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Musical transfer and elite distinction

English attitudes to Italian music c. *1700*

THE TRANSFER AND translation of music across borders is a highly productive topic for musicological research. Manuscripts and printed sources can be studied as witnesses of how music moved over geographical boundaries, and sometimes these sources themselves were the vehicles that carried music between territories. Surviving compositions can be scrutinized for features that show the cross-currents of styles or the use of specific compositional models from other regions. Yet beyond the study of sources and styles, musical transfer can testify to the interplay of social, economic and political power. In some locations the social elite used foreign musical styles to signal their status. Elsewhere, foreign styles could meet with resistance or even xenophobia, as with the French opposition to Italian opera in the late 17th century.

This chapter examines how English patrons, collectors and amateur musicians around 1700 cultivated Italian music as a sign of their social distinction. The initial section focuses on the experiences of English tourists in Italy, using theoretical models of Norbert Elias and Pierre Bourdieu to understand how the acquisition of knowledge and collectables on the Grand Tour could signal elite status. The chapter then explores the role of James Sherard and William Sherard, two English botanists who supplied the elite with precious commodities, including exotic plants, rare books and foreign music. A final section investigates how James Sherard collected Italian instrumental music and assimilated its style via a commonplace book, before writing his own trio sonatas. In the years around 1700, certain genres of Italian music had rarity value in England, comparable to that of the tender plants that the Sherard brothers helped aristocrats cultivate in their gardens.

The Grand Tour and elite distinction

During the 17th and 18th centuries, a large number of Englishmen and some Englishwomen travelled to Italy as part of their Grand Tour. Extensive documentation survives from these journeys, in the form of correspondence and financial accounts held in various English archives. This section analyses the letters of two tourists to Rome, men of different social status. Wriothesley Russell (1680–1711) was one of the foremost aristocrats in England. Holding the title of Marquis of Tavistock, he visited Italy in 1698–1699, shortly before he would inherit the lands and title of Duke of Bedford. John Jackson (1673–1723), by contrast, was the son of a farmer and the nephew of the civil servant and diarist Samuel Pepys. Jackson benefited from his relation to Pepys, attending Cambridge University and then visiting Italy in 1699–1700. The letters of Russell and Jackson show how tourists' encounters with Italian art and music were complex processes that could reshape their notions of status, identity and cultural value.

Sociologists have developed various models for understanding the cultural and social behaviours through which power and elite distinction are cultivated and displayed. In his study of the 17th-century French court, Norbert Elias examined how its members indicated their status via etiquette and ceremony. Courtiers cultivated a code of civility and self-restraint in their deportment, gesture, table manners and conversation. This etiquette differentiated courtiers from those of lower status, yet was also emulated by those hoping to rise socially.[1] Elaborate rituals at court indicated the gradations of rank between different members—for instance, the king's dressing ceremony (*levée*), which certain groups of courtiers were permitted to observe as a sign of their intimacy with the monarch.[2] Elias further highlighted how the elite felt an "obligation to spend on a scale befitting one's rank",[3] pursuing a sumptuous lifestyle that included lavish clothing, feasts and entertainments. Here Elias adapted the notion of "conspicuous consumption"—originally developed by Thorstein Veblen with reference to American

1 Elias 1983, pp. 103–111.
2 Elias 1983, pp. 83–85.
3 Elias 1983, p. 67.

bourgeois society of the late 19th century—to an earlier, pre-bourgeois mentality.[4] Elias's model remains helpful for its attention to the specifics of the 17th century, and for fostering awareness of how rituals of demarcation were used at several levels, by courtiers to differentiate themselves as a group, and within this group to create further hierarchies of rank.

Also useful for understanding elite distinction in the early modern period is Pierre Bourdieu's theory of capital. The explanatory power of Bourdieu's theory is in his recognition that capital (defined as the accumulation of labour) exists in multiple forms, including economic capital such as wealth and property, social capital such as a network of acquaintances or membership of a specific social group, and cultural capital.[5] Cultural capital may exist in embodied forms such as an individual's education or taste, or in objectified forms such as cultural products that indicate taste. Different forms of capital can be exchanged to assert elite distinction in multiple ways: thus, a refined musical or artistic taste is not a disinterested aesthetic category but a form of cultural capital asserting the power of a dominant social group.[6] However, Bourdieu's theory of capital derives from his work on 1960s France and may not be fully appropriate for different European regions around 1700. Given its ahistorical nature, Bourdieu's work can encourage top-down or reductive accounts that overlook the complexities arising from the interlocking actions of individuals. Bourdieu has also been criticized by John Guillory for neglecting the economic structures through which capital circulated in different historical eras, a criticism to which I return below.[7]

In Bourdieu's terms, the Grand Tour can be analysed as the exchange of economic capital for cultural capital. By spending on travel, accommodation, and cultural objects and events, the traveller gained experience of continental practices, thereby acquiring knowledge and taste that would enhance his or her status back in England. The conversion of economic capital into cultural capital is illustrated by the Grand

4 Elias 1983, p. 67; Veblen 1899, pp. 68–101.
5 Bourdieu 1986, pp. 241–258.
6 Bourdieu 1979, pp. 59–60; English translation as Bourdieu 1984, p. 56.
7 Guillory 1997, pp. 386–387.

Tour of Wriothesley Russell to Rome. Russell belonged to one of the wealthiest families in England, the Dukes of Bedford, and in 1695 he married Elizabeth Howland, heiress to substantial estates east of London. On inheriting the lands and title of his grandfather in 1700, Russell estimated that his annual income exceeded £22,000.[8] This figure was eight times greater than the typical annual income that the statistician Gregory King ascribed to the 160 leading aristocratic families in 1688.[9] Because Russell was only 17 when he began his Grand Tour, his wealth at that point was held in trust for him, and payments for his Italian journey were carefully disbursed by his mother Lady Rachel Russell. Yet Russell still expected to spend on a scale in keeping with his aristocratic status.

Russell was keen to collect cultural objects, in an acquisitive manner that accords with Bourdieu's theories of the accumulation of cultural capital. In a letter of 8 March 1698, Russell rejected his sister's request that he buy "in every town something", but assured his mother that "where I meet with any thing that is very famous, I shall not fail to buy it".[10] In Rome he spent heavily on collectables, including books and music. Trying to justify this expenditure to Russell's mother, his tutor William Sherard wrote: "I find he does not care to be denied any thing he has a fancy to, but what he lays out besides necessary expenses, will be of some use or diversion at least to him when in England, as musick, prints, designs, books ... etc. w[hi]ch are all usually bought here."[11]

Further expenditure was incurred by Russell on gifts such as watches and decorative ribbons for cardinals and other members of the Roman elite with whom he wished to socialize. Writing to his mother, he explained: "It is absolutely necessary the expence should be great here & when it is for my honour & profit I am sure your La[dy] will not grudge it."[12] Here he voiced the obligation felt by the elite to spend heavily, as

8 Thomson 1940, p. 101.
9 King 1688.
10 Letter from Wriothesley Russell to Lady Rachel Russell, 8 March 1698. Chatsworth House, CS1/73.10.
11 Letter from William Sherard to Lady Rachel Russell, 27 September 1698. Chatsworth House, CS1/99.5.
12 Letter from William Sherard to Lady Rachel Russell, 27 September 1698. Chatsworth House, CS1/99.5.

observed by Elias; in this case, such expenditure would buy him social capital with the elite of Rome. Yet despite his family's wealth, Russell began to run out of funds in late 1698. Spending cash behind Sherard's back, he drew money from his mother's accounts and eventually took out a loan to pay his gambling debts.[13] Thus conspicuous consumption had its limits, even for a member of one of England's richest aristocratic families.

The Grand Tour allowed English visitors to acquire the courtly manners that Elias identified as a mark of social distinction. For many English travellers, the first stage in this process involved learning the etiquette used by the French elite and the Francophile courts in Northern Europe. At the start of his Grand Tour, Russell visited Francophile courts in German-speaking territories, including Wolfenbüttel and Berlin. When in Berlin, he boasted to his mother: "As for my French, here being nothing spoke but that in these Courts, I think I am justly well used to it now."[14] William Sherard reported to Lady Rachel that her son "has been received at all the courts, w[i]th ye greatest respect and civility imaginable", including at a banquet and ball at the Wolfenbüttel court.[15] By learning the etiquette required by Francophile courts, Russell indicated his high rank and ensured that he could hold his own with members of the European nobility.

On arriving in Italy, English tourists learned another set of manners to signal their social distinction. Describing his stay in Rome to his mother, Russell praised the "civility" of life there,[16] singling out the *conversazioni* (assemblies) held in the palaces of cardinals and nobility.

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13 Schwoerer 1987, pp. 210–212. Towards the end of his Grand Tour with Wriothesley Russell, Sherard complained about such spendthrift behaviour: "There is ten times the trouble w[i]th persons of distinction, especially where they sett up for equipage & figure w[hi]ch they are not willing to pay for." Letter from William Sherard to Hans Sloane, 11 April 1699. British Library, MS Sloane 4037, fol. 246*v*.

14 Letter from Wriothesley Russell to Lady Rachel Russell, 8 March 1698. Chatsworth House, CS1/73/10.

15 Letter from William Sherard to Lady Rachel Russell, 12 March 1698. Chatsworth House, CS1/99/3.

16 Letter from Wriothesley Russell to Lady Rachel Russell, 9 August 1698. Chatsworth House, CS1/73/12.

Other English travellers complained that the *conversazioni* could be dull,[17] but Russell boasted of his ability to enjoy these occasions:

> I think indeed we have in England one of the falsest Noceans of Rome in the world, we generally think that there is no such thing as Conversation & that all The Italians live so retired among themselves, that there is no seeing any of them, but this is one of the falsest things in the world, for I never saw any people use such excessive civility.[18]

He claimed that his successful initiation into the *conversazioni* reflected his aristocratic status: "a Gentleman may come to Rome and live there and not see anybody, but if he be of any quality it is his own fault".[19] Analysed in Bourdieu's terms, Russell was learning the codes of behaviour through which he could display and accumulate the social capital expected of his aristocratic status.

The Grand Tour also allowed visitors to develop their artistic taste, or embodied cultural capital, through their immersion in the visual arts and music available in Italian states. Almost all tourists attended the opera, not simply for entertainment, but also to develop their appreciation of Italian vocal and theatrical styles. Visiting Naples, Russell declared: "By this one may see part of the Carnival at Naples where the Operas are the finest of any part in Italy, Mr Sherrard thinks it will be much better than to see it at Venice".[20] Many tourists purchased librettos or manuscript scores to take home as souvenirs of the opera and as tokens of cultural prestige.[21] A significant number of visitors had lessons with Italian musicians: Russell had weekly violin lessons with Arcangelo Corelli, according to Sherard,[22] while other aristocrats had flute

17 Sweet 2012, pp. 138–139.
18 Letter from Wriothesley Russell to Lady Rachel Russell, 9 August 1698. Chatsworth House, CS1/73/12.
19 Letter from Wriothesley Russell to Lady Rachel Russell, 9 August 1698. Chatsworth House, CS1/73/12.
20 Letter from Wriothesley Russell to Lady Rachel Russell, 20 September 1698. Chatsworth House, CS/73/15.
21 McGeary 2021, p. 123.
22 "Corelli who comes once a week to my Lord". Letter from William Sherard

lessons.[23] Some English writers warned men of high rank to avoid music lessons at advanced levels, fearing that such accomplishments would undermine their masculinity or risk associating them with the lower status of occupational musicians.[24] Yet Russell's violin lessons suggest an effort to gain a degree of skill, and perhaps to bask in the reflected prestige of a famed musician such as Corelli.

In their encounters with Italian culture, travellers typically followed the advice of guidebooks, tutors, previous tourists or opinionated family members. Wriothesley Russell benefited from the cultural capital of his tutor, William Sherard. As he explained to his mother, "[Sherard] knows perfectly the ways of travelling, & carries one to the best company always, & besides knows the places where it is most usefull to stay long or not".[25] John Jackson received instructions from James Houblon, the merchant son of one of Samuel Pepys's friends, giving advice from his own experience on travel routes and unmissable sights such as the Holy Week ceremonies in Rome.[26] Pepys himself had never visited Italy and took "great satisfaction" in hearing about his nephew's activities there;[27] he nonetheless still offered advice to Jackson. On 11 March 1700 Pepys wrote to Jackson in Rome: "Since I have named musick, I hope you won't omit to hear the performance thereof at the Pope's Chappel, much celebrated for the voices unassisted by instruments".[28] Such recommendations could help build consensus about which cultural acts carried prestige or fame, as well as allowing those at home to flaunt their knowledge of Italian culture.

Yet for some English tourists, their first experiences of Italian culture could lead to incomprehension or uncertainty. Jackson followed Pepys's advice to attend the Sistine Chapel, but considered that the music did not match its reputation:

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to Humfrey Wanley, 13 September 1698. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Ballard 27, fol. *7r*.

23 McGeary 2021, p. 113.

24 Leppert 1988, pp. 19–20, 122–129.

25 Letter from Wriothesley Russell to Lady Rachel Russell, 8 March 1698. Chatsworth House, CS1/73.10.

26 Pepys 1926, vol. 1, pp. 181–187.

27 Pepys 1926, vol. 1, p. 291.

28 Pepys 1926, vol. 1, p. 299.

> This morning (after Mass) being, by publick advertisements, fixt for the Pope's giving his Benediction, wee went about 6 with Cardinal Sacrapanti to Chappell, where I heard once more the vocal musick you were pleased to recommend to my observation; but cannot think it, though fine, to answer entirely the characters given of it,—I fear for want of judgment on my part.[29]

Jackson diplomatically queried his own judgement, perhaps to avoid offending his uncle, or perhaps from uncertainty about the quality of the specific performance he had witnessed. His conflicted response shows that the process of gaining cultural capital involved negotiations between an individual's experience and the knowledge or practices that carried fame. The complexities of such negotiations are captured neither by Elias's model of individuals emulating elite practices, nor by Bourdieu's reductive theory of capital acquisition.

A further criticism of Bourdieu is his lack of engagement with the economic concepts and mechanisms that underpin the acquisition or exchange of different forms of capital.[30] In the case of English tourists to Italy, their letters and financial accounts document the transactions required to fund travel, accommodation, cultural activities and collectables, as well as the elaborate arrangements to transfer and obtain foreign currency. As a commoner, John Jackson's Grand Tour was funded largely by his uncle Samuel Pepys, who gave him cash payments before he left England, and ensured that letters of credit drawn on Italian merchants were honoured.[31] A network of contacts, partly reflecting Pepys's social capital, was necessary to supply Jackson with ongoing funds for his Grand Tour. Sometimes these transactions were reciprocal, as when Jackson acquired rare books or engravings for Pepys or his friends.[32] Further research into the specific transactions would help clarify the diverse meanings of capital at the end of the 17th century.

The letters of English tourists show how their acquisition of Italian culture served several interconnected purposes. The models of Elias

29 Pepys 1926, vol. 1, p. 313
30 Guillory 1997, pp. 386–387.
31 Pepys 1926, vol. 1, pp. 193, 284, 291.
32 Pepys 1926, vol. 1, pp. 249, 281, 287–288, 299, 301.

and Bourdieu illuminate how such activities could assert social distinction and economic power. Yet it is also important to emphasize the role of individual agency, including the varied reactions of tourists such as Jackson to the music they encountered, and the consequences of personal inclinations, such as Russell's tendency for extravagant expenditure. Furthermore, different individuals attributed varying levels of cultural capital to activities such as opera-going or music lessons. The individual stories of Grand Tourists thus stand in counterpoint to wider patterns for the acquisition of cultural capital.

Traders in rarities: William and James Sherard

Back in England, objects from overseas cultures such as Italy could be powerful symbols of social distinction. For scholars, Italian printed books and manuscripts were essential for their intellectual pursuits, as well as signalling their learned credentials. For aristocrats, collectables such as engraved art prints and sheet music could denote taste and wealth. The ongoing demand for foreign collectables was served by specialist agents who procured such items from their own travels and their networks of correspondents. This section focuses on the role of two such agents, the brothers William and James Sherard.

In modern biographies, the Sherard brothers are usually listed as botanists.[33] William Sherard (1659–1728) is known as author of *Schola botanica* (1689) and a contributor to several other botanical works of the period; he endowed the Sherardian Chair of Botany at Oxford University. James Sherard (1666–1738) cultivated a famed garden at his country residence of Eltham, where his collection of rare plants was described in the *Hortus Elthamensis* (1732) by the German botanist Johann Jacob Dillenius. In 1706 James was elected as a fellow of the Royal Society (the London club for scientific inquiry), and William was likewise elected in 1718. The brothers' extensive correspondence connected them with many leading botanical and scientific figures of the period, including the London physician Hans Sloane, the apothecary and botanist James Petiver and the Yorkshire botanist Richard Richardson, plus naturalists overseas such as Johann Philipp Breyne in Danzig, Jan

33 Allen 2013; Webb & Mandelbrote 2013.

Frederik Gronovius in Leiden and Mark Catesby in Virginia and Carolina.[34] In collecting and classifying botanical specimens from across the world, the Sherard brothers deployed skills and networks similar to those they used to obtain rare cultural objects.

For almost two decades, William Sherard lived or travelled overseas, where he identified and extracted valuable commodities for export to the elites of England. He gained experience of the Continent on trips in 1686–1688 and 1694–1696, during which he spent time in botanical gardens in France, the Low Countries and Italy. This knowledge of continental travel gave him the necessary cultural capital to act as tutor to Wriothesley Russell on his Grand Tour in 1698–1699. From 1703 to 1716, William was consul in Smyrna for the Levant Company, which regulated English trade with the Ottoman Empire. At Smyrna he oversaw the activities of English merchants, who traded manufactured goods such as textiles, steel and clocks for raw materials including silk and spice. His duties required skills of negotiation and diplomacy, upholding English interests in an Ottoman-ruled territory; he also collected coins and medals, and searched the local area for classical inscriptions and Mediterranean plants.[35] Thus many of William Sherard's activities involved gathering scientific knowledge to support the growing English trading empire in the late 17th century.

James Sherard, by contrast, was mainly based in London, where his work connected the artisanal knowledge of herbalists with the emerging science of botany. He was an apothecary—a predecessor of the modern pharmacist—using his knowledge of botany and chemistry to prepare medicines. Following an apprenticeship in the Chelsea Physic Garden, in the 1690s he set up business in Mark Lane, close to the River Thames and the Tower of London. Apothecaries were renowned for their far-reaching mercantile connections enabling them to obtain medicinal herbs from the British Isles and further afield. Sherard held a contract to supply the Royal Navy with medicine,[36] and he used his apothecary business to support his botanical interests, hosting displays

34 Letters received by William Sherard are preserved in London, The Royal Society, MSS 252–256.

35 Pasti 1950, pp. 121–169.

36 Rose 2014, p. x.

of rare plants and gatherings of botanists at his shop.[37] The botanical expertise of both James and William Sherard was in demand from the English elite, for whom it showed how the natural world could be harnessed to generate wealth and social distinction.

English aristocrats had long regarded their gardens as locations for pleasure, recreation and the contemplation of natural beauty. From the 1680s onwards, aristocrats were increasingly keen to include tender and exotic plants in their gardens.[38] According to a guide of 1706: "A Florist's Curiosity is not to be confin'd to his own Country, nor to such flowers as he might find there."[39] Displays of exotic plants indicated not only England's commercial and naval power in obtaining such rarities, but also the owner's ability to sustain such foreign flora in a cool climate with gardeners, enriched soil and heated glasshouses. Starting in 1689, heated greenhouses were constructed for Queen Mary's garden at Hampton Court, allowing the cultivation of "most rare plants from the Indies".[40]

Epitomizing this interest in the exotic was the English elite's fascination with the pineapple. In August 1661 John Evelyn commented on "the famous *Queene-pine*" brought from the English colony of Barbados and presented to King Charles II.[41] Seven years later, Evelyn commented on how "that rare fruit called the King-Pine" was served at a banquet for Charles II and the French ambassador.[42] A well-known portrait of Charles II shows him in a formal garden being presented with a pineapple, although this was probably a fruit from an imported plant or one ripened in England rather than wholly grown there (see *Figure 1*).[43] The difficulty of obtaining tropical fruit such as the pineapple—and the fleeting pleasure gained on eating it—made it a potent symbol of conspicuous consumption by the social elite.

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37 For an invitation to "a publick show of plants &c. where will meet most of the curious in those affairs" at Sherard's shop, see British Library, MS Sloane 4067, fol. 146*r*.

38 Drayton 2000, pp. 34–36.

39 Wise & London 1706, p. 295.

40 Mary Evelyn's account from 1691, quoted by Laird 2006, p. 158.

41 Evelyn 1955, p. 293 (9 August 1661).

42 Evelyn 1955, p. 513 (14 August 1668).

43 On the interpretation of this image, see Beauman 2005, pp. 49–52.

The letters of the Sherard brothers show how they enabled aristocrats to cultivate gardens replete with rare plants and fruits. In 1700–1701, William Sherard worked for the Beaufort family at their country seat at Badminton in Gloucestershire, where he helped the Duchess of Beaufort develop her gardens. He boasted: "Truly in a few years they will outdo any yet in Europe being furnishd w[i]th all ye conveniences imaginable, & a good stock of plants, to w[hi]ch I have added above 1500, & shall daily procure more from my correspondents abroad".[44] These included seeds from Sicily, Rome, Florence, Nuremberg, Holland and France.[45] James Sherard similarly showcased his ability to cultivate tender plants in his gardens and heated greenhouses at Eltham. William reported: "His Garden is in excellent state, ripe Coffee, ripe Papaia, Ananas, & a great number of plants not to be seen elsewhere in Engl[an]d."[46] William even claimed: "So far Eltham outdoes the King's garden."[47] That Sherard's head gardener, Thomas Knowlton, subsequently cultivated pineapples for James Brydges, Duke of Chandos, reinforces how the cultivation of tropical plants and fruit was regarded as a marker of social distinction.[48]

Alongside their trade in exotic plants, the Sherard brothers supplied rare books, manuscripts and antiquities. During his travels with Wriothesley Russell, William visited book dealers and attended auctions of the libraries of recently deceased collectors. He sent scientific books to Sloane and botanists such as Richardson, and acquired rare books for Humfrey Wanley and Wanley's patron the Earl of Oxford.[49] Although William told Sloane, "I design no profitt",[50] his trade was evidently

44 William Sherard to Richard Richardson, 1 March 1701. Bodleian Library, MS Radcliffe Trust c.1, fol. 46*r*.

45 William Sherard to James Petiver, 11 December 1700. British Library, MS Sloane 4063, fols 54*v*–55*r*.

46 William Sherard to Richard Richardson, 6 October 1724. Bodleian Library, MS Radcliffe Trust, c.5, fol. 70*v*.

47 William Sherard to Richard Richardson, 2 November 1723. Bodleian Library, MS Radcliffe Trust, c.5, fol. 23*r*.

48 Henrey 1986, pp. 36–44.

49 Royal Society, MSS 252–6, letters 454, 456, 648, 650.

50 William Sherard to Hans Sloane, 9 May 1698. British Library, MS Sloane 4037, fol. 64*r*.

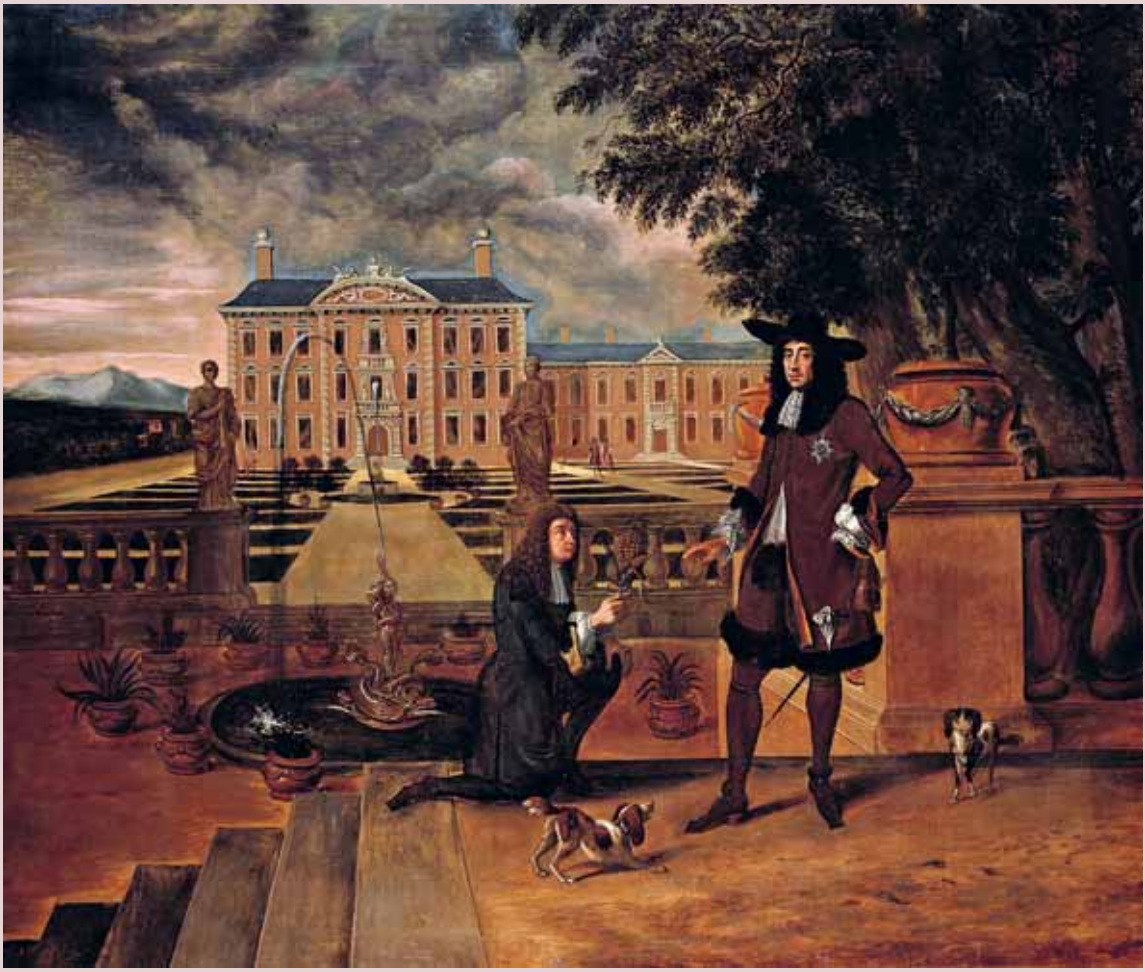

Figure 1. Charles II Presented with a Pineapple, *c.* 1675–1680. Royal Collection Trust, RCIN 406896.

lucrative. The physician Tancred Robinson claimed that when William returned to England from the Grand Tour with Russell, he sold "above 900 vol[umes] by publick Auction, which went of very high [prices] [...] besides he sold 500 vol[umes] more privately at excessive rates".[51] Sheet music too was procured by William. In 1698 he wrote from Rome to Wanley: "As to musick, I sent last time from Italy as much as cost me above 30 pistolas."[52] In 1720 William was offered a music library by Giuseppe Monti, professor of natural history in Bologna, including treatises by Bononcini, Gasparini and Penna, and printed music by Boni, Marcello, Torelli and Vivaldi.[53]

James Sherard's connections were essential for this trade in rarities. At Mark Lane he was in regular contact with boats arriving at and leaving London's docks. Through the docks he received raw materials for his apothecary's shop and dispatched medicines to the Navy.[54] He also acted as an intermediary for his brother's trade in botanical specimens and rare books, forwarding shipments to and from English collectors. In 1698 James received parcels of books sent from Italy by William, passing them to Sloane and other clients.[55] Between 1703 and 1716 James organized shipments to William in Smyrna, writing to Sloane to obtain books requested by his brother: "There is now an opportunity of loading and [I] therefore beg if they are ready that you'l please to let them be sent to my house by first occasion for I am told the ships are almost full & will be going in a little time."[56] Although few of James's letters survive, these glimpses of his mercantile connections suggest his ability to import rarities of interest to an elite clientele. Books and music thus circulated in the same networks used to share scientific know-

51 Tancred Robinson to Martin Lister, 26 March 1700. Bodleian Library, MS Lister 37, fol. 26*r*.

52 William Sherard to Humfrey Wanley, 13 September 1698. Bodleian Library, MS Ballard 27, fol. 7*r*. The pistola is a Spanish gold coin.

53 Giuseppe Monti to William Sherard, 22 December 1720. Royal Society, MS 254, letter 369.

54 Kew, National Archives, ADM 99/2, 19 August 1702.

55 William Sherard to Hans Sloane, 9 and 16 May 1698. British Library, MS Sloane 4037, fols 64*r*, 75*r*.

56 James Sherard to Hans Sloane, 26 June 1705. British Library, MS Sloane 4041, fol. 165*r*.

ledge and to transport commodities and botanical specimens across England's expanding trading empire.

James Sherard and Italian music

James Sherard was not only involved in the import of rarities; he was also a recreational musician, who "played finely on the violin",[57] and was a viola da gamba player and an accomplished composer. Many of his music manuscripts are preserved in the Music School Collection of the Bodleian Library, Oxford, although these have few indications of provenance and can be identified only through careful study of handwriting and concordances. They include repertory for viola da gamba associated with the musician Gottfried Finger's activity in England around 1690.[58] By the late 1690s Sherard's interests turned towards the trio sonata in Corellian style, and in 1701 his Opus 1 trio sonatas were published by Estienne Roger in Amsterdam, with a dedication to Wriothesley Russell. They are among the first trio sonatas in Corellian style to be written by an English musician. Elsewhere I have outlined new discoveries regarding Sherard's activities as a music collector.[59] This section summarizes the ways in which Sherard obtained Italian instrumental music and assimilated its style. He regarded the Italian trio sonata as a set of models that could be emulated, and he compared his own enterprise composing in this style to that of raising exotic plants in an English climate.

Central to understanding Sherard's musical collection is his commonplace book, currently preserved as Bodleian Library Mus. Sch. A.641. It consists of nine foolscap sheets of manuscript music, each with 16 five-line staves.[60] These sheets contain over 150 extracts from trio sonatas, mostly unattributed apart from those that Sherard marked as his own work with his initials (see *Figure 2*). The "J. S." initials and their similarity to the handwriting in Sherard's letters are the main rea-

57 Hawkins 1853, vol. 2, p. 186.

58 Rawson 2002, pp. 39–42.

59 Rose 2020.

60 In the English paper trade of the early modern era, the term 'foolscap' denoted a sheet measuring approx. 320 × 420 mm, often with a watermark containing the fool's cap. See Thompson 2012, pp. 22–23.

sons for ascribing the commonplace book to him. The excerpts are organized according to headers for 14 keys from G minor to E-flat major, generally indicating the key of the sonatas from which the extracts were taken. By copying extracts and organizing them under headers, Sherard was using the same principles recommended by humanists and 16th-century educationalists to students for collecting, filing and retrieving excerpts from their reading. Such a commonplace book could be the starting point for the technique of literary *imitatio*, whereby students created their own inventions modelled on the works of renowned authors.[61]

Over 50 of the excerpts in Sherard's commonplace book can be identified, despite the lack of ascriptions.[62] Many come from influential and widely circulated publications of trio sonatas of the early 1680s: Arcangelo Corelli's Opus 1 (Rome, 1681), Giovanni Battista Bassani's Opus 5 (Bologna, 1683) and Henry Purcell's *Sonnata's of III Parts* (London, 1683). Other extracts are from works available in manuscript in England during the 1680s, such as Corelli's Sonata in A major WoO5, the Sonata in A major 'La Rospa' ascribed elsewhere to Corelli or Lelio Colista, and a Sonata in D major attributed to Carlo Ambrogio Lonati. Further excerpts in Sherard's book come from lesser-known Italian publications of the 1690s, including Antonio Luigi Baldassini's Opus 1 (Rome, 1691), Ippolito Boccaletti's Opus 1 (Venice, 1692) and Giovanni Maria Ruggieri's Opus 4 (Venice, 1697).[63]

Sherard's choice and ordering of extracts in his commonplace book show how he assimilated and emulated the harmonic formulae of the Italianate trio sonata. Typically each section of his notebook starts with unattributed excerpts, followed by Sherard's exercises using the same harmonic or contrapuntal devices. *Figure 2* shows folio 28*v*, containing extracts from sonatas in E minor. The header ("E") is at the top of the page. The page starts with a modulatory passage from Purcell's 1683 Sonata No. 7, which moves via a downward sequence from D major to the dominant chord of E minor. This extract is immediately followed by an excerpt that Sherard identifies as his own, which similarly modulates via

61 Moss 1996.
62 Rose 2020, pp. 364–367.
63 Rose 2020, pp. 364–367.

a descending sequence from E minor to G major. On the second and third systems are four extracts from Baldassini's Opus 1 no. 3, including an ascending sequence in which each note in the bass is figured 5 then 6; this harmonic pattern is copied by Sherard in the extract he identifies as his own work on the fourth system. The 5–6 sequence was one of the formulae crucial to the Corellian style, being identified as such by Francesco Gasparini's *L'armonico pratico al cimbalo* (Venice, 1708). Other pages of the commonplace book similarly show Sherard extracting and practising sequential and modulatory passages. It is likely that these exercises were in preparation for his composition of his own trio sonatas Opus 1, although there are few direct parallels between the passages sketched in the commonplace book and the finished sonatas.

By indicating the music available to Sherard, his commonplace book permits identification of other printed and manuscript items associated with him and now preserved in the Bodleian Library. As mentioned above, his commonplace book contains extracts from Boccaletti's Opus 1, a printed version of which survives in the Bodleian's Music School Collection.[64] This is the only extant UK copy of this collection (and one of only six surviving copies worldwide),[65] and is therefore likely to be Sherard's exemplar. It is preserved in thick grey paper covers; details of the composer and work are inscribed in a neat, unknown hand on the violin 1 part, and in Sherard's hand on the organo part (identified by his distinctive shaping of the letters "B", "S" and "L"). About 40 partbook sets of Italian printed instrumental music in the Music School Collection have similar grey paper covers bearing inscriptions indicating the composer's name and the work's title; often these inscriptions include Sherard's hand on the violoncello or organo part (which perhaps he used in performance). The repertory includes collections printed in Bologna between 1673 and 1695. It seems likely that this group of about 40 partbook sets was a bulk purchase from Italy in the late 1690s, and subsequently owned by Sherard.[66]

Dedicating his Opus 1 trio sonatas to Wriothesley Russell in 1701,

64 Bodleian Library, Mus.Sch.D.356–359.

65 Details of surviving copies from *Répertoire International des Sources Musicales* (RISM Online).

66 For a list of these partbook collections, see Rose 2020, pp. 376–377.

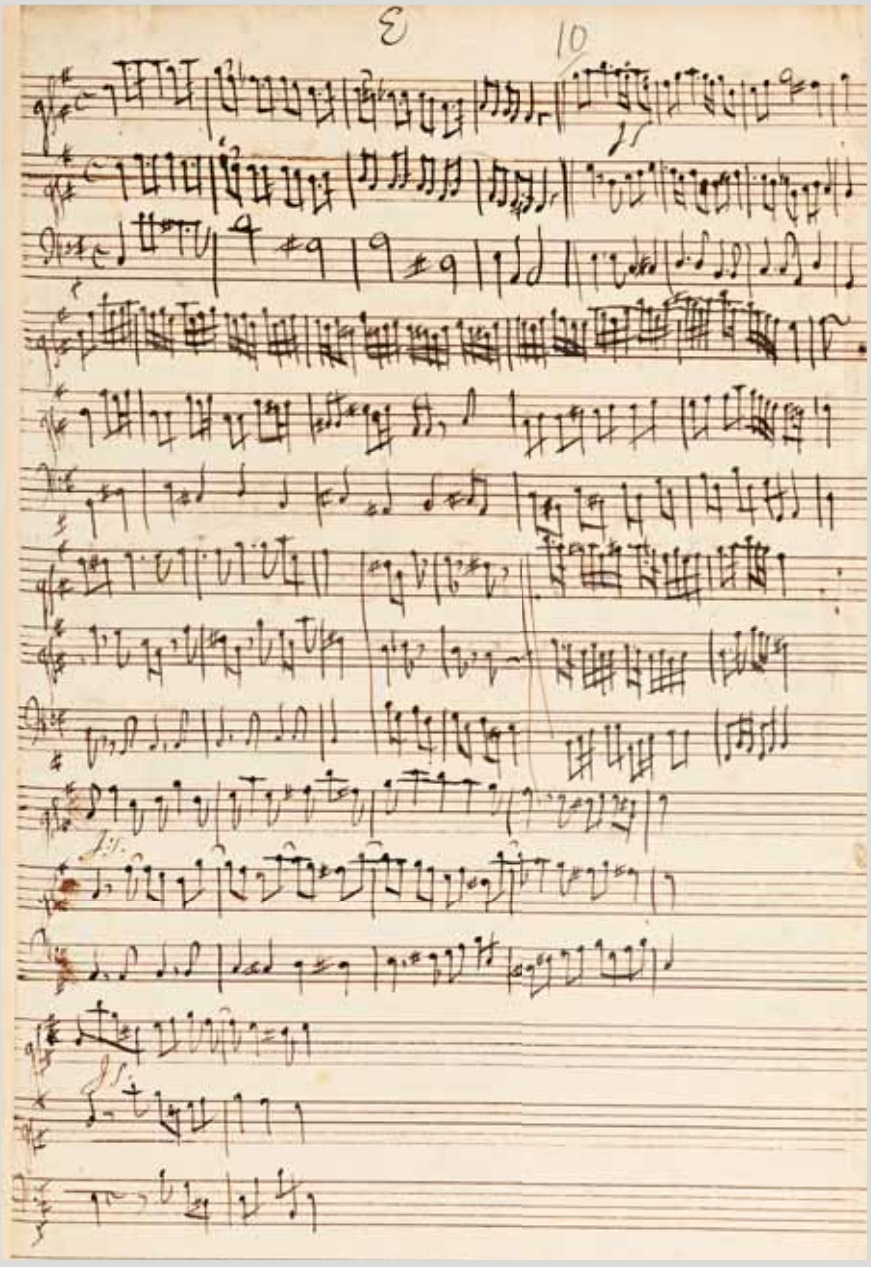

Figure 2. James Sherard's commonplace book, extracts in E minor. The Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford, Mus.Sch.A.641, folio 28*v*. Initials "J. S." denote extracts of his own invention.

Sherard said that the pieces had been performed before Russell, and he claimed they were an indirect result of Russell's Italian trip: "since by my Brother's attendance on your Grace abroad, I was furnish'd with Books, and other Materialls, which gave me the first taste and acquaintance with the Italian Musick".[67] It is plausible that the large group of partbooks would be among those "Books and other Materialls" that strengthened Sherard's acquaintance with Italian instrumental music, and his commonplace book enabled him to assimilate the musical styles within it.

In the dedication of his Opus 1 collection, Sherard adapted a conventional metaphor about how the climate and soil of Italy and England shaped their respective cultures: "Your Grace will find indeed as great disparity betwixt [the Italian Musick] and what is here offer'd you, as betwixt their fruits, and such as we raise from their Stocks, but I know your Grace will make allowances for the difference of Soil, and Climate, and not wholly blame the industry of the Planter." With this horticultural metaphor, Sherard evoked a long tradition of comparing musical collections to flowers or gardens.[68] Titles such as *Fiori musicali* or *Hortus musicus* suggested not only how music could contribute to the multisensory pleasure associated with gardens, but also how a musical collection required careful acts of cultivation and pruning. Sherard's metaphor of transplanting Italian flora to England emphasized his "industry" involved in developing the Corellian style for Wriothesley Russell, similar to how his botanical experiments showed how human artifice could harness the natural world for the benefit of individuals.

Sherard's horticultural metaphor also suggests the novelty of the Corellian style in England around 1700. For present-day listeners, the musical language of the Corellian trio sonata may sound highly conventional in its delineation of strongly tonal phrases and cadences. Yet in the late 1690s, English attempts to emulate this style were associated with aristocratic patrons displaying their appreciation of the latest continental taste.[69] Sherard's metaphor implies that trio sonatas were as exotic as the oranges and pineapples that aristocrats aspired to grow in

67 Sherard 1701, dedication.
68 Cypess 2022.
69 Cunningham 2018.

their garden hothouses. Listening to them would be a similar sensual pleasure—intense but fleeting—to eating exotic fruit. Transplanted to English soil, these rarities were intended to arouse awe at the status of the patrons who cultivated them.

Conclusion

This chapter has related the English taste for Italian music in the late 1690s to broader ways in which the elite signalled their distinction. English travellers on the Grand Tour acquired musical materials and knowledge alongside other accomplishments, including the etiquette of civility and an ability to discuss classical and contemporary visual art. More widely, the acquisition of Italian music can be compared to the importation of rarities such as exotic plants and tender fruits, commodities obtained for English aristocrats through the nation's trading empire and naval power. The theoretical models of Norbert Elias and Pierre Bourdieu illuminate how the elite defined their status via acts of conspicuous consumption, emulation of etiquette and the accumulation of cultural capital. However, these models are less successful in accounting for the diverse ways in which individuals responded to their encounters with foreign cultures.

This chapter has shed new light on the routes and mechanisms through which Italian music reached England. The transfer of music depended on intermediaries, including those who guided tourists during their visits to Italian cities, and on agents such as William Sherard who scoured continental bookshops and auction sales for material requested by clients in England. Also significant were those involved in operating postal systems and the merchants and bankers who enabled financial transactions across borders via letters of credit and bills of exchange. Further research into these financial transactions would add historical and material specifics to Bourdieu's broad assertions about how economic capital was transformed into social or cultural capital.

Insights have also been gained into the process of *imitatio* whereby musicians emulated praiseworthy styles. Sherard's commonplace book shows him using long-established humanist techniques to assimilate the Corellian style through collecting, ordering and imitating excerpts,

in preparation for composing his own trio sonatas. Sherard described himself as "no profest Musician"[70] and he therefore may be unrepresentative of wider practices, but his book shows one way in which musicians used compositional models. The discovery of his commonplace book should encourage musicologists to re-examine other manuscript miscellanies of extracts, in case these also show an ordering system such as tonal headers that would suggest they too functioned as commonplace books. Close study of archival and manuscript material will thereby enable a greater understanding of how music was transferred and emulated within broader displays of elite distinction.

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70 Sherard 1701, dedication.

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