seen in his transformation of Galliard's opening duet, 'And with songs and choral symphonies' into a movement for tenor and chorus.

In Galliard's original setting Adam begins alone and is not joined by Eve until nearly mid-way through the movement (bar 26) at the line 'Ye in heav'n, on earth join all ye creatures to extol '. Typical of Galliard's easy style, the movement is in a flowing two- and three-part counterpoint in triple time (Example 5.4). An essentially minim-dominated rhythmic texture is punctuated by a series of imitative entries and canonic procedures deployed in a pleasingly uncomplicated manner. Galliard's harmonic language is straightforward, remaining in the key of F major for most of the movement with occasional modulations to related keys. The only disruption to the general air of serenity that dominates this duet occurs towards the end, when Galliard gently increases intensity through the introduction of sequences, suspensions and shorter note values. With this relaxed approach, Galliard exemplifies a specific mode of pastoral statement to be found in earlier eighteenth-century cantatas, which in this case serves to evoke the timeless universal harmony of Eden.

Cooke arranged this movement for tenor solo and four-part chorus together with an accompaniment, like most of the earlier arias, of strings and oboe, adding the tempo marking 'Largo Andante'. As in the original version, the first half of the movement is sung by tenor solo, although here the accompaniment includes additional parts for two violins which tastefully embellish and harmonise existing parts in thirds and sixths (Example 5.5). At bar 25 where in Galliard's original Eve is introduced, Cooke introduces oboes, violas and chorus with the parts for Adam and Eve now assigned to tenor and soprano chorus lines. Here again, Cooke's principal enhancement is simply to thicken the texture and double parts. The first violins, for example, broadly double the soprano part, adding occasional embellishments. The only significant deviation from this occurs towards the end (bars 54-9) where they compound the developing intensity generated in Galliard's original by doubling the soprano line at the octave. Similarly, the second violin follows Galliard's tenor line whilst the viola and alto chorus parts form an additional line, which fills in harmonic texture by mimicking Galliard's original lines in thirds and sixths. The oboe part doubles the soprano part, whilst the bass chorus part follows the original instrumental bass (retained in Cooke's arrangement) with a more vocally conceived line.

For this movement Cooke's 'additions' simply transform a chamber cantata movement into a concert piece without undermining the integrity of Galliard's original lines or introducing strategies alien to them. The opening section for tenor and string trio in particular appears broadly consistent with music of Galliard's

period, recalling Corellian trio sonata instrumentation and textures of the earlier part of the century. Furthermore, despite Cooke's subsequent additions, these encroach little upon the understatement and simplicity of Galliard's style. Nevertheless, as the opening overture showed and as subsequent movements confirm, adherence to Galliard's style was not Cooke's principal objective in this project.

This is evident in the ensuing solo aria for Eve, 'Praise him in thy sphere', in which we find a further strand to Cooke's approach. Lasting 25 bars, it is a comparatively brief movement characterised by a sprightly interplay between the solo part sung by Eve and basso continuo. This contrapuntal interaction proceeds from an opening motive sung by Eve which is taken up in canon by the bass a bar later, thereafter alternating between the two parts. Although adhering to the key of B flat throughout, the aria's brevity and general effervescence ensure that this absence of modulation is in no way detrimental to its overall attractiveness.

In Cooke's setting, scored for soprano and (like the previous chorus) oboe and strings, the energetic effervescence of the original is greatly exaggerated (Example 5.6). The additional parts are given much elaborative material, all of which is based on Galliard's opening motive. As a result of this treatment, the two-part interchange of Galliard's original is to some degree obscured by the constant quaver movement that pervades Cooke's accompaniment. This effect is further compounded by Cooke's treatment of Galliard's bass line. Although essentially retained in Cooke's arrangement, it is sometimes transposed into different octaves (an octave higher in the opening three bars) or even transferred to different parts (in bars 4-5 it is passed to the second violin). This has the effect of transforming Galliard's carefully constructed voice and continuo dialogue into a dense texture of activity.

Once again in this movement we see Cooke transferring Galliard's chamber work to the public sphere, expunging the outward characteristics of cantata style, on this occasion, in favour of a style suggestive of the theatre. The extent to which Cooke seemed happy to transform Galliard's original suggests little imperative on his part to uphold the work of an esteemed master. Rather, with this aria a pattern emerges: in addition to retaining Galliard's underlying melodic lines and harmony, Cooke uses his orchestra to develop key motivic elements of the original. As this work proceeds it becomes apparent that in addition to retaining Galliard's 'good harmony' Cooke's policy was also to emphasise the expressive potential already inherent in it and, on occasion, introduce dramatic impact. In the case of 'Praise him in thy sphere' Cooke had transformed an already felicitous aria into one of intense

exuberance. For much of this work, however, Cooke's purpose is rather to build upon the gravitas and seriousness inherent in Galliard's treatment of Milton's work.

This is especially evident in the succeeding aria, 'Sound his praise in thy eternal course'. Composed in G minor and dominated by a dotted rhythmic motive this was initially set for the tenor voice of Adam. As described above, the original version of this aria follows a conventional pattern to be expected in cantata form. The opening ritornello bass line of the continuo sets out the principal thematic material upon which the movement is based, to which the voice subsequently sings in counterpoint (Example 5.1). Throughout, both parts perform different material with neither at any point being assigned the material of the other.

Cooke set the aria for strings, oboes and bass voice (instead of Galliard's tenor), thereby emphasising the sense of gravity he clearly sought to achieve here. With these forces Cooke constructed a complex edifice of accompaniment, serving to emphasise and exaggerate the expression already inherent in Galliard's original. Through strict adherence to Galliard's underlying material and contrapuntal development of Galliard's dotted figures in the upper strings, Cooke contrived a movement unremitting in its evocation of baroque gravity.

In the opening ritornello Galliard's four-bar bass theme is adopted by Cooke in all the instrumental parts to form a busy texture of contrapuntal lines which both harmonise and imitate the bass (Example 5.7). Unlike Galliard's original, which is heavily punctuated with rests, Cooke's arrangement is dominated by an unrelenting dotted semiquaver movement, maintained in one or more parts throughout this introduction. This is particularly effective in the way it compounds the foreboding already evoked by Galliard through his use of the minor mode and rigid repetitive dotted rhythms.

In accordance with the original, the bass voice seamlessly emerges from this opening ritornello with a five-beat melisma on the word 'sound' (bars 4-5). Here Cooke initially maintains Galliard's thematic polarity between voice and bass line by devising an accompaniment comprised of simple chords and lacking ritornello material. As the movement progresses, however, Cooke gradually introduces ritornello material into the accompaniment. This juxtaposition of differing thematic material serves to instil a sense of heightening intensity. In this way, Cooke cultivated Galliard's syntax to transform the original cantata into a statement of profound power. Cooke also included in this arrangement strategies typically

adopted by other composers of the earlier eighteenth century. An example of this is in bars 12-15, where he introduced a rare deviation from Galliard's original material. Here, without interpolating additional bars, Cooke amended Galliard's bass so as to transform the existing short ritornello passage in the original basso continuo line with an elaborate point of imitation in which accompaniment voices participate. To do this, Cooke transferred the bass line to the first violin from the second beat of bar 13 to the first beat of bar 15, thereby enabling the bass to take an additional point of imitation not in the original.

A more extended instance of this kind of procedure may be observed in the concluding five-bar ritornello that Cooke appended to this aria. Beginning with a five-part imitative entry based on Galliard's opening ritornello material, it proceeds to an extended sequence of dominant seventh chords, then a diminished seventh, prior to a concluding cadence. This statement is drawn essentially from a chord sequence to be found earlier in the aria (bars 18-20). Here, however, Galliard's original material is carefully re-synthesised and expanded to create an effect consistent with orchestral works of Galliard's period rather than the original.

In using Galliard's original as a basis upon which to re-synthesise a more complex style Cooke reveals himself once again to be concerned not simply with a wish to copy Galliard. Cooke's exaggeration of expressive aims and interpolation of strategies, some of them alien to Galliard's stylistic dialect, suggests rather a wish to treat this text in a manner conforming to his own taste for bold musical statements. In this, Cooke's debt to the past appears to be borne of a more general belief in the timeless value of specific ancient strategies rather than straightforward reverence for the work of a particular old master.

This is also evident in Cooke's sometimes radical exaggeration of the word-painting already present in Galliard's original, a most striking example of which may be observed in the following recitative:

> Ye Mists, and Exhalations, that now rise
> From Hill or Steaming Lake, dusky or grey,
> Till the Sun paint your fleecy Skirts with Gold,
> In honour to the world's Great Author rise,
> Whether to deck with Clouds the uncolour'd Sky,
> Or wet the thirsty Earth with falling showers.

Throughout much of *The Morning Hymn* Cooke showed greater flexibility in his treatment of Galliard's secco recitatives than in the arias and duets. In recitatives,

text expression and word-painting is often emphasised by the interpolation of bars, alteration of note values and introduction of orchestral accompaniments. In this particular recitative, however, all parameters are radically manipulated to achieve an effect strongly reminiscent of, and even surpassing, the more dramatic recitatives in Handel's oratorios. For its first four bars, Cooke adheres to Galliard's secco recitative, his first departure from the original not occurring till the word 'Gold' in bar 5 (Example 5.8). Here Cooke supplements the continuo accompaniment with three repeated quaver chords in the strings to provide emphasis. This initiates a build-up in accompaniment to the subsequent line 'In honour the world's great Author rise' which concludes with a stupendous orchestral statement on the word 'rise' (bars 7-9). Whereas Galliard had emphasised this word with a straightforward leap of a sixth from the previous word, Cooke deployed all parameters conceivable to transform its rendition into an event, constituting a landmark in the work as a whole. Just to emphasise this further, the preceding word 'Author' is sung to the sole accompaniment of two ominous beats from the drum, here introduced by Cooke for the first time. In total contrast, the word 'rise' is accompanied by the first appearance of Cooke's entire orchestra including trumpets, drums and horns all playing a thunderous, swelling chord of D major. For two entire bars all instruments are employed in a tumultuous accompaniment of the soprano's four-beat long top F (extended from Galliard's one beat). The effect of this is compounded by a sudden acceleration of tempo from 'Slow' to 'Allegro' as all instruments play repeated semiquavers on notes from the chord of D major gradually rising in pitch by an interval of a 12th and then falling back down again to form an arch. With the first trumpet peaking at a top D and the drums rolling, this must have produced a remarkable effect in performance. Cooke then completes this recitative with a sudden return to string accompanied recitative, thereby emphasising all the more what has preceded.

In this way Cooke achieved dramatic impact, realising in the most stupendous terms the Sublime in music. Although, as already observed, such strategies had clear precedents in the works of earlier composers this recitative is nevertheless excessive. In particular, there can be few, if any, precedents in eighteenth-century music for Cooke's use of the trumpet and drums in this manner. Nevertheless, this most individual of statements is, it seems, the result of deliberate judgement. As a key line in the text it certainly constitutes an auspicious moment to attempt a musical manifestation of the sublimity it was widely acknowledged Milton's text engendered. Here, once again, we see Cooke's aptitude for presenting ancient styles

and strategies in a manner entirely new, as a means of achieving his own specific expressive requirements.

Throughout *The Morning Hymn* there are numerous further instances of bold orchestral effects, most of which occur not in recitatives but in choruses and arias. It has been shown that one of the ways in which Cooke constructed these movements was by simply filling out the texture and adding contrapuntal lines according to the logic of Galliard's original. In some instances, however, Cooke achieved a more radical transformation by superimposing additional material over Galliard's original. An example of this may be observed in Cooke's arrangement of Eve's highly attractive aria 'Warbling tune his praise'. Here Cooke's principal innovation was the introduction of a highly elaborate violin obligato part. Whilst similarly active ripieno strings and oboe fill out the texture above Galliard's original vocal and bass lines, the obligato part word-paints Milton's 'Warbling tune', thereby introducing additional thematically unrelated material (Example 5.9).

Galliard set the text in a slow moving 2/4 metre in the key of B minor thereby conveying a powerful sense of pathos. Throughout the aria the soprano proceeds in a predominantly semiquaver movement engaging with the bass line in an imitative, constantly modulating dialogue in which minor keys predominate.

This presented for Cooke a highly suitable context in which to introduce his elaborate accompaniments. Once again, his objective appears to have been to deploy these parts to intensify the mood already evoked in Galliard's original. As elsewhere, Cooke transformed the fundamental nature of Galliard's chamber work through the deployment of a procedure drawn from the earlier eighteenth century. As a result of Cooke's treatment, Galliard's two-part dialogue is subsumed beneath a mass of activity both in the homophonic accompaniment but most significantly in the superimposed obligato material. Proceeding in a predominantly demisemiquaver movement, the virtuosic obligato violin reveals Cooke's sympathy for, and first-hand knowledge of the inherent possibilities of that instrument. Through scalic figures, broken chords and repeated octave leaps the violin weaves around and embellishes the vocal line in dialogue with the upper strings and oboe, thereby depicting a 'warbling stream'.

It should be stressed here that the use of obligato parts to word-paint in this manner would have been broadly at odds with later eighteenth-century attitudes regarding musical expression. Although expression was universally accepted as the *sine qua*

non of music, the use of word-painting to achieve this was scorned. Many, including supporters of ancient music such as Hawkins, had deplored Handel's usage of it, which it seems could have been Cooke's model here. For many, word-painting constituted a simplistic device, suitable for conveying certain ideas (such as the 'warbling' of a stream) but wholly unsuitable for the affection of passions. This, as Avison had famously explained, could only be achieved through a more sophisticated 'concurrence of Air and Harmony' with text. Cooke's already well developed use of word-painting in *The Morning Hymn* was to assume an even more fundamental role in his setting of *The Passions* to be discussed later in this chapter. For this reason a fuller examination of the issue of word-painting will be undertaken then. It is nevertheless important to note its significance here, as a further facet drawn from the past which Cooke executes to considerable musical effect.

The final movement to be examined here presents in extreme form Cooke's enthusiasm for orchestral artifice as a means of emphasising expression. Presaging a conclusion to the *Hymn* as a whole, these lines received special treatment from both Galliard and Cooke:

> Join Voices, all ye living Souls, ye Birds,
> That Singing up to Heaven Gate ascend,
> Bear on your Wings & in your Notes his Praise.

Whilst for Galliard this passage provided a pretext for an extended, up-beat duet, incorporating more development and variation than hitherto, for Cooke it presented the basis for a grand oratorio-like chorus. In this transformation from sprightly Italianate chamber duet to rousing chorus, Cooke provides one of his most resounding and impressive statements.

To a large degree, this transition was made possible by the more complex nature of Galliard's original, which in many ways constitutes the movement most reminiscent of the chamber duets of his teacher Steffani. This greater complexity may be observed in Galliard's more developed and wide-ranging deployment of imitative counterpoint, along with a greater rhythmic diversity in the vocal lines. The movement is dominated by an energetic, driving bass line which acts first as a ritornello statement, then as support to the two vying contrapuntal vocal lines. After an initial homophonic statement, these vocal lines thereafter present a series of imitative points through which the duet is developed, conveying a sense of constantly increasing intensity. This intensity is achieved principally through recourse to long sequences, suspensions, successive diminution of rhythmic figures

and a concluding pedal section. It was upon this foundation that Cooke was able to build a movement of seemingly monumental force.

In Cooke's arrangement, the vocal lines of Galliard's Adam and Eve are resourcefully passed around the soprano, alto and tenor parts (and to a lesser extent the bass), on occasion transposed up or down an octave. Galliard's instrumental bass line remains intact, whilst Cooke's bass chorus line tends to follow it but in a manner less angular and more vocally conceived. The additional vocal lines and orchestral parts double, harmonise or provide figuration around Galliard's lines. Through this Cooke transforms the lean, articulate language of Galliard into a discourse in which sheer weight of voices and instruments combine to convey overwhelming impact.

From the outset these forces are carefully manipulated by Cooke, principally to reinforce cadence points, the force and intensity of which increase as the movement proceeds. He achieved this through, for example, exploiting extremes of tessitura (especially of the trumpet, small flute and strings), intensifications of figuration and the percussive impact of the drums. Where points of imitation are newly introduced, the accompaniment is reduced then gradually reinstated. Through this use of instrumentation, Cooke adeptly calls to mind the episodal procedures routinely adopted by Handel in his large-scale fugal choruses. Cooke achieved this despite the fact that Galliard's original was not intended to be and is not in any sense a fugue. This strategy is pursued until the approach to the movement's final climax beginning at bar 34, from which point Cooke imposes another sublime statement (Example 5.10).

In the original version Galliard had introduced a three-bar dominant pedal at bar 38 through which to signal and dramatise his approach to the movement's focal point at bar 41. The pedal culminated with an emphatic pause on the dominant chord of A major, after which the duet concluded with a homophonic return to the tonic, D major. This strategy presented for Cooke an opportunity to engineer a thunderous and sustained climax, overshadowing all that had preceded in the work as a whole. In this all the instruments of the orchestra and the chorus are deployed in concert in a sustained passage for the first time in this movement. In order to maximise effect, Cooke exploited to the extreme the expressive potential of each instrument, all to the purpose of emphasising this climax. At bar 34 all instruments introduce the principal theme of the movement in a largely unison statement, after which the individual lines fragment in a manner elaborating upon Galliard's original polyphonic lines.

The sustained pedal A itself (bars 38-41) is emphasised by a repeated quaver bass line, a trilled top A in the small flute and a drum roll, against which trumpets play a high counter-melody and violins perform semiquaver leaping figures. Cooke further emphasised this prolonged riot of activity with the insertion of an extra bar through which to draw this resounding statement to a close (bars 40-1). He then set Galliard's concluding homophonic return to D major with a relatively unremarkable and straightforward harmonisation to which he appended a short ritornello. Faced with the difficult task of following this climax, Cooke introduced one further stylistic gambit. Built upon a final recurrence of the four-bar opening ritornello, this passage is interesting for the glimpse it affords of galant style, which on this occasion offers respite and contrast to the imposing grandeur of what has come before. Cooke effects this by overlaying Galliard's bass line with continuous semiquaver scalic passages played by first violins and (an octave higher) by the small flute in a manner that seems transiently reminiscent of later eighteenth-century symphonic instrumentation. With this, Cooke introduced a somewhat unexpected yet colourful conclusion to this spectacular movement.

Of all Cooke's movements this is the most emphatic in its rendering of baroque momentum and sublime impact, for which reason it must have made a deep impression in performance. It must once again be stressed, however, that despite the apparent historicisms inherent in this approach the end result here is fundamentally borne of Cooke's later eighteenth-century environment. We see this in, for example, the density of Cooke's textures, which for much of *The Morning Hymn* are fuller and busier in comparison with earlier eighteenth-century style. This is in part, perhaps, an inevitable result of the underlying premise to the project itself, whereby Cooke's principal creative recourse was simply to add instrumental and vocal lines over those supplied by Galliard. More importantly, however, this complexity also results from Cooke's creative deployment of the later eighteenth-century orchestra, and his exaggerated superimposition of expressive strategies. In the final climax of 'Join voices, all ye living souls' we see this in the deployment of prominent high trumpet and flute parts (the latter intended to depict birdsong alluded to in the text), over an already crowded wind and string texture. Although these trumpet and flute parts are conceived according to the rhetoric of the earlier eighteenth century, their simultaneous deployment within this busy context would seem alien to the manner of earlier composers such as Purcell or Handel. In this way, Cooke brought to Galliard's original an approach that, though ostensibly backward looking and idiosyncratic, was borne of musical and aesthetic aims unmistakably peculiar to the later eighteenth century. Only then could a composer have fashioned music in this

style-conscious way, as a means of deifying the archetypal literature and musical language of the past. Moreover, only then could a composer have re-synthesised the Handelian Sublime in this extreme manner, and with recourse to such colourful instrumental means.

Throughout *The Morning Hymn* we see, despite the apparent proliferation of strategies, a clear rationale that sheds light on Cooke's attitudes to ancient music. Key to perceiving this rationale is the single most consistently deployed strategy in *The Morning Hymn*, namely Cooke's adherence to Galliard's polyphonic lines and overall syntax. This manifests in unmistakable terms the Academicians' belief in the status of this musical language as a timeless and unsurpassable means of musical expression. The transformation Cooke makes to much of Galliard's original music does not in any sense detract from this. Rather it shows that it was the underlying syntax of the music which was thought to be of timeless importance rather than the more outward characteristics of cantata genre. Of particular interest here are the contrapuntal procedures which dominate Galliard's movements and which Cooke built upon with such apparent enthusiasm.

It is arguable that Cooke's execution of this work demonstrated in practical terms Hawkins' notion of a true musical 'language of nature' described in Chapter 1. It was, according to Hawkins, these very contrapuntal procedures which manifested a music founded upon the mathematical relationships reflecting principles common to 'the general makeup of the universe'. Although undeveloped, this argument formed a central component in Hawkins' attempts to rationalise the taste for ancient music and constituted a fundamental premise underlying Cooke's *Musical Conjectures*. Furthermore, as observed in previous chapters, this reference to productions of the past for such timeless 'principles' through which to forge new art constituted a recurring theme in later eighteenth-century thinking. For example, the art historian Hugh Honour has observed how Enlightenment architects examined ancient buildings so as to pursue 'the quest for architectural principle' and extract their geometrical essence.[16] The purpose of this was not to copy, but to surpass the revered ancient models by re-establishing architecture anew upon archetypal principles. Parallel processes are discernible in Cooke's treatment of the fundamental syntax inherent in Galliard's *Hymn of Adam and Eve*.

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[16]Hugh Honour, *Neo-classicism* (London, 1977), p. 127.

There is, however, a further related point of equal importance to be made. This concerns Cooke's all-pervading attempts to draw out and emphasise the expressive properties inherent in Galliard's original version. Despite any reverence for Galliard's syntax, Cooke's treatment reveals a belief that there was within it a latent expressive potential to be further and better realised. Again, this seems to be consistent with Hawkins' attempts to articulate his conception of a music grounded on timeless universal values. According to this, whilst the 'syntax' of the art of music was founded in the immutable 'laws of harmony', its 'grace, elegance, and power of affecting the passions' was achieved through the 'the genius and invention of the artist or composer'.[17]

Thus in Cooke's extension of contrapuntal procedures, emphasis of word-painting and superimposition of additional parts may be observed this imperative to affect the passions. It seems that, for Cooke and supporters of ancient music, it was only through this rhetoric that music could fully arouse the deeper sentiments of sublimity and profundity lacking in the urbane galant styles of the 1760s and 70s. Thus, through the appropriation of both syntax and rhetoric drawn from the past, the true power of harmony was realised. However, in this exaggerated form and context, the musical style Cooke fashioned assumed a complexion far removed from the earlier models that had informed it.

Cooke's setting of *The Passions*

If Cooke's intellectual and compositional premises are elucidated in *The Morning Hymn*, they achieved their ultimate expression in his subsequent large-scale work, his setting of William Collins' *The Passions*, to which we now turn. Cooke Collection manuscripts show that work began on this composition (which hereafter will be termed, in accordance with its published title, *Collins's Ode*) shortly after, if not slightly before, the completion of *The Morning Hymn*. It is for this reason that these two works may be seen to be the result of a single process within the development of Cooke as composer and theorist.

In addition to being his most extensive work, *Collins's Ode* is arguably Cooke's crowning compositional achievement. In it Cooke builds on many of the techniques explored in *The Morning Hymn* to fashion a work of extreme variety, innovation and

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[17]Hawkins, *A General History*, vol. I, p. xxv.

profound musicality. A fundamental element of *Collins's Ode* was in Cooke's appropriation of Handelian idioms and mannerisms, a practice undertaken to an extent unprecedented elsewhere in his *oeuvre*. It will be shown, however, that this is secondary to the distinct intellectual agenda that underpins the work. This agenda entailed preoccupations shared by Cooke and Collins concerning musical expression, and its supposed roots in classical antiquity. Cooke's interest in such issues manifests unmistakable evidence of his engagement with the wider world of later eighteenth-century arts.

Published in full score in 1784, the appearance of *Collins's Ode* in this format at this time was unusual for an extended orchestral work. In addition to reflecting the esteem in which the work was already viewed,[18] this would certainly have served to broaden its currency, thereby helping to confirm its status as Cooke's best-known extended work, both during and after his lifetime. The following excerpt from a review in the *European Magazine* published in January 1785 provides an insightful contemporary perspective upon Cooke's treatment of *The Passions*. As well as presenting a generally positive view of Cooke's setting, this reviewer conveys the profound significance to the art of music posed by Collins' *The Passions* at this time.[19]

> In this elaborate production of Dr. Cooke, though Genius does not unremittingly preside, nor Judgement, her Prime Minister, always lend her salutary counsel, yet we find much effect of the reigning principle of the former, and many happy regulations of the latter. Indeed, for so arduous an undertaking as the adapting music to an Ode like this, which had for its object the delineation of all the passions incident to nature, such variety and strength of feeling must a composer possess; such powers to reach the expression of those feelings, and acuteness of judgement to direct those powers; that if the author has acquitted himself even with no more than decency, we must pronounce him a musician of much sense and ingenuity, and admit this work as a monument of his merits.[20]

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[18]Cooke Collection manuscripts cite a number of performances of movements from *Collins's Ode*. Of particular interest is a loose sheet (RCM MS 815, f. 93) containing details of performers and a programme in which numbers from *Collins's Ode* were performed in Putney in 1781.

[19]Although the author is not identified, music reviews in the *European Magazine* are thought to have been written by Thomas Busby at this time. See Thomas McGeary, 'Music Literature', in *Music in Britain: The Eighteenth Century*, ed. H. Diack Johnstone and Roger Fiske (Oxford, 1990), p. 405.

[20]*European Magazine*, vii (1785), 14-15.

Extant manuscript sources reveal that the work's origins stretch back at least 11 years before its publication date. The principal manuscript source for the work is distributed over two locations within the Cooke Collection, the earliest of which is contained in RCM MS 815, ff. 41-80 and dated 12 June 1773. This consists of Cooke's autograph setting of the majority of Collins' text from the beginning up until the end of the representation of Joy in line 94 (see Table 5.2). The opening orchestral introduction and the setting of the concluding lines from Collins' text beginning with 'O music! sphere-descended maid' (line 95) are copied into RCM MS 821, ff. 19-42r by a copyist with annotations by Cooke. Cooke dates the fugue from the opening orchestral introduction 20 October 1777, but provides no date for the setting of the concluding movements. The uncertainty concerning the date of the latter is all the more unfortunate for the fact that, as will be shown later, these concluding movements are highly significant. Nevertheless, from this evidence it can be inferred that the majority of *Collins's Ode* was completed in or by 1773, shortly after the completion of *The Morning Hymn* and during Cooke's most creative and productive decade.

Table 5.2

No	Cooke's arrangement into movements of Collins' *Ode on The Passions*[21]	Form/voice(s)	Key	Bars
1	n/a	[orchestral introduction]	C	22
2	'	Fuga	C	80
3	'	Minueto	A minor	85
4	'	[4/4 dance]	C	64
5	WHEN Music, Heav'nly maid, was young, While yet in early Greece she sung,	soprano recit	G	4
6	The Passions oft, to hear her Shell, Throng'd around her magic Cell, Exulting, trembling, raging, fainting, Possest beyond the Muses Painting;	chorus	G	18
7	By turns they felt the glowing Mind, Disturb'd, delighted, rais'd, refin'd.	chorus	G	56
8	Till once, 'tis said, when all were fir'd, Fill'd with Fury, rapt, inspir'd, From the supporting Myrtles round, They snatch'd her Instruments of Sound, And, as they oft had heard a-part Sweet Lessons of her forceful Art,	chorus	D	30

[21] William Collins, *Odes on Several Descriptive and Allegoric Subjects* (London, 1747 [1746]), pp. 46-52.
The glee-text 'Call forth such numbers' is not part of *The Passions*. Chosen presumably by Cooke, its authorship is unknown.

9	Each, for Madness rul'd the Hour, Wou'd prove his own expressive Pow'r.	chorus	G	13
10	First Fear his Hand, its Skill to try, Amid the Chords bewilder'd laid, And back recoil'd, he knew not why, Ev'n at the Sound himself had made.	soprano aria	D	14
11	Next Anger rush'd, his Eyes on fire, In Lightnings own'd his secret Stings;	bass arioso	A-G	6
12	In one rude Clash he struck the Lyre, And swept with hurried Hand the Strings.	bass arioso	G	9
13	With woeful Measures wan Despair Low sullen Sounds, his Grief beguil'd, A solemn, strange, and mingled Air, 'Twas sad by Fits, by Starts 'twas wild.	alto arioso	C minor - G	18
14	But Thou, O Hope, with Eyes so fair,	soprano recit	E	5
15	What was thy delighted Measure? Still it whisper'd promis'd Pleasure, And bad the lovely Scenes at distance Hail! Still wou'd her touch the strain prolong, And from the Rocks, the Woods, the Vale, She call'd on Echo still through all the Song; And, where her Sweetest Theme She chose, A soft responsive Voice was heard at ev'ry Close; And Hope enchanted smil'd, and waved Her golden Hair.	soprano aria (with tenor/soprano choral bass)	E	75
16	And longer had She sung,—but with a Frown, Revenge impatient rose,	bass arioso	E-A	7

17	Revenge impatient rose, He threw his Blood-stain'd Sword in Thunder down, And with a with'ring Look, The War-denouncing Trumpet took, And blew a Blast so loud and dread, Were ne'er Prophetic Sounds so full of Woe! And ever and anon he beat The doubling Drum with furious Heat;	bass aria	D	43
18	And, tho' sometimes, each dreary Pause between, Dejected Pity at his Side, Her Soul-subduing Voice applied,	soprano arioso with bass interjection	D minor	29
19	Yet still he kept his wild unalter'd Mien, While each strain'd ball of sight seem'd bursting from his Head.	bass conclusion of 17	D	11
20	Call forth such numbers soft and clear as sweetly melt on Pity's Ear When some fond Maid by Moon light pale to Silence trusts her plaintive tale Oh may the tender sounds impart their soft impression to the Heart And charm each ruder thought to rest till Love and Rapture fill the Breast	glee for soloists (SATB) (author of glee text unknown)	D	48
21	Thy numbers, Jealousy, to nought were fix'd, Sad proof of thy distressful State, Of diff'ring Themes the veering Song was mix'd, And now it courted Love, now raving call'd on Hate.	tenor aria	G	92

23	With Eyes up-rais'd, as one inspir'd, Pale Melancholy sat retired, And from her wild sequester'd Seat, In Notes by Distance made more sweet, Pour'd thro' the mellow Horn her pensive Soul: And dashing soft from Rocks around Bubbling Runnels join'd the Sound; Thro' Glades and Glooms the mingled Measure stole, Or, o'er some haunted Stream, with fond Delay, Round an holy Calm diffusing, Love of Peace, and lonely Musing, In hollow Murmurs died away.	soprano aria	E flat	46
24	But O how alter'd was its sprightlier Tone!	treble/high voice recit	D	2
25	When Cheerfulness, a Nymph of healthiest Hue, Her bow a-cros her Shoulder flung, Her Buskins gem'd with Morning Dew, Blew an inspiring Air, that Dale and Thicket rung, The Hunter's call to Faun and Dryad known! The Oak-crown'd Sisters and their chaste-ey'd Queen, Satyrs and sylvan Boys, were seen, Peeping from forth their Alleys green;	treble/high voice and chorus	D	79
26	Brown Exercise rejoiced to hear, And Sport leapt up, and seiz'd his Beechen spear.	chorus	D	19

27	Last came Joy's Ecstatic Trial: He, with viny Crown advancing, First to the lively Pipe his Hand addrest, But soon he saw the brisk awak'ning Viol, Whose sweet entrancing voice he loved the best. They would have thought who heard the Strain, They saw, in Tempe's vale, her native Maids, Amidst the festal-sounding shades, To some unwearied Minstrel dancing, While, as his flying Fingers kiss'd the Strings, Love fram'd with Mirth a gay fantastic Round, Loose were Her Tresses seen, her Zone unbound, And HE, amidst his frolic Play, As if he would the charming Air repay, Shook thousand Odours from his dewy wings.	tenor aria	D	71
28	O Music, Sphere-descended Maid, Friend of Pleasure, Wisdom's Aid! Why, Goddess, why, to us denied? Lay'st Thou thy ancient Lyre aside? As in that lov'd Athenian bower, You learn'd an all-commanding Pow'r, Thy mimic Soul, O Nymph endear'd, Can well recall what then it heard. Where is thy native simple Heart Devote to Virtue, Fancy, Art?	chorus	G minor - C	64

29	Arise, as in that elder time, Warm, Energetic, Chaste, Sublime! Thy Wonders, in that God-like Age, Fill thy recording Sister's page—	chorus	C	22
30	'Tis said, and I believe the Tale, Thy humblest Reed could more prevail, Had more of Strength, diviner Rage, Than all which charms this laggard Age, Ev'n all at once together found, Cæcilia's mingled World of Sound—	tenor recit	C	10
31	O bid our vain Endeavours cease,	chorus	C	6
32	Revive the just Designs of Greece,	tenor recit	C	3
33	Revive the just Designs of Greece, Return in all thy simple State! Confirm the Tales Her Sons relate!	chorus	C	23

A further point of interest concerning the origin of this work is Cooke's dedication in the published edition to the directors of the 1784 Handel Commemoration, namely the Earls of Exeter, Sandwich and Uxbridge, Sir Watkin Williams Wynn, Richard Jebb, and its conductor Joah Bates (Figure 5.3). Cooke, along with other leading professional musicians had been assigned the position of Assistant Director. In his dedication Cooke lauds these Directors for having 'under the Royal Patronage' 'nobly presided' over this historic event. The original composition date for *Collins's Ode* of course rules out any possibility of its being conceived or composed with the Commemoration in mind. Nevertheless, whether or not Cooke published *Collins's Ode* to coincide with the Commemoration, it is likely that he sought some advantage by dedicating it to these eminent figures, who all, in addition to being Commemoration directors, held positions of importance at the Concert of Ancient Music. As members of an organisation that since its inception in 1776 had first emulated the Academy and then surpassed it in terms of prestige, their potential importance to Cooke would appear to have been heightened all the more.

Figure 5.3

Whether, however, it was appropriate to dedicate *Collins's Ode* to directors of the Concert of Ancient Music is debatable. As we shall see, *Collins's Ode* reflects a perspective upon music fundamentally distinct from the innately backward-looking view of music adopted at the Concert of Ancient Music (whose policy was simply to perform music more than 20 years old).[22] Whilst the Handelian allusions that abound

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[22]Weber, *Rise of Musical Classics*, pp. 168-97.

in *Collins's Ode* ostensibly resonated with the Handel mania surrounding the Commemoration and the Concert of Ancient Music, Cooke's conception of this work was governed by intellectually weightier concerns. If anything, *Collins's Ode* manifests the fundamental distinction between the philosophies underlying the Academy and Concert of Ancient Music. As this study will show, in Collins' aspiration to redefine poetry according to its timeless classical roots Cooke found a literary parallel to his own ideal of a music governed by universal principles and transcending the vicissitudes of fashion.

Underlying *Collins's Ode* is Cooke's creative treatment of musical language and its relationship to words. The ode genre lent itself to this treatment not only as a musical form, but also as a literary form whose roots were traceable back to antiquity. It is precisely through his exploration in *Collins's Ode* of both facets of the ode tradition that Cooke was able to produce in this work a statement so symbolic as a realisation of his theoretical and musical agenda. Before exploring the background to *Collins's Ode* it is useful first to describe in brief terms its outward characteristics. Consisting of 34 numbers and lasting about 55 minutes in performance, Cooke's setting of *The Passions* comprises a lengthy overture section followed by a series of recitatives, ariosos, arias and choruses. One of the distinctive features of Cooke's setting is that, contrary to the more usual practice at this time which was to construct a musical ode out of a series of arias and recitatives, Cooke's numbers flow and connect to form a more organic whole. A further distinctive feature of Cooke's setting of *The Passions* is its instrumentation. Cooke's requirements in this regard are both extensive and unprecedented. In addition to solo voices, chorus, wind, brass, drums, strings, harpsichord or organ, Cooke also includes parts for lute, harp, celestino harpsichord or lyrichord, carrillon and, in keeping with the work's Classical allusions, parts for the ancient Greek tibiæ pares, cymbalum and trigonale. The extent of Cooke's achievement in this work is best understood within the context of the literary and musical ode as it had come to exist in later eighteenth-century England. Extensive background information concerning this is provided by Tony Trowles' thesis *The Musical Ode in Britain c. 1670-1800*,[23] to which the present investigation is in this regard indebted.

Trowles observes that the musical ode was essentially a native development of the later seventeenth century, borne of earlier musical traditions. These included the various forms of occasional musical entertainments (such as the masque) which had

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[23]Tony A. Trowles, 'The Musical Ode in Britain c. 1670-1800', D.Phil. diss., University of Oxford, 1992.

flourished in the earlier seventeenth century and before. Stimulated in part by the renewed sense of confidence inherent in Restoration cultural life, broad categories of musical ode emerged dictated largely by the contexts in which they were to be performed. Musical odes were composed for academic ceremonies, convivial gatherings, in celebration of specific political events or at Court to celebrate New Year's day and the royal birthday. More important as examplars for later composers and poets were those musical odes composed in honour of St Cecilia's day. Particularly influential amongst the latter were Purcell's Cecilian odes of 1683 and 1692 and Handel's Dryden settings, *Alexander's Feast* (1736) and *A Song for St Cecilia's Day* (1739). The defining characteristics of these, both literary and musical, constituted a conditioning factor upon the conception and creation by Collins of *The Passions* and its subsequent setting by Cooke.

In purely musical terms, principal precursors and models upon which earlier musical odes drew are to be found in the verse anthem and oratorio. Whilst the stylistic and formal model presented by the verse anthem had facilitated the fluidity inherent in the musical odes of Purcell, the more formal overture, *da capo* aria and fugal chorus of oratorio informed those of Handel. Both antecedents offered a point of departure for Cooke from which he fashioned his own highly individual discourse.

Not conceived for a specific performance context, *Collins's Ode* belongs to a category of larger-scale musical ode, distinct from the occasional odes described above, which became increasingly common from the middle of the eighteenth century. This category had partly arisen, according to Trowles, in response to a new approach to the composition of literary odes that arose at this time, typified in the works of Thomas Gray (1716-71), Joseph Warton (1722-1800) and William Collins (1709-74). Whilst incorporating qualities already associated with the earlier literary ode genre, such poets produced increasingly lengthy odes on a variety of subjects, prompted by no particular event. Many of these were superior in standard to those written according to the strictures imposed by the occasional ode format, which had tended to result in uninspired texts (and music). More accommodating of current trends in mid-century literature such as incipient romanticism, primitivism and neo-classicism these 'literary odes' posed for composers a stimulus to exploit the musical ode genre in an innovative and experimental manner. In such settings new stylistic and formal techniques, along with innovative and unusual orchestrations, were commonly exhibited in order to emphasise expression and the relationship between music and text. Examples of these include the multiple settings of Warton's *Ode to Fancy* by Charles Burney (ca. 1766), William Jackson (ca. 1767), John Wall

Callcott (1785) and William Crotch (1799); Philip Hayes' setting of Christopher Smart's *Ode to the Haymakers* (1763); and the settings of Collins' *The Passions* by William Hayes in 1750 and Cooke. It is through an adept and wholesale embrace of the innovative techniques common to this category that Cooke's setting of *The Passions* is so remarkable making it (as Trowles acknowledges), amongst the most interesting of these later large-scale odes.[24]

From this, we begin to see how Cooke was stimulated not just by the ode as a musical form but by its literary characteristics and background. Cooke's apparent enthusiasm for this literary genre was undoubtedly inspired above all by the ode's ancient pedigree, an element fully explored by Collins in *The Passions*. Through his inferences to supposed relationships between ancient and modern poetry, Collins had invoked eighteenth-century preoccupations concerning criticism and taste in a manner that resonated profoundly with Cooke's musical philosophy. The suitability of the ode genre for both Collins' and Cooke's purposes was ultimately assured, however, by the fact that whereas virtually no musical models had survived antiquity, numerous ode texts survived ancient Greece and Rome.

Like the seventeenth-century odes described above, the ancient ode tended to be a formal, public or social poem, often conceived to celebrate or praise something or someone. Unlike most modern odes, however, the ancient Greek ode was intended to be sung and danced to. The term 'ode' (meaning song) was generic, encompassing a number of distinct types intended for performance by either choir or soloist and named according to their purpose (such as Paean, Epinikion, Threnody, Encomium).[25] Odes were often couched in philosophic or learned language, and through reference to vivid imagery and religious subject matter. Since ancient times the genre had provided material for scholars and poets to study, criticise and emulate. In England in particular, since the sixteenth century poets such as Edmund Spenser and Ben Jonson had encouraged the revival of the form. Amongst the most influential ancient examples of the ode in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century England were those by Pindar (circa 522-440 BC) of Greece and Horace (65-8 BC) of Rome. During the seventeen and eighteenth centuries Horace's odes in particular had formed an essential element in education, spawning a fashion for Horatian imitation by poets such as Dryden and Johnson. However, for many, and for

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[24] *Ibid.*, p. 213.

[25] Warren Anderson/Thomas J. Mathieson, 'Ode (ii)', *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, rev. edn., S. Sadie and J. Tyrrell (London, 2001).

musicians in particular, it was the ancient Greek odes and especially those of Pindar that were of greatest importance. This is because whereas Latin Horatian verse was spoken, the ancient Greek ode had been sung. Influenced by classical accounts of its expressive effects, ancient Greek poetry assumed a revered status. Despite the fact that knowledge of the music itself had long since been lost, Pindar's odes in particular represented the culmination of this long tradition of Greek poetry, designed to be chanted or sung, and danced to. Although in the eighteenth century Boyce was the only composer to set a musical ode to an actual Pindar text,[26] poetry written in the style of Pindar was believed by many commentators at this time to be conducive to musical setting, on account of its freeness in structure and variety of mood and metre. It was precisely these characteristics that Collins had sought to reinstate in *The Passions* and which Cooke sought to exploit in his musical setting of it.

From around the middle of the eighteenth century Collins and other prominent poets sought a reappraisal of the ode genre motivated by an aspiration to reconnect it to its ancient models. Underlying this reappraisal was the belief that the separation of music and poetry had rendered the powers of expression achieved by poets of antiquity no longer possible. An example of this view may be found in a book entitled the *Dissertation on the Rise, Union and Power, the Progressions, Separations, and Corruptions, of Poetry and Music* by the literary critic and poet John Brown, published in 1763.[27] Although this work was not in all respects consistent with majority opinion, Brown's view of how ancient poetic genres had been debased since antiquity was widely held:

> Even *Tragedy* and *Ode* whose End is to shake the Soul with Terror, Pity, or Joy, by a theatrical Exhibition, and the *Power of Music*...even these, in many Instances and in different Periods, were *divorced* from their *Assistant Arts*...[so we now have] *Tragedies* that cannot be *acted*, and *Odes* that cannot be sung.
>
> This false Taste in *Ode-writing* hath so strongly established itself in ENGLAND, that an Ode of the true Character is stiled (by Way of Distinction) *An Ode for Music*.[28]

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[26]Entitled by Boyce *Pindar's Ode*, this was composed in 1741 using a selection of lines from Pindar's first Pythian Ode paraphrased and translated from the Greek by Walter Harte (1709-74) in accordance with the English Pindaric ode tradition.

[27]John Brown, *Dissertation on the Rise, Union and Power, the Progressions, Separations, and Corruptions, of Poetry and Music* (London, 1763).

[28]*Ibid.*, pp.196-7.

Brown believed that as a result of this artificial separation, music of his day had suffered a corresponding corruption and undermining of its true affective purpose:

> As the Separation of the Poet's from the Musicians Art produced an *improper Poetry*; so the Separation of the Musician's from the Poet's Character was productive of improper and *unaffecting Music*: For the Composer, in his turn, intent only on *shining*, commonly wanders into unmeaning Division, and adopts either a delicate and refined, or a merely popular Music, to the Neglect of true musical Expression.[29]

In his condemnation of virtuosity and 'unaffecting music' Brown touches on themes present in Hawkins' *History*, which would undoubtedly have resonated with supporters of ancient music. Whether they would have concurred with Brown's citing of Handel's oratorios as evidence of such 'unmeaning' in music is less certain. Although Brown claimed 'no Man ever possessed greater Powers of musical Expression' than Handel, he believed his music to have been undermined by a 'dullness' and lack of 'poetic expression' in the texts to which it was set. Deprived of that all-important 'connection' that ought to 'arise from the poet's Art' this literary deficiency had rendered his oratorios 'unconnected, weak, and unaffecting'. The original poem of Samson for example had been (in Brown's view) 'properly dramatic' but it had been 'so much changed in the Attempt towards accommodating it to Music', that it could 'hardly be regarded as the work of Milton'.[30] Brown believed that 'In a well conducted Poem, the Effect of every succeeding Song or Choir would be heightened by the Power of the preceding'. By 'poem', however, Brown meant a unified conception of words and music following the model set by ancient Greeks such as Pindar. Rather than suggesting that poetry and music could once more be reunited exactly as in ancient times, Brown suggested ways of better integrating modern literary forms with music. This, he proposed, could be achieved through a new artistic union termed 'the Narrative or Epic Ode' in which:

> The action [is] to be simple and impassioned; the *Poem*, the *Music*, and *Performance*, if well conducted, will be attended with such a Degree of *Nature* and *Probability*, as will give the Alliance of Poetry and Music their highest Power and Pathos. The intermixed Narrations must be short and animated: The Songs and Choirs various and expressive; and being frequently interrupted by the brief Recitals, may by these Means be spirited

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[29]*Ibid.*, p. 205.

[30]*Ibid.*, p. 218.

> far beyond the simple and continued Ode, which from its unbroken length often degenerates into Langour.[31]

Though it was not entirely free of defects, Brown cited Dryden's *Alexander's Feast* and Pope's *Ode for Musick* as the only English language poems to have conformed in literary terms to his notion of the Narrative or Epic ode. Admirable in 'Force of Passion, and Variety of correspondent versification', these works manifested that variety of measure that had characterised the ancient Greek ode, on account of its union with dance. However, in the musical setting of *Alexander's Feast* Brown believed this 'Variety' had caused Handel to 'find himself embarrassed, whether to accompany with Recitative, or a more compleat Melody':

> 'Tis obvious to remark, that Handel was sometimes perplexed by this Irregularity of the poetry Composition, when he set Dryden's Ode to Music [Alexander's Feast]: For some Parts are shown in Recitative which might seem rather to demand the Song; and others are thrown into Song, which, in their present Narrative Form, seem rather to demand the Song.[32]

Both Collins' *The Passions* and Cooke's setting of it may be considered to be a product of the intellectual environment that gave rise to Brown's views. With regard to Collins, the supreme relevance of his work to this debate is revealed not least in the concluding lines of *The Passions* itself. Here in a manner reminiscent of attitudes held by supporters of ancient music Collins deplores the current state of art:

> 'Tis said, and I believe the Tale,
> Thy humblest Reed could more prevail,
> Had more of Strength, diviner Rage,
> Than all which charms this laggard Age,

Furthermore, Collins follows this with an invocation to return to the supposed perfection of poetry and music as it had existed, united in the odes of ancient Greece.

> Revive the just Designs of Greece,
> Return in all thy simple State!
> Confirm the Tales Her Sons relate!

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[31] *Ibid.*, p. 234.

[32] *Ibid.*, p. 237.

Collins' interest in ancient Greek poetry and its revival is further revealed in a letter written to William Hayes, the first composer to set the work. In this he refers to another projected work influenced by ancient Greek poetry, this time on a 'Nobler Subject' than *The Passions*:

> The Subject is the Music of the Græcian Theatre, in which I have, I hope, Naturally introduc'd the Various Characters with which the Chorus was concern'd, as Oedipus, Medæa, Electra, Orestes &c &c... I have chosen the ancient Tragedies for my Models, and only copied the most affecting Passages in them.[33]

The project appears to have remained unfulfilled, although there exists amongst Collins' unfinished works a fragment of verse, probably from this projected ode, headed 'Recitative Accompanied' and beginning 'When Glorious Ptolomy by Merit rais'd'. Collins' interest in the recreation of ancient poetry and the apparent accordance of his objectives with those subsequently published by Brown is attested to by Richard Wendorf in his study *William Collins and Eighteenth-century English Poetry*.[34] Wendorf observes that 'although Brown does not cite Collins as one of his examples...the argument of Brown's Dissertation provides an articulate commentary on Collins's unfulfilled attempts to revive the musical ode.' Wendorf alludes not only to *The Passions* and the projected ode described above, but also to Collins' sentiments revealed more generally in his works. The works of Collins reveal that he, like Brown, 'believed that the successful lyric poet must have a firm sense of how his own literary work would be musically structured.'[35]

The Passions had first been published nearly two decades before Brown's *Dissertation* in 1746 in a collection entitled *Odes on Several Descriptive and Allegoric Subjects*.[36] Situated at the end of the collection, it summarises the principal themes of the preceding poems, thus reinforcing the work's ideological significance in Collins' *oeuvre* as a whole. Receiving little acclaim during his own lifetime, Collins' poetry gained better recognition after his death following the publication of

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[33]Quoted in Richard Wendorf and Charles Ryskamp, eds., *The Works of William Collins* (Oxford, 1979), p. 89.

[34]Richard Wendorf, *William Collins and Eighteenth-Century English Poetry* (Mineapolis, 1981).

[35]*Ibid.*, p. 160.

[36]Collins, *Odes on Several Descriptive and Allegoric Subjects*.

John Langhorne's edition of his works in 1765.[37] In this, the accompanying *Observations* upon *The Passions* went as far as to claim 'There may be little hazard in asserting that this is the finest ode in the English language.'[38] Though it is likely, as Trowles states, that 'many would have reserved this accolade for Dryden's *Alexanders Feast*',[39] the claim in Langhorne's edition does nevertheless reflect the resonance Collins' work found in later eighteenth-century England.

Set at some notional point 'between the creation of the world in *A Song for St. Cecilia's Day* and the Hellenistic setting of *Alexander's Feast*',[40] Collins presents a scene both mythical and religious. The ode recounts an imaginary incident taking place 'when Music, heav'nly maid was young'. According to this, the personified passions who had been in the habit of gathering to listen to the goddess Music were on one occasion so 'Possessed' that they 'snatch'd her instruments of sound' so that each in turn could 'prove his own expressive pow'r'. This scenario provides the context for a lengthy middle section to the work in which nine passions reveal their personalities through the medium of music. These portrayals are characterised by an irregularity and unpredictability of verse, reminiscent of the Pindaric models so admired by Collins. Through this approach Collins embodies what Wendorf terms 'the (often unbalanced) nature of the emotions in poetry and song'[41] in a poetic language self-consciously modelled on that of ancient Greece. For the final section a prosaic four-square regularity is adopted, as Collins spells out his fundamental point, deploring 'all which charms this laggard age' and calling for a return to the 'just designs' of Ancient Greek lyric poetry.

This ending, however, raises an interesting but unresolved contradiction at the heart of Collins' message, which has ramifications for any musical setting of the work. By concluding his ode in this four-square manner Collins seems to reject the expressive irregularity of the middle verses through which he so ably expresses the personified passions and which clearly corresponds with the Pindaric model he wanted to restore. This conundrum is noted, although not resolved, by Wendorf:

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[37]William Collins, *The Poetical Works of Mr. William Collins. With Memoirs of the Author; and Observations on his Genius and Writings* (London, 1765).

[38]*Ibid.*, p. 181.

[39]Trowles, 'The Musical Ode in Britain', p. 64.

[40]Wendorf, *William Collins*, p. 144.

[41]*Ibid.*, p. 162.

Cecilia's entrance is an ambiguous one; Music itself (and perhaps the *encomium musicae* dedicated to her) has become a charmless jumble. Collins prays for the return of musical simplicity, energy, design, sublimity, and ultimate divinity, and of a world like that praised by Greece's sons. In his own concluding lines, Collins attempts to capture the design and energy of the art he wishes to restore. The close of the ode marks a return to Greece, a return to the opening setting of the poem, and a return to the regularity of the opening rhythms and rhymes as well.[42]

This apparent contradiction, although perplexing, nevertheless provides Cooke in his setting of the work with an added point of interest which he exploits to the full, even if in purely intellectual terms it leads him into the very same contradiction in terms of musical style.

Such contradictions apart, it is clear how the literary ode genre as understood in the eighteenth century, and Collins' *The Passions* in particular could prove so significant as a vehicle through which to realise musical aims held by supporters of ancient music. For Cooke, the setting of *The Passions* was highly pertinent in two principal respects. First, the ode genre itself represented a living embodiment of ancient forms. By setting such verse to music Cooke was reuniting music with poetry, thus presenting this literary ode in the manner in which it existed in ancient times. This was a highly symbolic statement, borne of the aspiration evident throughout Cooke's career to invoke immutable ancient principles in order to create new works. Secondly, and even more importantly, for this particular ode, the very subject matter of Collins' verse dealt with the notion of a golden age when a perfect music existed. By invoking a return to a lost age of just design, Cooke was touching on a key issue in the mentality of supporters of ancient music, who saw in music of the previous 200 years immutable models upon which to create anew.

However, it must be stressed that such resonances between literary and musical outlooks were not in all respects compatible. In particular, by the later eighteenth century few supporters of ancient music would have called for a return to ancient Greek music in the manner Collins and Brown had done. Rather than their music, Cooke believed it was the theoretical bases discovered by ancient Greeks that had made possible music in its highest manifestations in the sixteenth to early eighteenth centuries. Furthermore, it is clear that this literary and musical historicism was to a large degree informed by quite different ancient traditions. As has been shown in

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[42]*Ibid.*, p. 153.

Chapters 1 and 2, the writings of Cooke and other Pepusch pupils were motivated by a Platonic aspiration to discover through science or mathematical investigation fundamental principles underlying music and, in particular, harmony. The world of literary criticism on the other hand was born of a quite different tradition informed principally by the extensive canon of Greek and Roman literature that had survived antiquity. Despite these differences, however, the search for archetypal principles in the legacy of antiquity may be seen to have motivated musicians and poets such as Cooke and Collins and eighteenth-century culture generally. Even more importantly, in doing this both poets and composers shared the same fundamental goal: to achieve the expression of passions through art.

With this in mind, there is one final point to be made regarding the appropriateness of Collins' *The Passions* as a vehicle through which to convey the imperatives shared by supporters of ancient music. *The Passions* has as its subject matter the principal and noblest purpose of the arts as perceived in the eighteenth century, namely *expression* through music and verse. Furthermore, as William Wendorf explains in the following passage, unlike even those more celebrated Cecilian odes by Dryden which also had music as their subject, *The Passions* treats this subject in a far more fundamental way:

> Collins's strategy in *The Passions* is an intriguing reversal of Dryden's. Collins confronts the passions directly; the actual musical instruments provide appropriate expression for the emotions, but the passions appear as fully-fledged allegorical figures before the instruments are introduced...gone is Dryden's grand framework of creation, or the discovery of the organ, or the triumphs of Alexander; we are simply introduced to Music where she lives. And Music herself is envisioned as a fully allegorical character, not a traditional figure like Orpheus, Cecilia, Timotheus, or even God.[43]

As a result of this, *The Passions* presented for Cooke the most propitious of texts through which to demonstrate the very *sine qua non* of eighteenth century music. The manner in which he treats it is thus highly symbolic as a manifestation and vindication of his entire philosophy of music. In the remainder of this chapter, Cooke's aims, methods and accomplishments in this regard are examined in detail in order to elucidate a remarkable eighteenth-century musical and aesthetic achievement.

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[43]*Ibid.*, pp. 147-8.

Cooke responded to the challenge posed by Collins' text with a *tour de force* in terms of musical expression. As has already been mentioned, this was to a large extent made possible through the deployment of techniques already developed in *The Morning Hymn* but developed here in a more matured and focused form. Thus, as in the earlier work, Cooke reacts to the intellectual statement presented by Collins with a musical style informed by the earlier eighteenth century in which the galant influences prevalent in his anthems are largely absent. More specific to his treatment of *The Passions,* however, is Cooke's innovative approach to form.

Although Cooke's approach emanates ultimately from the musical ode tradition, it is in specific respects far removed from, for example, the Cecilian settings of Handel. For these Handel had provided an essentially conventional sequence of recitatives, arias and choruses, constructed and developed in a manner broadly consistent with his general treatment of large-scale vocal works. Handel had certainly not sought the flexible arrangement of movements subsequently envisaged in Brown's conception of the ancient Greek ode. William Hayes' 1750 setting of *The Passions* had, however, come closer to this conception. Not published until around 1800, it is unlikely that Cooke would have known this work, but it shares with his own later setting an emphasis on innovative, expressive contrivance in keeping with the other more experimental ode settings of the later eighteenth century. Hayes, however, did not develop these contrivances to the extent subsequently achieved by Cooke. In accordance perhaps with contemporary concert conventions, Hayes divided his work into two acts, each comprising an ostensibly conventional sequence of recitatives, arias and choruses. This would undoubtedly have detracted from the sense of expression and overall development inherent in Collins' text that Cooke was to exploit to such brilliant effect in his later setting. In terms of text expression, Hayes certainly explored ways to underline a close relationship between text and music, as Simon Heighes has stated, 'compendious in its use and manipulation of the stock affective formulae of the period'.[44] Despite this Hayes' movements lack the fluidity that Cooke achieved in attempting to convey that quality referred to by Brown as 'variousness'. This difference is evident in, for example, their respective treatments of 'Jealousy', a passion portrayed by Collins as riven by contradictory and vacillating emotional states. Whereas Hayes contrived a series of sections each involving a time-signature change, Cooke's treatment entailed an altogether more unusual and innovative interweaving and juxtaposition of contrasting themes and rhythmic figures. Through this Cooke denied the expectation of homogeneity

[44]Simon Heighes, 'The Life and Works of William and Philip Hayes (1708-77 & 1738-97)', D.Phil. diss., University of Oxford, 1990, p. 251.

suggested by his otherwise conventional deployment of baroque idiom, thereby successfully conveying the perversity of Jealousy. Cooke's innovations also exceed Hayes in other areas, most importantly in the field of instrumentation. In contrast to the colourful scorings in Cooke's setting, Hayes' requirements were broadly conventional, calling for straightforward string accompaniment in most movements with wind and brass at the conclusions to each act.

Ostensibly, Cooke's setting of *The Passions* might itself seem broadly conventional in terms of form, consistent with what might be expected of a large scale eighteenth-century choral work (Table 5.2). The lengthy opening overture section consists of four movements, beginning with a French overture introduction, followed by a substantial fugue, then a minuet and a dance in 4/4. The work is brought to a tremendous conclusion with a series of choruses. Both these outer sections are principally in C major, thus lending a sense of tonal coherence to the work as a whole. It is however in his expression of Collins' passions between these outer sections that Cooke reveals his most overt individuality, in terms of form and style. Here Cooke contrives all manner of innovations, often drawn from earlier musical styles, in order to realise the expression required in Collins' text. Most important is Cooke's fluid and varied deployment of arioso, recitative, through-composed airs and choruses of widely differing duration. Rarely would numbers in this work serve as individual movements for separate performance, as most of them seamlessly lead into the next. Frequently they end on the dominant, without any sense of closure and in a manner quite different from the way they begin. It is, in part, this quality that distinguishes Cooke's setting from other eighteenth-century musical odes, looking back in some respects to the fluidity achieved in the odes of Purcell. Whether it represents an intentional historicism or simply an attempt to realise the kinds of 'connection' called for by Brown, this is nevertheless essential to Cooke's expressive strategy.

The imposing opening instrumental section with which Cooke begins the work presents a potent display of baroque grandeur almost unprecedented amongst the works of Cooke (excepting perhaps *The Morning Hymn*). The dotted quaver French overture introduction is phrased in a predictable, four-square manner which, whilst typical of later eighteenth-century style, is inconsistent with the more extended and irregular phrasing to be expected earlier in the century (Example 5.11). As in the overture to *The Morning Hymn*, this exposes the curious predicament encountered by Cooke and other later eighteenth-century composers seeking to appropriate

essentially baroque idioms. Similarly, it underlines the extent to which in his setting of *The Passions* Cooke was engaged in an exercise of style-consciousness.

The ensuing fugue is also subject to stylistic conflicts (bar 11). Overall it follows a high baroque pattern, with an exposition followed by further entries of the subject, in one instance in inverted form. However, in contrast to the more complex subjects in earlier eighteenth-century examples, Cooke's subject is incongruously simplistic. Based on a repetitive fanfare-like rhythm and built on an essentially triadic melodic frame, it offers little potential for the harmonic interest to be expected of a high baroque fugue. Rather it lends the movement a simplicity reminiscent of the galant style prevalent in Cooke's day. The result is difficult to assess in terms of period and further reflects the stylistic ambiguities that underlie this work as a whole. Thus, although the fugue is imitative of the earlier eighteenth century, it is nevertheless clearly a product of a later period. It is possible that such simplicity was designed to represent the 'simple state' invoked in the penultimate line of Collins's poem. If so, it also serves to highlight a fundamental tension inherent in the deployment of high baroque style (which is frequently complex) as a metaphor for Classical simplicity. Nevertheless, Cooke once again reveals himself to be fluent in earlier styles in some of the ensuing episodes. One such example can be seen in bars 50-7, where violin figuration progresses through a number of related keys, thereby introducing harmonic variety that recalls instrumental passages of Handel or Corelli. Likewise, bars 57-60 introduce a string of expressive suspensions (A minor-C major-A minor), providing an unmistakable reference to earlier eighteenth-century style rarely repeated in other mature Cooke works.

Reference to earlier style is maintained in the subsequent instrumental movements, most notably in the minuet movement in A minor. The fact that this kind of overture is unusual in Cooke's works emphasises the extent to which in *Collins's Ode* he was seeking to make a conscious-stylistic statement. As in *The Morning Hymn*, Cooke invoked syntax, strategies and forms of the earlier eighteenth century to express musically a text of immense symbolism. As this work proceeds, however, we will see the degree to which in *Collins's Ode* Cooke surpassed even himself in re-synthesising earlier style so as to fashion a musical rhetoric equivalent to Collins' literary statement.

Although *The Passions* was conceived by Collins as an ode to be set to music, he provided little indication of how the verses might be divided into recitatives, arias or choruses. Thus Cooke's delineation into a total of 33 numbers is evidence in itself of

his approach to its musical expression. Moreover, this delineation is characterised by highly irregular durations of numbers, especially at the outset and conclusion where shorter movements predominate. Following the initial four-movement instrumental section, 24 movements devoted to the beginning and middle sections of the text comprising recitatives (especially ariosos), arias and choruses. The concluding verses in which Collins relates the moral of the ode, are divided into a further four choruses surrounding two tenor recitatives (see Table 5.2).

An indication of Cooke's sensitive and meticulous approach to word-setting is provided in the numbers following the overture. In contrast to the C major established in the opening instrumental material, these subsequent movements gravitate around D major. The opening lines (which set the scene) are set to accompanied recitative for treble voice, followed by a movement for treble and chorus.

(Treble recitative)
WHEN Music, Heav'nly maid, was young,
While yet in early Greece she sung.

(Treble and chorus)
The Passions oft, to hear her Shell,
Throng'd around her magic Cell,
Exulting, trembling, raging, fainting,
Possest beyond the Muses Painting;

In this first chorus Cooke responds directly to the rhythm and imagery of Collins' poetry with a range of means drawn from earlier eighteenth-century musical style. Collins' opening four lines are rendered in a regular iambic tetrameter that is decisively disrupted in lines five and six. This manipulation of poetic rhythm has the effect of emphasising the sense of the words. In his musical setting, Cooke carefully exploits and enhances this through a corresponding disruption of musical rhythm along with an imaginative deployment of a wide array of other musical parameters (Example 5.12).

Following the recitative opening, line three of the text is sung by solo treble (and then by the chorus) in a syllabic setting in G major accompanied by strings, for which a pedestrian 4/4 metre with conventional four-bar phrasing is adopted. However, in keeping with Collins' text, this meter, phrasing, harmonic rhythm and sense of regularity is fundamentally disrupted at line five. The chorus' rendition of the word 'Exulting' (bars 8-9) is accompanied by a sudden transformation of

rhythmic texture and fanfare statement played by the string accompaniment on the dominant (D major). The word 'Trembling' is accompanied by a sudden move to the chord of G minor and a transition from the fanfare figures to a mimetic undulation of semiquavers by the strings (bars 10-11). 'Raging' is represented by a further change of texture, in which semiquaver scales played and sung in unison by all convey a sense of restlessness as they traverse the keys E flat major, C minor, G minor and D minor in the course of four bars (bars 11-14). For 'fainting' Cooke shifts to G major with another complete change in texture characterised by a falling figure in voices and accompaniment, marked *piano*.

This treatment represents in microcosm strategies deployed by Cooke throughout *Collins's Ode*. It is Cooke's obvious interest in this relationship between music and words that suggests his familiarity with the intellectual agenda shared by figures such as Collins and Brown. However, a similarly fundamental feature is also evident in Cooke's deployment of word-painting as a means of emphasising this expressivity. Although word-painting is to be found throughout Cooke's works, its greater conspicuousness in *Collins's Ode* makes it worthy of particular note here. Once again, this is a procedure clearly derived from earlier musical styles (particularly that of Handel) that Cooke seems to have invoked as an equivalent to the neo-classicism in Collins' verse. Nevertheless, Cooke's conception of word-painting as a timeless means of expression would not have been shared by all. Although the belief that the highest purpose of music was to move passions was commonplace, many (including supporters of ancient music) would have derided the deployment of this particular device as a means to achieve it. A general view, widely held by later eighteenth-century aestheticians and musicians, was that word-painting was a simplistic and ultimately ineffective mode of expression. Even admirers of Handel conceded that his deployment of it had detracted from his work. This broad consensus of opinion was informed by the extensive corpus of aesthetic writings in which the whole matter of expression in music was examined in detail. Cooke's treatment of *The Passions* was inevitably both informed and judged in the light of this.

Irrespective of beliefs shared by Cooke and his circle in the fundamental importance of harmony in its broadest sense (as described in Chapters 1 and 2), text expression still played a part in their conception of music. In order to appreciate Cooke's treatment of *The Passions*, it is therefore necessary to consider the specific ways in which it was believed music could achieve such expression. Of the many writers who had dealt with the matter during this period, Avison was particularly influential.

In his *Essay on Musical Expression*[45] Avison had famously spelt out the general premise shared by supporters of ancient and modern music alike, upon which the artistic justification for music was based. According to this the purpose of music was essentially 'in working' man's 'Imagination' (by which Avison meant understanding) and his 'Passions'.[46] Although both 'Harmony' and 'Melody' could affect the 'Imagination' (for example through word-painting), it was only when to these was added 'the Force of *Musical Expression*' that music could achieve its highest purpose. This was 'the Power of exciting all the most agreeable Passions of the Soul.'[47] This notion had crucial ramifications for how composers were to approach the setting of texts. Of these two basic ways in which expression could be achieved 'imitation', (which included word-painting) was of lesser status. Through 'imitation' it was possible to depict movement (ascent, descent, flying) or non-musical sounds in order to fix 'the Hearers Attention on the Similitude between Sounds and the Things they describe, and thereby to excite a reflex Act of Understanding rather than to affect the Heart and raise the Passions of the Soul.'[48] The other kind of depiction was 'Expression', which for Avison and most other commentators represented music's most exulted purpose. This was to be achieved through 'such a Concurrence of Air and Harmony, as affects us most strongly with the Passions or Affections which the poet intends to raise.' For this to be achieved the composer was 'not principally to dwell on particular Words in the Way of Imitation, but to comprehend the Poet's general Drift or Intention, and on this to form his Air and Harmony'.[49] This unequivocal rejection of word-painting had famously led Avison to deride Handel, whom he suggested had used such effects in order to 'amuse the vulgar Part of his audience'.[50]

Cooke's careful deployment throughout *Collins's Ode* of both 'imitation' and 'expression' (in Avison's sense) was undoubtedly effected with the full knowledge of how such procedures were viewed. Both methods are clearly evident in the first chorus of the work described above. For example, the undulating quavers that

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[45]Charles Avison, *An Essay on Musical Expression* (London, 1752).

[46]*Ibid.*, p. 2.

[47]*Ibid.*, p. 3.

[48]*Ibid.*, p. 58.

[49]*Ibid.*, p. 61.

[50]Avison, *An Essay*, 2nd edn. (London, 1753), pp. 63, 65-7. Here Avison criticised Handel's depictions of the sun standing still in *Joshua* and the stalking of a giant in *Acis and Galatea.*

accompany the word 'trembling' may be seen to constitute Avison's 'imitation', whilst the scales and harmony that accompany the word 'raging' would seem to exemplify the combinations of harmony and melody which for Avison typified 'expression'. As the work proceeds, Cooke brought to bear virtually all conceivable parameters and expressive strategies, from blunt and simplistic to subtle and ingenious to the purpose of expressing this text. Despite their variety, however, all these expressive means, including those derided by Avison, share a common origin in the musical styles and strategies of the earlier eighteenth century and before. It was however through his wilful deployment of such earlier strategies that Cooke sought to parallel through music the neo-classicism of Collins.

The diversity and ingenuity of these expressive means are evidenced through most of the short choruses with which Cooke's setting begins. One of Cooke's more conventional statements, however, may be observed in the ensuing movement, a fugal chorus set to the words:

> By turns they felt the glowing Mind,
> Disturb'd, delighted, rais'd, refin'd.

The stately fugal exposition with which this opens (this time beginning with a scalic subject amenable to contrapuntal development) is far more sugggestive of Handelian precedent than that of the overture described above. Whilst clearly an invocation of learned gravitas recalling similar such statements in *The Morning Hymn*, here too Cooke indulged widely in word-painting. A particularly ingenious example of this is in the depiction of the opening words 'by turns' suggested through the successive vocal entries of the fugal exposition. More representative of Cooke's general tendency to enable text and its expression to dictate form is the ensuing chorus, set to the following section of Collins' story:

> Till once, 'tis said, when all were fir'd,
> Fill'd with Fury, rapt, inspir'd,
> From the supporting Myrtles round,
> They snatch'd her Instruments of Sound,
> And, as they oft had heard a-part
> Sweet Lessons of her forceful Art,

Here Cooke deploys another procedure repeated throughout *Collins's Ode*, and one reminiscent of glee composition, whereby successive verses (and even ideas) are accompanied by radical transformations in material, motives, textures and orchestration. This extreme flexibility of material contrasts with the approach taken

in, for example, Handel's Cecilian ode movements in which a single idea tends to predominate. Although drawing on elements from earlier styles, the manner in which Cooke's movements are moulded around Collins' verse distinguishes them clearly from such earlier models. In the present example, set for full orchestra including trumpets, the first two lines are rendered in a six-bar section in 4/4 time (Example 5.13). After a pedestrian syballic crotchet setting of the opening line, 'Till once, 'tis said' (bars 1-2), a rhythmic and textural transformation occurs for the more dramatic second line, 'Fill'd with fury, rapt, inspired' (bars 3-4). Here Cooke's orchestral accompaniment effects a radical transition from syllabic crotchet accompaniment to fanfares in the strings and brass leading to a cadence and pause on the dominant (bar 6). At this point, Cooke changes the meter from 4/4 to 3/4 time and adds the expression marking 'vivace' for the setting of Collins' third and fourth lines (bars 7-18). The accompaniment is dominated by a repetitive dotted figure intended to depict the word 'snatched'. The fifth line, 'And, as they oft had heard apart' (bars 18-22), is introduced as a point of imitation, its successive entries conveying Collins' meaning in a manner similar to that described in the preceding fugue.

Most intriguing is Cooke's setting of the final line of this chorus, 'Sweet lessons of her forceful art' (bars 23-30). Undoubtedly a challenging notion to express musically, Cooke invokes here 'ancient' procedures in a manner recalling his glee *Susannah and the Two Elders* described in the previous chapter. He achieves this through the deployment of long pedals played by the orchestra (second violins (bars 23-6), then trumpet (bars 26-30)) preparing a drawn-out learned-sounding plagal cadence (bars 26-30) with which the movement ends. This association with sacred learnedness is further emphasised through the suggestion in the second violin of an English cadence coinciding with the word 'force' (bar 27). Whether or not Cooke's audience would have made the intended association is impossible to determine, but this statement in particular typifies an essential strand to Cooke's expression.

After these brief, scene-setting choruses we arrive at the central section of Collins' text. Here the nine passions each in turn try their hand at expressing themselves through Music's 'instruments of sound'. This presented for Cooke the challenge of devising a musical counterpart to the idealisation of ancient Greece invoked by Collins' Pindaric verses. Cooke responded to this with aplomb, providing a series of arias and recitatives of profound expressivity, many of which constitute high points in his *oeuvre*. Common to these numbers is a vivid approach to instrumentation, alongside (once again) an extraordinarily creative approach to form and language.

First come a succession of brief ariosos and through-composed arias expressing fear, anger and then despair. Set to the verses below, the latter is particularly worthy of note both for the striking success with which Cooke evokes this passion and for the sure manner in which he draws on earlier eighteenth-century stylistic means in order to do so:

> With woeful Measures wan Despair
> Low sullen Sounds, his Grief beguil'd,
> A solemn, strange, and mingled Air,
> 'Twas sad by Fits, by Starts 'twas wild.

Scored for solo 'Contr'Alto',[51] strings and flutes and marked 'Largo', this movement achieves its striking effect through two parameters in particular. First to be mentioned is the expressive vocal line which, through the course of the movement's 18 bars, develops constantly so as to depict the meaning and progression of the text. Second, and of equal importance, is its expressive chromatic harmony, highly reminiscent of and undoubtedly inspired by the kinds of seventeenth- and earlier eighteenth-century expressive modulations cited by Cooke in *Musical Conjectures*.

Essentially an arioso, the movement comprises three sections (Example 5.14). It begins with an unaccompanied entry by the voice, which sketches out an opening chord of C minor. For the first section, in which Collins' first two lines are recounted, Cooke achieves expression through this evolving, angular vocal line. For the words 'Despair, Low sullen sounds' the lowest extremes of the alto's range are explored (bars 1-3) whilst for the subsequent words 'his grief beguiled' it restlessly transfers to its higher range. This is accompanied by a series of highly expressive suspensions culminating on a long six-beat chord of G major (on 'beguil'd') with which this section concludes (bars 5-6).

The gloominess of the opening is tempered with poignancy in the subsequent section, delineated by a sudden transformation of texture for the line, 'A solemn, strange, and mingled air'. Here Cooke executes an expressive masterstroke by beginning on the unrelated chord of E flat. As the flattened submediant to the previous G major chord, this progression ushers a distinct transition accompanying the emergence of the word 'solemn'. Moreover, this presages a modulation to A flat

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[51] Meaning alto.

on which Despair unleashes a melismatic rendering of the notion of 'mingled' in the vocal line (bar 9). A particularly affecting passage follows, in which this 'mingled' figure is taken up by solo violin in a brief and utterly effective orchestral interlude (bars 10-11). Using violin figuration reminiscent of Handel, Cooke executes a series of chromatic diminished-seventh modulations which both express pathos and prolong the sense of 'mingled Air'.

Finally the 'mingled' motive is reused again for the last line 'Twas sad by fits, by starts 'twas wild', where at the word 'fits' (bar 14) it is taken up 'Con spirito' with a sudden forthright concerted rendition by all strings signalling the start of the movement's third section. This change in tempo, along with a transition to C major then G major diatonicism, evokes another sudden transformation of mood expressive of the word 'fits', then with an abrupt concerted G major ascending semiquaver scale in the strings, the word 'wild'.

Once again, an important feature of this number is the ease with which Cooke progresses from one literary and musical idea to another, a feature which becomes increasingly evident in the more substantial arias that follow. Of related importance is the manner in which Cooke links this arioso with the ensuing aria, devoted to Hope. This Cooke executes with a five-bar accompanied soprano recitative setting of 'But Thou, O Hope, with Eyes so fair', providing a link from G major to E major in preparation for the ensuing 75-bar echo aria, set to the following lines:

> What was thy delightful Measure?
> Still it whisper'd promis'd Pleasure,
> And bad the lovely Scenes at distance Hail!
> Still wou'd her touch the strain prolong,
> And from the Rocks, the Woods, the Vale,
> She call'd on Echo still through all the Song;
> And, where her Sweetest Theme She chose,
> A soft responsive Voice was heard at ev'ry Close;
> And Hope enchanted smil'd, and waved Her golden Hair.

Unlike most other numbers in this setting, the comparative length of this movement (with repeats, it lasts 150 bars) together perhaps with its familiar genre, make it performable as an individual work in its own right. This is supported by the existence of several individual copies of it in the Cooke Collection, one of them indicating that the aria was performed as a single item at the Academy (RCM MS 821, ff. 5-8).

In keeping with the arcadian atmoshpere inherent in Collins' verse, Cooke's expression of Hope conveys a pastoral innocence, a quality achieved, in part, by his deployment of the echo aria genre. Another commonplace of the seventeenth and earlier eighteenth century, this genre provided Cooke an additional context in which to display the instrumental effects that play such a prominent part throughout *Collins's Ode*. The movement is scored for a principal treble voice and strings (including just one solo cello) together with a high '2nd Voice' and 'Choral Bass at a distance', both of which are directed 'to be silent till the Song repeats'. Also, and of particular importance, are obligato harpsichord and violin parts, both of which Cooke exploits extensively for echo effects.

Although, as elsewhere, this aria's material develops with Collins' text, the repetitive phrasing inherent in the echo aria makes its language less amenable to the more flexible treatments observed previously. Instead, Cooke introduced extreme variations in material by organising the aria into a series of discreet, thematically diverse sections. Interspersed between more predictably phrased echoing sections at the extremities of the movement are a number of intermixed improvisery passages. These allow for rhythmically free-ranging vocal and instrumental echo effects and provide a context for deployment of colourful instrumentation. Composed in E major (a key rarely used by Cooke) the aria explores related keys including the 'extreme' keys of B major and F sharp minor which, for the harpsichord tuned to the Common Scale, would certainly have contributed to the expressive effect.

For the opening section, the first three lines of verse are set as a series of statements, each rendered first by the solo voice and then repeated, often in ornamented form, by the harpsichord or violin (and echoed by the additional voices in the repeat). For each line of text there is a new musical idea, which grows out of the previous one (bars 1-19, Example 5.15). In this way, although across the section texture and musical language remain the same, the musical material develops with the text in a manner reflective of Hope's sentiments. Particularly important here are the carefully devised harpsichord and violin parts, which add considerable interest to the repeated material set out in simpler form by the vocal part.

For his setting of line four (bars 20-4), 'Still would her touch the strain prolong', Cooke signals a change of mood. This is brought about through the introduction of a contrasting texture and material, alongside an abrupt modulation to the subdominant (a favourite Cooke ploy) where the music remains for four whole bars. Then for the setting of line six all solo parts launch into a prolonged exposition upon the word

'echo' (bars 27-32), this being the first of the interspersed improvisery sequences. Echo effects are made initially between the first and second voice (which for this one passage also sings the first time through) and the obligato violin. This is followed by further echoing and dueting between the obligato violin and harpsichord (bars 32-41). During these sequences all other accompaniment ceases, resulting in a general lapse in forward movement. After a final general pause on bar 40 the setting continues with a return to the accompanied duet 'A Tempo' as at the beginning (but set to differing material) interspersed with further improvisory moments after which the aria repeats.

In this way the movement proceeds in a colourful, expressive and highly engaging manner as Cooke seizes every imaginable opportunity presented by Collins' text (of which there are many) to express Hope's sentiments. Once again, the expressive potentialities inherent in ancient idioms and strategies are exploited here to the full. The obligato parts play a particularly important role in the improvisery sections; by evoking timelessness they help to recall the notion of an idealised ancient Greece so central to Collins' message and agenda. Most important however is Cooke's deployment of this archaic echo aria genre itself. To the minds of later eighteenth-century listeners this would certainly have recalled earlier examples by Purcell, Handel and others, thereby once again evoking a musical classicism parallel to Collins' neo-classicism.

Whilst 'What was thy delightful Measure?' is probably the best known aria in *Collins's Ode* it is nevertheless in the ensuing extended movements that Cooke produced his finest moments. One such moment is to be found in the representation of the fifth passion, Revenge. Dispersed in *The Passions* over two sections (separated by an interjection by Pity) Cooke sets the first of these sections in a brief 43-bar movement:

> Revenge impatient rose,
> He threw his Blood-stain'd Sword in Thunder down,
> And with a with'ring Look,
> The War-denouncing Trumpet took,
> And blew a Blast so loud and dread,
> Were ne'er Prophetic Sounds so full of Woe!
> And ever and anon he beat
> The doubling Drum with furious Heat;

Here Cooke provides perhaps his most glaring manifestation of Handelian style, albeit appropriated according to his own stylistic ends and couched in his own

appealing dialect. This Cooke achieved through deployment of another seventeenth- and earlier eighteenth-century commonplace, the rage aria. Once again, a remarkable feature of this is the manner in which Cooke transforms texture and material for the setting of successive lines of text, each exhibiting a different 'ancient' compositional strategy.

The movement is composed in the key of D major and scored for bass voice, strings, oboe and trumpet, the latter playing the essential role of expressing the instrument played by Revenge. This is not however in the manner of Cecilian ode settings of Handel and Purcell in which texts about instruments are realised through a self-conscious deployment of that instrument. Rather, here (and throughout *Collins's Ode* generally) Cooke's approach is to deploy the instrument of the passion in an integrated manner without overt extra-musical affectation.

Beginning without orchestral introduction, the bass voice, accompanied by repeated semiquavers in the strings, enters with a forceful opening theme, typical of Handelian rage arias. This association is emphasised by the baroque styled trumpet part which enters in bar 2 with an ascending fanfare motive, reaching a high D in bar 3 (Example 5.16). After this initial burst, the opening theme is only briefly developed before being superseded by new musical material for the setting of the next line of text 'He threw his Blood-stain'd Sword in Thunder down' (bars 7-15). For this Cooke deploys further word-painting, first introducing a downward leap in the vocal line for the expression of the word 'threw' and later a long melismatic run for the depiction of 'thunder' (bars 10-12). Integral to Cooke's expression throughout this movement is his manipulation of key and harmonic language. For these opening two lines of text, he expresses Collins' forceful statements with a clear D major diatonicism followed by a modulation toward A major for the melismatic passages.

Cooke's expressive approach changes markedly for the third line of text 'And with a withering look'. For this more passive sentiment a new angular theme is introduced, rendered in unison and octaves by bass voice and strings (bars 16-19). This follows the contour of the harmonic minor scale, invoking a resemblance to material in Handel's bass aria 'The people that walked in darkness' from *Messiah*. The change in poetic sentiment is emphasised at the beginning of this section by a sudden shift in tonality from A major to D minor for the first statement of the new theme. After its initial unison statement (bars 16-17) Cooke provides a second abridged and harmonised statement (bars 17-19) beginning in A minor then proceeding, via a

series of chromatic progressions culminating in a German 6th, to D major. In this deliberate exploitation of differing yet highly familiar Handelian strategies in an abridged context, Cooke once again deployed an 'ancient' expressive vocabulary to his own idiosyncratic purposes.

Cooke deployed a further complete change of tack in his setting of the fourth and fifth lines of Collins' text, 'The War-denouncing Trumpet took, / And blew a Blast so loud and dread' (bars 19-26). Here again he achieves expression through a clear alternation between diatonicism and chromaticism along with further allusions to Handel's *Messiah*. This may be observed in the trumpet's long top A followed by the falling semiquaver motive (bars 19-20) which is prominent in the 'Hallelujah' chorus. Furthermore, this motive is then followed up by the bass voice in much the same manner as do the sopranos in Handel's chorus (see bars 56-8 in Handel's 'Hallelujah' chorus). In this way, the trumpet specified in Collins' text is invoked through allusion to a very famous trumpet passage by Handel. Furthermore, for the depiction of 'blast so loud and dread' Cooke deploys the lower register of the trumpet, which on a natural trumpet would have a robust unrefined quality, again reminiscent of the trumpet accompaniment to the line 'king of kings' in Handel's 'Hallelujah' chorus. Expression of 'dread' is also conveyed through careful manipulation of key. Here Cooke deploys a sudden movement from diatonic D major towards the dark subdominant minor, emphasised by cadences and semiquaver accompaniment in the strings and trumpet (bars 25-6).

The subsequent line ' Were ne'er Prophetic Sounds so full of Woe!' provides Cooke with yet another opportunity to exploit harmonic language for expressive purposes. Here a chromatic exploration around the key of D minor, along with a series of suspensions and dissonances, lends a sense of reflective poignance in contrast to the vigour of the previous lines (bars 27-35). This is accompanied by a corresponding reduction in rhythmic activity and dynamic (marked *pianissimo*) emphasised by absence of trumpet and drums. Cooke then finishes this section of the aria with a return to the original material (departing from Collins' text) to accompany the opening line 'Revenge impatient rose'(bars 35-7) followed by the final stanzas of this section 'And ever and anon he beat / The doubling Drum with furious Heat'. This ushers an abrupt termination of the movement on a dominant A major chord, suggestive of hiatus rather than conclusion. Cooke's purpose here is to negotiate a further expressive challenge Collins presents here in Pity's sudden interjection at this point, an event calling for a seismic expressive shift:

> And, tho' sometimes, each dreary Pause between,
> Dejected Pity at his Side,
> Her Soul-subduing Voice applied.

Cooke conveys this with a brief *pianissimo* 27-bar arioso setting (marked 'Largo') comprising new material in D minor for soprano, solo violin and continuo, designed to convey Pity's sentiments. This is momentarily interrupted midway through (a further modification of Collins's text) by the orchestra and bass, which intervenes with two fleeting 'furioso' renditions of the word 'Revenge'. After this Pity concludes the section, as before.

For the remainder of Revenge's verses, Cooke provides a third quite separate section, consisting of a return to the original material for bass voice and orchestra, set to the following lines:

> Yet still he kept his wild unalter'd Mien,
> While each strain'd ball of sight seem'd bursting from his Head.

More in the style of a continuation of where the initial section left off than a *da capo* aria reprise, the brevity suggested by Collins' text provides the context for yet another formal idiosyncracy. Again, Cooke's achievement here is in the way he constructs a dramatic statement with such concision. In just 11 bars, he engages the entire orchestra, once again in 'rage mode' with the trumpet (supported by similarly active drums) playing a further descant to contrive a thrilling conclusion.

Although the Handelian rage rhetoric which abounds in 'Revenge impatient rose' is clearly instrumental here in enabling Cooke to produce one of his finest arias, it should not be deduced from this that Cooke was simply copying Handel. On the contrary, Cooke's redeployment of Handelian strategies in this expressive context results in a statement wholly unlike anything composed by Handel. Rather, this aria typifies Cooke's aspiration, observed throughout this study, to further music through reference to the past. Central here is an inclination to construct musical discourse on the model established in glee composition, whereby contrasting material is introduced for each successive stanza or even idea. Moreover, as the final two arias to be discussed confirm, even in *Collins's Ode* the influence of Handel is by no means predominant. First to be discussed is a depiction of Jealousy already alluded to earlier. Scored for tenor voice, strings and oboe and lasting 92 bars, this comparatively extended aria is set to the following lines:

Thy numbers, Jealousy, to nought were fix'd,
Sad proof of thy distressful State,
Of diff'ring Themes the veering Song was mix'd,
And now it courted Love, now raving call'd on Hate.

The complex nature of Jealousy would certainly have imposed considerable demands upon the expressive powers of any composer. Nevertheless, Cooke responded to this challenge with assurance, through recourse (on this occasion) to a somewhat perverse exploitation of earlier stylistic conventions. Playing on the earlier eighteenth-century general expectation that one passion and style should prevail in a single movement, Cooke introduces here a succession of incongruous themes borne of the baroque idiom. Through this he successfully conveys the emotional imbalance inherent in Collins's depiction of Jealousy, whilst presenting an extended and cohesive musical statement.

For his opening orchestral ritornello Cooke first presents all his themes in abridged form, a procedure avoided in *Collins's Ode* prior to this point yet commonplace in eighteenth-century music (and elsewhere in Cooke's *oeuvre*). In addition to its structural function, this has the effect here of emphasising the literary meaning of the text. Made up of 20 bars and comprising five sections of overtly contrasting material (bars 1-4, 5-8, 9-12, 13-14, 15-20) it draws together the thematic elements representing 'the differing themes' with which 'the veering song was mix'd' (Example 5.17). In terms of musical style, this may be seen not as a precursor of the textural and thematic transitions of classical style but more as a calculated distortion of the baroque aesthetic in order to express this particular passion.

The sprightly, light-hearted theme with which the movement opens (and closes) constitutes a conventional ritornello theme, reappearing at various points during the course of the aria. In this, however, it also assumes an expressive role, sometimes separating the themes signifying the differing emotions. The sense of incongruity this evokes serves to emphasise the vacillating and futile nature of Jealousy. The subsequent four sections of material included in the opening ritornello relate respectively to Jealousy (dotted figures juxtaposed with triplet accompaniment), Love (predominantly triplets), and the final two both relate to Hate (semiquaver and dotted quaver figures).

At only four lines, this aria's text is brief in comparison with those assigned to other numbers in *Collins's Ode*. Nevertheless, by playing on and denying expectations Cooke constructs an extended and highly attractive aria, if somewhat unusual in its

juxtaposing of such varying themes. Even more remarkable, however, is the ingenious way that through these means Cooke crafts an aria that succeeds as a statement of real emotional power.

The final passion setting to be examined in detail is Melancholy, a passion that here stimulated Cooke to create a statement of considerable poignance. Undoubtedly the highlight of the entire work, this extended 46-bar movement (reproduced in full in Example 5.18) also constitutes arguably Cooke's most successful musical realisation of Collins' idealised notion of ancient lyric poetry. Here rhythm, phrasing and thematic development are subservient to an affective melodic line which continuously evolves in response to the phrasing and sentiments of the verse. This is complemented to a degree perhaps unsurpassed elsewhere in *Collins's Ode* by the expressivity of Cooke's accompaniment. In addition to conveying Melancholy's sentiments through harmony and dissonance, motivic allusions are skilfully contrived throughout in a manner designed to lend coherence to the aria as a whole. Instrumentation is for muted strings, solo cello, soprano voice and, in a further instance of Cooke's innovation, a choice of keyboard instruments comprising celestino harpsichord, lyrichord or organ (for which registration indications are provided throughout).[52] As in Cooke's setting of Hope, the keyboard part is meticulously conceived to reflect its critical role in rendering this aria's exquisite harmonic language. In contrast to the rest of the work, which is principally in sharp keys, this movement is in E flat, a key generally reserved by Cooke for his most poignant statements. Moreover, following from Jealousy's G major conclusion, this offers another expressive flattened submediant relationship, thereby instilling a profound transition in mood and ambience.

The aria opens with one of Cooke's most exquisite ritornello statements, in which elements from its wide-ranging thematic material are set out in abridged form. The first part is dominated by a constant semiquaver and quaver movement in the upper strings, recalling in terms of texture and figuration the opening of Handel's *Zadok the Priest*, and following a clear-cut I-VI-IIb-V-I chord progression. An initial statement of this chord progression takes place over the first two bars, followed by a reiteration, modulating to the dominant (B flat) in bar 5. The ritornello's second part

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[52]The celestino harpsichord and lyrichord (also known as sostenente piano) were experimental keyboard instruments, both of which made a sustained sound; it is no doubt due to this quality that Cooke specified them in his scoring here. Strings of the celestino harpsichord were drawn against a continuously moving band of silk when their respective keys were depressed, whilst strings of the lyrichord were drawn against a revolving wheel.

(bars 5-10) ushers a contrast in rhythmic texture and harmonic language rendered via a highly affecting series of suspensions leading back to the home key.

The overall structure of this aria is again predicated around Collins' verse. To achieve this here Cooke distributes the text into four thematically differing musical sections, all of which allude to the opening ritornello thereby instilling a sense of formal cohesion.

1 With Eyes up-rais'd, as one inspir'd,
Pale Melancholy sat retired,
And from her wild sequester'd Seat,
In Notes by Distance made more sweet,

2 Pour'd thro' the mellow Horn her pensive Soul:

3 And dashing soft from Rocks around
Bubbling Runnels join'd the Sound;
Thro' Glades and Glooms the mingled Measure stole,
Or, o'er some haunted Stream, with fond Delay,

4 Round an holy Calm diffusing,
Love of Peace, and lonely Musing,
In hollow Murmurs died away.

The first section of text is introduced by a highly expressive and thematically significant rising vocal motive (bar 10). As well as expressing the words 'With eyes up-rais'd, as one inspir'd', this forms a lead motive from which the vocal line embarks on an extended process of free development. Seemingly unencumbered by strictures of form or phrasing, Cooke fashions a constantly evolving melody founded on the rhythms of Collins' verse and shaped in part by a careful utilisation of word-painting techniques. Notable in this regard is Cooke's treatment of the line 'In Notes by Distance made more sweet', executed here through wide melodic leaps (bars 18-21) to evoke not just literal expression but also a moment of profound musical beauty. Another ingenious yet attractive feature is Cooke's deployment of the opening vocal lead motive as a thematic point of reference, woven into both melody and accompaniment, sometimes in inverted form. Moreover, as the section proceeds, phrasing, chord sequences and textures derived from the first section of the opening ritornello are introduced into the accompaniment, thereby fulfilling the imperative to express whilst maintaining formal cohesion in an inconspicuous manner.

For the setting of the second section of text (bars 21-30), Cooke executes another of the expressive coups of the entire work. Leading in from the previous section the soprano line soars up to a high G from which the word 'poured' (bar 22) is expressed through a slow downward seventh leap, followed by a steadily descending melodic development. In order perhaps to serve his own expressive purpose better, Cooke alters Collins' text here from 'Pour'd thro' the mellow Horn her pensive Soul' to the more expressive 'Pour'd her pensive Soul' (bars 21-5). Against this, the accompaniment consists of a development of the opening vocal lead motive along with an exquisite sequence of suspensions, as presaged in the second half of the opening ritornello (bars 5-10). The stepwise manner in which the different melodic lines and harmonies lead into each other further serves to depict the notion of pouring. After a long descent of both vocal line and instrumental suspensions (bars 21-5) the vocal line languishes at the bottom of its range for a period of three bars during which the line of verse as written by Collins is finally rendered in its entirety (bars 25-8). After reaching this low point the descending suspensions in the accompaniment give way to a reintroduction of thematic material from the first half of the opening ritornello, thus conveying a sense of reprise in the accompaniment (bar 25). Just as the beginning of the section is characterised by a gradual descent in both vocal line and accompaniment, the section concludes with a similarly expressive and affective ascent. From bars 28 to 30 Cooke sets just the words 'pensive soul', the vocal line rising as if heavenward. Cooke's success in expressing this verse is largely accountable to this free-flowing, stepwise vocal line (comprising crotchets and minims) against the accompaniment's rhythmic regularity and evocative harmony; together these two elements convey the sense of otherworldliness inherent in Collins' text. As evidence of Cooke's less-than-strict deployment of instruments cited in Collins' text, the horn played by Melancholy is absent from this aria. It seems likely that the intervention of that instrument here would have undermined the ambience Cooke sought to create and that it certainly would have lacked the flexibility required of this harmonic language.

Although in the third section (bars 31-9) the melodic line continues to unfold in a free-ranging manner as before, a clear change of material is evident in the accompaniment. This is most apparent in the violin parts which introduce new thematic material with their expression of the words 'dashing' (semiquaver leaping intervals) and 'runnels' (gentle, dotted semiquaver movements). Again, Cooke's deployment of dissonance plays a significant expressive role. A prolonged pedal G (bars 37-9) evokes a sense of harmonic uncertainty which helps to convey Collins' line 'Or, o'er some haunted Stream, with fond Delay'. With this Cooke both

suggests the notion of 'hauntedness' and depicts 'delay' through the postponement from bar 37 until the third beat of bar 39 of a final resolution of his pedal on the chord of G major. In contrast to the poignancy of the preceding material Cooke's setting of the final four lines of verse conveys a lightening of mood (bars 39-46). In place of tense suspensions, Cooke introduces diatonicism alongside sprightly rhythms in the melody, anticipating the transformation of atmosphere required for the succeeding passion, Cheerfulness.

In contrast to Cooke's appropriation elsewhere in this work of genres such as fugue, echo and rage aria, his treatment of Melancholy would appear to lack overt references to the past. Such influences are however present, albeit on a less conspicuous level, and essential to the expressive depth he achieves here. There is perhaps an almost subliminal debt to Handel in the walking-bass quaver movement that permeates much of the aria (albeit mainly in the viola part). Other archaicisms are evident in Cooke's adept manipulation of dissonance, suspensions and pedal points, reflective once again of the harmonic strategies he had admired in the works of seventeenth and earlier-eighteenth century composers. In such characteristics may be seen further evidence of Cooke's tendency to rethink elements of earlier styles in order to realise aesthetic and theoretical notions of his own day.

Collins' two final passions, Cheerfulness then Joy are set by Cooke in a suitably spirited manner. For the latter Cooke contrived yet another way to invoke ancient Greece. In addition to strings, oboe and tenor voice, the aria's scoring calls for some less conventional instruments, three of them ancient Greek. These consist of tibiæ pares, trigonale and cymbalum (respectively a kind of double flute, harp and percussion instrument), illustrations and descriptions of which are to be found in the histories of Hawkins and Burney.[53] Cooke's requirements also include two percussion instruments not known to have originated from ancient Greece, the 'Carrillon' and the 'Tinniat' (Latin for 'it rings'). Excepting designated parts for first and second tibiæ pares, these instruments simply double and reinforce the lines assigned to conventional instruments of this inherently exuberant baroque movement. In this guise they would have lent, exoticism and volume (the percussion instruments in particular) thereby conveying in suitably cacophonous manner the uncontrolled fervour of Collins' concluding passion.

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[53]Hawkins, *A General History*, vol. I, pp. 90-1 and Charles Burney, *A General History of Music* (1776-89), ed. F. Mercer, 2 vols. (London, 1935), vol. I, pp. 396-7. Although the aria was almost certainly composed before publication of both histories, their mention of these Greek instruments confirms general knowledge of such instruments at the time.

For all the resonance the presence of ancient Greek instruments might have struck with Collins' theme, it should not be thought here that Cooke's aim was to recreate ancient Greek music. Given that Cooke was clear in *Musical Conjectures* that he believed the instruments and music of more recent times to have been superior to that of Greece, it seems inconceivable that he would have thought this desirable. As has been argued throughout this study, for Cooke and his circle the musical contribution of the Greeks had been principally in their music theories. Nevertheless, he might have intended that through this movement the sound world of ancient Greece be evoked. If so, the deployment of Greek instruments proffers a powerfully symbolic association between Collins' rendition of Pindaric verse and Cooke's musical historicism.

With the conclusion of this final passion we arrive at the final section of *Collins's Ode*. It is here that Collins articulates the moral of his story, bemoaning the inability of modern poets to achieve expressive power equal to that of ancient Greek lyric poetry. By asking why Music 'Sphere-descended Maid' has laid 'her ancient Lyre aside', and invoking his audience to 'Bid our vain Endeavours cease' and 'revive the just Designs of Greece', he calls for a return to archetypal principle. As mentioned earlier, the meaning of these lines is complemented here by Collins' reinstatement of rhythmic regularity, in contrast to the irregularity of the preceding verses. Implicit in Collins' concluding prayer for a return to simplicity 'Warm, Energetic, Chaste, Sublime' is a rejection of the very extravagance and irregularity he had deployed to such expressive effect throughout the middle section of *The Passions*.

It is significant that at this point William Hayes, the first composer to set *The Passions,* had inserted an alternative conclusion, stating that Collins' final lines were not 'calculated for musical expression'.[54] Whilst it is understandable if Hayes found Collins' conclusion comparatively staid (and perhaps his message unclear), by taking this course Hayes missed the entire point Collins sought to convey. Cooke, on the other hand, seized the expressive and symbolic opportunity posed by Collins' final verses to produce a setting eminently complementary to Collins' agenda. In doing this Cooke also struck at the heart of his own theoretical position, in the process exposing similar contradictions in his own outlook.

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[54]Quoted in Trowles, 'The Musical Ode in Britain', p. 63.

The series of choruses and recitatives with which Cooke set Collins' final passage both recall the ancient Greek choral ode (in the deployment of chorus to convey this moral commentary) and accord with the stipulations of Brown (that movements should proceed in a manner 'various', 'expressive' and 'interrupted'). Of even greater significance is the way in the first and longest of these choruses (set to the following lines) Cooke also realises Collins' moral through a mode of musical archaicism little explored in the ode prior to this point.

> O Music, Sphere-descended Maid,
> Friend of Pleasure, Wisdom's Aid!
> Why, Goddess, why, to us denied?
> Lay'st Thou thy ancient Lyre aside?
> As in that lov'd Athenian bower,
> You learn'd an all-commanding Pow'r,
> Thy mimic Soul, O Nymph endear'd,
> Can well recall what then it heard.
> Where is thy native simple Heart
> Devote to Virtue, Fancy, Art?

Cooke sets this hugely significant section of text with a statement of austere grandeur replete with grammatical references clearly designed to invoke sixteenth-century polyphony. It was this archaic quality that led the writer from the *European Magazine* to describe the movement as 'a work of great art' revealing in Cooke 'a musician of deep science'.[55] With this movement Cooke seemingly rejects the extra-musical contrivances of the foregoing numbers in favour of a discourse recalling the 'language of harmony' identified by supporters of ancient music in sixteenth-century polyphony. Moreover, in terms of tone, this chorus is far removed from the kinds of celebratory extravaganzas to be expected in eighteenth-century musical ode conclusions. Here Cooke conveys 'Music's all commanding pow'r' through a sublime simplicity.

Bearing in mind the resources at his disposal the scoring for this final extended movement is wilfuly frugal, comprising five-part chorus (SSATB), strings and oboe-appropriate to the austere grandeur Cooke seeks here as musical metaphor for Collins' moral. Over 64 bars Cooke realises this metaphor through a quasi-polyphony in which each line of text is set with a new kind of material, many beginning with a point of imitation. Although this constant introduction of new material is consistent with Cooke's approach throughout *Collins's Ode*, in the learned context contrived here it vividly invokes sixteenth-century forms, both

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[55] *European Magazine*, 15.

sacred and secular. Drawn essentially from renaissance thematic and rhythmic vocabulary, the material of each new section is accompanied by changes of key, many of them in the minor mode, thereby reinforcing the solemnity of Collins' message.

Cooke's finest moment is in the canonic treatment of Collins' final lines beginning with the words 'Thy mimic soul, O nymph endear'd!' (bar 48; see Example 5.19). In the published edition at this point (at the bottom of p. 87) Cooke provides the following curious memorandum: 'These Bars were intended to be a Quotation, but having been taken by Memory are varied from the Original'. Moreover the subscription page reveals this quotation to have been from 'Return, my lovely maid', a part-song 'in Imitation of the Madrigal style' by the eighteenth-century amateur composer Francis Hutcheson (1721-84).[56] Cooke's quotation is adapted from a four-part canonic entry midway through this 'madrigal' that he interpolates into his chorus over a dominant pedal in G minor (bars 48-51). With this Cooke invokes ancient authority not only through deployment of a learned procedure but also through a striking treatment of harmonic language. This is evident in the canon's culmination in a series of chromatically altered cadences (bars 52-6) that resolve on major triads in ostentatious accordance with renaissance *musica ficta* conventions. It is tempting to suppose this strategy refers to the cadences characteristic of the golden age of English church music; the last of them, a resounding resolution on C major, marks the beginning of the line 'where is thy native simple heart'.

With this reversion to C major Cooke signals a seismic return to the opening tonality of the work as a whole, which is then maintained throughout the remaining numbers. Table 5.2 shows the division of Collins' final verses (numbers 29-33) into movements, the two largest of which themselves comprise smaller subsections thereby reinforcing the sense of 'variousness' invoked by Brown. In this way, recitative, homophonic statements (replete with trumpet fanfares and scalic string figuration), points of imitation alternate, along with extreme variations in forces from full orchestra to unaccompanied chorus and solo voice.

The sense of recapitulation and cohesion invoked by the reversion to C major is further emphasised through reuse of the theme used to set the ode's opening line

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[56]Son of the philosopher Francis Hutcheson and also known as Francis Ireland. 'Return, my lovely maid' was printed in: Thomas Warren, *A Collection of Vocal Harmony consisting of Catches, Canons & Glees...to Which are added Several Motetts and Madrigals composed by the Best Masters* (London, ca. 1765).

('The passions Oft, to hear her Shell') for the lines beginning 'Arise' and 'Return'. Moreover, this cohesion is further compounded through thematic reference to Hutcheson's canonic theme at various points during these concluding choruses (the final bars in particular). Amidst the clamour with which the work finally ends this learned trait has the effect of invoking once more the seriousness of Collins' theme. In this way Cooke engineers a series of brief but suitably monumental statements devoid of contrived complexity or artifice.

In Cooke's transition from vivid baroque artifice to austere learned polyphony we see a further expressive masterstroke. As well as highlighting the shift from exuberant Joy to austere moral, Cooke's polyphony realises in practical terms the sublime power of unadorned, pure harmony so fundamental to his musical philosophy. The contradictions inherent in Cooke's apparent rejection of baroque artifice in favour of renaissance 'harmony' should perhaps not detain us. Rather, we see here exactly the same contradictions as in Collins' exploitation of poetic rhythm, described earlier. Just as it is inconceivable that Collins sought to reject the Pindaric irregularity of his middle verses it is also unthinkable that Cooke sought rejection of the baroque style with which he had so ingeniously conveyed Collins' Pindaric verse.

Although it is argued here that *Collins's Ode* is Cooke's crowning achievement, it is also conceded that for the modern-day observer, unaware of the context of its conception, *Collins's Ode* may prove difficult to appreciate. Cooke's idiosyncratic employment of baroque idioms in fluid, undeveloped forms, along with his vivid sound world can lend the work a strangeness irreconcilable with the nowadays-familiar styles of either Bach or Handel. Although this 'strangeness' is to varying degrees characteristic of many Cooke works it is most prominent in *Collins's Ode*. As Cooke's only published large-scale composition this work has sometimes been taken as representative of Cooke's *oeuvre*, leading modern-day observers to dismiss the work of Cooke as simply conservative and derivative. The inappropriateness of such a judgment is demonstrated not least by the prevalence of modern influences in his mature orchestra anthems. Moreover, it has been an objective of this chapter to show that it is precisely through this 'strangeness' that Cooke realised his creativity. Having reached maturity in a period of fundamental stylistic change, Cooke revelled in experimentation, and in particular, reinterpreting ancient styles to produce original results.

The pre-eminence of *Collins's Ode* in Cooke's *oeuvre* is largely accountable to the extent *The Passions* resonated with his own theoretical position. Even though Cooke and Collins were informed by different traditions (Cooke's being musical and scientific whilst Collins' were literary) both sought archetypal principals in antiquity in order to further art. There being no extant ancient musical works to emulate, Cooke's deployment of baroque idiom to parallel Collins' neo-classicism simply reflects in extreme form a perspective upon earlier music evident throughout Cooke's *oeuvre*. This is not however the only explanation for Cooke's stylistic choices in *Collins' Ode*. His appropriation of polyphony and baroque artifice recalls once again how in *The Morning Hymn*, it was both the syntax ('good harmony') and rhetoric of ancient music that acted as exemplar for his own musical style. In *The Morning Hymn* Cooke had been happy to both retain, yet build on the lean basis provided by Galliard to contrive the very expressive artifice that he would develop to such effect in *Collins's Ode*.

Thus the overt historicism in *Collins's Ode* should not be perceived as evidence of creative sterility. In *Collins's Ode* we see a far-reaching re-synthesis of forms that, though 'ancient', are presented in a way ultimately revealing great creativity. Indeed, *Collins's Ode* gives meaning, in the most positive light, to the range of activities and interests (in earlier music, ancient Greek music theory and science) which define the ancient music counterculture of which Cooke was a key figure. The conception of universal harmony as an exemplar for sublime music and the fascination for the musical past all manifest the same quest to establish art upon a sound, immutable foundation. In this typically Enlightenment quest for universality we see Cooke's engagement with the fundamental artistic concerns of his time. The importance of *Collin's Ode* is as a vibrant and creative artistic outcome of this engagement. In Cooke's manipulation of earlier styles to convey an astonishing feat of expression and formal innovation we have the ultimate manifestation of Cooke the Academician's advancement of music.

Conclusion

Cooke's impressive compositional achievements, as highlighted in this study, will seem inconsistent with nowadays widely held perceptions concerning later eighteenth-century English music. In particular, the creativity, innovation and sheer impact of works such as 'I heard a great voice', 'The Lord in his wrath' and *Collins's Ode* remains unrecognised in recent accounts of English eighteenth-century composers, typified in the following comments by John Brewer:

> English composers of the eighteenth century are best known for their obscurity, remembered only as the shadowy inhabitants of a penumbra between the driving achievement of the great seventeenth-century Italians and the brilliance of the Germans and Austrians - Mozart, Haydn and Beethoven - who shaped classical music as we now know it.[1]

Yet, if anything, Cooke's apparent musical antiquarianism and interests in Greek theory will for the uninitiated observer only add to the perception of English musicians as occupants of a cultural backwater, disengaged from the key currents in eighteenth-century culture. Most importantly, Cooke's failure to engage with later eighteenth-century instrumental genres has reinforced the perception, typified by Brewer, of an English music at cross-purposes with the ascendant Austro-German tradition. Correspondingly, Cooke's concentration upon specifically English genres, no longer understood today, has served to confound the present-day listener with an unfamiliar style, incompatible with modern concert programming.

This study has sought to demonstrate how the now forgotten work of Cooke, although ostensibly detached from Europe's predominating trends in music, looked resolutely to the future and engaged with key themes in Enlightenment thought. Cooke's concern for universality, whether gleaned from antiquity or science, typifies this engagement with rationalist thinking so fundamental to his age. In his extensive investigations into harmonics and Greek music theory may be perceived a common thread: the imperative to establish for music a sound basis in principle. It has been argued that this quest resulted from a wish to navigate for music a way forward both practically and theoretically, thereby raising music's status in relation to other arts. Most importantly, it has been shown that in Cooke as composer this

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[1] John Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination: English Culture in the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1997), p. 531.

intellectual and musical activity culminated in a vibrant, creative music, worthy of renewed attention.

Although Cooke has been the principal subject of this study we have also seen that, as conductor of the Academy of Ancient Music, he was one of several figures involved in similar activities and sharing a common viewpoint. The picture that emerges from this investigation thus elucidates not just the life and work of Cooke: it also portrays an important school of thought in eighteenth-century English musical culture. Now forgotten, these Enlightenment musical thinkers sought through a high-minded intellectual curiosity to further music by proffering an alternative vision. Perceiving empty ostentation in mainstream music, they are defined by this recourse to universal exemplars borne of science, nature and ancient authority. Rather than sating the whims of fashionable contemporary concert life, they were guided by a cerebral aspiration to build on the achievements of the past, both musical and theoretical.

An important element of this story that has been explored in recent years is the role of the Academy of Ancient Music as a precursor to the emergence of musical classics later in the eighteenth century.[2] Their performance of earlier music, an almost unheard-of practice in eighteenth century Europe, is now deemed a landmark in the history of musical programming and historiography. This investigation of Cooke seeks to contribute to the picture portrayed in those earlier studies through consideration of the whole range of similarly unprecedented activities undertaken by Academicians such as Cooke. Cooke's, collecting, editing and theorising reveals in the Academy a development of more far-reaching importance, than just the performance of earlier music. In the aspiration to understand music not just in terms of pedagogical rules for composition and performance, but to establish its immutable, philosophical basis we see a coherent, yet hitherto little understood musical agenda.

In addition to the wish to establish universal principles the spirit of intellectual inquiry inherent in the Academicians' activities is symptomatic of a further Enlightenment imperative in arts discourse: namely the wish to order of the arts. This was in response to the recognition by many eighteenth-century commentators that there was no narrative history of any art, no canon of what was best, no standard of taste. Cooke's collecting and editing of early music constitutes a response to the need to establish terms of reference for the artistic productions of his own age, but

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[2]See Introduction, pp. 17-20.

also to fashion a methodology for rational criticism. Once again, this shows Cooke and his associates to have been engaged in activities fundamental to eighteenth century arts and in no way peripheral to mainstream intellectual currents. In all of this may be seen the imperative to present music as a subject of profound importance and equal to other arts, sentiments that would gather resonance later in the century.

As well as engaging with Enlightenment imperatives to establish music's universality and historical context, this study has shown the philosophy of music represented by Cooke to have been forward-looking in a further sense. This is evident most strongly in Cooke's apparent perception of music as an autonomous art form. We have seen how fashionable, Rousseau-influenced contemporaries such as Charles Burney and William Mason underplayed the importance of music as a language, believing its inability to convey precise ideas made it inferior to poetry and visual art. Moreover such commentators viewed the counterpoint, so prized by Academicians, as unnatural, and obstructive to the expression of ideas. Perceiving music as an imitative art, their concern was that music be judged according to the content it can convey. Cooke and his associates, on the other hand, were interested in more purely musical values inherent in harmony itself. This perception of harmony as a profound means of abstract expression, as suggested in *Musical Conjectures* and Hawkins' *History*, strongly anticipates the establishment of the aesthetic of musical autonomy that later in the century would finally replace the Aristotelian doctrine of music as an imitative art. In this way, Cooke's theorising manifests the process by which music gained status as a reflection of profound abstract symbolism in place of its earlier eighteenth-century position as at best vehicle for word expression, and at worst 'facile pleasure for the mind'. Although supporters of ancient music were opposed to the instrumental forms we now know proved integral to this transition, they nevertheless shared with later romanticism the same lofty aims for music as an autonomous art. The great prestige subsequently enjoyed by symphonic music is wholly in keeping with the sense of artistic ambition underlying many of Cooke's large-scale mature works. In such music may be observed this learned endeavour to explore the language of harmony. This is most obvious in Cooke's contrapuntal part songs, his manipulation of the Common Scale and in his apparent attempts to enact Antoniotto's harmonic precepts. In these and many other instances may be observed a musical counterpart to Cooke's mathematical conception of harmony shown in *Musical Conjectures*.

It would, however, be wrong to argue that the picture is in all respects clear-cut. There is, at times, a dissonance between Cooke's aspiration for a language of

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