

## The Craft of Creativity: James Sherard's Opus 2

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# THE CRAFT OF CREATIVITY: JAMES SHERARD'S, OPUS 2

JOHN CUNNINGHAM

## Introduction

Scholarly discussions of the trio sonata in England generally focus on Purcell and Corelli. Purcell was the first English composer to seriously engage with the genre. As is well known, he published a set of twelve sonatas in 1683; his widow issued a set of ten in 1697. Corelli's sonatas were known in England by at least the 1690s and remained hugely popular throughout much of the eighteenth century.<sup>1</sup> Little attention has been paid, however, to other composers working in England who wrote trio sonatas, especially native composers.<sup>2</sup> A dozen sonatas survive by composers (other than Purcell) working in England during the reign of Charles II, including works by John Blow, Robert King, Isaac Blackwell and Sampson Estwick.<sup>3</sup> All are single sonatas, none were printed. Indeed, the only collection of sonatas to be printed in England between Purcell's two collections was Gottfried Finger's *Sonatae XII. Pro Diversis Instrumentis* (1688).<sup>4</sup> The dawn of the new century, however, brought with it a more sustained engagement with the trio sonata among composers working in England. Between c1700–15 there were at least eighteen collections of ensemble sonatas issued in London, of which more than half were by native composers: William Williams, William Corbett, Matthew Novell, William Topham, Daniel Purcell and James Sherard.<sup>5</sup> The impetus for this lay in the increased appetite for Italian music but also in the expansion of the competitive music printing market in London through the emergence of John Walsh and agents of Estienne Roger.<sup>6</sup>

Time has largely forgotten these 'English' trio sonatas and their composers.<sup>7</sup> To the best of my knowledge, only William Williams' collection is available complete in a commercial recording.<sup>8</sup>

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Part of the research for this essay was conducted during my Sassoon Visiting Fellowship at the Bodleian Library (July 2018). Illustrations 3–9 are reproduced by permission of the Bodleian Library.

<sup>1</sup> See, O. Edwards, 'The Response to Corelli's Music in Eighteenth-Century England', *Studia Musicologica Norvegica*, 2 (1977), 51–96; P. Allsop, *Arcangelo Corelli: New Orpheus of our Times* (Oxford, 1999), chapter 11, especially 188–199; L. Bowring, "'The coming over of the works of the great Corelli': The Influence of Italian Violin Repertoire in London, 1675–1705", in *Reappraising the Seicento: Composition, Dissemination, Assimilation*, ed. J. P. Wainwright, J. Knowles, A. Cheetham (Newcastle, 2014), 181–212.

<sup>2</sup> See J. Cunningham, "'Faint copies" and "excellent Originals": Composition and Consumption of Trio Sonatas in England, c.1695–1714', in *Eine Geographie der Triosonate*, ed. I. M. Groote and M. Giuggioli, Publikationen der Schweizerischen Musikforschenden Gesellschaft: Serie II (Bern, 2018), 111–138. See also, M. Tilmouth, 'Chamber Music in England, 1675–1720' (PhD thesis, University of Cambridge, 1960) and M.-J. Kang, 'The Trio Sonata in Restoration England (1660–1714)' (PhD thesis, University of Leeds, 2008).

<sup>3</sup> These sonatas are all edited in *Restoration Trio Sonatas*, ed. P. Holman and J. Cunningham, Purcell Society Companion Series 4 (London, 2012). The sonatas by Estwick and Blackwell survive incomplete. See also the introduction to that volume for a comprehensive survey of the English context to c1685.

<sup>4</sup> It was reprinted by Estienne Roger c1700. Several sonatas from Finger's collection were included in *Restoration Music for Three Violins, Bass Viol and Continuo*, ed. P. Holman and J. Cunningham, Musica Britannica 103 (London, 2018).

<sup>5</sup> For these, see Cunningham, "'Faint copies" and "excellent Originals". To this list can be added the gentleman composer Robert Orme, though only a single sonata of his was printed.

<sup>6</sup> For context, see also H. D. Johnstone, 'Music in the Home I', in *The Blackwell History of Music in Britain: The Eighteenth Century*, ed. H. D. Johnstone and R. Fiske (Oxford, 1990), especially 173–188.

<sup>7</sup> They have all been edited by the present author and will be freely available online in score and parts: *Early Eighteenth-Century English Trio Sonatas*, ed. J. Cunningham (forthcoming).

<sup>8</sup> *William Williams: Trio Sonatas*, Camerata Köln (2002). cpo 999 813-2.

Composers such as Williams were heavily influenced by Corelli and thus often dismissed for their stylistic dependence.<sup>9</sup> This perspective implies that composers of the period sought to achieve originality, whereas, as Rebecca Herissone has shown that the principles of *imitatio* ('the study, and analysis and emulation of works by admired authors') and *emulatio* ('an attempt to improve on and surpass the module, so that it was no longer detectable') still served as primary compositional techniques into the early eighteenth century, resulting 'in a highly developed sense of continuity with the creative practices of past generations'.<sup>10</sup> Moreover, the question has yet to be addressed of why the trio sonata was largely ignored by composers of more significant talent (e.g. John Eccles, William Croft, John Weldon et al.).<sup>11</sup> Nevertheless, the 'English' trio sonatas can tell us a great deal about the assimilation of the Italian style in England, and when viewed as cultural documents (rather than purely as musical ones) they can deepen our understanding of the commercial music market in London in the early eighteenth century. For example, many of these collections also carry dedications to members of the nobility, suggesting that they benefitted from – or perhaps depended upon – traditional forms of patronage.<sup>12</sup>

One of the peculiarities of these early eighteenth-century 'English' trio sonatas is that so few manuscript sources survive.<sup>13</sup> Indeed, for some of the printed collections only a single copy is extant,<sup>14</sup> and Corbett's Op. 4, book 2 (1713) survives incomplete, lacking the violin 2 part for two sonatas. So far only two manuscript sources of this repertoire have come to light.<sup>15</sup> One is an incomplete and poorly copied set of violin parts for several of Matthew Novell's *da chiesa* sonatas published in 1704.<sup>16</sup> The other – the subject of this article – is a set of parts for James Sherard's second collection of trio sonatas published by Roger c1715–16. Housed in the Bodleian Library as MS Mus.Sch.D.252, the manuscript parts were professionally copied by a scribe associated with Sherard. Mentioned only in passing by Michael Tilmouth in his 1966 article on Sherard,<sup>17</sup> D.252 was first brought to light by Margaret Crum in her 1982 paper on the Sherard collection. The passage is worth quoting in full:

It happened at the first instance rather by chance that I looked into the set of part-books titled 'Sonate di Giacomo Sherard. Opera secunda', because I knew nothing about James Sherard and nobody ever asked about this manuscript. The music was

<sup>9</sup> For example, John H. Baron's dismissal of William Topham's Opus 3 (1709) sonatas as showing 'little invention and much imitation of Corelli': *Intimate Music: A History of the Idea of Chamber Music* (New York, 1998), 117.

<sup>10</sup> See, Herissone, *Musical Creativity in Restoration England* (Cambridge, 2013), especially chapter 1; quotations are from *ibid.*, 4, 5 and 60, respectively. See Cunningham, "Faint copies" and "excellent Originals".

<sup>11</sup> There are four sonatas written by William Croft but they are found in only a single manuscript source, copied by one of Croft's apprentices. It is not known exactly when the Croft sonatas were written or for whom. It may well be that these sonatas were written as a compositional exercise, in a similar way to Purcell's fantasias; Harry Johnstone has suggested that they may have been performed at Thomas Britton's Clerkenwell concerts: *William Croft: Complete Chamber Music*, ed. H. D. Johnstone, Musica Britannica 88 (London, 2009), p. xxiv. Croft's trio sonatas are unremarkable and in the Corelli mould, though as Johnstone notes, 'the resemblance [of the last movement of Croft's sonata in E minor] to the corresponding movement of sonata 8 in Purcell's 1697 set is so close that it can only be a deliberate parody' (op. cit., pp. xxiv–xxv).

<sup>12</sup> See Cunningham, "Faint copies" and "excellent Originals".

<sup>13</sup> Kang, 'The Trio Sonata in Restoration England' lists around 60 manuscripts of English provenance (to c1715) that include trio sonatas.

<sup>14</sup> For example, only single copies of both the 1700 and 1703 editions of William Williams' Op. 1 are extant.

<sup>15</sup> I am here excluding the sonatas of Johann Christoph Pepusch, who began to compose à due sonatas soon after his arrival in England in 1697 (see Kang, 'The Trio Sonata in Restoration England', 146–147). No autograph sources survive for the sonatas of Blow, King, Blackwell or Estwick (see above).

<sup>16</sup> Lbl, Tyson MS 2, a manuscript compiled around the turn of the eighteenth century; it includes violin parts for Novell's sonatas 3, 4, 8, 10, 11 and 12. Novell's collection was reprinted in 1705. Little else was known about Novell until Michael Talbot's recent article: 'The Mysterious Matthew Novell: An English Imitator of Corelli', *Music & Letters*, 98/3 (2017), 343–364.

<sup>17</sup> M. Tilmouth, 'James Sherard: An English Amateur Composer', *Music & Letters*, 47/4 (1966), 313–322, at 318, fn. 13.

transcribed by a copyist (in a style rather similar to that of the hands that worked together in the big Rawlinson part-books) but there are alterations (in another hand) of a kind that suggest the composer himself. There are minor alterations, such as added markings of tempo or dynamics, and changes of notes so that (for example) a brief melody may be substituted for one held note, or a few notes in a part may be altered. Some more substantial rewritings was done on pieces of paper pasted over the old copy. Sometimes a whole page will have been crossed through and the word “new” written at the top of the page. The correcting hand is of course James Sherard’s.<sup>18</sup>

As Crum notes, the manuscript preserves early versions of several movements of the sonatas, as well as Sherard’s annotations and revisions, offering a rare glimpse into his creative process. This article offers the first detailed examination of D.252, discussing the ways in which Sherard developed his compositional ideas, especially within the context of Herissone’s recent work on musical creativity in the Restoration.<sup>19</sup>

## James Sherard

James Sherard is today best known for his two collections of trio sonatas, published by Estienne Roger. Indeed, of the composers listed above his name is arguably the most familiar. As the details of Sherard’s life have been discussed elsewhere,<sup>20</sup> we can here limit ourselves to the essential points. Born in 1666 he trained as an apothecary before opening his own successful shop in London in the early 1680s; by his death in 1738 he had amassed a fortune of over £150,000 and owned several properties.<sup>21</sup> In the late 1690s Sherard became associated with the Russell family, one of the wealthiest in the country. Sherard’s brother, William, accompanied the then Marquess of Tavistock, Wriothesley Russell (1680–1711) on his Grand Tour in 1698–99. Russell became the second Duke of Bedford in 1700. In the decade before his untimely death from smallpox on 26 May 1711 Russell cultivated a musical household, employing Nicola Haym and Nicola Cosimi, whom he brought back with him from Rome. The musicians arrived in England in March 1701 and stayed at Southampton House, the Russell family’s London residence. Cosimi returned to Italy in 1705; Haym remained in the Russell household until the Duke’s death.<sup>22</sup> James Sherard fitted well into such company. A gifted composer and musician, according to Hawkins Sherard was a capable violinist.<sup>23</sup> Peter Holman has pointed out, however,

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<sup>18</sup> M. Crum, ‘James Sherard and the Oxford Music School Collection’, paper read to the Oxford Bibliographical Society (1982) (typed transcript in the Bodleian Library). In the *Revised Description* (GB-Ob, MUS.AC.4) Crum described the manuscript thus: ‘in the hand of a professional copyist. Corrections were made by Sherard (e.g., fols. 4, 5, 46) and sections were crossed out and marked ‘New’, indicating that the passage had been rewritten. Published by Estienne Roger, ca. 1715. Large upright 4°, 58 leaves. Each part is a single quire. Watermark bend and lily, LVG. Ruling 12 5-lined staves, red marginal ruling. The parts had no covers. Music School B 4. 12. Hake no. CXVI.’ The only other significant comment on the manuscript is in S. Rose, ‘James Sherard as Music Collector’, *Musical Exchange between Britain and Europe 1500–1800: Essays in Honour of Peter Holman*, ed. J. Cunningham and B. White (Woodbridge, 2020), 357–379, at 375, see below.

<sup>19</sup> *Musical Creativity in Restoration England* (Cambridge, 2013).

<sup>20</sup> For Sherard, see especially Tilmouth, ‘James Sherard: An English Amateur Composer’; M. Tilmouth and R. Thompson, ‘James [Giacomo] Sherard [Sharwood]’, *GMO* (accessed 9 July 2023); W.W. Webb, rev. Scott Mandelbrote, ‘James Sherard’, *ODNB* (accessed 9 July 2023).

<sup>21</sup> PROB 11/688/95.

<sup>22</sup> For Cosimi, see L. Lindgren, ‘Nicola Cosimi in London, 1701–1705’, *Studi Musicali* xi (1982), 229–248; for Haym, see *Nicola Haym: Complete Sonatas*, parts 1 and 2, ed. L. Lindgren, Recent Researches in the Music of the Baroque Era 116–117, Madison WI, (2002).

<sup>23</sup> Sir John Hawkins described as playing ‘finely on the violin’ (*A General History of the Science and Practice of Music* (London, 1776; 2/1853; repr. 1963), ii. 806). A note in a British Library copy of Sherard’s Opus 2 (violin 1 book) by a former owner ‘W<sup>m</sup>. Salter, Surgeon & Apothecary. Whitechapel’ similarly recalled: ‘M<sup>r</sup>. Sherard was an Apothecary



that Sherard's music library (see below) suggests that he was a gamba player, likely a student of Gottfried Finger.<sup>24</sup>

Through Estienne Roger, Sherard published two collections of *da chiesa* trio sonatas, which must have been among the repertoire performed at Southampton House. The first collection has an ornately engraved titlepage, including the Russell coat of arms and family motto, 'Che sara, sara': *Sonate à Tré doi Violini, e Violone col Basso per l'Organo, Di Giacomo Sherard Filarmonico, Opera Prima* (Illustration 1). The titlepage of the second collection bears only text: *Sonate a Tre doi Violini, Violoncello e Basso Continuo Di Giacomo Sherard Filarmonico, e Uno dei Membri della Societa Reale di Londra, Opera Seconda*. Both collections are undated.<sup>25</sup> The first, dedicated to Wriothsesley Russell, was advertised in September 1701. Sherard's second set of sonatas have been dated by some scholars to c1711.<sup>26</sup> Michael Tilmouth suggested that the death of the young duke marked an end for Sherard's interest in music, who dedicated the rest of his life to botany.<sup>27</sup> The sombre text-only titlepage of Op. 2 could be seen as a reflection of the shift in the Russell household after the death of the second Duke. The titlepage of Sherard's Op. 2 refers to his fellowship of the Royal Society of London, which he received in 1706. However, the earliest reference to the collection in Roger's catalogues is from 1715–16.<sup>28</sup> In her 1940 account of the Russell family, Gladys Scott Thompson made reference to a copy of Sherard's Op. 2 at Woburn Abbey, Bedfordshire, the principal family seat of the Bedford family since the 1620s: '[Sherard's] best known and most complete work, a sonata for three instruments, violin, violoncello and bass, was, however, only completed after Wriothsesley's death and so was dedicated not to the latter, but to his young son [also Wriothsesley]. The parts of the music, in their original bindings, remain still at Woburn'.<sup>29</sup> Unfortunately Tilmouth reported the copy as 'misaid' by the mid-1960s; its loss is all the more frustrating given that it 'apparently contained other documents relating to the Duke's musicians'.<sup>30</sup> According to RISM, only five copies of Op. 2 are known:<sup>31</sup>

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in Crutched-Friers about the year 1735, performed well on the Violin, was very intimate with Handel & other Masters'. Salter dated the set '1789'. The copy suggests that they were used in performance, with Salter singling-out Sonatas 4 ('very good'), 8 ('good') for particular praise.

<sup>24</sup> See, R. Rawson, 'From Olomouc to London: The Early Music of Gottfried Finger (c.1655–1730)', 2 vols. (PhD thesis, Royal Holloway, University of London, 2002), especially, i. 37–42; P. Holman, *Life After Death: The Viola da Gamba in Britain from Purcell to Dolmetsch* (Woodbridge, 2010), 78–80.

<sup>25</sup> Between RISM and R. Rasch, *The Music Publishing House of Estienne Roger* (<<https://roger.sites.uu.nl/catalogue/>>) there are at least nine surviving copies of his Opus 1 (not all complete). Additionally a violin 1 book is in the present author's possession, and another is listed among the contents of the music collection at Burghley House near Stamford: see, G. Gifford (compiler), *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Music Collection at Burghley House, Stamford* (Aldershot, 2002). Another copy is at Woburn Abbey: see, Tilmouth, 'James Sherard: An English Amateur Composer', especially 317, and Crum, 'James Sherard and the Oxford Music School Collection'. A copy of Sherard's Op. 1 was among the items in the library of Thomas Britton, auctioned after his death in 1714: see, Kang, 'The Trio Sonata in Restoration England', 58–61.

<sup>26</sup> Tilmouth, 'James Sherard: An English Amateur Composer'; R. Shay and R. Thompson, *Purcell Manuscripts: The Principal Musical Sources* (Cambridge, 2000); Herissone, *Musical Creativity in Restoration England*. The British Library online catalogue gives a date of ?c1725.

<sup>27</sup> Tilmouth, 'James Sherard: An English Amateur Composer'.

<sup>28</sup> Rasch, *The Music Publishing House of Estienne Roger*; the plate number is 398. There is a facsimile of Op. 2, with continuo realization by Ian Clarke: *James Sherard: Twelve Trio Sonatas, Opus 2*, facsimile edition with introduction by M. Gilmore (Oxford, 1986), though see also Tilmouth's review in *Music & Letters*, 69/1 (1988), 129–131.

<sup>29</sup> *The Russells in Bloomsbury, 1669–1771* (London, 1940), 131. The plate number for Opus 2 is 398, which suggests a date of 1716: see R. Rasch, "'La famoso mano di Monsieur Roger': Antonio Vivaldi and his Dutch Publishers", *Informazioni e studi Vivaldiani* 17 (1996), 89–135, especially 96–98.

<sup>30</sup> Tilmouth, 'James Sherard: An English Amateur Composer', 318 fn. 13.

<sup>31</sup> RISM: <<https://opac.rism.info/search?id=990059303&View=rism>>. Rasch, *The Music Publishing House of Estienne Roger* does not list the Berkeley copy and tentatively lists an unverified copy at DHgm, Gemeentemuseum, suggesting that it may be a microfilm of exemplar (<<https://roger.sites.uu.nl/catalogue/>>).

- (1) GB-Ckc, Rowe Music Library, Rw. 23.31–33: complete set; no dedication; violin 2 book lacks titlepage.<sup>32</sup>
- (2) GB-Lbl, Music Collections f.24.(2.): complete set, bound with Sherard Op. 1 and Bassani Op. 5; no dedication.
- (3) S-Skma, Stockholm, Musik- och teaterbiblioteket, Alströmer saml. B2:87a: complete set; no dedication.<sup>33</sup>
- (4) US-BEb, California, Jean Gray Hargrove Music Library, University of California, M312.4 .S467: lacking violin 1; no dedication.<sup>34</sup>
- (5) US-R, New York, Sibley Music Library, Eastman School of Music, University of Rochester: complete set of parts; dedication in violin 2, violoncello and continuo, but lacking in the violin 1.<sup>35</sup>

Of these copies only that in the Sibley Music Library contains a dedication, presumably the same dedication as that in the lost copy at Woburn Abbey. Scott Thompson was correct in noting that it is addressed to Wriothesley Russell, which she assumed was the third Duke of Bedford, but it is in fact an exact reprint of the dedication Sherard used in his Op. 1 collection (see Illustration 2). If Sherard had a hand in the printing of Op. 2, as he did with his first collection, reprinting the dedication is at first glance a surprising choice. The dedication specifically references William Sherard's tutelage of Russell on his grand tour, praises Russell's understanding of music ('Theory and Practice') and recounts how the sonatas were performed for him. It also describes the sonatas as Sherard's '*first Essays*'. Wriothesley Russell's son, who bore his father's name, was born 1708 and inherited his titles with the death of the second Duke in May 1711. Rudolf Rasch's research into Roger's publishing house suggests that Sherard's Op. 2 were printed in 1715–16, when the third Duke would have been 7 or 8 years old.<sup>36</sup> Given that the dedications were not included in every copy, it may be that Sherard included it in some presentation copies associated with the family, perhaps as memoriam to the late Duke and a means of honouring the current one, at least in name. Though the reprinting of the earlier dedication also suggests a level of detachment on Sherard's part.

Sherard's wealth and connections allowed him to amass a substantial library, the extent of which – even to judge by the remnants now in the Bodleian – reveals a level of access to contemporary repertoire that was not widely available, even to professional composers. For example, in the dedication of his Op. 1 sonatas (1700) to James Annesley, third Earl of Anglesey and Viscount Valentia, William Williams cited access to the Earl's library as a particular boon: '*The Judgement and Genius which your Lordship has shewn in Musick, by making one of the best Collections in the World, in your Travels thro' Italy, had very much over-aw'd me in this Undertaking*'. The remnants of Sherard's collection are now in the Bodleian Library. While a detailed study of the collection remains to be done and its full extent yet to be determined, invaluable preliminary explorations have been

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<sup>32</sup> I am grateful to Dr James Clements, College Librarian, King's College, for providing this information.

<sup>33</sup> I am grateful to Marina Demina, Librarian, Musik- och teaterbiblioteket, Stockholm, for providing this information.

<sup>34</sup> I am grateful to Mr John Shepard, Curator of Music Collections at the Jean Gray Hargrove Music Library, for providing this information.

<sup>35</sup> I am grateful to Mr David Peter John Coppen, Special Collections Librarian and Archivist at the Sibley Music Library, Eastman School of Music, for providing me this information and for providing me with images from the print.

<sup>36</sup> The third Duke died even younger than his father, in 1732 aged 24: 'He was a spendthrift who endangered the whole Bloomsbury estate. ... His death happened just in time to prevent the estate in Bloomsbury being sold': UCL Bloomsbury Project, <<https://www.ucl.ac.uk/bloomsbury-project/articles/individuals/dukes.htm>> (accessed 19 July 2023).

made by Margaret Crum and, more recently, by Stephen Rose.<sup>37</sup> Building on Crum's work, Rose helpfully identified four main categories of music in the Sherard collection: (1) gamba music by composers such as Finger (including autographs), Johannes Schenck, Johann Rudolph Radeck and Dietrich Buxtehude; (2) five volumes of sacred vocal music of German provenance;<sup>38</sup> (3) manuscripts Italianate trio sonatas, 'mostly copied in England from the late 1680s onwards'; (4) 40 printed collections of Italian trio sonatas and other instrumental works: Rose suggests that many of these may have come to Sherard via his brother in the late 1690s. In the dedication of the Op. 1 sonatas, Sherard referred to his acquisition of books etc. as one of the grounds for dedicating the collection to Russell: '*Besides, my Lord, I beg leave to think they have some small title to your Grace's favour, since by my Brother's attendance on your Grace abroad, I was furnish'd with Books, and other Materialls, which gave me the first tast, and acquaintance with the Italian Musick.*' In the context one can understand why Sherard exalted Russell as the source of his exposure to Italian music, but as Rose notes Sherard clearly already had access to a wide range of music in the 1680s. He has further revealed than Sherard's correspondence shows his own network of continental contacts and documents his own travels across the Channel, including a trip to the Netherlands in 1701 to supervise the printing of his Op. 1.<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>37</sup> See Crum, 'James Sherard and the Oxford Music School Collection'; Rose, 'James Sherard as Music Collector'; M. Crum, 'Music from St Thomas's, Leipzig, in the Music School Collection at Oxford', in *Festschrift Rudolf Elvers zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. E. Herttrich and H. Schneider (Tutzing, 1985), 97–101.

<sup>38</sup> See also *Leipzig Church Music from the Sherard Collection: Eight Works by Sebastian Knüpfer, Johann Schelle, and Johann Kuhnau*, ed. S. Rose, Collegium Musicum, second series, vol. 20 (Madison, WI, 2014).

<sup>39</sup> Rose, 'James Sherard as Music Collector'.





Illus. 1: James Sherard, *Sonate à Tré ... Opera Prima* (Amsterdam, [1701]), titlepage. Author's copy and photograph.



To the most Noble Prince  
**WRIOTHESLY Duke of BEDFORD**  
 Marquis of Tavistock, Earl of Bedford, Baron Russell, and Baron Russell  
 of Thornhaugh, Baron Howland of Streatbam, Lord Lieutenant of the  
 Counties of Bedford Cambridge and Middlesex, and Custos Rotulorum for the  
 said County of Middlesex, and the Liberty of Westminster.

**MAY IT PLEASE Y<sup>R</sup> GRACE.**

**H**e prefixing your most Illustrious Name to the following SONATAS will I fear bring me under the general  
 censure of presumption, which I may more especially expect, from such as consider how unsuitable the meanes  
 of single Compositions are to your Grace's admirable Skill, both in the Theory and Practice of Musick; I  
 confess, my Lord, the charge will be very just; but since true Generosity accepts what is zealously offer'd tho'  
 never so mean; I am encourag'd to hope your Grace will vouchsafe the same reception you was pleas'd to give  
 them, when you did me the Honour to hear them perform'd.

Besides, my Lord I beg leave to think they have some small title to your Grace's favour, 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.

Your Grace will find indeed as great disparity betwixt that, 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 diffe-  
 rence of Soil, and Climate, and not wholly blame the industry of the Planter; The most we can pretend to  
 by our Performances, is only to revive an Idea of their Great Masters, and by our faint Copies, to put your  
 Grace in mind of the excellent Originalls.

I will not pretend to excuse the faults of them, other wise than by letting the world know, they are the first Essays  
 of one who is no profest Musitian, which consideration, I hope will take off, at least, the edge of censure; I compos'd  
 them at leisure hours, only to try how I cou'd succeed in an attempt of this nature, and if they prove so fortunate  
 as to contribute any thing to your Grace's diversion, I may with more assurance add this further presumption,  
 that your Grace will not only pardon the boldness of this enterprize, but the Honour I assume in subscrib-  
 ing my self, with greatest deference, and Submission imaginable,

my Lord

Your Grace's

most Dutiful, and  
 most Obedient Servant

**JAMES SHERARD.**

Illus. 2: James Sherard, *Sonate à Tré ... Opera Prima* (Amsterdam, [1701]), dedication. Author's copy and photograph.

Sherard's two collections of sonatas show him to have been a capable composer well versed in the fashionable Italian style, reinforced by the Italianised version of his name – 'Giacomo Sherard' – on the titlepages. As he noted in the dedication to his Op. 1, 'I know your Grace will make allowances for the difference of Soil, and Climate, and not wholly blame the industry of the Planter; The most we can pretend to by our Performances, is only to revive an Idea of their Great Masters, and by our faint Copies, to put your Grace in mind of the excellent Originalls'. Sherard's stylistic absorption evidently came from his 'industry' in careful study and development of his craft. Among the manuscripts in his hand is a copy of Corelli's Op. 2 (now GB-Ob, MS Mus.Sch.D.255) which he

made as a young man, probably c1686.<sup>40</sup> Of particular interest is Sherard's musical commonplace book (GB-Ob, MS Mus.Sch.A.641). It shows him scoring up sections of trio sonatas by a range of composers apparently to learn elements of their style. Purcell and Corelli are represented alongside lesser-known Italian publications by Antonio Luigi Baldassini, Ippolito Boccaletti, and Giovanni Maria Ruggieri. In addition, there are passages signed 'JS'. The manuscript was first discussed in Crum's 1982 paper. Rose has since identified many of the parent pieces from which Sherard was working. He also identified three of the 'JS' extracts within Sherard's own sonatas: Op. 2, no. 1/iv; Op. 2, no. 7/ii; Op. 1, no. 5/iv.<sup>41</sup> Examples 1 and 2, below, show the two extracts from Op. 2 from A.641 and how they appear in the printed versions. We can see that the passages were largely unchanged except for embellishing surface elements (divisions and rhythm). Sherard arranged the excerpts in his commonplace book by key: g, G, a, A, b, B<sup>b</sup>, c, C, d, D, e, F, E<sup>b</sup>. Indeed, this is similar to the tonal arrangement of the sonatas in Sherard's Op. 2, where they are grouped in parallel major-minor (or vice versa) pairs; the exception being the first two sonatas, in B<sup>b</sup> major and B minor, respectively: Table 1.<sup>50</sup>

(a)

(b) (Allegro)

Ex. 1: (a) Sherard, sketch in B<sup>b</sup> major (MS Mus.Sch.A.641, f.22v); (b) Sherard, Op. 2, Sonata 1, Allegro (1d), bb. 50–53.

<sup>40</sup> The paper type was available from c1686, and Sherard signed his name as 'Sharwood' an early form of his surname: see, Shay and Thompson, *Purcell Manuscripts*, 114.

<sup>41</sup> See Rose, 'James Sherard as Music Collector', 364–371 (especially Table 17.1). Rose addresses his deliberate use of the term 'sketch'.

(a)

(b) **Allegro**

5 4 6 6 6 4 4 9 8

7 6 6 7 6 5 4 6 4 6 9 6 7 6

Ex. 2: (a) Sherard, sketch in F major (MS Mus.Sch.A.641, f.30v); (b) Sherard, Op. 2, Sonata 7, Allegro (7b), bb. 1–9.

Sonata	Key-signature	a	b	c	d
1	B <sup>♭</sup> -1	Adagio	Vivace	Adagio	Allegro
2	b	Adagio	Allegro	Adagio	Vivace
3	C	Largo	Allegro	Grave	Presto
4	c-2	Adagio	Allegro	Adagio	Allegro
5	d	Adagio	Allegro	Adagio	Vivace
6	D	Largo	Allegro	Adagio	Allegro
7	F	Largo	Allegro	Adagio	Vivace
8	f-3	Grave	Poco Allegro	Adagio	Vivace
9	g-1	Vivace	Allegro	Grave	Allegro
10	G	Adagio e Staccato	Vivace	Adagio	Allegro
11	a	Presto	Allegro	Adagio	Vivace
12	A-2	Adagio	Allegro	Adagio	Allegro

Table 1: Structure and contents of James Sherard, *Sonate a Tre ... Opera Seconda* (Amsterdam, [c1715–16])<sup>51</sup>

Writing several decades after Sherard's death, in his discussion of Corelli, Hawkins recalled that 'an English-man, named James Sherard, an apothecary by profession, composed two operas of Sonatas, which an ordinary judge, not knowing that they were the work of another, might mistake for compositions of this great master'.<sup>42</sup> Notwithstanding the mildly hyperbolic assessment of quality, in terms of style it is accurate. By the turn of the eighteenth century, the Corellian trio sonata was becoming ubiquitous with the genre throughout Europe. By the early 1680s it seemed that English composers might foster an indigenous response to the wider trend, but Purcell's trio sonatas seem to have encouraged few followers. William Williams's sonatas (1700) show the influence of Purcell in many places, but he was dead within a year of the publication. I have argued elsewhere that English composers working in England were particularly drawn to the Corelli model in particular not simply because it was the dominant style but rather because it represented an accessible language that could be shared by their patrons.<sup>43</sup> As a practical extension of this cultural and creative dialogue, it is also worth noting that in most of the dedications of these trio sonatas the patrons are described as knowledgeable critics whose approval is sometimes sought as part of the compositional process, into which D.252 provides a window.

### GB-Ob, MS Mus.Sch.D.252

D.252 comprises four large upright quarto partbooks (measuring approximately 293 x 230mm) now bound as a single book in a nineteenth-century binding. Not counting the foliated pastedowns, there are 57 original folios, with two modern flyleaves and cardboard covers at both ends: iii+60 (the rear flyleaves are also foliated). The pastedown on f.3 is foliated as f.4; the paper slip after f.32 is foliated as f.32a. Each partbook is a single quire with no evidence of excisions:<sup>44</sup>

<sup>42</sup> Hawkins, *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music*, ii. 678.

<sup>43</sup> Cunningham, "Faint copies" and "excellent Originalls".

<sup>44</sup> The parts are untitled in D.252; the printed partbooks are labelled: 'Violino Primo', 'Violino Secondo', 'Violoncello', and 'Basso Continuo'.



Violin 1: ff.1–15v (ruled, unused leaves = ff.1, 11v–12, 14v–15v)  
 Violin 2: ff.16–29v (ruled, unused leaves = ff.16, 25v–26, 28v–29v); headed, in pencil, ‘2nd Treble’ (f.16)  
 Violoncello: ff.30–43v (ruled, unused leaves = ff.30, 39v–40, 42v–43v)  
 Continuo: ff.44 (ruled, unused leaves = ff.44, 53v–54, 56v–57v); headed ‘Sonate di Giacomo Sherard / Opera 2<sup>da</sup>’ (f.44)

There are no original bindings; to judge from the discolouration, the outer pages of the nested gatherings functioned as covers. Only the continuo partbook is contemporaneously titled in what appears to be the copyist’s hand using the Italianised version of Sherard’s forename as on the titlepages of his printed collections. The paper is good quality. The watermark is the Strasburg bend type, lettered LVG. This is *IMCCM* ‘Bend II’, found in later seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Angoumois, Dutch and English documents: ‘paper of the largest standard size and always of high quality’.<sup>45</sup> Each page is ruled a red margin on both sides. The twelve five-line staves were ruled with a four-stave rastrum.<sup>46</sup> The pages have four prick holes corresponding with the inner ruled margins; most pages also have a further two prick holes on the outer margins, approx. 85mm apart.

Each of the sonatas was copied on a single opening, verso to recto, in the same order that they appear in the print. However, only eleven of the twelve published sonatas are included, numbered 1–9 and 11–12. Space was left for Sonata 10 to be copied: in each partbook the opening is unused and unnumbered between Sonatas 9 and 11. The fact that Sonata 10 was not transcribed by the copyist opens the possibility that the sonatas were copied in an order other than numerical; the ink colour of the initial copying layer is, however, broadly consistent through all four partbooks, suggesting that they were entered around the same time. The sonatas were transcribed by a professional copyist writing in a careful, formal hand (Illustration 3). The copyist is an unknown associate of Sherard, active since at least the 1680s and who also contributed to several manuscripts that may have come from Sherard’s library. Robert Shay and Robert Thompson identified the same hand in several manuscripts including GB-Ob, MS Mus.Sch.D.249 (sole copyist; from Sherard’s collection), GB-Ob, MSS Mus.Sch.E.400–403 (principal copyist), GB-Ob, MS Mus.Sch.C.78a–c (copied the final piece, Sonata 7) and J-Tn, MS N2/15 (one of two hands; copied nos. 19–40).<sup>47</sup> Rebecca Herissone designated the copyist as Anon H.<sup>48</sup> As Stephen Rose rightly notes ‘there are substantial differences of clefs between the hands’ in some of these sources,<sup>49</sup> though arguably such discrepancies are outweighed by the similarities.

Most of Sherard’s sonatas as entered by the copyist in D.252 broadly correspond with the versions later printed. Some have obvious signs of revision in Sherard’s hand, in the form of crossings-out, palimpsests, inserted paper slips, and pastedowns. The versions of the sonatas in D.252 lack a number of details when compared to the printed parts. Tempi are often omitted; many of those that are given were added by Sherard. Dynamics too are sparse and given

<sup>45</sup> *IMCCM*, i. 263

<sup>46</sup> A 12; B 4; C 73; D 10.5(10.5)10.5(10)10(11.5)10. I here use the format as given in *IMCCM*: Rastrology A = number of staves per page; B = number of staves in the rastrum; C = overall span of the rastrum; D = width of individual staves and (in parenthesis) the distance between them (rastrum profile can be inverted). All measurements given in millimetres, variations of up to a millimetre should be allowed.

<sup>47</sup> Shay and Thompson, *Purcell Manuscripts*, 114. They also cite GB-Och, Mus. 1141a and Mus. 1154. Both are guardbooks containing a number of hands (descriptions available at the Christ Church, Music Catalogue, comp. J. Milsom: <<http://library.chch.ox.ac.uk/music/page.php?page=Home%20page>>); I have not been able to examine them to determine which pieces our copyist entered.

<sup>48</sup> See, Herissone, *Musical Creativity in Restoration England*, 82–83 (Table 2.5).

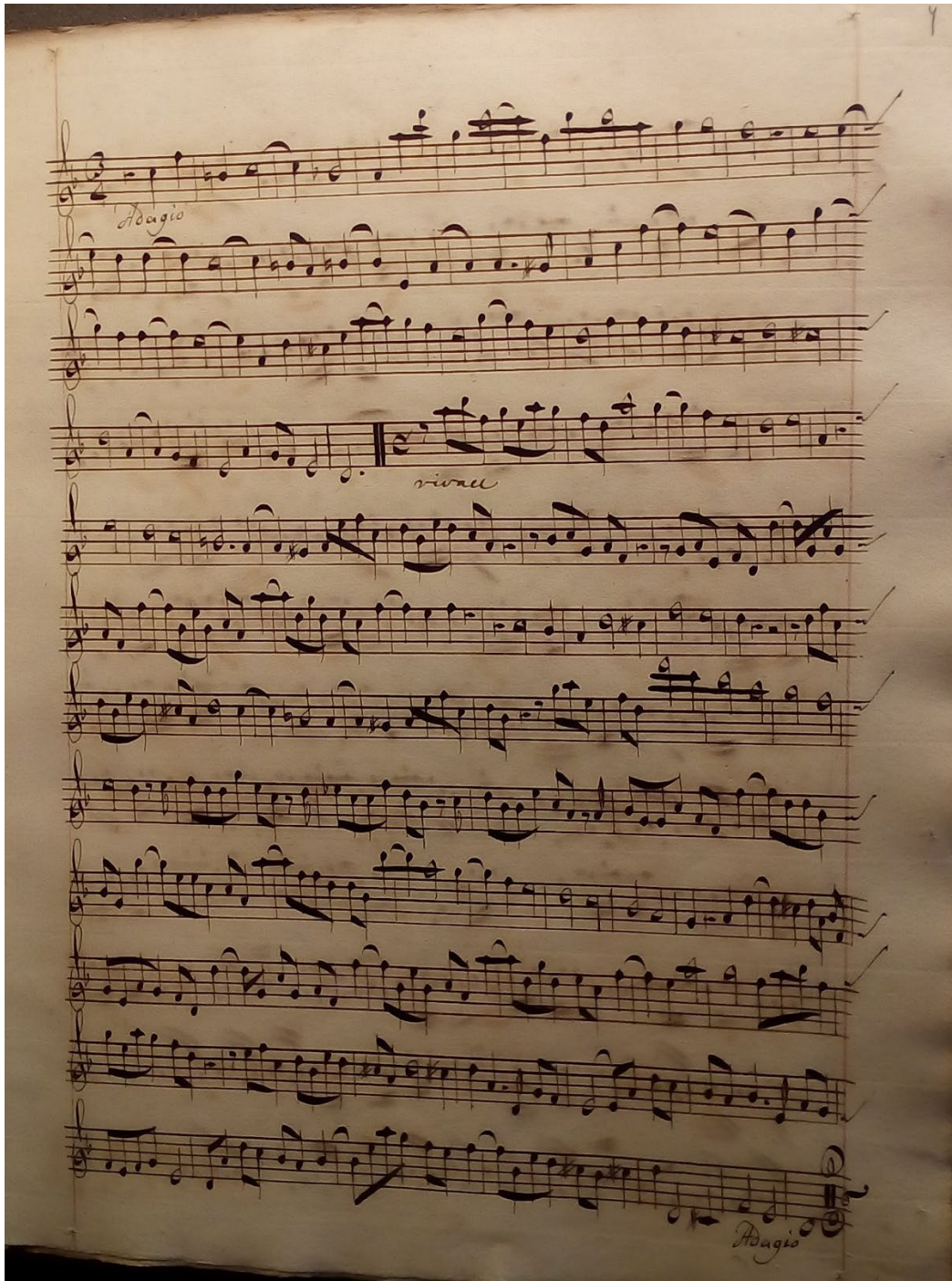
<sup>49</sup> Rose, ‘James Sherard as Music Collector’, 375.

inconsistently, again Sherard added them in several places. In the print the continuo is more fully figured than in D.252, where 6/3 chords are often left unfigured as are thirds in chords (e.g. a 6/5/" chord in the print will be rendered as 6/5 in D.252). Figures denoting chromatic alterations are also typically not slashed in D.252 (e.g. the manuscript typically gives '6' where the print correctly gives ').<sup>50</sup> As Herissone notes, the omission of these sorts of details is not at all unusual in the period, an expression of 'the relatively imprecise nature of musical notation'.<sup>51</sup> However, given that the copyist seems to have worked closely with Sherard in compiling D.252 and the generally high levels of care evident in the copyist's work, the omission of these details strongly suggests that they were simply lacking in the exemplar from which he worked. Perhaps these sorts of details were to be worked out in performance.

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<sup>50</sup> This seems not to support Rose's suggestion that the copyist may have added the bass figuring: Rose, 'James Sherard as Music Collector', 375.

<sup>51</sup> Herissone, *Musical Creativity in Restoration England*, 245



Illus. 3: GB-Ob, MS Mus.Sch.D.252, f.7 (Sonata 5: **5c** and **5d**, violin 1).

### Musical Creativity in Restoration England

In her pathbreaking monograph study of musical creativity in Restoration England, Herissone classified Restoration music manuscripts into six types based on practical functions: (1) 'Fowle originalls'; (2) 'Performance materials'; (3) 'Transmission manuscripts'; (4) 'File copies'; (5) 'Presentation and collectors' manuscripts'; (6) 'Pedagogical materials'.<sup>52</sup> In doing so Herissone rightly challenged the appropriateness of terminology such as 'sketch', 'rough draft' and 'fair

<sup>52</sup> Herissone, *Musical Creativity in Restoration England*, chapter 2.

copy' to sources of the Restoration period as this 'implies a gradual creative process comprising several stages, each recorded in notation, and leading ultimately to a complete, finished product, neatly copied'.<sup>53</sup> Drawing on Harold Love's work on literary manuscripts, Herissone goes on to explore what she terms 'serial recomposition', a concept that explains how Restoration composers tended to rework their music when they recopied it. This is particularly noticeable in liturgical music but can also be seen in consort music, the common thread being where pieces were 'performed regularly and repeatedly' and 'disseminated widely via scribal communities'.<sup>54</sup> Along with the practice of 'background variation' (where copyists would make small discretionary changes to the music they copied),<sup>55</sup> this results in different versions of works being in parallel circulation. Inter alia, Herissone uses Matthew Locke's instrumental suites as a vivid illustration of how serial recomposition was often more extreme in consort music, noting that 'composers' revisions of their consort music include a number of common features, including structural reworkings affecting the content of sets and suites, and a tendency to focus on alterations to imitative material'.<sup>56</sup> Locke's music provides an extreme example of this but the characteristics are broadly applicable. With composers such as Purcell and Locke, while many sources are lost, a good number survive and their music was often widely transmitted in manuscript. Sherard's Op. 2 naturally offers a different case with a much more limited range of evidence, and it also falls slightly outside Herissone's *terminus ad quem* of 1705. But it does offer a case study for further exploring her arguments about creativity in the Restoration period, which may be instructive especially considering the lack of autograph sources for trio sonatas written by English composers.

For Sherard, and many of his contemporaries, we have no fowle originall, which Herissone describes thus:

a fowle originall comprised the composer's first, original copy of a piece of music – an inelegantly written score which might bear evidence through alterations on the stave that decisions were still being made about the content of the composition as it was being copied, and which could show that aspects of the music were not yet complete when copying began (for example because space was initially left for material to be added in) but which nevertheless could be used by other scribes as an exemplar for producing performance parts and other scores.<sup>57</sup>

Instead for Sherard's Op. 2 we have only performing materials, of which Herissone notes:

Performing materials are usually considered to be much less informative of creative activity than composers' scores, and they can be problematic sources because they often survive incomplete. However, for music that was suitable for repeated performance and that was transmitted widely among musicians performing parts can provide valuable details about ways in which pieces were revised and reworked over time.<sup>58</sup>

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<sup>53</sup> Herissone, *Musical Creativity in Restoration England*, 62 (both citations). These ideas were first outlined in her seminal paper "Fowle Originalls" and "Fayre Writeing": Reconsidering Purcell's Compositional Process', *Journal of Musicology*, 23 (2006), 569–619.

<sup>54</sup> Herissone, *Musical Creativity in Restoration England*, 261.

<sup>55</sup> The term 'background variation' was coined by Alan Howard: 'Understanding Creativity' in *The Ashgate Research Companion to Henry Purcell*, ed. R. Herissone (Farnham and Burlington, VT, 2012), 65–113, at 97; see also Herissone, *Musical Creativity in Restoration England*.

<sup>56</sup> Herissone, *Musical Creativity in Restoration England*, 313.

<sup>57</sup> Herissone, *Musical Creativity in Restoration England*, 70.

<sup>58</sup> Herissone, *Musical Creativity in Restoration England*, 79.

As we shall discuss below, D.252 was not compiled for transmission or for repeated performance, but it does offer valuable evidence for the creative – and recreative – process, from which we may infer something of Sherard’s lost fowle originall. Herissone did not discuss D.252 but listed it with ten other manuscripts in a table of ‘Instrumental consort-music performing parts associated with ownership in private households’.<sup>59</sup> She notes that most of these sources ‘seem to have been privately owned, often by individuals who were not professional musicians, but who clearly enjoyed playing consort music and must have had an extensive musical education.’<sup>60</sup> This is true of D.252 but it still does not fully describe the manuscript’s apparent function, in which the evidence of reworkings is actually consistent with Herissone’s concept of ‘serial recomposition’ in relation to consort music, where stages of revision are often evident with new readings intended to supersede old ones, with composer’s often reworking whole sections while also taking care to revise and refine small details such as ‘rhythmic patterns, melodic decoration and the register of individual notes and passages in the continuo parts’.<sup>61</sup> We shall return to these points in the conclusions, but for now it may suffice to note that, with some qualification, these are all characteristics in evidence in D.252, which itself raises a further questions about the intended function of the manuscript and what can it tell us about how Sherard went about his compositional craft.

### The Craft of Creativity

To consider these questions we must first navigate D.252. To do so we will divide the sonatas into three basic categories, based solely on levels of authorial intervention evident in the manuscript: (1) those with few or no signs of reworking; (2) those with minor reworkings; (3) those with significant reworkings, ranging from passages to whole movements being excised. However, this is only a first step, as the sonatas must also be considered with respect to the printed versions. In some cases the manuscript and printed versions of the sonatas correspond closely but in others they do not, regardless of obvious signs of reworkings in D.252.

The first two categories can be dealt with together. Sonatas 1, 5 and 8 show no significant signs of reworking, and notwithstanding occasional minor differences they essentially appear in D.252 as they do in the print. Evidence of minor reworkings is found in Sonatas 4, 9, 11, and 12; these take the form of amendments to individual bars or short passages. For instance, in Sonata 4 Sherard embellished b. 4 of the violin 1 and b. 5 of the violoncello parts from the opening Adagio (4a), as can be seen in Example 3. These updates correspond with the printed version (though with the minim in b. 4 correctly rendered as a dotted-crotchet).

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<sup>59</sup> Herissone, *Musical Creativity in Restoration England*, 82–83 (Table 2.5). In many ways D.252 shares more characteristics with the sources listed in Herissone’s Table 2.6, ‘Partbooks of instrumental consort music possibly associated with manuscript publication’, of which she notes (ibid., 87–88): ‘While shared copying does not in itself prove that the books were copied as part of a commercial operation, it is odd that the sets contain no signs of ownership, and that none were bound, instead being copied generally in nested bifolios, many of which are heavily discoloured, indicating that they were stored separately.’

<sup>60</sup> Herissone, *Musical Creativity in Restoration England*, 81.

<sup>61</sup> Herissone, *Musical Creativity in Restoration England*, 295.

(a) Adagio

(b) Adagio

(c) Adagio

Ex. 3: Sherard, Op. 2, Sonata 4, Adagio (4a), bb. 1–5, violin 1 and violoncello only, from D.252: (a) original readings; (b) Sherard's revised reading in D.252; (c) printed version.

Of the last three pieces in the manuscript (Sonatas 9, 11, and 12) only the last has obvious signs of reworkings in D.252. But the case is not as straightforward as this might suggest, as all three sonatas were significantly reworked by the time they were printed. These changes were not updated in D.252. In Sonata 9 the only emendations are found in the violins of the opening Vivace (9a), where a single bar (b. 24) was amended in both parts. As the original readings were not scratched out the bars are difficult to read; the original readings are given in ossia staves in Example 4 (a). No other interventions were made; however, it is at precisely this point in the movement that the D.252 version diverges from that in the print. The latter is 54 bars, six more than in D.252. But this was not achieved by the simple insertion of the bars. Instead Sherard completely reworked the movement from b. 24 until the final four bars: cf. Example 4 (a) and (b). A good deal of the D.252 material was reused, very little went to waste. Sherard's focus was revision of the melodic lines. Most of the material in the basses was retained, as was around half of the violin 2 material. Sherard exchanged the violin parts near the start of the reworked section (cf. bb. 26–30 of D.252 and bb. 29–32 of the printed version) and prefaced them with another imitative statement of the thematic material a fifth lower (Example 4 (b), bb. 26–28).

(a) (Vivace)

orig.:

orig.:



31

7 6 5 4 6 6 6 7 6 #

40

7 6 # 6 7 6 7 6 # #

(b) (Vivace)

22

9 8 6 4 6 b b7 6/5

29

4 b 6 9 8 9 8 4 6 7 6/5

Ex. 4: Sherard, Op. 2, Sonata 9, Vivace (9a), ending from b. 22: (a) version in D.252, with original readings for b. 24 given in ossia staves; (b) version printed in Op. 2.

The only obvious signs of revision in Sonata 11 are Sherard's added – often difficult to read – divisions to the violoncello line of the Allegro (11b). However, after completing these post-copying additions elsewhere Sherard revised much of 11b. The printed version shows that he later reworked the movement, especially the violins, but also incorporating some of the bass divisions added post-copying to D.252. In the print 11b is a bar shorter than in D.252. Similar to 9a, the movement begins and ends largely the same in both sources but the material between was reworked before being printed, though the reworkings are more extensive in 11b than in 9a, with more new material incorporated, but Sherard also retained blocks of material between both versions. As can be seen in Example 5, the two versions largely correspond up to b. 9, though the version in D.252 gives most of bb. 5–6 of violin 1 an octave lower. The motive is imitated a bar later in violin 2, showing Sherard refining the imitation distance from an octave to the unison. Bars 10–15 are similar in both versions, though violin 1 of the print corresponds to the violin 2 part in D.252; the material in what was violin 1 of D.252 was largely discarded and replaced with new material in the printed version. The next nine bars of the D.252 version were almost entirely rewritten. The seven bars or so that follow again correspond in both versions. For the rest of the movement the two bass parts largely match with the print, though the two violins were reworked, except for the last four and a half bars.



(a) **Allegro**

First system of music (measures 1-4). It features a piano accompaniment with two staves (treble and bass clef) and a vocal line (soprano and bass clef). The tempo is marked 'Allegro'. The key signature has one sharp (F#). The piano part has a complex rhythmic pattern with many sixteenth and thirty-second notes. The vocal line is marked with 'vc: orig. reading' and 'vc: Sherard's revised version'. The bottom of the system shows the following fingering numbers: 6, 6, #, 6, #, 6.

Second system of music (measures 5-7). It continues the piano accompaniment and vocal line. The piano part has a complex rhythmic pattern with many sixteenth and thirty-second notes. The vocal line is marked with 'vc: orig. reading' and 'vc: Sherard's revised version'. The bottom of the system shows the following fingering numbers: 6, 6, #, 6, 6, #, 6, #, 6, #.

Third system of music (measures 8-11). It continues the piano accompaniment and vocal line. The piano part has a complex rhythmic pattern with many sixteenth and thirty-second notes. The vocal line is marked with 'vc: orig. reading' and 'vc: Sherard's revised version'. The bottom of the system shows the following fingering numbers: 6, 6, 5, 9, 8, 4, #, 6, 6, 6, 5, 5, 6, 5.

24

6 6 6 # 9 6

28

7 5 # 6 6 6 # 6

32

6 # 6 6 6 6 # 6 5 6 # 6

36

5 5 5 5 5 9 6 5

40

# 6 # 9 7

44

5 # 9 8 6 9 8 7 5 6 5 #

(b) **Allegro**

The musical score is written for four staves, organized into two systems of two staves each. The first system (measures 1-3) shows a treble staff with eighth and sixteenth notes, and two bass staves with similar rhythmic patterns. Fingerings are indicated by numbers 6 and #. The second system (measures 4-7) continues the melodic and harmonic development with more complex sixteenth-note passages. The third system (measures 8-11) features a variety of note values and rests, with fingerings like 6, 9, 8, 4, 4, 6, 5, 5, and 5. The fourth system (measures 12-15) concludes the section with sustained notes and moving lines, with fingerings such as 9, 6, 7, 6, 7, 6, 7, 6, 7, 6, and 7.

4

8

12

6 6 6 9 8 4 4 6 5 5 5

6 # 6 # 6 6 6 5 # 6 5 #

9 6 7 6 7 6 7 6 7 6 7

16

5 4 5 4 6 4 6 4 6 4 6 4 6

20

4 5 6 7 6 6 9 6 7 5 6

24

6 6 # 6 9 6 7 6 #

28

6 6 6 6 # 6 5 6 5 6

32

5 6 5 6 5 6 5 6 5 6 5 6

36

6 6 6 6 6 6 6 6 6 6 6 6

40

6 6 6 6 6 6 6 6 6 6 6 6

44

9 8 6 6 9 8 7 6 6 6 6 6

Ex. 5: Sherard, Op. 2, Sonata 11, Allegro (11b): (a) version in D.252 incorporating Sherard's divisions in the violoncello, with original reading for given in small font, with highlights showing material retained in the printed version; (b) version printed in Op. 2.

The final sonata in D.252 has two and a half bars heavily crossed out in each of the four parts at the end of the first Allegro (**12b**), though not all from the same starting point. The original readings are still visible beneath. The musical effect of the excision was to hasten the final cadence by removing a superfluous tonic-dominant progression. The excised bars were not included in the print: Example 6 (cf. Example 7).

1

44 [Allegro]

Ex. 6: Sherard, Op. 2, Sonata 12, Allegro (**12b**), original ending in D.252; boxed passages were heavily crossed out.

Sherard tinkered further with **12b**, post-copying but also (elsewhere) before it was printed. In D.252 there are two palimpsests in the violin 1 part. In the first (second half of b. 15) it is not possible to see what was originally copied; the revised reading correspond to the printed version. However, a second revision (b. 17) did not find its way into the print, with Sherard evidently preferring his first thoughts. He also made some minor revisions in D.252 to the violoncello part at b. 10, though the continuo was not updated; in the print both bass parts give the same reading, following Sherard's revision of the violoncello in D.252. The most significant change made was to exchange the violins from b. 33 until the penultimate bar of the movement. The change did not affect the musical material, except for a small reworking of b. 33 to accommodate the swapping of parts: Example 7.

33 (a) (Allegro)

37

9 6 7 6 # 7 5 4 6 6 5 #

42

7 6 # 7 5 4 3 6 9 6 7 6 # 6 8 #

(b) (Allegro)

31

# 6 6 6 6 4 6 4 9 6

35

6 # # 6 # 6 9 6 7 6 #



The image displays two systems of musical notation for a piece in D major, 3/4 time. The top system, starting at measure 39, shows a version from D.252 with fingerings: 7, 5, 6, 4, 6, 6, 5, 4, 7, 6, 5, #. The bottom system, starting at measure 43, shows the version printed in Op. 2 with fingerings: 7, 6, 4, 3, 6, 9, 6, 7, 6, 4, 6, 6, 6, 6, 7.

Ex. 7: Sherard, Op. 2, Sonata 12, Allegro (**12b**), ending from b. 33: (a) version in D.252 incorporating Sherard's reworkings; (b) version printed in Op. 2

There were some minor reworkings made to the final movement (Allegro, **12d**) in D.252. They all appear to have been made by the copyist, rather than by Sherard, though presumably he was working under the composer's direction. There were emendations made to the violin 2 part at bb. 19–23, which are unusually condensed in D.252, though it is not clear whether this was to correct a copying error or to accommodate a compositional reworking. The amendments made in the violoncello and continuo parts at bb. 32–36, however, do clearly suggest compositional reworkings. The violoncello line originally consisted of three crotchets in each bar, the first two leaping up a fourth: in the revision the middle crotchet was removed and replaced with a rest. The continuo originally seems to have played in unison with the violoncello in this passage but in the revision the first note of each bar was made into a minim to cover the effaced crotchet. These amendments correspond to the version given in the print: Example 8.

31 (a)

(b)

Ex. 8: Sherard, Op. 2, Sonata 12, Allegro (12d), bb. 31 ending from b. 33–38, violoncello and basso continuo only (continuo figures omitted): (a) original version in D.252; (b) Sherard's revised version in D.252 (and as printed in Op. 2).

The remaining sonatas in D.252 all contain more obvious signs that Sherard reworked aspects of them (Sonatas 2 and 3) or planned to do so (Sonatas 6 and 7), though as with the previous sonatas the relationship between these versions and those in the print is not straightforward. In Sonata 6 the last two movements, Adagio (6c) and Allegro (6d), were crossed out with a large X in each of the parts: the original reading is not obstructed (Illustration 4). While no updated readings were entered into D.252 both movements were significantly changed by the time of the print. The D.252 versions of both movements begin similarly in terms of motivic ideas but otherwise they are entirely different pieces rather than reworkings of material as we have seen in other movements. The manuscript and printed versions are comparable in terms of length and follow similar tonal patterns. The Adagio (6a) in both versions is in B minor. The D.252 version is in two sections (bb. 1–5, 6–18), both concluding with a Phrygian half cadence, whereas the printed version ends on B minor. In the Allegro (6d) Sherard retained the rhythm and the fourth leap of the main motive but swapped the decision passing note idea for a more driving repeated note one. The structure of the fugal opening was retained with the entries coming from top to bottom at the distance of two bars, but print shows a clearer tonal sense with the repeated note motive allowing easy alternation between tonic and dominant.

(a) Adagio

7

Fingering numbers: # 6, # 6 6 5 #, 6, 6 6 5, 7 7 7, 9 6 # 6

13

Fingering numbers: 9 7 6 9 # # 6 5 #, 9 6 7 6, 7 6 #

[Allegro]

Fingering numbers: 6 6 7 4 #, 6 7 # 6, 4/2

8

Fingering numbers: 6 4 #, 9 6 9 6

15

9 6 8 9 6 8 7 6 4 #

This system contains measures 15 through 22. The notation features a treble and bass staff with a key signature of two sharps (F# and C#). The music includes various rhythmic patterns such as eighth and sixteenth notes, as well as rests. Fingering numbers (9, 6, 8, 7, 6, 4, #) are placed below the bass staff for measures 15-22.

23

# 6 6 4 # 9 6 8

This system contains measures 23 through 28. The notation continues with the same key signature and rhythmic complexity. Fingering numbers (#, 6, 6, 4, #, 9, 6, 8) are provided for measures 23-28.

29

9 6 8 9 6 8 9 6 8 # 6 4 # 9 6 8

This system contains measures 29 through 35. The notation shows a continuation of the musical piece. Fingering numbers (9, 6, 8, 9, 6, 8, 9, 6, 8, #, 6, 4, #, 9, 6, 8) are indicated for measures 29-35.

36

9 6 8 6 5 4 # 6 6 5 4 #

This system contains measures 36 through 42. The notation concludes the section with various rhythmic figures. Fingering numbers (9, 6, 8, 6, 5, 4, #, 6, 6, 5, 4, #) are provided for measures 36-42.

43

6 5 # 6 4 #

50

# # 6 6 4 #

[orig. as bc]

57

6 6 4 # 9 8 #

64

6 4 # 9 6 9 6 6 6 4 #

71

6 4 #

(b) Adagio

6 5 # 6 6 # 6 4 # 6 7 6 # 6 6 7 5 5

6

6 5 5 6 6 5 5 # 6 # # # #

10

# 7 5 # # # # 6 7 5 # p 7 5 #

**Allegro**

6 7 # 6 6 5

8

4 6 5 6 6 6 7 6

15

7 6 7 6 7 6 # 7 5 4 # 6 6

22

6 5 6 6 6 6 # 5 4 #

29

5 6 5 6 5 6 6

36

# 6 6 6 6 6 6

43

# 6 4 # 6 # 6 6 6

50

5 6 6 6 # 6 6



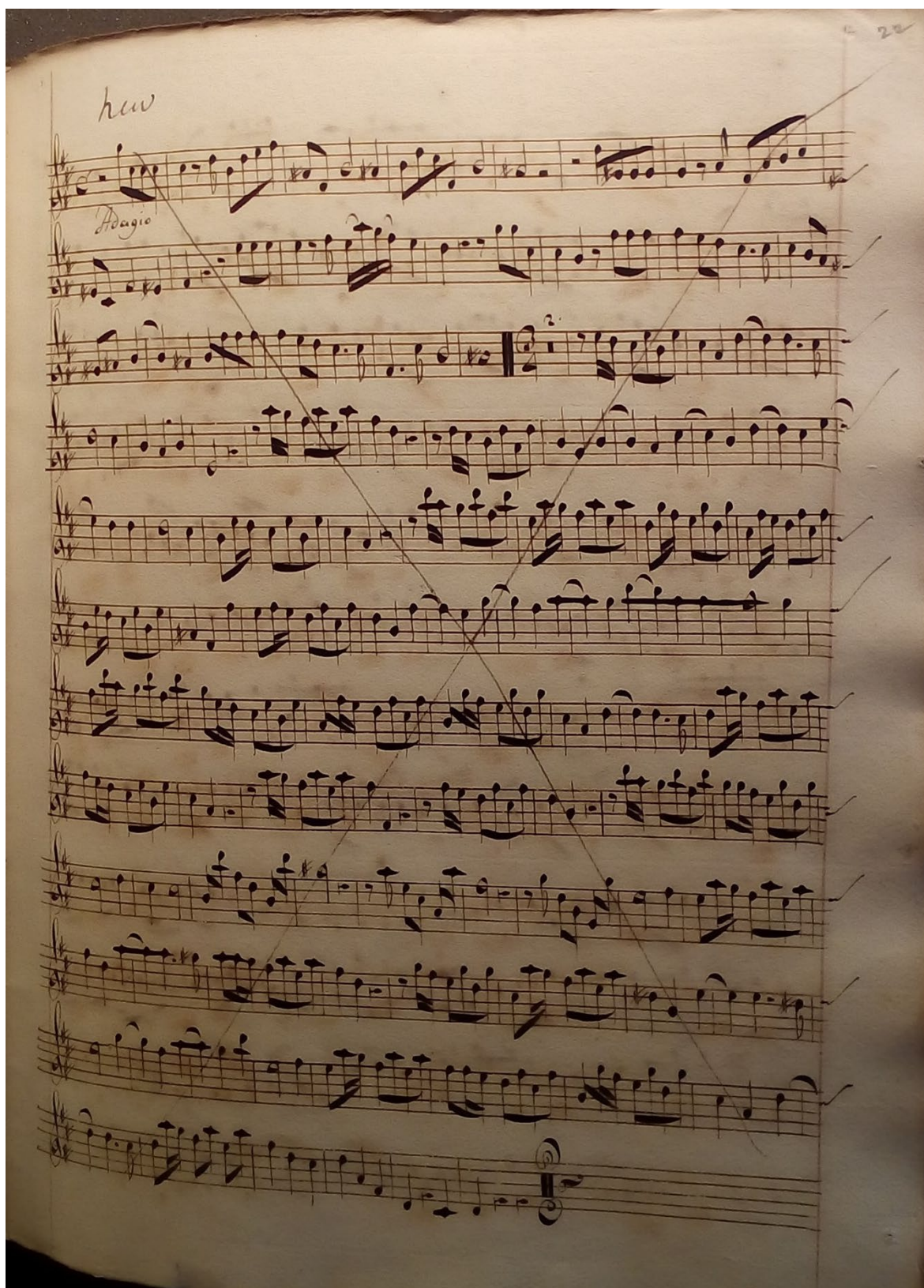
57

64

70

6

Ex. 9: Sherard, Op. 2, Sonata 6, Adagio (6c) and Allegro (6d): (a) original versions in D.252, both crossed out; (b) versions printed in Op. 2



Illus. 4: GB-Ob, MS Mus.Sch.D.252, f.22 (Sonata 6: original versions of **6c** and **6d**, violin 2).

Sonata 7 also has a large X crossing out the final movement Vivace (**7d**) in each of the parts, with no updated reading incorporated. The printed version is, however, completely different. With the exception that both are fast fugal-style finales in the tonic (F major), the two versions

bear no obvious relationship to one another. The D.252 version comprises 94 bars of 3/4, while the printed version is a leaner and more focussed 70 bars of 6/8: Example 10. In D.252 the violin 1 part for **7d** also includes a pastedown, though it seems to have been the correction of a copying error. The penultimate stave of the last movement (f.9) has been entirely overwritten. The pastedown, in the hand of the copyist, has been glued evenly across and cannot be lifted; there are no similar instances in any of the other parts. Another copying error is found in violin 1 of the Adagio (**7c**) where in a rare case of haplography the copyist duplicated b. 7, with the erroneous repetition then effaced.

(a) [Vivace]

The musical score is for a piece in 3/4 time, G major. It consists of three systems of staves. The first system (bars 1-8) shows a violin 1 part with a pastedown. The second system (bars 9-15) continues the melody. The third system (bars 16-22) includes a [sic] marking. Fingerings are indicated by numbers 1-5 below the notes.

9

16 [sic]

24

6 # 6 5 # 6 5 # 6 5 6

This system contains measures 24 through 30. It features a complex piano accompaniment with multiple voices in both hands, including sixteenth-note patterns and sustained chords. The right hand has a melodic line with some grace notes. The left hand provides a rhythmic foundation with eighth and sixteenth notes. Fingering numbers are indicated below the notes.

31

5 6 5 6 6 5 4 2 6

This system contains measures 31 through 38. The piano accompaniment continues with intricate textures. The right hand features a prominent melodic line with slurs and ties. The left hand maintains a steady accompaniment. Fingering numbers are provided for the piano parts.

39

4 3 4 3 4 3 4 3 9 6 #

This system contains measures 39 through 46. The musical texture remains dense with the piano accompaniment. The right hand has a melodic line with some chromaticism. The left hand provides harmonic support. Fingering numbers are indicated below the notes.

47

6 # 6 6 # 6 5 #

This system contains measures 47 through 54. The piano accompaniment features a mix of eighth and sixteenth notes. The right hand has a melodic line with some grace notes. The left hand provides a rhythmic foundation. Fingering numbers are indicated below the notes.

54

6 5 6 5 6 5 6 5 6 6 4 3

61

[sic]

9 8 9 8 9 8 6 4

69

6 4 6 6 6 5 6 6

76

6 6 6 6

83

6 5

89

6 5

(b) **Vivace**

6 5 4 6 6 7 6 7 6 7 6

7

7 6 5 4 6 7 6 6 7 7

13

7 7 7 7 6 6 6 6 6 6 4 3 6

This system contains measures 13 through 18. It features a complex texture with multiple voices and a piano accompaniment. The piano part includes a prominent bass line with a sequence of notes: 7, 7, 7, 7, 6, 6, 6, 6, 6, 6, 4, 3, 6. The system concludes with a key signature change to one sharp (F#).

19

6 6 6 6 6 6 6 6 6 6 6 6 6

This system contains measures 19 through 24. It begins with a piano (*p*) dynamic marking. The piano accompaniment features a steady eighth-note pattern in the right hand and a more active bass line. The system ends with a key signature change to one sharp (F#).

25

6 5 # f 5 4 6 7 6 7 6 7 6 7 6 6 5

This system contains measures 25 through 30. It starts with a forte (*f*) dynamic marking. The piano part has a complex bass line with notes: 6, 5, #, f, 5, 4, 6, 7, 6, 7, 6, 7, 6, 7, 6, 6, 5. The system concludes with a key signature change to one sharp (F#).

31

6 5 4 6 7 4 7 5 9 8 4 3 4 3 4 3 4 3 4 # 7 6

This system contains measures 31 through 36. The piano part features a complex bass line with notes: 6, 5, 4, 6, 7, 4, 7, 5, 9, 8, 4, 3, 4, 3, 4, 3, 4, 3, 4, #, 7, 6. The system concludes with a key signature change to one sharp (F#).



38

8 5 # 6 5 4 6 7 # 6 5 6 5 6 5 6 5 6 7

44

6 5 6 5 6 5 6 5 6 7 6 5 f 5

49

4 6 6 5 6 7 7 7

54

7 7 7 6 6 6 6 6 6 5 4 6

60

65

*p*

6 6 6 6 6 6 6 6

Ex. 10: Sherard, Op. 2, Sonata 7, Vivace (7d): (a) original version in D.252, crossed out; (b) version printed in Op. 2.

While movements from Sonatas 6 and 7 were obviously scheduled for revision which took place before the sonatas were printed, though for whatever reason D.252 was not updated. A similar case occurs with Sonatas 2 and 3, though in both only sections of movements were reworked, with the updated readings overlain in pastedowns. In Sonata 3 Sherard reworked three of four movements, particularly the Allegro (3b) and the Presto (3d). The reworking of the opening movement, Largo (3a), was minor: originally the two basses played the same line in the first bar, with Sherard later introducing the dotted pattern in the violoncello to match with the violins, a change retained into the printed version: Example 11.

Largo

7 5 6 9 6 7 6 9 6 7 6 5

Ex. 11: Sherard, Op. 2, Sonata 3, Largo (3a), opening bars showing Sherard's revised version.

In **3b** the reworkings are mostly confined to the violins between bb. 21–34. The stepwise descending four-note semiquaver idea exchanged imitatively was originally used more extensively. In D.252 several of these motives the middle two (passing) notes were effaced leaving only the descending fourth figure. As can be seen from Example 12, these changes were reflected in the printed version.

(a) (Allegro)

21

26

31

6 # # 6 # 7 8 5 # # 6 # # 6 #

6 6 7 5 # 8 5 # # # # 4 2

6 5 # 6 7 6 # # 6 # # 6 #

21 (b) (Allegro)

26

31

Ex. 12: Sherard, Op. 2, Sonata 3, Allegro (3b), bb. 21–34: (a) original version in D.252, with motives revised by Sherard boxed; (b) version printed in Op. 2, largely reflecting reworkings in D.252.

The end of the movement was also reworked, though by the time of the print Sherard abandoned some of these revisions in favour of his first thoughts. In the version of **3b** entered in D.252 by the copyist the final cadence was shorter, lacking the penultimate bar when compared to the printed version; by scratching out the original reading and writing in over it the revised one Sherard reworked the cadence to include this bar, and in the process excised b. 57 of violin 1 but only the second half of the same bar in violin 2 by heavily crossing them out. He clearly changed his mind as he was crossing out the bar in violin 2. No excisions were made in the basses, though emendations were made to the violoncello part. The reworkings are difficult to read in places. To clarify his intentions Sherard provided paper slips for the two violins and for the violoncello, the latter now foliated as f.32b (Illustration 5). The readings given on the inserted paper slips correspond with those later printed. By contrast the melodic idea found in b.

8 of violin 1 and repeated in b. 44 of violin 2 in D.252 did not find its way into the printed version. As Example 13 shows, the printed version incorporates the expanded cadence but not the divisions in the violoncello added in the first layer of revision.

56 (a) (Allegro)

[vc + bc]

6 6 6 5

(b)

[vc] [vc + bc]

[bc] 6 5 6 6 6 6 5 5

(c)

[vc only]

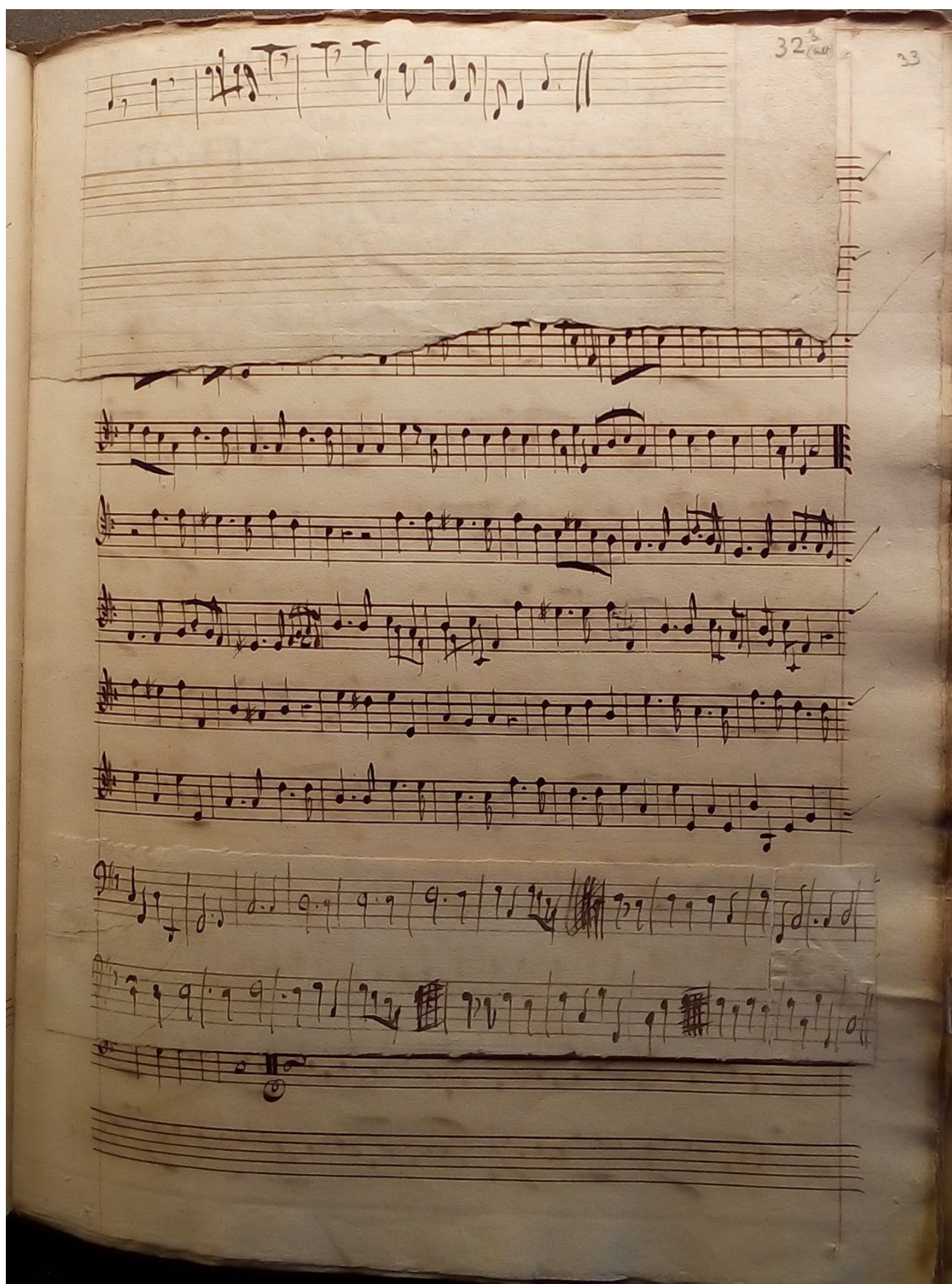
(d)

*f* *f*

[vc + bc]

*f* 6 6 6 5

Ex. 13: Sherard, Op. 2, Sonata 3, Allegro (3b), ending: (a) original version in D.252, with heavily crossed-out bars boxed; (b) Sherard's first revisions in D.252; (c) Sherard's revisions on paper slips (none for bc); (d) version printed in Op. 2.



Illus. 5: GB-Ob, MS Mus.Sch.D.252, ff.32a and 33 (Sonata 3: **3d**, violoncello): the pastedown and paper slip are in Sherard's hand, as are the revisions made to the middle staves on the page. The paper slip provides the revised end to 3c (on f.32v).



Sherard also had further thoughts about the final movement, Presto (3d). Post-copying he reworked the first strain by expanding four of the bars, creating an addition two bars, effectively strengthening the cadential progressions. But as we have seen elsewhere, by the time of the printed version Sherard reverted to his first ideas, omitting the bars added to D.252. The affected bars are boxed in Example 14.

(a) **Presto**

6 9 8 6 5 5

7 6 6 6 6 4 # 6 6 4 # 6

14 6 6 6 4 3 6 6 4 3



8 (b) Presto

6 6 6 6 6 6 6 6

13

5 6 6 6 6 6 6 6

Ex. 14: Sherard, Op. 2, Sonata 3, Presto (3d), first strain: (a) Sherard's revised version D.252; (b) version printed in Op. 2. Boxed bars indicate Sherard's expansion in D.252 not retained in the print.

Sherard also significantly reworked the second strain of the same movement (3d). Originally in D.252 the violoncello doubled the continuo throughout, but in bb. 24–29 Sherard expanded the repeated note (dotted-crotchet, quaver) idea in the second half of each bar by adding divisions in the violoncello, an idea that was retained in the printed version. The end of the movement was more substantially reworked. In all four partbooks there are pastedowns (in Sherard's hand) covering the last three staves of the pages (the last dozen or so bars). The version given in the pastedowns corresponds to the reading in the printed version. Though they have not been lifted, the pastedowns were only glued at each side, which allows us to see what lies beneath; the pastedowns in the violoncello and continuo partbooks have been cut. The original layer entered by the copyist was also revised, though these emendations appear to have been made by the copyist, rather than by Sherard. The differences between the version entered by the copyist and the revised version on the pastedown are not substantial, best thought of as refinements to details rather than a wholesale reworking as we have seen elsewhere. The first version (under the pastedown) is two and a half bars shorter than the revised version: Example 15. In the initial version the sequentially repeated quaver idea of beginning at b. 48 had a lower neighbour note on the third quaver (rather than the skip of a third), it is difficult to tell but these seem to have been corrected by the copyist; the version under the pastedown also has this correction as well as other emendations in the violon 2 part; the pastedown includes the same melodic figure though there they are only given with the skipping thirds. If the changes were made by the copyist it reinforces the fact that he worked closely and collaboratively with Sherard. It also strongly suggests that the revisions took place in stages. In the version beneath the pastedown, the basses were originally a bar shorter; this was added into both parts, though the result is still a minim out. In the reworked version (on the pastedowns) Sherard replaced the dotted-minim, crotchet rhythm in the basses with that of minim, crotchet-rest, crotchet: this mostly affected the

violoncello, as the continuo already had this rhythm from b. 56. Sherard's pastedown revisions also includes some reworkings, crossed out though still visible. In the pastedowns on all four parts, he included a further repetition of the four-quaver arpeggiated idea, though on reflection he considered this superfluous and excised them (see, for example, Illustration 9, below, which shows the violin 1 part).

(a)

47 (Presto)

53

60

(b)  
52 (Presto)

59

Ex. 15: Sherard, Op. 2, Sonata 3, Presto (**3d**), second strain, ending: (a) version in D.252 beneath the pastedowns, from b. 47, editorial notes in small font; (b) version printed in Op. 2, from b. 52

A further, abandoned, reworking of the second strain of **3d** also appears to have taken place. On the reverse side of Sherard's pastedown on f.19, covering the end of the movement, also in the composer's hand. The irregular shape of the pastedown (covering the end of one stave and the two staves below in full) means that several bars were cut out. Comparing the reading with that above and with the printed version, we can see that while all three are derivative the discarded version matches neither of the other two and includes new material with additional bars: Example 16. This suggests yet another version of at least this strain existed in a lost score.

47

Print

D.252 orig. version

Pastedown f.19 (reverse)

*f*

[page cut]

[page cut]

*p*

Ex. 16: Sherard, Op. 2, Sonata 2, Presto (3d), violin 1, ending: comparison of printed version, D.252 original version, and discarded version on reverse side of paper slip to f. 19.

Finally we come to Sonata 2, which seems to have been quite problematic for Sherard. All four movements were revised in some way. He updated several passages in the opening Adagio (2a) and at the end of the Vivace (2d). The inner movements (2b and 2c) also contain reworkings but less substantive than in the outer ones, so we will deal with them first. In the inner movements Sherard reworked some of the registers of the bass parts. Both basses in opening five and a half bars of the Adagio (2c) are given an octave lower in D.252 than in the print, with the instruction in Sherard's hand 'above 8 notes higher' in the violoncello part and 'above' in the continuo (Illustration 6). Similar changes were made to the first strain of the Allegro (2b). From bars 5–8 the upper register notes of the continuo part were originally written an octave below but revised by scratching out the original reading and writing over it. By b. 9 the original line is all in the same (lower) register, so Sherard was able to simply write the instruction 'above', which was presumably intended to last until the end of b. 11, corresponding with the print (Illustration 6). The repeated note dotted-crotchet, quaver figures in the violoncello part at bars 8, 10, 13 (first

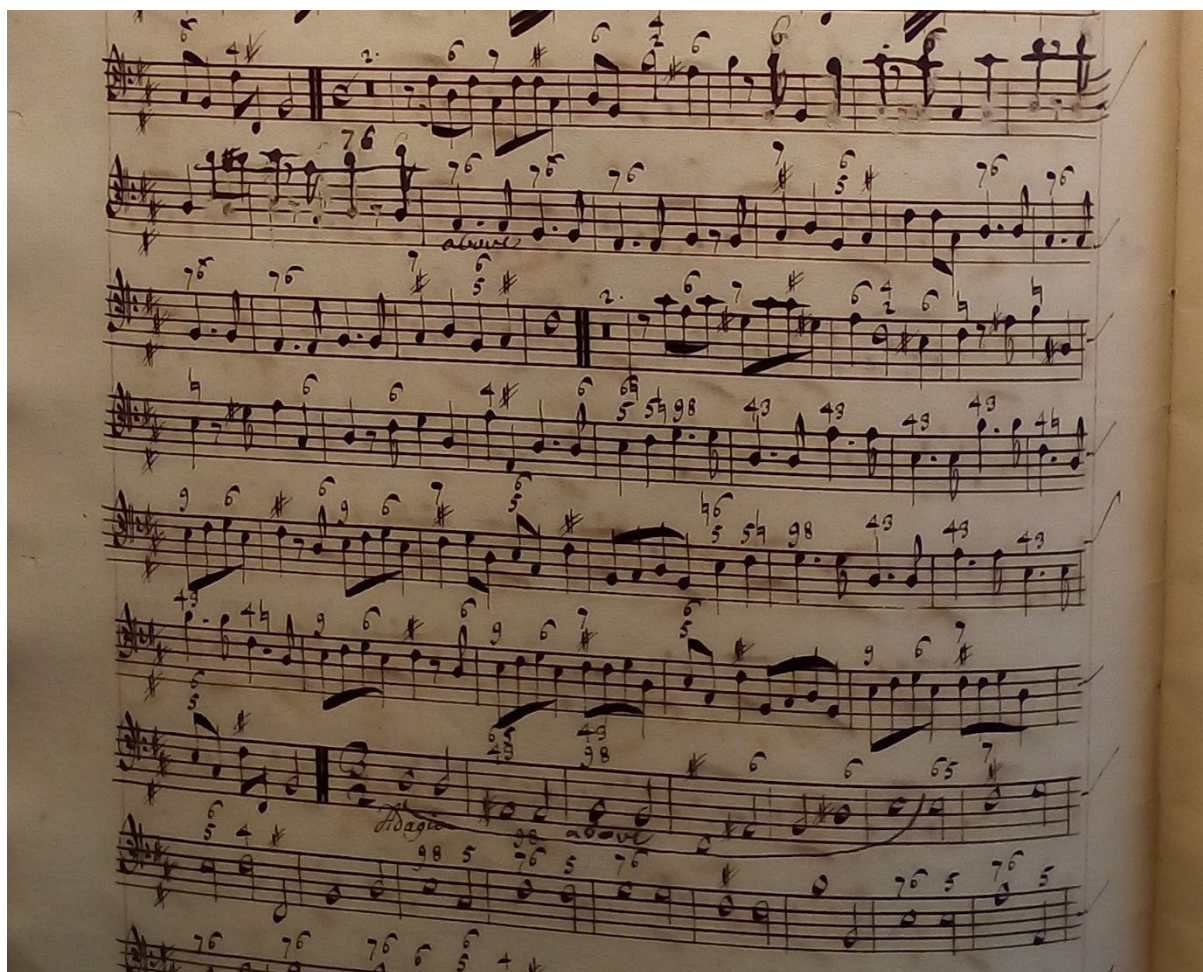
beat) and 14 were revised by Sherard in D.252 (retained in the print) to match the leaping octave quaver idea of b. 9. Ahead of the print Sherard also revised the violin 2 part as given in D.252. In the manuscript bb. 5–8 show that Sherard's first had rests and crotchets, instead of the repeated quavers of the printed version: cf. Example 17 (a) and (b). In the same passage in D.252 the ties were also omitted in what became the 6-5 suspensions; this may have been an oversight, but it is the sort of detail that appears to have been lacking from the exemplar from which the copyist worked.

(a) **Allegro**

The musical score is presented in three systems, each with four staves (Violin 1, Violin 2, Viola, and Cello/Double Bass). The key signature is one sharp (F#) and the time signature is 3/4. The tempo is marked 'Allegro'. The score includes various musical notations such as eighth notes, sixteenth notes, and rests. Fingerings are indicated by numbers 1-5 below the notes. The first system ends with a double bar line. The second system begins with a measure rest in the first staff. The third system begins with a measure rest in the first staff. The score concludes with a double bar line.

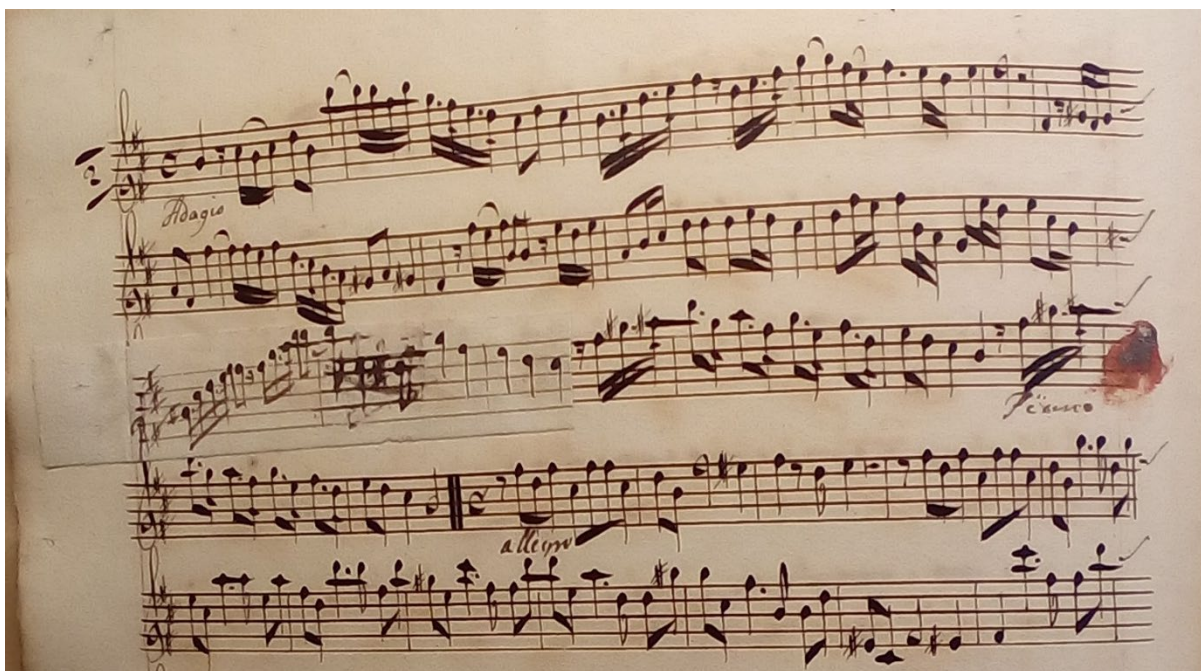


Ex. 17: Sherard, Op. 2, Sonata 2, Allegro (2b), first strain: (a) version as first entered by the copyist in D.252; (b) bb. 5–9 of the printed version.

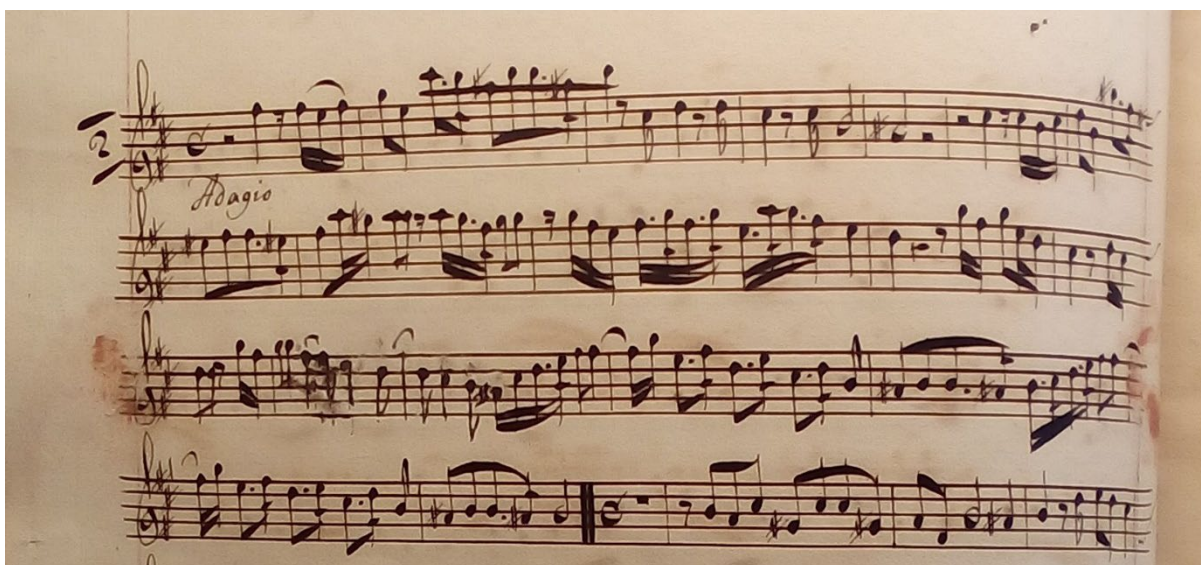


Illus. 6: GB-Ob, MS Mus.Sch.D.252, f.45v detail (Sonata 2: **2b** and opening of **2c**, basso continuo): the revisions to the first two staves and the instructions 'above' are in Sherard's hand.





Illus. 7: GB-Ob, MS Mus.Sch.D.252, f.2v detail (Sonata 2: **2a** and opening of **2b**, violin 1): the pastedown is in Sherard's hand.



Illus. 8: GB-Ob, MS Mus.Sch.D.252, f.17v detail (Sonata 2: **2a** and opening of **2b**, violin 2): the revisions to the third stave are in Sherard's hand.

Of the two movements containing substantive revisions, the Vivace (**2d**) is the most straightforward. There are pastedowns in Sherard's hand covering the final three staves in both violins; unlike the similarly extensive pastedowns in Sonata 3, these contain no crossings-out.<sup>62</sup> These pastedowns were also glued at the sides, so again it is possible to see what lies beneath (there is no writing on the reverse sides of these pastedowns). Sherard's reworked version largely

<sup>62</sup> The pastedown in the violin 1 book has been designated f.4, while the counterpart in violin 2 was not separately foliated.

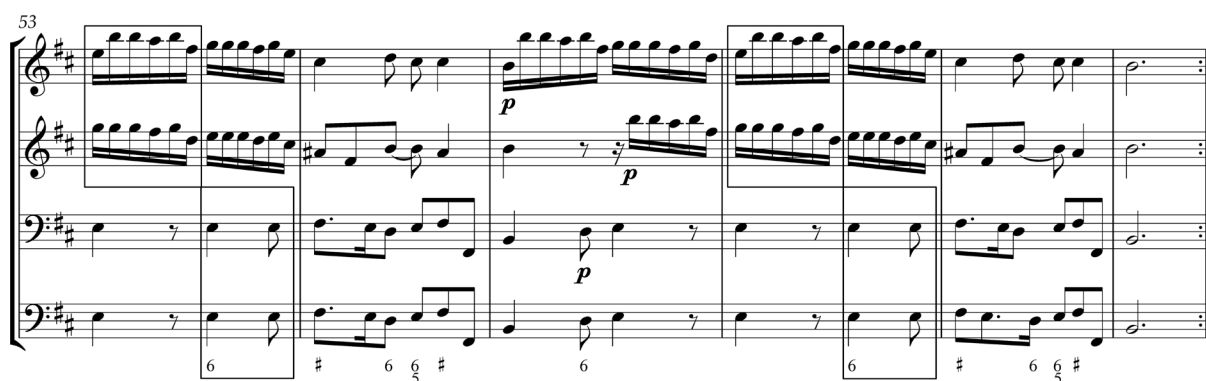


corresponds with that given in the print. When compared to the first version the main difference is the exchange of the violin parts for 14 bars from the mid-point of b. 42. In the process of reworking the melodic lines Sherard also slightly expanded them, adding a further two bars. The melodic material is the same in each instance and derivative of the surrounding bars. The harmony remained unchanged, however, so while the reworkings necessitated pastedowns in the violin books, the violoncello and continuo parts were simply amended to include the additional bars: the added bars are shaded in Example 18.

38 (Vivace)

43

48



Ex. 18: Sherard, Op. 2, Sonata 2, Allegro (**2d**), ending as given in the print; boxed sections are not given in the original version in D.252, beneath the pastedown.

While the reworkings in **2d** are straightforward, the case is less clear in the opening movement of the sonata. In the Adagio (**2a**) there is a pastedown (in Sherard's hand) covering the first half of the third stave in the violin 1 book (Illustration 7), though there are no corresponding changes in the other parts. As suggested by the largely unaltered bass books, again the main purpose of the reworkings was melodic rather than harmonic: somewhat of a feature of Sherard's reworkings. Some of the original reading can still be made out under the pastedown, which is essentially a simplified version of that on the pastedown for b. 11 and the first half of b. 12. The pastedown itself shows some of Sherard's thought process with the original reading of the second bar scratched out and a revised reading written over it. What is visible of the reverse side shows an unidentified passage in B minor: Example 19.



Ex. 19: Sherard, Op. 2, Sonata 2, pastedown on Allegro (**2a**), violin 1, bb. 11ff.: (a) original reading beneath the pastedown; (b) reverse side of the pastedown.

Although the reading on the pastedown corresponds to that in the printed version for b. 11, in the print Sherard reworked bb. 12 and 13 to exchange the violin parts: Example 20. Indeed, it seems that originally a larger pastedown was intended. This is suggested by the red smudge at the end of the third stave, a remnant of the glue Sherard used for the pastedowns and paper slips (as can be seen in other places in the manuscript). Indeed, we find the same glue remnants at the same point in violin 2 (i.e. f.17v, stave 3) (Illustration 8), suggesting that there was once a pastedown at this point too. An original reading for these bars was also scratched out and written over, corresponding to bb. 11–13; the original reading is only partly legible. We might only speculate whether the excised pastedowns contained new material with Sherard reverting to his original ideas or whether they reflected the exchanged violin parts.

(a) Adagio

5 6 # 6 5 # 6 7 6 7 6 #

6

5 6 # 6 5 # 9 6 4 3 5

10

6 6 # 6 4 # 9 9 6 5 5 9 8 #

14

7 6 7 6 7 6 7 6 6 4 # 7 6 7 6 7 6 7 6 6 4 #

(b)

[Conjectured reading:  
pastedown can't be lifted]

10

(c)

10

Ex. 20: Sherard, Op. 2, Sonata 2, Allegro (**2a**): (a) Sherard's revised version in D.252; (b) original version entered by copyist in D.252, bb. 10–14 (conjectured notes in small font); (c) bb. 10–14 from the printed version.

The case is made yet more intriguing by an examination of the reverse sides of the rest of the pastedowns and paper slips in D.252. As we shall see, there are several excerpts of versions of this exact passage of the violin 1 part of **2a**, which can be recovered either in whole or part. The evidence suggests that this passage in particular gave Sherard pause for thought. He made several attempts to rework it in D.252 and ultimately reworked it separately ahead of the print. For ease of reference all of these readings are in Example 19 in comparison with the printed parts and with the readings in D.252 (both the initial layer by the copyist, and the 'final' layer incorporating Sherard's revisions). In Example 21 the paper slips and pastedowns are numbered 1–4 and are referred to in the discussion below as 'insert (1)' etc.

The single short leaf (in Sherard's hand) now pasted in between ff.4v and 5 shows the first four and a half bars of the violin 1 from **2a**: insert (1) of Example 21. As this is given in the page opening for Sonata 3, at first glance the inserted slip appears to be misplaced. This is not, however, the case. It was simply pasted in the wrong way around. What is now the reverse side should be facing out, which has the revised reading of the end of the Allegro movement from Sonata 3 (**3a**); corresponding paper slips are found in the violin 2 and violoncello parts (see above). The slip is headed 'Sonate 2<sup>da</sup>' and interestingly gives the same reading as that entered by the copyist (Illustration 9; cf. the first stave of f.2v, shown in Illustration 8). The only two differences. First, Sherard's paper slip omits the tie from bb. 1–2, though this could easily have been cut off as the top of the paper seems to have been crudely torn, also cutting off the top of some of the writing. Second, a slur has been added to the semiquavers in b. 6, which is not in the D.252 version on f.2v but is in the printed version.

As discussed previously, the reworked ending to **3d** is given by a pastedown in Sherard's hand. Covering two whole staves, it is glued at both margins and the reverse side can mostly be seen: insert (2) of Example 21. On the reverse is another excerpt in (Sherard's hand) from the violin 1 part from **2a**. The reading gives from the second half of b. 6 through to the end of the movement, though there are also two large Xs crossing it out, indicating that it was to be discarded, though visible. There are again signs of reworking. The first half of b. 11 is heavily crossed out and the original reading obscured, with no updated reading given. The original readings of the end of the same bar and also the end of b. 13 were scratched out and new readings written over them: the original readings are shown in small font in Example 19. It seems not to be coincidence that halfway through b. 6 is also the start of stave 2 of f.2v, and it is also where the paper slip headed 'Sonate 2<sup>da</sup>' (discussed above) ended. It is possible that this pastedown was originally glued (or intended to be glued) onto staves 2 and 3 of f.2v (where there are glue remnants), though it would not have covered the end of the movement at the start of the fourth stave.

On the reverse side of the pastedown on f.19 (i.e. Sonata 3, violin 2) is another excerpt from the same passage in **2a**, violin 1, in Sherard's hand; it gives roughly the last crotchet beat of b. 8 to the end of b. 11 but again with variants not found elsewhere: insert (3) of Example 21. Sherard crossed out the material on b. 11, though it is still visible. Yet another extract from **2a** can be recovered from the paper slip added to the bass part of Sonata 3 (f.32b): insert (4) of Example 21. Its reverse side contains the last seven bars of the violin 1 part from Sonata 2 (**2a**). The layout of the bars is interesting: the inserted slip comprises three staves: bb. 13–17 of **2a** were written on the first stave, with bb. 11–12 added below towards the end of the second stave and headed with a '+' (the common sign for an insert); it is presumably not coincidence that the paper slip to f.19 also contains the same sign above b.11. The rear side of Sherard's pastedown on f.5 (Sonata 3, violin 1) also has music in his hand, crossed out. The glue is still on both sides and the page has not been cut so it is difficult to see all of what lies beneath. The passage is again from **2a**, from the second half of b. 6 through to the end of the movement; it begins midway through the bar, as it does in D.252 (cf. f.2v, stave 2); it picks up from the end of the paper slip to f.5. On the pastedown bb. 11 and 13 are heavily crossed out and revised and particularly hard to read. What seems to emerge from comparison of these paper slips is Sherard's working out of the melodic line, especially around bar 11. The results were not entirely satisfactory, with Sherard reworking this section again ahead of the print.

The fragmentary nature of the paper slips used by Sherard make it difficult to determine whether any of them came from the same source. However, they are generally similar and certainly different, and poorer in quality, to the paper used in D.252. The stave sizes suggest that there were at least five different papers used, as indicated in the last column of Table 2. In summary, it seems that the same paper was used for the following: (1) pastedowns on ff.4, 5, 19; (2) pastedowns on ff. 33, 47; (3) paper slips on ff. 5, 19, 32a, and the pastedown on f.2v; (4) pastedown on f.18; (5) copyist pastedown on f.9. While it is possible that Sherard used whatever papers he had to hand, this distribution of paper types reinforces the suggestion that the revisions took place in stages.



14 15 16 17

Print (Vn 2)

D.252  
'final'

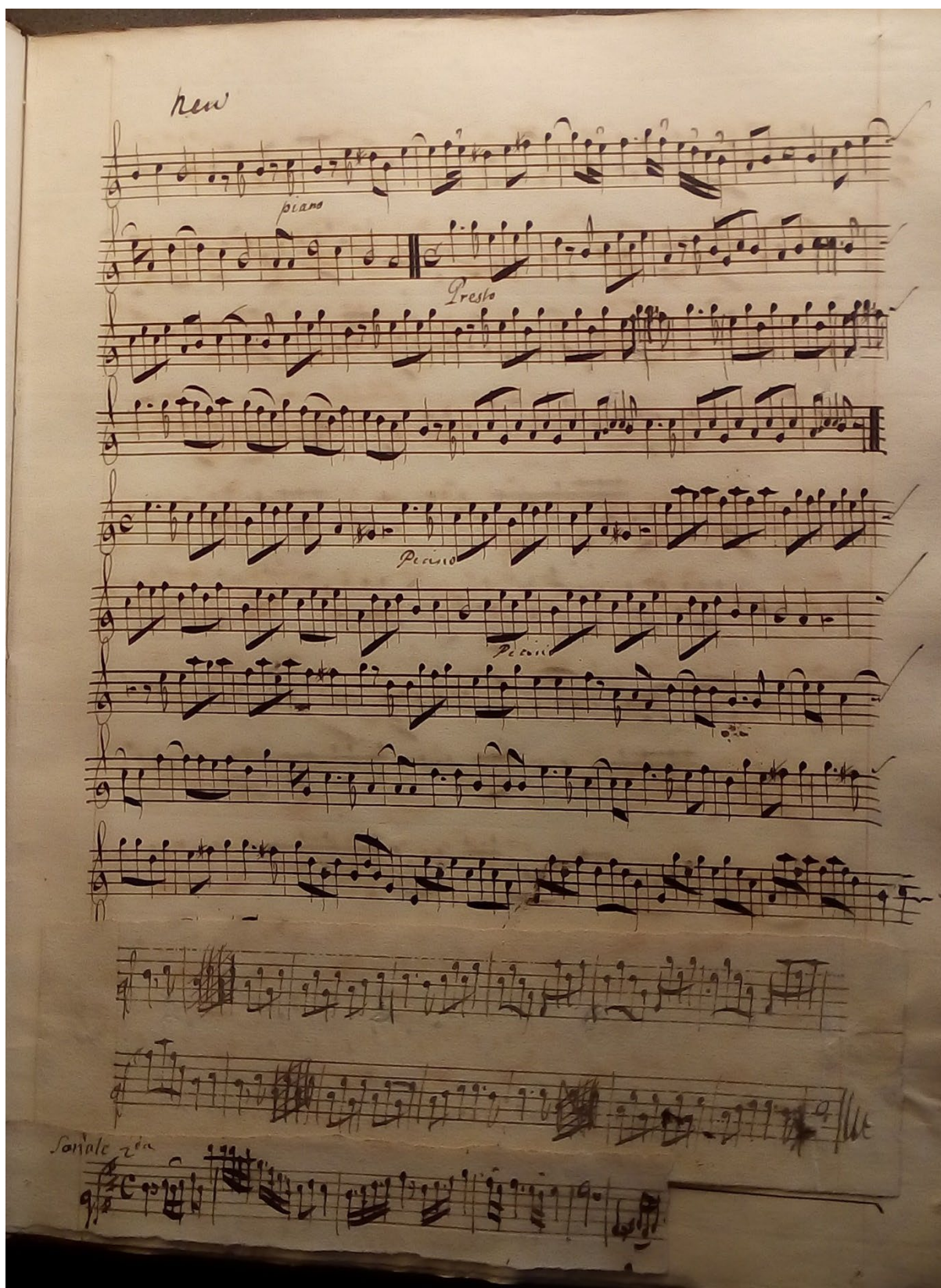
D.252  
Copyist

(4) Paper slip  
f.32a (reverse)

(2) Pastedown  
on f.5 (reverse);  
all crossed-through

Ex. 21: Comparison of versions of violin 1 from Op. 2, Sonata 2, Allegro (2a), recovered from paper slips; original readings are given in small font.





Illus. 9: GB-Ob, MS Mus.Sch.D.252, f.5 (Sonata 2: **3c** ending and **3d**, violin 1): the revisions to staves 2, 3, and 4 are in Sherard's hand, as are the pastedown and paper slip (the latter was pasted-in the wrong way around, and shows the opening of **2a**, violin 1).

Location	No. of visible staves	Stave profile (mm)	Paper width (mm) *	Scribe	Contents (facing side / reverse side)	Paper type
<i>Violin 1 partbook</i>						
Pastedown on f.2v	1	11	N/A	Sherard	Reworking of <b>2d</b> , bb. 11–13 / Unidentified treble passage in B minor	A
f.4 (Pastedown on f.3)	3	12(11)12(13)12	205	Sherard	Reworked ending to <b>2d</b> / ruled but unused	B
Pastedown on f.5	2	12(13)12	204	Sherard	Reworked ending to <b>3d</b> / <b>2a</b> , vn1 ending	B
Paper slip insert to f.5	1	11	N/A	Sherard	<b>2a</b> , vn1 opening / Reworked ending to <b>3b</b> [ <i>pasted in the wrong way around</i> ]	A
Pastedown on f.9	1	10	218 ‡	Anon H	Copyist error correction? / Not visible	C
<i>Violin 2 partbook</i>						
Pastedown on f.18	3	12.5(15)12(11)11.5	207	Sherard	Reworked ending to <b>2d</b> / ruled but unused	D
Pastedown on f.19	3	12(13)12(11)12	205	Sherard	Reworked ending to <b>3d</b> / <b>3d</b> , vn1 ending	B
Paper slip insert to f.19	1	10.5	N/A	Sherard	Reworked ending to <b>3b</b> / <b>2a</b> , vn1 opening excerpt	A
<i>Violoncello partbook</i>						
Paper slip insert: f.32b	3 (& partial fourth)	10.5(12)10(12.5)11(10.5)	206	Sherard	Reworked ending to <b>3b</b> / <b>2a</b> , vn1 ending	A
Pastedown on f.33	2	11.5(12)12	c.206 (torn)	Sherard	Reworked ending to <b>3d</b> / ruled but unused	E
<i>Basso Continuo partbook</i>						
Pastedown on f.47	2	11.5(12)12	c.206 (torn)	Sherard	Reworked ending to <b>3d</b> / ruled but unused	E

\* The width of the paper is given only where the page has been given in full (in terms of width); the measurements are approximate given the rough edges on one side in each case. / ‡ In this case the measurement is the total length of the paper. It is not clear whether the outer edge has been cut to make it more flush with the paper in D.252: there is a red ruled margin on both sides. While the stave size is comparable to those in D.252, the length of the stave is approx. 13mm longer than the staves on the same page of D.252 suggesting that it came from a different paper source.

Table 2. Summary of paper slips and pastedowns used in D.252

## What's 'New'?

Four of the sonatas (Sonatas 1, 2, 3, and 6) in D.252 have the rubric 'New' written at the top of the recto leaf in the opening, near the lefthand margin (for example, see Illustration 4). In her 1982 paper Crum simply drew reference to it, though the *Revised Description* notes that 'sections were crossed out and marked "New", indicating that the passage had been rewritten', thus making an explicit connection between the rubric and the reworkings. The rubrics appear to be in Sherard's hand. They were written in the same ink as several of the tempi (e.g. Sonata 5, violin 1 where the first 'Adagio', the 'Allegro' and the 'vivace' were written by Sherard; the two 'Adagio' markings on f.7 were written by the copyist). The obvious inference – as made in the *Revised Description* – is that it 'New' referred to the revisions evident in D.252. But if so, the rubric was not consistently applied. Sonata 1 was labelled as 'New' though it was not revised in the manuscript, nor was it reworked ahead of the print. Contrariwise, the final movement of Sonata 7 was crossed out and replaced with a new movement in the print, though it was not labelled as 'New'. In the three other sonatas labelled 'New', some form of reworkings did take place either in the manuscript or between it and the print. The differences between the versions in D.252 and the print suggest that Sonatas 2, 3, and 6 would have needed a 'new' score (or parts) to have been written out for at least some movements, to incorporate the exchange of violin parts and newly written movements. But this is equally true of Sonatas 7, 9, 11, and 12 where no such instruction was noted.

Stephen Rose has suggested that D.252 was 'prepared from [Sherard's] working score, possibly with the copyist adding the bass figuring, and then Sherard made the corrections before the sonatas were performed and a final version produced as a printer's copy-text'.<sup>63</sup> The lack of details such as tempi and dynamics, as described above, do suggest that Anon H was working from Sherard's fowle originall. However, a striking feature of D.252 is that the sonatas are remarkably well laid out, with each occupying no more than a single opening (as in the print), so much so that the copyist could confidently leave an opening for Sonata 10 to be copied. Moreover, more than half the sonatas use up most, if not all, of the staves on each opening, especially in the violin parts. For example, in transcribing the first violin part for Sonatas 1, 2, 5, 6, 7, 9, and 11 the copyist used all twenty-four staves in full, writing either to the margin of the last stave or leaving only a small space (for example, see Illustrations 3, 4, and 5, above). In each sonata the bars are carefully and evenly laid out. Of course, the copyist was a professional but this level of precision would have been difficult working from a score, and especially so if he was working from Sherard's fowle originall.<sup>49</sup> It seems an uncommon effort to be made considering the way in which the sonatas were subsequently revised only for the manuscript to be abandoned.

The careful layout of the manuscript suggests that when Anon H was commissioned to transcribe the sonatas Sherard considered them to be finished, at least to that point – their proof was perhaps in the performance. However, it is intriguing that he copied out all but one of the sonatas, suggesting perhaps that Sonata 10 was not yet complete or ready in the exemplar. Even so, Sherard dedicated himself next, not to completing the collection, but to reworking many of the sonatas, some significantly. We have seen how involved this process was from the above examples, often including changes of small details. Though details such as tempi, dynamics, and continuo figures remained inconsistently notated. It seems also that it became increasingly unwieldy and that preserving the fine presentation of the initial copying layer became a decreasing priority. The pastedowns for Sonata 2 are nicely cut, fitting neatly across the page and written in a careful hand. Those for Sonata 3 are again quite neatly presented, though with crossed-out sections. However, the paper slips inserted to clarify the end of **3b** are rougher in

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<sup>63</sup> Rose, 'James Sherard as Music Collector', 375

appearance with torn edges and are not as effective as the pastedowns; indeed, they give the impression of clarifying readings for recopying rather than performance. In Sonatas 2 and 3 Sherard was able to cover his reworkings with these inserts covering two or three staves, but in Sonatas 7 and 8 he made no effort to do so, instead drawing a large X through the movements to be discarded or reworked: the sections of Sonatas 2 and 3 covered by the pastedowns were not crossed out. Obviously these revisions (and others) took place, though D.252 was not updated.

Throughout this essay I have deliberately described these changes in terms of a process of compositional development, rather than seeing the existence of the D.252 versions and those in the printed Op. 2 as parallel versions in circulation. As Herissone has demonstrated composers such as Locke and Hingeston similarly reworked their instrumental consort music with the new readings intended to replace the old ones, but they also seemed happy for parallel versions to exist. There is no evidence to suggest that Sherard had D.252 made for transmission, nor does it seem to have been commissioned for simple enjoyment. If it was prepared for manuscript dissemination it does not seem to have fulfilled its function. In the first instance it is incomplete. No other manuscript copies are known, which is not of course evidence, but it is suggestive. It is noticeable that some of Sherard's paper slips are untidy and are thus visually dissonant when compared to the elegant copying of Anon H. Taking the violin 1 book as an example we note that Sherard's pastedown covering the final movement of Sonata 2 is neatly written; the paper slip itself, which nearly matches the page width, has been neatly cut. The pastedown covering the end of Sonata 3 is similar, but presumably after pasting it in, Sherard effaced several half-bars. By contrast the paper slip added to the margin of the same opening has been torn rather than cut. By Sonatas 6 and 7 no effort was made to provide the updated readings indicated by the crossed-out movements. The impression one gets is that the updating of D.252 happened piecemeal and was left unfinished.<sup>64</sup> After the parts had been copied Sherard added some details regarding tempi and dynamics but also reworked small details of rhythm as well as entire movements. Most of these reworkings were done by scratching out readings and writing over them or by adding paper slips, either pasted into the margin or pasted down onto the pages, suggesting that the new readings were intended to supersede the old ones. Many of the revised readings were reflected in the printed versions, but clearly Sherard serially recomposed several sonatas between abandoning D.252 and submitting the sonatas to Roger. We must remember that Sherard was not a professional composer for whom hearing his work was likely to have been necessary. The evidence suggests that D.252 was commissioned as part of the compositional process to enable Sherard to work out the finer details of the sonatas. It was a private document not intended for wider circulation but instead for publication. The sonatas were not, however, ready and required a good deal of reworking and tinkering. It also seems that Sherard gradually considered the project of updating D.252 to not be worth the candle and abandoned it as functional document, though his retention of it suggests a personal value.

## Conclusions

D.252 offers a glimpse into the James Sherard the composer, but more widely allows insight to the creative process of the early eighteenth century. The pool of evidence is, of course, limited and any conclusions must thus be tempered accordingly. The reworked sonatas in D.252 and the identification of movements to be excised in two of the sonatas suggests that these changes were made after playing through the works. Sherard made further changes to several sonatas by the time they appeared in print. At least some of these changes would have required new scores, given the extent of interchanging of the violin parts as well as the complete reworking of some

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<sup>64</sup> Herissone lists this first of six characteristics she identified in the complex revisions of Locke's consort music: see, Herissone, *Musical Creativity in Restoration England*, 282–283.

movements. Perhaps this was done on paper slips, as in Locke's scorebook (GB-Lbl, Add. MS 17801), though the extent of the differences between the first version of the sonatas as entered in D.252 by Anon H and those printed by Estienne Roger were significant. We may never know but the result must have aligned with Herissone's observations on the 'long-standing tradition for composers to store their consort music in large personal scorebooks', which preserve often extensive compositional revisions.<sup>65</sup> Perhaps the closest comparison is William Boyce's fowlle originall for his trio sonatas, published in 1747. GB-Lbl, Add. MS 32,160 preserves early drafts of the sonatas with copious revisions and emendations which can be traced through other manuscript sources leading to the printed collection.<sup>66</sup>

While we can only glimpse fragments, it is striking how closely Sherard's reworkings mirror the consort music examples of Matthew Locke, John Hingeston, Henry Bowman and others discussed by Herissone, involving 'both alteration of detail and extreme revision in which entire sections of music were reworked, sometimes repeatedly. ... like Locke, both Bowman and Hingeston sought to vary the imitative relationships between parts, a feature that was obviously fundamental to the players' intellectual engagement with the music in these genres'.<sup>67</sup> Sherard's revisions tended to be primarily melodic, often involving imitative sections and the interchange of the violin lines. He also paid careful attention to small details, revising aspects of rhythm and register of bass lines. Herissone noted the following of Locke, though it could easily have been written about Sherard's Op. 2: 'What is most notable about these more minor alterations is that he took so much care and trouble over changing notational details that in most other contexts would have been considered to be background variation – that is, characteristics that were usually not notated in a precise manner and that were subject to variation in performance'.<sup>68</sup>

Presumably Sherard performed his own trio sonatas with Haym and Cosimi at Southampton House.<sup>69</sup> Indeed, all three composers indicated that Wriothesley Russell had heard and approved of their sonatas before publication (see Sherard's dedication to Op. 1: Illustration 2, above). In D.252 we perhaps see evidence of such 'critical friends' but certainly it seems to suggest that Sherard worked hard to cultivate the craft of his creativity.

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<sup>65</sup> Herissone, *Musical Creativity in Restoration England*, 263.

<sup>66</sup> See I. Bartlett and R. J. Bruce, *William Boyce: A Tercentenary Sourcebook and Compendium* (Newcastle, 2011), 44-47.

<sup>67</sup> Herissone, *Musical Creativity in Restoration England*, 294.

<sup>68</sup> Herissone, *Musical Creativity in Restoration England*, 295.

<sup>69</sup> Gasparini probably joined them on occasion after his arrival to London in 1702.