The Solo for a Violin

A New Perspective on the Italian Violinists in London in the Eighteenth Century

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Thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

Royal College of Music, London

December 2017

Abstract

Throughout the eighteenth century Italian violinists were praised and admired by London audiences. Though never as feted as the Italian castrati and sopranos, the Italian violinists in eighteenth-century London played a prominent role, featuring as leaders and soloists in every context where music was required. This dissertation focuses on the role the 'Solo' played in the careers of these Italian violinists, and how these artists and this genre fitted in socially, culturally and aesthetically. The 'Solo' was an important tool for them in promoting their careers: it was the repertoire they performed and subsequently published in order to enhance their fame. As a genre, the 'Solo' was uniquely suited to exploring a violinist's artistic invention. Exploring the repertoire provides a new understanding of these artists and the important role they played in eighteenth-century London.

First, the Italian violinist is considered through a discussion of the historical and cultural context of eighteenth-century London into which these artists arrived. The cultural scene (including the Italian Opera, the theatres and the emerging public concert scene) is studied, as are various forms of patronage and the tradition of private pupils. The prominence and longevity of the 'Solo' is examined through a consideration of surviving catalogues from the publishers active in London during the century. Concert and publication advertisements support the argument.

To understand further why the 'Solo' and the Italian violinist were appreciated, eighteenth-century treatises on aesthetics and musical performance are discussed, exploring the concept of 'Good Taste' and in the process revealing the 'aesthetic of moderation'. Finally, the Solo repertoire itself will be explored, focusing both on contemporary aesthetics and performance practice issues. This will be done both through a general survey of the Solo genre as well as a couple of case studies.

Acknowledgements: Genesis of a research project

This present study grew out of a chance finding at the library at Oberlin Conservatory of Music, where I was pursuing the degree of Master of Music, which in turn revived my interest in the historical context of the music I was performing. Since I was a child I had harboured an interest in the Italian violin repertoire of the eighteenth century, having fallen in love with the sonatas of Francesco Maria Veracini and Gaetano Pugnani in particular. The M.Mus. thesis which I found by chance entitled "The Italian Virtuoso Violin Tradition before Paganini: An Overview and Reappraisal" led me on to read *The Eighteenth-Century Diaspora of Italian Music and Musicians*, where, in particular, Simon McVeigh's article "Italian Violinists in Eighteenth-Century London" inspired me to pursue my current research.[1] Special thanks are owed to Professor Steven Plank who helped me in putting together my first draft for an application to the DMus programme at the Royal College of Music all those years ago.

In the intervening years my research has taken many twists and turns. Originally the intention was for a study based very much on an understanding of the cultural and social context. Recently, however, I realised the importance of understanding the wider debate on aesthetics and how studying the eighteenth-century discourse on 'Good Taste' offers a new perspective on issues of performance practice. Indeed, such an understanding provides a context not just for the present study, but also for any future work I might undertake both in terms of research and as a performer. Having the fullest understanding of the process of academic rigour required truly to support an idea has been a revelation and in many ways the most important aspect of these last eight years of studying.

This project would not have been possible without the help of several people. A variety of colleagues have inspired me and challenged me on the arguments I was trying to make and have helped me record the Solos presented on the CD. Special thanks to harpsichordists Aidan Phillips, Thomas Allery, Richard Moore and Graham Coatman for their willingness to spend time recording this repertoire with me. Thanks to Terence Charlston for advising me on which harpsichords were most appropriate for the repertoire, and to the curator of the RCM Museum of Instruments, Gabriele Rossi Rognoni and his predecessor Jenny Nex for advising me on use of the instruments in the museum, and for letting me record in the museum before it closed for refurbishment at the end of 2016. Thanks to RCM performance spaces for helping to book the Inner Parry Room and the

[1] Jared M. Church, "The Italian Virtuoso Violin Tradition before Paganini: An Overview and Reappraisal" (M.Mus. diss., University of Northern Colorado, 2004). Simon McVeigh, "Italian Violinists in Eighteenth-Century London", in *The Eighteenth-Century Diaspora of Italian Music and Musicians*, ed. Reinhard Strohm (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2001).

Corelli Room for recording sessions. Thanks to the staff at the RCM library, in particular Peter Horton, Michael Mullen and Monika Pietras for helping me with access to scores and special sources needed for this project. Thank you to Catherine Martin for advising me on performance-specific issues and helping me rethink my performance in the light of research rather than just artistic intuition. Also thanks to the staff of the RCM Studios, in particular the Studio Administrators Emma Towers-Evans and her successor Danny Holland, who have provided help and support in lending equipment, helping with instruction in editing software, and in the final edit of the CDs which accompany this dissertation.

The final weeks and months of a dissertation are always a special time. Thank you to Thomas Green for support during the rewrite phase and for proof-reading and reassurances, and to my valiant and kind husband Jeremy who not only proof-read and tidied my dissertation, but also kept me sane with his kindness and support. And last but not least thank you to my supervisors Wiebke Thormählen and Richard Langham Smith for their continual support, and to Natasha Loges for helping me with the process of rewriting from the very beginning.

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Introduction

Setting the Stage

On Tuesday 29 May 1726 the reader of the *Daily Courant* would have discovered amongst listings of items lost, items for sale, and rooms to let, three advertisements for entertainments during the coming week.[1] The entertainments on offer that particular week were performances at Drury Lane Theatre and Lincoln Inn Fields Theatre, and a concert at York Buildings where Sig. Castrucci would "perform several Concerto's and Solos's of his own Composition, with two Concerto's of the famous Corelli".[2] It seems that Castrucci's name, along with the mention of Corelli, would in itself have been a guarantee to attract an audience to the concert. Indeed, throughout the 1720s and the following decades advertisements like this one became ever more common, substantiating the popularity of Italian violinists at the time.[3] Throughout these advertisements one genre in particular was mentioned again and again: the 'Solo'. Further reading reveals that the term 'Solo' was used as a shorthand for a genre of works written in sonata form in the broadest sense of the word in terms of structure and ordering of movements, involving a solo instrument (mostly violin but also flute or cello but never a keyboard instrument) and basso continuo.[4]

The terminology of the 'Solo' seems to have emerged gradually in practice in England during the late Seventeenth and the opening decade of the eighteenth century. Though the term 'Solo' was not consistently applied to a particular repertoire across title pages, and it was not defined theoretically, it was nevertheless consistently used in concert programmes and advertisements, in music publishers' catalogues, and in general discourse throughout the eighteenth century. In the English context in particular the genre had special performance and marketing connotations: Solos were the repertoire with which these artists first presented themselves in concert, an 'Opus 1' would be dedicated to an important patron, and Solos were published and sold (mostly using one of the London-based publishing houses) for further promotion of the artist's career, both as a performer and a teacher, with elaborate dedications to the patron included.

Though most Solos performed and sold during the eighteenth century were authored by Italian violinists, contemporary catalogues do reveal that the genre was not solely the domain of these artists. English composers such as Henry Eccles and Michael Christian

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[1] *Daily Courant*, Issue 7628, Tuesday, 29 March, 1726, classified advertisements, as found in *17th and 18th Century Burney Collection,* British Library Database.
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] *17th and 18th Century Burney Collection*, British Library Database; Simon McVeigh, *Calendar of London Concerts 1750–1800 advertised in the London daily press*, Database; *The London stage, 1660–1800: a calendar of plays, entertainments & afterpieces, together with casts, box-receipts and contemporary comment / Compiled from the playbills, newspapers and theatrical diaries of the period*. Part 1 (1660–1700) edited by William van Lennep; part 2 (1700–1729) edited by Emmett L. Avery; part 3 (1729–1747) edited by Arthur H. Scouten; part 4 (1747–1776) edited by George Winchester Stone Jr (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1960–1968).
[4] William S. Newman, *The Sonata in The Baroque Era* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1972). See also illustration 1 on page 59.

Festing also published Solos for the violin, as explored by Magdalena Kostka in her dissertation.[5] A few German musicians resident in England (among them John Christopher Pepusch and George Frideric Handel) are also represented in contemporary catalogues, and Italian cellists such as Giovanni Bononcini likewise contributed to the genre, but their contributions only form a small portion of the repertoire, and will not be covered in this dissertation.[6]

In the hands of the Italian violinists the Solo had a particular role: It was an integral part of an artistic ecosystem of performing, teaching, patronage and publishing, and throughout the century these artists dominated the genre. With the notable exception of Corelli's Solos Opus 5 Italian violinists very rarely performed works not of their own composition. Consequently, by focusing on Solos authored by Italian violinists who are known to have performed in London, we will gain an insight into the Solo, functioning equally as a living performance repertoire and tool for artistic prowess, and as a commodity and a promotion tool. Whereas the other great repertoire of the eighteenth century (the concerto) has been the subject of several studies in recent decades, intriguingly the Solo as a genre has received comparatively little attention within eighteenth-century research.[7] It is therefore time to investigate this particular repertoire further, focusing on the period during which both the Solo and Italian violinists were particularly influential in the London context: 1716–1772.

For the Italian violinists active during the eighteenth century in London the Solo was an important tool in promoting their careers as well as a way to express their individuality. It was the repertoire they performed and subsequently published in order to enhance their fame; furthermore, as a genre the Solo was uniquely suited to expressing a violinist's artistic invention. As such, each individual artist's output reflected his own character and artistic individuality whilst still mirroring, at least to some degree, stylistic developments within the musical world over the period in question, as will be explored later in the dissertation. Exploring the repertoire as well as the context within which it was created will lead to a new understanding of these artists and the important role they played in eighteenth-century London.

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[5] Magdalena Kostka, "Sonatas for Violin and Basso Continuo Written by British Composers in the First Half of the Eighteenth Century" Ph.D. Thesis, Cardiff University, 2014.
[6] See Appendix 2 table 3.
[7] Karl Geiringer, "The Rise of Chamber Music", in *New Oxford History of Music*, vol. 7, *The Age of Enlightenment 1745–1790*, ed. E. Wellesz and F. Sternfeld (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1973), 317–321; Simon McVeigh and Jehoash Hirshberg, *The Italian Solo Concerto 1700–1760: Rhetorical Strategies and Style History* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2004).

The popularity of the Italian violinists at that time fits into the broader issue of contemporary English tastes and fashions through the eighteenth century.[8] At the turn of the century the English had for some time already been captivated by all things Italian, and Italian art and culture would continue to inspire architecture and culture in general for decades to come.[9] This was largely due to the tradition of the Grand Tour, which was by that time firmly established as a part of any respectable gentleman's education and cultivation.[10] Although Paris was on the itinerary, Italy was the main destination.[11] Here the travellers would visit the ancient sites of Rome in particular, and immerse themselves in the arts and culture of the time. Upon their return to England these travellers had not only acquired impressions of different cultures, they also often returned with the best artefacts that Italy could offer. The most common imports were pieces of art (sculpture and painting) to adorn large country houses, at times necessitating the construction of special galleries and picture cabinets to house these collections.[12] Some travellers also brought home with them printed music for their leisure (such as the works of the great Arcangelo Corelli), and others (such as the Earl of Burlington) even imported artists, whether singers, painters or, indeed, violinists such as Nicola Cosimi (and his colleague the cellist Nicola Francesco Haym) who arrived in 1702 or, a decade later, Pietro Castrucci and his brother Prospero.[13] Over the course of the eighteenth century Italian violinists would continue to arrive in England, either brought or invited by patrons, or arriving on their own accord with letters of reference.[14] Their careers in London will be explored in the body of this thesis.

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[8] Jeremy Black, *The British and the Grand Tour* (London: Croom Helm, 1985); Jeremy Black, *Italy and the Grand Tour* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003).

[9] John Brewer, *The Pleasure of the Imagination: English Culture in the Eighteenth Century* (London: Harper Collins, 1997).

[10] Edward Chaney, *The Evolution of the Grand Tour: Anglo-Italian Cultural Relations since the Renaissance* (London: Routledge, 1998).

[11] *The Grand Tour*. British Library Database by Adam Matthews Digital. This source provides background articles by a range of specialists as well as the chance to search the history of all the travellers in the eighteenth century. For further information about this source, which can only be accessed at the British Library, see: http://www.amdigital.co.uk/m-collections/collection/the-grand-tour/. See also Roger North. *The Musicall Grammarian 1728*, ed. Mary Chan and Jamie C. Kassler (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), particularly p. 272.

[12] Brewer, *The Pleasure of the Imagination,* 207; Mark Girouard, *Life in the English Country House: A Social and Architectural History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1978); Christopher Christie, *The British Country House in the Eighteenth Century* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000).

[13] Both Cosimi and Haym have been the subjects of research by Lowell Lindgren: "Haym, Nicola Francesco". Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online, Oxford University Press, accessed 26 August, 2016, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/12627; "Cosimi, Nicola". Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online, Oxford University Press, accessed 26 August, 2016, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/42037; "The Accomplishments of the Learned and Ingenious Nicola Francesco Haym (1678–1729)", *Studi musicali* 16 (1987): 247–380; see also Alberg W. Cooper, *Nicola Cosimi 1667–1717. His English Visit 1701–1705*, accessed 26 August, 2016, http://www.thecoopercollection.co.uk/art11.htm.

[14] For an introduction to the Italian violinists active in London in the eighteenth century see: Simon McVeigh, "Italian Violinists in Eighteenth-Century London", in *The Eighteenth-Century Diaspora of Italian Music and Musicians*, ed. Reinhard Strohm (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2001).

While the Italian artists pursued very diverse careers in London, they all had one thing in common: within a short time of arriving they would feature in performances of "Solos of their own composition", and within a year a set of "Opus 1 Solos" would be advertised for sale either by leading publishers, or financially supported by a patron.[15] The presence of foreign artists was of course nothing new in England by the eighteenth century: since Tudor times the musical establishment at court had comprised both native talent and foreign masters.[16] However, the advent of the eighteenth century saw a particular influx of Italian arts and artists of all kinds.[17] More artists, hearing of the fortunes to be made in England, subsequently arrived of their own accord to seek a prosperity which they could not have achieved in their homeland.[18]

Since the restoration of the monarchy, London had seen the re-establishment of its theatres, as well as the emergence of public concerts and the occasional semi-opera put on by the theatrical companies.[19] By the end of the first decade of the eighteenth century London had become a true centre of culture.[20] Its theatres (Drury Lane in particular), the Italian Opera at Kings Theatre, the entertainments/concerts, and the regular musical meetings in the city at various public houses offered the *beau monde* a range of entertainment, and afforded musicians, actors and singers manifold ways of pursuing their careers, as will be explored later on.[21] The love for all things Italian was most obviously expressed at the Italian Opera.[22] From its inception this venture sought to attract the star soloists of the day (particularly Italian castrati and, later, sopranos) and thereby cause an artistic sensation. However, the excessive salaries commanded by these artists also caused ongoing economic difficulties for the Italian Opera through the eighteenth century.[23] Famous opera composers such as Giovanni Bononcini, Attilio Ariosti and George Frideric Handel

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[15] The following sources have been used to trace these performances: McVeigh, *Calendar of London Concerts 1750–1800*; *The London stage, 1660–1800,* ed. Avery *et al.*; *17th and 18th Century Burney Collection*, British Library Database.

[16] Peter Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers: The Violin at the English Court 1540–1690* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993) provides the wider context for the various influxes of foreign musicians. Andrew Ashbee, *Record of English Court Music*, vol. 8 (Chippenham: Anthony Rowe, 1995) provides sources references for the same period.

[17] Reinhard Strohm, ed., *The Eighteenth-Century Diaspora of Italian Music and Musicians* (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2001) explores the wider context of Italian instrumentalists and singers working across Europe in the eighteenth century. See also Thomas McGeary, "Handel as Art Collector: Art, Connoisseurship and Taste in Hanoverian Britain", *Early Music* 37, no. 4 (2009): 533–574.

[18] McVeigh, "Italian Violinists in Eighteenth-Century London".

[19] *The London stage, 1660–1800,* ed. Avery *et al.*, preface to part 1.

[20] R. D. Hume, "The Economics of Culture in London 1660–1740", *Huntington Library Quarterly* 169, no. 4 (2006): 487–533.

[21] Simon McVeigh and Susan Wollenberg, ed., *Concert Life in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004); and the prefaces to *The London Stage* volumes 1-4, ed. Avery *et al.*.

[22] Daniel Nalbach, *The King's Theatre, 1704–1867* (London: Society for Theatre Research, 1972).

[23] Judith Milhous and Robert D. Hume, "Opera Salaries in Eighteenth-Century London", *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 46, no. 1 (1993): 26–83, in particular p. 30 where the pay of early opera soloists such as Nicolini is mentioned.

were also invited to create operas for the London stage, and many of the instrumentalists who had come to England soon became involved in the opera.[24] Nicola Francesco Haym in particular made his mark in the early days of the Italian Opera not only as lead continuo cellist, but also as a producer of operas and an agent for his wife, who was a leading soprano in London in the first decades of the century.[25] As the century progressed Italian cellists and violinists (and native students of these artists) became increasingly instrumental in running the opera orchestras, as well as the orchestras of the major theatres and series of subscription concerts. While many orchestras had a good proportion of native English talent filling the tutti violin sections, Italian violinists and, indeed, cellists were vital in occupying the leading positions on account of their (perceived) superior musical talent and technique. Virtually all artists covered in this study worked as leaders of opera orchestras or as leaders of bands for theatre and concert series. Cellists and keyboard-players (often the composer) would lead the recitatives from the harpsichord, bringing together the stage and pit, whereas an excellent violinist was needed to lead the band, direct it in rehearsal, and perform Solos and Concertos as required during scene changes and before the actual performance.[26]

Although Italian violinists were undoubtedly celebrated in London throughout the eighteenth century, the period from 1720 to 1770 seems to have been the time when these artists truly dominated the London concert scene.[27] By 1720 documents show that three prominent Italian violinists were active in London (Francesco Geminiani, Pietro Castrucci and Giovanni Stefano Carbonelli), each filling distinct roles. All three published their sets of Opus 1 Solos for the London market soon after arriving, and all three sets continued in print in the Walsh catalogues during the 1720s and beyond.[28] In these Opus 1 Solos Geminiani, Castrucci and Carbonelli defined their artistic individuality within the boundaries of the Solo genre, an issue which will be explored further in chapter 4. For the next five decades, Italian violinists arriving in London would produce at least one set of Solos. It was only by 1770 that this tradition seems to have waned, the Concerto exceeding the Solo in importance in concert programmes; and by the 1780s few of the Italian violinists active in London would publish any Solos at all, though Solos by Italian violinists continued to feature in catalogues

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[24] Anthony Ford, "Giovanni Bononcini, 1670–1747", *The Musical Times* 111, no. 1529 (1970): 695–699.
[25] Lindgren, "Accomplishments", 257–8, where the soprano 'the Baroness' (Haym's wife) is mentioned. This article also covers the issue of the excessive salaries paid to Italian star singers both in the opera and the theatre.
[26] Simon McVeigh, *The Violinist in London's Concert Life: Felice Giardini and His Contemporaries* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1989), in particular p. 156; Judith Milhous and Curtis Price, "Harpsichords in the London Theatres, 1697–1715", *Early Music* 18, no. 1, *The Baroque Stage II* (1990): 39.
[27] See McVeigh, "Italian Violinists in Eighteenth-Century London".
[28] *A Cattalogue of Musick*: Containing all the Vocal, and Instrumental Musick Printed in England, For Iohn Walsh. Where may be had, variety of English, and Italian Songs, also Musical Instruments of all Sorts, and a variety of Curious Pieces of Musick Printed abroad London. Sold by I: Walsh, Musick Printer and Instrument maker to his Majesty at ye Harp&Hoboy, in Catherine Street, in the Strand, Price 6d. C.120.b.6. [1741]. See also Appendix 2 table 2.

up to the end of the century.[29] At the same time the Italians were beginning to be superseded by artists of German descent.[30]

When surveying the careers of the Italian violinists active in London throughout the eighteenth century it is striking how prominently the genre of Solo featured in all aspects of their careers, and how regularly and consistently it was presented in public performance.[31] Looking through the concert announcements which have survived from this period, it is remarkable how consistently Italian violinists performed and published Solos. In some cases these announcements are the first or even the only evidence we have of a particular artist being active in London at a certain point in time. It is thanks to the *Daily Courant* of 9 February 1719 that we know that Carbonelli was already in London, as other sources (such as Hawkins) only mention him from 1721 onwards.[32] The Solo, here using the eighteenth-century definition as a multi-movement work for solo instrument and figured bass, was a very versatile repertoire: not only could it be performed in the widest variety of settings, it was also easier to publish and could to some degree be performed by the competent amateur, or at least the compositional skill could be admired by those who had taste and understanding.[33] Virtually every time an Italian violinist was first mentioned in newspaper announcements or other contemporary accounts, reference is made to their performance of such a Solo either by Corelli or of their own composition. The Solos thus became their calling card, and a study of these works should provide a new perspective on why these artists were so popular.

Just as there is a lack of scholarly research into the formation of the Solo as a genre and the role it played in eighteenth-century England, there is also little research on the violinists who authored and performed these works, while the Italian castrati and sopranos populating the London stage during the eighteenth century have received much more attention. However, though Italian violinists were never feted or paid the fees of the major vocal stars, they were evidently highly regarded: contemporary records report audiences being captivated and astounded by their performances, and patrons with money and prestige lent them support in a variety of ways, both directly through annuities and financing the publication of their Solos in some cases, and also indirectly by taking lessons and subscribing to their concert-series and subsequent publications.[34] The most ingenious of these artists

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[29] See Appendix 2 table 2.
[30] McVeigh, "Italian Violinists in Eighteenth-Century London", 146–7.
[31] See *The London stage*, ed. Avery *et al.*; *17th and 18th Century Burney Collection*, British Library Database; McVeigh, *Calendar of London Concerts*.
[32] *Daily Courant* , issue 5398, Monday, 9 February, 1719, as found in *17th and 18th Century Burney Collection Newspapers,* British Library Database.
[33] Charles Burney *A General History of Music [1789], vol. 2*, ed. Frank Mercer (New York: Dover, 1957), 991.
[34] John Wagstaff, "The 'Humble Musician': An Examination of the Musician's Status in 18th-Century Society Through an Investigation of Some Contemporaneous Sources", in *A Handbook for Studies in 18th-Century English Music,* ed. Michael Burden and Irena Cholij (Edinburgh: Burden & Cholij at the Faculty of Music, Edinburgh, 1989), 2: 25–61.

were able to sustain careers spanning decades, working in various fields, not just as performers and teachers, but also as leaders of concert series and operatic ventures – and, at times, branching out and taking advantage of the contacts back in their home country to become instrument dealers, wine merchants, and art dealers.[35] Artistic merit and the ability to cultivate personal relationships were almost equally important for a successful career in England.[36] Even so, the most important quality was the ability to not just to amaze and move, but to continue to amaze and move audiences.

Chapter 1 of this dissertation will explore the historical and cultural context of eighteenth-century London into which these artists arrived. The chapter will investigate the ways in which the artists were drawn to this country, as well as the general cultural scene of the day, including the Italian Opera, the theatres and the emerging public concert scene. Through this exploration will be revealed how the patterns of private patronage, private teaching, and the general consumption of music by the upper echelons of society made it possible for musicians to make a living. The actual consumption of music both in performance and print will also be studied to reveal who was able to afford such pleasures as concert going, sheet music purchase and indeed private music lessons, and ultimately who could afford to be patrons.[37] This will be done by means of investigating contemporary sources such as concert programmes and diaries, where these have survived, as well as investigating the few surviving collections of music still remaining intact to this day.[38] These findings will be supplemented by literature on music collecting in the eighteenth century, and the extensive recent research studies into eighteenth-century society, in particular on the rise of the consumer society and the affordability of various commodities, the finances of the London opera and theatre, studies in the role of the nobility and gentry, and the role which culture in general played to shape the lives of the members of the nobility and gentry. This has been supplemented by studies of the lives of important patrons of the arts.[39]

Chapter 2 explores the Solo in the publishing context, looking in detail at extant eighteenth-century primary sources pertaining to the Solo specifically. The main focus of the chapter is the surviving catalogues from the music publishers active in London who

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[35] For further sources see Cooper, *Cosimi;* Lindgren, "Nicolo Haym" and "Nicolo Cosimi"; *Giovanni Stefano Carbonelli,* Edition HH Music Publishers, accessed 26 August 2016, http://www.editionhh.co.uk/ab_gscarbonelli.htm; Enrico Careri, *Francesco Geminiani* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993).

[36] McVeigh, "Italian Violinists in Eighteenth-Century London", 160.

[37] Cooper, *Cosimi*; Richard Leppert, "Music Teachers of Upper-Class Amateur Musicians in Eighteenth-Century England", in Leppert, *Sound Judgement: Selected Essays* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007).

[38] Sarah McCleave, *A catalogue of Published Music in the Mackworth Collection* (Department of Music: Cardiff University of Wales, 1996); and "Eighteenth-Century British Music in the Mackworth and Aylward Collections" in *A Handbook for Studies in 18th-century English Music. Vol. 8*, edited by Michael Burden and Irena Cholij (Edinburgh: Burden & Cholij at the Faculty of Music, Edinburgh, 1997): 3–11.

[39] The main source for this has been: Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, Oxford University Press. http://www.oxforddnb.com.

published the Solo.[40] A study of these catalogues can give us a picture of the popularity of the genre as a whole as well as the longevity of the output of certain artists.[41] From a survey of the surviving publishers' catalogues the Solo appears to have been a particularly Italian dominated genre.[42] Whereas other sonata genres that were available and performed in London, in particular the trio-sonata, came from authors from a variety of nationalities, the Solo was the domain of the Italians – the English student of Geminiani, Michael Christian Festing, being the notable and most prolific exception.[43] The study of published catalogues is supplemented and enhanced by the study of surviving advertisements from the same publishers featured in the contemporary press, as well as concert programmes featuring these same artists performing Solos of their own composition. Advertisements by publishers in the contemporary press illustrate the growing popularity of the Solo as it gradually gained a status almost equal to vocal repertoire gradually featuring more and more prominently within advertisements.[44] Furthermore, the surviving Solos provided a further opportunity to advertise and a chance for the author to thank his patron through elaborate dedications.[45] However, it has to be borne in mind that no records of music sales survive from the period. Even so, the consistency with which certain items continued in print for extended periods in itself indicates that the repertoire was indeed in demand with the consumers of the time.[46]

Chapter 3 of the dissertation explores the issue of 'Good Taste' in the eighteenth-century English context in an attempt to understand why the Solo and the Italian violinist were appreciated aesthetically. The chapter will examine this through a study of treatises on music from the eighteenth century, such as those by Tosi and Geminiani. This will be complemented by a consideration of the emerging tradition of aesthetics and critique within the arts in general and the writings of Avison and Burney in the latter part of the century. Recent research into eighteenth-century aesthetics will also be explored in this chapter.[47] Through these sources the chapter will attempt to explore the balance that artists had to

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[40] See Appendix 2 below in particular table 1.
[41] For a definition of the genre see: Allan F. Moore, "Categorical Conventions in Music Discourse: Style and Genre", *Music & Letters* 82, no. 3 (2001): 432–442.
[42] See Appendix 2 below.
[43] Elizabeth M. Lamb, and Melanie Groundsell, "Festing, Michael Christian". Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online, Oxford University Press, accessed 26 August, 2016, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/09557.
[44] *17th and 18th Century Burney Collection*, British Library Database.
[45] See Appendix 3 below.
[46] See Appendix 2, in particular tables 2, 3, and 4 below.
[47] Jonathan Friday, ed., *Art and Enlightenment: Scottish Aesthetics in the 18th Century* (Exeter: Imprint Academic, 2004); Dorothy Deval, "The Aesthetics of Music in 18th- and Early 19th-Century Britain: A Bibliography and Commentary", in *Handbook for Studies in 18th-century English music*, ed. Burden and Cholij, 2: 62–81.

achieve between demonstrating technical and musical brilliance and fancy on the one hand and grace and moderation on the other, avoiding both excess and lack of invention.[48]

The final chapter explores the actual Solo repertoire. This is done through a comparative study of the designs and internal structure of the Solo genre overall. The chapter explores the performance issues found throughout the Solo repertoire and investigates how the contemporary treatises instruct and guide the violinist to attain the technical and musical skills required to perform these works. As such, this chapter will consider a range of issues of performance practice which occur in this repertoire in an attempt to make informed performance decisions, which adhere to the ideals of aesthetics in the eighteenth century and retain an understanding of the role that this repertoire played when it was first created. Three Solos representing the beginning, middle and end of the flourishing of the Solo genre serve as case studies to illustrate these observations. Solos by other authors will be referred to for comparison, context, contrast, or to illustrate a particular point.

A number of appendices have been compiled during this study which will be referred to during the body of this dissertation. Appendix 1 lists all Italian violinists currently known to have been active in London in the eighteenth century, with mention of their compositions, patronage etc. Appendix 2 contains six tables, collating information derived from publishers' catalogues, in order to give an overview of the popularity of the Solo in print and illustrate: which publishers printed the works of specific composers (table 1); an overview of the Solo (by Italians (table 2) versus other nationalities (table 3)); the extent to which the 'Sonata for Two Violins and a Bass' (table 4) featured in catalogues between 1710 and 1790, illustrating the longevity of certain items as well as the Italian dominance in the 'Solo' genre specifically; an overview of publishers of treatises on music in London (table 5); and details of publishers from whom no catalogues survive, but who printed the works of Italian authors (table 6). Appendix 3 provides a list of all the dedications mentioned within the broader repertoire examined for this study, including information on what type of person supported the Italian violinists and the evolution of patronage during the period under scrutiny, as well as an example of a rare subscription list, which illustrates the range of individuals who would support such a venture by the 1760s. Appendix 4 contains a number of tables illustrating various structural elements of the Solo genre (such as key areas, movement order/type/structure, as well as ambitus and technical elements) which particularly pertain to chapter 4. The accompanying CD which is itemised in Appendix 6 features performances of excerpts from the repertoire which illustrate the general scope of the Solo genre, as well as various specific performance issues and other pertinent points. A few of

[48] Brewer, *The Pleasure of the Imagination.*

these illustrate variant possibilities in terms of performance practice, in particular relating to ornamentation and the cadenza. Recordings of excerpts from Solos by the following composers have been included on the CD: Francesco Geminiani (1687–1762), Pietro Castrucci (1679–1752), Francesco Maria Veracini (1690–1768), Nicolo Pasquali (1718–57), Felice Giardini (1716–96), Giovanni Battista Noferi (?–1782), and Luigi Borghi (1745–1806). Solos by Giovanni Carbonelli (1700–72), Giuseppe Agus (1725–1803), and Gaetano Pugnani (1713–98) have been included in full and the scores for these Solos can be found in Appendix 5. CD 1 contains the Solos by Carbonelli, Agus and Pugnani supplemented by whole movements from Solos by Pasquali, Giardini and Borghi. These are ordered according to when they are first mentioned in the 'the case studies' section of chapter 4. CD 2 contains individual movements and shorter samples of movements which serve to illustrate points made in the course of chapter 4. Again the order of the tracks follows their first reference in the chapter, though an individual track might be referred to on several occasions.

Chapter 1

The London Context

The Scope of Research

During the last decades of the seventeenth century musical taste in England began to change. Whereas the seventeenth century had been the era of the viol and French music (reflected most clearly in the make-up of the musical establishment at court), the later decades of the century saw a gradual move towards favouring Italian music with the arrival of the first castrati such as Pier Francesco Tosi and the violinist Nicola Matteis.[1] Indeed, by 1700 England had truly been swept by the desire for all things Italian, including all forms of arts: artefacts (painting and sculpture), scores, musicians, and singers, all of which were brought back by young aristocrats on their return from their Grand Tour. Roger North, in particular, along with the diarists John Evelyn and Samuel Pepys have left us vivid accounts of those times. Roger North's writings are the most diverse and reflective and deal particularly with the arts, as he was himself close friends with many of the great artists of his day. North's reflections on his times give us a vivid picture of the musical tastes and the changes in these. He explains that the prevalence of the taste for Italian *music* was derived in great part from:

> ... the coming over of the works of the great Corelli. Those became the onely musick relished for a long time. And there seemd to be no satiety of them [...] For if musick can be immortall, Corelli's consorts will be so. Add to this that most of the young nobility and gentry that have travelled into Itally affected to learne of Corelli, and brought home with them such favour for the Itallian music, as hath given it possession of our Pernassus; and the best utensil of Apollo, the violin, is so universally courted, and sought after to be had of the best sort, that some say England hath dispeopled Itally of viollins.[2]

North demonstrates that although the greatest Italian stars in eighteenth-century London would be the castrati and sopranos who received fees often ten times those which the best instrumentalists would earn, there was an almost equal interest in all things relating to the Italian violin, an interest which continued throughout the century.[3] Whether violins, violinists or violin music, each was "universally courted" and cherished over all other forms of instrumental music.[4] However, whereas the lives and careers of Italian star singers and the Italian Opera in London have been thoroughly studied, the lives and works of the Italian violinists active in London have received much less scholarly attention.

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[1] Peter Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers: The Violin at the English Court 1540–1690* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 362; see also: Roger North, *The Musicall Grammarian 1728,* ed. Mary Chan and Jamie C. Kassler (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 272.
[2] Roger North, *The Musicall Grammarian 1728,* 272.
[3] For further details on fees received by star singers (castrati and sopranos) see: Judith Milhous and Robert D. Hume, "Opera Salaries in Eighteenth-Century London", *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 46, no. 1, 26–83. For an exploration of the concept of stardom in the eighteenth century see: Berta Joncus, "Producing Stars in Dramma per Musica", in *Music as Social and Cultural Practice: Essays in honour of Reinhard Strohm,* ed. Melanie Bucciarelli and Berta Joncus (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2007).
[4] North, *The Musicall Grammarian*, 272.

The desire for the works of the great Corelli in many ways laid the foundation for the success of subsequent generations of Italian violinists arriving in England. Contemporary catalogues and concert programmes prove that the Corelli Solos Opus 5 and the Solos of the Italian violinists active in London stayed in favour in England throughout the eighteenth century both in print and as performance repertoire.[5] Italian violinists arriving in the country performed Solos from Corelli's Opus 5 as well as Solos of their own composition. Contemporary records demonstrate that these Solos featured in performance in the widest variety of venues (the concert hall, the theatre and the opera), and in the most varied of contexts (during oratorio performances, as interludes from the pit and stage at the theatre, in public and semi-public concerts and benefits, and even potentially in the opera).[6]

Throughout the eighteenth century the 'nobility and gentry' remained the principal consumers of all things Italian, including performances by Italian musicians and the purchase of sheet music. To be truly a supporter of the arts one had to have a large enough income to live a life of leisure.[7] Whereas members of the 'nobility' or aristocracy (here defined as those with higher titles) generally had the stature and annual income to afford commodities such as attendance at the opera (or even subscription) as well as regular music lessons, patronage of individual musicians, and the purchase of substantial quantities of music required to make a collection, members of the gentry (with the exception possibly of the wealthiest landowners or those who had mines on their land) could only afford the occasional attendance or music purchase. Richard Boyle 3rd Earl of Burlington and his wife Dorothy serve as particularly good examples of the kind of patronage which members of the nobility were able to provide. The Earl was a patron of both Handel and the Castrucci brothers, providing substantial backing to the Italian opera and pledging large sums to, in particular, the Royal Academy of Music where he was on the board of directors. Each director was required to pledge £200 (a financial outlay only possible for less than 0.5% of the population), but Richard Boyle

[5] For the Corelli Solos in catalogues see Appendix 2 table 2. See also Neal Zaslaw, "Ornaments for Corelli's Violin Sonatas Opus 5", *Early Music* 24 (1996): 95–116 for the continued reprinting of the Opus 5.
[6] To trace these performances see: *17th and 18th Century Burney Collection*, British Library Database; Simon McVeigh, *Calendar of London Concerts 1750–1800 advertised in the London daily press*, Database (Goldsmiths College, University of London, 1990); *The London stage, 1660–1800: a calendar of plays, entertainments & afterpieces, together with casts, box-receipts and contemporary comment / Compiled from the playbills, newspapers and theatrical diaries of the period*. Part 1 (1660–1700) edited by William van Lennep; part 2 (1700–1729) edited by Emmett L. Avery; part 3 (1729–1747) edited by Arthur H. Scouten; part 4 (1747–1776) edited by George Winchester Stone Jr (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1960–1968).
[7] For an indepth investigation of the social classes and patronage see: David Hunter, "Patronizing Handel, Inventing Audiences: The Intersections of Class, Money, Music and History", *Early Music* 28, no. 1 (2000), 32–34.

pledged a sum in excess of £1000, demonstrating both his particular commitment to the cause and his status and wealth.[8]

As the century progressed certain members of the gentry gained more wealth and began to support the arts on a bigger scale. The Bowes family is a good example of a family belonging to the gentry who in the middle of the century became wealthy enough to aspire to patronage of the arts.[9] However, such families were still exceptions from the norm at this point in the century as we shall see later. The prices for a single ticket at the opera and even concerts ensured that these venues were primarily the domain of the highest echelons of society, at least on a regular basis. However, the theatres were more affordable and this ensured that the Italian violinists and their repertoire were heard by a broader section of the upper classes. In some eighteenth-century sources the term 'quality' is used to denote those in the higher echelons of society who supported the arts.

It seems that the 'favour for the Itallian music' only increased over the course of the century. A poem by an anonymous poet extolling the great Italian instrumentalists who had all gathered in London by 1760, entitled '*A Half extempore writ after coming from Mr. Hays Friday concert at the Great Room in Brewer Street*,' provides a vivid and unique picture of the excitement these artists inspired in contemporary audiences and is worth quoting in full:[10]

> Several favourite performers, from the muse's bright choir
> (Performers who sweetest passions inspire)
> Had stole from Parnassus and could not be found
> Thought from ransacked all Greece and sought Italy round
> When 'twas whispered that they had to London retired
> Where their wind and string instruments were much admired
> When asking to life the famed notes of Martini
> Geminiani, Handel, Corelli, Tartini
> With the most able masters of these modern days
> Each hearer they charmed and acquired lasting praise
> The business was now to search through the town
> For places where concerts had greatest renown
> Where the loves of harmony raptures enjoy
> Beyond all expression and which they never cloy
> Where Music hours so delightfully pass
> Time glides by unneeded his scythe and his glass
> When scout finiling cries Their recess I'll soon know
> Tis there, tis as Hickford's Hark hark Hay's sweet bow (Harmonious)

This study brings together a variety of fields of research in order to acquire the fullest possible understanding of the context into which the Solo fitted. The literature researched

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[8] Pamela Denman Kingsbury, "Richard Boyle". Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, Oxford University Press, accessed 21 January, 2017, http://oxforddnb.com/view/article/3136?docPos=5; Hunter, "Patronizing Handel, Inventing Audiences", 34.
[9] Dr Rosemary Southey, e-mail messages to author, 15 & 17 September and 18 October, 2015.
[10] *Public Advertiser*, Wednesday 1 April, 1767, Category: News (no column).

ranges from social and cultural studies of eighteenth-century London and England, writings on the London Stage and Concert scene more specifically, research on singers and instrumentalists and other artists active in London throughout the eighteenth century, studies of music publishing and printing in London and Europe in the eighteenth century, the debate on aesthetics and 'Good Taste' in eighteenth-century England and writings exploring how the arts and music were perceived within eighteenth-century society at large, as well as studies on performance practice and research into treatises on musical performance, aesthetics and violin playing.

When it comes to the Italian violinists in London, a number of artists have been the subjects of thorough research. Among these is Felice Giardini, whose career in London was thoroughly explored by Simon McVeigh.[11] Francesco Geminiani and Francesco Maria Veracini have also been covered in monographs, and G. B. Viotti has been the subject of biographies and monographs.[12] However, most of the other Italian violinists active during the century, in their roles as leaders of concert series, theatre orchestras and the orchestra at the Italian Opera, have received much less scholarly attention. A number have been the subject of articles, but for many the main sources are the histories of music by John Hawkins and Charles Burney, and articles in *Grove Online* where available.[13] Even so, the above mentioned monographs and Simon McVeigh's study on Giardini in particular provide valuable contextual references to and insights into that composer's Italian colleagues in London.

In contrast, the society in which these violinists worked has been thoroughly researched in recent years. Indeed, since the 1960s, research into the whole Georgian era (from 1714) has helped shed light on a wide variety of aspects of London in the eighteenth century, ranging from everyday life to the ways of commerce, the role of the monarch, and the function of the coffee house. Of particular interest for this study has been *The Birth of a Consumer Society – The Commercialization of Eighteenth-Century England*, which explores the development of the consumption of artefacts of all kinds: from books and china to the

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[11] Simon McVeigh, *The Violinist in London's Concert Life: Felice Giardini and His Contemporaries* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1989); and "Felici Giardini: A Violinist in Late Eighteenth-Century London", *Music and Letters* 64 (1983), 162–172.

[12] Enrico Careri, *Francesco Geminiani* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993); John Walter Hill, *The Life and Works of Francesco Maria Veracini* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1979); Warwick Lister, *Amico: The Life of Giovanni Battista Viotti* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).

[13] John A. Parkinson, "Who was Agus?", *The Musical Times* 14, no. 1565 (1973), 693; Sir John Hawkins, *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music* [1776] (New York: Dover Publications, 1963). The original edition of *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music*, vol. 5 (London: T. Payne and Son at the Mews-Gate, 1776) has also been studied; Charles Burney, *A General History of Music from the Earliest Ages to the Present Period* [1789] (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012); the Grove articles are itemised in the 'websources' section of the Bibliography below. There are no Grove articles on Carbonelli and Cattanei. Appendix 1 below indicates violinists known to have been active in London who receive no mention in Grove at all.

consumption of leisure activities such as visits to pleasure gardens, theatre, concert and opera, and the whole idea of arts and culture as a commodity that can be purchased by anyone with the right means.[14] In *Luxury in the Eighteenth Century: Debates, Desires and Delectable Goods* the contemporary debate of luxury as a danger to morals and its social contexts during the eighteenth century both in England and on the continent is explored. Of particular interest to this study is the chapter 'The Rise and Fall of the Luxury Debate' in which Mazine Berg and Elizabeth Eger demonstrate how in the eighteenth century luxury was at various points seen to be both educational and corrupting, morally damaging or refining depending on the context of the consumption – a notion which lends another facet of understanding the ethics and aesthetics of music of the time, as in some senses the pursuit of music in its various forms was another luxurious commodity.[15] Carole Shammas' *The Pre-industrial Consumer in England and America* provides further insight into the developing consumption of 'non-essential' goods by a broader spectrum of society during the eighteenth century. She argues that while the purchase of minor luxuries did affect a larger cross-section of society, it was only 'the very affluent' who could afford to increase their spending on 'major durables' such as bigger pieces of furniture. 'Luxurious' furniture purchased included wardrobes, larger musical instruments such as harpsichords, or indeed building a library of books and music – including both the furniture in which to display the collection, and the collection itself. This again underlines how only the very wealthiest could truly invest in the arts.[16] While the less affluent might have been able to afford some smaller fashionable items and a few copies of sheet music (with more music being acquired through copying items by hand) and a small instrument, it was yet again the highest echelons of society who had the means truly to make the investments needed to pursue music as a leisurely pastime. In *The Pleasures of the Imaginations,* the consumption of culture in particular is explored in further depth not just in terms of pure consumerism but also as a means to a higher end: the development of refined taste and general politeness.[17] To be a cultured person in eighteenth-century society, class and money on their own were not enough – an individual had to be accomplished and polite. Throughout the century the discussion of 'Good Taste' looms

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[14] Neil McKendrick, John Brewer, and J. H. Plumb, *The Birth of a Consumer Society: The Commercialization of Eighteenth-Century England* (London: Europa Publications, 1982).
[15] Mazine Berg and Elizabeth Eger, eds., *Luxury in the Eighteenth Century: Debates, Desires and Delectable Goods* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), in particular "Introduction", i-xii; and "The Rise and Fall of the Luxury Debate", 7–27, both written by the editors.
[16] Carole Shammas, *The Pre-industrial Consumer in England and America* (Clarendon Press: Oxford, 1990), 293.
[17] John Brewer, *The Pleasure of the Imagination: English Culture in the Eighteenth Century* (London: Harper Collins, 1997).

large (though it is rarely defined), and the literature connected to this will be discussed in depth in the chapter on music and aesthetics.[18]

A number of studies by authors such as G.E. Mingay and John Cannon have explored the English aristocracy and gentry, providing a picture of the part of society which could afford to live a life of leisure and consequently had the means to support the arts and generally purchase luxury goods in the broadest sense. Mingay's work provides crucial information about the income levels of the gentry, revealing the variety of income and indeed the broadness of social circumstance within this very diverse social class, and proving that while some members of the gentry were wealthy due to the quality of their lands, these were the exception.[19] Canon explores how the aristocrats were, at least at the outset of the eighteenth century, a class set apart by their education, though most of his study is about the hereditary political power of this class.[20] John Rule provides further context and explanation of how English society was forged and developed during the eighteenth century. Rule in particular demonstrates the very limited social mobility between even the gentry and aristocracy during the major part of the eighteenth century, arguing that though mobility between gentry and aristocracy did occur, it was quite rare, and whereas the aristocracy might spend longer periods in town, the gentry generally only visited, demonstrating again that it was really the aristocracy (also called at times quality or nobility) which had the finances, means and leisure to pursue and support artists such as the Italian violinists.[21] Even so there is no doubt that the upper echelons of the gentry sought to emulate the aristocracy in cultural pursuits. Furthermore, it is important to keep in mind that as the century progressed untitled persons from the 'commercial classes' began to acquire enough wealth to emulate the gentry and nobility both in owning estates and in pursuing culture. However, this development as well as an erosion of the established 'classes' only become particularly pronounced by the 1770s and is therefore somewhat outside the remit of this study.[22]

Though this study focuses on the public performance of the Solo by professional violinists, it is important also to understand how the Solo as a printed text was being purchased and performed in private by students and patrons of these artists. This will help us fully to comprehend the variety of roles the Solo played in the career of the Italian violinist and the totality of the artistic ecosystem into which the Solo fitted. A range of studies

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[18] See also *ibid.,* chapter 2, in particular p. 88, where the concept of taste is explored in depth.
[19] G. E. Mingay, *The Gentry: The Rise and Fall of a Ruling Class* (Longman: London and New York, 1992), 11.
[20] John Cannon, *Aristocratic Century: The Peerage of Eighteenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984).
[21] John Rule, *Albion's People: English Society, 1714–1815* (Longman: London and New York, 1992), in particular chapter 2, "The Upper Class".
[22] Christof Dipper, 'Order and classes; eighteenth-century society under pressure' in: T. C. W. Blanning, *The Eighteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).

has looked at the domestic consumption of music particularly from a gender perspective. Richard Leppert in particular has explored this topic, investigating the depictions of women and men performing in a domestic setting and the degree to which both genders acquired the skill needed to perform more challenging works.[23] His investigation of works of art (both drawings and paintings) which depict music making illustrates the use of music in the domestic setting and the interaction between men and women, and his general writings on music practices among the English upper classes during the eighteenth century in relation to culture and society provide a helpful understanding of how music was consumed both publicly and domestically.[24]

For a broader understanding of the ongoing debate on aesthetics both in England and across Europe during the eighteenth century the compilation by Peter le Huray and James Day provides invaluable insight and context, exploring the different understandings of degree to which the notion of 'the good and the beautiful' was an inherent sixth sense or a learned skill and how the debate developed over the century.[25] George Dickie's *The Century of Taste* further investigates the aesthetics debate in the eighteenth century, providing a comparison and evaluation of the various theories of taste advocated during the century from Hutcheson to Hume, and exploring the notion of taste as an inherent versus a learned quality. [26] In *Taste – A Literary History* Denise Gigante provides further context for an understanding of 'Good Taste' – particularly in chapter 3 entitled "The Century of Taste: Shaftesbury, Hume, Burke", where she explores the usage of the term 'taste' by the middle of the eighteenth century: how by this time this idea of 'taste' was applied to everything from art to furniture, fashion, (and indeed food), and how the term had become a byword for quality, making the term both an aesthetic term and a term used to advertise commodities as superior.[27] This is intriguing as the Italian violinist and the Solo would have fitted into both notions of 'taste': a superior commodity, and one having aesthetic value.

The Italian Opera, concert series and the theatre were the three venues of great importance to the Italian violinist's career as a performer. The running and financing of the Italian Opera, including the administration of the various companies active during the century, financial records, and concert-life in London in the broadest sense have been the

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[23] Richard Leppert, *The Sight of Sound: Music, Representation, and the History of the Body* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993); and *Music and Image: Domesticity, Ideology and Socio-cultural Formation in Eighteenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 1989).
[24] Leppert, *Music and Image: Domesticity, Ideology and Socio-cultural Formation*; see also Thomas McGeary, "Handel as Art Collector: Art Connoisseurship and Taste in Hanoverian Britain", *Early Music* 37, no. 4 (2009), 533–574.
[25] Peter le Huray and James Day, eds., *Music and Aesthetics in the Eighteenth and Early-Nineteenth Centuries* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981).
[26] George Dickie, *The Century of Taste* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996).
[27] Denise Gigante, *Taste: A Literary History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), chapter 3.

subject of a range of studies.[28] However, due to a variety of circumstances, most research has focused on the early decades (before 1715) and the second half of the century.[29] The running of the straight theatres has been explored in great depth by Judith Milhous and Robert D. Hume, whose research into both opera and straight theatre, particularly with regards to finance and salaries, presents some interesting sources which shed light on the patterns of payment of star singers as well as other theatre personnel. Their research reveals that star singers' salaries continued to rise during the course of the century, some exceeding £1500 and, on occasion, even £2000 for a season not including income from benefits, while the salaries commanded by supporting singers, most dancers and instrumentalists, and indeed ticket prices, remained much the same throughout the century.[30] Unfortunately, the salaries commanded by orchestral musicians are not very well documented compared to their better-paid colleagues, though a few records from the latter decades of the century survive.[31] Singers' and dancers' salaries are much more regularly documented, followed by set designers and composers.[32] Indeed, the role of the castrato and the careers of the most prominent singers on the London stage (Farinelli, Senesino, Cuzzoni, and Faustina) have received much attention from scholars both in individual articles and in the context of studies into theatre and opera in eighteenth-century London.[33]

The Italian artistic diaspora in England comprised not only singers and instrumentalists but also artists in the related trades, such as dancers and even set-designers/painters, all of whom contributed to the Italian Opera as well as seeking out every possible way of making a career in London.[34] The studies of Simon McVeigh and Lowell Lindgren are particularly helpful in providing patterns with regards to when artists arrived, how long they stayed, what they published and who their patrons were, if any. Indeed, both

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[28] Judith Milhous, "Opera Finances in London, 1674–1738", *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 37, no. 3 (1984), 567–592; Judith Milhous and Robert D. Hume, "Handel's London: the Theatres", in *The Cambridge Companion to Handel*, ed. Donald Burrows (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).
[29] See Andrew Ashbee, *Record of English Court Music*, vol. 8 (Chippenham: Anthony Rowe, 1995); Simon McVeigh, *Concert Life in London from Mozart to Haydn* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993); and Simon McVeigh and Susan Wollenberg, ed., *Concert Life in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004).
[30] For a further exploration of this topic see Milhous and Hume, "Opera Salaries in Eighteenth-Century London", 26–83.
[31] *Ibid.,* 58–83.
[32] Milhous, "Opera Finances in London, 1674–1738", 583 & 588.
[33] See the following articles from Grove Online: Winton Dean, "Senesino". Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online, Oxford University Press, accessed 26 August, 2016, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/25406; Winton Dean, "Nicolini". Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online, Oxford University Press, accessed 26 August, 2016, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/19902; Winton Dean, and Carlo Vitali, "Cuzzoni, Francesca". Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online, Oxford University Press, accessed 26 August, 2016, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/06995.
[34] *The London Stage*, 2, 1: preface cxxx-cxxxi and cxlii.

authors offer graphical presentations of their findings, which have been extremely useful as points of departure for the compilations included in the appendix of this dissertation.[35]

Much research in the twentieth century into music in eighteenth-century England (particularly before 1760) has focused primarily on the life and work of Handel. This is well illustrated by the publication *Music in Eighteenth-Century England – Essays in Memory of Charles Cudworth* (ed. Hogwood and Luckett) where only four out of twelve chapters cover topics not specifically relating to Handel, and there is relatively little study of his colleagues or other context of his work.[36] However, more recent Handel studies, such as *The Cambridge Companion to Handel,* have taken a wider context into account, with chapters exploring the English theatre and the beginnings of opera, English musicians active during Handel's lifetime, and, of particular interest to this study, a chapter on Italian musicians which provides details of the opera budget and numbers of Italian composers active in the eighteenth century.[37] Recent years have also seen a number of articles covering the careers of Handel's rival opera composers Ariosti and Bononcini.[38]

Also relevant to this study is the emerging canon and debate on musical taste, a topic covered by William Weber's research.[39] Of particular relevance in this context is the notion that it was in England that works by deceased composers remained in the repertoire and the fact that the cult of Corelli had the greatest impetus.[40] When it comes to music at the English court the work of Peter Holman is particularly insightful, providing the background for foreign musicians in England and other perspectives, and the writings of Diack H. Johnstone, which focus on the English musicians active at this time and concert life in

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[35] A list of all Italian violinists known to have been active in the eighteenth century has been drawn up for this project, (see Appendix 1). It illustrates phases of arrivals, regularity of publication of music, and durations of stays, demonstrating patterns over the century which will be helpful for the discussion in later chapters. See also Lowell Lindgren, "Italian Violoncellists and some Violoncello Solos Published in Eighteenth-Century Britain", in *Music in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, ed. David Wyn Jones (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000), 121–157".

[36] Christopher Hogwood and Richard Luckett, ed., *Music in Eighteenth-Century England: Essays in Memory of Charles Cudworth* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983).

[37] Donald Burrows, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to Handel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997); Lowell Lindgren, "Handel's London: Italian musicians and librettist", in *The Cambridge Companion to Handel*; and Lindgren, "Ariosti's London Years, 1716–29", *Music and Literature* 62 (1981), 331–51. For Lindgren's other work on Italian singers, composers and instrumentalists see "Italian Violoncellists", 121–157; "The Accomplishments of the Learned and Ingenious Nicola Francesco Haym (1678–1729)", *Studi musicali* 16 (1987), 247–380; "The Great Influx of Italians and their Instrumental Music into London, 1701–1710", in *Arcangelo Corelli: Fra Mito e Realtà Storica II*, ed. Gregory Barnett and Antonella D'Ovidio (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 2007); "The Three Great Noises Fatal to the Interests of Bononcini", *The Musical Quarterly* 61 (1975), 560–583.

[38] Lindgren, "Ariosti's London Years, 1716–29", 331–51; Lindgren, "The Three Great Noises Fatal to the Interests of Bononcini", 560–583.

[39] See for instance: William Weber, "Handel's London: Political, Social and Intellectual Contexts", in *The Cambridge Companion to Handel* , ed. Donald Burrows (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997); Weber, "Musical Culture and the Capital City: The Epoch of the Beau Monde in London 1700–1870", in *Concert Life in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, ed. Susanne Wollenberg and Simon McVeigh (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), 71; and Weber, "The Intellectual Origins of Musical Canon in Eighteenth-Century England", *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 47 (1994), 448–520.

[40] Weber, "The Intellectual Origins of Musical Canon in Eighteenth-Century England", *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 47 (1994): 448–520.

general, have also been vital to this study.[41] Not to be overlooked is the work of Michael Burden, Susanne Aspden and Berta Joncus, whose writings on the opera and theatre in eighteenth-century London provide even more in the way of context with regards to the make-up of the opera houses, the role of the castrato, the Faustina versus Cuzzoni conflict and the whole issue of the opera within the cultural and social scene of eighteenth-century London.[42]

Research into music publishing has further revealed the various roles that publishing played in the life of musicians, whether they were English, Italian or any other nationality, providing an insight into another way in which musicians in the eighteenth century promoted their careers in a commercial way.[43] However, to understand fully the patterns of performances and publications we need to study contemporary accounts, music publishers' catalogues and newspaper advertisements. All these sources can help us trace the Italian violinists who were active in London in terms of where they performed (advertisements), what they published (catalogues and advertisements), and how they were received (contemporary accounts and new paper mentions). Two sources in particular have been crucial in helping locate contemporary accounts and advertisements: *The London Stage 1660–1800* [44] remains a vital source for anyone wanting to study the performing arts in eighteenth-century London, particularly when complemented by the British Library's *17th and 18th Century Burney Collection Database*, which offers the opportunity of viewing the

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[41] Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers*; and Holman, "Eighteenth-Century English Music: Past, Present, Future", in *Music in Eighteenth-Century Britain,* ed. David Wyn Jones (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000), 1–16; Diack H. Johnstone, "Handel's London: British Musicians and London concert life", in *The Cambridge Companion to Handel*, ed. Donald Burrows (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997); and Rosamund McGuinness and Diack H. Johnstone, "Concert Life in England I", in *Blackwell History of Music*, vol. 4, *The Eighteenth Century*, ed. Diack H. Johnstone (Oxford: Blackwell, 1990).

[42] Michael Burden, "Opera in Eighteenth-Century England: English Opera, Masques, Balad Operas", in *The Cambridge Companion to Eighteenth-Century Opera*, ed. Anthony R. DelDonna and Pierpaolo Polzonetti (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009); "The Lure of Aria, Procession and Spectacle: Opera in Eighteenth-Century London", in *The Cambridge History of Eighteenth-Century Music*, ed. Simon P. Keefe (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 385–401; Suzanne Aspden, *The Rival Sirens: Performance and Identity on Handel's Operatic Stage* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013); Berta Joncus, "Handel at Drury Lane: Ballad Opera and the Production of Kitty Clive", *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 131, no. 2 (2006): 179–226; and "One god, so many Farinellis: Mythologizing the Star Castrato", *British Journal For Eighteenth-Century Studies* 28, no. 3 (2005): 437–96.

[43] Jennifer Burchell, "The first talents of Europe: British Music Printers and Publishers and Imported Instrumental Music in the Eighteenth Century", in *Concert Life in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, ed. Simon McVeigh and Susan Wollenberg (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004); and Charles Humphries and William C. Smith, *Music Publishing in the British Isles: From the Earliest Times to the Middle of the Nineteenth Century* (London: Cassell, 1954).

[44] A newer draft edition of the first part of the second volume of *The London Stage,* ed. Judith Milhous and Robert D. Hume (*The London Stage 1660–1800, Part 2: 1700–1729 - A New Version, Draft of the Calendar for Volume I 1700–1711,* unpublished version held at the British Library: was planned to have been published by Southern Illinois University Press, 1996) provides even more detailed accounts and superior source references. For unknown reasons this new edition seems to never have been finalised, and a website mentioned in the preface cannot be traced at this stage. See: http://www.personal.psu.edu/faculty/h/b/hb1/London%20Stage%202001/preface.pdf, accessed 26 August 2016.

original adverts in context.[45] Reviewing adverts gives us above all a picture of what was performed on the London stage. In the first volumes *The London Stage* provides not only entries on opera and theatre but concert performances as well (both private and public). With the help of the index, the performing careers of individual artists can be traced and patterns gleaned as to which artists were connected to which theatres and so on. Though some adverts offer little in the way of detailed information about the performance, others provide sometimes surprising details including ticket prices, ticket sale venues, the programme, persons expected to attend and names of the main performers. Arranged by date, these volumes offer a sense of the level of activity and the changes to this over the decades. Volumes 1 and 2 of *The London Stage* do not always provide the full text of the advertisement, making a search in the database necessary.

As of yet, no one has succeeded in compiling a comprehensive database of concerts in London in the early eighteenth century. A revised edition of *The London Stage* has never gone beyond 1710, and a project to create a "Register of Musical Data in London Newspapers, 1660–1800" seems to have come to nothing, though Simon McVeigh's database does cover the latter part of the century.[46] Although the old editions of *The London Stage* do provide a very helpful framework and *17th and 18th Century Burney Collection* offers further sources for concert announcements, we can only get a glimpse of the contexts in which these works were performed. Despite these difficulties, it is evident that the Solos were performed regularly and extensively in a wide variety of contexts in London throughout the eighteenth century.

The Burney Collection provides the option to search for individual artists as well as publishing houses, concert venues, theatres, and so on. Such searches bring up a variety of items, including not only concert advertisements, but also advertisements for sales of music published, notes to the editor pertaining to individual artists, as well as references to other business transactions in which these artists took part, such as the sale of paintings, self-published treatises and so on. Unfortunately, there is no way of ensuring a search with enough consistency to use for accumulative studies. However, the detail and context that can

[45] The Database is provided by Gale and can only be searched at the British Library. See also *The Grand Tour*, British Library Database, by Adam Matthews Digital, http://www.amdigital.co.uk/m-collections/collection/the-grand-tour/.

[46] Milhous and Hume, *The London Stage 1660–1800,* part 2*, 1700–1729: A New Version, Draft of the Calendar for Volume I: 1700–1711*; Rosamund McGuinness, "The Royal Holloway and Bedford New College Computer Register of Musical Data in London Newspapers, 1660–1800", in *A Handbook for studies in 18th-century English music ,* ed. Michael Burden and Irena Cholij (Edinburgh: Burden & Cholij at the Faculty of Music, Edinburg, 1987), 1: 6–12; Simon McVeigh, *Calendar of London Concerts 1750–1800 Advertised in the London Daily Press*, Database.

be gleaned is valuable for a study like this. This includes the surprisingly inventive way in which font and exaggeration were used to sell and promote.[47]

Contemporary sources attest that several of the Italian violinists also became involved in trade. Geminiani, for example, sold pictures, as is evidenced by several references in the press along the lines of: "The famous Picture of Tintoret, once belonging to Mr Geminiani".[48] While Burney continually criticised Geminiani for going into trade, the consistency of these advertisements seems to suggest that Geminiani's prior ownership was used as an endorsement for the quality of this piece of art.[49] Geminiani's own ventures as a seller of pictures is best documented in the various newspaper announcements in the 1720s where he advertised the auction of seemingly large quantities of paintings (98 in one instance) or, as the advertisement announces, "A curious collection of Paintings by the most eminent Italian and other masters".[50] Organisers of performances were increasingly using the printed press to some degree as a means of advertising upcoming performances. Advertisements for opera and theatrical performances can be found in the *General Advertiser* and the *Daily Courant*, though promoters also relied on handbills and word of mouth, the latter in the form of announcements at the end of a performance as well as general word of mouth between potential consumers.[51]

A number of sources provide further insight into the salaries received by these artists. Volume 8 of the *Record of English Court Music* provides an understanding of levels of pay for different types of musicians, both those regularly employed at court and those who were invited to perform on special occasions.[52] Volumes 1 to 7 of this same source also offer an insight into when the first foreign musicians arrived in England. Complementary records can be found in *A Biographical Dictionary of English Court Musicians, 1485–1714*.[53] Additional records of salaries can be found within the articles "Opera Salaries in Eighteenth-Century London" and "Music Teachers of Upper-Class Amateur Musicians in Eighteenth-Century England", which illustrate the contrast between the salaries given to vocalists and

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[47] See, for example, illustration 4 on p. 72 below.
[48] *Daily Journal*, Tuesday 22 April, 1729 is just one such mention.
[49] Careri, *Francesco Geminiani*, 28–29.
[50] *Daily Post*, Tuesday 19 March, 1723; and *Daily Courant*, Wednesday 21 April, 1725.
[51] Announcements at the end of a performance are documented, particularly in the case of theatrical performances. For further exploration of this topic see the chapter "Advertising" in the preface to *The London Stage,* ed. Avery *et al.,* part 2, 1: lxxxix.
[52] Ashbee, *Record of English Court Music*. The records illustrate the financial troubles of the Restoration, with musicians going unpaid for extended periods, and the gradual decline of the musical establishment at Court in the 1790s. Handel is seen being paid £50 in May 1714, but as there is no further detail, we cannot know if this was for a single performance.
[53] Andrew Ashbee and David Lasocki, assisted by Peter Holman and Fiona Kisby, *A Biographical Dictionary of English Court Musicians, 1485–1714* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998).

instrumentalists and what could be earned from teaching members of the nobility and gentry.[54]

Culture, Society and History in Eighteenth-Century London

Compared to other eighteenth-century European capitals, London stands out as unique in a variety of ways. Paris provides the clearest contrast to London in that the cultural life permeated from the court of the absolute monarch, and courts across Europe strove to emulate this pattern. Whilst having the relative security of a fixed salary, court musicians were considered servants with limited freedom and duties beyond that of performing. This had also been the case in England in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth centuries. However, in 1690 the court had cut back radically on its cultural expenditure following the retrenchment during the reign of William and Mary.[55] Although a small musical establishment was retained, such an appointment could no longer ensure a musician's livelihood.[56] Consequently, professional musicians had to look elsewhere to make a living.[57] While the musical establishment at court began to fade, independent theatres, concert venues and musical clubs sprang up in London and were able to function independently on a commercial basis, supported by a mixture of patronage and takings on the door.[58] The patrons were generally members of the aristocracy who supported individual artists with annuities and paid for subscriptions which kept the opera companies running.[59] The King, Prince of Wales and other members of the royal household also lent substantial support to the Italian Opera and individual artists, both financially and in terms of endorsing the venture by their attendance at the Kings Theatre.[60] However, it is important to keep in mind that it was only a small portion of even the upper classes that had the financial means as well as the inclination to support such costly ventures through subscription. According to David Hunter such investments were only possible for families with an income of over £400 a year which throughout the eighteenth century was the case for less than 1% of the population.[61]

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[54] Milhous and Hume, "Opera Salaries in Eighteenth-Century London", 26–83; Richard Leppert, "Music Teachers of Upper-Class Amateur Musicians in Eighteenth-Century England", in Leppert, *Sound Judgement: Selected Essays* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007).
[55] Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers*, 431.
[56] For a further exploration of musicians' salaries at the English court see Ashbee, *Record of English Court Music*.
[57] Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers*, 431.
[58] For a further discussion of patronage in London see the work of Judith Milhous and Robert D. Hume, in particular Milhous "Handel's Opera Finances in 1732–3", *The Musical Times* 125, no. 1692 (1984): 86–89; Milhous & Hume, "Opera Salaries in Eighteenth-Century London". For an exploration of the origins of the concert scene see for instance McGuinness and Johnstone, "Concert Life in England I"; as well as the prefaces to *The London Stage,* particularly volumes 2 and 3.
[59] For a thorough discussion of the subscription at the opera see: Hunter, "Patronizing Handel, Inventing Audiences", 32–36 & 38–49.
[60] For an example of Royal patronage see *ibid.,* p. 42.
[61] *Ibid.*, 33–35.

Though families on incomes of £200–400 a year could potentially afford the occasional attendance, this only broadens the potential audience to approximately 3% of the population.[62]

Some aristocrats supported individual artists financially, letting them live as part of their household as heads of music or music tutors. This was the case with Felice Giardini for instance who was music master to the Duke of Gloucester and the Duke of Cumberland.[63] However, few households had the means or the inclination to sustain larger musical establishments.[64] The notable exception to this was the Duke of Chandos, whose establishment at Canons rivalled the courts in Europe before financial circumstances forced the Duke drastically to retrench, dissolving the musical establishment in the process.[65] Instead, most aristocrats supported the arts indirectly by being patrons of/subscribers to institutions, such as opera or theatre, or indeed concert-series and benefits, or through taking music lessons and supporting private concerts.[66] Richard Boyle 3rd Earl of Burlington was particularly active in this regard, supporting several artists including the Castrucci brothers. As the eighteenth century went on members of the gentry became important as patrons of the arts subscribing to musical publications and taking music lessons. Later in the century Sir William Hamilton supported Felice Giardini in particular, studying the violin with him, and in return Giardini dedicated his Opus 7 Solos to his first wife, who was an excellent keyboardist with the skills needed to accompany her husband in performances of these works.[67]

Whereas tickets and subscriptions to the opera were unaffordable to everyone but the very wealthiest, concert tickets were more accessible in the early days of the public concert. The concept of public concerts, performances where the audience paid a small fee to be entertained, began to be established in the 1660s and 70s in London. The first venues for such entertainments were often located in connection with pubs, and musical clubs

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[62] *Ibid.*, 34.
[63] McVeigh, *The Violinist in London's Concert Life*, 171.
[64] Simon McVeigh, "Italian Violinists in Eighteenth-Century London", in *The Eighteenth-Century Diaspora of Italian Music and Musicians*, ed. Reinhard Strohm (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2001), 159; Lowell Lindgren, "Haym, Nicola Francesco". Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online, Oxford University Press, accessed 26 August, 2016, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/12627; Lowell Lindgren, "Cosimi, Nicola". Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online, Oxford University Press, accessed 26 August, 2016, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/42037; Owain Edwards, and Simon McVeigh, "Castrucci, Pietro". Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online, Oxford University Press, accessed 26 August, 2016, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/05154.
[65] Charles Henry Collins Baker, *The Life and Circumstances of James Brydges First Duke of Chandos, Patron of the Liberal Arts* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1949).
[66] One of the best records of such patronage is found in the papers left by Nicolo Cosimi. The following article provides some of this source material: Alberg W. Cooper, *Nicola Cosimi 1667–1717. His English Visit 1701–1705*, accessed 26 August, 2016, http://www.thecoopercollection.co.uk/art11.htm. See also Dana Arnold, *Belov'd by Ev'ry Muse – Richard Boyle 3rd Early of Burlington and 4th Early of Cork* (London: Georgian Group, [1994?]).
[67] Geoffrey V. Morson, "Sir William Hamilton". Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, Oxford University Press, accessed 21 January, 2017. http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/12142?docPos=12.

continued to meet in public houses throughout the eighteenth century. Most famous are Banister's concert series, which were described by Samuel Pepys and Roger North as relatively informal affairs with very varied programmes, including the singing of catches and artists performing from behind a curtain.[68] However, as the century progressed, entry fees to concerts and the opera developed to be very similar, at about 5s, and on special occasions even more. Indeed, Simon McVeigh has suggested that tickets to concerts were priced artificially high to ensure that only persons of a certain standing were able to attend.[69]

Another distinctive feature of English culture at the beginning of the eighteenth century was the importance of musical entertainments as part of straight theatre performances.[70] This tradition only emerged when the theatres were reopened at the time of the Restoration. Indeed, the theatrical performances of the Restoration were significantly different from earlier periods in the way they incorporated music and dance.[71] By the first decade of the eighteenth century the extra entertainment could consist of a variety of items such as Corelli's Concerti Grossi, Solos by the latest Italian violinists (often the leader of the band), songs from the latest opera both in Italian and English, and the latest popular opera-dance, and be featured both during and between acts. As a result, licensed theatres soon employed small orchestras, and at times singers, star instrumentalists and dancers were added to the playbill to provide variety to the entertainment.[72] Unlike concerts and the opera, tickets to the spoken theatre were comparatively more affordable. Since theatrical performances often included the performance of popular arias from the Italian opera as well as instrumental music, this allowed a broader audience the chance to be exposed to the work of Italian violinists, as well as the popular Italian opera music of the day.

While theatre troupes had been putting on the occasional operatic performance in the late seventeenth century, a theatre dedicated to opera — specifically Italian opera — was a new phenomenon in England.[73] Whereas the theatres relied on a troupe of native acting talent supplemented by the occasional star featuring in entertainments (singers, instrumentalists and dancers), the opera drew heavily on foreign artists not only to fill the roles of heroes and heroines, but also to lead the band, direct the production and compose

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[68] An excellent summary of concerts in the latter part of the seventeenth century can be found in the preface to part 1 of *The London Stage* under the heading "Concert Halls". See in particular pp. xlvii-xlviii for pubs as concert venues.

[69] Susan Wollenberg and Simon McVeigh, eds., *Concert Life in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), 12.

[70] For further details see the preface to part 2 of *The London stage,* ed. Avery *et al.*

[71] *Ibid.,* cxxxx: "Dancers and Dancing"; cxxxvi: "Theatrical Music"; cxvi: "The Afterpiece".

[72] See preface to part 2 of *The London Stage*: "Theatrical Music"; and literature on the Faustina versus Cuzzoni furore such as: Aspden, *The Rival Sirens: Performance and Identity on Handel's Operatic Stage*; and Stephen C. Larue, "Francesca Cuzzoni and Faustina Bordoni: The Rival Queens", in Larue, *Handel and His Singers: The Creation of the Royal Academy Operas 1720–1728* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995).

[73] Robert D. Hume, "Opera in London, 1695–1706", in *British Theatre and the Other Arts, 1660–1800,* ed. S.S. Kenny (Washington D.C., 1984), 67–91; and Milhous and Hume, "Handel's London: the Theatres".

the operas.[74] Indeed, the Italian star singers – particularly castrati – were essential as they were the only artists capable of performing the leading roles in operas by Bononcini, Ariosti and Handel. Italian violinists who were already in the country, such as Castrucci and later Giardini, were often brought in to lead the band, or as contemporary sources put it: be "first violinists at the opera", and eminent Italian cellists were hired to lead the continuo section and quite often compose and direct for the London stage. Indeed, Bononcini arrived in London to do just this after his operas had been a great success on the London stage since the first performance of *Camilla* in 1706.[75] Newspaper announcements in the *Daily Courant,* documenting how this work stayed in the repertoire first at Drury Lane and then at Queens Theatre for at least three seasons, illustrate the success of this work, as does the speedy publication of collections of Songs and Arias from this opera.[76] None of these advertisements mentioned the composer however.

Once in the country, foreign musicians also played important roles in running concert series and leading the theatre bands. England did have some native talent in terms of composers and string players, but these artists were most often outshone by their Italian and other foreign counterparts.[77] English artists, such as Festing, who did meet with success were often the students of these foreign masters or had gone abroad to "learn the style". In his diary John Evelyn reports of the singer Mrs Knight that "she had lately been roming in Italy: and was much improv'd in that quality".[78] While there were German and French musicians active in London throughout the eighteenth century, it was only by the mid-century that an influx of great German artists seriously began to threaten the Italian dominance.[79] Though Italian violinists continued to arrive in London, they played a less prominent role within concert life in general.[80] The only exception to this was Viotti, and his departure in 1798 in some ways marked the end of an era, which had already been waning for some time.[81]

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[74] For an exploration of the first operatic ventures in London see for example: Milhous and Hume, "Handel's London: The Theatres". See also entry in Grove Online on Nicolini, one of the first great castrati: Winton Dean, "Nicolini".

[75] Anthony Ford, "Music and Drama in the Operas of Giovanni Bononcini", *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association* 101 (1974–5): 107–120.

[76] See *The London Stage* index, p. 403 under Haym: Camilla. Also *Daily Courant,* issue 1241, Saturday 6 April, 1706. No author is mentioned but Songs were advertised in *Daily Courant*, issue 1250, Wednesday 17 April, 1706, as found in *17th and 18th Century Burney Collection*, British Library Database.

[77] For a comprehensive discussion on the status of native musicians see: Deborah Rohr, *The Careers of British Musicians 1750–1850: A Profession of Artisans* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

[78] John Evelyn, *The Diary of John Evelyn, 1620–1706*, ed. E. S. de Beer (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000), 252.

[79] McVeigh, "Italian Violinists in Eighteenth-Century London", 146.

[80] See Appendix 1.

[81] McVeigh, "Italian Violinists in Eighteenth-Century London", 148–9.

Foreign Musicians in London before 1710: the emergence of the multifaceted career

By the eighteenth century, England had a long tradition of employing foreign musicians. The Tudor court employed wind-players from Germany and France, and the first dedicated string band at court — established about 1540 — included six Venetian Jews.[82] After the Restoration this trend continued. Though the musical establishment at the court of Charles II (the 24 Violins) was based on native talent, foreign virtuosi from a variety of backgrounds continued to feature, though these were often just occasional additions to the core ensemble.[83] Italian, French and German instrumentalists (such as, respectively, Nicola Matteis, James Paisible and the violin virtuoso Baltzar who was part of the Private Music and given the, for that time, grand salary of £110 a year) were engaged at court and also had careers in London in the latter decades of the seventeenth century.[84] As the pre-eminence of the musical establishment at court began to wane and the cultural scene of London began to expand in the last decade of the seventeenth century, musicians faced new challenges but also saw new career opportunities open up to them. The career of Matteis is particularly well documented through the writings of John Evelyn and Roger North.[85] North thought Matteis:

> ...an excellent musitian, and performed wonderfully upon the violin [...] Besides all that he played of [...] shewed him a very exquisite harmonist, and of a boundless fancy, and invention.[86]

North's description of Matteis' career (which is quoted by Burney in his history) illustrates a precedent and pattern which would be followed by instrumentalists for the next century: a combination of patronage, performing in private and public settings, and the teaching of private students from the ranks of the nobility brought him an income substantial enough to make him able to take a house and "live in a grand manner".[87] However, before achieving success in this career Matteis had to "adapt to the English humor" in order to gain true favour with those who could support him, though this adaptation might have had more to do with manners than with musical performance.[88]

In the first decade of the eighteenth century there are surviving records of two Italian violinists (Nicolo Cosimi and Gasparo Visconti) and a cellist (Nicolo Haym) who were active in London. These accounts document the very different paths these artists followed in order to make a successful career in London – patterns which would be followed in different ways

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[82] Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers*, Appendix B.
[83] *Ibid.*, 417 & 305.
[84] *Ibid.*, 276, 413, 417 and Appendix B. See also Simon Jones, "The legacy of the 'stupendious' Nicola Matteis", *Early Music* 29 (2001), 553–568.
[85] Evelyn, *Diary of John Evelyn.*
[86] North, *The Musicall Grammarian*, 268–271.
[87] Burney, *General History of Music*, 3: 513; North, *The Musicall Grammarian*, 271.
[88] *Ibid.*, 268–9.

and combinations by their colleagues arriving over the next several decades. Nicolo Cosimi came to England along with the cellist Nicolo Haym on the invitation of the Duke of Bedford, who subsequently provided both of them with room and board as well as an allowance of 100 guineas.[89] Cosimi seems to have spent most of his career in England buying and selling violins, teaching private students, as well as performing in private and semi-public concerts. The publication of his Opus 1 Solos was financed by and dedicated to his patron. This illustrates Cosimi's high standing with his patron, but the publication also helped Cosimi's career in general, since it seems to have been instrumental in expanding his teaching practice.[90] The only surviving record pertaining to Cosimi in *The London Stage* refers to a payment to him from the privy purse for a performance at Court, where, incidentally, the other Italian violinist active at this time, Gasparo Visconti (or Gasparini), was also mentioned in the roster.[91] This entry is also one of the very few surviving instances where there is a record of a payment of a specific sum of money for a concert performance by an instrumentalist who was not regularly employed at court. They were paid 30 guineas each.[92] Cosimi's career is best documented by the papers he left behind, in which he meticulously accounted for his income and expenditure during his years in England.[93] From these it is clear that he returned to Rome in 1705 with a considerable profit.

Gasparo Visconti, on the other hand, appears to have arrived in London on his own accord seemingly without any specific prior connection.[94] In London he was often referred to as 'Gasparini' – indeed, the only contemporary source which gave his full name is the front page of the sonatas he published in London in about 1703:

Gasparini's Solos for a Violin with a through Bass for
the Harpsichord or Bass Violin Containing
Preludes Allemands Sarabands &c
Composed by Seignr. Gasparo Visconti Opera prima.[95]

This does cause some confusion and ambiguity when searching for his performances, since the early announcements feature variant spellings Gasparini/Gasparine.[96] It does, however,

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[89] For further detail on Cosimi see Lindgren, "Handel's London"; and http://www.thecoopercollection.co.uk/art11.htm.
[90] Lindgren, "Nicolo Cosimi"; and "Nicola Cosimi in London, 1701–1705", *Studi Musicali* 9 (1982), 229–48.
[91] *The London Stage 1660–1800,* part 2*, 1700–1729: A New Version, Draft of the Calendar for Volume I 1700–1711,* 135.
[92] *Ibid.,* 135.
[93] Cooper, *Nicola Cosimi 1667–1717.*
[94] According to John Walter Hill's article, "Visconti, Gasparo". Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online, Oxford University Press, accessed 26 August, 2016, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/29505), Visconti came from a wealthy family. So far no one has done a particular study of his career.
[95] Wording taken from facsimile made from original held in the Washington Library of Congress. Thanks to the RCM library for helping to obtaining this copy.
[96] For the purposes of this study this artist will be referred to as Visconti.

appear that in the English context these spellings were interchangeable.[97] Throughout his time in London, Visconti featured regularly at Drury Lane, where he led the band and performed Solos of his own composition as well as those by Arcangelo Corelli.[98] For a performance at Drury Lane on Tuesday 22 December 1702 an advertisement notes:

> The Famous Signor Gasparine, lately arriv'd from Rome, will perform several entertainments of musick by himself, and in Consort with others.[99]

The night's entertainment also included the singing of *Since Times are so Bad* by Levridge and Mes. Lindsey, making this a varied but, for the time, not unusual entertainment. These pieces would likely have been performed as the afterpiece, and the novelty of a newly-arrived Italian violinist would have been a selling-point, as it would continue to be for decades to come.

On 10 February 1703 the *Daily Courant* carried another advertisement featuring Visconti, which is worth citing in full as it illustrates the type of programming which would shape concert programmes for the rest of the century, though only a few concerts would also include excerpts from comedies:

> An extraordinary Consort of Music, by the best Masters, in which Mr Pate (having recover'd his Voice) will perform several Songs in Italian and English. With several Entertainments of Singing by Mr. Leveridge and Mr Hughs, accompany'd by Mr Banister and others. And the Famous Signior Gasparine will perform several of Corelli's Sonatas's, accompany'd by Monsieur Dupar and others. With several entertainments of Dancing (never performed before) by the Famous Monsieur Du Ruel lately arriv'd from the Opera at Paris, and by Mrs Campion and others. To which will be added, The best Scenes of the comedy call'd Marriage A-La-Mode made into two Acts.[100]

The advert also provided information about ticket prices. With prices at 6s or 4s, this must have been a special evening, as theatre tickets were normally between 1s and 5s.[101] In May of the same year the performance of *The Relapse* at Drury Lane again featured Gasparini:

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[97] There was a family of musicians with the surname Gasparini active in Italy around this time. None of these artists made it to England, but one (Michelangelo Gasparini) was the teacher of the famous soprano Faustina Bordoni. See Dennis Libby, and Angela Lepore, "Gasparini". Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online, Oxford University Press, accessed 26 August, 2016, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/43225pg1.

[98] *The London Stage*, part 2 *1700–1729: A New Version, Draft of the Calendar for Volume I 1700–1711*; and Hill, "Gasparo Visconti".

[99] *The London Stage*, part 2 vol 1.

[100] *The London Stage 1660–1800,* part 2, *1700–1729: A New Version, Draft of the Calendar for Volume I 1700–1711,* 88.

[101] The best source for understanding currency and cost of living in the eighteenth century used for this study is found on the Old Bailey website, which not only lists the various currencies at the time with the necessary conversions, but also provides information regarding the price of food, clothes and room rental in the eighteenth century. See: http://www.oldbaileyonline.org/static/Coinage.jsp#costofliving, accessed 26 August 2016.

> At the Desire of several Persons of Quality [...] With Singing in Italian and English by Mrs Campion. Also several entertainments of dancing by the Famous Monsieur Du Ruel, particulary and Extraordinary Comical *Country Mans Dance* never performed before. And Signior Gasparini will perform several Sonatas's on the Violin... For his own benefit. To begin exactly at half an hour after Five. Boxes 5 sh, Pit 3 sh, First Gallery 2 sh, Upper Gallery 1 sh.[102]

These advertisements illustrate several points of interest and would become the standard practice for the coming decades. Throughout the century, concert performances would be extremely varied, with vocal and instrumental items, alternating between concertos and solos by various instrumentalists, but also the inclusion of dancing and a comedy which was a particular feature of the theatre. Often, repeat performances were specified as being "at the desire of persons of Quality", indicating that persons of taste and social and financial power had made specific requests, and since the company depended on such persons financially, their wishes would be met. Both of these adverts illustrate an approach to ticket prices which would continue through the century. Opera and concerts were just too expensive for anyone from outside the 'nobility and gentry', but the theatre, with its range of prices, was open to a much wider section of society.

Whilst Cosimi and Visconti returned to Italy after only a few years in London, Haym settled in London for the rest of his life, pursuing a varied career linked to the opera: as manager for his wife (a soprano referred to as 'the Baroness' in advertisements for the concerts given for her benefit, in which Haym always participated), and as an adapter of Italian operas such as Bononcini's *Camilla* which was very successful at the première in 1706, and was performed regularly until Lent the following year.[103] The *Daily Courant* announced these performances regularly, for instance on Thursday 1 August 1706:

> At the Desire of several Persons of Quality. At the Theatre in Dorset-Garden, this present Thursday being the 1st of August will be presented an Opera call'd Camilla. All sung after the Italian manner. With several Entertainments of Dancing by the best Performers.[104]

Publication of the favourite songs for flute followed in September. *Camilla* stayed in the repertoire for several seasons during the first decade of the century, first at Drury Lane and then later at the Queens Theatre, "at the Desire of Several Persons of Quality".[105] Haym was also the author of pastiches, and he eventually collaborated with Handel on operas such as

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[102] *The London Stage 1660–1800,* part 2*, 1700–1729: A New Version, Draft of the Calendar for Volume I 1700–1711*, 101.
[103] *Daily Courant*, issue 1508, Friday 14 February 1707. First advertisement is found in *Daily Courant*, issue 1255, Tuesday 23 April 1706, in *17th and 18th Century Burney Collection*, British Library Database.
[104] *Daily Courant*, issue 1341, Thursday, 1 August 1706.
[105] From advertisements for performances of *Camilla* at Drury Lane and Queens Theatre in Haymarket between 1707 and 1709. Sourced from *17th and 18th Century Burney Collection*, British Library Database.

Teseo and *Radamisto* (as librettist), as well as serving as continuo cellist in the various opera companies in London from about 1705 to his death in 1729.[106]

The opening of The Queen's Theatre as a dedicated opera venue also saw the arrival of the first Italian star castrato, Nicolini, who was praised by contemporaries for being equally talented as an actor and singer.[107] Prior to this, Italian opera had been performed by local talent in partial translation, though Tosi had been active in London in the 1690s.[108] Although not as great a star as Senesino and Farinelli would be in the 1720s and 1730s, Nicolini dominated the opera scene in the 1710s (Handel composing the leading role in *Rinaldo* specifically for him), and he also starred in operas by Bononcini and Ariosti.[109] Burney praised his artistry, and Addison asserted that he was "the greatest performer in dramatic Music that is now living or that perhaps ever appeared on a stage".[110] His fee of £800 per annum set the standard for fees paid to star singers for the rest of the century.[111]

Even though there were precedents for Italian musicians in England prior to the eighteenth century, it would seem that the opening of a theatre dedicated to opera, along with the growing commercial wealth generated in London, gave added impetus to the influx of foreign artists. The rumour that "whoever wants to make money out of music nowadays betakes himself to England", must have spread.[112] The newly-opened opera actively worked to attract composers such as Bononcini, whose works had already become popular in England prior to his arrival, and star singers such as Nicolini to fill the principal roles.[113] However, wars in Italy also meant reduced employment opportunity at home, forcing artists to seek their fortunes elsewhere.[114]

While it was certainly possible for star singers in particular to make a fortune in a single season and then leave the country, those who decided to stay for a longer period had to be versatile in order to maintain their careers. Success depended not only on great artistic talent, but also on flair for business and entrepreneurship, and the ability to attract and maintain good relationships with members of the nobility, who could potentially become pupils and patrons.

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[106] Lindgren, "Accomplishments", 247–380.
[107] Pier Francesco Tosi, *Observations on the Florid Song* [1723], trans. William Reeves [1743] (Pitch Perfect Publishing Company, 2009). See William Reeves' note no. 96, p. 98.
[108] Gregory Blankenbehler's preface in Tosi, *Observations*; and Lindgren, "Handel's London".
[109] Lindgren, "Ariosti's London Years", 331–351.
[110] Dean, "Nicolini".
[111] Milhous and Hume, "Opera Salaries in Eighteenth-Century London", 26–83.
[112] Mattheson's often-quoted advice from 1713 has been used by, among others, Simon McVeigh in his article "Italian Violinists in Eighteenth-Century London", 140.
[113] Milhous, "Opera Finances in London", 567–592.
[114] Lindgren, "Handel's London", 79.

Performance Opportunities in London – Opera, Theatre, Concerts

With a tradition of public concerts and music at the theatre already established, the first decade of the eighteenth century saw the first attempt at establishing an independent Italian Opera and the arrival of the first castrati to perform in this venture.[115] By 1720 these institutions, which would shape the cultural life of London in terms of the performing arts during the course of the eighteenth century, were all well-established. The Italian Opera, though struggling financially, had become an important cultural institution for the gentry and in particular the aristocracy, who followed the arrivals of new stars and the conflicts between these artistic temperaments through the daily press as well as regularly attending their performances.[116] From September to May the London theatres, in particular Drury Lane, also provided musical entertainment (including dance, song, instrumental music and 'English opera') both during and in addition to performances of straight plays. Indeed, as we saw previously, no play was complete without some sort of extra entertainment or a humorous afterpiece to balance a drama. Public concert performances were regularly taking place at venues such as Hickford's Rooms and York Buildings, and musical societies were meeting in pubs such as the Crown and Anchor and the Crown Tavern, and the various pleasure gardens also served as settings for musical entertainment.[117] One firmly established type of concert was the benefit for a particular leading artist. Indeed, these benefits would often be part of the artist's contract – this being the case for singers and actors as a way of making up any money owed them by the company.[118] However, benefits for artists in need and charitable organisations such as the *Fund for the Support of Decayed Musicians or their Families* or The Royal Society of Musicians became more common as the century went on.[119]

Italian instrumentalists arriving in London during the eighteenth century were able to make a career by combining performing in a range of contexts and venues (theatre, opera, concert, musical society) with teaching private pupils and publishing/composing. The surviving sources – mainly in the form of advertisements for performances – prove that Italian violinists appeared in a range of performance formats:

- In theatrical performances, as "entertainment" of "I, II or III music";
- In an opera, as "first violinist", performing solos and leading the band;

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[115] See Milhous and Hume, "Handel's London"; and Hunter, "Patronizing Handel", 32–36 & 38–49.
[116] Milhous and Hume, "Handel's London", 55–63.
[117] According to advertisements found in the *17th and 18th Century Burney Collection*, British Library Database, and a survey of the entries in *The London Stage*, part 2. See also McVeigh, *Concert Life in London*, Prologue.
[118] Milhous and Hume "Opera Salaries in Eighteenth-Century London", in particular p. 31.
[119] For the history and work of the Royal Society of Musicians in the eighteenth century see Pippa Drummond, "The Royal Society of Musicians in the Eighteenth Century", *Music and Letters* 59 (1978), 268–289.

- In concert performances, again leading the band and often performing a Solo and/or a Concerto or Concerto Grosso;
- In musical societies and private concerts, from which we have very few records.

By 1720 three eminent Italian violinists were active in London: Pietro Castrucci, Francesco Geminiani and Giovanni Stefano Carbonelli. Each of these artists took a distinctly different path to building their careers, and they illustrate three distinct ways of making a career as a performer in London. Castrucci's main career was as the leader of the opera orchestra (or "first violinist at the opera") for 30 years, according to the advertisements announcing his performances.[120] He also frequently featured in concerts and benefits for himself and his colleagues throughout this period, but he does not seem to have run any concert series on his own. Carbonelli was the leader of the band at Drury Lane, often providing musical entertainments between acts, and at times even performing on the stage itself.[121] He also regularly appeared in concerts at Drury Lane before eventually becoming a wine merchant.[122] Geminiani chose the path as an independent agent, making his career outside the opera and theatre, though he did run a series of subscription concerts which sadly did not meet with success.[123] However, his sonatas and concertos were on occasion performed by others at the opera and theatre, and records show that Geminiani regularly featured as a soloist in concerts.[124] He also supported musical clubs and ran a business selling pictures, as we have seen earlier in this chapter. All three of these artists had originally arrived in the country with the support of a patron, and it is not unlikely that they would all have been part of that patron's household at least for a while under conditions similar to those offered to Cosimi and Haym, though any records of such arrangements have not yet been discovered.[125]

Italian castrati and sopranos, in contrast, would generally only feature at the opera and the occasional concert, which would often be a benefit or a semi-private performance. However, their high salaries (1500–2000 guineas for a season plus income from a benefit concert) would make it financially viable for them to stay only for the opera season and then travel back to the continent to perform in opera theatres in Italy in particular.[126] Indeed, the

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[120] Adverts from *17th and 18th Century Burney Collection*, and *The London Stage*, referred to in the preface written by Peter Holman to the modern facsimile of Castrucci's Opus 1 Sonatas (Huntingdon: Kings Music, 2003). See also Edwards and McVeigh, "Pietro Castrucci".
[121] Adverts from *The London Stage*, ed. Avery *et al* parts 2 and 3.
[122] "Giovanni Stefano Carbonelli", HH Music Publishers, accessed 26 August 2016, https://www.editionhh.co.uk/ab_gscarbonelli.htm.
[123] Careri, *Francesco Geminiani*, 22–23.
[124] Adverts from *The London Stage*, ed. Avery *et al*, parts 2 and 3.
[125] For a list of patrons see Appendix 3 below.
[126] Milhous and Hume, "Opera Salaries in Eighteenth-Century London", in particular part 2, "Salaries under the Royal Academy and its successors 1720–38".

greatest stars were contracted with specific performances in mind.[127] It should, however, be noted that salaries were not always paid in full.[128] Indeed, the benefit concerts became a means for these artists to make up the difference.[129] An announcement in the *Daily Advertiser* for Farinelli's benefit in spring 1735 illustrates several of these points:

> This expected that Signor Farinelli will have the greatest Appearance on Saturday that has been known. We hear that a Contrivance will be made to accommodate 200 People. His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales has been pleas'd to give him 200 Guineas, the Spanish Ambassador 100, the Emperor's Ambassador 50, his Grace the Duke of Leeds 50, the Countess of Portmore 50, Lord Burlington 50, his Grace the Duke of Richmond 50, the Hon. Col Pages 30, Lady rick 20, and most of the other Nobility 50, 30 or 20 Guineas each: so that 'tis believ'd his Benefit will be worth to him upwards of 2000*l.*[130]

Whilst this advertisement informs us of Farinelli's supporters, there is little reference to the content of the performance itself. Much more is made of the arrangements to accommodate more people into the theatre, and there is only a passing reference to the fact that the opera performed was *Artaxerxes*.[131] In actual fact, most advertisements – whether announcing a performance in the theatre, opera or concert venue – would provide the potentially interested audience with only a cursory idea of what was in store at that evening's entertainment. The name of the opera or play was more important than the author/composer, and the celebrated singer or instrumentalist more important than what piece he was performing.[132] Indeed, some advertisements would put more emphasis on who would attend than what was being played and by whom.[133] So it can be seen that the best way of tracing the careers of Italian violinists in London through the century is by means of the advertisements and other documents announcing performances. This will be further explored in chapter 2.

Musical performances at the London theatres (Drury Lane and Haymarket) are quite well documented due to the quantity of surviving newspaper-announcements and advertisements. This is, in part, due to the fact that theatrical performances were much more frequent than operatic performances, the latter having a shorter season with only two performances a week during a season. As already discussed in the section on Visconti, music

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[127] *Ibid.*, as this article also refers to the agents instrumental in bringing these artists to London.
[128] *Ibid.*, particularly p. 31 where a table illustrates projected salaries and what each artist was owed at the end of the season.
[129] Milhous and Hume, "Handel's London", particularly p. 59.
[130] Farinelli's benefit on Saturday 15 March, 1735, in *Daily Advertiser*, as quoted by *The London Stage*, part 3, 1:469. See also Milhous and Hume, "Opera Salaries in Eighteenth-Century London", 38.
[131] Avery & Scouten, ed., *The London stage*, part 3.
[132] See advertisements for performances quoted on page 41 above.
[133] See, for example, advertisement quoted in *The London Stage*, part 2, 2:861 reproduced in full on p. 83 below.

played a prominent role in performances of plays in the eighteenth century.[134] No performance was complete without some element of dancing, singing and musical entertainment, and the orchestras at the theatres were well rehearsed and often featured leading musicians as leaders of sections.[135] In the 1720s, Carbonelli often appeared in performances like this. The Drury Lane performance in October 1719 of *Love's Last Shift* advertises: "With a Concerto Grosso of Signior Corelli's, to be perform'd on the Stage by Signior Carbonelli and others".[136] In April 1724 the performance of *The Conscious Lovers* featured: "A select Piece perform'd by Sig Carbonelly on the Stage".[137] Both of these performances were likely integrated into the actual action of the play, with Carbonelli appearing next to the actors in the first instance. However, after 1724 this particular practice seems to have disappeared, though music before the play and between acts continued to be an important part of an evening at the theatre. Generally an evening at the theatre would have included music, singing and dancing as entertainment as well as the main piece and an afterpiece of some description. Advertisements do not often provide details for all these categories but rather mention one or the other if a particular artist was featured that evening, or if a particular dance or song was being performed. For instance on Wednesday 16 May 1722 Drury Lane presented *Oronoko* with "Music: A concerto by Carbonelli, Dancing: By Shaw, Mrs Booth, Mrs Younger, Benefit: Cross".[138]

In 1742 Veracini featured as a soloist in concertos of his own composition, which were included as I, II, or III music in the performances of *The Beggar's Opera* and *Richard III* among others at Drury Lane from early September to late November.[139] The Italian cellist Cervetto was also engaged at Drury Lane and he appeared as a soloist in his own concertos as II or III music on a regular basis during the early 1740s. It is not unlikely that other Italian instrumentalists were involved in music in the London theatres in similar capacities. Even though the great Farinelli and Senesino never performed at Drury Lane, the songs and arias for which they were famous could be heard there. One such instance was a concert at Haymarket on Friday 3 March 1738 when Mrs Arne performed "Farinelli's principal songs".[140] Indeed, as Italian opera grew in popularity, singers were engaged specifically to perform the favourite airs from the opera as entertainment between the acts.

Compared to straight theatre, opera was in some respects less changeable as each work was conceived as a musical whole where the flow of the drama needed to be unaltered

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[134] See *The London Stage*, part 2, 1; preface: "The repertoire: The Afterpieces", cxvi.
[135] *Ibid.,* preface: "Theatre music", 136.
[136] Thursday 15 October, 1719, in *The London Stage*, part 2, 2:551.
[137] Wednesday 22 April, 1724, in *The London Stage*, part 2, 2:771.
[138] *The London Stage*, part 2, 2:678.
[139] *The London Stage*, part 3, 2:1003–1012.
[140] *Ibid.*, 706.

between performances. Even so, arias were often exchanged to suit individual singers and an extra instrumental item added.[141] It is not unlikely that the "first violinist" would perform Solos of his own composition in intervals or bridging scenes (the curtain never went down once the performance had started).[142] Unfortunately, contemporary advertisements of operas only rarely provide information about the names of orchestral musicians taking the part in the performance. The only advertisement discovered so far in which the announcement of an operatic performance gives any information about the extra instrumental item involving an Italian violinist is a performance of Handel's oratorio *Acis and Galatea* in February 1741 at Lincoln Inn Fields which included a concerto by Veracini.[143] Our knowledge of who played in the opera orchestras is therefore generally derived from other sources such as concert announcements or contemporary accounts.[144] Quite often, even the names of the composers of the opera were not mentioned either, though it could be assumed that this would have been common knowledge. There is therefore no way of knowing to what degree the leader would have featured in Solos during opera performances. We can only speculate that it is a realistic possibility that they would have done.

Public concerts were less rigorously documented in contemporary sources than theatrical performances, but the surviving documentation does provide quite a lot of detail. In the 1720s only the occasional advert alludes to series of subscription concerts. Indeed, it is not inconceivable that these concerts were advertised simply by word of mouth. Most widely publicised were the benefit concerts, as they were often special events and not part of any series featuring particularly notable artists. The actual structure of these benefits would not be that different from any other concert as there would be the usual mix of vocal and instrumental pieces, varying slightly depending on the venue. The beneficiary would generally be the main soloist except in the cases where the benefit was for an old or infirm artist. Where the soloist was an instrumentalist, he would feature in a Solo and a Concerto as well as leading the band. Some artists would have yearly benefits, as was indeed the case with Castrucci.

In March 1716 Castrucci featured in his own benefit concert at Hickford's: "In which Castrucci will perform several Solos for the Violin. Benefit for Castrucci, lately come from

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[141] "Suitcase Aria", in Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online. Oxford University Press, accessed 26 August 2016, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/O007153.

[142] The convention of performing instrumental music between the acts and before was standard at the straight theatre.

[143] Saturday 28 February, 1741, in *The London Stage*, part 3, 2:893.

[144] We know that Castrucci was the leader of the opera from his concert advertisements. For example, *Daily Courant,* issue 7628, 29 March, 1726, in *17th and 18th Century Burney Collection,* British Library Database.

Rome. At 7pm".[145] A week later Castrucci was again featured in a concert but this time the beneficiary was a singer, leading to a slightly different emphasis in the repertoire:

> Music Vocal and Instrumental. In which will be sung several Songs in Italian and English, out of the Opera of *Pyrrhus and Demetrius*, with several other Songs besides, and several Solos to be performe'd by Castrucci. Benefit the baroness. Tickets 5s. At 7pm.[146]

Variations on "lately from Rome" and "late from Italy" would continue to feature in advertisements over the following decades, emphasising the novelty factor as a selling point. When Carbonelli first appeared in 1719, he was also announced as "late from Italy".[147]

A more detailed programme for a concert at Drury Lane in March 1722 for the benefit of Carbonelli offers one of the earliest full programmes and provides a reference-point for the structure of these evenings where instrumental repertoire of all kinds framed vocal items.

> First Entertainment: 1. Concerto with Trumpets composed and performed by Grano; 2. A new Italian concerto composed by Albinoni; 3. Singing by Mrs. Barbier; 4. A Concerto composed by Carbonelli.
> Second entertainment: A Concerto with Two hautboys and Two Flutes composed by Dieupart; 2. Concerto on Bass Viol composed and performed by Pippo; 3. Singing by Mrs. Barbier: 4. Eighth concerto of Corelli.
> Third Entertainment: 1. Concerto composed by Carbonelli: 2. Solo on Arch Lute composed and performed by Viebar: 3. Singing by Mrs. Barbier; 4. A New concerto on Little Flute composed by Woodcocke and performed by John Baston; 5. A Solo by Carbonelli, 6. A concerto on Two Trumpets by Grano.
> Pit 5*s.* Gallery 2.*s.*[148]

By way of comparison, a benefit for the singer Bochetti from May 1729 at Hickford's had the following programme:

> I: Overture out of *Ptolomy*. Songs: *Dico su quest sponda. Svenalo traditor*. A sonata by Corelli. Songs: *Ombre pianti. Sgombra dall'Anima*. Solos for a German Flute by L. Granom.
> II Concerto by Castrucci. Songs: Songs: *Non lo diro col Labro. La mia speranza*. A Trumpet Piece by Granom. Songs*: No, no my Heart*, from an Italian Song out of *Ptolomy*. *Si Caro Si*. Concerto for Trumpets by J. Granom and L. Granom. Tickets 5*s.*[149]

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[145] Thursday 15 March, 1716, in *The London Stage*, part 2 1:393.
[146] Wednesday 21 March, 1716, in *The London Stage*, part 2, 1:394. The featured opera was arranged by Haym and the beneficiary was his wife. See also Lindgren, "Accomplishments", 247–380.
[147] Performance at Lincoln Inn Fields on Thursday 16 April, 1719. Carbonelli had already been heard at Hickford's on February 9 that year: *Daily Courant* , issue 5398, Monday 9 February, 1719, in *17th and 18th Century Burney Collection.*
[148] *The London Stage*, part 2, 2:668. Also *Daily Post*, issue 764, Monday 12 March, 1722; and *Daily Courant*, issue 6323, Tuesday 13 March, 1722, in *17th and 18th Century Burney Collection.*
[149] *The London Stage*, part 2, 2:1030.

Both concerts followed the same overall structure of beginning and ending each part of the concert with an instrumental piece. Naturally, the emphasis would be on the beneficiary to demonstrate their skill, though even a vocal benefit would include at least one item by a prominent instrumentalist, and the instrumental benefit would not be complete without a vocal soloist. With the beneficiary being an instrumentalist, Concertos and Solos would outweigh the vocal offerings, showing off not just the beneficiary but also several of his colleagues. Carbonelli was in the middle of his career and therefore not in financial need as such, so it is not unlikely that this benefit was part of his contract. Such arrangements were not uncommon, particularly for singers and, indeed, actors.[150] This pattern of programming did not change much for the rest of the century, though most concerts would consist of two acts rather than three.

Whereas benefits were often advertised with full programmes, advertisements for subscription series rarely presented as much detail of the proposed programmes, at least in the early decades of the century. Two series of subscription concerts run by Geminiani in the early 1730s and Giardini in the early 1750s present enough documentation to serve as an illustration. On Monday 15 November 1731, the *Daily Post* carried an announcement of a "concert series at Hickford's Great Room where Geminiani is to play".[151] The series was advertised, without any further details, several times over the following weeks in various media such as the *Daily Advertiser* and the *London Evening Post*: Geminiani's name alone must have been enough to bring in an audience of "persons of quality". On 11 December the same year, the *Daily Post* reported under the heading 'London':

> We hear that several Persons of distinction and Gentry were at Mr. Geminiani's Consort in Pantheon-Street near Haymarket, which was received with great Applause, to the satisfaction of all the Audience.[152]

However, there is no mention as to which pieces were actually performed at this concert. Apart from an advertisement in the *Daily Post* on Saturday 22 April 1732 there is no more trace of the series for a while, though this does not necessarily mean that the series was unsuccessful. On 20 December 1732, the *Daily Post* announced that Mr. Arrigo would take over the concert series.[153] It seems the concert series failed and not all the concerts planned for spring 1732 actually took place, though there is some disagreement about this point.[154]

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[150] See Milhous and Hume, "Opera Salaries in Eighteenth-Century London", 26–83, which explores this convention.
[151] *Daily Post*, issue 3794, Monday 5 November 1731, in *17th and 18th Century Burney Collection.*
[152] *Daily Post,* issue 3817, Saturday 11 December, 1731.
[153] *Daily Post*, issue 4134, Friday 22 December, 1732.
[154] Careri, *Francesco Geminiani,* 22–23.

Carbonelli was hired to play first violin instead of Geminiani. Most likely there was just not enough backing for the concert series to sustain it.

By 1751, when Giardini put on "A weekly Consort of Musick" at the Great Room in Dean Street, advertisement was regular and persistent. The series was first announced in the *General Advertiser* on Saturday 30 November 1751:

> At the Great Room in Dean Street Soho by subscription will performed TWENTY CONCERTS with First Violin by Signor Giardini. The first Night to be on Saturday the 14th of December and to be continued Weekly till the whole are completed. The Terms of Subscription are Three Guineas for a single Ticket and Five Guineas for a double Ticket.[155]

The third concert in the series was advertised by a full programme consisting of two acts, including a Solo for the Violin by Giardini as well as vocal items, thus following the pattern we have already seen illustrated through benefit concerts, and there is little reason to suppose that Geminiani's concerts would have been any different in terms of programming. This seems to have been a standing feature of these concerts alongside the traditional mix of vocal and instrumental music.

During this period Giardini took part in a number of benefits, which were also held at the Great Room in Dean Street.[156] His very first performance had been as part of a benefit for the ageing and infirm Cuzzoni on 18 May 1750. Burney reported on the event:

> [Giardini's] first performance in public was at a benefit concert for Cuzzoni [...] She was grown, old, poor, and almost deprived of voice, by age and infirmities [...] Yet, when Giardini played [...] the applause was so long and loud, that I never remember to have heard such hearty and unequivocal marks of approbation at any other musical performance.[157]

Throughout his career Giardini continued to appear in benefit concerts for both colleagues and for noble causes, among them the organisation which would become the Royal Society of Musicians of which Giardini became a member in 1750.[158]

Giardini's subscription series was initiated at a time when the consumer base for culture had grown large enough that word of mouth alone would possibly not be sufficient to spread the message.[159] At the same time the number of potential outlets for printed advertisements and announcements had grown considerably compared to the beginning of

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[155] *General Advertiser*, issue 5340, Saturday 30 November, 1751.
[156] All advertisements referred to here were found by searching in the *17th and 18th Century Burney Collection*, British Library Database. *The London Stage* does not list any of these performances: it seems that the later volumes do not include performances outside the theatre.
[157] Burney, as quoted by *The London Stage*, part 4, 1:199.
[158] Drummond, "The Royal Society of Musicians in the Eighteenth Century", 268–289. Pietro Castrucci, F. M. Veracini and Nicolo Pasquali were all members of the society.
[159] McKendrick, Brewer, and Plumb, *The Birth of a Consumer Society*.

the century. The ticket price of 5s made concerts and the opera a somewhat exclusive affair, available only to those who had larger disposable incomes. However, since the Italian violinists also worked in the straight theatre, they would have had a wider reach than the singers and a greater variety of possible ways of earning a living. Even with a fee considerably lower than that of the star singers, a violinist with the right combination of talent and business skills could make a good career in London.

Individual Careers — Independence and Patronage

As we have already seen, the careers of instrumentalists were distinctly different from those of their singer colleagues in a number of ways. Most notable were their fees. Though instrumentalists could earn £100–150 a year when acting as leaders of ensembles, this was nothing compared to the fees star singers received.[160] However, as we have also learned, instrumentalists had more diverse ways of making a living than singers, and if their health did not fail them, their active careers could span decades.

Besides performing in a variety of settings, many violinists took on private pupils, most of whom were members of the aristocracy and gentry (and their children). As well as the violin, many also chose to teach singing and/or the harpsichord. Geminiani and Giardini are both known to have taught harpsichord and voice – the former being the teacher of the soprano Cecilia Young; and some like Giovanni Batista Marella specialised in teaching the guitar. A unique directory from 1763 provides an insight into what teachers were available to the London elite.[161] In this, Giardini and Marella are both specifically listed. The list also includes G. Agus and Cervetto, and the postscript indicates that: "the list is so complete as to furnish a variety of able masters in every part of this ancient science".[162] The aristocracy and gentry put great emphasis on the education of their offspring and were consequently willing to pay considerable sums for musical instruction for their children.[163] It would seem that by the 1760s word of mouth was not enough and the demand for music lessons was high enough that a directory could be put together. Although these lessons could only take place during the season, a yearly income of £200 from teaching was feasible according to Leppert, though such an income required either a wealthy patron or a very full teaching schedule.[164] Some students were probably diligent and acquired considerable skill, including learning to

[160] See Milhous and Hume, "Opera Salaries in Eighteenth-Century London", 34. Senesino commanded the highest salary.
[161] Careri, *Francesco Geminiani,* 20; "An Eighteenth-Century Directory of London Musicians", *The Galpin Society Journal* 2 (1949), 27–31; and Lyndesay G. Langwill, "Two Rare Eighteenth-Century London Directories", *Music & Letters* 30, no. 1 (1949), 37–43.
[162] "An Eighteenth-Century Directory of London Musicians", 30.
[163] Leppert, "Music Teachers of Upper-Class Amateur Musicians in Eighteenth-Century England".
[164] *Ibid.,* see table of income, 152–153.

realise figured bass, and even appearing in public concerts as child prodigies.[165] However, contemporary evidence suggests that the main emphasis of music lessons was placed on the children learning new pieces, with their teachers being paid a bonus for 'new songs learned'.[166] Though many of these children would give up playing when they grew up (the women particularly upon marriage), some like Harriet Fox Lane, Lady Edgcombe and Lady Milbank carried on appearing in private concerts besides famous violinists such as Felice Giardini.[167] Though surviving iconography suggests that women accompanied men on the keyboard, it is equally likely that these ladies featured as soloists.[168]

A number of Italian violinists became involved in the administration of both concert series and also the opera. Most active was Felice Giardini who was not only responsible for the running of a concert series in the early 1750s, as previously mentioned, but also both as a leader of the orchestra at the opera where he "instilled new discipline into the orchestra and encouraged more stylish playing".[169] However, his time as a director and impresario of the King's Theatre almost ruined him financially, though this was also the case for many directors during the eighteenth century.[170]

Although the great Italian opera composers of the eighteenth century tended to be harpsichordists and/or cellists (Giovanni Bononcini was a cellist, and Ariosti most likely a keyboard player like Handel), a number of Italian violinists composed operas which were performed in London.[171] Veracini and Pugnani, in particular, were successful, according to contemporary accounts in the London press, though Giardini also contributed to the genre.[172] Veracini's most successful opera was *Adriano,* which received its premiere at the King's Theatre in November 1735 with Farinelli taking the part of 'primo uomo'.[173] On 26 November the *Advertiser* announced that "Their Majesties, his Royal Highness, and the

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[165] Simon McVeigh, "The Piano and Harpsichord in London's Concert life, 1750–1800: A Calendar of Advertised Performances", in *Handbook for Eighteenth-Century Studies*, vol. 8, edited by Michael Burden & Irena Cholij (Oxford: Burden & Cholij at New College, 1997), 27–72.
[166] Leppert, "Music Teachers of Upper-Class Amateur Musicians in Eighteenth-Century England", 153. For a survey of public performances on the harpsichord and fortepiano see: Simon McVeigh, "The Piano and Harpsichord in London's Concert life, 1750–1800: A Calendar of Advertised Performances".
[167] Leppert: *Music and Image* , 60; and Leppert: "Social order and the Domestic consumption of Music" in Anne Bermingham, and John Brewer, ed., *The Consumption of Culture 1600–1800: Image, Object, Text* (London: Routledge, 1995). For more on Mrs Fox Lane and her circle see: *The Violinist in London's Concert Life: Felice Giardini and His Contemporaries* (New York and London: Garland Publishing, 1989), 167, 168.
[168] Leppert, *The Sight of Sound: Music, Representation, and the History of the Body*, in particular the section "Social Order and the Consumption of Music" which provides both paintings and sketches of women performing.
[169] Simon McVeigh, "Felici Giardini", 164.
[170] *Ibid.*, 164–165.
[171] Lawrence E. Bennett, "Giovanni Maria Bononcini". Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online. Oxford University Press, accessed 8 November, 2017, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/40140; Lowell Lindgren, "Ariosti, Attilio". Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online. Oxford University Press, accessed 8 November, 2017, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/01241.
[172] McVeigh, "Felici Giardini", 165.
[173] *The London Stage*, part 3, 1:530; and Hill, *Veracini*, 38.

Princesses attended *Adriano*, compos'd by the famous Signior Veracini, who perform'd the first Fiddle".[174] On 15 December the *Daily Advertiser* carried further comment on this opera:

> The Opera of Adriano, now performing with great Applause, particularly for some fine Songs in it, compos'd for Signior Farinello, having been thought by the King to be rather too long, M. Veracini has shorten'd it, and his Majesty has declar'd his Intention of being present at it Tomorrow night.[175]

The papers documented two further operas by Veracini being premiered in London during this decade, all for *The Opera of the Nobility* – the opera company set up to rival Handel. *Titus*, which premiered in April 1737, again featured Farinelli in the lead role, and the following Spring, *Partenio* saw its premiere at the Kings Theatre.[176] In the following decade Veracini was, as we have seen earlier in the chapter, regularly engaged to lead the orchestra at Drury Lane, and it appears that he also provided music between the acts in the performances of Handel's opera *Acis and Galatea*.[177] Veracini finally left England for good in 1745 after having published a final set of sonatas – the *Sonate Accademiche*.[178]

Pugnani's opera *Nanette and Lubino* seems to have been a great success during 1769, when Pugnani himself was in London.[179] Indeed, Pugnani was part of the last big influx of great Italian violinists to arrive in England. His stay was also relatively short, covering only two seasons, but his music had a great impact, being continually advertised through the 1770s.[180] He first appeared in 1768, when an announcement in the *Public Advertiser* (14 March) stated:

> For the benefit of Sig Puggnani at Almack's Great room on Thursday next will be a grand Concert of Vocal and Instrumental Music. With a concert on the German Flute by Mons Wise. Tickets 10s 6d each. To be had a Mr. Almack's and of Sig Puggnani at Mr Lombardi's Operator for the Teeth, in the Haymarket. N.B. All the Music is of Sig Pugnani's Composition.[181]

One thing that stands out in this advert is the price. With a ticket price at more than double the normal fee of 5s, Pugnani's name must have been a real attraction to be worth this

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[174] Hill, *Veracini*, 38, quoting *The Daily Advertiser*, issue 1507.
[175] Hill, *Veracini*, 40, quoting *The Daily Advertiser*, issue 1523.
[176] *Ibid.*, 42.
[177] Saturday 28 February, 1741, quoted in *The London Stage*, part 3, 2:893.
[178] Mary Gray White, "The Life of Francesco Maria Veracini", *Music and Letters* 53, no. 1 (1972): 33.
[179] Boris Schwarz, and Marita P. McClymonds, "Pugnani, Gaetano". Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online, Oxford University Press, accessed 26 August, 2016, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/22526.
[180] See table 2 in Appendix 2 below for Pugnani's continued popularity in print.
[181] *Public Advertiser*, issue 10411, Monday 14 March, 1768.

particularly high figure. However, this should not be too surprising as Pugnani was considered possibly the greatest violinist in Europe at the time.[182]

The majority of Italian violinists active in London never composed full operas. Instead, they focused their attention on instrumental music in the form of Sonatas and, as the century went on, Concertos both for their own use in performance and for printing. In addition, many produced Opera Dances particularly in the period from 1750 as well as individual songs, an area in which Giardini excelled. Indeed, of all the violinists covered in this study, Giardini seems to have been the most versatile since his oeuvre, according to McVeigh, included not just repertoire for the violin but also:

> Italian operas and arias, an oratorio, English songs and glees, orchestral and chamber music, keyboard and cittern works, all more conspicuous for their melodic elegance than for complexity or erudition.[183]

In the genre of opera dances, Giuseppe Agus was particularly prolific. That he was not alone in exploring this genre is clear from the collection of opera dances at the British Library, which contains not just Agus's opera dances (volume III printed by Welcker), but also dances by L. Borghi and G. B. Noferi. Borghi, Noferi and Agus all seem to have had relatively successful careers in London.[184] Individual songs and instrumental items of their composition were often included in the increasingly popular *pasticcios* and ballad operas. A good example of the genre is Arne's *Love in a Village* which was performed regularly at Covent Garden in the 1760s. According to contemporary advertisements, this work featured music by Arne as well as Handel, Boyce, Howard, Baildon, Festing, Geminiani, Galuppi, Giardini, Paradies, Agus, and Abos, in addition to a new overture by Abel.[185]

Whereas the careers of violinists such as Geminiani, Veracini, Giardini and Pugnani are easier to trace since they were involved in a wider range of musical activity in London, those of Castrucci, Carbonelli, Pasquali, Borghi, Agus, Noferi and many others have left notably fewer traces. With the exception of one mention by Avison of Carbonelli's playing style, these artists are known almost exclusively from contemporary advertisements and their

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[182] McVeigh, "Italian Violinists in Eighteenth-Century London", 145–146.
[183] McVeigh, "Felici Giardini", 163.
[184] This item is found at the British Library under Shelfmark b.51.a. entitled: *The Opera Dances both Serious and Comic. Danced at the King's Theatre ... 1771, for the German Flute, Violin or Harpsichord. Book iii.* (London: Welcker, [1771]).
[185] Wednesday 8 December, 1762, in *The London Stage*, part 4, 2:967; and *Gazetteer and London Daily Advertiser*, issue 10524, Thursday 9 December, 1762. Three of the composers mentioned were Italian violinists.

publications.[186] What we do have from all of them is a set of Solos published in London during the course of their careers in this country.

Whereas the opera dances were composed and arranged to be performed on a range of instruments ("for the German flute, violin or harpsichord"), bringing the latest tunes from the King's Theatre into the homes of the upper echelons of society, the Solos were idiomatic for the violin. Some of these sonatas were adapted for the flute by Walsh and published as "Geminiani and Castrucci's Solos for a Flute", illustrating the popularity of the authors. However, this seems to have been a rare exception. [187] A few Italians such as Bononcini also published sonatas which could be performed on either violin or German flute, most likely to exploit the amateur market, though we cannot be entirely certain whether this particular edition was in reality an arrangement brought out by the publisher.[188] However, the majority of sonatas conceived by these artists were "Sonatas for a violin and bass" – the genre which in the context of advertising and conversation soon became known as the Solo. Apart from the artists already mentioned, Nicolo Pasquali and Carlo Zuccari stand out as authors of treatises as well as of Sonatas.[189] Pasquali's treatises, however, are harmony treatises with no focus on violin playing, but Zuccari's treatise will feature further on in this dissertation as it provides a guide on how to ornament with 'Good Taste'.[190] The most prolific author of treatises was Francesco Geminiani, whose writings covered both a theory of harmony, issues of 'Good Taste' in music, and specific instruction on how to play the violin.[191]

As can be seen from the list of Italian violinists active in London, most of these artists stayed for an extended period of time, particularly in the first half of the century. Many of the less-known names have only come down to us from the chance survival of one of their Solos in collections and publishers' catalogues and the mention of their names in newspaper advertisements.[192] However, when compiled, this list illustrates not only the impact these artists must have had but also the centrality of the Solo to their careers and consequently also

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[186] Charles Avison, *An Essay on Music Expression* [1752–3] (London: Lockyer Davis, Printer to the Royal Society, 1775), 104. Both Castrucci and Carbonelli are briefly mentioned by Hawkins but they do not receive the extensive discussion that is granted to Geminiani.

[187] *A catalogue of English & Italian Musick Vocal & Instrumental Printed for Iohn Walsh & Hare* [1721], XXXII. B. 11 (2), Royal College of Music Library.

[188] *New Musick and Editions of Musick Lately Printed of Iohn Walsh* (1733/34), g. 237.

[189] Carlo Zuccari, *The true Method of Playing an Adagio Made Easy by Twelve Examples First in a Plain Manner with a Bass Then with all their Graces Adapted for those who Study the Violin* (London: Bremner, 1762); and Nicolo Pasquali, *Thorough-bass Made Easy*, facsimile of the 1763 edition with an introduction by John Churchill (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1974).

[190] Zuccari, *True Method.*

[191] Francesco Geminiani, *The Art of Playing on the Violin*, ed. David. D. Boyden (London: Oxford University Press, n.d); Geminiani, *The Art of Accompaniment, or A new and Well Digested Method to Learn to Perform the Thorough Bass on the Harpsichord with Propensity and Elegance* (London: John Johnson, n.d); Geminiani, *A Treatise of Good Taste in the Art of Music* (London, 1749) (IMSLP, accessed 26 August 2016); Geminiani, *Guida Armonica or Dizionario Armonico* (London: John Johnson, 1756); Geminiani, *A Supplement to the Guida Armonica*, (London: John Johnson, 1756).

[192] Lindgren, "Handel's London", 79.

to London concert-life and beyond. While these artists pursued their careers in a variety of ways, working as leaders of orchestras, teachers of the violin, harpsichord and voice, promoters of concerts, sellers of pictures or fine wines, all of them conceived, performed and published Solos as part of their strategy to further their careers in this country and show off their artistry and invention. However, what exactly made the works and artistry of these violinists so appealing will be explored further in the following chapters.

Chapter 2

The Solo in Print: Catalogues, Advertisements and Surviving Scores of Sonatas for a Violin and a Bass

It is evident from the contemporary sources such as concert advertisements that the Solo, along with the Concerto, made up the core repertoire performed by Italian violinists. The publication of these Solos in sets of six or twelve was used as a tool to promote their careers further by attracting students and patrons. When looking at these records it soon becomes evident that the terms Solo and the "Sonata for violin and a bass" denoted one and the same genre. The term Solo soon became the only name for the genre and this remained the case throughout the eighteenth century, whether in publishing catalogues, concert advertisements and programmes, or other contemporary accounts.

On the covers of the publications, this repertoire was always described as "*Sonata a violino e basso*", or the English equivalent "*Sonata for a violin and a bass*".[1] This terminology was used by publishers abroad as well and thus became the common international designation for this repertoire. However, in discourse and advertisements in newspapers a different tradition began to emerge in the first decade of the eighteenth century. Initially, the term Sonata was used, as illustrated by the following listing of the entertainment for Drury Lane during the performance of *Aesop* on Wednesday 10 November 1703:

> Music Vocal and Instrumental, particular some New Sonatas for the Violin lately brought from Rome, Compos'd by the Great Arcangelo Corelli, and performed by Gasparini and others.[2]

The previous day, Gasparini had been performing "Italian sonatas on the Violin" during a performance of *The Rover*, suggesting that the performance of Solos within a larger spectacle (either during the acts or between the acts) was already becoming a regular feature at this stage.[3] However, the earliest surviving Walsh catalogues published during the first decade of the century listed the "Sonata for a violin and a bass" repertoire under the heading "Solos", and as we saw in the last chapter, Visconti's Opus 1 was published as "*Gasparini's Solos*".[4] By 1709 this practice seems to have thoroughly permeated performance announcements and advertisements, and the genres and terminologies of Concerto and Solo continued to dominate the instrumental repertoire for many decades to come.[5] Indeed, from

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[1] The generic term has a couple of variants such as *"Sonata a violino e violone o cembalo"*, "Solos for a Violin With a Thorough Bass for the Harpsichord". One notable exception is Gasparo Visconti's Sonatas which were published as "Gasparini's Solos" by Walsh in 1703 with the following title: *Gasparini's Solos for a Violin with a through Bass for the Harpsichord or Bass Violin Containing Preludes Allemands Sarabands &c.* (London: Walsh, 1703).

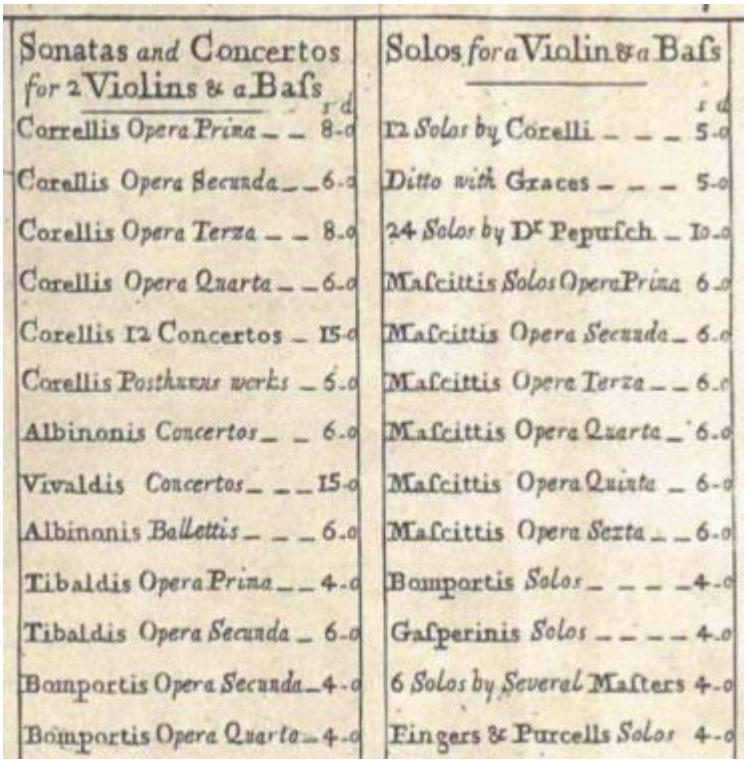
[2] Emmett L. Avery, ed., *The London Stage, 1660–1800: A Calendar of Plays, Entertainments & Afterpieces, Together with Casts, Box-receipts and Contemporary Comment / Compiled from the playbills, newspapers and theatrical diaries of the period,* part 2, *1700–1729* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1960), 1:48.

[3] *Ibid.*, 48.

[4] See footnote 95 on p. 39 above.

[5] Simon McVeigh, *Calendar of London Concerts 1750–1800 Advertised in the London Daily Press* (Goldsmiths College, University of London, database, 1990) illustrates this point particularly well.

this point on, catalogues, newspaper advertisements, and contemporary accounts exclusively used the term Solo, as in, for example, "this day published Solos by x", or in a concert-advertisement: "Solo by x". The practice was also applied to repertoire for solo cello or flute with continuo but, interestingly, not to solo keyboard repertoire which was generally listed under "Musick for ye Harpsichord". A good illustration of this point can be found in Walsh's *Catalogue of English and Italian Music Vocal and Instrumental*, published in approximately 1721, which listed among its categories: "Solos for a Violin and a Bass" and "Solos for a Flute and A Bass".[6]



Sonatas and Concertos for 2 Violins & a Bass	s. d.	Solos for a Violin & a Bass	s. d.
Correllis Opera Prima	8-0	12 Solos by Corelli	5-0
Corellis Opera Secunda	6-0	Ditto with Graces	5-0
Corellis Opera Terza	8-0	24 Solos by Dr Pepusch	10-0
Corellis Opera Quarta	6-0	Mascittis Solos Opera Prima	6-0
Corellis 12 Concertos	15-0	Mascittis Opera Secunda	6-0
Corellis Posthumus works	6-0	Mascittis Opera Terza	6-0
Albinonis Concertos	6-0	Mascittis Opera Quarta	6-0
Vivaldis Concertos	15-0	Mascittis Opera Quinta	6-0
Albinonis Ballettis	6-0	Mascittis Opera Sexta	6-0
Tibaldis Opera Prima	4-0	Bomportis Solos	4-0
Tibaldis Opera Secunda	6-0	Gasperinis Solos	4-0
Bomportis Opera Secunda	4-0	6 Solos by Several Masters	4-0
Bomportis Opera Quarta	4-0	Fingers & Purcells Solos	4-0

Illustration 1: Walsh & Hare catalogue showing Solos and Sonatas.

The best dating source for Walsh's catalogues is the *Bibliography of John Walsh 1721–1766*, the introduction of which lists every catalogue available, with references.[7] However, some of the catalogues found in the British Library have dates noted in pencil which do not correspond with the record in the British Library online catalogue. Dating has therefore to be approached with some degree of caution.

When the term Sonata was used in connection with violin repertoire (both in publishing and in concert announcements) it generally referred to "Sonata for 2 Violins and a Bass", that is chamber music repertoire, which has a very different aesthetic from the Solo,

[6] This catalogue can found in the RCM library collection XXXII. B. 11 (2). Variants can be found in the British Library: 7897.y.12 (1) and in Hirsch IV 1113.

[7] William C. Smith and Charles Humphries, *A Bibliography of the Musical Works Published by the Firm of John Walsh During the Years 1721–1766* (London: Bibliographical Society, 1968), in particular pp. xi-xv.

a genre uniquely suited to showing off a performer's artistic prowess in terms of invention and beauty of sound. The issue of aesthetics will be explored further in the next chapter.

Identifying the "Sonata for a violin and a bass" as 'Solos' in advertisements of both publications and performances seems to have been a uniquely English convention. Though this terminology may have been in use partly as a shorthand to save space in advertisements (a "Solo by x" is shorter than the more precise "Sonata performed by x"), it also illustrates the role that this particular genre played in the careers of the Italian violinists in London. In concerts the Solo was often performed along with the Concerto, and the featured violinist would almost always appear in both items, giving two opportunities to show off his skills. It seems the composer's name was only mentioned when it was not the same as the performer (as is the case with the advertisement quoted earlier in this chapter) and that the phrase "Solo by Visconti" was shorthand for "performed by Visconti".[8] Both concert announcements and music catalogues used surnames only for the featured artists/authors. Whilst this can lead to a certain amount of confusion for the modern reader, all violinists included in this study have unique surnames. The only exception to this rule is the case of the brothers Pietro and Prospero Castrucci. However, as Prospero was much less successful than his brother, he is not included in this study. In the Walsh catalogues of the 1730s the two brothers are distinguished as Castrucci and Prospero Castrucci.[9]

Virtually all the violinists active in London published a set of Solos, often within a year or two of arriving in London, though it does seem that this tradition began to go into decline around 1770.[10] As we have seen in the previous chapter, these sonatas not only featured in concerts (subscriptions and benefits, musical societies and private performances), but were even used as "first, second and third music" in theatrical performances as well as oratorios, and it is not unlikely that that they played a similar role in operatic performances when an instrumental interlude or interval entertainment was needed. Indeed, the Solo was part of an artistic ecosystem: an artist would arrive in England and perform a Solo of his own composition, and then soon after a set of Solos would be published with a dedication to a patron. This patron would generally have been a student (in the case of female patrons they would often have been keyboard students, or their husbands were students of the artist), or in some cases the patron would have been instrumental in helping the artist arrive in the country. Publication of Solos furthermore provided connoisseurs with the opportunity to

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[8] For examples see McVeigh, *Calendar of London Concerts 1750–1800*.

[9] Owain Edwards, and Simon McVeigh, "Castrucci, Pietro". Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online, Oxford University Press, accessed 26 August, 2016, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/05154. This article also briefly mentions Prospero Castrucci.

[10] See Appendix 1 below for an index of all Italian violinists currently known to have been active in eighteenth-century London. This list is based on Simon McVeigh's article and cross-referenced with Grove entries.

study the art of the Italian artist and be inspired to take lessons from the great masters in order truly to learn the style. Hence the Solo functioned as performance repertoire in a range of contexts: self-promotion (as performance material), a sign of gratitude (through the dedication of sets of Solos to an important patron), as well as a commodity which could be acquired by private individuals to be studied in private lessons with the master, performed in the context of music-making in the private sphere, and displayed in private collections to demonstrate the owner's good taste.[11]

There are four main ways in which the violinists and the Solos they authored can be traced: through catalogues (particularly those focusing on instrumental music); advertisements for publications of their output (primarily in the contemporary press); the surviving scores of the Solos; and records of performances of these works (also predominantly through the contemporary press). These will be the consideration of the remainder of this chapter.

Tracing the Solo – the Catalogues

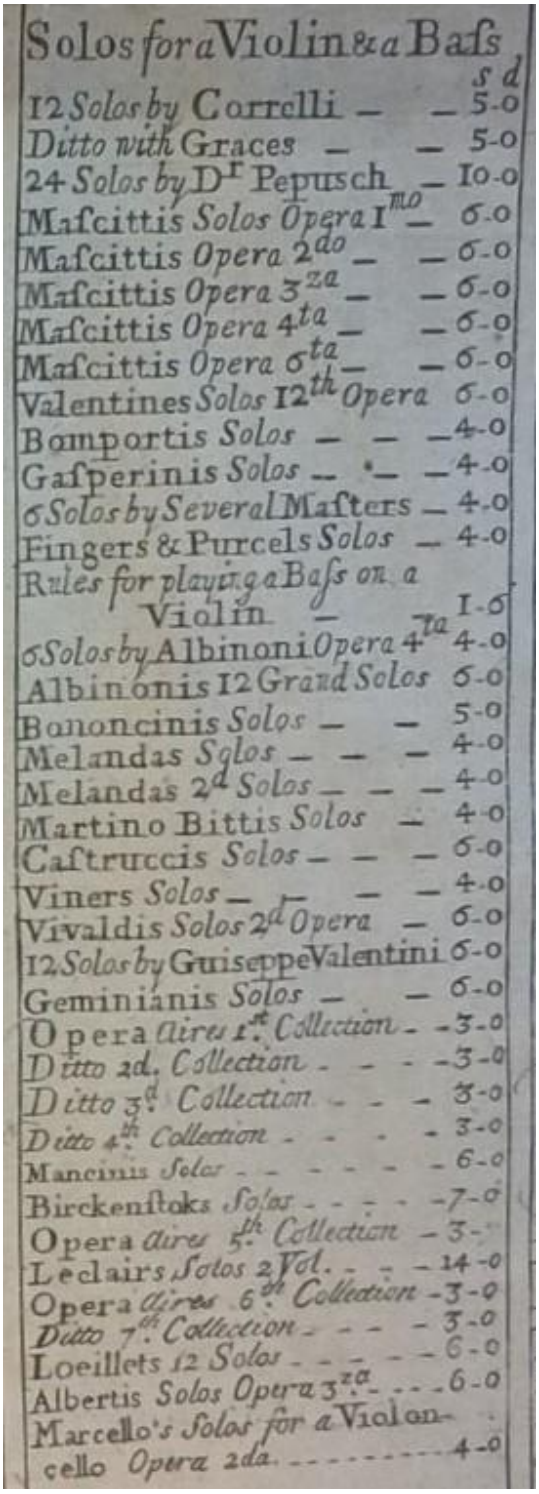
The earliest surviving catalogues from the eighteenth century are those published by Walsh. In their seminal bibliography, William C. Smith and Charles Humphries have provided a comprehensive survey of all catalogues by Walsh available at the time.[12] Walsh's earliest surviving comprehensive catalogue, *A Catalogue of English and Itallian Musick, Vocal & Instrumental*, was printed in 1703.[13] Between 1721 and 1733 *A Catalogue of English and Italian Musick, Vocal & Instrumental* was reprinted several times, with additional entries and changes at each reprinting.[14] Illustration 2 below provides an example of one such catalogue entry.

[11] For an example of this dynamic see: Michael Talbot, "From Giovanni Stefano Carbonelli to John Stephen Carbonell: A violinist turned vintner in Handel's London", *Göttinger Händel-Beiträge Band 14* (Göttingen: Vanderhoeck and Ruprecht, 2012).

[12] For a thorough investigation see Smith and Humphries, *Bibliography of the Musical Works Published by the Firm of John Walsh*; and Charles Humphries and William C. Smith, *Music Publishing in the British Isles: From the Earliest Times to the Middle of the Nineteenth Century* (London: Cassell, 1954). A search in the British Library catalogue reveals more catalogues than those listed in the Introduction, on pages xi to xiv. However, many of these are duplicates or have minimal differences.

[13] Humphries and Smith, *Music Publishing in the British Isles*, xi.

[14] British Library, 7897. y. 12 (1); Hirsch II. 90; or RCM XXXII. B. 11 (2) for the 1721 version; and Hirsch IV. 1113. (13) for the version from approximately 1733.



Solos for a Violin & a Bass

	s	d
12 Solos by Correlli	5	0
Ditto with Graces	5	0
24 Solos by Dr Pepusch	10	0
Mascittis Solos Opera 1mo	6	0
Mascittis Opera 2do	6	0
Mascittis Opera 3za	6	0
Mascittis Opera 4ta	6	0
Mascittis Opera 6ta	6	0
Valentines Solos 12th Opera	6	0
Bomportis Solos	4	0
Gasperinis Solos	4	0
6 Solos by Several Masters	4	0
Fingers & Purcels Solos	4	0
Rules for playing a Bass on a Violin	1	6
6 Solos by Albinoni Opera 4ta	4	0
Albinonis 12 Grand Solos	6	0
Bononcinis Solos	5	0
Melandas Solos	4	0
Melandas 2d Solos	4	0
Martino Bittis Solos	4	0
Castruccis Solos	6	0
Viners Solos	4	0
Vivaldis Solos 2d Opera	6	0
12 Solos by Guiseppe Valentini	6	0
Geminianis Solos	6	0
Opera Aires 1st. Collection	3	0
Ditto 2d. Collection	3	0
Ditto 3d. Collection	3	0
Ditto 4th. Collection	3	0
Mancinis Solos	6	0
Birckenstoks Solos	7	0
Opera Aires 5th Collection	3	-
Leclairs Solos 2 Vol.	14	0
Opera Aires 6th Collection	3	0
Ditto 7th Collection	3	0
Loeillets 12 Solos	6	0
Albertis Solos Opera 3za	6	0
Marcello's Solos for a Violoncello Opera 2da	4	0

Illustration 2: Walsh Catalogue from 1733 (Hirsch IV. 1113. (13).

This particular catalogue listed several genres of repertoire for violin. The first genre, "Musick for a single Violin", included *Books for Learners* as well as collections of *Scotch tunes*, *French dances*, *Country dances* and *Grounds and Divisions* – that is, repertoire that could be considered easy and popular repertoire suitable for the amateur violinist. Then, in order, follow *Musick for two Violins* (which consisted solely of *Aires*), *Sonatas and Concertos for two Violins* (which included the trio sonata repertoire), and finally *Solos for a*

Violin and a Bass, which encompassed the works covered in this study.[15] By 1720 this latter category had grown to include sonatas by Geminiani, Corelli, Visconti, Pepusch, Albinoni and others.[16] While the first two listings were soon to disappear and be superseded by other terminologies, the *Sonatas and Concertos* and *Solo for a Violin* listings became standard in catalogues throughout the rest of the century.[17] During the course of the century, publishers would issue Solos not just by Italians active in London but also by famous violinists who never came to the country, such as Vivaldi, Albinoni and, later in the century, Tartini.[18] This afforded the potential consumer a wide variety of choice in the category and offered not only the locally-composed Italian sonatas but the best from the continent too. The majority of these catalogues would originally have been included in the back of publications, but most were removed when these Solos were bound into the volumes in which they can be found today. A notable exception to this is *New Music and Editions of Musick Lately Printed for Iohn Walsh*, which is still in situ as the last page of Castrucci's *Sonate Opera Secunda.*[19]

Italian composers also published some Sonatas for two violins and a bass, though they did not by any means dominate the genre: indeed, it would seem that Italian violinists active in London barely ventured into this genre at all.[20] The exception to the rule would be Geminiani, though his contribution to the genre consisted of arrangements of his Solos, and Pugnani, who published a set of trios for two violins and cello. Interesting, however, is that the leading Italian violoncellists, keyboardists and opera composers active in London published trio sonatas, in particular Giovanni Bononcini (cellist and opera composer), Giacobbe Cervetto (cellist at Drury Lane), and Giovanni Battista Lampugnani (opera composer and keyboardist).[21] Famous names such as Albinoni and Corelli also featured in this category – after all, it was Corelli's Sonatas (and Solos) which had led the English to "wholy lay aside the French", according to Roger North.[22]

A survey of the surviving catalogues published during the eighteenth century illustrates not only the continued popularity of the Solo, but also the Italian domination of the genre.[23] Whereas other categories, such as the Sonata for two violins, included works by French and German authors as well as Italian and English, the Solo remained the domain of

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[15] This is the spelling used in the catalogue. See *A catalogue of English & Italian Musick Vocal & Instrumental Printed for Iohn Walsh & Hare*, XXXII. B. 11 (2), Royal College of Music Library.
[16] See Appendix 2 tables 1 and 2 for an overview of the sonatas in catalogues published in London during the eighteenth century.
[17] See tables in Appendix 2 below and *An Additional Catalogue of Instrumental and Vocal Music Printed and Sold by Preston and Son: Late the Property of that Eminent Dealer Mr. Robert Bremner* [1790], Hirsch IV 1113 (8.).
[18] See Appendix 2 tables 1 and 2.
[19] See *New Musick and Editions of Musick Lately Printed for Iohn Walsh* [1739], BL g. 237.
[20] See Appendix 2 table 4.
[21] See Appendix 2 table 4.
[22] Roger North, *The Musical Gammarian 1728* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 268–272.
[23] See tables in Appendix 2.

the Italian violinist. In the catalogues published prior to 1770 more than 50% of the composers listed in the Solo category were Italians and often the percentage was considerably higher.[24] A few examples suffice to illustrate the point: the Walsh catalogue of 1721 contained nine Solos by Italians, and three by non-Italians; Walsh's catalogue of 1735 included seventeen Solos by Italians and two by non-Italians (this is the highest proportion of any catalogue surveyed); and the Randall catalogue of 1776 had twenty-one Solos by Italians and eight by non-Italians.[25]

Only a few English composers published Solos. A set of sonatas by John Stanley printed by Johnson was categorised as "Solos for a violin or a Flute", a category aimed more at the amateur market which featured in catalogues from the 1730s onwards.[26] Gottfried Finger and Henry Purcell featured in the earliest Walsh catalogues in the early part of the century, but Michael Christian Festing is the only English-born composer whose sonatas appeared in the catalogues for an extended period (in the catalogues of Johnson from the 1750s to 1770s).[27] The Solos of Georg Philipp Telemann and, in particular, Jean-Marie Leclair featured regularly in catalogues, though interestingly, Handel's Solos seem to not have been that popular as they only appeared in the catalogues for a short period in the late 1720s.[28] By contrast Handel's *Sonatas for two violin and Bass* could be found in catalogues from the late 1720s to the 1770s. By the 1760s this picture began to change, with Johann Stamitz and Wilhelm Cramer and a number of now-forgotten Germanic authors appearing in the catalogues of Welcker in particular.[29]

The catalogues also illustrate the longevity in England of Corelli's Solos Opus 5 as well as his *Sonatas for Violin and Continuo* Opus 1–4, a fact which in many ways marks the beginning of the formation of a canon of musical works in England.[30] However, the catalogues also confirm that other works by Italians remained in print for a long time. The most notable instances are the Solos of Pietro Castrucci which were featured from the mid-1720s to 1770 in the Walsh and Randall catalogues, Veracini (1733–1770 in the same catalogues), and indeed Visconti ("Gasparini's Solos" from 1703 to the 1740s). Most notable, however, in this context is Geminiani, whose Solos remained in print until the end of the century, first in the catalogues of Walsh but then subsequently in the catalogues of

[24] See Appendix 2 tables 2 and 3 for an overview of sonatas and trio sonatas published by London publishers between 1703 and 1790.
[25] The non-Italian category contains a mix of nationalities in all cases mentioned. For further detail see Appendix 2 table 3.
[26] See, for instance, Walsh's catalogue in the British Library, g. 237. This is one of the few in-situ catalogues found in the back of Castrucci's sonatas Opus 2.
[27] See Johnson catalogues tabulated in table 2 of Appendix 2 below.
[28] See Appendix 2 table 3.
[29] See Appendix 2 table 3.
[30] See William Weber, "The Intellectual Origins of Musical Canon in Eighteenth-Century England", *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 47 (1994): 448–520.

Bremner, Johnson, Welcker, and even Preston, though the latter was a result of Preston buying up stock from Bremner.[31] Solos published after 1750 by composers such as Agus and, in particular, Giardini also remained in catalogues (Johnson, Bremner and Welcker) until the end of the century. Indeed, the Preston catalogues of the 1790s listed Solos by Corelli, Geminiani, Agus and Giardini, to mention just a few, and even with the many changes in the names of genres elsewhere in these catalogues, this genre was consistently labelled "Solo". Even the Preston catalogue of 1803 retained a few of these Solos: Giardini's and Celestino's Solos as well as Zuccari's *Art of Adagio* – a guide on how to ornament Corelli-style slow movements using the old-fashioned art of ornamenting slow movements in 'Good Taste'.[32]

When surveying the surviving catalogues in the British Library and similar collections, it would appear that Walsh was the only London-based publisher to print and sell Solos in the early decades of the eighteenth century, since he appears to be the only publisher regularly to bring out catalogues of music, many of which have survived to the present day.[33] The bibliography in Walsh does confirm that he was particularly persistent in bringing out catalogues before everyone else, but from surveying contemporary newspapers it is clear that Walsh did have competition.[34] For instance, John Banister acted as selling agent for music publishers in Rome and Amsterdam at the beginning of the century, and Riboteau and Isaac Vaillant were selling agents for E. Roger of Amsterdam, providing the English public with the latest new repertoire from the continent.[35] Through them music published by printers in the Netherlands, France, and Italy found its way to London and into music collections in which some have survived to this day.[36] While we cannot trace individual items sold by these agents, their trade provides evidence of the existence of an international network which could distribute across Europe, and a flourishing trade which could sustain several competing entities. Thomas Cross, John Cullen and Richard Meares were also active in publishing music in the early eighteenth century, and evidence suggests that Cross was the printer of the Solos brought out by both Castrucci and Geminiani. Indeed, the original

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[31] See Appendix 2 table 2.

[32] *Additional Catalogue of Musical Publications printed and Sold by Preston, 1803*, Hirsch IV.1113. (9); Carlo Zuccari, *The true Method of Playing an Adagio Made Easy by Twelve Examples First in a Plain Manner with a Bass Then with all their Graces Adapted for those who Study the Violin* (London: Bremner, 1762).

[33] For further details on publishers in London in the early eighteenth century, and lists of surviving catalogues see Humphries and Smith, *Music Publishing in the British Isles*. See also Appendix 2 and the catalogues section of the bibliography, which provide an overview of all the catalogues available at the British Library which contain Solos in their listings.

[34] Smith and Humphries, *Bibliography of the Musical Works Published by the Firm of John Walsh*. See also: *17th and 18th Century Burney Collection*, British Library Database.

[35] Information derived from Humphries and Smith, *Music Publishing in the British Isles*.

[36] Sarah Adams, "International Dissemination of Printed Music During the Second Half of the Eighteenth Century", in *The Dissemination of Music: Studies in the History of Music Publishing,* ed. Hans Lenneberg (Lausanne: Gordon and Breach, 1994), 21–42.

edition of Geminiani's Opus 1 was signed by Cross.[37] These publishers would most likely have used the London papers and possibly flyers and word of mouth to announce their publications. The appendices of this dissertation illustrate many of these points and include a list of all the publishers/printers/engravers who are known to have brought out repertoire relating to this project but from whom no catalogues survive.[38]

Whilst Walsh was very active in publishing Solos by Italian violinists from the beginning of the century, advertising his wares very effectively, Geminiani, Castrucci and Carbonelli all chose a different means when they first published their Opus 1. Indeed, Geminiani had most of his works (both his sets of Solos and his Concerti Grossi) published in alternative ways. In fact he actually sold his Concerti Grossi through Hickfords (the concert venue), and a private pupil also acted as agent for this publication; and these works were also offered for sale through Nicholas Prevost.[39] In some cases music could be bought at a coffee house or private residences. Felice Giardini's *XII Sonates a Violon Seul Avec La basse VI euvre* for instance was: "To be had at Giardini's Lodgings at the Royal Jelly House in the Pall Mall".[40] This set provides an example of a practice seldomly applied to the Solo repertoire. While Geminiani's Opus 1 was initially brought out as a private venture printed by Cross, both J. Roger of Amsterdam and Walsh soon brought out their own editions, illustrating the popularity of the author. Walsh's and Roger's editions are basically a resetting of the original type printed by Cross, though they both changed the *octavo format* into *quarto* with no intentional changes to articulations or other details of the actual print, though Roger does seem to have added some figures to the bass, possibly to help the less experienced performer.[41] When publishing his second set of Solos, Geminiani again used an undisclosed publisher, and to prevent reprinting, a "Royal Privilege and Licence for the sole Printing and Publishing [...] for the Term of Fourteen Years" was included. A similarly worded licence is also found in Veracini's *Sonate Accademiche*.[42] Castrucci's Opus 1 was also printed by Roger and then reproduced by Walsh.[43] Carbonelli's Opus 1 does not reveal

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[37] Francesco Geminiani, *Sonate a Violino, Violone e Cembalo Opus 1* (London: All Autore, Cross, n.d.).
[38] Based on Humphries and Smith, *Music Publishing in the British Isles.*
[39] Enrico Careri, *Francesco Geminiani* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 23; see also *Flying Post, or The Weekly Medley*, issue 33, Saturday 17 May, 1729.
[40] Felice Giardini, *XII Sonates a Violon Seul Avec La basse VI euvre: A Londre: To be had at Giardini's Lodgings at the Royal Jelly House in the Pall Mall [1755–6]* (McVeigh Collection, 2009).
[41] Both editions are available in facsimile: Francesco Geminiani, *Sonate a Violino Violone e Cembalo Opus 1* (London: All Autore. Facsimile. Bressuire: Edition Fuzeau 1993), which contains the first and second editions of 1716 and 1739; and *XII Solos for a Violin with a Thorough Bass for the Harpsichord or Bass Violin* (London: Walsh, n.d.). See also chapter 4 below.
[42] Both of these licences are reprinted in the facsimiles produced and sold by Kings Music/The Early Music Company: Francesco Veracini, *Sonate Accademiche Opera Seconda [1745]* (Huntingdon: Kings Music, n.d.); and Francesco Geminiani, *Sonate a Violino e Basso Opera IV [1739]* Facsimile edition (Huntingdon: Kings Music, n.d.).
[43] See Appendix 2 table 2.

the printer, though the very elaborate frontispiece suggests a privately-financed print.[44] Eventually this set was also picked up and published by Walsh who retained the elaborate frontispiece and included this publication in his *A Cattalogue of Musick*.[45] This catalogue is of particular interest as it is the most comprehensive catalogue ever printed by Walsh (or by any publisher at that time for that matter), listing every single item in stock, a total of 600 items.[46] Since Walsh was by this point publishing all Handel's operas in score as well as his other works, Handel takes up a lot of space in this particular catalogue. However, Albinoni, Bononcini, Corelli, Geminiani (including his Opus 1 but not his Opus 4 Solos), Gasparini (Visconti) and Vivaldi are all well represented. Catalogues this comprehensive only became common towards the end of the century, with Bremner's extensive catalogue of 1782 serving as a good example, illustrating Walsh's particular talent for advertising.

By the middle of the century a new generation of Italian violinists began to arrive in London. Around the same time, more music publishers started to print and distribute catalogues of instrumental music, most notably John Johnson, Bremner, Thompson and P. and J. Welcker.[47] It seems that the many publishers competed with each other to have the latest Solos of the fashionable violinists of the day in stock. Appendix 2 below illustrates which publishers printed which violinists' Solos during the eighteenth century. Geminiani is the author issued by the most publishers, but Bremner, Welcker and John Johnson all had works by Agus in stock, and Giardini was published by a range of publishers. Indeed, from the frontispieces it would seem that each new set of Solos by Giardini was published by a different publisher as follows: Opus 1, published by Bremner; Opus 3, by John Cox; Opus 4, by Bayard A Paris; Opus 6, A Londre: to be had at Giardini's lodgings; Opus 7, Welcker; Opus 9, A Lyon e Paris; Opus 10, Londra;[48] Opera 16, Bremner.[49] In 1782 Bremner

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[44] Giovanni Stephano Carbonelli, *Sonate da Camera a Violino e Violone o Cembalo*, dedicated to the Duke of Rutland (n.d. RCM special collections). The Walsh reprint reproduces the frontispiece and adds an advertisement beneath. Available on IMSLP, accessed 26 August 2016, http://imslp.org/wiki/12_Violin_Sonatas_(Carbonelli,_Giovanni_Stefano).

[45] *A Cattalogue of Musick: Containing all the Vocal, and Instrumental Musick Printed in England for Iohn Walsh. Where may be had, variety of English, and Italian Songs, also Musical Instruments of all Sorts, and a variety of Curious Pieces of Musick Printed abroad London. Sold by I. Walsh, Musick Printer and Instrument maker to his Majesty, at y^e^ Harp & Hoboy, In Catherine Street, in the Strand Price 6d.* British Library catalogue number D. 120. B.6 contains both the original as well as a scanned copy.

[46] See also Smith and Humphries, *Bibliography of the Musical Works Published by the Firm of John Walsh,* 14.

[47] A number of musical instrument makers such as P. Thompson and Cox were also active in music publishing at this point. However, their publishing was inevitably focused on repertoire for the instruments they were selling, i.e. keyboard repertoire.

[48] The second half of Opus 10 is a reprint of the Solos published as: *Six Sonata a Violon Seul et Basse œuvre IX.* A Lyon e Paris.

[49] Felice Giardini, *Sei Sonate a Violino Solo e Basso Opera Prima [1751]* (London: Bremner). Facsimile. (Huntingdon: Kings Music n.d.); *Sei Sonate di Cembalo con Violino o Flauto Traverso opera terza [1751]* (London: John Cox), McVeigh Collection, 2009; *Sei Sonate da Camera a Violiono Solo col Basso Opera IV* [1755–6] (Paris: Bayard), McVeigh Collection; *XII Sonates a Violon seul Avec la Basse VI Euvre* [1755–6], *A Londre: to be had at Giardini's lodgings*, McVeigh Collection, 2009; *VI Soli a Violino e Basso Opera Settema* [1759] (London: Welcker), McVeigh Collection, 2009; *Six Sonata a Violon Seul et Basse Oeuvre IX, A Lyon e*

published a catalogue with an appendix in which he included stock that he had taken over from Welcker and Johnson, which expanded his already extensive catalogue. By 1790 Preston included Giardini's Opus 1, 12, 16 and 19 in his catalogues, though this is due in large part to his taking over the stock and plates from Bremner, who is called "that eminent dealer" in Preston's expanded catalogue of 1790.[50]

One further interesting detail that can be learned from studying the surviving catalogues is the pattern of pricing the Solo over time when compared to other genres. When comparing the cost of the Solo over several decades it is striking how the prices seem to have remained unchanged over the decades. Though there are some variations, catalogues published between 1721 and 1778 listed the price of a set of Solos at 4s to 10s, with the price range primarily reflecting the number of pages required for each publication (Carbonelli's Solos tended to be more expensive as that volume ran to 65 pages compared with Geminiani's 35 or 41 and Castrucci's 47 pages). Many of the sets cost 5s – that is the same as a ticket to the concert or the opera.[51] A few items at 1*l* 1s denote several sets of Solos sold together or longer sets. By the end of the century Corelli's Opus 5 seems to have been sold at a premium. Compared to other genres in the same catalogues the Solo sits in the middle, never as expensive as the items listed as 'operas in score' but never as cheap as some of the vocal repertoires.[52]

Of particular interest in studying prices in catalogues is the Walsh catalogue *A Catalogue of Music* from 1744.[53] Being the most comprehensive catalogue of the mid-century it provides a unique opportunity to compare the prices of the various items sold at one particular point in time. Each category contains products at a range of prices. The most expensive items in the catalogue are 'operas in score' where prices range from 10s 6d to 1*l* 1s. Handel's operas feature most prominently but operas by other authors are also listed in the catalogue as being available in score. However, this category is complemented by 'Volumes of opera airs' which are somewhat more accessibly priced at 3s per volume. Almost as expensive as the operas are concertos in score (1*l* 1s for a volume of Torelli's and Vivaldi's concertos, with Handel's Concerti Grossi selling at a similar price, a special item which includes all Corelli's concertos and Sonatas in score is sold for 2*l* 2s). However, some

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Paris, McVeigh Collection, n.d.; *Dodici sonate di Violino e Basso Opus 10* [1765]. (London, 1765). McVeigh collection, 2009; *Six Solos for the Violin and a Bass opera 16* (London: Bremner), McVeigh collection, 2009.

[50] *1790: An Additional Catalogue of Instrumental and Vocal Music Printed and Sold by Preston and Son... Late the Property of that Eminent Dealer Mr. Robert Bremner*, Hirsch IV 1113 (8).

[51] See chapter 1 above in particular advertisements cited on p. 48.

[52] The 'Operas in score' category generally covers opera arranged for keyboard and a few instruments rather than the modern notion of a full score.

[53] *A Cattalogue of Musick: Containing all the Vocal, and Instrumental Musick Printed in England, For Iohn Walsh. Where may be had, variety of English, and Italian Songs, also Musical Instruments of all Sorts, and a variety of Curious Pieces of Musick Printed abroad London.* Sold by I: Walsh, Musick Printer and Instrument maker to his Majesty at ye Harp&Hoboy, in Catherine Street, in the Strand, Price 6d.

Publisher	Concertos/ for concerts	Solo Violin	Solos for V&B	Sonatas for two violins and Bass	Opera	Vocal Other	Keyboard music	Corelli opus 5
Walsh c. 1721		1.0 – 3.6	4.0 – 10.0	2.6 – 15.0	9.0	1.6-15.0	1.6 – 7.0	5.0
Walsh c 1733	3.0-1.1.0		4.0 - 8.0	3.0 – 10.0				5.0
Walsh c 1755	3,0 – 1.3.0			4.0 – 10.6				6.0
P Welcker c. 65	1.0 – 10.6		5.0 – 10.6	5.0 – 10.6		2.0 – 10.6		
Bremner c. 65	5.0 – 15.0		5.0	5.0 – 10.0		2.0 – 7.6	5.0 – 10.0	
Bremner c. 78	10.6 – 1.1.0		5.0 – 6.0	5.0 – 10.6				
E. Randall	2.0 – 1.1.0		4.0 – 10.0	3.0 – 10.0				6.0
Preston 1790			4.0 – 12.0	5.0 – 10.6	2.0 – 15.0	0.6 – 10.6	2.6 – 10.0	10.6

Table 1: A survey of the cost of printed music in London as displayed in catalogues between 1720 and 1790.

works in this category are much cheaper, though this is likely due to these volumes containing fewer items.

The cheapest items in the catalogues are pieces for a single violin or single flute which range from 6d to 2s 6d. The Vocal music category which consists of a diverse array of collections of songs ranging from cantatas to drinking songs also covers the greatest range of prices, from 6d to 6s, with two collections of songs at even higher prices (Dr. Blow's and Wendon's Songs). The Solo repertoire lies in the middle of the range costing between 4s and 10s (Festing's Solos are an exception at 1*/*1s). The Solos by Carbonelli and the Opus 2 by Castrucci are interestingly the most expensive – maybe a premium was paid for the elaborate frontispieces which these two editions featured. Unfortunately, the records do not tell us and indeed we cannot know if the cheaper items represent sets of only six Solos rather than twelve.

In comparing the prices listed in the surviving catalogues and the surviving scores it seems that there was at least some correlation between the size of a publication and the cost of the finished product. However, there are also a number of variations which cannot be explained from this alone. One could conjecture that some items might have been sold in better quality binding or that a premium would have been paid for a more elaborate frontispiece. Even so, when looking through catalogues printed between 1720 and 1790 what stands out is the range of prices in each category. The Solo in this context sits in the middle of the range in terms of cost and this remains the same throughout the century. Indeed, a number of items such as the Corelli Opus 5 and the Solos by Geminiani, Castrucci and later Giardini and Pasquali stayed in catalogues for decades. It is interesting to trace the variation

in price over the decades – or rather the surprisingly consistent pricing of similar types of publications for decades.

Though people on middling incomes such as the lower gentry and emerging professional classes might have been able to afford a select few items of repertoire for a single instrument or voice which was sold for between six pence and a shilling, to be able to build a collection of music an income similar to that of the upper classes was certainly needed.[54] Sadly few such collections are known to have survived intact to this day. One collection which has survived is the Mackworth Collection which is held at Cardiff University.[55] This particular collection contains almost every genre of music available in publishers' catalogues at the time: from single songs, through collections of arias, chamber music and orchestral works to operas in score. The collection is unique in that it was mainly put together by one man, namely Sir Herbert Mackworth (1737–1891), though it does also contain a few items added by other family members.[56] Sadly, the collection does not contain any Solos covered in this study, most likely reflecting that the interests of the owners of this collection lay elsewhere – there is a substantial amount of repertoire for flute (both Solo and chamber music). However, it does illustrate how a musically-minded family would collect repertoire of all kinds to cater for every possible need for musical entertainment in the home. The collection also illustrates one of the ways in which the 'quality' would have displayed both their wealth and their cultural engagement. The sheer expanse of the collection would have demonstrated the owner's wealth, making him part of that small section of the population with the required disposable income, and the diversity and quality of the individual items would have showed him and his family off as persons of refinement and taste, concepts which will be further explored in chapter 3.

The surviving catalogues illustrate that throughout the eighteenth century publishers continued to be keen to include works by the leading artists of the day, be they Italians famous for their performances in London or performers of repute whose fame reached England. The extent to which certain composers' works kept appearing in catalogues illustrates the continued popularity of the Solo genre. It also helps document more specifically which works and authors were particularly successful and popular with the music-buying public as well as who was never to achieve popularity.

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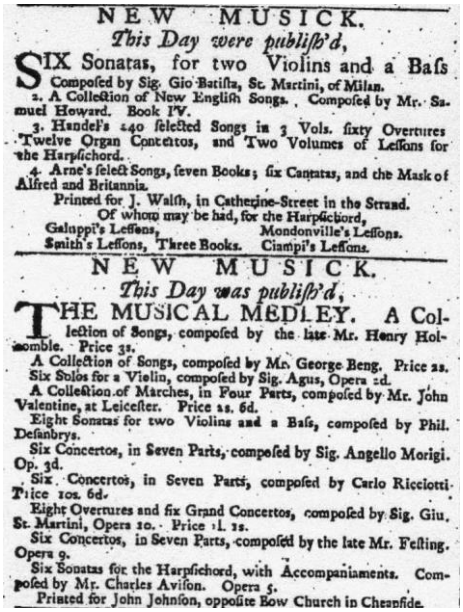
[54] David Hunter, "Patronizing Handel, Inventing Audiences: The Intersections of Class, Money, Music and History", *Early Music* 28, no. 1 (2000) in particular p. 33.
[55] Sarah McCleave, *A Catalogue of Published Music in the Mackworth Collection*, Department of Music, Cardiff University of Wales: 1996; and "Eighteenth-Century British Music in the Mackworth and Aylward Collections. " in *A Handbook for Studies in 18th-century English Music. Vol. 8*, edited by Michael Burden and Irena Cholij (Edinburgh: Burden & Cholij at the Faculty of Music, Edinburgh, 1997), 3–11.
[56] Sarah McCleave, *A Catalogue of Published Music in the Mackworth Collection,* iv.

Publicising the Solo – Advertising in the Press

From the very beginning of the century, publishers used the press to advertise their wares, in particular their most recent editions. In the first decades of the century the adverts were relatively small, but soon a format developed where publishers would have selections from their catalogues accompany the announcement of newly-published works.



NEW MUSICK.

This Day were publiſh'd,

SIX Sonatas, for two Violins and a Baſs Compoſed by Sig. Gio Batiſta, Sc. Martini, of Milan.

2. A Collection of New Engliſh Songs. Compoſed by Mr. Samuel Howard. Book IV.

3. Handel's 240 ſelected Songs in 3 Vols. ſixty Overtures Twelve Organ Concertos, and Two Volumes of Leſſons for the Harpſichord.

4. Arne's ſelect Songs, ſeven Books; ſix Cantatas, and the Mask of Alfred and Britannia.

Printed for J. Walſh, in Catherine-Street in the Strand.

Of whom may be had, for the Harpſichord,

Galuppi's Leſſons, Mondonville's Leſſons.

Smith's Leſſons, Three Books. Ciampi's Leſſons.

NEW MUSICK.

This Day was publiſh'd,

THE MUSICAL MEDLEY. A Collection of Songs, compoſed by the late Mr. Henry Holcomble. Price 3s.

A Collection of Songs, compoſed by Mr. George Berg. Price 2s.

Six Solos for a Violin, compoſed by Sig. Agus, Opera 2d.

A Collection of Marches, in Four Parts, compoſed by Mr. John Valentine, at Leiceſter. Price 2s. 6d.

Eight Sonatas for two Violins and a Baſs, compoſed by Phil. Defanbrys.

Six Concertos, in Seven Parts, compoſed by Sig. Angello Morigi. Op. 3d.

Six Concertos, in Seven Parts, compoſed by Carlo Ricciotti. Price 10s. 6d.

Eight Overtures and ſix Grand Concertos, compoſed by Sig. Giu. St. Martini, Opera 2o. Price 1l. 1s.

Six Concertos, in Seven Parts, compoſed by the late Mr. Feſting. Opera 9.

Six Sonatas for the Harpſichord, with Accompaniaments. Compoſed by Mr. Charles Aviſon. Opera 5.

Printed for John Johnſon, oppoſite Bow Church in Cheapſide.

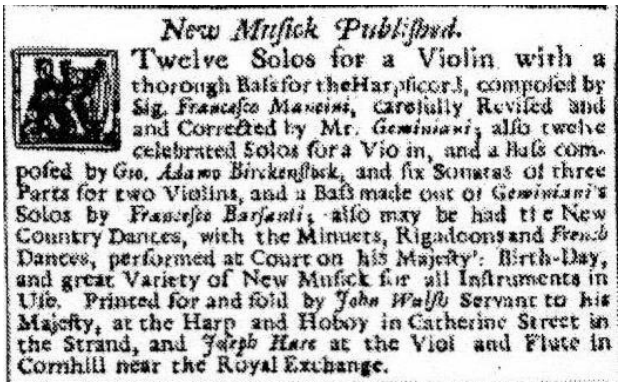
Illustration 3: New Musick this Day were Published by Walsh and Johnson, *Whitehall Evening Post*, 18 December 1756.

At most these advertisements would contain the name of a new publication with headings such as "this day is published" (as well as "where can also be had"), followed by a short list of six to eight other works in stock. This advertising format was also used by publishers of books of all kinds.[57] The advertisements would appear in a range of journals, both weekly and daily. "This day published" would be used initially for the latest items, whereas "Newly Published" should probably be seen as standard formulae for advertisements rather than be taken at face value, since identical advertisements would sometimes feature repeatedly over a longer period of time without any change to their content.[58] Even with a limited space available, Walsh in particular was inventive, using a variety of typeface (Gothic, cursive, capitals) and sometimes even a small picture/vignette to make his entry stand out amongst the many other adverts, as can be seen in illustration 4 below:

[57] Nicolas Prevost (the publisher of Geminiani's Concerti Grossi) also uses the "Just Published" tag to head his advertisements. See, for example, *Flying Post, or The Weekly Medley*, issue 34, Saturday 24 May, 1729.

[58] This fact is derived from scrolling through the *17th and 18th Century Burney Collection* database at the British Library.

New Muſick, and Editions of Muſick,
Juſt Publiſhed,
CONCERTO's for VIOLINS, &c.
I. Twenty-four OVERTURES, compos'd by Mr. HANDEL, for Violins, &c. In Eight Parts.
II. Select Harmony, being 12 celebrated Concerto's, collected from the latest Opera's of Antonio Vivaldi.
III. Corelli's 12 Sola's made into Concerto's, in 7 Parts, by Francetto Geminiani. Curiouſly printed on fine Dutch Paper.
IV. Harmonia Mundi, 3d Collection, being 6 Concerto's for Violins, in 6 Parts. By Albinoni, Alberti, Teſſarini, and Vivaldi.
V. Six Concerto's for Violins and Flutes. By Mr. Baſton.
VI. Twelve Concerto's for Violins, in 5 Parts. By Giuſeppe Alberti, Opera ſecunda.
VII. Ten Concerto's. By the ſame Author, Opera prima.
VIII. Vivaldi's Extravaganzas, Opera quarta.
IX. Vivaldo's 12 Concerto's, the Cuckow and Extravaganza.
X. Vivaldi's 12 Grand Concerto's, Opera Terza.
XI. Twelve Concerto's for Violins and Flutes. By Mr. Robert Woodcock.
XII. Teſſarini's 12 Concerto's for Violins, Opera prima.
XIII. Six Overtures for Violins, in 5 Parts. By ſeveral eminent Maſters.
XIV. Corelli's 12 Concerto's. Curiouſly printed on fine Dutch Paper.
XV. Albinoni's Concerto's, Opera ſecunda.
N. B. There are juſt publiſh'd, 24 of Mr. Handel's Overtures, curiouſly ſet for the Harpſichord; and great Variety of Muſick, for the German Flute, Violin, and Common Flute.
All printed for and ſold by JOHN WALSH, Muſick Printer and Inſtrument-Maker to his Majeſty, at the Harp and Hautboy in Catherine-ſtreet in the Strand.



New Muſick Publiſhed.
Twelve Solos for a Violin with a thorough Baſs for the Harpſicord, compoſed by Sig. *Franceſco Manzini*, carefully Reviſed and and Corrected by Mr. *Geminiani*; alſo twelve celebrated Solos for a Violin, and a Baſs compoſed by *Gio. Adamo Birckenſtock*, and ſix Sonatas of three Parts for two Violins, and a Baſs made out of *Geminiani's* Solos by *Franceſco Barſanti*; alſo may be had the New Country Dances, with the Minuets, Rigadoons and *French* Dances, performed at Court on his Majeſty's Birth-Day, and great Variety of New Muſick for all Inſtruments in Uſe. Printed for and ſold by *John Walſh* Servant to his Majeſty, at the Harp and Hoboy in Catherine Street in the Strand, and *Joſeph Hare* at the Viol and Flute in Cornhill near the Royal Exchange.

Illustration 4: New Musick and Editions of Musick just published, by John Walsh, *The Daily Journal*, issue 3151, Wednesday, 10 February, 1731; "New Musick Published", *Country Journal or The Craftsman*, issue 77, Saturday, 23 December, 1727.

Advertisements were generally placed on pages dedicated to prints of all sorts, though the same page could advertise such diverse wares as: J. Walsh and Johnson's latest publications, Cuzzoni's benefit, "A Treatise on the Plague", wines for sale, Ball at Ranelagh-House, a Grand Cricket-Match, and the latest in dental treatment for tooth decay.[59]

In the first decades of the century advertisements for musical publications always highlighted a vocal item as the main feature – often the publication of a Handel opera or "favourite songs", with instrumental items added as the third and fourth item on a list of several recent publications. However, by the 1730s instrumental repertoires by famous composers began to feature more regularly as a headline attraction. In January 1730 the *Country Journal or The Craftsman* advertised Vivaldi's "Select Harmony":

> New Music This Day Published. Select Harmony: Being Twelve Concerto in Six Parts for Violins and other Instruments Collected from the Works of Antonio Vivaldi...being a wellchosen Collection of his most celebrated Concertos: The Whole carefully corrected. Printed and Sold By John Walsh.[60]

A few years later, on 22 January 1734 the *Daily Journal* featured an advertisement where a set of Solos (Castrucci's Opus 2) was the main draw for the publication of:

> New Musick This Day Published (Humbly dedicated to her Royal highness the Princess Royal) Twelve Solo's for a Violin with a thorough Bass for the Harpsichord or Bass Violin composed by Pietro Castrucci Opera Seconda. Printed for and sold by John Walsh.[61]

It would seem at this point that instrumental repertoire had a selling point equal to vocal repertoire. However, the attraction in each case was either the fame of the author by

[59] *General Advertiser*, issue 5175, Wednesday 22 May, 1751.
[60] *Country Journal, or The Craftsman*, issue 184, Saturday 10 January, 1730.
[61] *Daily Journal*, issue 4061, Tuesday 22 January, 1734.

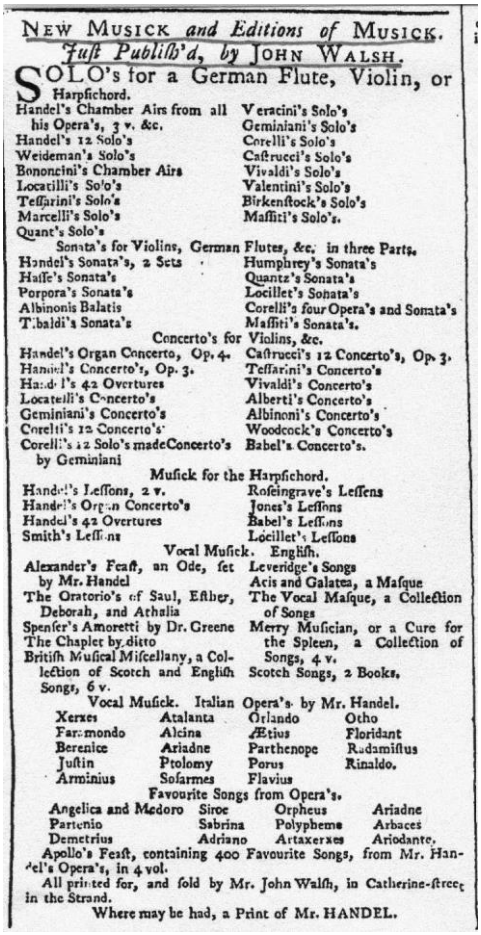
reputation (in the case of Vivaldi) or the chance to own the latest Solos by one of the leading violinists active in London at this point, namely Castrucci, who was possibly at the height of his fame at this time, having already served as "first violinist at the opera" for a decade. Whilst Vivaldi's works never achieved popularity in concert programmes, Walsh regularly featured this particular collection in his catalogues and advertisements, indicating that there was a market for this repertoire possibly among adventurous amateurs. With Castrucci, the attraction must have been a chance to own and attempt to perform works by one of the leading artists of the day.

From the 1730s on, some publishers invested in more impressive advertisements. In 1739 Walsh placed a particularly large advertisement in the *London Daily Post* (8 September), announcing:

> New Musick *and Editions* of Musick *Just Publish'd by* John Walsh
> Solos for a German Flute, Violin or Harpsichord.[62]

The advertisement, which took up almost half a column, listed Solos by Handel, Weideman, Bononcini, Locatelli, Tessarini, Corelli, Quantz, Veracini, Geminiani, Corelli, Castrucci, Vivaldi, Valentini, Birkenstock and Massiti, as well as "Sonata's for Violins, German Flutes &c. in three Parts", "Concerto's for Violins, &c", "Musick for harpsichord and vocal music English and Italian, operas by Handel", and "Favourite Songs from Opera's" – as can be seen in illustration 5 below.

[62] *London Daily Post,* issue 1492, Thursday 9 August, 1739.



NEW MUSICK *and Editions of* MUSICK.
Juſt Publiſh'd, by JOHN WALSH.

SOLO's for a German Flute, Violin, or Harpſichord.

Handel's Chamber Airs from all his Opera's, 3 v. &c.	Veracini's Solo's
Handel's 12 Solo's	Geminiani's Solo's
Weideman's Solo's	Corelli's Solo's
Bononcini's Chamber Airs	Caſtrucci's Solo's
Locatilli's Solo's	Vivaldi's Solo's
Teſſarini's Solo's	Valentini's Solo's
Marcelli's Solo's	Birkenſtock's Solo's
Quant's Solo's	Maſſiti's Solo's.

Sonata's for Violins, German Flutes, &c. in three Parts.

Handel's Sonata's, 2 Sets	Humphrey's Sonata's
Haſſe's Sonata's	Quantz's Sonata's
Porpora's Sonata's	Locillet's Sonata's
Albinonis Balatis	Corelli's four Opera's and Sonata's
Tibaldi's Sonata's	Maſſiti's Sonata's.

Concerto's for Violins, &c.

Handel's Organ Concerto, Op. 4.	Caſtrucci's 12 Concerto's, Op. 3.
Handel's Concerto's, Op. 3.	Teſſarini's Concerto's
Handel's 42 Overtures	Vivaldi's Concerto's
Locatelli's Concerto's	Alberti's Concerto's
Geminiani's Concerto's	Albinoni's Concerto's
Corelli's 12 Concerto's	Woodcock's Concerto's
Corelli's 12 Solo's made Concerto's by Geminiani	Babel's Concerto's.

Muſick for the Harpſichord.

Handel's Leſſons, 2 v.	Roſeingrave's Leſſons
Handel's Organ Concerto's	Jones's Leſſons
Handel's 42 Overtures	Babel's Leſſons
Smith's Leſſons	Locillet's Leſſons

Vocal Muſick. Engliſh.

Alexander's Feaſt, an Ode, ſet by Mr. Handel	Leveridge's Songs
The Oratorio's of Saul, Eſther, Deborah, and Athalia	Acis and Galatea, a Maſque
Spenſer's Amoretti by Dr. Greene	The Vocal Maſque, a Collection of Songs
The Chaplet by ditto	Merry Muſician, or a Cure for the Spleen, a Collection of Songs, 4 v.
Britiſh Muſical Miſcellany, a Collection of Scotch and Engliſh Songs, 6 v.	Scotch Songs, 2 Books.

Vocal Muſick. Italian Opera's by Mr. Handel.

Xerxes	Atalanta	Orlando	Otho
Farnmondo	Alcina	Ætius	Floridant
Berenice	Ariadne	Parthenope	Radamiſtus
Juſtin	Ptolomy	Porus	Rinaldo.
Arminius	Sofarmes	Flavius	

Favourite Songs from Opera's.

Angelica and Medoro	Siroe	Orpheus	Ariadne
Partenio	Sabrina	Polypheme	Arbaces
Demetrius	Adriano	Artaxerxes	Ariodante.

Apollo's Feaſt, containing 400 Favourite Songs, from Mr. Handel's Opera's, in 4 vol.

All printed for, and ſold by Mr. John Walſh, in Catherine-ſtreet in the Strand.

Where may be had, a Print of Mr. HANDEL.

Illustration 5: New Musick and Editions of Musick Just Publish'd by John Walsh, *London Daily Post,* 8 September 1739.

This advertisement also neatly illustrates the distinction between the genres of Solo and the Sonata as understood at this time. Even so, Walsh also continued to print smaller advertisements like the following, printed in the *General Advertiser* in February 1751:

> NEW MUSICK *This Day is published*, price 5s
> The Choice of Hercules in Score, composed by Mr. Handel
> Printed for J. Walsh in Catherine-street in the Strand of whom may be had,
> 1. Eight Overtures for Violins ecc in 8 Parts from the Masks....
> 2. Twelve Sonatas, 6 for two Violins and 6 for German Flutes and Bass by Sig. Solniz
> 3. Six Sonata or Duets for two German Flutes, by Sig. Gio. Aggrel... 3s
> 4. Six Solos for a Violin or German Flute and Bass by Signor Bezozi
> 5. Rameau's Concertos for the Harpsichord, with his Directions
> *Also just published*
> A second Set of eighty Songs selected from the Oratorios for the Harpsichord, or Voice... also for Concert for Violins in six parts.[63]

[63] *General Advertiser,* issue 5175, Wednesday 22 May, 1751.

As the century went on, other publishers joined Walsh in placing advertisements in newspapers and journals as well as printing catalogues on a more regular basis. In the case of John Johnson, the earliest catalogues date from 1754. However, advertisements for Johnson appeared some years prior to this. One good example can be found in the *General Advertiser* in May 1751 and featured right below the Walsh advertisement quoted on page 74 above:

> New Music This Day are published Price 5s.
> A Second Set of
> Six Sonatas for two Violins and a Bass composed by Sig
> Vincenzi Ciampi, opera Secondo.[64]

The advertisement also included trio sonatas by Campi, Concertos by Avison, Solos by Agus, Solos by Pasqualino (most likely Nicolo Pasquali, as he appeared in the 1754 catalogue), as well as lessons for harpsichord. Bremner also featured in newspaper advertisements prior to his earliest surviving catalogues. Initially, Bremner advertised for his Edinburgh shop, but soon the focus shifted to the shop in London.[65]

Newspaper advertisements also help us trace the convention of the subscription. An example is found in the *Whitehall Evening Post* where an advertisement on 21 December 1756 announced: "Proposals for Printing by Subscription – A Treatise call'd *Thorough-Bass made Easy* by Nicolo Pasquali".[66] While this practice was not commonly applied to the Solo genre, a couple of Italian artists did use this means of getting their work into print. In 1739 the *London Daily Post and General Advertiser* announced:

> To all Lovers of Musick. Mr Cervetto lately arriv'd from Venice proposes to publish by Subscription Twelve Sonatas for the Violoncello and Harpsichord; at the Price of One Guinea half down and the other half on the Delivery, which will be on or before eight Month Time... Mr Cervetto will take Subscriptions at Mr. Jonathan Mallesox, Packer, in Rood-Lane.[67]

This advertisement not only documents the convention of subscription but also gives us a glimpse of how the process worked in practice. Publications like these would then contain a list of the subscribers. Cattanei's Opus 2 Solos contain one of the very few surviving lists of subscribers found in connection with Solo violin repertoire. The front page makes it clear that this publication, though sold by Bremner, was printed for the author.[68] The list of subscribers included both members of the 'nobility and gentry' as well as untitled individuals,

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[64] *General Advertiser,* issue 5175, Wednesday 22 May, 1751.
[65] Humphries and Smith, *Music Publishing in the British Isles*, 84.
[66] *Whitehall Evening Post, or London Intelligencer*, issue 1693, 21–23 December, 1756.
[67] *London Daily Post and General Advertiser*, issue 1582, Tuesday 20 November, 1739.
[68] The author has been in touch with Dr Rosemary Southey who has researched the career of Cattanei and his connection with the Bowes family. The Bowes family features prominently on the subscription list. Dr Rosemary Southey, e-mail messages to author, 15 September, 2015. See also table 1 in Appendix 3 below.

including quite a few women.[69] Geminiani's student Festing published a total of five items by subscription, but this was an exception to the norm as most authors used this method for just one publication. A list of the composers who published at least one collection by subscription and/or by self-publication can be found in *'The first talents of Europe': British Music Printers and Publishers and Imported Instrumental Music in the Eighteenth Century*.[70] Lists like these illustrate the varied methods used by artists to get their works published. A number of booksellers also printed the occasional set of Solos or sonatas, though the most common music publication found in those catalogues would be treatises. J. Wilcox published Tosi's *Treatise on Florid Song*, for example, and Avison's treatise was printed for Lockyer Davis.[71]

Catalogues, as well as newspaper advertisements and announcements, certainly provide intriguing insights into what repertoires were available to the English public. One piece of information they do not provide, however, is whether particular items sold well and which ones possibly just remained in the catalogues because they were old stock. Sets of sonatas were not cheap. In 1721 Walsh charged 5s 0d for Corelli's Opus 5, and by 1790 Preston charged 10s 6d for the same set, a price which made this kind of publication inaccessible to almost all but the aristocracy and gentry who had a yearly income large enough to enable them to indulge in such purchases.[72] As we saw in the previous chapter, 5s was the fee set for most concerts and for the opera as well. Rarely do we have evidence of who exactly bought which types of music, though the fact that original scores tended to be of the highest quality binding gives some indication.[73] However, the surviving subscription lists paint a diverse picture, as they (at least in the case of Cattanei) include not just a number of 'The Right Hon' but also 'Mrs', 'Esq', a Reverend and a Captain, though everyone on such a list would have been considered both socially and culturally a member of polite society.[74]

Even with the help of online searches through *17th and 18th Century Burney Collection* and the thorough listings of the catalogues provided by Humphries and Smith, looking at these sources alone does not give us a complete picture. To gain a broader understanding of the Solo in the context of the London cultural scene we need to look at

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[69] See Appendix 3 table 1.
[70] Jennifer Burchell, "The first Talents of Europe: British Music Printers and Publishers and Imported Instrumental Music in the Eighteenth Century", in *Concert Life in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, ed. Susan Wollenberg and Simon McVeigh (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004).
[71] See Appendix 2 table 5.
[72] The Old Bailey website provides a very good context for income and expenditure in the eighteenth century. See http://www.oldbaileyonline.org/static/Coinage.jsp#costofliving, accessed 26 August 2016. For a further understanding of incomes see David Hunter, "Patronizing Handel, Inventing Audiences", 32–36 & 38–49.
[73] In a few cases bound volumes of Solos have an owner's mark, as is the case with the Royal College of Music's Solomon collection. However, the collections in the British Library rarely have this detail surviving.
[74] John Brewer, *The Pleasure of the Imagination: English Culture in the Eighteenth Century* (London: Harper Collins, 1997), part 1, *Contexts*.

every possible source. That includes concert advertisements and, crucially, the actual publications themselves.

Publishing the Solo – The Editions

The layout and information found on the frontispieces of the Solos collected for this research vary greatly: from the elaborate artistic frame found on front pages of Carbonelli's Opus 1 and Castrucci's Opus 2 for instance, both of which were dedicated to the illustrious patrons who had supported these artists and helped them achieve success, to the simple prototype front pages of the publications brought out by Walsh, Johnson and Bremner, which were intended to be easy to print for a bigger market.[75] Apart from the exact title and instrumentation, many publications carried a dedication to the composer's patron, who would in some cases have financed the publication. Particularly good examples of this practice are found in the Opus 1 sets by Agus and Carbonelli.[76] In addition, the publisher would often append at the bottom of the page a list of works similar in genre or instrumentation, or notes of other recent significant publications by the same author, as well as including a short catalogue in the back of the edition. Indeed, many of the catalogues studied for this research would have originally been included at the back of the publications, though few still remain in place.[77]

A composer's Opus 1 set of Solos was often dedicated to the person who helped bring the artist to England. In the cases of Pietro Castrucci and his brother Prospero (Earl of Burlington) and Carbonelli (Duke of Rutland) they were members of their patron's household for the first years of their stay in London.[78] This was particularly true in the early decades of the century, but as the century progressed the patron might very likely have been a more general admirer who gave the violinists indirect support.[79] Appendix 3 below lists the dedications found on Solos published in England. These give an impression of the kinds of people who were supporting violinists. As expected, most patrons belonged to the aristocracy. Of particular interest among these patrons is the Earl of Burlington and Cork, Richard Boyle. Both he and his wife had sets of Solos dedicated to them (Castrucci Opus 1

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[75] See Edwards and McVeigh, "Pietro Castrucci" for information about Castrucci's relationship with his patron. See also preface by Peter Holman to Pietro Castrucci, *Sonate a Violino e Violine o Cembalo [1717–18].* Amsterdam: Jeanne Roger, Facsimile (Huntingdon: Kings Music, 2003). For Carbonelli see: "Giovanni Stefano Carbonelli", Edition HH Music Publishers, accessed 26 August 2016, https://www.editionhh.co.uk/ab_gscarbonelli.htm.

[76] See Appendix 3 below for a list of all the dedications found in the Solo repertoire under consideration.

[77] Pietro Castrucci, *Sonate a Violine e Violone o Cimbalo Dedicata all Sereinissima Altezza Reale La Principessa Anna Opera Seconda* (London: John Walsh, 1734), British Library catalogue number g. 237.

[78] See Simon McVeigh, "Italian Violinists in Eighteenth-Century London", in *The Eighteenth-Century Diaspora of Italian Music and Musicians*, ed. Reinhard Strohm (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2001), 152; and Edwards and McVeigh, "Pietro Castrucci".

[79] Simon McVeigh, "Italian Violinists in Eighteenth-Century London", 153.

and Geminiani Opus 4 respectively). Dorothy and Richard Boyle were avid lovers or the arts. She was an accomplished amateur painter, and he was known as the 'Architect Earl' who never went without music on his travels in Italy.[80] Indeed, though he had many passions throughout his life, music was the one which was constant: he supported the Italian opera (The Royal Academy) and held private concerts at his various residences. Several musicians spent extended periods staying at Burlington House in London (among them Handel and the Castrucci brothers).[81] For many aristocrats, supporting an Italian violinist was possibly part of a whole lifestyle of supporting the arts. Carbonelli's patron the 3rd Duke of Rutland, for instance, was an especially astute art collector with a particular taste for small paintings as well as a keen violinist who supported his charge in a grand manner.[82] The main sources for researching major figures do not mention Geminiani's first patron Baron Kilmansegge or Agus's patron, the Count of Halflang. Handel scholarship does provide us with references to Kilmansegge: he was a person of high military rank, and before his death in 1717 he commissioned Handel to write the Water Music on behalf of George I.[83]

Among the dedicatees are a number of women. Dorothy, Countess of Burlington, has already been mentioned, but the list also features Isabelle, Countess of Carlisle, Lady Hamilton and Her Highness Princess Anne. While women would not have played the violin, both Lady Hamilton and Princess Anne are known to have been accomplished keyboard players. In the case of Lady Hamilton her husband studied the violin with Giardini, and it is not unlikely that she accompanied her husband and maybe even Giardini himself in performances as she is known to have been a very accomplished player.[84] Similarly, Princess Anne was an accomplished harpsichordist, having had Handel as her music teacher during her childhood.[85] This also gives a glimpse of the Solo genre functioning in a more private and domestic setting away from formal concert performances with ladies accompanying husbands or even the Italian violinists in the drawing-room, or talented wives

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[80] Dana Arnold, *Belov'd by Ev'ry Muse – Richard Boyle 3rd Early of Burlington and 4th Early of Cork* (London : Georgian Group, [1994?]); Judy Egerton, "Dorothy Boyle". Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. Oxford University Press, accessed 26 January, 2017, http://oxforddnb.com/view/article/66564.

[81] Pamela Denman Kingsbury, "Richard Boyle". Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, Oxford University Press, accessed 21 January, 2017, http://oxforddnb.com/view/article/3136?docPos=5.

[82] Michael Talbot, "From Giovanni Stefano Carbonelli to John Stephen Carbonell", 267 & 285; Carole Taylor, "John (Manners) 3rd Duke of Rutland: British Art Collector", *Journal of the History of Collections*, Volume 29, Issue 2 (2017): 237–250.

[83] While these names are found on the dedications of Opus 1, they do not appear in the Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, Oxford University Press. http://oxforddnb.com. For Kilmansegge's involvement with Handel see Ellen T. Harris, "Joseph Goupy and George Frideric Handel" as printed in *Handel*, edited by David Vickers (Oxford: Routledge, 2016), 34, 38, 41.

[84] Referenced in the article about her husband: Geoffrey V. Morson, "Sir William Hamilton". Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, Oxford University Press, accessed 21 January, 2017, http://oxforddnb.com/view/article/12142?docPos=12. See also Simon McVeigh, *The Violinist in London's Concert Life: Felice Giardini and His Contemporaries* (New York and London: Garland Publishing, 1989), 188.

[85] Matthew Kilburn, "Princess Anne". Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, Oxford University Press, accessed 26 January, 2017, http://oxforddnb.com/view/article/68369?docPos=1.

who had not given up playing the keyboard upon marriage accompanying their husbands on the violin – or maybe even accompanying the visiting Italian virtuoso. A few surviving paintings support the idea that women did indeed accompany men in instrumental chamber music-making in the home.[86] Women who no longer played would still be able to be knowledgeable connoisseurs and, as such, support artists they admired.

By the middle of the century, members of the gentry – particularly those who had acquired wealth through the lands they processed either through farming or in particular mining – began to appear as patrons, and subscribers along with Baronets and Esquires or just Miss Amelie Rebecca Forster. The Cattanei subscription list is particularly enlightening in this regard as it contains members of every class and both genders, and the list of subscribers for his Opus 2 Solos illustrates particularly well the broadening of the consumer base for culture at this point in history.[87] Among the names listed are military men, industrialists and landowners. Many of the names on the list were owners of big estates such as the Bowes family of Gibside including the daughter, The Right Hon. Lady Bewes Strathmore. In fact her date of marriage provides us with an approximate date for this list of subscribers, namely 1767 or later.[88] Several of the names on the list are also known to have supported Charles Avison and the general establishment of a musical scene in the north, among them The Right Hon Lady Mary.[89] Although most of the people on this list would be considered members of the gentry rather than the aristocracy, they certainly represented the higher end of this class, with some of their children attaining minor titles through marriage. Thus while it might be true that both nobility and gentry enjoyed and supported the cultural scene, it is evident that it was very much the nobility that had the means to finance and support such ventures, though by the middle of the century members of the gentry began to feature more regularly.

The frontispieces also provided the publisher with another chance to advertise the rest of a publisher's stock, as can be seen in illustration 6.

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[86] Richard Leppert, *Music and Image: Domesticity, Ideology and Socio-cultural Formation in Eighteenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 1989), 79.
[87] See Appendix 3 table 1.
[88] Rosalind K. Marshall, "Mary Eleanor Bowes". Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, Oxford University Press, accessed 21 January, 2017, http://oxforddnb.com/view/article/3056?docPos=13.
[89] I am thankful to Dr Rosemary Southey and her friend Margaret Maddison for detailed information on the persons on this list. Email exchanges with the author 15.09.2015, 18.10.2015, 23.10.2015.


Sold by JOHN WALSH at the Harp and Hoboy in Catherine Street in the Strand.
Where may be had the following Pieces of MUSICK
Compos'd by Mr. HANDEL.

	l. s. d.		l. s. d.		l. s. d.
A Compleat Set of all his Operas in Score	14-1-0	6 Celebrated Songs for French Horns Collected from 5 late Operas	0-5-0	24 Overtures for the Harpsicord	0-12-0
The Mask of Acis and Galatea	0-4-0	7 Collections of Opera Aires for a German Flute Violin or Harpsicord Vol. 1st	1-1-0	A Compleat Set of all the Operas Transpos'd for the Flute in 2 Vol. 4to	1-11-6
Apollo's Feast 3 Vol. containing the choicest Songs out of 5 late Operas	1-5-0	2 Collections of Opera Aires Vol. 2d being the choicest Songs in Farthe.		Lessons for the Harpsicord	1-1-0
Twenty four Overtures for Violins in 8 Parts	1-1-0	nope and Porus for the German Flute	0-6-0	72 Minuets and Marches for a German Flute and a Hautboy	0-2-0
5 Solos for a German Flute	0-5-0			50 English Songs Set to his Minuets	0-2-0
				Tunes to the Alchimist	0-1

Illustration 6: Front page of Carbonelli Op. 1 Solos, published by John Walsh.

These notices on the bottom section of the page varied a lot, from the shortest of notices such as: "Of whom may be had all the above Author's Works", to an extensive list of Solos in stock.[90] Bremner, Welcker and, in particular, John Johnson seem to have been the publishers who most took advantage of this extra means of advertising either works in the same genre or works by the same author. Pugnani's Opus 7 published by Welcker provides a good example of this practice.[91] At the bottom of the title page is found the following, printed in much smaller font than the rest of the title page:

> London Printed by Welcker I Gerrard Street st. Anns Soho.
> Where may be had by the same Author 6 Sonatas for the harpsichord with an Accompanyment for a Flute or Violin and Bass – Solos by the following Masters 6 by Barbella which are a 2d sett, 6 by Stratico 6 by Mazzinghi, 6 by Chabran, 6 by Tartini, 6 by Barthelemon, 6 by Olivero 6 by Stamitz for the Violoncello, 6 by Cirri, 6 by Eiffert and 10 by Santo Lapis. N.B. Practical Rules for learning Composition by John Joseph Feux Originally wrote in Latin, Translated at a very great expense by the desire of the greatest Masters in this Kingdom.[92]

Though not specified, it seems that the Solos were all for a violin, though we cannot be absolutely certain. In a similar vein, the front page of Noferi's *Opera Secondo* published by Johnson also listed similar repertoires, presumably in the hope of enticing consumers to return for more:

> Of whom may also be had – Fisher's Sonatas 2 Setts, Ferigo's Sonatas, Campioni's Sonatas, Carter's Sonatas, Pasquali's Sonatas 2 Setts, Avison's 6 Sonatas, Batos's 6 Sonatas, Barbandt's Sonatas, Corelli's Sonatas, Desaubry's Sonatas , Fritz's Sonatas, Gasparini's Sonatas, Price's Sonatas, Avison's Sonatas Op. 5, Berg's Sonatinas 2 Books, Dr Green's Lessons, Felton's Lessons 2 Setts. Jackson's Lessons, Kunzen's lessons Dr. Nares's Lessons, Scarlatti's Lessons.[93]

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[90] John Cox uses the short advertisement format on the frontispiece of Giardini's Opus 3 *Sei Sonata di Cembalo con Violino or Flauto Traverso.*

[91] Gaetano Pugnani, *Sei Sonate a Violino e Basso Opus 7 [1770]* (London: Welcker). Available from IMSLP, accessed 26 August 2016, http://imslp.org/wiki/6_Violin_Sonatas,_Op.7_(Pugnani,_Gaetano).

[92] Original spelling is adhered to (setts and Feux) but commas are added to make the text clearer.

[93] Giovanni Batista Noferi, *Six Solos for a violin and Bass opera 2 [1760]* (London: John Johnson), RCM special collections. The actual instrumentation of the Sonatas advertised varies and comprises a mix of Solos and Trios.

However, it is not entirely clear if some of these Sonatas are indeed Solos, nor is the instrumentation specified.

Although the frontispiece may not be the most obvious source of information, it should not be overlooked, as it complements the information found in other sources, particularly with regards to patronage. Even with the lack of detail with regards to the exact instrumentation of the works listed, it proves that these publishers were using every opportunity to advertise their offerings.

Playing the Solo – Records of Performances

Whereas the published scores of Solos, and the catalogues and newspapers in which they were advertised, are relatively straightforward to trace and compare, sources documenting the performances of Solos are more elusive. Our main sources are surviving newspapers, where we can find announcements of performances, and the occasional mention in "notes to the author". While diaries and letters did occasionally record concerts and even private performances, they are rarely consistent enough to be able to be used to trace patterns in performance, though they can enlighten the findings from newspapers. Even with the help of databases and search engines, it is virtually impossible to be certain that all surviving advertisements and announcements have been found, and in some cases repeated announcements of the same event create further confusion when repertoires and artists seem to change.[94] In the case of some advertisements, one cannot always be certain that the concert even took place. This was well illustrated in the previous chapter where we saw that Geminiani's series of concerts seems to have started off successfully but was never completed. In addition, many concert announcements provided only the names of (some of) the performers and little, if any, detail as to the repertoire performed. However, the sources that do provide more detailed programming illustrate that when an Italian violinist featured in a concert programme, Solos were virtually always included.[95] From the earliest advertisements it is clear that a good concert (or consort) was made up of a mix of vocal and instrumental repertoire. Though the balance of vocal and instrumental items within programmes could vary during the course of the century depending on the context, concert programmes would always include favourite songs or arias alongside the appearance of an instrumentalist who would perform a Solo of his own composition in addition to leading the band during the rest of the evening.

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[94] The two main databases for such information are Donald Burrows and Rosemary Dunhill, *Music and Theatre in Handel's World: The Family Papers of James Harris 1732–1780* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002); and Simon McVeigh, *Calendar of London Concerts 1750–1800.*

[95] See concert advertisements cited on p. 48 above.

One further source which gives a sense of the continued popularity of the Solo as a feature of public concerts is the *Index to The London Stage 1660–1800*.[96] This Index enumerates every artist mentioned in the main volumes with reference to their performances, but there are also separate entries recording the mentions of "Violin Solo", "Violin Music", and "Violin Sonata" (a very small entry).[97] Though these entries are by no means comprehensive, they provide a good starting point and illustrate the continued popularity of these repertoires throughout the eighteenth century. Even though the index does not contain every possible concert to be found, the entries for individual artists provide a good indication of the venues in which these artists performed. The actual main volumes of *The London Stage* (volumes 2–4 in particular) helpfully list the full content of the concerts, with adverts giving many more snapshots. As we saw in the previous chapter, Hickford's Rooms (which were one of the first concert venues in London) and York Buildings seem to have been the most popular settings for concerts where Italian violinists performed their Solos. However, various London theatres, such as Drury Lane and Kings Theatre, were also used to host concerts, particularly benefit concerts.[98] As the century progressed, new concert venues began to appear, though often they were used not just for concerts, but also for balls and other social gatherings, as was the case with Teresa Cornelys's concerts, masques and balls at Carlisle House where Felice Giardini often led the music in the early years.[99]

Although it is likely that Solos were performed as part of opera performances, documentation on which Solos were performed, when and by whom, is non-existent. However, since Castrucci and Carbonelli worked extensively in the Italian Opera, it is to be assumed that their sonatas were heard as part of opera performances in the 1720s as interludes or during breaks between acts. While we can be certain that Solos were regularly performed in private concerts and more informal music gatherings, there will never be systematic sources documenting these apart from the occasional mention in letters and diaries.[100]

Advertisements from the early decades did not give much detail as to the actual repertoire to be performed. Instead, these announcements provided information as to who was to be the main soloist, the time and venue and, importantly, where to purchase tickets

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[96] Ben Ross Schneider, *Index to The London Stage 1660–1800*, ed. William Lennep et al. (Carbondale and Edwardsville: Southern Illinois University Press, 1960–1968).
[97] The Index was compiled manually so cannot be relied upon as being exhaustive. Nevertheless, it provides an extremely useful tool for fact finding. See pp. 876–877.
[98] See concert advertisement cited on p. 48 above and referenced in *The London Stage*, part 2, 2:668.
[99] Jerry White, *London in the Eighteenth Century: A Great and Monstrous Thing* (London: The Bodley Head, 2012), particularly chapter 8: "Teresa Cornelys's London: Public Pleasures".
[100] See, for instance, the letters of James Harris, which mention private performances by Handel and Giardini, in Burrows and Dunhill, *Music and Theatre in Handel's World*.

for the event. An advertisement from the *Daily Courant* for March 1706 illustrates this point well:

> A Performance of Music, Vocal and Instrumental, by Signior Gasparini and the best Masters. At the Music-Room in York-Buildings...at Seven; Tickets 5s to be had at the Door.[101]

While this particular advertisement did not spell out exactly what repertoire was to be performed by Signor Gasparini, many others do give us a glimpse. For example, on 23 July 1715 the following concert was announced:

> For the Benefit of Signor Castrucci, who came lately over from Italy with the Lord Burlington. At the Great Room in James-street [...] will be perform'd a Consort of Music Vocal and Instrumental by the best Masters. In which he [Castrucci] will perform several solos on the Violin, intirely New.[102]

The real draw on this occasion, however, was the novelty factor: a recent arrival was to perform Solos which had never been heard before. This was the first of many benefits for Castrucci, who would thereafter feature in yearly benefits of his own as well as in those of his colleagues.[103] Another performance featuring Castrucci, advertised in the *Daily Courante* on Tuesday 29 March 1726, provides an insight into what information was considered important: Castrucci was to perform quite an extensive programme of his own and Corelli's compositions, and a very special ambassador was to attend:

> At the Great Room in York-Buildings to-morrow, being Wednesday, the 30th March, will be performed, a particular Entertainment of Musick by Sig. Castrucci first Violin to the Opera, who will perform several Concerto's and Solo's of his own Composition with two Concerto's of the famous Corelli, being the Fifth and Eight, and several famous Songs. His Excellency the Morocco Ambassadour will be there. Tickets will be delivered at the Place above mentioned this Day and Tomorrow. To beg'n exactly at Seven o'Clock.[104]

From *The London Stage* it would seem that this concert became a feature in Castrucci's career, evidenced by the fact that he returned to the York Buildings at the same point in the season in the subsequent two years and possibly even beyond.[105] As the century progressed, the announcements became more detailed, at times giving virtually the full concert programmes. From these we learn that a concert would generally be made up of two to three acts. As was the case in the concert mentioned in chapter 1, the featured violin soloist would

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[101] *The London Stage*, part 2, 1:120.
[102] *Daily Courant*, issue 4289, Saturday 23 July, 1715.
[103] Castrucci's performances can be traced through entries in *The London Stage, part 2, vol. 2.*
[104] *The London Stage*, part 2, 2:861.
[105] *The London Stage*, part 2, 2.

appear in at least one Solo and one concerto as well as leading the orchestra.[106] In May 1751 *The General Advertiser* announced a benefit for the soprano F. Cuzzoni, which provides us with exactly such a programme. At this point Cuzzoni's career on stage had more or less ended.[107] Thus this concert was a real benefit to answer a particular 'distress':

> Sig. Angelo Morigi, Mr. Miller Mr Beneki, and the Rest of the Performers, having in Compassion to my Distresse, generously promised to perform gratis, enables me to give the following Entertainment for my Benefit To-morrow, at Mr. Hickford's in Brewer-street.
>
> Part I
> The 3rd Concert of Mr. Geminiani's 2d Op.
> *Assanni per Pensier* by Signora Cuzzoni
> As Song by Sig. Guardani
> A concert on the Bassoon by Mr Miller
> A Solo on the Violin by Sig Angelo Morigi
> *Falsa Immagine* by Signora Cuzzoni
> 6th Concert of Mr Geminiani's 3d Op.
> Part II
> Violin Concert by Sig. Angelo Morigi
> *Return O God of Host* by Signora Cuzzoni
> Solo on the Violoncello by Mr. Beneki
> *Salve Regina* by Signora Cuzzoni
> 5th of Mr. Handel's Grand Concertos.
> Tickets 10s 6d each to be had at Mr Hickford's.[108]

This programme again illustrates the practice of listing the name of the soloists (in this case Morigi) and not the composer. The important information was that Signora Cuzzoni was singing *Salve Regina*, whereas its author would have been either common knowledge or just not considered important. In the case of the instrumental pieces, the performer and the author would have been the same person, hence the shorthand 'by' for 'performed by'. The author was only mentioned in the repertoire for large ensembles, where the attraction would have been to hear these famous concerti of Geminiani and Handel (and listing the performers would have been impractical). The exception here is Cuzzoni who was singing famous arias and songs composed for her (not by her). However, the attraction in this was hearing the famous aria irrespective of the composer. Whereas violinists, cellists and keyboard players would perform their own Solos and Concertos, vocalists generally performed repertoire by others, though in this case the title of the song is mentioned rather than the composer. This is also often the case in catalogues where vocal items were generally

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[106] For a detailed listing see McVeigh, *Calendar of London Concerts 1750–1800.* To my knowledge no one has yet attempted to compile a list of concerts from before 1750.

[107] For details of Cuzzoni's waning career see Winton Dean, and Carlo Vitali, "Cuzzoni, Francesca". Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online, Oxford University Press, accessed 26 August, 2016, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/06995. See also Burney's description of Cuzzoni as quoted in *The London Stage*, part 4, 1:199 and cited on p. 50 above.

[108] *General Advertiser,* issue 5175, Wednesday 22 May, 1751. Also *The London Stage*, part 4, 1:256.

identified as coming from a particular opera with only the occasional mention of the composer. Since no actual concert programmes survive, these advertisements give a unique insight into the make-up of an evening's entertainment.

As we saw in the previous chapter, concerts announced in the press generally fall into two categories: subscription series concerts or benefits. Particularly at the beginning of the century, benefits would often serve to make up for lack of earnings and featured as part of the contract for opera singers.[109] As the century progressed, benefits supporting a cause (such as "The Society for Decayed Musicians") or an artist in financial distress (such as Cuzzoni in the performance cited above) became more common.[110] When a concert series was publicised, the advertisement would generally appear for a week or so before the concert. The first announcements tended to be shorter, but closer to the actual concert more details would be revealed. As the century progressed, there is a definite sense that more concerts were being advertised.

While each of the sources discussed in this chapter (newspaper advertisements, catalogues of music and other ephemera) have much to tell us, each category presents its own challenges and limitations. However, when we compare the findings from each of these sources by making listings such as those compiled for the appendix of this work, interesting patterns emerge. It becomes clear, for instance, that even though the vocal repertoire remained a prominent feature of concert programmes throughout the eighteenth century, instrumental repertoires grew in popularity as individual artists rose to fame, and the Solo continued to be a staple of the Italian violinist's repertoire. Any concert-series intended to be successful would need a talented violinist to lead the band, as was of course also true of the Opera and indeed the theatres, in particular Drury Lane. A famous violinist could be a real selling point both for a concert promoter and a music publisher, as well as the social expectation. As Simon McVeigh argues:

> Violinists were less subject to ridicule for their vanities and artistic foibles than divas and castrati, less highly paid, less affected, above all respected as master of a craft to which the British also aspired. Local resistance toward these foreign imports was much less strongly articulated exactly because the value of Italian instrumental music was universally recognised and the talents of Italian violinists undisputed.[111]

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[109] See for instance Judith Milhous and Robert D. Hume, "Opera Salaries in Eighteenth-Century London", *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 46, no. 1 (1993), in particular p. 31 where a list of salaries includes incomes from benefits.

[110] Pippa Drummond, "The Royal Society of Musicians in the Eighteenth Century", *Music and Letters* 59 (1978): 268–289. For Cuzzoni's performance see: *General Advertiser,* issue 5175, Wednesday 22 May, 1751. Also *The London Stage*, part 4, 1:256.

[111] McVeigh, "Italian Violinists in Eighteenth-Century London", 160.

Although this point could be challenged, the sources do seem to illustrate that the Italian violinists held a special position as leaders of bands and performers of solos. Their Sonatas – which the English called the Solos – were undoubtedly an important part of their performance repertoire. Whilst the surviving catalogues, advertisements and concert programmes prove their popularity, to understand fully why this repertoire was enjoyed and appreciated by the English audiences we need to look at the factors which helped shape the formation of Taste in the eighteenth century.

Chapter 3

Italian Violinists and 'Good Taste' in Eighteenth-Century England

As we have seen in previous chapters, the popularity of the Italian violinists and their Solos during the eighteenth century is well documented: indeed, a range of contemporary sources, including publishing catalogues and performance advertisements, illustrate this. However, while these sources can confirm the fact that the Italian violinists were favoured, they do not provide details as to the crucial qualities that may have been involved in these artists becoming so popular both in performance and in print. Though contemporary accounts prove time and again that audiences were delighted and moved by the artistry of these violinists, few accounts provide an answer as to what aspect of the violinists' performances caused the audiences to be delighted and moved. While individual sets of Solos (such as Francesco Geminiani's Opus 1 and Arcangelo Corelli's Opus 5) were singled out for praise on account of their melodic and harmonic inventiveness, and individual performers (Giardini in particular) were praised for their superior performances, most sets of Solos and the performances of their authors were never commented upon. On the other hand, works which were considered inferior were much more likely to be topics of debate. Italian violinists were favoured because their performances were seen as moving, and though virtuosic flights of fancy (including use of high registers and impressive bow-technique) might have impressed contemporary audiences, it is the beauty of expression and sound which is mentioned again and again when contemporary sources (whether treatises or other writings) extol the virtuosity of great violinists. Overall there is a sense that the artistic qualities the Italian violinists displayed in their performance more generally fitted into the contemporary understanding of 'Good Taste'. To comprehend the debate of 'good taste' in the context of eighteenth-century England – what we today would call the 'aesthetics debate' – we will need to turn to contemporary treatises on aesthetics, both in general and specifically pertaining to musical performance, published in England during the eighteenth century. This chapter will explore how the contemporary debate on aesthetics was closely linked with ethics and resulted in the idea of an 'aesthetics of moderation'. Once this is established we will also be able to see how the treatises published by Italian violinists in London fitted into this overall ideal, and how the Solo as a repertoire suited the ideas of 'Good Taste' and 'Moderation'.

The concept of 'Good Taste'

'Good Taste' was a category in the discourse on aesthetics of 'the good, true and beautiful' which strove to investigate the nature of the aesthetic experience.[1] Within the discourse of art, 'Good Taste' was used to evaluate the aspects of the arts for which rules could not be made and how arts could be evaluated in terms of intrinsic aesthetic value. The discourse was pursued throughout Europe in the eighteenth century, particularly in France, Germany, and England and, to a lesser extent, in Italy.[2] In every national context the term was connected with the idea that man was, to varying degrees, born with an innate sense of the good and the beautiful – an idea most clearly expressed in philosophical writings such as in the essay *An Inquiry Concerning Beauty, Order, Harmony and Design* by Hutcheson.[3] However, in each country the debate fitted into particular social structures and cultures which emphasised different aspects of the question. While in Germany and particularly in France it fitted into a culture of courtly behaviour (at least at the beginning of the century) with the emphasis turning to art as an imitation and the concept of 'les beaux arts', in England the debate was much more broadly pursued and studied by the gentry and eventually commercial classes, who all saw the arts as a form of expression and a part of genteel people's education.[4] The debate was pursued with particular intensity within the context of the Scottish universities (David Hume, Hutcheson, Gerard, Lord Kames *et al.*) with a number of English authors such as Edmund Burke joining the debate.[5]

What made the discourse on 'Good Taste' in England unique then, is not so much the ideal itself but its application within the particular English context – how the discourse acquires 'an English accent' with the emphasis on expression rather than imitation. Quite early in the eighteenth century the dangers of 'effeminacy' (i.e. how over-indulging in the arts and particularly the Italian Opera could potentially rob the English of their moral fibre)

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[1] The following sources which all investigate taste and aesthetics in the context of art and music in the eighteenth century form the basis for this part of the chapter: John Brewer, *The Pleasure of the Imagination: English Culture in the Eighteenth Century* (London: Harper Collins, 1997); Dorothy Deval, "The Aesthetics of Music in 18th- and early 19th-Century Britain: A Bibliography and Commentary", in *A Handbook for studies in 18th-century English music,* ed. Michael Burden and Irena Cholij (Edinburgh: Burden & Cholij at the Faculty of Music, Edinburgh University, 1989), 2:62–81; Jonathan Friday ed., *Art and Enlightenment: Scottish Aesthetics in the 18th Century* (Exeter: Imprint Academic, 2004); Peter le Huray and James Day, ed., *Music and Aesthetics in the Eighteenth and Early-Nineteenth Centuries* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981); Claire M. Nelson, *Creating a Notion of 'Britishness': The Role of Scottish Music in the Negotiation of a Common Culture, with Particular Reference to the 18th Century Accompanied Sonata* (Ph.D. diss., Royal College of Music London, 2003).

[2] Le Huray and Day, ed., *Music and Aesthetics in the Eighteenth and Early-Nineteenth Centuries,* preface.

[3] Jonathan Friday, ed., *Art and Enlightenment,* 13–14. See also Francis Hutcheson, *An Inquiry into the Original of our Ideas of Beauty and Virtue I. Concerning Beauty, Order, Harmony, Design,* 2nd ed. (London: J. Darby *et al.*, 1726).

[4] Le Huray and Day, ed., *Music and Aesthetics*, 31; Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination.*

[5] Edmund Burke, *A Philosophical Enquiry into the origin of our ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful with an Introductory Discourse concerning Taste* (London: J. Dodsley, MDCCXCIII/1793). See also: Friday ed., *Art and Enlightenment: Scottish Aesthetics in the 18th century.*

became adopted as part of the discourse of 'Good Taste'. This concept is particularly well expressed by John Dennis in *An Essay on the Opera's after the Italian Manner* of 1706.[6] However, Lord Shaftesbury (as explored by Barker-Benfield) advocated that a moderate enthusiasm for and even transport by the arts could be a cultivating factor, though 'over-indulgence' was to be avoided.[7]

Though never labelled as such, this ideal of an 'aesthetics of moderation' became a dominant ideal throughout the discourse on arts in the eighteenth century in the English and Scottish context, where it mingled with ideas of the arts as a way of educating and cultivating the mind. Furthermore, since many of the thinkers involved in the debate were theologians (though only some practised), the discourse was often closely linked to ethics. Thus the ideal of an 'aesthetics of moderation' is linked with the wider debate on avoidance of debauchery and excessive luxury and morality more generally. A related conversation of 'the sublime and beautiful' accompanied the debate on 'Taste', seeing these aesthetic concepts as either equal and complementary, as argued by Addison (1712) and Beattie (at least in his early writings), or opposing, as argued first by Burke.[8] While the sublime and the concept of the arts as transporting are not entirely irrelevant to our topic, the concept of the sublime in the arts really came to the fore during the 1770s – that is, after the end of the era under close scrutiny in this work; and the ideal truly came to the fore with the Romantic movement in the nineteenth century.[9] However, the notion of beauty and the sublime as complementary is more closely associated with this study as many commentators note the 'beauty and command of tone' which the great Italian violinists processed. Throughout this chapter it is important to remember that the aesthetic discourse naturally did not happen separately from the rest of society, but was closely linked with questions of class, politics and morality.[10]

There is a whole spectrum of sources which can assist in enhancing our awareness of the debate on 'Good Taste'. Though these sources span the whole of the eighteenth century, they build on similar ideas. First, our understanding of the contemporary discourse on aesthetics and beauty can be furthered through contemporary writings on 'philosophical criticism' by authors such as Joseph Addison (c. 1710), Francis Hutcheson (1725), David Hume (1757), Edmund Burke (1757), Alexander Gerard (1759), and others, who debated

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[6] John Dennis, *An Essay on the Opera's after the Italian Manner, which are about to be Establish'd on the English Stage: With some Reflections on the Damage which they may Bring to the Publick* (London: John Nutt, 1706). See also: G. J. Barker-Benfield, *The Culture of Sensibility: Sex and Society in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 104–105.

[7] Barker-Benfield, *The Culture of Sensibility*, 105ff.; Brewer, *Pleasure of the Imagination*, 89–90.

[8] Todd Gilman, "Arne, Handel, the Beautiful, and the Sublime"*, Eighteenth-Century Studies*. Vol 42; No 4 (2009), 534–536.

[9] *Ibid.*, 536.

[10] Brewer, *The Pleasure of the Imagination;* Todd Gilman, "Arne, Handel, the Beautiful, and the Sublime", 533–537.

the merits of the arts in general as already mentioned above.[11] Moreover, treatises on the aesthetics in music, such as Charles Avison's *An Essay on Music Expression* (1753) and Burney's *Essay on Music Criticism* (1789), provide an insight into the first attempts to define and measure the aesthetic value of "this pleasing art" to a wider public.[12] In addition, personal accounts contained in letters, diaries and music histories, such as the letters by James Harris and Fanny Burney among others, the historic writings by Charles Burney and Sir John Hawkins, and for the early period the accounts by Roger North and John Evelyn, give information about to what degree the philosophical debates influenced eighteenth-century culture in general.[13]

Of particular interest for this study are the surviving eighteenth-century treatises on musical performance, since many of these provide general instruction on 'Good Taste' and aesthetics as well as specific musical instructions. Good examples are those by Giuseppe Tosi and Francesco Geminiani, both of whom offer detailed explanations of the meaning of 'Good Taste' in music.[14] While the practical instructions provided by these authors will be explored further in the context of the performance of the repertoire, it is worth considering how the overall ideal of 'Good Taste' and the 'aesthetics of moderation' expressed both the general and the specific advice provided in the music treatises. Exploring these will help us to understand the perceptions of the contemporary London audiences who appreciated the Italian violinists and the Solos they authored and performed, and the writers who strove to influence, cultivate, and educate these audiences. This understanding could also help to explain why some Italian violinists never became popular in England, even though they were very famous on the continent.[15]

'Good taste', however, is an elusive term. Though all writers acknowledged its importance, 'Good taste' was, as explored earlier, a category for discussing 'the good, true

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[11] Deval, "Aesthetics of Music"; Friday, ed., *Art and Enlightenment*; Joseph Addison, "Pleasures Of Imagination: Essays by Joseph Addison", in *Spectator* 411, 21 June, 1712; "*The Social Concert:* Essays by Joseph Addison. From my own Apartment", in *Tatler* 153, 31 March, 1710; Alexander Gerard, *An Essay on Taste*, printed for A. Millar in the Strand, 1759.

[12] Lawrence Lipking, *The Ordering of the Arts in Eighteenth-Century England* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1970), 211, 216, and chapter 3 in general; Charles Avison, *An Essay on Music Expression* [1752–3] (London: Lockyer Davis, 1775); Charles Burney *A General History of Music,* vol. 3 (London: printed for the author, 1789), preface.

[13] Charles Burney, *A General History of Music from the Earliest Ages to the Present Period* [1789] (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012); John Hawkins, *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music* [1776] (New York: Dover Publications, 1963); Donald Burrows and Rosemary Dunhill, *Music and Theatre in Handel's World: The Family Papers of James Harris 1732–1780* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002); Roger North, *The Musicall Grammarian 1728,* ed. Mary Chan & Jamie C. Kassler (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990); John Evelyn, *The Diary of John Evelyn 1620–1706*, ed. E. S. de Beer (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000).

[14] Pier Francesco Tosi, *Observations on the Florid Song* [1723], trans. William Reeves (1743) (Pitch Perfect Publishing Company, 2009); Francesco Geminiani, *The Art of Playing on the Violin [1751],* ed. David. D. Boyden (London: Oxford University Press, n.d.).

[15] Simon McVeigh, "Italian Violinists in Eighteenth-Century London", in *The Eighteenth-Century Diaspora of Italian Music and Musicians*, ed. Reinhard Strohm (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2001), 143.

and the beautiful' rather than an absolute and definable rule. This problem was most acutely expressed by the philosopher Hume, who in his seminal essay *Of The Standard of Taste* argued:

> There are certain terms in every language which import blame and others praise. Every voice is united in applauding elegance, propriety, simplicity [...]; and in blaming fustrian, effectation, coldness and a false brilliancy. But when critics come to the particulars, this seeming unanimity vanishes.[16]

Within the essay Hume proceeded to explore how, if there is no consensus as to what 'Good Taste' is, there can still be "grounds for rejecting some judgements of taste".[17] The debate on taste is particularly well summed up in Alexander Gerard's *An Essay on Taste* from 1759, which in its original version from 1757 possibly influenced Hume to explore the topic.[18] In the essay Gerard discussed the nature of taste, how taste is formed and perfected, and the importance of taste.[19] In his opening paragraph Gerard stated:

> A fine taste is neither wholly the gift of nature, nor wholly the effect of art. It derives its origin from certain powers natural to the mind; but these powers cannot attain their full perfection unless they be assisted by proper culture.[20]

Hence, true 'Good Taste' has to be nurtured, cultivated, and studied. While man was seen as having an innate 'moral sense', this had to be nurtured from the earliest age in order to avoid regression into barbarism, an idea particularly explored by Shaftesbury.[21] Indeed, this was an age where being of a good family was no longer enough. To rise in the world, one had to be educated and cultured, and the consumption of art within moderation, through reading, visiting art exhibitions, attending performances and learning a musical instrument, was part of becoming a refined and cultured individual.[22]

It is evident that through the course of the eighteenth century the discussion of what constituted a 'polite person of taste' gained ever greater importance, along with the debate on excess and modesty.[23] Indeed, the discussion was central to culture throughout Europe. While 'Good Taste' was a category employed by philosophers across Europe for exploring aesthetic experience, each country explored it within their own cultural context. Whereas *bon goût* fitted into the life of the courts (in France and Germany), in England 'Good Taste' was a quality not just reserved for the nobility but also attainable for the gentry and the

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[16] Friday, ed., *Art and Enlightenment*, 60; David Hume, *Four Dissertations* (London: A. Millar, 1757).
[17] Hume, *Four Dissertations*, 47.
[18] Friday, ed., *Art and Enlightenment*, 103.
[19] Gerard, *An Essay on Taste*, 2. See also Friday, ed., *Art and Enlightenment*, 103–104 for an introduction on Gerard.
[20] Gerard, *Essay on Taste*, 1.
[21] Barker-Benfield, *The Culture of Sensibility*, 106.
[22] Brewer, *Pleasure of the Imagination*, 56–57.
[23] *Ibid.*, 70.

ambitious merchant classes. In some instances 'Good Taste' became closely linked with consumer culture, endorsing products as suitable for consumption for those who wished to be seen by others as cultured.[24]

Furthermore, while the arts in the broadest sense (that is, encompassing novels, poetry, painting and opera) could delight and move and even transport, too great a passion was considered almost immoral.[25] The second chapter of Brewer's *The Pleasures of the Imagination* contains a thorough discussion of the gradually developing consciousness of evaluating art in Britain, from the early collectors who bought art as curiosities to the academies and the cultivation of critique of the arts in general.[26] The central tenet of that chapter is the continual tension in the building of taste between rationality and feeling, and the problems of distinguishing taste and refinement from display and artifice.[27] A further exploration of these issues is to be found in studies into art-collecting among leading musicians and how ideals in painting translated into music to some degree.[28] Such sources have been compiled and contextualised by Lipking in *The Ordering of the Arts*, which not only explores the works of Avison, Hawkins and Burney cited elsewhere, but also addresses the general debate on music and aesthetics in the eighteenth century – indeed, one could say that these writings are the musical responses to Hume and Gerard.[29] The works of these three authors grew out of a need. There had to be interest in and discourse on art and music before histories and treatises evaluating the quality of works of art could be written. The resulting histories and treatises reflected the personality and opinions of each author, while also mirroring contemporary opinion. Arts were at the same time both essential to the education of a cultured individual, whilst also presenting a potential threat as an expression of excess and debauchery. 'Good Taste' is really a concept within the wider aesthetic debate concerning the balance of emotion and rationality and the avoidance of "the gross passions of greed and desire".[30] This eventually translates into a wider social discourse on moderation and, later, temperance, which also connects to the wider contemporary debates on morality.[31]

One thread that runs through eighteenth-century discourse on art is the danger of excessive enjoyment. Thus, while the arts could educate, they could also be dangerously alluring and potentially lead to excessive sensibility, effeminacy and general excess.[32] 'Good Taste' in all the arts seems to exist in the tension between the true, good and beautiful on the

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[24] Denise Gigante, *Taste: A Literary History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), 47–48.
[25] Brewer, *Pleasure of the Imagination*, for instance p. 72.
[26] *Ibid.*, 56.
[27] *Ibid.,* 121–122.
[28] Thomas McGeary, "Handel as Art Collector: Art, Connoisseurship and Taste in Hanoverian Britain", *Early Music* 37, no. 4 (2009): 533–574; Avison, *Essay on Musical Expression*, 18–25.
[29] Lipking, *Ordering of the Arts in Eighteenth-Century England*, 209.
[30] Brewer, *Pleasure of the Imagination*, 87.
[31] *Ibid.,* 72, 97.
[32] *Ibid.,* 70–71.

one hand ('beauty of sound and command of passions') and what is alluring and excessive on the other ('performance that just excites amazement'). The person of taste should strive to encompass feeling and sense in equal measure, so that the arts could be enjoyed without excess.[33] Italian violinists wishing to make a success in Britain had to negotiate this tension between the appreciation of their great artistic ability to raise the emotions and the ideal of the avoidance of perceived excess.[34] The Italian violinists were in some ways in a better position than their singer colleagues to strike this balance, as they were able to breach the divide and work both in the Italian Opera and in the native English-speaking theatre.

Partly as a result of this, certain artists who had achieved great fame on the continent never received similar attention in England. Locatelli and Vivaldi are the artists most commonly mentioned in this context.[35] Despite their celebrity status on the continent, there are only a handful of surviving records of Locatelli's works featuring in performance in London in the eighteenth century.[36] The exception is a benefit concert for John Pettit which included on the programme: "A Scaccia concerto, A Locatelli solo, A Veracini concert and a Corelli concerto".[37] Walsh's *Great Cattalogue* does contain one set of concertos by Locatelli, as well as a set of Solos for flute. Elsewhere Locatelli is only sparingly featured in the Walsh catalogues from the mid-1730s with 'Solos for a German Flute' and 'Violin concertos Opus 1'.[38] However, it seems that Walsh did not retain these works in his stock beyond the mid-1740s, as later catalogues did not contain these works.[39] Indeed, no records exist for Locatelli ever coming to England, and the majority of his œuvre was published in Amsterdam where he spent a large proportion of his working life.[40]

In his treatise Avison mentions Locatelli and Vivaldi in the same inferior category, considering their compositions to be "equally defective in various harmony and true invention", and while Hawkins saw Vivaldi's Solos as "tame enough", he found his concertos "wild and irregular" – the latter in reference to the perceived lack of harmonic proportion,

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[33] Barker-Benfield, *The Culture of Sensibility*, 109.
[34] McVeigh, "Italian Violinists in Eighteenth-Century London", 160.
[35] *Ibid.*, 143.
[36] *Ibid.*, 143.
[37] *Daily Journal*, 25 and 27 April, 1773, as quoted by McVeigh, "Italian Violinists in Eighteenth-Century London", 143.
[38] See table 2 in Appendix 2 below, and *A Cattalogue of Musick*: Containing all the Vocal, and Instrumental Musick Printed in England, For Iohn Walsh. Where may be had, variety of English, and Italian Songs, also Musical Instruments of all Sorts, and a variety of Curious Pieces of Musick Printed abroad London. Sold by I: Walsh, Musick Printer and Instrument maker to his Majesty at ye Harp&Hoboy, in Catherine Street, in the Strand [1741]. C.120.b.6.
[39] See tables in Appendix 2 below as well as Walsh's *Cattalogue: A Cattalogue of Musick: Containing all the Vocal, and Instrumental Musick Printed in England, For Iohn Walsh.*
[40] Albert Dunning, "Locatelli, Pietro Antonio". Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online, Oxford University Press, accessed 26 August, 2016. http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/16840.

which could potentially be interpreted as excessive and in conflict with 'Good Taste'.[41] Though this idea does go some way to explain the limited success these two authors had in England, there were probably also other more mundane and circumstantial factors involved in the seeming lack of popularity of these artists in England. Vivaldi seems to have had some popularity in England at least in print, as his works featured much more consistently in the Walsh catalogues from the 1720s to the late 1750s, and in *a Cattalogue of Musick* he is awarded an individual section.[42] However, these works rarely appeared in contemporary concert programmes for, as McVeigh states with reference to the performance cited above of the Locatelli concerto: "such overt displays of virtuosity were very much a rarity in London concerts".[43] While passagework and flourishes might have been good enough for home entertainment, they were too superficial to be deemed suitable for public performance.

A few decades later Burney derided the violinist Antonio Lolli for a similarly perceived superficial virtuosity or "excentric oddity, trick, and voluble execution", though he also acknowledged: "Yet I am convinced that in his lucid intervals he was, in a serious style, a very great, expressive, and admirable performer".[44] Burney's reasoning for Veracini's comparative lack of success in London in 1714 expressed a similar sentiment and is illuminating, as it outlined the contrast in styles between the ideal and the excess:

> His compositions, however, were too wild and flighty for the taste of the English at this time when they regarded the sonatas of Corelli as models of simplicity grace and elegance in melody, and of correctness and purity in harmony.[45]

Indeed, the performance and music of both Veracini and Vivaldi were ultimately perceived by some as too excessive – and the quote about Lolli indicates a similar attitude towards what was seen as a threat to temperance, rationality, and 'Good Taste'. As the century progressed the debate intensified and performances that were excessive in terms of virtuosity and even ornamentation became more and more associated with excess, even "taking on a moral dimension in the ongoing debate about luxury" according to McVeigh.[46] Burney's comments on Lolli should be seen as one voice in this debate that had intensified by the 1760s.

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[41] Avison, *Essay on Musical Expression,* 35; Hawkins, *General History of the Science and Practice of Music*, 837.

[42] See Appendix 2 table 2, and Walsh's *Cattalogue: A Cattalogue of Musick: Containing all the Vocal, and Instrumental Musick Printed in England, For Iohn Walsh.*

[43] McVeigh, "Italian Violinists in Eighteenth-Century London", 143.

[44] *Ibid.*, 148; and Charles Burney, *A General History of Music* [1789], vol. 2, ed. Frank Mercer (New York: Dover Publications, 1957), 1020–21.

[45] John Walter Hill, *The Life and Works of Francesco Maria Veracini* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1979), 16, quoting Burney *General History of Music,* 4:640.

[46] McVeigh, "Italian Violinists in Eighteenth-Century London", 144.

'Good taste in the art of music': aesthetics in the music treatise

Throughout the eighteenth century writers on the theory of music debated how 'expression' and raising the emotions should be achieved.[47] In German and French writing, such as Mattheson's *Der volkommene Capellmeister*, schemes were created as to which instruments, tonalities, movement-types and so on, would achieve certain *affects*. Even so, no two sources ever fully agreed, and indeed, no comprehensive, organized theory of how the Affects were to be achieved in music was ever established in the Baroque period.[48] In the treatises by Italian authors working in London and also English native authors the word *affect* or the closely related concept of *rhetoric* was never used. Instead, in the English context 'effect', 'expression' and, by the end of the century, 'emotion' were the terms used in the ongoing conversation, thus creating a somewhat different and in a way a more practical approach to the issue. Even so, the idea that certain musical effects can express particular emotions and create a certain affect in the listener was clearly evident in particular in Geminiani's *The Art of Playing on the Violin* where varying execution of ornaments were said to be able to express Love, Affection, Fury, Anger and Resolution, to give just a few examples.[49] Within the discourse of 'expression', *allegro* emotions were contrasted with *pathetic* or *cantabile* in contemporary writings. Similarly, while the idea of music as *rhetoric* was rarely mentioned, a basic understanding of rhetorical principles was implied in the treatises by Geminiani and Tosi.[50] Both treatises alluded to music as conversation and speech but provided no further detailed instruction – the ideal was still recognised but the technical detail had given way to a focus on expression in the broadest sense.

One key source for understanding the concept of 'Good Taste' in music is the musical treatise. In the following section two types of treatise will be considered: the practical treatise aimed at the music student (of the voice or violin) which also provided an insight into more general issues of 'Good Taste', and the theoretical musical treatise which explained and provided examples of 'Good Taste' in performance. With the exception of treatises on ornamentation, which tended just to provide musical examples, most of the treatises published in London during the eighteenth century referred to 'Good Taste', either directly or implicitly, both as an ideal, and as a practical issue in performance. Indeed, many of the treatise titles allude to this issue, either by referencing it in the titles (as in Geminiani's *A*

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[47] Le Huray and Day, ed., *Music and Aesthetics*, xi–xii.
[48] Johann Mattheson, *Der vollkommene Capellmeister* [1739]. A Revised Translation with Critical Commentary by Ernest C. Harris (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1981); George J. Buelow, "Rhetoric and music: 2 Baroque, 4 Affects". Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online, Oxford University Press, accessed 26 August, 2016, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/43166; see also Judy Tarling, *Baroque String Playing for Ingenious Learners* (St. Albans: Corda Music Publications, 2000, 2001), 7.
[49] Geminiani, *The Art of Playing on the* Violin, 6–8.
[50] *Ibid., 5*; See also Tarling, *The Weapons of Rhetoric: A Guide for Musicians and Audiences*, 40–43.

Treatise of Good Taste in the Art of Music) or more indirectly by mentioning 'rules' and 'truth' (such as *Rules for Playing the Violin* by Tartini and *The True Method of Playing an Adagio Made Easy* by Zuccari).[51] Both of these categories of treatise aimed to teach the student how to avoid excess in performance and instruct in the true method of moderation both in ornamentation (Zuccari) and in general approaches to violin playing (Geminiani), as will be discussed below.

One of the few advanced performance treatises from the early part of the eighteenth century – Tosi's *Observations on the Florid Song, or Sentiments on the Ancient and Modern Singers* – is also one of the most insightful treatises when it comes to understanding the artistic and aesthetic ideal of the age.[52] Tosi was active as a singing teacher in London during the 1720s, having briefly visited England as a performer in the 1690s.[53] While at least in part aimed at teachers of young talented singers (chapter 1 is entitled: "Observations for one who teaches a Soprano" – here referring to the unbroken voice), the original Italian treatise was dedicated to the Earl of Peterborough, and many sections of the treatise which dealt with the execution of specific musical elements would have been of interest to the music connoisseur as well as the aspiring professional. Indeed, the treatise covered both the very specific issues of training young talent (covering everything from diction to the correct way of executing an agreeable '*messa di voce*') and also more general observations on what makes a good musician, addressing matters ranging from 'passages and graces' to how to face an audience. This treatise, then, provides a unique insight into the qualities required of a great singer – and aesthetic ideals which would have been no different for any musician.[54] Tosi's famous comparison of Faustina and Cuzzoni is worth quoting in this context:

> He [the student] must endeavour to learn of the best Singers that there are; particularly by observing two of the fair Sex, of a merit superior to all Praise; who with equal Force, in a different Stile, help to keep up the tottering Profession from immediately falling into Ruin. The one is inimitable for a privileg'd Gift of Singing, and for enchanting the World with a prodigious Felicity in executing, and with a singular Brilliant (I know not whether from Nature or Art) which pleases to Excess. The delightful, soothing Cantabile of the other, joined with the Sweetness of a fine Voice, a perfect Intonation, Strictness of Time, and the rarest Productions of a

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[51] For full titles of the treatises refered to in this dissertation see Appendix 4 below.

[52] Pier Francesco Tosi, *Opinioni de' Cantori Antichi e Moderni* [1723], no publisher. Translated as *Observations on the Florid Song*, trans. William Reeves [1743] (Pitch Perfect Publishing Company, 2009). Facsimile editions of the 1743 edition and the 1723 Italian original as well as Agricola's expanded edition are available from IMSLP.

[53] Malcolm Boyd, and John Rosselli, "Tosi, Pier Francesco". Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online, Oxford University Press, accessed 26 August, 2016, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/28201.

[54] For an in-depth discussion of Italian singing treatises and their treatment of ornamentation in particular see Joan E. Smiles, "Directions for Improvising Ornaments in Italian Method Books of the Late Eighteenth Century", *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 31, no. 3 (1978): 495–509.

> Genius, are Qualifications as particular and uncommon, as they are difficult to be imitated. The Pathetick of the one and the Allegro of the other, are the Qualities the most to be admired respectively in each of them. What a beautiful Mixture would it be, if the Excellence of these two angelick Creatures could be united in one single Person![55]

While we cannot follow Tosi's advice of going to listen to these eminent voices in order to learn the true art, we can at least gain some understanding of the ideal performer, who would combine technical brilliance with beauty of tone and expression.

Whilst the first half of the eighteenth century saw relatively few treatises being published, the second half of the century experienced a noticeable growth in the production of treatises, particularly more advanced tutors led by Geminiani, who published most of his treatises in the 1750s.[56] However, most of these consisted mainly of musical examples for training purposes, often focusing on how to "make proper cadences" or practise scales (Tessarini 1765, Borghi c. 1790), with pages of musical examples.[57] The composition and figured bass treatises can at times be more illuminating as they often provide directions to the tasteful breaking of chords in recitatives (Pasquali) or other comments on general aesthetics (Antoniotto), as we saw earlier in the chapter, but most of their instruction is mainly of interest to the scholar of harmony and keyboard realisation.[58] Geminiani's treatises *Good Taste in the Art of Music* and *The Art of Playing on the Violin*, on the other hand, are of particular interest in this context.[59] They are also unique in their balance of explanatory text and musical examples.[60] Furthermore, the text provided not just practical instructions on how to practise the examples to the best effect, it also covered more general issues of artistry and ideals of performance. In the preface to *The Art of Playing on the Violin* Geminiani outlined an ideal, which is worth quoting in full, since it pertains not just to violinists (though

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[55] Tosi, *Observations*, 73.

[56] Geminiani, *The Art of Playing on the Violin* [1751], *Guida Armonica* [c. 1752], *The Art of Accompaniment, parts 1–2* [c. 1756], *A Supplement to the Guida Armonica* [c. 1756].

[57] Carlo Tessarini, *An Accurate Method to attain the Art of Playing ye Violin with Graces in all the different Keys, how to make proper Cadences, with ye nature of all ye shifts with several Duets and Lessons for that instrument ye whole Composed by Carlo Tessarini* (London: Printed and Sold by Peter Welcker, c. 1765); Luigi Borghi, *Sixty Four Cadences or Solos for the Violin in all the major and minor keys composed for the improvement and Practice of amateurs to whom they are Dedicated. Opus 11.* (Printed and sold by Preston, 1790); Alessandro Moccia, ed., *Méthodes Traités Violon,* vols. 1–3, *Italie 1600–1800* (Bressuire: Fuzeau Facsimilé, 2002).

[58] Nicolo Pasquali, *Thorough-bass Made Easy* [1757], facsimile of the 1763 edition with an introduction by John Churchill (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1974); Giorgio Antoniotto, *L'Arte Armonico, or A Treatise on the Composition of Music* (London: John Johnson, 1760). The facsimile of *L'Arte Armonico* also contains an interesting subscription list which includes Avison, a couple of Italian musicians (though none of the violinists covered in this dissertation), as well as dukes, countesses, and a large proportion of clergy.

[59] Geminiani, *Art of Playing on The Violin*; and *Treatise of Good Taste in the Art of Music*.

[60] Geminiani's treatises on harmony, on the other hand, are primarily manuals for learning figured bass. As such, they have not been included in this discussion though they are certainly worthy of study.

they were the primary audience), but expressed sentiments generally acknowledged to be the ideal of eighteenth-century aesthetics:

> The intention of Musick is not only to please the Ear, but to express sentiments, strike the Imagination, affect the Mind and command the Passions. The Art of playing the Violin consists in giving that Instrument a Tone that shall in a Manner rival the most perfect human Voice; and in executing every Piece with Exactness, Propriety, and Delicacy of Expression according to the true Intention of Musick. But as the imitating the Cock, Cuckoo, Owl, and other Birds; or the Drum, French horn, Tromba-Marina, and the like; and also sudden Shifts of the Hand from one Extremity of the Finger-board to the other, accompanied with contortions of the Head and Body, and all other such Tricks rather belong to the Profession of Legerdemain and Posture-masters than to the Art of Musick, the Lovers of that Art are not to expect to find anything of that Sort in this Book. But I flatter myself they will find in it whatever is Necessary for the Institution of a just and regular Performer on the Violin.[61]

Thus, by following Geminiani's instruction the performer would not be tempted to any extremes in performance, whether in expression or in execution. Though the student would learn how to move the listener, this would be done within the boundaries of propriety with the right balance of sensibility and sense. While the treatise covered advanced virtuosity extensively (arpeggio, shifting, figuration), the focus on scales and expression was continually emphasised:

> For it is certain that he who does not possess, in a perfect Degree, the Art of Bowing, will never be able the render the Melody agreeable nor arrive at a Facility in the Execution.[62]

This quote also establishes the idea that virtuosity should not be overt, but rather understated and serve the agreeable Melody and the general expression. This does not mean that virtuosity and flights of fancy should not be applied, rather that the basis for such flight of expression is the basic command of tone, which can move and touch the listener. As we shall see in chapter 4, the authors of the Solo would balance moments of virtuosity (whether in notation or giving space for cadenzas) with moments of rest, which require that command of beauty of tone. This was done not only through the alternating movement structure featuring movements of contrasting character, but also within individual movements, providing a chance for the artist to demonstrate command of all aspects of artistry.

Geminiani's treatises have been thoroughly discussed by researchers and performers alike over the last couple of decades.[63] While his directions on specific issues of violin

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[61] Geminiani, *Art of Playing on The Violin*, preface by Geminiani.
[62] *Ibid.*, 6, example XVI.
[63] See, for instance, Peter Walls, "Ill Compliments and Arbitrary Taste? Geminiani's Directions for Performers", *Early Music* 14, no. 2 (1986): 221–235, for a further in-depth discussion; as well as Enrico Careri,

playing will be referred to later on, the most important thing in the context of this dissertation is the concept of aesthetic ideals which are behind everything.

Even though the perception of what constituted 'Good Taste' both in general and in music performance shifted somewhat over the course of the eighteenth century, there was a broad understanding throughout the period that it was the right balance of lively invention and expression which made an artist not merely good, but great. A description of these qualities unified in one violinist is found in Avison's description of Giardini, who at the height of his career seems to have combined in equal measure the above-mentioned qualities. Indeed, Giardini seems to have been a true master of all aspects of musicianship, whether the ability to produce a varied expression and compelling tone, or in his invention in articulation, shaping and ornamentation:

> But if we wold hear these various qualities united in their full perfection we must repair to the admired Giardini. The brilliancy and Fullness of his tone the sweetness, spirit, and variety of his expression, his amazing rapidity of execution, and exuberance of fancy, joined with the most perfect ease and gracefulness in performance, concur to set him at the head of his profession.[64]

Unlike the other treatises referred to in this chapter, Avison's *Essay on Musical Expression* is not a performance treatise. Instead, it explores and debates what inherent qualities constituted a good performer and/or composer as well as general aesthetics in the art of music. According to Avison:

> Perfection of composition arises from melody, harmony and expression. Melody, or air, is the work of invention, and therefore the foundation of the other two [...] Harmony gives beauty and strength to the established melodies [...] And [...] expression arises from a combination of the other two.[65]

Avison divided both performers and artists into three ranks from low to high (or inferior to superior) according to their ability to live up to these ideals. Whereas the performer Giardini was of the highest class, Avison's list of inferior composers is interesting:

> Of the first and lowest class are, Vivaldi, Tessarini, Alberti and Locatelli, whose compositions, being equally defective in various harmony and true invention, are only fit amusement for children; nor indeed for these, if ever they are intended to be led to a just taste in Music.[66]

Francesco Geminiani (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993); Geminiani, *Taste*, 16; Geminiani, *Art of Playing on The Violin* , 171.

[64] Avison, *Essay on Music Expression*, 104.

[65] *Ibid.*, 19–20.

[66] *Ibid.*, 35.

Not only did Avison consider the work of these authors to be inferior in every respect, he found them to be detrimental to anyone who wanted to achieve good taste regardless of age, and not even suitable for the most casual consumption.

According to Avison the ideal author was the one who could perfectly balance harmony and melody – a notion which matches the ideal of equal mastery in performance of expression and invention, which was considered so vital in a good performer. It is of course important always to remember that the author and performer was one and the same and that the two sets of ideals would closely link together. What changed is what the expectations of good harmony, expression, melody, and invention meant in terms of fashion. Avison's treatise was published thirty years after the initial edition of the Tosi treatise. Even so, the fundamental ideals which a musician was supposed to follow remained very constant through this time. In his *Essay on Musical Criticism* which formed the preface of *A General History of Music*, Burney praised Avison for being the first to attempt to write about music criticism, though he criticised Avison for his preference for Geminiani over Handel.[67]

Approaching the treatises as aids to performance

In the preceding section we explored musical treatises as guides to help us understand the broader topic of aesthetics and 'Good Taste' in the context of eighteenth-century England. To perform the repertoire, however, we need to consider what instructions these treatises contain with regards to specific matters of performance convention, covering the classic issues of ornamentation – both "passages" and "graces" (terms used by Tosi in his treatise to differentiate between freely-improvised elaborations and the fixed ornaments such as trills, mordents, and turns) – as well as direction on bowing technique and other general instructions on violin playing.[68] Yet whilst doing so we also need to contemplate whether the contemporary treatises that are still available actually reflected the performance conventions of the time and place, and whether the author of any particular Solo was in some way affiliated with the author of any given treatise. For this reason it is important to investigate how influential the various authors of treatises were in the context of the repertoire studied.

A look through the catalogues of Walsh, Welcker, Johnson and other major publishers in eighteenth-century London reveals that the treatises by Leopold Mozart and Joachim Quantz (works often quoted in discussions of eighteenth-century string performance practice) were not readily available to the London public until the first decades of the

[67] Burney, *General History of Music*, 7.
[68] Tosi, *Observations*, 75.

nineteenth century.[69] However, the catalogues featured basic tutors on a range of instruments (often called 'books for learners' or 'instructions') as well as treatises on music and composition, mostly authored by artists active in London. Interestingly, all these items were often listed under the heading 'scores', indicating that studying scores was considered a way of learning (John Johnson), though Peter Welcker did introduce a separate section of 'music treatises' in his catalogues.[70] In the first half of the century treatises on music were often published by book printers and contained few musical examples (Tosi), but as the century progressed music publishers took over this trade.[71] This dissertation therefore focuses on the writings of artists of Italian descent who worked in London and whose treatises were available and published in London in the eighteenth century (Geminiani and Tosi).[72] While Tartini never made it personally to London, several of his students were well received there in the latter decades of the century.[73] (A number of treatises on specific issues such as tempi (Bremner) and the cadenza (Tessarini and Borghi), which were all published in London during the eighteenth century, are also pertinent to this study, though they only indirectly inform the issue of 'Good Taste' in as much as they aim to inform the reader's performance practices).[74]

Despite having been written over a period of several decades, these treatises complement each other well: they provide a general aesthetic overview and address specific points of execution such as how to make a beautiful and expressive tone or sound on the instrument. Geminiani expresses this latter point most clearly in the introduction to his treatise: "The Art of playing the Violin consists in giving that Instrument a Tone that shall in a Manner rival the most perfect human Voice" and later "One of the principal Beauties of the Violin is the swelling or increasing and softening the Sound".[75] The beautiful sound then is one that is imbued with a vocal quality and which is shaped and inflected to create a variety of expression. Their difference lies instead in their emphasis and structuring of the argument. The later treatises from the last decades of the century have been included with consideration to the fact that they supplement ideals of performance expressed in treatises from earlier in the century. The treatises studied for this dissertation can be divided into

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[69] The first translation into English of parts of Leopold Mozart's treatise appeared in 1812 published by C. Weatstone. Source: Alex Hyatt King, *A Treatise on the Fundamental Principles of Violin Playing by Leopold Mozart* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), preface.

[70] *A Catalogue of Vocal and Instrumental Music, 1770 Printed and Sold by John Johnson*, Hirsch IV 1111–L.23.c.10 (12); and *A Catalogue of Vocal and Instrumental Musick Printed for and Sold by Peter Welcker at his Music Shop in Gerrard Street St. Ann's Soho* [1772], H.456.h; see also Walls,"Ill Compliments and Arbitrary Taste?", 221.

[71] Tosi, *Observations*; see also Appendix 2 table 5 below.

[72] See Appendix 2 below.

[73] Elsie Arnold, "Sirmen, Maddalena Laura". Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online, Oxford University Press, accessed 26 August, 2016, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/25891.

[74] See Bibliography: primary sources.

[75] Geminiani, *Art of Playing on the Violin*, 1–2.

three types: the 'treatise for the advanced learner' (which covers a whole range of issues from the basic to the advanced); the topical treatise on ornamentation, cadenzas, particular points of practising *et al.*; and performance instructions in prefaces of editions.

Pier Francesco Tosi's treatise belongs to the first category. It was initially published in 1723 in Italian as *Opinioni de' Cantori Antichi e Moderne* and then translated into English in 1743 as *Observations on the Florid Song*.[76] However, the original Italian treatise was dedicated to an English patron and brought out in London at a time when Tosi had been resident in London for some time, working primarily as a singing teacher.[77] The Italian original was self-published, likely sponsored by the patron, whereas the later English translation was brought out by J. Wilcox.[78] Whilst some chapters of this treatise deal with specific issues in relation to training singers, Tosi's advice on specifics like ornamentation and his general aesthetic outlook correspond with the instrumental treatises.

From Geminiani's hand we have two treatises which explore specifics of violin-playing, namely *A Treatise of Good Taste in the Art of Music*, which was published in 1749, and *The Art of Playing on the Violin*, published in 1751, which expanded on certain elements from the first treatise. Both of these publications were originally self-published, though they soon featured in the catalogues of John Johnson (c. 1754) and later in the catalogues of Preston (1790).[79] These treatises were primarily advanced tutors, while still catering for the ambitious amateur or dilettante with some initial basic explanations.

Giuseppe Tartini's treatises on the other hand (both the *"Letter from Signor Tartini to Signora Maddalena Lombardini, or Important lessons to Performers on the Violin*" which was translated by Dr. Burney and printed by Bremner in 1779,[80] and the *Regole per arrivare a saper ben suonare il Violino* [1751]) were originally conceived specifically for aspiring professionals.[81] However, the letter was soon translated into not only English but also French and German, proving its universal appeal.[82]

The second type of treatise which is of interest for this study, is the treatise, or pamphlet, on one specific issue, such as ornamentation, cadenzas, tempo selection or the

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[76] Pier Francesco Tosi, *Opinioni de' Cantori Antiche, e Moderne o Sieno Osservatzionie Sopra il Canto Figurato* [1723], or *Observations on the Florid Song or Sentiments on the Ancient and Modern Singers*, trans. William Reeves [1743].
[77] Boyd and Rosselli, "Tosi, Pier Francesco".
[78] See Appendix 3 below for bibliographic detail of both dedications.
[79] *A Catalogue of Vocal and Instrumental Musick, Printed for and sold by John Johnson [c. 1754],* British Library: Hirsch IV 1111; and *An Additional Catalogue of Instrumental and Vocal Music Printed and Sold by Preston and Son... Late the Property of that Eminent Dealer Mr. Robert Bremner [1790]*, Hirsch IV 1113 (8.).
[80] Giuseppe Tartini, *"A Letter from Signor Tartini to Signora Maddalena Lombardini"*, or *"Important lessons to Performers on the Violin"*, trans. Dr. Burney (London: R. Bremner opposite Somerset-House, 1779, reprinted 1913), as printed in Tartini, *Rules for Playing the Violin* [c. 1771], ed. Erwin R. Jacobi (Celle: Hermann Moeck Verlag, 1961).
[81] Tartini, *Rules for Playing the Violin*. The Jacobi edition also contains a facsimile of the Italian manuscript.
[82] *Ibid.*, 130–131.

cultivation of tone of through scale practice. The treatises by Carlo Zuccari (*The Art of Playing an Adagio* (1762)), Carlo Tessarini (*An Accurate Method to Attain the Art of Playing the Violin* (c. 1765)), and Luigi Borghi (*Sixty Four Cadences or Solos for the Violin in all the Major and Minor Keys Composed for the Improvement & Practice of Amateurs to whom they are Dedicated* (1790)) add to our understanding of free ornamentation and the emerging convention of the cadenza.[83] In terms of the cadenza the Borghi treatise is particularly helpful as it provides sixty-four sample cadenzas covering not only all the keys but also a range of tempi, exploring how the character of the cadenza is always linked to the overall aesthetic and emotion of the movement within which it sits.[84] When it comes to the issue of free extempore ornamentation, Zuccari's *The Art of Playing an Adagio* provides examples of how slow movements in particular could be elaborated, as do a number of surviving written out ornamentations by Geminiani, Tartini and other anonymous authors as referenced by Neal Zaslaw (see figure 29 on p. 151).[85]

While all treatises to some degree cover benefits of cultivating tone or sound (the two terms seem to be complementary in this context), Viotti's short note "La Gamme" (1798) is the only treatise to focus solely on this topic, and to do so in great depth.[86] Even though this excerpt from an unfinished treatise was produced late in the eighteenth century, it refers back to the training Viotti received with Pugnani and elaborates on the tradition of sound production which was so central to Italian violin playing.[87] As we saw in Chapter 1, command of tone was the virtue which set the great Italian violinists apart and earned them the greatest praise throughout the eighteenth century. In his letter to Signora Maddalena, Tartini advised similar tone production to be practised both on an open string and subsequently through playing scales so that the student could become a perfect master of shaping the sound.[88] As such, "La Gamme" sums up another practical aspect of the aesthetics of the authors and performers of the Solo. Geminiani also extols the virtues of scale practice. Even though scales, according to his treatise, were used mainly to build up the agility of the left hand, Geminiani did emphasize elsewhere in the treatise the importance of tone production and the management of the bow as a general point of acquiring "a fine tone".[89] Furthermore, the preface to Veracini's *Sonate Academiche* illustrates the use of inflected/*messa-di-voce* type

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[83] Tessarini, *An Accurate Method to Attain the Art of Playing the Violin*; Borghi, *Sixty Four Cadences*.
[84] Luigi Borghi, *Sixty Four Cadences*.
[85] Carlo Zuccari, *The true Method of Playing an Adagio Made Easy by Twelve Examples First in a Plain Manner with a Bass Then with all their Graces Adapted for those who Study the Violin* (London: Bremner, 1762); Neal Zaslaw, "Ornaments for Corelli's Violin Sonatas Opus 5", *Early Music* 24 (1996): 95–116.
[86] Facsimile printed in Nicolas Fromageot, ed. *Méthodes Traités Violon: France 1800–1860*, vol. 6, *Habeneck* [1857] (Bressuire: Fuzeau Facsimilé, 2002), 41. See also: Warwick Lister, *Amico: The Life of Giovanni Battista Viotti* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 16–17.
[87] Lister, *Amico: The Life of Giovanni Battista Viotti*, 16.
[88] Giuseppe Tartini, *"A Letter from Signor Tartini to Signora Maddalena Lombardini"*, 133.
[89] Geminiani, *The Art of Playing on the Violin*, 4–5 and 2.

strokes as a common practice within the repertoire, as will be explored later on.[90] Viotti systematises this tradition into three principal strokes to be practised to attain command of the bow and good quality of sound:

1. Without inflections [...], the sound of each note should be begun, continued, and terminated at the same level of loudness;
2. Beginning forte and finishing piano;
3. Beginning piano, crescendo and diminuendo.

All of these strokes should then be practised in all possible keys "in different positions, and at different speeds" to attain complete command of the instrument.[91]

Finally, a group of more unusual sources can shed light on performance issues pertaining to the Solo: the preface to music printed during the course of the century. Of interest in this context is Robert Bremner's description (1770) of Pasquali's performance of Corelli's *Christmas Concerto*, which was printed as a preface to his arrangement of this concerto for keyboard with violin accompaniment.[92] In this preface Bremner listed the tempi chosen by Pasquali and suggested that these should be a guideline for understanding "the exact time in which every species of music ought to be performed".[93] His timings of each movement provide us with a more tangible insight into performance practice in terms of interpreting tempo indications and their emotions – which is thus vital in the discussion of particular case studies. While Bremner's tempi can be interpreted in a variety of ways, the overall idea is one of great contrast between the lively and the slow movements. The general idea presented provides a pattern of: *Adagio*, ♪ = 60, whereas *Allegro* can range from ♩ = 108–160, depending on the harmonic pace and the figuration.[94]

Naturally, caution should be taken in cases where one author has an opinion which stands out from the others, and any explanation should be read carefully in its full context before any conclusion is drawn. An example often quoted in this context is Geminiani's take on "the close Shake" – that is, vibrato. In his instructions Geminiani indicated that the vibrato "contributes to make [the] Sound more agreeable and for this Reason it should be made use of as often as possible".[95] However, seen in the broader context of the whole section of which this statement is a part (the comments on Example XVIII), the phrase "as often as possible" by no means equates to all the time; rather, the "close shake" should be

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[90] Francesco Maria Veracini, *Sonate Accademiche Opera Seconda* [1745] (Huntingdon: Kings Music, n.d.); see figure 35 on p. 156 below.
[91] Lister, *Amico: The Life of Giovanni Battista Viotti*, 16.
[92] Diack H. Johnstone, "Tempi in Corelli's 'Christmas Concerto' ", *The Musical Times* 1485 (1966): 956–959; Robert Bremner, "Some Thoughts on the Performance of Concert Music" [1770], *Early Music* 7 (1979), 1:48–57.
[93] Johnstone, "Tempi in Corelli's Christmas Concerto", 956.
[94] *Ibid.*, 958.
[95] Geminiani, *The Art of Playing on the Violin*, preface p. 8.

applied whenever it is emotionally appropriate to make certain notes "sound more agreeable".[96] Tartini also endorsed the use of vibrato (the tremolo) suggesting that it enhances long notes and ends of phrases.[97] Robert Bremner (who had studied with Geminiani in his youth) commented on the fact that many performers in the mid-eighteenth century enjoyed applying continuous vibrato (or "tremolo"), which illustrates an important point that applies to any treatise whether on taste, on performance more generally or even on 'Good Taste' and aesthetics: the treatises were striving to shape and improve opinion because it needed improving.[98]

Personal accounts of artists and their performances

The art of critique was only starting to develop at the beginning of the eighteenth century. Consequently, we have very few sources from the beginning of the century, though by the end of the century a range of people, among them Fanny Burney, regularly contemplated and assessed the quality of the performances they had attended. However, sadly for this study, the Italian violinists had been superseded by a new generation of artists from Germany, at least in instrumental music, by the time Fanny Burney began to write.[99] Her report on Giardini's last performance in London documents the end of an era in many ways, and will be referred to later in this chapter.[100]

One challenge facing the modern researcher reading these sources is the similarity of language and turn of phrase used throughout the whole century. Just as in advertisements where tropes of novelty, such as those "lately arrived from Italy", were used to attract audiences, certain ways of describing a performance seem at least at first sight to be generic, with phrases such as: "the performance was received with great applause" or "a distinguished or capital performer on the violin".[101] While these tropes were often simply used to sell a performer in advertisements and the like, they can in most instances be taken at face value as expressions of appreciation – indeed, they were the conventions of praise.[102]

At the beginning of the eighteenth century, the idea of critical reviews of the arts was not commonly practised. McGuiness and Johnstone sum up this predicament very well:

> Though there were a few observers of the early Georgian scene [...] who were sufficiently interested in music to comment upon public concert and other suchlike musical gathering, their number is disappointingly small, nor [...] is there anyone among them who

[96] *Ibid.*, 8.
[97] Tartini, *Rules for Playing the Violin* , 84.
[98] Bremner, "Thoughts on the Performance of Concert Music", 48–49.
[99] McVeigh, "Italian Violinists in Eighteenth-Century London", 148.
[100] See p. 109 below.
[101] See pp. 49–50 above.
[102] Zaslaw, "Ornaments for Corelli's Violin Sonatas Opus 5", 110–112; see also Hawkins, *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music*, 2: 674–675 for a description of Corelli's performance style.

> steadfastly conveys a sense of personal excitement or passionate commitment to the art.[103]

Notable exceptions are John Evelyn and Roger North, both of whom wrote in great detail about the violinist Nicola Matteis and his merits as an artist.[104] Even so, the convention of critical reviews of musical performances (whether formal concerts or more informal gatherings in semi-private settings) only really started to develop from the middle of the eighteenth century, a time which also saw a great expansion of the literature on aesthetics.[105] According to Brewer, a tradition of an intellectual evaluation of the merits of literature and, later, paintings as part of contemporary debate created a move away from the enthusiasm of the dilettante collector to the cultivation of the knowledgeable connoisseur.[106] Being deemed an inferior companion to poetry and painting, music was often discussed within the context of these and other art-forms. Indeed, it is important to remember in the context of this study that instrumental music was for much of the eighteenth century considered inferior to vocal repertoires due to the lack of poetry.[107] This understanding is particularly aptly expressed in the treatise by Antoniotto published in London in 1760:

> The music produced by a good and proper voice for music is infinitely superior to all music that may be produced by any instrument whatsoever; because the best instrument can only produce sounds, but a voice may join his musical sounds to the discourse; and when it is properly adapted, both together acquiring an extraordinary power, becomes absolute arbitrator of the human passions, and made wonder and miracles as it is reported by so many old and modern historians.[108]

Even so, Antoniotto does concede that instrumental music has some importance in having advanced the art of vocal music.[109] The move towards the appreciation of instrumental music or 'absolute music' as something to be admired in its own right was only beginning to emerge, a sentiment that was expressed in the poem quoted in chapter 1.[110]

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[103] Rosamund McGuinness and Diack H. Johnstone, "Concert-life in England 1700–1760", in *The Blackwell History of Music in Britain: The Eighteenth Century*, ed. Diack H. Johnstone (Oxford: Blackwell, 1990), 31.
[104] Evelyn, *The Diary of John Evelyn*, 252. North's comments are quoted on p. 38 above: *The Musicall Grammarian*, 268–271.
[105] Avison, *An Essay on Music Expression*; Lipking, ed., *The Ordering of the Arts in Eighteenth-Century England*.
[106] Brewer, *Pleasure of the Imagination*, in particular chapter 6 ("Connoisseurs and Artists"), p. 252. Lipking, *Ordering of the Arts in Eighteenth-Century England*, Introduction.
[107] See, for instance, John Neubauer, *The Emancipation of Music from Language: Departure from Mimesis in Eighteenth-Century Aesthetics* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986); Mark Evan Bonds, *Absolute Music: The History of an Idea*, part 2, *Essence and Effect 1550–1850* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014); Carl Dahlhaus, *The Idea of Absolute Music*, trans. Roger Lustig (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989); Bellamy Hosler, *Changing Aesthetic Views of Instrumental Music in 18th century Germany* (Epping: Bowker, 1981).
[108] Antoniotto, *L'Arte Armonico*, book 3, chapter 3, article 2, p. 102.
[109] *Ibid.*, p. 103.
[110] See Bonds, *Absolute Music*, and the poem quoted on p. 24 above: "A Half extempore writ after coming from Mr. Hays Friday concert at the Great Room in Brewer Street".

Furthermore, many sources, particularly newspaper reports, were much more likely to provide details if the performance did not live up to expectation or when it was downright bad or scandalous in terms of either style or execution. Particularly potent examples can be found in the descriptions of vocal artists who for one reason or another performed when their voices were far past their prime. A famous example of this is Burney's report on the soprano Francesca Cuzzoni's final performance in England, which incidentally also happened to be one of Giardini's first appearances in this country.[111] The concert was a benefit for Cuzzoni to help her pay off her creditors.[112] Writing after the event, Burney described her once captivating voice as having been "reduced to a mere thread".[113] Where expectations were met, however, there was in most cases no perceived need to report much apart from the audience's appreciative reaction to a capital performance, though not without exception.[114]

An early example of the English appreciation of the special skills the Italians had when it came to the bow and command of tone is found in Roger North's assessment of Nicola Matteis. Written at the beginning of the eighteenth century as a reminiscence, it is one of the more descriptive and gives a glimpse of what the audiences cherished in his performance:

> He was an excellent musitian, and performed wonderfully upon the violin. His manner was singular, but in one respect excelled all that had bin knowne before in England, which was the arcata; his stoccatas, tremolos, devisions and indeed his whole manner was surprising and every stroke of his was a mouthfull.[115]

What made Matteis unique compared to other excellent violinists who had visited England up to this point was not so much his ability in terms of left hand technique but rather his complete control and mastery of the bow (the 'arcata') in terms of both fast articulations and slow expressive strokes.[116] All the virtuosity was brought together to make every stroke of the bow special and to use command of tone and musical invention to surprise, captivate, and delight the audience. Evelyn provides another aspect of Matteis' playing which connected him with the Italian tradition of Corelli: "he had a stroke so sweete, and made it speak like the Voice of a man".[117] Indeed, according to Geminiani (as quoted by Hawkins), Corelli also

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[111] Burney, as quoted by George Winchester Jr. Stone ed. in *The London Stage, 1660–1800,* part 4, *1747–1776.* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1960–1968)1:199.
[112] Winton Dean, and Carlo Vitali, "Cuzzoni, Francesca". Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online, Oxford University Press, accessed 26 August, 2016, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/06995.
[113] Burney, *A General History of Music*, 4:308.
[114] See for instance Burney, as quoted in *The London Stage*, part 4, 1:199.
[115] North, *Musicall Grammarian*, 268.
[116] Simon Jones, "The Legacy of the 'Stupendious' Nicola Matteis", *Early Music* 29 (2001): 553–568.
[117] Evelyn, *Diary of John Evelyn*, 252.

possessed a sweet tone which was at the same time powerful, whilst also having a *pathetic* quality.[118]

Hawkins' account of Geminiani's playing paints a similar picture, though we find no special reference to technical particulars of how the exquisite playing was being achieved:

> In a short time he so recommended himself by his exquisite performance, that all who professed to understand or love music were captivated at the hearing him.[119]

The report of Geminiani's death in the *London Chronicle* of 1762 stated that Geminiani was "well known by the lovers of harmony for his capital performance on the violin".[120] In his treatise *The Art of Playing on The Violin* Geminiani gave great importance to sound production and the beauty and variability of tone, stating: "The Art of playing the Violin consists of giving that Instrument a Tone that shall [...] rival the most perfect human Voice".[121] Thus Geminiani's ideals for the good performer lined up with the ideals expressed by North, Evelyn and Hawkins. Any capital performer who captivated his audiences must have had complete command of each stroke of the bow, imbuing them with a vocal quality.

A similar emphasis on the virtues of tone-production over what could be perceived as superficial flashiness comes across in the description of Felice Giardini's last performance in London in 1792. Giardini had by this point lost some of the technical prowess that had made his London debut the sensation which, on the occasion of a private performance of sonatas and improvisations, "threw into the utmost astonishment the whole company".[122] However, his playing still did not disappoint:

> Giardini played sweetly and with a tone so meltingly melodious, so softly full, so Smoothly pleasing, and so grandly commanding that in these particulars not one of his many, & more modern Rivals, can, I think be named with him.[123]

Again the emphasis and appreciation of the art of a beautiful and well-commanded tone meant that, even having lost the flashy virtuosity of his youth, this experienced artist was able to move and surpass his younger peers. While Giardini's young rivals possessed the latest in "grand détaché", Giardini's more subtle approach still impressed.

Towards the end of the century, observers did begin to provide more detail in their accounts of performances. However, by this point fashion had also shifted towards a new ideal of violin playing. Even so, Viotti still followed the line of the famous Piedmontese

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[118] Hawkins, *General History of the Science and Practice of Music*, 674–5.
[119] *Ibid.*, 847.
[120] Careri, *Francesco Geminiani*, 44.
[121] Geminiani, *Art of Playing on The Violin*, preface.
[122] Simon McVeigh, "Felice Giardini: A Violinist in Late Eighteenth-Century London", *Music & Letters* 64, no. 3/4 (1983): 163.
[123] *The Journals and Letters of Fanny Burney,* ed. Joyce Hemlow (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1958), 1:159 as quoted by McVeigh, "Felice Giardini", 163.

school of violin playing which had always put great emphasis on the majestic tone.[124] In 1794 a performance by Viotti was described in the *Morning Chronicle*:

> The masterly performance of Viotti exceeded all former sample; his power over the instrument seems unlimited. The grand mistake of Musicians has been a continued effort to excite amazement. Viotti, it is true, without making that his object, astonishes the hearer; but he does something infinitely better – he awakens emotion, gives a soul to sound, and leads the passions captive.[125]

This report illustrates well the ideal performer: someone with complete technical control over the instrument who, however, does not use these powers for pure virtuosic display, rather to please and raise the emotions through his use of tone. The great artist, then, was distinguished from those who wished to 'excite amazement' by his focus on tone production, which was seen as the true method of touching and raising the emotions. Whilst Viotti is often associated with the beginning of the romantic ideals, his training with Pugnani links him to the great tradition of the Italian violinists, representing a style which married the best of the old tradition with the new ideals.[126] His short treatise "La Gamme" emphasised the importance of the cultivation of tone production and shaping of the sound in order to gain perfect control and command over the instrument through the practising of scales with slow sustained sound as well as controlled growing and diminishing of the sound (*messa di voce*).[127] As such, this report echoed the ideals of the whole period and the Italian violinists in particular, as will be clear when investigating the ideals laid out in the treatises by Francesco Geminiani and Charles Avison.[128]

While these descriptions undoubtedly testify to the fact that the Italian violinists did delight, please and move their audiences, they still do not provide us with much detail as to the particulars of the performance. However, it seems certain that what really made a violinist exceptional, whether in 1690 or in 1790, was the ability to move through complete mastery of a variety of bow strokes from the impressive and fast to the swelling of individual notes. Though relatively little is known about the training of violinists in Italy, it is clear from surviving sources that control of the bow and the perfection of shaping and beauty of tone were emphasised over all other aspects of learning.[129] While great invention and technical

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[124] Lister, *Amico: The Life of Giovanni Battista Viotti*, 17.
[125] Quoted in Robin Stowell, "Viotti's London Concertos", in *Music in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, ed. David Wyn Jones (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000).
[126] Simon McVeigh argues a similar point in "Italian Violinists in Eighteenth-Century London", 148–150.
[127] *La Gamme* is reprinted in Fromageot, ed., *Méthodes Traités Violon*, 6: 41–43, and translated in Lister, *Amico,* 15–17.
[128] Geminiani, *The Art of Playing on The Violin*; and Avison, *Essay on Music Expression*.
[129] Professional musicians were generally trained by being apprenticed to a master, which leaves us with no written record. Lister, *Amico* explores Viotti's apprenticeship in some detail, especially pp. 15–17. See also

facility could of course impress, it seems that beauty and command of tone as a quality was particularly appreciated by English writers on musical aesthetics as being in harmony with 'Good Taste.' The Solo genre provided artists with a vehicle to display just such qualities.

The Solo as a genre and 'Good Taste'

Throughout the eighteenth century the Solo genre provided the Italian violinists in London with an ideal vehicle to show off their artistic skills and taste both as composers and performers. The genre was also inherently versatile, fitting every occasion from the theatre to the concert hall and private music room. Conversely, other sonata repertoires such as the trio sonata, known at the time as 'Sonata for violins' and, from the middle of the century, the new genre of 'Sonata for keyboard with violin accompaniment' very rarely featured in concert programmes according to both *The London Stage* (where there seems to be no separate category in the index volume) and McVeigh's Database, *Calendar of London Concerts 1750–1800*, which only contains the very occasional string trio, particularly towards the end of the century.[130] One notable exception is found in May 1703 where Signior Gasparini is advertised as having performed "several Sonatas's on the Violin, one between Mr Paisible and him and another between him and a Scholar of his" in connection with the performance of the play *The Relapse*, but in subsequent decades trio sonatas seem to have disappeared completely from the performance repertoire of the Italian violinists who took over at Drury Lane.[131] However, in catalogues the trio sonata featured more prominently, suggesting that this repertoire was perhaps aimed primarily at the private sphere.[132]

Prior to the eighteenth century instrumental works had always been conceived for a particular context or occasion, either at Court or at church, or indeed a special public or theatrical event.[133] However, in the context of London in the eighteenth century, most instrumental music was no longer composed for a specific occasion, but rather intended to be used in a range of settings and venues, where it could be adapted to show off the artists to their best advantage. Partly for this reason, sets of Solos authored, performed and published in London rarely adhered to the expectations of the genres of *da chiesa* and *da camera*

Geminiani, *Art of Playing on The Violin*; Tartini, "A Letter from Signor Tartini to Signora Maddalena Lombardini".

[130] Simon McVeigh, *Calendar of London Concerts 1750–1800 Advertised in the London Daily Press*. Database. Goldsmiths College, University of London, 1990 (Accessed as Word File, 26 August 2016); Ben Ross Schneider, *Index to The London Stage 1660–1800*, ed. William van Lennep *et al.* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1960–1968).

[131] Judith Milhous and Robert D. Hume, *The London Stage 1660–1800,* part 2, *1700–1729: A New Version, Draft of the Calendar for Volume I: 1700–1711* (Unpublished version held at the British Library: was planned to have been published by Southern Illinois University Press, 1996), 101, citing advertising for a performance on Tuesday 18 May, 1703 at Drury Lane.

[132] See Appendix 2 table 4.

[133] William Weber, "The Contemporaneity of Eighteenth-Century Musical Taste", in *The Musical Quarterly* 70, no. 2 (1984): 175–194.

found in, for instance, Corelli's Opus 5, since neither of those expected venues (church or princely court) featured in the London context.[134] Instead, the Solos published in London throughout the eighteenth century adhered to the varying overall structure of 'sonata' in the broadest understanding of that term (as defined by scholars such as Newman, Ratner, and Darcy and Hepokoski), though some authors (Castrucci and Carbonelli in particular) combined elements of *da chiesa* and *da camera*, particularly the learned fugato, as we shall see in chapter 4.[135] As such, the Solo became an eminently adaptable genre which featured in the widest range of performance situations.

When mentioned in current research, the Solo tends to be discussed as part of chamber music and as a subgenre of the sonata, if it is given separate treatment at all.[136] However, in the context of eighteenth-century England the Solo seems to have had a distinct aesthetic identity. As we saw in the previous chapter, eighteenth-century catalogues clearly distinguished in their listings the Solo (be it for violin, German flute, or even oboe) from Sonatas for two melodic instruments.[137] This identity, however, was not just a practical feature in publishers' catalogues; it also permeated in discourse, singling out the Solo as a vehicle for a solo violinist's artistic expression. Indeed, the Solo was a preferred vehicle for the ideal of balance, pleasing taste, refinement, sensibility, novelty and passions, as well as providing an outlet for a particular artist's talents, giving him the scope to display both *allegro* and *pathetic* styles within one musical work.[138] Even though the Solo underwent some structural and stylistic developments during the period under investigation, as will be explored further in chapter 4, the overall ideal of the Solo remained the same: a piece of music in which the Violinist could show off his artistic invention and taste both in performance and in composition. Indeed, the Solo was prime concert repertoire not just for violinists but for other instrumentalists as well. Two of the concert announcements quoted in previous chapters list Solos for violoncello, flute, and bassoon as well as violin, and Solos featuring the oboe and even archlute can also be found in eighteenth-century concert announcements.[139]

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[134] William S. Newman, *The Sonata in the Baroque Era* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1966), 21–22.
[135] *Ibid.,* 67; see also Leonard G. Ratner, *Classic Music: Expression, Form, and Style* (New York: Schirmer, 1980), 118–119; James Hepokoski and Warren Darcy, *Elements of Sonata Theory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), in particular 343–345.
[136] Karl Geiringer, "The Rise of Chamber Music", in *New Oxford History of Music*, vol. 7, *The Age of Enlightenment 1745–1790*, ed. E. Wellesz and F. Sternfeld (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1973), 317–321; Newman, *Sonata in the Baroque Era*.
[137] See for instance Walsh's catalogue BL g. 237 found on the back of Castrucci's *Sonate a Violine e Violone o Cimbalo Dedicata all Sereinissima Altezza Reale La Principessa Anna Opera Seconda* (London: John Walsh, 1734). See also illustration 1 p. 59.
[138] Terminology taken from Tosi, *Observations on the Florid Song*.
[139] See for instance concert announcement quoted on p. 48 above. See also *17th and 18th Century Burney Collection*, British Library Database, for further examples.

For the purposes of this study the terms baroque and classical will be avoided, primarily because these terms were not used in contemporary discourse. One could consider using the more unifying term *galant* since it encompasses an aesthetic ideal of 'effortless elegance' which persisted through the whole of the eighteenth century, and which was similar to the concept of 'Good Taste' and 'the aesthetics of moderation'.[140] However, while the term *galant* was used in the eighteenth century, it was primarily employed in connection with courtly taste on the continent and never really occurred in English thought. Furthermore, within the Solo one could argue that 'serious' and 'galant' styles often existed side by side, complementing each other.[141] Similarly, the terms *affect* or indeed *rhetoric*, so often discussed in today's discourse on historical performance, were never mentioned by authors studied during this research. Instead, the emphasis was on terms such as 'expression', 'pleasing effect', and 'raising the emotions'.

While there has been extensive research pertaining to the formation of the sonata in the seventeenth century, the history of the sonata in the early eighteenth century has been less explored, except for the works of Arcangelo Corelli.[142] This, however, is the natural result of the impact his works in the genre had on the following generations.[143] Virtually all Italian violinists of note active in the first decades of the eighteenth century claimed to be students or followers of the illustrious Corelli. Indeed, Visconti, Geminiani, Castrucci and Carbonelli all fall into this category.[144] The numerous reprints and wide dissemination of Corelli's five sets of sonatas, in particular his Opus 5 Solos, only emphasised his reputation as a teacher and performer, and for a long time Solos authored by Italian violinists were measured by the golden standard that was Corelli.[145] Nowhere was this more the case than in England, where these works remained in print and appeared in performance throughout the century, and were held up as the ideal to which all authors ought to aspire. Indeed, Corelli's Opus 5 was still featured in Preston's catalogues as late as the 1790s.[146]

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[140] Robert O. Gjerdingen, *Music in the Galant Style* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), introduction.
[141] See Ratner, *Classic Music: Expression, Form, and Style* for an exploration of these terms in context.
[142] See, in particular, Gregory Barnett: *Bolognese Instrumental Music, 1660–1710: Spiritual Comfort, Courtly Delight, and Commercial Triumph* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008); Barnett, "Form and Gesture: Canzona, Sonata and Concerto", in *The Cambridge History of Seventeenth-century Music*, ed. Tim Carter and John Butt (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005); Sandra Magnsen, "The 'Sonata da Camera' before Corelli: A Renewed Research", *Music and Letters* 76 (1995): 19–31. While Newman, *Sonata in the Baroque Era* does include the early eighteenth century, the emphasis is very much on the preceding century.
For an in-depth discussion of the impact of Corelli's sonatas see Peter Allsop, *Arcangelo Corelli: New Orpheus of our Times* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999); Zaslaw, "Ornaments for Corelli's Violin Sonatas Opus 5", 95–116; Magnsen, "The 'Sonata da Camera' before Corelli"; and Robert E. Seletsky, "18th Century Variations on Corelli's Sontas Op. 5", *Early Music* 24, no. 1 (1996): 119–130.
[143] Peter Walls, "Constructing the Archangel: Corelli in 18th-century editions of Opus V", in *Arcangelo Corelli: Fra Mito e Realtà Storica*, ed. Leo S. Olschki and Antonella D'Ovidio (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 2007), 1:233–252.
[144] See McVeigh, "Italian Violinists in Eighteenth-Century London", 140.
[145] Newman, *Sonata in the Baroque Era*, 42–43; North, *The Musicall Grammarian*, 272.
[146] Indeed, Corelli's Opus 5 was still for sale in the Preston catalogue of 1790. See table 2 in Appendix 2 below.

Structurally, the Solo in the early decades of the century always related to the 'Corelli model', that is four (sometimes five) movements in the format Slow/Adagio – Fast (with some element of fugato and passagework) – Slow (often in a contrasting key) – Fast (often a gigue or other dance movement).[147] However, as the decades progressed, authors such as Castrucci in particular took great freedom in relation to this model. As a basic principle the alternation of slow and fast movements provided both the original composer and the performer with the opportunity to demonstrate their artistic skill in terms of inventiveness in interpreting the written line (inflection and articulation), adding ornamentation (passages, graces and cadenzas), and in bringing out the contrasting characters of *allegro* and *pathetic* styles.[148] Consequently, the surviving Solos reflected the personality of each artist, their conception of expression and invention, and the fashions of that decade. The sonata in the second part of the eighteenth century has received much more scholarly attention, in particular the keyboard works of the 1760s and 70s.[149] However, the Solo genre never adhered to the full conventions of 'sonata form' which began to emerge in the keyboard works, even though the Solos of the latter decades of the century certainly developed a stronger sense of 'returning to the opening theme' and aspects of a 'development section'.[150] Some authors did introduce new ideas and textures to the Solo around 1750. However, there are many elements which remained consistent from the early part of the century and also a strong sense of continuity in the use of thematic ideas and short phrase groupings.[151]

Concert-, theatre- and opera-going in London was very much part of the social calendar, and attendance at concerts and the opera was as much about enjoyment of the performance (and to some degree educating oneself) as showing one's cultural refinement and taste – and cultural refinement and taste were acquired through attending the best concerts.[152] Patrons often visited several performances in one evening and did not always listen intently to the performance, focusing instead on social interaction.[153] However, as William Weber argues, the fact that an eighteenth-century audience seemingly did not listen intently to a performance nor discuss it in great detail has more to do with convention and less to do with the enjoyment that audiences actually received from a performance.[154] There

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[147] See also Newman, *Sonata in the Baroque Era*, 69.
[148] Tosi, *Observations*, chapter 10, and p. 66 and p. 69.
[149] William S. Newman, *The Sonata in the Classic Era* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1963).
[150] Newman is only one of many to make 1750 into a division point. For a counter-argument see Gjerdingen, *Music in the Galant Style*.
[151] Gjerdingen, *Music in the Galant Style*; Gjerdingen, *Research into the History, Theory and Cognition of Music*, accessed 26 August 2016, http://faculty-web.at.northwestern.edu/music/gjerdingen/index.htm. See also Daniel Heartz, *Music in European Capitals: The Galant Style, 1720–1780* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2003); and Ratner, *Classic Music*, 23.
[152] Brewer, *The Pleasure of the Imagination*, in particular chapter 2.
[153] *Ibid.*, 69.
[154] William Weber, "Did People Listen in the 18th Century?", *Early Music* 25, no. 4, *25th Anniversary Issue: Listening Practice* (1997): 678–691.

is a sense that, at least at the beginning of the century, audiences cared primarily about the novelty of a work of art or performer; but, as the century progressed, the debate on aesthetics and music gathered pace, and the intrinsic merits of what made a good artist (and, indeed, superior art) began to be debated more widely.[155] Throughout the century Italian violinists navigated the social and cultural context of eighteenth-century London, producing sets of Solos which can arguably be seen as striving to suit an 'aesthetic of moderation' in their form and degree of virtuosity.

[155] Friday, ed., *Art and Enlightenment: Scottish Aesthetics in the 18th Century*, 1; and Brewer, *Pleasure of the Imagination*, in particular chapter 6 ("Connoisseurs and Artists"), 252.

Chapter 4

Approaching the Solo as text and performance

Just as the Italian violinists were an integral part of London's cultural scene, the Solos they composed permeated eighteenth-century musical culture both as texts – visible, readable, and collectable – and as performances. As an intrinsic part of an artistic ecosystem the Solo genre – as text in the hands of the Italians – reflected, responded to and fitted into the social and cultural context of eighteenth-century London, while reflecting contemporary aesthetic ideals and cultural tensions. Its textual sources show how the genre was particularly well suited to provide the artist with the scope to display individualism, continuity of tradition, and reaction to changing musical trends during the decades under investigation. The surviving sets of Solos also reveal how throughout the era authors of Solos suited their works to contemporary ideals of 'good taste' and the 'aesthetics of moderation', while leaving room for the astonishing in their works to avoid both 'lack of invention' and 'excess'. As performance repertoire, these works became the vehicles for the ideals of 'beauty of sound' and 'good taste' while also providing the artists with the scope to impress with virtuosic flights of fancy and great passions within the bounds of the 'aesthetics of moderation'. As printed works for consumption, then, the Solos gave the connoisseurs who purchased these scores a chance to imitate the art of the great Italian at home and to relive and experience their performances.

When studying these works it becomes clear that the Italian violinists active in London were very specific and detailed in the way they notated these works, in particular with regards to articulations, dynamics, and ornamentation, and the sometimes very specific and instructive movement titles further add to the notion of detailed instruction. Knowledge of contemporary treatises helps us further understand these instructions and what they mean, and how practices remained steady and/or changed over the course of the decades. Indeed, there is a sense of an ecosystem where musical treatises and works informed each other; the wider cultural and aesthetic context enlightens the works and the works reveal new facets of the culture of the time.

Although the function of the Solo, both in performance and in publishing, remained relatively unchanged during this period, the genre did undergo some shifts in terms of style, melodic treatment and movement structure. A survey of the structure of the Solo both in general musical terms (movement ordering and types, movement forms, key areas), and in specific violinistic terms, focusing on the technical aspects of these works and how knowledge of performance practice and aesthetics, serves as a first step to understanding the make-up of the Solo genre overall. Through the chapter these findings will be presented in tables which illustrate the changes, continuities and individualities of all of these elements.[1] Where relevant, excerpts from the Solo repertoire have been inserted to illuminate

[1] See Appendix 4 and tables within the text.

particularly pertinent points. While parts of the chapter will focus on the structural elements of the Solo, the ideals of 'good taste' will also be explored, particularly in the context of virtuosic technique. We will see how the repertoire balances the two seemingly opposing ideals of overt virtuosity and the 'aesthetics of moderation' through the use of technical feats which, though challenging, sound simple.

In approaching this repertoire we must ask ourselves what internal evidence the scores themselves provide as to how they should be interpreted. It is through combining this internal information with the external information from treatises as well as an enhanced understanding of the wider ecosystems (financial and artistic) and aesthetic and cultural tensions ('good taste' versus excess and debauchery for instance) within which these works were conceived that we achieve a new perspective on not only these works but also the times in which they were created. Therefore, in order to understand the genre we also need to consider matters such as: what are the issues of performance practice and general execution? How can the treatises on both performance practice issues and general discourse pertaining to aesthetics shed light on the Solo genre in general and with regards to the Italian violinists in London in particular? How can the act of playing these Solos help us better comprehend the instructions given in treatises, in the scores, and in instructions on the ideal of the great violinists? And how can all these sources together help us approach an understanding of the Solo genre and its popularity in eighteenth-century London?

The sets of Solos surveyed were all published in London during the period 1716–1772 by the leading Italian violinists of the day. The period covers the arrival of Geminiani and Castrucci in the country to the last known appearance of the famous Pugnani, after which time the dominance of the Italian violinist began to wane. Where possible (Geminiani, Castrucci, and Giardini) an early and a later set of Solos have been included in the survey to ensure that any changes within the style of individual authors are accounted for. For clarity, only a representative selection of all the surviving sets of Solos has been included in these surveys. (A list of all the Italian violinists active in London during the eighteenth century can be found in Appendix 1). Veracini's Opus 2, for instance, while interesting, has been left out of the tables due to its uniqueness in terms of number, lengths and internal structures of movements, though specific features will be referred to when relevant.[2] Conversely, the Solos by Morigi, Celestino and Marella have been left out as they do not demonstrate any overall features that are not represented in other sets of their era.

The three Solos selected for closer study in the following discussion have been chosen to represent the beginning, middle and end of the period when the Italian violinists

[2] John Walter Hill, *The Life and Works of Francesco Maria Veracini* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1979).

played a prominent role in the opera, theatre, concert venues and wider cultural life of London. The scores for these Solos have been supplied in full in Appendix 5. Recordings of these Solos can be found on CD 1. To ensure originality, authors whose works have not been the subject of major studies but who are known to have been famous in their day have been favoured. The featured Solos have also been chosen to attempt to illustrate the widest possible scope of trends found across the Solo repertoire in terms of the structure of the Solo overall; the types of movements; the structure of the movements; the key relations and harmony (with some really boldly adventurous slow movements in terms of their harmony); technical feats; and general issues of performance practice. Furthermore, the chosen Solos have been selected in order to provide both an insight into each artist's personal style and an understanding of musical trends of the times which influenced the development of the genre. To ensure a wider scope however, the chapter will be cross-referencing a wider number of authors and works by way of comparison and contrast. CD 2 features recordings of individual movements and shorter excerpts which serve to illustrate various points made in the text. These tracks are arranged in the order in which they are first mentioned in the text, with a few items being referred to on further occasions. In recording the accompanying CDs, I have striven to implement the advice of the treatises with regard to both specific issues of performance practice and to general aesthetic ideals, as well as to demonstrate specific musical features in the shorter excerpts. However, these recordings only represent one way of realising these instructions in live performance.

Some practical considerations for performance

Before delving into the various details of the Solo genre, it is worth exploring some practical issues relating to this repertoire. We need to investigate what clues the text might hold as to the choice of performance equipment.[3] Furthermore, with these very precisely notated scores we need to ascertain whether these details were supplied by the original author or were the work of the publisher. Even though no record of instrument or bow ownership survives for any of the artists studied in this dissertation, it is not unlikely that artists of such prominence had a range of both violins and bows at their disposal (particularly if they were involved in trading instruments).[4] The surviving will of William Corbett provides an example of the collection of a professional musician who owned several Cremonese and Stainer

[3] Robert E. Seletsky, "New Light on the old Bow", *Early Music* 32 (2006): 2:286–301 and 3:415–426. In the modern vernacular, bows with a high tip of a variety of designs are referred to as 'transitional bows'.
[4] http://www.thecoopercollection.co.uk/art11.htm quotes the sales and purchases of violins and bows of Cosimi who as particularly active in this line of work.

violins as well as other instruments, though no bows are mentioned.[5] Recent research suggests that a wide range of bow designs could be found side by side through the latter decades of the century suggesting that for a period of time various ideals of sound and articulation co-existed.[6] In a few cases there is some evidence within the repertoire as to which equipment is more suitable. Pugnani's Solos Opus 7 in particular contain bowings which explore the additional capabilities of the new design. The third movement of Op. 7 no 2 features a particularly good example of a bowing pattern at which the new model excels (figure 1 and CD 2 track 1). This bowing is often called 'Viotti bowing' since it is associated with Viotti's contemporaries.[7] In the early nineteenth century it features prominently in treatises which explain that the second note under the slur should be slightly louder than the first.[8] This is an instance where practical application provides unique insight into what equipment suits a particular repertoire.

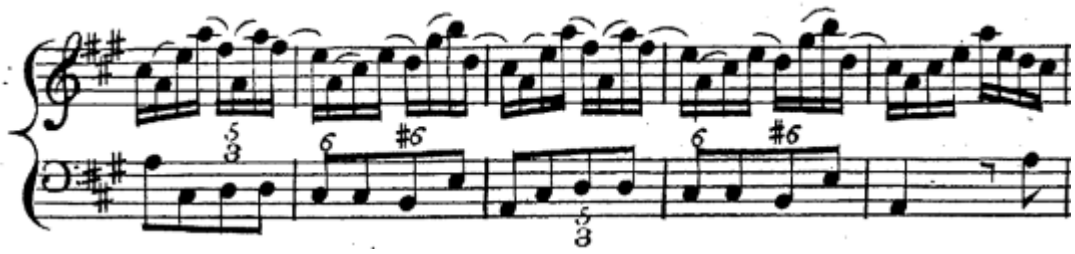

Figure 1: Pugnani Op. 7 No. 2 (Welcker, 1770), 3rd Movement, bars 77–81.

While it is possible to perform this particular pattern with both 'swan-bill' and 'battle-axe' tipped bows, the weighting of the latter design makes this particular articulation easier. Consequently, the 'battle-axe' bow has been used in recording the Solos by Pugnani as well as those by Luigi Borghi, a student of Pugnani who published his Solos in the 1770s. However, this does not mean that this particular Solo cannot be performed with the earlier model, rather that the new design might make this particular figure easier to execute.

Though it is very likely that Italian violinists traded in gut strings as well as violins, the surviving sources do not show whether wound strings were used by Italian violinists, nor do we know what string tensions were favoured by these particular artists. While there is a general trend of later Solos using the G-string somewhat more, there does not seem to be any clear indication that this was a result of a particular change in stringing. (Luigi Borghi's Opus 1 no 5 3rd movement – Presto – which is included on CD 2 track 2 provides a

[5] Edwards, Owain. "Espionage, a Collection of Violins, and 'Le Bizzarie Universali': A Fresh Look at William Corbett". *The Musical Quarterly* 73 (1989): 320–343. Pages 337–338 provides the listing from the auctioning of off Corbetts instruments proving that a professional musician could own a range of violins including several Cremonese and Stainer instruments.
[6] Robert E. Seletsky, "New Light on the old Bow", 415.
[7] Robin Stowell, *Violin Technique and Performance Practice in the Late Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 1990) 175–176, 200.
[8] *Ibid.*, 200.

particularly good examples of this). Even so, it is worth considering that the general change from equal tension to graded tension, as recorded by treatises, happened during the 1760s.[9] Experimentation with various degrees of equal tension would therefore not be inappropriate with regards to this particular repertoire.

When it comes to the choice of accompaniment for the Solo the sources are much less scarce, but their message is by no means straightforward. The title pages across the genre conjure up a picture of a variation of options.[10] They suggest that the Solos and similar repertoires could be performed with a variety of accompaniment covering cello alone, harpsichord alone, or both instruments together.[11] Even though some of this flexibility was likely a marketing ploy, helping the publisher to sell the works, there is also a sense that the repertoire is inherently flexible. A prime example is the Geminiani Solos Opus 1 (1716), where the three reprints suggest different combinations of instruments. The original Cross print prescribes '*Violone e Cimbalo*' and the Roger edition carries a title page virtually identical to the original Cross print (Illustration 7). However, Walsh proclaims that it should be performed "with a Thorough bass for the harpsichord or Bass Violin" whilst retaining the same bass-line figures as the Cross print (Illustration 8). A similar wording, though in Italian ('*Violone o Cimbalo*'), is found on Castrucci's Opus 1 Solos also printed by Roger (Illustration 9).

Illustration 7: Geminiani Op. 1 (1716), Title Page, Roger Edition (n.d.).

[9] For further information on the gut string debate see: Oliver Webber, *Rethinking Gut Strings: A Guide for Players of Baroque Instruments* (Wyton: Kings Music, 2006) and Mimmo Perufo, "Italian Violin Strings in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries: Typologies, Manufacturing Techniques and Principles of Stringing", a revised version of article first published in *Recercare* 9 (1997), 155–203.

[10] See the Scores section of the Bibliography.

[11] Dimitry Markevitch, "A New Sound for Familiar Music: The Cello as an Accompanying Instrument in the 18th Century", *Strings* 6, no. 3 (1991); and David Watkin, "Corelli's Op. 5 Sonatas: 'Violino e Violone o Cimbalo'?", *Early Music* 24, no. 4 (1996): 645–663.

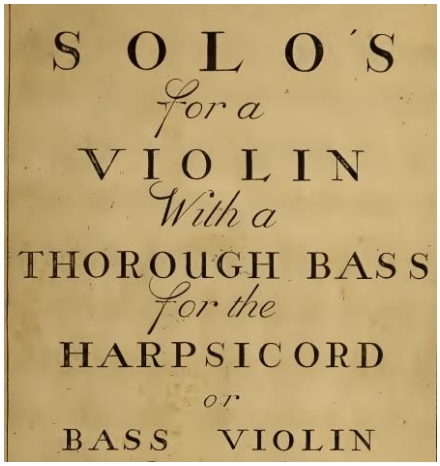

Illustration 8: Geminiani Op. 1 (1716), Title Page, Walsh Edition (n.d.).

Illustration 9: Castrucci Op. 1, Title Page, (Jeanne Roger. c. 1718).

However, all other publications studied for this dissertation, whether using English or Italian on the title page, provide by way of instruction for the accompanying instrument either 'harpsichord or cello' (Castrucci – see Illustration 9 – Carbonelli, Visconti) or the generic 'and Bass' (Pugnani, Pasquali, Noferi, Agus, Geminiani Opus 4). Indeed, the latter, more generic designation is the most common regardless of publisher (see Illustration 10).[12]

Illustration 10: Pugnani Op. 7 (Welcker, 1770), Title Page.

This most common designation also indicates the greatest freedom of choice of plucked or bowed bass instrument. But how were these works actually performed in concert? Unfortunately, contemporary accounts hardly ever mention who accompanied the performance of a Solo. One of the few instances where we do have a record is when Geminiani performed with Handel on the harpsichord.[13] In the available sources there is no mention of a cellist, and as far as can be discerned there are no recorded instances of

[12] See the Scores section of the Bibliography.
[13] Simon McVeigh, "Italian Violinists in Eighteenth-Century London", in *The Eighteenth-Century Diaspora of Italian Music and Musicians*, ed. Reinhard Strohm (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2001), 153, quoting John Hawkins.

Geminiani performing with just a cello accompaniment. Concert announcements only provided information regarding the Violin soloists, so who exactly accompanied on those occasions must be a matter of informed conjecture. There are, however, known instances of Italian violinists active in London collaborating closely with cellists. The fact that Cosimi and Haym arrived together in London suggests as much, and Veracini is on record as performing with a cellist.[14] Furthermore, in the context of the theatre and opera the accompaniment could potentially have been much more varied including other bass instruments and varying the instrumentation to enhance effect. Therefore, while we have no specific evidence, it seems plausible that the accompaniment was another aspect of the Solo which provided the performer great freedom in choosing just the right combination and type of accompaniment for any given performance; examples of an attempt at this convention is featured in the recording of the Agus Solo movements 3 and 4 (CD 1 tracks 9–10). Similarly, though we do not know very much about what harpsichords were available in the early parts of the century, the harpsichords which were built in the middle of the century and which survive to this day (such as the Kirckman used for the recording of the Solos by Borghi and Pugnani as can be heard on CD 1) provide a wide variety of sound options through a variety of stops, suggesting an ideal of a great variety of timbre.[15]

Another practical issue is the reliability of the actual publications. To what degree can we ascertain that the notation in these works was not added by the publisher? A couple of the sets of Solos investigated for this study which have survived in prints by several publishers might give us some answers. A prime example of this practice is the Geminiani Adagio Opus 1 (1716) which has survived in 3 different editions (see figures 2, 3, 4 below).[16] Interestingly, there are surprisingly few discrepancies in the notation of the violin part between these various editions apart from differences in typesetting styles. The main alterations occur in the figures supplied in the bass where the re-issue by Roger adds a few figures in the bass-line, possibly to aid the less competent figured-bass player, whereas the other editions keep the figuring fairly sparse. However, this is not that surprising when one considers the contemporary approach to continuo realisation within the Italian tradition of unfigured basses with relatively simple harmonic structures, which provided the performer with freedom to introduce suspensions, dissonances and ornaments within the bounds of certain

[14] Watkin, "Corelli's Op. 5 Sonatas", 649.
[15] The Kirckman harpsichord has been used when performing and recording the Solos by Pugnani and Borghi as is featured on CD 1 tracks 13–17. Judith Milhous and Curtis Price, "Harpsichords in the London Theatres, 1697–1715", *Early Music* 18, no. 1, *The Baroque Stage 2* (1990): 38–46. See also Daryl Martin *et al.*, *Aspects of Harpsichord Making in the British Isles* (New York: Pendragon Press, 2009); and Terence Charleston, e-mail messages to author, 8 January and 12 May, 2016.
[16] See figures 2–4: Francesco Geminiani, *Sonate a Violino Violone e Cembalo Opus 1* (London: All Autore, Cross); *Sonate a Violino Violone e Cembalo Opera Prima* (Amsterdam: Jeanne Roger, n.d.); and *XII Solos for a Violin with a Thorough Bass for the Harpsichord or Bass Violin* (I. Walsh (n.d.. and Kings Music n.d.).

rules laid out in contemporary treatises on harmony.[17] However, the violin part faithfully followed the first edition in its very detailed articulation and slurring. Indeed, the only discrepancy in the violin part between the three editions is that Roger did not notate the cadential trill in the violin part, which a good performer should know to add in any case — indeed, the trill is implicitly indicated: see figure 3, bar 3, where a suspension caused by the upper note trill has been notated in the figures to avoid the potential clash.[18] There are a few changes in type style required for resetting the whole set from *octavo* (original format) into *quarto* format but these are minor issues.

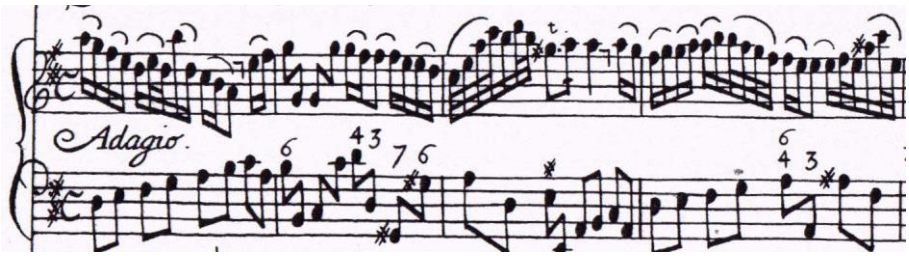

Figure 2: Geminiani Op. 1 No. 4 (1716), 1st movement. Self-published edition, bars 1–4.

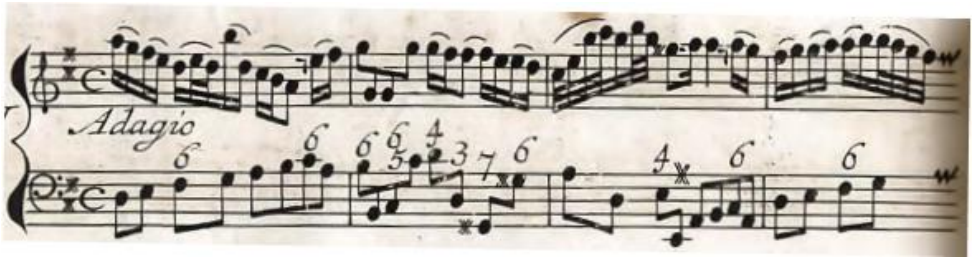

Figure 3: Geminiani Op. 1 No. 4, 1st movement. Roger edition (n.d.), bars 1–4.

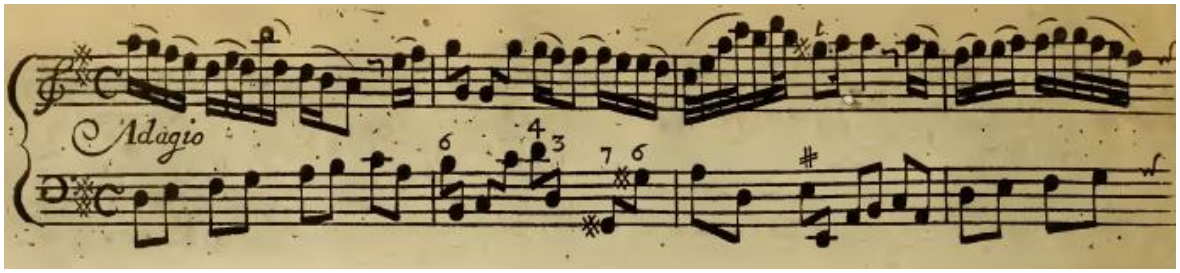

Figure 4: Geminiani Op. 1 No. 4, 1st movement. Walsh edition (n.d.), bars 1–4.

These three examples are not unique in this respect. Across the repertoire most instructions (slurs, trills, appoggiaturas for instance) are so specific that any discrepancy seems to be artistically directed rather than a printer's error or addition. Pietro Castrucci (c. 1718, see figure 25 below) and Giuseppe Agus (1750, see appendix 5) are particularly good examples of this, as both of these authors were particularly specific in their articulation directions. Just

[17] Giulia Nuti, *The Performance of Italian Basso Continuo: Style in Keyboard Accompaniment in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), chapter 4: "The Eighteenth Century"; Jesper Bøje Christensen, *18th Century Continuo Playing: A Historical Guide to the Basics* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2002).

[18] Tosi, *Observations on the Florid Song* [1723], trans. William Reeves [1743] (Pitch Perfect Publishing Company, 2009), 19.

like the first edition of Geminiani's Opus 1, the Agus Opus 1 was self-published, which suggests that the author might have been more closely involved in the proof-reading of the edition. Sadly we cannot know for certain, as no manuscripts have been discovered for any of the Solos surveyed.

In order to study the development of the Solo genre, we also need to have some idea of when individual sets were first published, performed or indeed conceived. While we can be fairly certain of the publication date for some of the Solos by means of advertisements in newspapers which refer to the date of their first publication, in other cases it is impossible to determine an exact year, let alone month, of publication. A particularly good illustration of this issue is the dating of the Solos by Giuseppe Cattanei. Dr Rosemary Southey, who has studied the career of Cattanei and his two sets of Solos, has found evidence that the family records for Mrs Bowes of the rich Bowes family contain documentation of her buying a subscription for "Cattanei's Solos" a good ten years or so before the date given to his Opus 1 and 2 by the British Library.[19] Thus some publications might have been conceived much earlier than their eventual publication date, but there is no way to establish exactly when this might have been the case. Similarly, since many sets of Solos contain a range of styles it is entirely possible that the individual pieces were conceived over a longer period but finally brought together into a set in order to present the diversity of the author's artistry and invention. This was certainly the case with Geminiani's Concerti Grossi, which were performed over a season before being published.[20] Newman argued this was likely the case with Veracini's Opus 2 as well.[21] This further emphasises the Solo genre's role as a vehicle for individual artistic expression in all its forms. It is not unlikely that these artists would have tested the Solos in performances for a number of years before publishing them in a set of six or twelve Solos. Even so, in most cases at least a rough year of publication of any given set of Solos is much easier to deduce from a combination of knowing when individual artists arrived in London and information from catalogues and advertisements. Even so, when considering continuity and change within the repertoire it is important to remember the element of uncertainty with regards to the exact dating of these works.

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[19] Dr Rosemary Southey, e-mail messages to author, 15 & 17 September and 18 October, 2015. The British Library record source dates for *Opera Prima* as c. 1765 [9h.210.i.(2)], and *Opera Seconda* as c. 1770 [h,210.a.(3)].

[20] Enrico Careri, *Francesco Geminiani* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 60.

[21] Hill, *Life and Works of Francesco Maria Veracini*, 267, quoting William S. Newman, *The Sonata in the Baroque Era* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1966), 185.

Exploring the structure of the Solo

The 'sonata cycle' and the Solo

Whilst the function of the Solo remained relatively unchanged during most of the eighteenth century, both in performance and in publishing, the genre did undergo some shifts in terms of style, melodic treatment and movement structure. This section will expose general trends of development in the structuring of the Solo such as movement order, movement types, key relations, internal structure to see how the Solo genre as a whole was configured, and how these structures made the Solo an ideal fit for the 'aesthetic of moderation'. The exploration will trace three general ideas about the Solo genre: development/change, continuity, and individualism and how in each instance 'good taste' is adhered to (or possibly challenged with the extraordinary), and how 'beauty of sound' and the virtuosic are balanced in these works. Through the course of this discussion short examples from Solos will be referred to in order to illustrate pertinent points. This section is based on surveys of entire sets of Solo. It is of course important to keep in mind that tables can only give a general overview, and in their compilation a certain amount of generalisation has had to take place in order to categorise such elements as, for instance, movement types. Individual deviations from the general trend, then, will be explored within the text. It would have been beyond the scope of this study to survey every single set of Solos published in London, but in selecting these sets the idea has been to strive to the broadest representation possible while keeping the numbers manageable.

One striking and uniform development which occured in the Solo repertoire during the 1730s was the move from sets of twelve Solos to sets of six. It would appear that this development was due at least in part to practical issues and printers' conventions. Whereas in Geminiani's Opus 1 the first two movements could be fitted on two pages, creating 35 pages for twelve Solos, Giardini's Opus 1 has individual movements often taking up two pages each, creating a run of 25 pages for six Solos. In the tables inserted into the text this has been marked with green for twelve Solo sets and blue for six Solo sets. In other tables numbers generally refer to occurrences within a whole set of Solos. Furthermore, while the Corelli Opus 5 Solos were seen as an ideal to adhere to, the division of *da camera* and *da chiesa* was never followed as already discussed. Only one set (Castrucci's Opus 2) divides the set of twelve Solos, pointing out that the last six Solos contain more dances – it is also the only set to end with a Chiaconna. The Opus 1 Solos by Carbonelli and Geminiani contain fugal second movements in the first half of the set of twelve but the sets are not specifically divided in two. However, many of the more subtle elements of the Solo such as the prevalence of a slow movement in a minor key (which occurs throughout the repertoire as

we shall see), imperfect cadences and even certain harmonic conventions can be seen as being inspired by Corelli's Opus 5 Solos.

From Slow – Fast – Slow – Fast to Fast/Moderate – Slow – Fast movement order, and all the variants in between

Of all the various parameters for discussing the Solo repertoire and its structure, the most traceable evolution within the genre overall is the choice of ordering of movements. Table 2 (see below) provides an overview of the frequency of the most common movement orders within the Solo repertoire from Geminiani's Opus 1 published in 1716 to the Solos of the early 1770s. Overall there is a progression from a four movement structure to three: The Solos from the first decades generally tended to follow a Slow – Fast – Slow – Fast movement pattern (Carbonelli, Geminiani, Castrucci (all published before 1721)[22], Pasquali (1744) and Agus (1751)). By the 1770s all Solos published (such as the sets by Pugnani, Borghi and Noferi) followed the Fast/Moderate – Slow – Fast pattern. Three-movement Solos of the Fast – Slow – Fast type had been the norm for Giovanni Battista Somis and other Italian composers on the continent since the 1730s.[23] However, for some reason this trend did not become the norm for the Italians in England for quite some time. Giardini was the first to bring out a set of Solos in London where the whole set adhered to this model (Opus 1 Solos published in 1751), but it took another 10–15 years for this structure to become the norm within the Solo genre among the Italian violinists active in London.[24] It is also striking that while Corelli's Opus 5 was held as 'a golden standard' for music and the Solo in particular, the 5-movement pattern found in that set was only occasionally replicated by the Italians in London.[25]

Within the general move from four- to three-movement structure, there is great variability. Although the Fast – Slow – Fast movement structure only appears in Giardini's Opus 1 in the 1750s, other variants of three-movement structure (Slow – Fast – Slow and Slow – Fast – Fast) and even two-movement structure (Slow – Fast) are found in the sets published in the 1720s. Table 2 also illustrates the individualism of, in particular, Castrucci: Only four of the twelve Solos in his Opus 2 conform to a standard sequence. A good example is Solo Opus 2 no 2 which features the movement pattern Slow – Moderate – Slow

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[22] The British Library catalogue provides 1729 as the publishing date for Carbonelli's Solos. However, since Carbonelli performed Solos of his own composition at his very first appearance in London in 1719 we can assume that these works were at least conceived up to a decade prior to the publishing date.

[23] Giovanni Battista Somis, *Sonate da Camera a Violino solo e Violoncello o Cembalo Opus II* [c. 1723] (Torino: All Autore, 1723), facsimile (Bressuire: Fuzeau, 1994). See also Newman, *The Sonata in the Baroque Era*, 72.

[24] Felice Giardini, *Sei Sonate a Violino solo e Basso Opera Prima* [1751] (London: Bremner, 1751), facsimile (Huntingdon: Kings Music n.d.).

[25] Roger North, *The Musicall Grammarian 1728*, ed. Mary Chan and Jamie C. Kassler (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 272.

– Fast – Slow. Furthermore, all sets published before 1750 featured at least one Solo with either five movements or an extremely unusual movement order. Compared with this variety, the predictability of the Solos of the last decade stands in marked contrast. It has to be noted that the differentiation between fast and moderate movements, particularly opening movements, is to some degree a judgement call. As a general rule movements with an indication such as 'ma non troppo' or 'assai' have been categorised as moderate rather than fast, along with movements labelled Andantino. An opening movement in a moderately fast *affect* is one of the ways in which authors would ensure that an overall balance of '*allegro'* and '*cantabile'* effects was achieved within the works. This balance makes the overall structure fit in with the ideal of 'aesthetic of moderation', as the virtuosic is always complemented by the 'beautiful' at some level.

	Geminiani Opus 1	Geminiani Opus 4	Castrucci Opus 1	Castrucci Opus 2	Carbonelli Opus 1	Pasquali Opus 1	Giardini Opus 1	Giardini Opus 16	Agus Opus 1	Agus Opus 2	Cattanei Opus 1	Noferi Opus 2	Pugnani Opus 7	Borghi Opus 1
SFSF	7	6	7	4	8	3			2	1	4			
FSF							6	2		5		4	4	4
MSF								3				2	2	2
SFS	2	2	1		1				3					
SFF	1	3	2			2			1					
5 mov				2	1						1			
other	2	1	2	6	2	1		1			1			

Table 2: A survey of movement ordering patterns in the Solo genre. The numbers refer to occurrence per set.

Exploring the movement styles found in the Solo genre

Whereas the ordering of movements presents only a handful of variations, the forms of these movements comprise a range of slow and fast movement types, each with their individual characteristics and artistic possibilities. Each movement type provided the performer with a distinct chance to demonstrate various aspects of 'beauty of sound' and 'good taste' as well as virtuosity, either together or in turn. Table 3 divides the movements into 3 overall categories: slow, fast, and dance/final movements.[26] Both slow and fast movement sections contain a 'free form' category. This category denotes movements which generally start out with a tuneful idea which is then developed in an almost extemporised way. Magdalena Kostka's description of these movements is worth quoting here. She describes these non-standard movements as: "movements which are 'freely invented', i.e. they do not follow any standard compositional form [...] They are written in one continuous

[26] The inspiration for categorizing the movement has been taken from Magdalena Kostka's dissertation: Magdalena Kostka, "Sonatas for violin and basso continuo written by British composers in the first half of the eighteenth century" Ph.D. Thesis, Cardiff University, 2014.

section and are fundamentally homophonic, constructed as a continuous expansion of motifs, with an occasional hint of imitation, or as a mixture of motivic play and phrase grouping. Some of them open with well-defined phrases that encapsulate the mood and character of the movement; however, these phrases cannot be described as themes in the later sense".[27] In the Solo genre these movements very often open with well-defined phrases which are then used as the basis for the rest of the movement. However, in the Solo context it would not be helpful to call these movements 'fantasia-like' as Kostka does. While the slow movements of the 'free-form' type, at least of the slow movement variety, provide the greatest scope for judicious extemporised ornamentation of any types, they are also very precisely notated and structurally balanced – they just do not conform to a particular pattern.

	Geminiani Opus 1	Geminiani Opus 4	Castrucci Opus 1	Castrucci Opus 2	Carbonelli Opus 1	Pasquali Opus 1	Giardini Opus 1	Giardini Opus 16	Agus Opus 1	Agus Opus 2	Cattanei Opus 1	Noferi Opus 2	Pugnani Opus 7	Borghi Opus 1
Slow/Fast	2	1	1		*5*									
Free form (slow)	14	11	15	12	12	4		1	6	2	*5*			6
Binary (slow)	1	1		4	1	2	*5*	7	1	4	*5*	6	6	
Rondeau (slow)		1												
'Bridge'	3	1	6	4	1									
ABA (slow)				2										
Fugato double	6			(1)	6	1								
Fugato triple	3													
Binary (fast/moderate)	6	11	14	4	6	4	8	7	7	11	7	10	7	7
Rondeau (fast/moderate)		4		1				3		1				4
Free forms (fast/mod.)		3	1	*5*			1		1		2			
ABA (fast/moderate)						3	11				1		1	
Minuet			1	2		3	1		3				(2 var)	1
Giga type	3	2	1	2	4	3	1					2		
Other dance types			2	7	1		1			1		2		
Theme and variations					1				1			2	4	

Table 3: Survey of the occurrences of the various types of movement within sets of Solos. The numbers refer to occurrence per set.

The slow movements in the Solos surveyed generally fall into one of the following categories: 'free form' (as discussed above), binary or 'bridge'. The most common movement types are 'free form' and binary (in the broadest sense of the term), and this remains the case

[27] Kostka, "Sonatas for violin and basso continuo written by British composers in the first half of the Eighteenth Century", 163.

throughout the period. These movement types feature as both opening and middle slow movements in the Solos of the Slow – Fast – Slow – Fast structure. Overall there is a slight move over the decades from domination of free-form to more or less equal weighting of the two types with some interesting personal preferences such as Borghi preferring the free-form in all his Solos. The preference for binary slow movements coincides with the Solos only featuring one slow movement. Where binary slow movements occur in earlier Solos they are often the middle slow movement (Carbonelli). 'Bridge' designates very short movements (sometimes as short as 3–4 bars) which provide a musical bridge between two faster movements (in many cases between a fugal second movement and a dance-inspired third movement). Kostka discusses 'bridge' movements under the 'free form' category. However, I feel that in this repertoire this movement type deserves to be defined as a separate one since, at least with the Solo genre, these movements seem to have a very specific and definable function. This particular movement type is a feature of the Solo genre in the 1720s and 1730s, and seems to have then have vanished completely from use in the genre. 'Bridge-movements' are often cast in a contrasting minor key, though another important feature of the type is tonal ambiguity. In many cases the movements literally create a harmonic bridge between the preceeding and following faster movements (see figure 5). Their final cadence often acts as a pivot into the first chord of the subsequent finale movement.

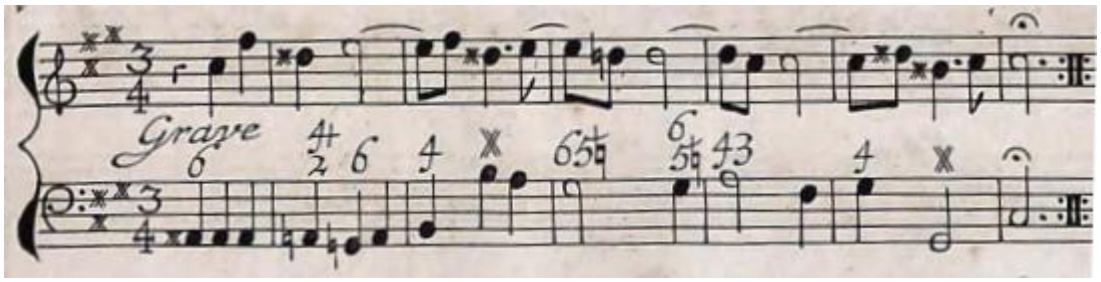

Figure 5: Geminiani Op. 1 No. 1, 3rd movement. Roger edition (n.d.), bars 1–7.

The *Rondeau* and ABA pattern only rarely occurs in slow movements, indeed they are particular features of Geminiani's Opus 4 and Castrucci's Opus 2 respectively. When they occur they always feature as the middle slow movement. Castrucci Opus 2 again stands out with its unusual preference for slow and moderate movement types. This provides scope for a wider variety of slow movements as we shall see later in the discussion.

An interesting movement type which sits in between slow and fast is the opening movement in Slow – Fast – Slow pattern. This movement type so well-known from Corelli's Opus 5, was particularly favoured by Carbonelli and will be explored further in the case study. In Carbonelli's case this movement type is always followed by a fugato movement. Geminiani also employed this movement type in his Opus 1 where the tempo changes are

often elaborate featuring as many as seven changes (Opus 1 no. 3, 1st movement). However, by Opus 4 Geminiani only employs this movement type in one Solo as does Veracini in his *Sonate Accademiche*.[28] Indeed, by the 1740s this movement-type seems to have disappeared from the Solo genre altogether. This coincides with the emergence of the six Solo set and the move towards Fast – Slow – Fast structures within Solos as authors experimented with new ways to create balance within their works.

When it comes to the fast movements the most common pattern by far throughout the era studied is the binary form. 'Free-from' movements do also occur though more rarely as do ABA and *Rondeau* forms. A particular fast-movement form derived from Corelli's Opus 5 is of course the *fugato* style movement. This movement type primarily features as a second movement, though Geminiani in particular experiments with fugato in finale movements in triple time. The *fugato* movements vary greatly in the degree of rigorousness of counterpoint, but they never constitute fully fledged fugues. Instead, the fugal double stopping serves as a vehicle to demonstrate the learnedness of the author and the skill with which the performer executes the voice leading and shifting required, before the movement transitions into connecting passages of quaver or semiquaver figurations and sequences which lead back into further fugato episodes (see figure 6).

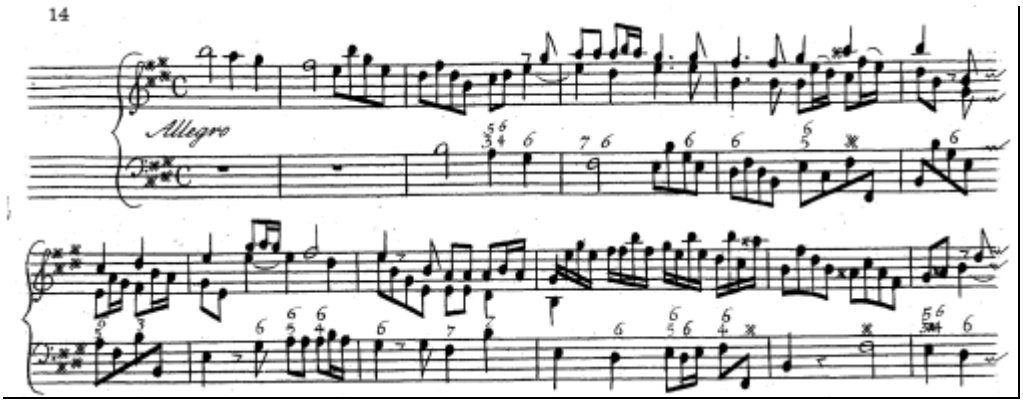

Figure 6: Carbonelli Op. 1 No. 3, 2nd movement, bars 1–11.

Interestingly, whereas sets of Solos from the first decades of the eighteenth century generally contain at least a few examples of learned style, later sets focus on types of fast movements of either *ma non troppo* or more brilliant nature.[29]

Towards the end of the period 'new' movement types such as *Rondo* and *Theme and Variations* became more common, heralding at some level the move towards the virtuosic showpiece. However, in the Solo genre during the 1760s and early 70s these types of movements would often include a '*pathetic*' or '*cantabile'* episode or variation ensuring

[28] Francesco Veracini, *Sonate Accademiche opera seconda* [1745] (Huntingdon: Kings Music, n.d.).
[29] For a discussion of Learned versus Galant style see Leonard G. Ratner, *Classic Music: Expression, Form, and Style* (New York: Schirmer, 1980), 23.

that the performer showed off expressive as well as technical feats, and the theme itself is often written in a graceful *affect*. While the *Rondo* pattern features in both opening and finale fast movements, Variation movements occur solely as finale movements, providing the performer with an opportunity primarily to show off specific technical skills in turn. A somewhat unique example of the *Theme and Variations* genre is found in Veracini's Opus 2 no 9. Taking the tune known as *Tweedside* as the theme, the 4th movement of this Solo explores styles of variations and includes some detailed performance instructions including dynamics and 'daggers' (CD 2 track 3). The genre of *Theme and Variations* would become increasingly popular in the Solos from the 1750s onwards as it provided an ideal vehicle for increasing feats of flourish, as is certainly the case with this particular movement. Towards the end of the century, beyond the period under investigation, this movement type would become so dominant that it at times turns the late-century Solo into a work of primarily virtuosic display. (For an example of what Burney deemed: "excentric oddity, trick, and voluble execution" listen to Antonio Lolli's Solo Opus 1 no 4 3rd movement on CD 2 track 4.)[30]

Throughout the era a good number of final movements took the form of dances, though not always so titled. Within the Solo genre the *Giga* turns out to be the most frequently occurring with the menuet or 'minue' coming second and other types of dance such as gavotte occurring occasionally. Again, Castrucci's Opus 2 features the widest variety of dance types, including a final *Chiaconna*, though interestingly this feature is found in Corelli's Opus 5. In both instances this movement provides the violinists with a chance to show off a variety of musical and virtuosic skills in turn. The convention of ending a set of instrumental pieces with a *Chiaconna* was of course not unique to the Solo genre, but within the Solo genre the *Chiaconna* served as a chance to show off feats of virtuosity as well as command of affects in quick succession, a role that was later taken over by the *Theme and Variations* and *Rondo* movements.

So far we have looked at movement types within the Solo. However, the actual movement titles provide another insight into the dynamic of the Solo genre. Table 3 in Appendix 4 provides an overview of names which have more than one occurrence. While at first glance most of these titles are generic, the variety of definitions is significant. In the fast movement category it seems that the variety of terms increases over the century with *Allegretto* and *Allegro Assai* being introduced at the middle of the century, suggesting ever-growing diversity of degrees of liveliness. In the slow-movement category the variety of titles is even greater, encompassing both graded pulse indications such as *Adagio* and *Andante* as

[30] Charles Burney, *A General History of Music* [1789], vol. 2, ed. Frank Mercer (New York: Dover Publications, 1957), 1020–21.

well as indications of *affect* such as *Affettuoso*. However, to give justice to the inventiveness of these authors here follows a list of the more unusual/complex titles in chronological order.

- Castrucci Opus 1: Allemanda – Adagio ma non tanto, Tempo giusto, Allegro giusto, Allegro e battuto, Venetiana, Aria Francese, Adagio Andante
- Castrucci Opus 2: Allemande Gratioso, Andante Staccato, Siciliana Larghetto Andantino, Corni da Caccia – Andante, Allemanda Andante Commodo alla Francese
- Geminiani: Allegro Affettuoso
- Pasquali: Ardito, Largo Andante, Allegro Moderato, Spiritoso
- Giardini: Allegro staccato, Gratioso - Opus 16: Grazioso Andante, Andante Grazioso
- Agus: Allegro maestoso (occurs 4 times), Andante Grazziso, Andante Siciliana, Presto con Spirito
- Cattanei: Con Spirito ma non Presto, Allegro ma non Presto, Largo e Grazioso, Allegro Moderato
- Pugnani: Allegretto con molta exprezione, Allegretto tempo giusto
- Noferi: Andante Allegro (two occurrences), Grazioso

While the exploration of the movement types of the Solo gave us a picture of continuity of tradition, the naming of the movements brings out the individuality and inventiveness of the authors. Although some movement titles might seem generic at first, the distinctions between *Allegro* and *Allegro assai*, *Adagio* and *Andante* are important because they ensure variety of expression, even at the level of setting the pulse. The descriptive movement titles furnish a further layer of instruction with their indication of a distinct *affect* (*amoroso*, *ardito*, *grazioso*) or a particular technique (*staccato*, *battuto*) which create a specific musical effect. Therefore while the movement type is all about the structuring of the musical elements, the titles provide the *affect* and impetus for expressing the score in performance. As such they are there to inspire performers and encourage them to portray a particular emotion. It is also interesting to note that the most varied movement names apply to slow or moderate fast movements where the slower pulse provides the space needed for expression. One could argue that many of these titles strive to direct the performer to focus on 'beauty of tone', and overt virtuosic effects are only called for on very specific occasions, ensuring 'good taste' overall.

Structure within movements: some general observations

Whereas the overall structure of movement order and movement types can be relatively easily presented in tables, the internal structures of movements themselves are more elusive and better explained with specific musical examples. However, there are some interesting overall trends that can be broached at this stage of the discussion.

Over the course of the period in question two general shifts in compositional technique occurred within the Solo genre. At the beginning of the period the primary methods of structuring musical ideas was 'motivic play' and the related technique of 'sequence'. According to Newman 'motivic play' is: "the process of reiterating a motive [...] by sequence or imitation" which creates a generally polyphonic texture with an interactive bass.[31] Sequences were particularly commonly used in fast movements with short musical ideas being presented, and then taken through various key areas. This compositional technique creates excitement and often a chance for reaching higher registers, showing off technical prowess as illustrated particularly well in figure 7 bar 22 and following. The whole movement which includes several passages featuring sequences can be found on CD 2 track 5 – listen particularly at 1:36 where the below example starts.

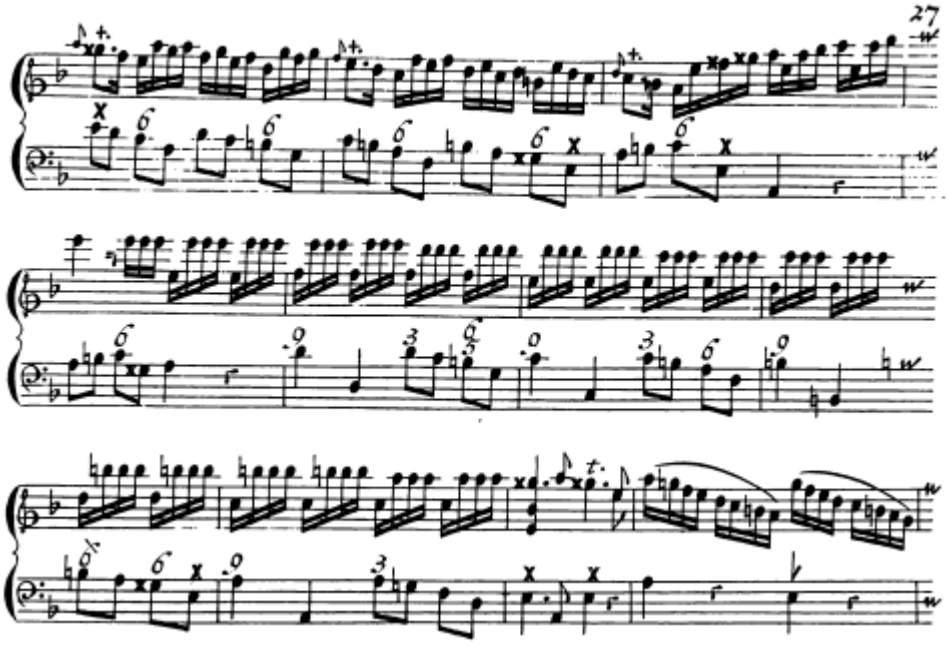

Figure 7: Castrucci Op. 1 No. 7, 2nd movement. Walsh edition (n.d.), bars 20–29.

In slow movements the 'motivic play' was an intrinsic part of the free-form movement, which was studied in the above. However, as the century progressed there was a shift towards 'phrase grouping' and repetition of musical ideas rather than sequence and 'motivic play'.

[31] The terms 'motivic play' and 'phrase groupings' are derived from William S. Newman, *The Sonata in the Baroque Era*, 68.

According to Newman, 'phrase grouping' creates, among other things, a homophonic texture, and metric regularity with great harmonic stability.[32] Thematic material was made up of distinct 'phrase groupings' where distinctly contrasting musical ideas are presented in turn, foreshadowing the formalised division of the rounded binary which had the seeds of what we today identify as classical sonata form (primary and secondary theme). Instead of sequence, thematic ideas would be restated straight (often three times – see figure 8 bars 26–28) or slightly more varied as either ascending or descending repetition, or straight repetition but with a subtle harmonic change in each repeat (see figure 9 bars 22–25, 26–31).

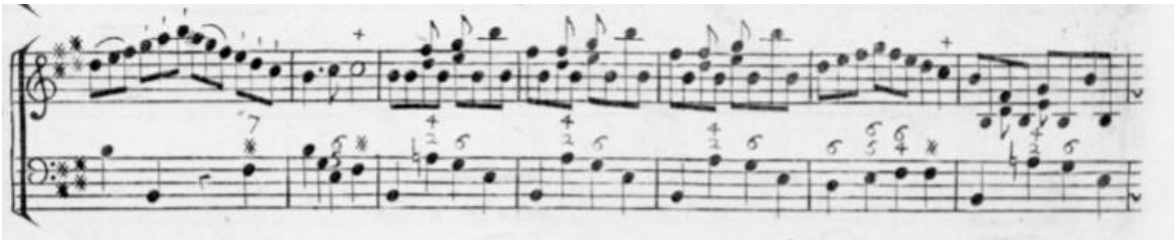

Figure 8: Giardini Op. 1 No. 5, 1st movement. (Bremner, 1751) bars 24–30.

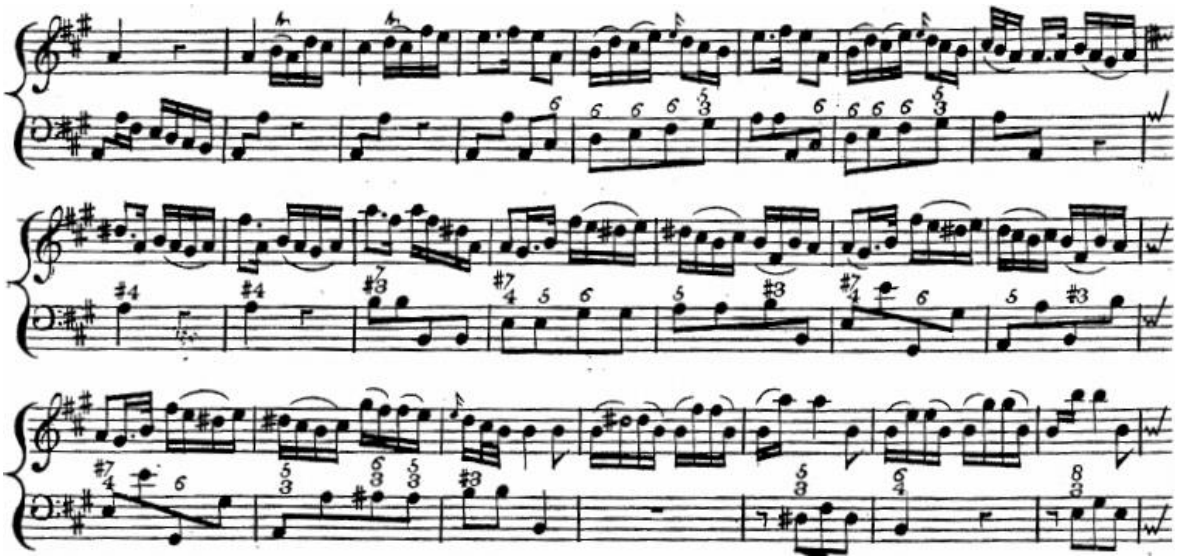

Figure 9: Pugnani Op. 7 No. 2, 3rd movement (Welcker. 1770), bars 15–36.

At the same time there was a general shift in the role of the bass-line within the Solo genre. At the beginning of the period Solos had very active bass-lines which, thought rarely melodic, express the harmony through tuneful shapes in stepwise motion (also known as a walking bass – see figure 10) rather than basic harmonic reiteration.

[32] William S. Newman, *The Sonata in the Baroque Era* , 68.

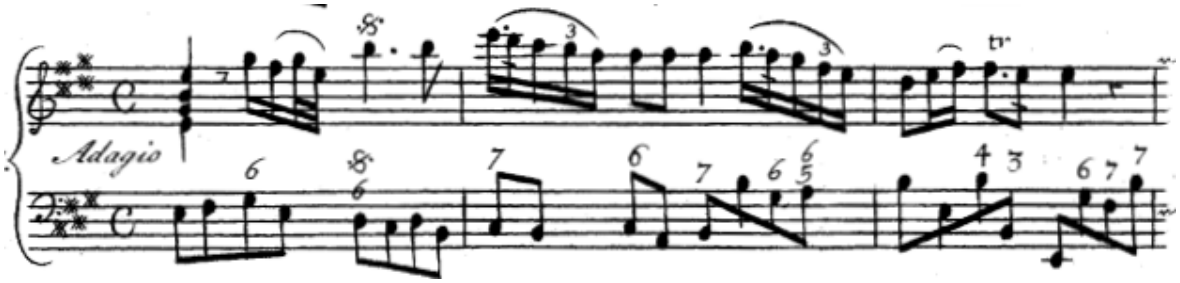

Figure 10: Carbonelli Op. 1 No. 3, 1st movement (self-published n.d. [1729]), bars 1–3.

However, particularly after the middle of the century there was a move towards a sparse and purely harmonic accompaniment, and by the 1770s (the time of Pugnani and his student Borghi) the bass-line is fully subservient and rarely serves as more than a purely harmonic underpinning (see figure 11, in particular bars 9–11).

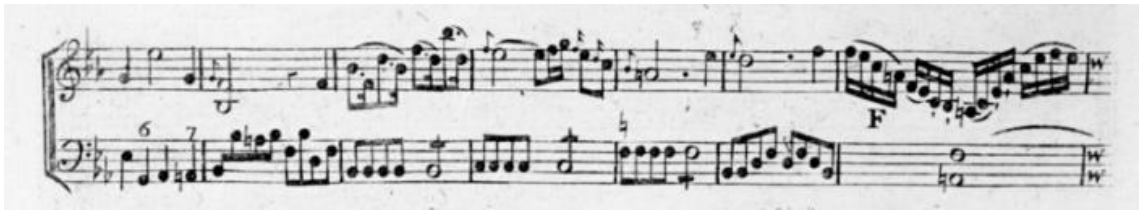

Figure 11: Borghi Op. 1 No. 5, 1st movement (A Paris: 1772), bars 7–13.

While the almost equal-partnered bass-line at the beginning of the period renders the Solo as a piece of 'chamber-musical' interaction, the simpler bass-lines of the last decades of the period in many ways provide the violinists with greater freedoms heralding the Solo as more of a virtuosic showpiece, while still keeping the virtuosity within the bounds of moderation.

Issues of key relations in the Solo

When surveying the key areas found in sets of Solos over the period 1720–70 the most striking feature is the distribution of Solos in major and minor keys within individual sets (see Appendix 4, table 1). Whereas early sets present a balance of major and minor with a slight tendency to favour Solos in minor mode, by the middle of the century the minor has virtually vanished as an overall key for Solos. This trend away from works in minor keys could be seen as a further move towards the ideals of the 'aesthetic of moderation' and 'beauty of tone', since the minor mode was often associated with wild passions. At the same time the trend of having the middle slow movement in a different key and/or sections of most often the final movements (for instance the middle section of a menuet or an episode of a rondo) cast in contrasting keys begins to becomes more common, though interestingly Corelli's Opus 5 sets a precedent in this regard. This convention ensures subtle variety even on the tonal level. In this context Geminiani's Opus 4 Solos stand out as unusual, featuring the largest number of Solos with movements and/or sections of movements in contrasting

keys. Third movements in contrasting minor keys (generally the relative or tonic minor) are often highly dramatic in their use of harmony. The middle slow movement in a minor key (whether a fully-fledged movement or a 'bridge') is also the movement most likely to end on an imperfect (often a Phrygian) cadence, though in a few cases this feature occurs at the end of a slow opening movement (see figure 12 and CD 2 track 6 where the cadence occurs at 2:36).

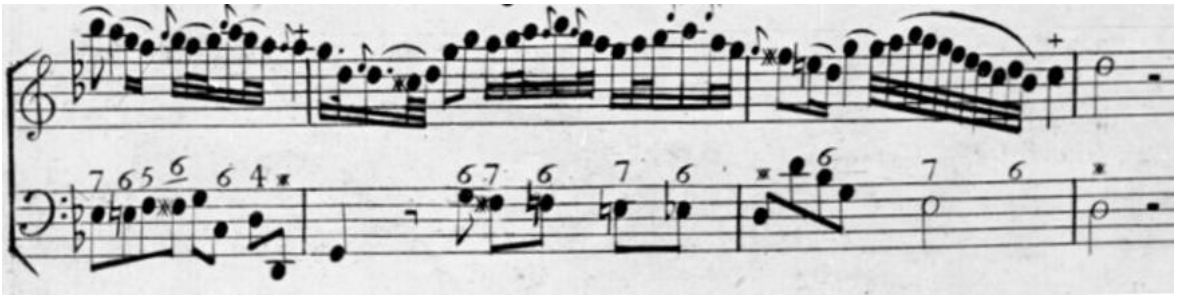

Figure 12: Pasquali Op. 1 No. 3 (Walsh, 1744), 1st Movement, bars 23–26.

From the 1750s onwards the pattern changes so that slow middle movements feature a related major key, with a minor key being presented in a section of the final movement. In all instances these changes of key create variety and harmonic interest.

In table 1 in Appendix 4 the overall key of a given Solo has been marked in bold font. Where no bold font is used there is an unusual equal distribution of keys within the piece. A separate table (Appendix 4 no 2) provides an overview of the total number of movements in contrasting minor and major respectively within sets. It also provides an insight into the frequency of the occurrences of imperfect cadences.

From cadence flourishes, 'bridges' and 'imperfect cadences' to the cadenza

Since at least the beginning of the eighteenth century the 'cadenza' had been a fixture of the concerto (Vivaldi and Locatelli among others) and the opera aria. According to Tosi, the elaborations of the solo singer in the da-capo aria were so profuse that they induced the orchestra to yawns.[33] However, it was only in the 1730s that this feature first appeared in the Solo genre, where it was marked by a fermata in the scores. Even at this point the cadenza was a rarity in the Solo genre, featuring only sporadically in the 1730s and 40s, as can be seen from Appendix 4, table 2.

Even though fully fledged 'cadenzas' were not part of the earlier Solos, the practice of a flourish over the penultimate chord was well established and can be seen as a forerunner for the cadenza proper. From the earliest part of the period under investigation the fermata on the final cadence of the opening movements of the Solo provided an opportunity for the

[33] Tosi, *Observations*, 55.

performer to extemporise an extra elaborate flourish. Though rare, the Solo repertoire does provide us with a few notated examples of this convention, particularly in the ornamented versions of Corelli's Opus 5 (see figure 13). This example also features an imperfect Phrygian cadence ending as was also featured in figure 12 above and featured on CD 2 track 6. While these flourishes can be seen as an expression of 'flights of fancy', they never bring the music to a complete stop (unlike the later cadenza). Instead they serve to connect the penultimate and final chords, bringing the movement to a close and are a chance to show off the performer's invention. CD 2 track 7 features three variations on a cadence flourish which are informed by the surviving examples. While figure 12 and 13 feature a flourish on a Phrygian cadence, this example from Geminiani's Op 1 no 4 1st movement features a conventional V–I cadence. However, these experiments represent only one of many ways of improvising a flourish, which are informed by surviving models.

Figure 13: Corelli Op. 5 No. 2, 4th movement (Roger: 1710 with ornaments), bars 19–22.

The demise of the imperfect cadence endings (and interestingly also the 'bridge' movement type) intriguingly seems to coincide with the earliest instances of the 'cadenza' in the Solo repertoire (see table 2 in Appendix 4). In this discussion the term cadenza refers to a longer flourish (during which the accompaniment waits), most often containing a harmonic progression resolving in the final cadence of the movement. By the 1750s practically all slow movements and even some fast movements in the Solos had indications for fermata elaborations in the form of cadenzas. One of the earliest instances of a clear indication of this feature within the Solo genre is found in Castrucci's Opus 2 Solo (1734), where the final cadence was marked 'Acc. za', accompanied by a fermata over the penultimate and final notes, indicating that something more than just a small turn should be inserted (figure 14 and CD 2 track 8).[34]

[34] The precise meaning of Acc. za has so far eluded this author as neither Italian dictionaries nor music dictionaries provide any clues. Indeed, this is the only time this author has ever come across this term.

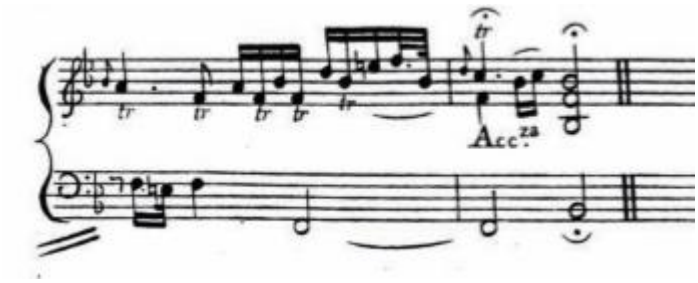

Figure 14: Castrucci Op. 2 No. 2 (Walsh. c. 1734), 1st Movement, bars 15–16.

As in the concerto, the cadenza generally occurred on the final V-I cadence of a movement. However, by the 1770s many Solos featured cadenzas at the end of both the A and B sections of the slow middle movement. This is particularly the case in the Solos of Pugnani who also specifically indicated these in the score with 'Cad' as well as a fermata. Though only some authors marked the cadenza clearly (Cad), the harmonic and melodic formula used to announce the cadenza is very consistent, and also consistent with the usage in the concerto repertoire (see figure 15, end of bar 18 going into bar 19 and CD 2 track 9).

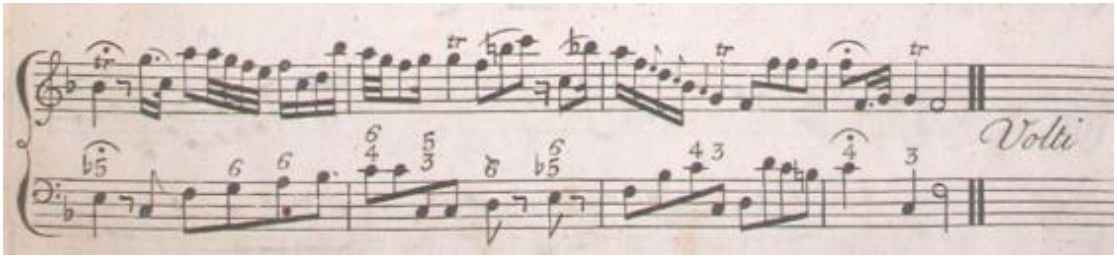

Figure 15: Agus Op. 1 No.1, 1st movement, bars 16–19.

It is intriguing to note that the point for an extended solo elaboration for the violinist virtually always occurs in the slow movement, whereas in the concerto the cadenza is generally integral to fast opening movements. Though still a place for virtuosic display, a cadenza in a slow movement will naturally be more lyrical and less overtly virtuosic. This feature ensures that the focus is on 'beauty of sound', and that any virtuosity will be within the bounds of the aesthetic of the beautiful, and virtuosity will be within the 'aesthetics of moderation', while also providing a chance for the artist to show off their own invention and technical skill.

Although many if not all of the structural elements discussed in the above echo the general development in other musical genres of the period (particularly when it comes to the rise of the binary form), there is still a uniformity of ideal within the Solo with new conventions emerging out of old practices.[35] Furthermore, the way in which each author responded to and applied these changes is unique, and even with these changes the genre

[35] *The Cambridge History of Eighteenth-Century Music*, ed. Simon P. Keefe (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), part 3; William S. Newman, *The Sonata in the Classic Era* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1963).

retained a uniform purpose throughout the period studied, carrying on the tradition laid down by Corelli at the beginning of the century. In each case seemingly new elements such as the cadenza grew out of the already existing practices, and so the developments in the genre happened through shifts of emphasis on certain stylistic and structural elements, with individual composers embracing different elements to suit their personal styles. As a commodity these works, then, provided the intended audience (whether concert audiences or buyers of the printed works) with an equal measure of the new and interesting and the familiar, as well as an overall adherence to the 'aesthetic of moderation' containing both elements of flight of fancy and beauty of tone and expression.

Performance issues/technique in the Solo

So far we have explored the various layers of structure within the Solo repertoire. However, to understand the Solo not just as text but also as performance repertoire, we need to investigate the actual performance elements that this repertoire represents, both in terms of technical feats and expressive devices. The understanding of these is enlightened by our understanding of the general aesthetic ideal of the time: the aesthetics of moderation. This discourse is also particularly interesting in the context of the intended audience for purchasing these works. How good a player did one need to be to be able to perform these works? This section will also further explore the idea of overt and hidden or 'easy-sounding' virtuosity: some technical feats are only obvious to the connoisseur while others are obvious and amazing to the general audience.

Technique and virtuosity

There is no denying that one feature which appealed about the Italian violinists was their technical prowess. While technical or 'mechanical' feats such as the ambitus/use of higher registers, up-bow staccato, double stopping and other feats of virtuosity are an important part of the Solo genre, they can be challenging to quantify in tables. Most of these feats will therefore be discussed using examples from the repertoire. Use of high registers – reaching the end of the fingerboard – was one of the feats for which Italian violinists were famed. It is also the easiest feat of virtuosity to trace quantifiably throughout the Solo repertoire and has therefore been selected for summing up in table 4 below.

	Geminiani Opus 1	Geminiani Opus 4	Castrucci Opus 1	Castrucci Opus 2	Carbonelli Opus 1	Pasquali Opus 1	Giardini Opus 1	Giardini Opus 16	Agus Opus 1	Agus Opus 2	Cattanei Opus 1	Noferi Opus 2	Pugnani Opus 7	Borghi Opus 1
First position														
Extend to C		1	1		2									
3rd position	10	5	2	5	6	3	1		5	3	3		1	1
4th position	1	2	4	6	3	3	2		1	2	2	1	2	3
5th position		2	1				1				1	2		
Higher registers	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	6		1		3	3	2
Octava sign							yes	no					yes	

Table 4: Survey of the ambitus as found across the Solo repertoire. The numbers indicate occurrences per Solo within the listed sets.

The inserted table illustrates the use of higher registers found within the Solo repertoire (counted per Solo rather than per individual movement). A quick glance provides a couple of interesting facts: with the exception of Agus Opus 1, all sets of Solos contain at least one instance of the use of fifth position or above (that is reaching f''' or higher in Helmholtz pitch notation), all Solos surveyed for this study move out of first position, and within sets a majority of Solos sit within the third to fourth position range. However, over the decades in question, and even within individual sets of Solos, there is great variety in the use of higher registers, from the moderate extension to second position (which is interestingly rare) to flights to the end of the fingerboard. What the table cannot easily illustrate is the extent of these high registers, but it is interesting to observe that the high registers feature throughout the period. From Giardini onwards extended passages in high registers become a feature of the Solo including the use of the octava sign (see figure 16), whereas earlier Solos would only reach such heights as part of an ascending or descending sequence (see figure 17). It could be argued that both of these examples have an impressive effect, though they still serve a dramatic purpose within the movement in which they are found.

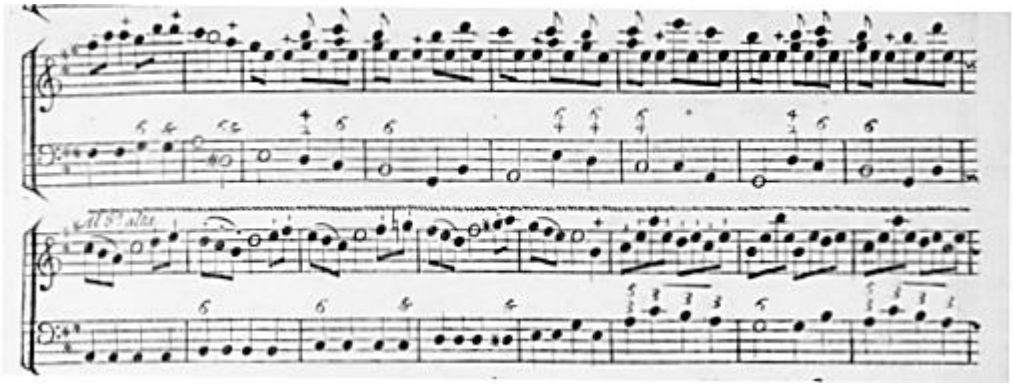

Figure 16: Giardini Op. 1 No. 4, 1st movement (Bremner, 1751), bars 74–89.

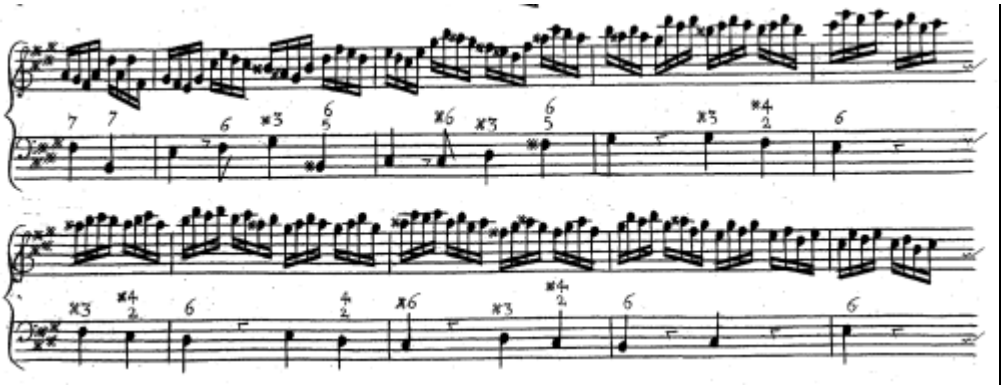

Figure 17: Carbonelli Op. 1 No. 3, 2nd movement, bars 22–31.

The other significant left-hand feature of technical prowess in the repertoire – double stopping – features in a variety of forms throughout the repertoire. Within the general move from fugato double stopping to consecutive thirds and sixths there is a wide variety of double stopping, including thirds and suspensions, drones, harmonics, polyphonic suspensions, and counterpoint. The fugal double stopping is employed by Geminiani (CD 2 track 10, excerpt), Carbonelli (CD 1 track 2) and Pasquali (CD 2 track 11, excerpt). Geminiani employs the most advanced fugal double stopping of all the authors, requiring complex shifts, but all authors use fugato to demonstrate technical prowess in composition and performance. In the revised version of his Opus 1 published in 1739 Geminiani interestingly provided fingerings for these types of passages as part of this author's general wish to instruct and teach.[36] Figure 18 illustrates how the smooth execution of the opening of this particular fugue requires two shifts per bar, requiring great agility of the left hand, though not obvious to the listener.

Figure 18: Geminiani Op. 1 No. 4. Revised edition, London (1739). 2nd movement, bars 1–8.

However, the technical demands of the fugato (shifting and voicing of the parts) are not obvious in performance except to the connoisseur. As such, they are good examples of virtuosity which is not overt but adheres to the aesthetics of moderation. Something similar is the case with suspension and even consecutive thirds; both techniques require great skill, but done well they come across as texture rather than overt virtuosity. Harmonics, on the other

[36] Peter Walls, "Ill Compliments and Arbitrary Taste? Geminiani's Directions for Performers", *Early Music* 14, no. 2 (1986): 221–235.

hand, are overtly virtuosic. Introduced in Giardini's Opus 1 no 6, where they feature even in double stopping, they were never included as standard practice within the Solo genre; interestingly, Giardini never used harmonics again in his subsequent sets of Solos. (Regarding bowing technique, both up-bow staccato and daggers occur from the earliest Solos until the end of the period. These features will be further explored in the section on articulation).

Even though all sets of Solos feature movements with very technically demanding elements, most sets also include Solos in which the demands are more moderate. One can speculate that this is partly done for the sake of the buying audience: all sets should include something which the able amateur could play, and something to which he could aspire to perform after having studied with a well-known Italian violinist. Studying the page would also remind the owner of the thrill of past performances of those very pieces, thus feeding the cultural imagination and conjuring up images of virtuosic possibility. However, the inclusion of movements of a less virtuosic nature also fits in with the ideal of moderation. In the hands of the Italian violinist an 'easier' Solo would provide an opportunity to display another set of artistic skills: those of expression.

The trill and the appoggiatura in the Solo – execution and notation

Whereas the technical feats discussed above mainly served to demonstrate the performer's technical prowess, the trill and the appoggiatura serve a dual purpose depending on their musical context: as expressive devices and on occasion feats of virtuosity, or indeed both simultaneously or in quick succession. Throughout the Solos studied for this dissertation one encounters, in both slow and fast movements, appoggiaturas and trills (the latter in a variety of shapes and forms including with and without appoggiaturas and terminations). When surveying the repertoire, it seems that as the century progressed notated trills became more and more numerous and more varied in their application within the Solo repertoire as a means of both expression and virtuosity. At the beginning of the period trills were primarily applied at the ends of phrases (that is cadence points), but over the decades their application became much broader, being applied within phrases to emphasise certain beats, or to introduce light dissonance, or simply as a means of embellishing the melodic line. The trill along with the appoggiatura is also the feature for which we have the greatest range of detailed instruction in the treatises. Geminiani, Tartini and Tosi all discussed how and where trills ought to be added as extra ornaments and they all devoted considerable space to discussions of the right and proper placement and execution of the trill.[37]

[37] Tartini, *Rules for Playing the Violin*, 74; Francesco Geminiani, *The Art of Playing on The Violin* [1751], ed. David D. Boyden (London: Oxford University Press, 1952), 6; Tosi, *Observations*, chapter 3.

Throughout the Solo repertoire trills in all their various forms were quite carefully notated at cadence points and, increasingly, also within the melodic line. This, however, does not necessarily mean that the judicious addition of further trills or appoggiaturas is not an option, particularly in the earlier repertoires. When considering the aesthetics of the time, it becomes clear that any grace or passage, whether added or already indicated, should be "produced by a singular and beautiful Invention, remote from all that is vulgar and common", which again indicates an adherence to the overall ideal of the 'aesthetics of moderation'.[38] However, there are no hard and fast rules for how this "singular and beautiful Invention" was to be achieved, but it is important to keep in mind that this principle of invention applied as much to the actual execution of notated (and indeed improvised) ornaments as to the invention of further flourishes. While there is certainly a pattern of trills becoming more numerous as the decades went on (see Castrucci Opus 2, figure 25 below, for example), the exact application of trills also reflected the individual styles of the authors, particularly Pugnani.

Of all the treatise authors covered in this study Tartini discussed the trill in the greatest detail, providing among others things a variety of suitable executions of the termination and speed of trills (slow, medium and fast – figure 19), as well as an explanation of where they ought to be applied to enhance the points of rest within the musical structure.[39] He also explained how each speed of trill would suit different styles of music: "The slow trill is suitable in serious, *pathetic* and sad pieces; the moderate trill in moderately gay ones; the fast, in which are gay, lively and swift", and he emphasized the need to practise the trill in all its forms.[40] However, Tartini did not discuss the length of appoggiaturas in connection with the trill in any great detail.

Figure 19: Tartini, *Rules for Playing the Violin* (1771), illustrating tardo/slow, mediocre/medium and veloce/fast trills.

Geminiani, on the other hand, focused on the execution of the appoggiatura as part of the expressive trill, exploring various lengths of the suspension for different emotional effects.[41] As to the actual length of the appoggiatura Geminiani implied that this should be dependent on the emotion, particularly so in *Adagio* movements where the appoggiatura "is supposed

[38] Tosi, *Observations*, 75.
[39] Tartini, *Rules for Playing the Violin*, 77.
[40] *Ibid.*, 76.
[41] Geminiani, *Art of Playing on The Violin*, examples XVIII and XIX.

to express Love, Affection, Pleasure etc." and should be pretty long and slightly inflected.[42] The shorter appoggiatura, though less effective, still has a pleasing effect according to Geminiani.[43] Consequently, in all the examples in figure 20 the appoggiatura is close to half the value of the main note and the effect is further enhanced by swelling the appoggiatura itself (no 1 and 3 in figure 20).

Figure 20: Geminiani, *The Art of Playing on the Violin* (1751), Example XIX.

In the chapter 'On the shake' Tosi argued that "to be beautiful, [the trill] requires to be prepared", meaning that even when not notated in full, the trill ought to have an appoggiatura.[44] Indeed, the trill and appoggiatura are good examples of instances where the three treatises complement each other, providing insights into different aspects of the execution of the trill and the appoggiatura. The variation lies rather in how the trill is begun and ended in terms of length of appoggiatura and, to a lesser degree, termination.

One movement where a variety of length of the appoggiatura and the character of the trill is particularly evident is the opening movement (Allegro ma non troppo) of Giovanni Battista Noferi's Solo Opus 2, no. 4 (c. 1760). This particular movement specifically notates the length of the appoggiatura (as either quaver or semi-quaver), providing the player with an opportunity to explore and contrast the slow long appoggiatura (figure 21, bars 20 and 22 in particular) which also create harmonic tension, with the fast type (figure 22, bars 27 and 29) which serve primarily as sprightly gestures (CD 2 track 12). In this particular instance the effect of the long and short appoggiaturas complement and enhance the contrasting characters of the *pathetic* or *cantabile* melodic idea in bars 21–22 in particular and the lively effect of the *allegro* idea from bar 26 onwards.

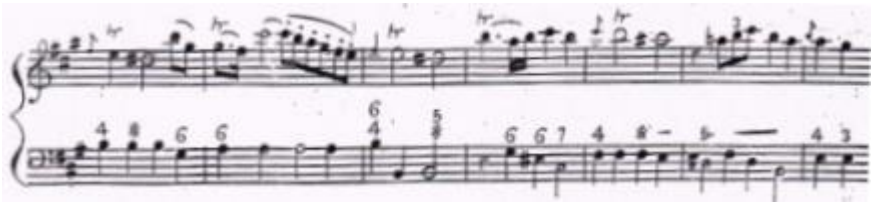

Figure 21: Noferi Op. 2 No. 4 (John Johnson. c. 1760), 1st Movement, bars 18–24.

[42] *Ibid.*, preface p. 7.
[43] *Ibid.*, preface p. 7.
[44] Tosi, *Observations*, 21–22.

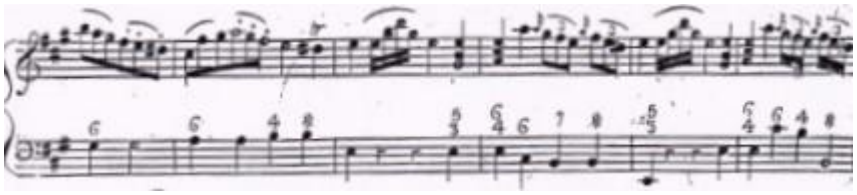

Figure 22: Noferi Op. 2 No. 4 (John Johnson. c. 1760), 1st Movement, bars 24–29.

Throughout the period trills were generally indicated by *tr* or *t*. In the treatises the shake (Tosi), plain shake (Geminiani) or trillo (Tartini) were indicated by *tr*.[45] However, in a number of cases the + sign was employed. In the case of Pasquali's Solos (1744), the Walsh edition used *tr* throughout, but a contemporary edition produced by LeClerc used + without any other obvious alteration to the articulation and appoggiaturas, as illustrated in figures 23 and 24. It would therefore seem that the two signs were interchangeable at least in these works, the difference in notation being derived from conventions of printing more than anything else. This movement is also a particularly good example of the use of appoggiaturas applied for *pathetic* expressive effect (CD 2 track 7 and figure 24 which appears at 01:30 on the track).

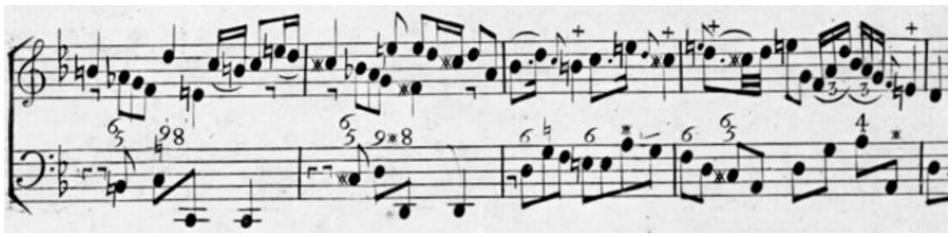

Figure 23: Pasquali Op. 1 No. 3 (1744), 1st Movement, Leclerc Edition, bars 13–17.

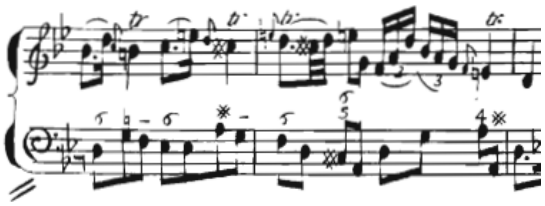

Figure 24: Pasquali Op. 1 No. 3 (1744), 1st Movement, Walsh Edition, bars 15–17.

However, this convention only applies in some instances. In Castrucci's Opus 1 (c. 1718) Solo both *tr* and + occurred within the same movement (and indeed the same bar – see figure 25), leading the performer to question perceived convention. Since Castrucci also used a unique, but specific, sign for mordent, namely *m*, his use of + must mean something other than trill or turn. This particular edition was brought out by J. Roger around the same time as the Geminiani Opus 1, featured in figures 2–4. However, in the Geminiani edition neither *m* nor + was used in the typesetting. Indeed, since the usage can be seen consistently

[45] Tosi, *Observations*, 19–20 and 90, 97; Geminiani *Art of Playing on the Violin*, 6; Tartini *Rules for Playing the Violin*, 74, and facsimile.

throughout Castrucci's Opus 1, which also contained other quite specific and unique performance instructions such as appoggiaturas and turns (figure 25 and CD 2 track 13 listen particularly at 0:24), bowing, and even fingering, one must infer that in this particular set of Solos the two signs have distinct and different meanings.[46] So what does + then imply in this context?

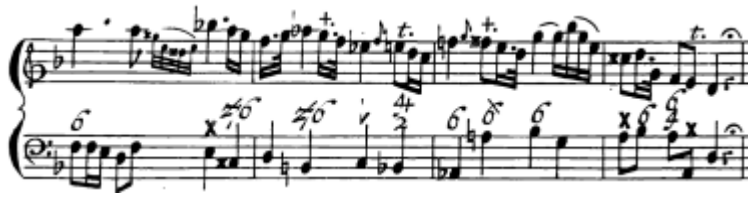

Figure 25: Castrucci Op. 1 No. 7 (Roger, c. 1718), 1st Movement, bars 4–7.

None of the contemporary treatises provides an answer: neither Tartini nor Geminiani uses the + sign in their works. The best way of interpreting + in this instance might be 'any other ornament' such as a lower note trill, or what in Geminiani's treatise was labelled as a 'beat'.[47] More importantly, however, this usage of varied and detailed annotation is just one aspect of Castrucci's unique style, which also encompasses a particular delight in chromaticism and dissonance that sets him apart from his contemporaries. Neither Carbonelli nor Geminiani insert trills beyond cadence points in their Opus 1 Solos.

Interestingly, when Castrucci published his Opus 2 the prescriptive terminations and turns which had been such a unique feature of the Opus 1 had vanished and *m* (the sign used for mordent in Opus 1) only appears a few times within the set. Instead, Castrucci employed the universal *tr*; as figure 26 illustrates. While still apparent, the delight in dissonance and chromaticism is also tempered in this set compared to Opus 1.

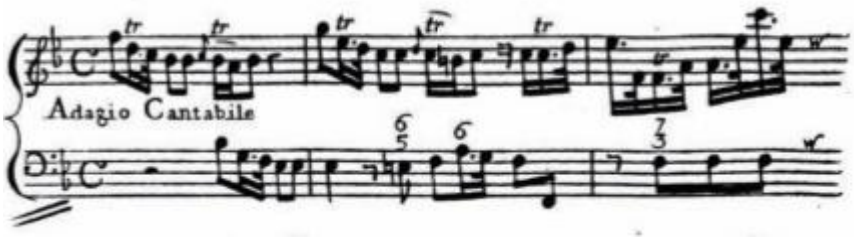

Figure 26: Castrucci Op. 2 No. 2 (Walsh, 1734), 1st Movement, bars 1–3.

Generally speaking, within slow movements the trill and its adjoining appoggiatura functions as an expressive or *pathetic* device, necessitating some informed decision-making in terms of length of appoggiatura, termination, and speed of trilling. Figure 26 provides a good example of this (CD 2 track 14). Here the trills enhance the effect of the dotted

[46] Pietro Castrucci, *Sonate a Violino e Violine o Cembalo, Opus 1* [Amsterdam: Jeanne Roger. c. 1718]. Facsimile. (Huntingdon: Kings Music, 2003).
[47] Geminiani, *The Art of Playing on the Violin*, 6; Wiebke Thormählen, "Georg Muffat: A Document for the French Manner?", review in *Early Music* 31, no. 1 (2003): 113–114.

rhythm, adding sprightliness and similarly enhancing the legato figures and adding a touch of dissonance through the appoggiaturas. The overall moderate tempo of this particular movement (*Andantino*) ensures that all these details can be executed with delicacy and grace and do not end up sounding like "whirlwinds".[48] Creating and enhancing light and shade (*chiaroscuro*), already inherent in the score through dynamics, articulation or ornamentation, is a virtue particularly extolled by Tosi and also mentioned by Avison.[49] In some instances this contrast is found within a melodic idea changing bar by bar, whereas in other instances the contrasts are between thematic ideas or even between different movements of a Solo.

In *allegro* movements trills present fewer issues of performance practice since they often function as a technical element whilst still enhancing the overall lively effect (figure 27). In some instances trills were to be executed with the appropriate panache, as is illustrated well in the Pugnani Solo Opus 7, no. 2 first movement (1770 – listen to the excerpt on CD 2 track 15). The placement of the trill on the non-emphasised beat in bars 88 and 90 (see figure 28) poses a particular technical challenge. In addition, the downbeat is emphasised with a dagger to ensure that it is still the weightiest. This particular technical feat can also be found in other of Pugnani's works and is a rather discreet way of expressing virtuosity, which would be recognised by connoisseurs and seen as another expression of an 'aesthetic of moderation'.[50]

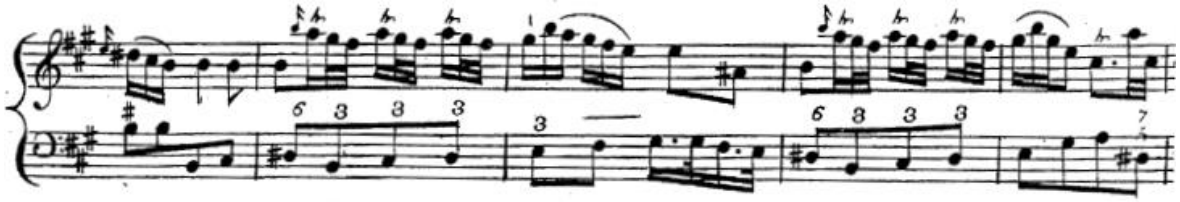

Figure 27: Pugnani Op. 7 No. 2 (Bremner, 1770), 1st Movement, bars 20–24.

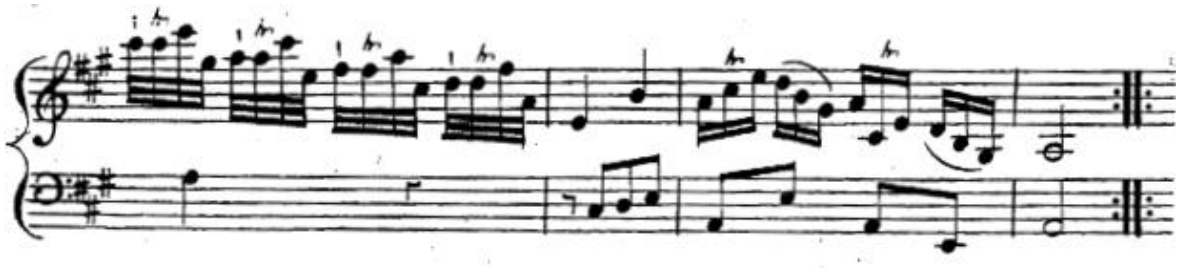

Figure 28: Pugnani Op. 7 No. 2 (Bremner, 1770), 1st Movement, bars 88–91.

[48] Tosi, *Observations*, 55.
[49] Tosi, *Observations*, 76; Charles Avison, *An Essay on Music Expression* [1752–3], 3rd ed. (London: Lockyer Davis, Printer to the Royal Society, 1775), 18–19.
[50] Gaetano Pugnani, *Six Trios for two Violins and a Violoncello Opera IX* (London: Welcker, c. 1771).

Within the general development of the trill's function in the Solo repertoire – from featuring purely at cadence points (in Geminiani) to it being a major feature through both slow and fast movements (in Pugnani) – there are as many approaches to the use of both trill and appoggiatura as there are authors. Throughout the period the trill and the appoggiatura functioned first as expressive devices and only secondly as a virtuosic element; inventiveness in performance lies in bringing out the variety of possible lengths of appoggiaturas and speeds of trill to convey the *affect* of the movement.

Extemporised ornamentation and the cadenza in the Solo

One of the most frequently discussed aspects of eighteenth-century performance practice is free extemporised ornamentation.[51] Ornamentation can be seen as encompassing a wide range of effects from the addition of an appoggiatura or passing note to extensive expressive passagework and ultimately the cadenza. Violinists would add graces, embellishments and extemporise cadenzas, as well as dynamics and variation in articulation (*chiaroscuro*), to alter and enhance the expression of a piece and to show off their own particular technical facility.[52] Indeed, the convention of free ornamentation is always heavily emphasised in the study of historical performance and the Italian style.[53] However, it is striking how little in the way of direct instruction Geminiani and Tartini provided on this subject.[54] Indeed, Tartini never uses the term ornamentation at all, and while Geminiani does use the term 'ornaments', he applies it exclusively to trills and turns, whilst referring to more elaborate ornaments as "passages".[55] Indeed, as we have seen, both authors drew great attention to the placement of the trill and its termination and the correct way of introducing and executing the appoggiatura. Neither offered more than the most general advice regarding "passages", though Geminiani did warn that playing in 'Good Taste' "doth not consist of frequent Passages".[56] Like Tartini, Tosi did not use the term ornamentation. Instead he refers to elaborate ornaments as "passages" (the term used by Geminiani). While Tosi did not provide detail on the topic in his treatise, his general comments are of great value. He particularly emphasised the importance of adhering to the harmony of the bass, adhering to time, making the graces seem "easy in appearance" rather than studied, and interesting so

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[51] Joan E. Smiles, "Directions for Improvising Ornaments in Italian Method Books of the Late Eighteenth Century", *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 31, no. 3 (1978): 495–509.
[52] Tosi, *Observations*, 76.
[53] See for instance: Judy Tarling, *Baroque String Playing for Ingenious Learners* (St. Albans: Corda Music Publications, 2001), 43.
[54] Geminiani, *Art of Playing on The Violin*; Tartini, *"Letter from Signor Tartini to Signora Maddalena Lombardini, or Important lessons to Performers on the Violin"*; and Tartini, *Rules for Playing the Violin*.
[55] Geminiani, *Art of Playing on The Violin*, Example XVIII p. 6.
[56] Tosi, *Observations*, 75. Geminiani, *Art of Playing on The Violin*, preface p. 6.

that they "should not come close together, in order to keep them distinct".[57] While neither author discusses "passages" apart from the general warning of not applying them to excess, both Tartini and Geminiani did leave written-out suggestions for ornamentation for Corelli's Opus 5.[58]

By their very nature free/extemporised ornamentation or "passages" cannot be regulated by specific rules (other than adherence to harmony) nor truly written down due to the inherent rhythmic flexibility within beats. Indeed, there is a hypothesis to be put forward that the Italian violinist might have kept the art of free ornamentation a trade secret to be passed from master to apprentice in an oral tradition. Consequently, anyone truly wanting to learn the art of the Italian violinists had to take private instruction with one of these great artists and have the leisure and finance to commit to such a venture – something only the wealthy with a particular passion for the arts would be able to do. The written out examples were likely intended for amateur audiences who were unfamiliar with the style and as guidance for students to supplement their private tuition.[59] However, by the time more examples did begin to appear and whole volumes became dedicated to the art of ornamentation (such as Zuccari's *The True Method of Playing an Adagio* and Tessarini's *An Accurate Method to attain the Art of Playing ye Violin with Graces in all the different Keys*) the art itself was possibly beginning to die out.[60] Even so, the notated ornaments which have survived can give us at least some idea of the art as carried out by the great artists of the day.

Looking at some of the written-out ornaments from Geminiani's hand which feature in Neal Zaslaw's article "Ornaments for Corelli's Violin Sonatas Opus 5", these ornaments might seem at first glance to consist of rather frequent passages, seemingly contradicting the advice in Geminiani's treatise quoted above. However, when viewed in the context of some of the extreme ornaments produced at the time, the comment makes sense as another voice aiming to achieve the 'aesthetic of moderation'.[61] Whilst the Tartini and Geminiani ornaments in figure 29 are elaborate, they do also contain points of rest at the cadence points as well as alternation between flourishes and slower-moving figurations which create shape and prevent a sense of overload. However, some of the other examples barely provide any point of respite, presenting instead a continuous flow of figuration. Manchester Anon II in

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[57] Tosi, *Observations*, 75–77 in particular.
[58] Zaslaw, "Ornaments for Corelli's Violin Sonatas Opus 5", 100; Diack H. Johnstone, "Yet More Ornaments for Corelli's Violin Sonatas, Op. 5", *Early Music* 24, no. 4 (1996): 623–633.
[59] Zaslaw, "Ornaments for Corelli's Violin Sonatas Opus 5", 109.
[60] Carlo Zuccari, *The true Method of Playing an Adagio Made Easy by Twelve Examples First in a Plain Manner with a Bass Then with all their Graces Adapted for those who Study the Violin* (London: Bremner, 1762); Carlo Tessarini, *An Accurate Method to attain the Art of Playing ye Violin with Graces in all the different Keys, how to make proper Cadences, with ye nature of all ye shifts with several Duets and Lessons for that instrument ye whole Composed by Carlo Tessarini* (London: P. Welcker, c. 1765).
[61] Zaslaw, "Ornaments for Corelli's Violin Sonatas Opus 5", 100.

particular brings to mind the connotation of the excessive and superfluous. While most of the examples below can only be given an approximate date, the majority (with the exception of Walsh Anon (1720s) and Cambridge Anon (1730/40s)) seem to have been conceived in the 1750s.[62]

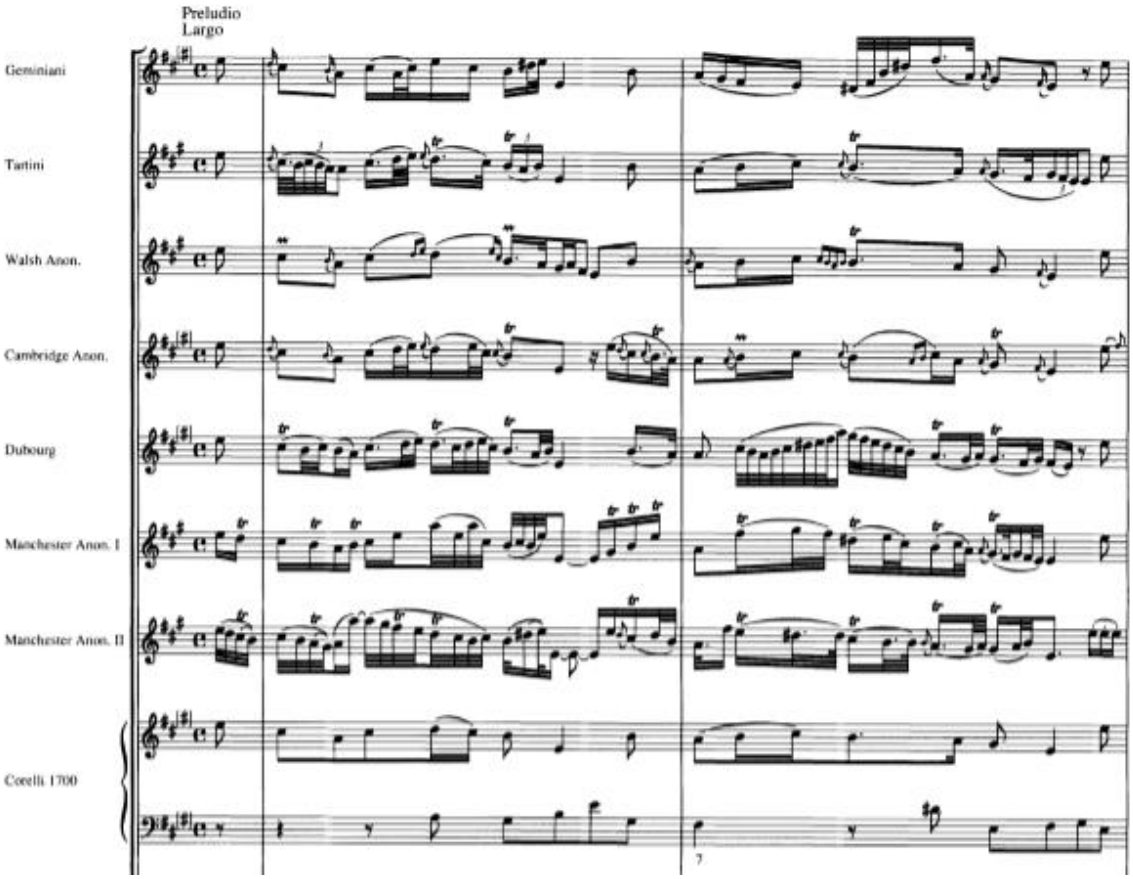

Figure 29: Various adornments of Corelli Op. 5 No. 9, 1st Movement, bars 1–2, in Neal Zaslaw, "Ornaments for Corelli's Violin Sonatas Opus 5", *Early Music* 24 (1996): 100.

One treatise which deals exclusively with extempore ornamentation is Zuccari's *The True Method of Playing an Adagio* (1762). The treatise was conceived in the 1760s – that is at the very end of the period under scrutiny. Strikingly, however, the style of *Adagio* which is being ornamented in Zuccari's work (see figure 30) is stylistically much closer to the works of Corelli, Visconti and Cosimi, since these *Adagios* generally do not contain figuration faster than quavers and even these are only occasional, providing extensive scope for elaboration. However, the *Adagios* of the 1720s and beyond would often feature semi- and demi-semiquavers, looking on the page more like Zuccari's ornamentations than the 'plain melody'. Nevertheless, the performer can still take inspiration from the way these Adagios have been elaborated, making certain turns and phrases of their own to expand on the melodic line using the detailed and precise notation found in the Solo repertoire as an inspiration for further embellishments. One could hypothesize that many of the treatises of

[62] *Ibid.*, 99.

this nature from the latter half of the eighteenth century were created because certain performance conventions were being lost and students needed guidance in order to learn to improvise embellishments in a tasteful yet inventive way. (Tracks 16 and 17 on CD 2 feature the plain and ornamented versions of this Adagio).

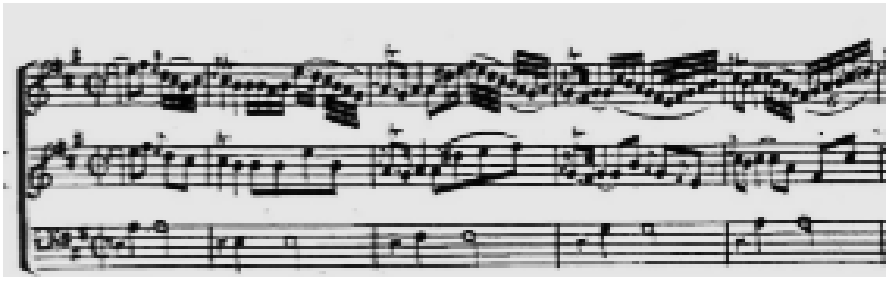

Figure 30: Zuccari Adagio 9 (Bremner, 1762), showing plain and ornamented versions, bars 1–5.

More than that, however, the aim of such treatises and other examples of written-out ornamentation was to help the performer find new inspiration and variety, thus avoiding "[making] continually some favourite Passage or Graces" and ensuring greater invention.[63] 'Good Taste' in ornamentation then consists in striking the right balance between adding some flourishes on the one hand, but equally contrasting these with less dense sections on the other, in other words: adhering to the ideal of the aesthetics of moderation whilst still stirring the emotions. The Zuccari, Geminiani and Tartini examples, though florid, all avoid complete continuous flourishes, thus creating variety and *chiaroscuro*. Harmonically, both passages and graces would respond to the figuring and realisation of the bass-line rather than add to it. The emphasis was rather on variety and invention in articulation and the ability to, on occasion, expand the range of the melodic line and, in performance, to react to the invention of the artist realising the figured bass.

A striking feature of almost all authors of Solos from Geminiani to Pugnani is the degree to which detailed figuration seems to have been notated by the author. This fact is particularly notable when these Solos are compared to Corelli's Opus 5 and, indeed, the Solo published in London in the first decade of the eighteenth century. However, as these works were published with the amateur market in mind, the authors were likely striving to instruct the intended audience in the best way of performing these works in an aesthetically pleasing manner. However, this does not necessarily mean that extra ornaments cannot be added as long as they take into consideration harmony, invention, and aesthetic moderation. Indeed, the detailed articulations and figurations could serve as an inspiration and instruction for the student of the Italian style to which judiciously chosen further ornaments could be

[63] Geminiani, *Art of Playing on The Violin*, preface p. 6 and Example XVIII. See also Zaslaw, "Ornaments for Corelli's Violin Sonatas Opus 5", 95–116; Smiles, "Directions for Improvising Ornaments", 495–509.

added. CD 2 tracks 18 to 22 illustrate this approach in practice in slow movements by Geminiani (Op 1 no 4 1st movement) and Carbonelli (Op 1 no 3 1st and 3rd movements).

Whereas extempore ornamentation is a well-known aspect of the Solo repertoire, the cadenza as a feature of the Solo genre in particular has been left unexplored. However, as a general phenomenon the cadenza is discussed extensively in contemporary treatises. In the chapter 'Of Cadences', Tosi derided the contemporary excesses and provided the following advice with regards to the both the cadenza and ornamentation in general: "Taste does not consist in a continual Velocity of the Voice, which goes thus rambling on, without a Guide, and without Foundation; but rather in the Cantabile, in putting forth the Voice agreeably".[64] This quote is useful in illustrating at the same time both what was considered 'Good Taste' and the fact that common practice at the time was often something altogether different, where "the Throat is set a going, like a Weather-cock in a Whirlwind".[65] The cadenza was on the one hand the place where the artists could freely demonstrate their personal artistry both in terms of command of beauty of tone and great invention – but it was also the place where it was easiest to be tempted to provide a display of excessive virtuosity and lose the ideals of 'good taste' and 'moderation'.

To find a way of establishing the 'firm foundation' on which to build cadenzas which are both inventive and tasteful we can turn to those treatises that provide examples of cadenzas as well as notated examples within the repertoire. All these surviving cadenzas feature within short succession both varied figuration and flourishes with at least some harmonic progression. A prime example can be found in Giardini's Solo Opus 1 (1750) which is incidentally also the longest written-out cadenza discovered in the Solo repertoire researched for this study (figure 31 and CD 2 track 23). However, the adventurousness of this particular cadenza lies not so much in the harmony (which mainly consists of arpeggiations and eventually scale figurations built around dominant seventh and tonic chords of A major) but in the variety of articulation, figurations, and exploration of the whole of the two and a half octave range that was covered in the preceding movement.

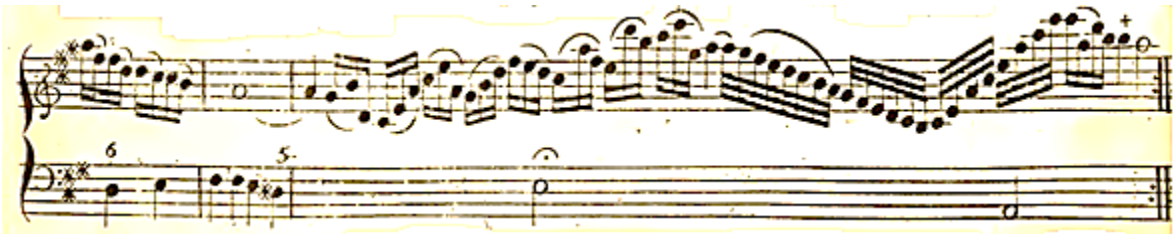

Figure 31: Giardini Op. 1 No. 5 (Bremner, 1751), 2nd Movement, bars 14–16.

[64] Tosi, *Observations*, 55
[65] *Ibid.*

The cadenza samples published by Carlo Tessarini and Luigi Borghi provide further samples and inspiration.[66] Borghi, in particular, was very comprehensive, providing a range of cadenzas for each key which would suit different tempi and emotions, providing templates for how to make the cadenza both virtuosic and expressive in equal measure. The example in figure 32 has been chosen as it suited the second movement of Pugnani's Solo both in key and overall tempo (and Borghi was a student of Pugnani); it is featured on CD 2 track 24. As with the Giardini cadenza, a range of different articulations is explored. However, this particular example is slightly more adventurous in its use of harmony and general figuration.

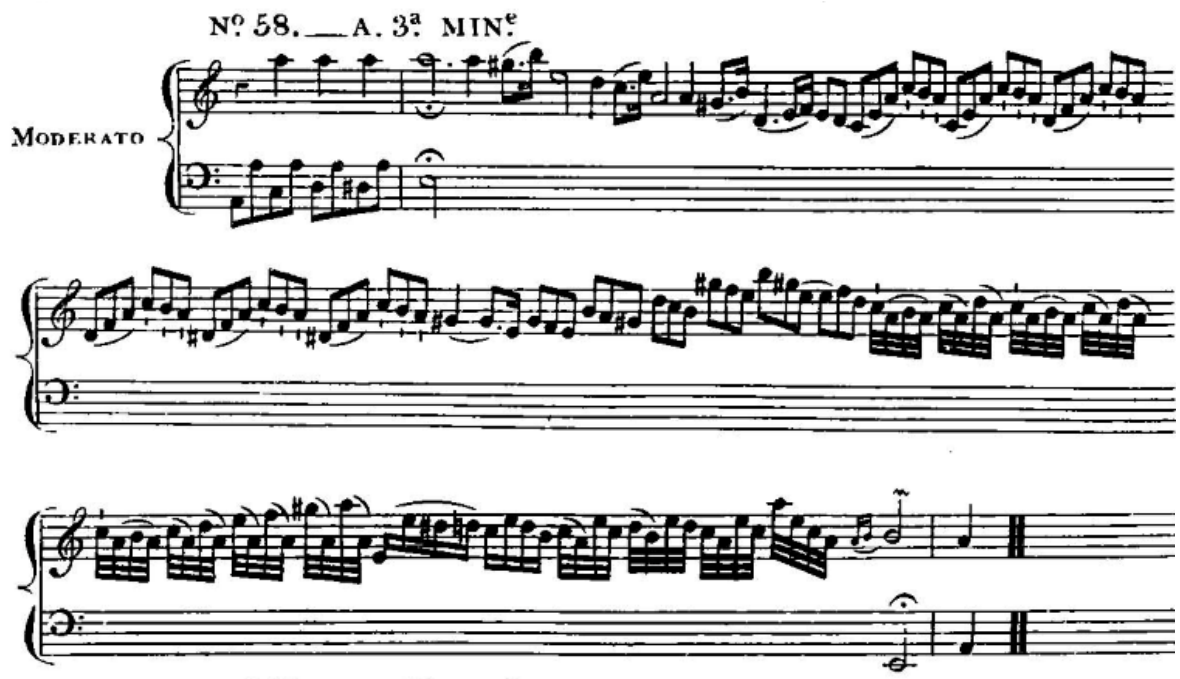

Figure 32: Borghi, 64 Cadenzas (Preston, c. 1790), No. 58.

Though several treatises provided examples of cadenzas, Tartini was the only author to explore how to structure a cadenza as well as offering examples. He provided a harmonic skeleton on which to build cadenzas as well as a few sample cadenzas (see figure 33). These skeletons have been very useful in creating and structuring improvised cadenzas, ensuring variety of harmony and tessitura.[67] However, Tartini did not actually spell out the harmony but rather described the points which should be connected with figures. Indeed, the first schema is really an expansion of the V chord, while schema 2 incorporates the sharp and natural 7th on the chord of V. Further examples in Tartini explore all the possible variant articulations that can be explored on a relatively simple harmonic progression.[68] The

[66] Borghi, *Sixty Four Cadences or Solos for the violin in all the Major and Minor Keys Composed for the Improvement & Practice of Amateurs to whom they are dedicated.* London: Preston, 1790. IMSLP; Tessarini, *An Accurate Method to attain the Art of Playing ye Violin with Graces in all the different Keys.*

[67] For improvised cadenzas listen to: Castrucci (CD 2, track 9); Agus, (CD 2, track 10); Pugnani/Borghi (CD 2, tracks 25); Pugnani (CD 1, tracks 14 & 15).

[68] Tartini, *Rules for Playing the Violin*, 122–125. The modern editor has added figures which do not exist in the facsimile.

cadenzas by Borghi and Tessarini adhered in varying degrees to the skeletons drafted in Tartini's treatise.

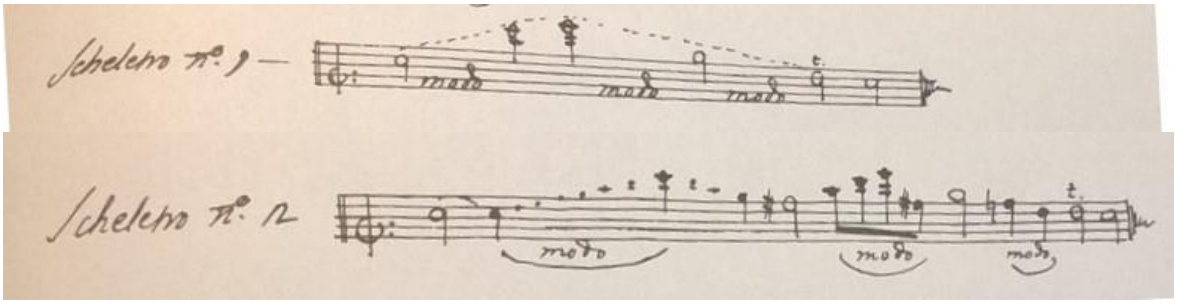

Figure 33: Tartini, *Rules for Playing the Violin* (1771), showing two skeletons for cadenzas.

Inserting a cadenza into a Solo brings this repertoire closer to the da-capo aria and the concerto, both genres which serve to show off the performer's abilities. This further emphasises the Solo's role as a genre for displaying the artistry of the great solo violinist and provided another chance for invention and to astonish the audience with flights of fancy to the end of the fingerboard. The best cadenzas would both astonish and move the listener, demonstrating the artists' command of technique and expression.

Articulation, tempo and shaping in the Solo

From the very beginning of the period in question authors of Solos went to great lengths to give quite detailed instructions for performers, not just in terms of the added graces but also in terms of articulation, bowing and at times even dynamics. Even though all authors from Geminiani to Pugnani used dynamics, Geminiani and Veracini stand out as those who provided the most detailed instructions. While Geminiani was moderately prescriptive in his Opus 1 Solos, he would gradually become the author who provided the most detailed performance instructions.[69] This is specifically the case in the pieces which accompany his *Treatise on Good Taste* (1748), such as *Auld Bob Morrice*.[70]

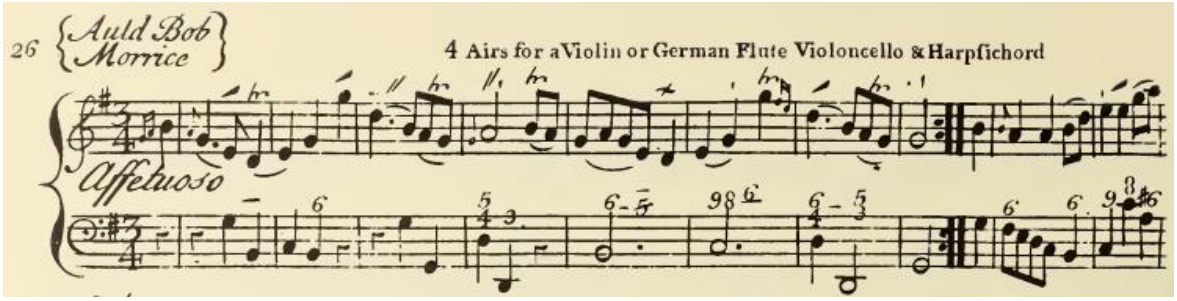

Figure 34: Geminiani, *Treatise on Good Taste* (1748), showing performance markings.

[69] Walls, "Ill Compliments and Arbitrary Taste?", *Early Music* 14, no. 2 (1986): 221–235.
[70] Francesco Geminiani, *A Treatise of Good Taste in the Art of Musick* (London, n. p., 1749).

In these pieces not only is every item of bowing, articulation and trill specifically laid out, but even individual notes are shaped in quite a specific way to help the student learn to perform pieces like this in a tasteful and inventive manner. Interestingly, in his treatise Geminiani suggested that slurs and articulations could be seen as an ornament just like graces and passages, since the example with slurs added to semiquavers was marked 'buono.'[71]

Veracini was similarly prescriptive in his *Sonate Accademiche* (1745), providing a list of ornamentation and articulation signs in the preface (see figure 35).

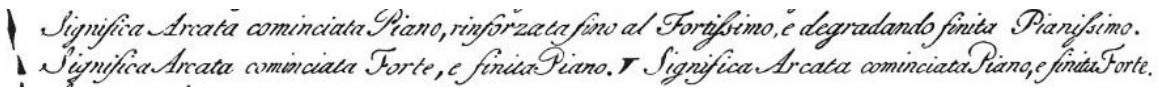

Figure 35: Veracini Op. 2 (self-published, 1745), preface showing performance markings.
1: signifies bow started softly, increased to very loud, and decreased to end very softly
2: signifies bow started loudly and ended softly
3: signifies bow started softly and ended loudly

A particularly good example of the application of these detailed signs is found in Solo No. 9, 4th movement which is labelled *Scozzese* (see figure 36) where the articulation also displaces the normal hierarchy of the bar.

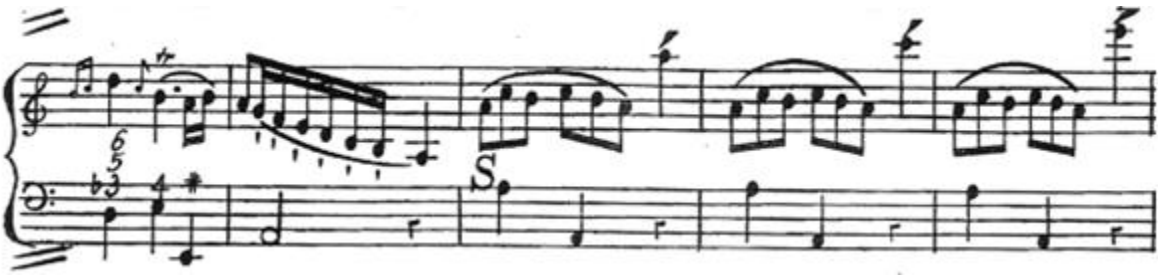

Figure 36: Veracini Op. 2 No. 9 (1745), 4th Movement, bars 13–17.

Indeed, this particular movement is a prime example of a whole range of articulations put to virtuosic effect – not only 'swells' but also up-bow staccato (figure 36), daggers, and other feats of virtuosity (figure 37). While Geminiani and Veracini are the only authors within the Solo genre who specifically notate the swell, all the treatises from Tosi to Viotti emphasised the importance of this ornament or 'effect' which, when used with good judgement, "can never fail of having an exquisite Effect".[72] Indeed, a central aspect of beautiful sound is the control of the swelling and diminishing of this sound as it provides variety and expression at the level of individual notes. The final section of the movement also contains very detailed dynamic indications which emphasise the *chiaroscuro* ideal through the use of the echo of short musical ideas. This movement is also labelled *affettuoso*, suggesting that the performer performs both with technical facility and emotion.

[71] Geminiani, *Art of Playing on the Violin,* example XX and p. 8.
[72] Tosi, *Observations*, 13.

Whereas swelling and diminishing of the sound was sometimes notated, vibrato is never notated in the Solo repertoire. Even Geminiani, who particularly advocated vibrato as a means to enhance expression, never notated this effect within his repertoire, nor indeed in the examples in his treatise.[73] Consequently the exact application of this particular effect is always left to the discretion of the performer.

Apart from swell and *messa-di-voce* indications, the excerpt from Veracini's Op. 2 no 9 also features very specific articulation markings in the form of daggers. Figure 37 and CD 2 track 25 illustrate a particularly effective use of this articulation.

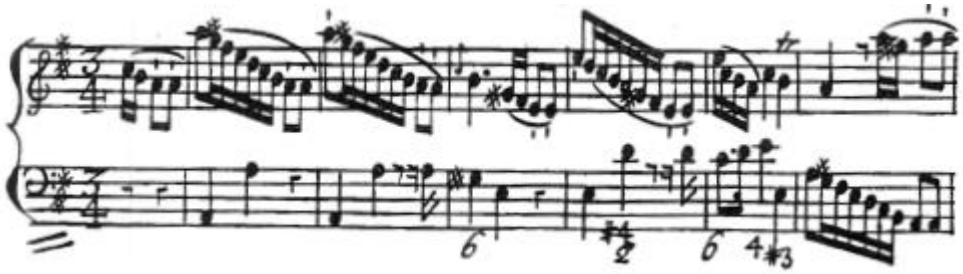

Figure 37: Veracini Op. 2 No. 9 (self-published, 1745), 3rd Movement, Variation 2, bars 1–7.

As the century progressed the articulation marks such as, in particular, daggers and dots became more and more common features across the repertoire. Whilst there can at times be some uncertainty as to whether the two signs are interchangeable, the overall pattern that emerges seems to imply that dots were used primarily under a slur or to indicate a graceful effect where the bow is not deliberately taken off the string. Daggers, on the other hand, often seem to indicate separation and a more dramatic effect and sharper articulation (as is the case in figure 37 and elsewhere in Veracini, for example) or to create greater contrast and brilliance (as is the case in Giardini figure 40, and throughout that movement – CD 2 track 26). Within the repertoire in general it seems that when daggers and dots were used within one and the same movement the daggers were used in brilliant sections, whereas dots were used for a gentler articulation under a slur (see figure 38 and CD 2 track 27 at 01:19).

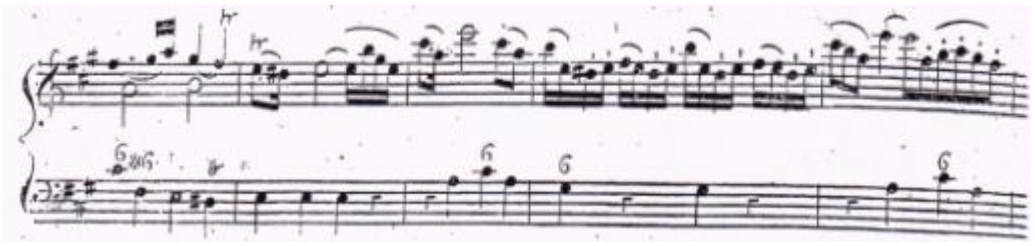

Figure 38: Noferi Op. 2 No. 4 (John Johnson, c. 1760), 1st Movement, bars 39–43.

In his treatise Geminiani instructed the performer to take the bow off the string for every note when this sign is used.[74] This seems to suggest that daggers direct the performer to

[73] Geminiani, *Art of Playing on the Violin,* 8.
[74] *Ibid.,* 8.

separate and/or sharply articulate certain notes for dramatic and virtuosic effect, whether under a slur or on separate notes. In Example XX Geminiani labelled the musical example (12) with daggers as '*cattivo o particolare*' and dots under a slur (14) as '*particolare*'.[75]

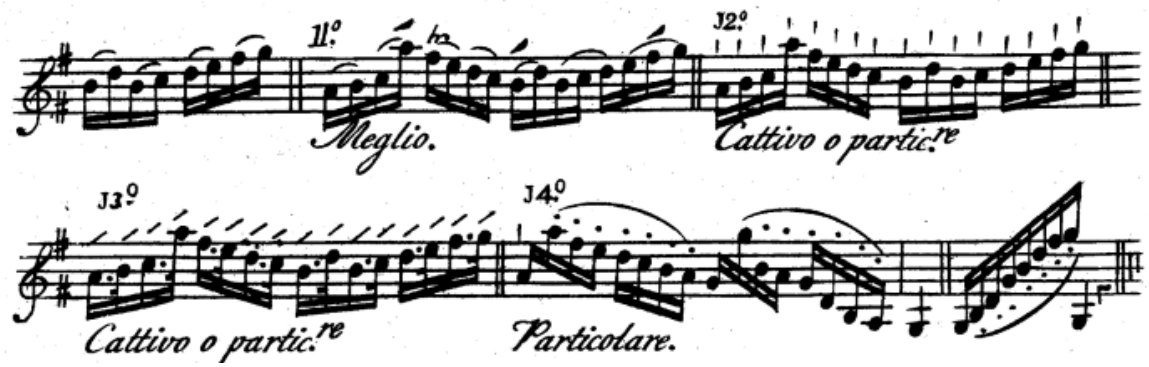

Figure 39: Geminiani, *The Art of Playing on the Violin* (1751), Example XX.

Whilst '*cattivo*' refers to something which is aesthetically or technically unpleasant, '*particolare*' suggests that this stroke is 'something that has its own characteristics or is out of the ordinary'.[76] Daggers should therefore, whether marked on individual notes or under a slurred up-bow 'staccato', be somewhat remarkable in their execution, which fits well with the role they play in the Veracini movement (figure 37). In contrast, dots under slurs could be inferred to be more graceful. An example of this is found in the Pasquali *Menuet* (1744, figure 41 and CD 2 track 28) where the slower execution renders this stroke light and elegant. However, in the *Presto* which follows, the dots feature in a passage of distinctly dramatic and virtuosic character (figure 42 and CD 2 track 29). A similar usage of daggers is found in Giardini's Opus 1 *Allegro* (1751 – see figure 40) where it is an even more pervasive feature, and in Borghi (1770) it becomes one of the main features of the movement (figure 56 in the case studies section).

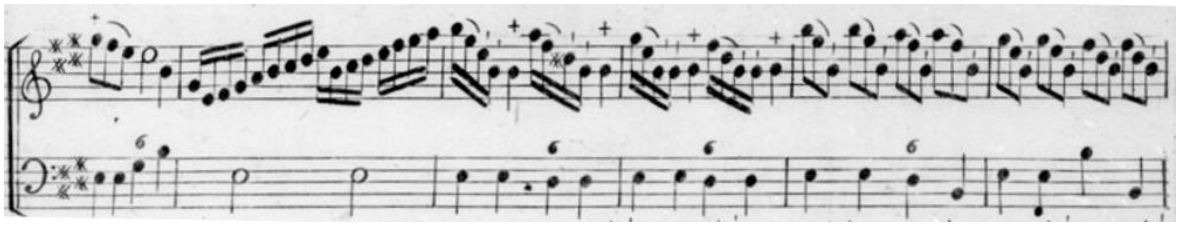

Figure 40: Giardini Op. 1 No. 5 (Bremner, 1751), 1st Movement, bars 8–13.

As with the issue of the *tr* versus +, the interpretation of what exactly dots and daggers means depends to a large extent on the context. The easiest instances to interpret stylishly are those where both signs are used within a publication, though interestingly this is actually comparatively rare. In instances where only dots (Pasquali) or only daggers (Castrucci Opus 2, Veracini, Giardini and Borghi) are used throughout, there is at least some scope for

[75] *Ibid.,* 27.
[76] Lo Zingarelli, *Vocabolario Della Lingua Italiana* (Bologna: Zanichelli, 1993), 412 & 1614.

interpretation of the degree of sharpness of execution of the notated articulation depending on the overall emotion of the movement within which they feature, as is best illustrated by the Pasquali examples (figures 41 and 42 and CD 2 tracks 28 and 29). While the scope of interpreting dots and daggers as varying degrees of staccato has been debated within Mozart scholarship in particular, no research has been pursued with regard to this particular repertoire.[77] Furthermore, as neither Tartini nor Geminiani discussed the potential difference between dots and daggers, the final interpretation is down to the understanding of the musical context in which the articulation appears. Interestingly, the only authors not to use up-bow staccato are Geminiani and Pugnani. All other authors use the technique in some shape or other throughout the period under investigation.

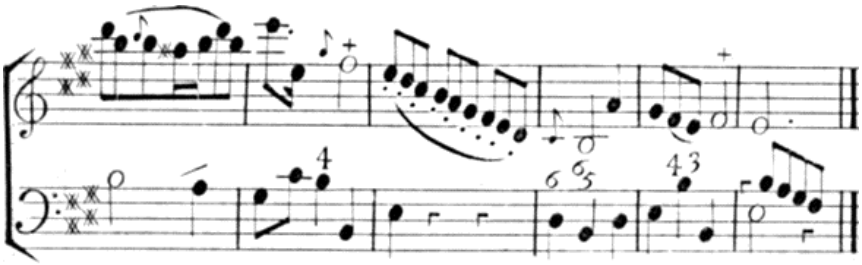

Figure 41: Pasquali Op. 1 No. 5 (Walsh, 1744), 3rd Movement, bars 31–36.

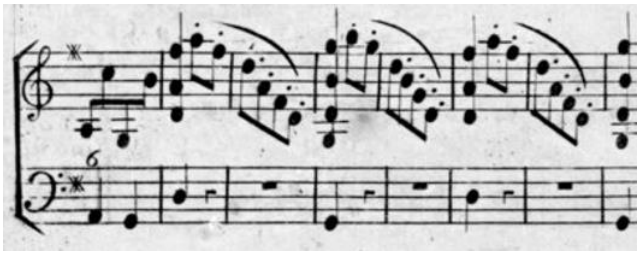

Figure 42: Pasquali Op. 1 No. 5 (Walsh, 1744), 4th Movement, bars 13–20.

Interestingly, virtually all sets of Solos surveyed for this study specify at least some degree of dynamic markings, through some authors use dynamics particularly frequently to direct the performer. A particularly good example of such a direction is found in Veracini's *Scozzese*, where towards the end of the movement quick alterations between *f* and *p* are indicated in the score, creating contrast and, indeed, *chiaroscuro* (CD 2 track 30). Agus's Solos also use dynamics to particularly good effect, and Pugnani adds *rin* (likely meaning 'for special emphasis') to the vocabulary of articulations within the Solo repertoire. In the rest of the repertoire from Veracini to Borghi the generic *p* and *f* signs were used.

One matter which should be addressed by any performer is the issue of tempo. The right choice of pulse will certainly affect everything from the execution of appoggiaturas to

[77] See: Geoffrey Chew and Clive Brown, "Staccato". Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online, Oxford University Press, accessed 26 August, 2016, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/26498.

the feasibility of the addition of passages and graces. However, neither Geminiani nor Tartini revealed much about this process, though Tartini did differentiate between the execution of strokes in *cantabile* and *allegro*. Even though the reference pertains as much to mood as to tempo, his advice is worth quoting in full:

> In performance it is important to distinguish between cantabile and allegro music. In cantabile passages the transition from one note to the next must be made so perfectly that no interval of silence is perceptible between them; in allegro passages, on the other hand, the notes should be somewhat detached.[78]

One source does provide us with a unique insight into choice of tempi. In 1785 Bremner published his attempt to time the tempi used by Pasquali in the performance of Corelli's *Christmas Concerto* in order to instruct his readers in the correct way of setting tempi in this work.[79] Although the finer details of Bremner's findings are not relevant to this study, a few interesting deductions and hypotheses can be made from Bremner's attempt to time the various movements both in terms of how different movement designations relate to each other – and more importantly how different types of *Allegro* seem to have a different pulse. It seems that *Adagios* were invariably ♪ = 60 which, when applied to movements with walking bass-lines, provides a good steadiness of pace. However, the *Allegro* movements vary greatly in speed depending on the nature of the texture, and the speed of the harmonic progression can be anything from steady to very fast indeed. When considering the steadier *Allegro* tempo (♩ = 108), the fugato *Allegros* by Carbonelli and Geminiani become much easier to perform both technically (with enough space to shift, for instance in the Geminiani Opus 1) and to shape and bring out each contrapuntal idea, whilst still being lively enough to make the linking passages sound impressive (CD 2 track 10). In contrast, the finale of the Carbonelli adhered to the faster variant of the *Allegro*, bringing out the lively nature of the gigue (CD 1 track 4). Pasquali likely adhered to unwritten conventions from the Italian violin tradition in these choices of tempo. In his Solos Pasquali tends towards quite detailed movement designations, most likely to direct the performer to execute these works in accordance with tradition, both inspiring particular expression and 'good taste'. One general hypothesis which can be derived from Bremner's notes is that the difference between slow and fast tempi was quite remarkable, creating an element of contrast and excitement on the basic structural level with moderate tempi, creating a bridge between these poles.

Across the era and the sets of Solos studied, authors seem to have been quite conscious in giving the potential performer of these works guidance and directions. From

[78] Tartini, *Rules for Playing the Violin*, 55.
[79] Diack H. Johnstone's article: "Tempi in Corelli's Christmas Concerto", The Musical Times 1485 (1966): 956–959 quotes Bremner's findings in full and attempt to translate the measurements into modern metronome marks.

articulation and dynamics to inventive movement titles the author inspired, and with sets including movements with varying technical demands, there was something for the aspirational amateur to work towards mastering. While a few individual Solos contain elements of flamboyant virtuosity such as the extensive use of extremely high registers and harmonics, most remain within the boundaries of what can be perceived as the aesthetics of moderation also known as 'Good Taste'.

The case studies

The three authors chosen for closer consideration are Carbonelli (Opus 1 no 4), Giuseppe Agus (Opus 1 no 5), and Gaetano Pugnani (Opus 7 no 2). These authors and Solos have been picked as focus points to demonstrate how all the elements discussed in this chapter play out in whole works. The three chosen authors were all important figures in London's cultural life, and between them these authors represent three contrasting life-routes. Carbonelli spent most of his career in the spoken theatre providing music for plays, occasionally even performing on stage, as mentioned in chapter one. The very earliest mention of Carbonelli is a concert advertisement from 1719, where he was one of the main attractions, performing both a Solo and a concerto of his own composition. Agus had a less prominent position as a performer, working primarily as a tutti violinist (*The London Stage* only contains a few listings under his name), but his works were evidently popular, as numerous sets of opera dances survive from his hand.[80] He seems to have had a long and steady career rather than an illustrious one, though little is known of him. Pugnani, on the other hand, was one of the most illustrious violinists of his time, working for various courts in Europe. As we saw in chapter 1, his fame was such that a 200% increase in ticket price for his first concert was entirely justifiable, making his performances a very exclusive commodity indeed, available only to the highest echelons of society. All three sets from which the chosen Solos have been taken were dedicated to patrons who were members of the aristocracy (two dukes and a count). As such, these works also reflect the various roles the Solo repertoire played in these artists' careers: performance repertoire, promotional material, and items for sale.

Even though the chosen Solos might not feature every single performance issue covered in the above in terms of technique and execution, they do feature a broad selection of these issues. More importantly, they are representative examples of the various movement forms, structures, key-relations, and the development of the cadenza explored earlier in this chapter. One intriguing feature which all three chosen solos have in common is the inclusion

[80] *Index to The London Stage 1660–1800*, ed. William van Lennep *et al.* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1960–1968).

of a slow middle movement in a complementary key, which particularly explores the serious and *pathetic* through the use of the minor mode. Furthermore, all three Solos feature instances of 'hidden virtuosity', in which the technical challenges are not meant to be obvious; rather, such passages are meant to sound effortless – the challenge only being recognised by the connoisseur. As such, the chosen Solos are examples of works which reflect the overall 'aesthetic of moderation'. All three chosen Solos also feature a particularly interesting balance between melodic and harmonic inventiveness, between following convention of their time and artistic individuality. To illustrate various points further, works by the contemporaries of the three chosen authors will be discussed in the course of the text.

Carbonelli – the Solo in the 20s and 30s

As we have seen in chapter 1, Carbonelli was, along with his contemporaries Castrucci and Geminiani, central to professional music making in London during the 1720s, each finding fame in quite distinctly different capacities. It might be argued that these different careers are reflected in the Solos from their hands, but this conclusion can only be tenuous. What is revealed are three very personal styles: from the very free and dramatic (Castrucci) to the learned style of Geminiani's Opus 1 with its many fugato movements and Carbonelli's slightly less-strict style, which still features several fugatos. As the Carbonelli Solos include so many of the elements found in the Solos of the early part of the century, his Solo no 4 from Opus 1 has been chosen for a more in-depth investigation. Of these three prominent Italian violinists active in the 1720s and 30s London Carbonelli was at least until very recently the least researched and performed in modern times.[81] Overall Carbonelli's Opus 1 set features slightly more Solos cast in a minor than in a major key. Furthermore, almost all the Solos in the major in this set have a movement cast in a minor key. Both of these tendencies can also be found in the Opus 1 sets by Geminiani and Castrucci, which were published a few years prior to Carbonelli's set (see Appendix 4 table 1).

The Solo Opus 1 no 4 in E major (full scores in Appendix 5 on pp. 216–219) opens with an example of a movement of the slow/fast/slow type (CD 1 track 1). Of all the sets surveyed Carbonelli presents the most Solos with this type of opening movement (a total of 5 such movements, whereas Geminiani's Opus 1 includes three and Castrucci's Opus 1 just one (see table 3)). Both the *Adagio* (figure 43) and the *Allegro* sections (Appendix 5 on p. 216) are examples of the free-form style with its use of motivic play. The *Adagio* is built on a dotted-plus-triplet figure which propels the rest of the melodic ideas, whereas the *Allegro*

[81] A recent recording of the first 6 Solos of the Carbonelli Opus 1, and an Urtext edition prepared by Michael Talbot for HH will most likely change this: *XII Sonate da camera* Volume 1 (Nos. 1–6), Volume 2 (Nos. 7–12), ed. Michael Talbot. (Nr. Bicester: HH Editions Limited, 2011). The last decade has seen several recordings of Castrucci's Opus 1.

takes as its point of departure a motif which involves the technical feat of string crossings and thirds in combination. The *Allegro* section, furthermore, provides good examples of passagework in sequences which touch on a wide variety of key areas. Harmonically this opening movement is relatively straightforward, particularly the *Adagio* section (and especially when compared with the harmonic extremes found in Castrucci's Opus 1). The *Allegro* section is somewhat more adventurous with its sequence followed by pedal points and arpeggio passages, which provide both harmonic tension and a chance to moderate virtuosity and a moment of astonishment (Appendix 5 on page 216, bars 17 to 30). When it comes to performance issues, the *Adagio* features both moments of detailed notation of figurations and points of relative melodic calm, which provide a chance to display 'beauty of tone' and the tasteful "swelling and decreasing of sound", which was advocated by Geminiani as "one of the principal beauties of the violin".[82] The figure at the beginning and end of bar 2 (see figure 43) possibly suggests a certain degree of rhythmic freedom within the overall pulse, whereas the pre-cadence formula in bar 8 is reminiscent of many such figures found in the ornamented version of Corelli's Opus 5.

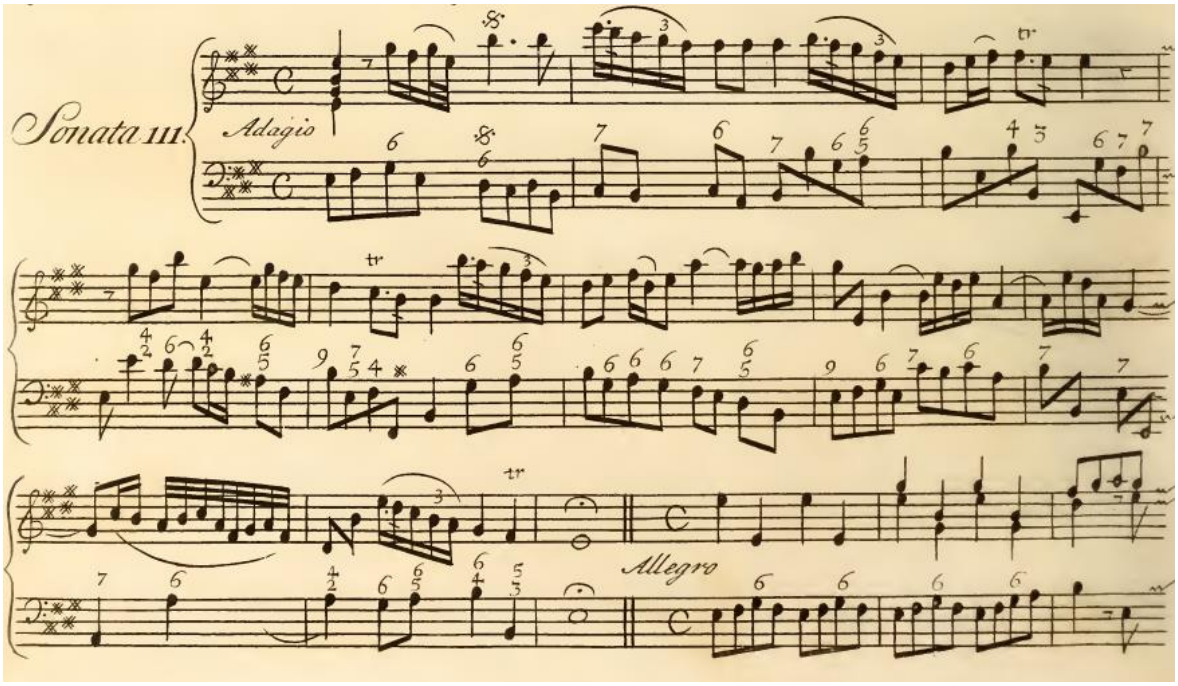

Figure 43: Carbonelli Op. 1 No. 3 (c. 1719/20), 1st Movement, Adagio section, which is recapitulated.

In between these figures the episodes of slower moving figures present ample opportunity for extempore ornamentation as well as a cadential turn leading into the final fermata. With a movement such as this which contains both *Adagio* and *Allegro* sections, Bremner's advice on how to set the tempo could potentially be applied. Following that idea, the Adagio could be ♪ = 60, with 𝅗𝅥=60 being applied in the following *Allegro* (figure 43, bar 11), and this

[82] Geminiani, *Art of Playing on the Violin*, preface, 2.

approach has been implemented in the performance found on CD 1 track 1. This approach brings out the contrast between the two sections, between *cantabile* and *allegro* characters, without the middle *Allegro* section being rushed, creating space for poise and elegance.[83] The thirds in the *Allegro* section (Appendix 5 on p. 216 bars 12, 13, 15, 16) provide an instance of a technical feat which sounds easy when executed appropriately – only the connoisseur would know how demanding this feat is to the performer. Like his contemporaries, Carbonelli uses the occasional dynamic indication – here to create *chiaroscuro* in the repeat of the *Allegro's* opening idea (Appendix 5 on p. 216 bar 14). Within this single movement, then, the alternation of the *Adagio* and *Allegro* provides a particularly good example of a movement which balances 'flights of fancy' and 'beauty of sound', thus adhering to the 'aesthetics of moderation'.

The second movement of Carbonelli's Solos is an *Allegro* fugato movement, which features sections of counterpoint linked by semiquaver sequences, figurations and extended arpeggios (Appendix 5 on pp. 217–218 and CD 1 track 2). Each musical element presents a different technical challenge for the violinist. While the *fugato* sections (particularly the opening passage) provide the author with a chance to demonstrate a degree of 'learned understanding' (working out the theme and counter-subject), they also provide the performer with a chance to demonstrate virtuosic skills in the execution of double-stops (often consecutive thirds and sixths as in bars 3–6) as well as a variety of articulation in semiquaver passagework (bars 20–30 in Appendix 5 on pp. 217–218). Carbonelli leaves the second entry to the bass-line but uses the counter theme to present a challenge in particular through the consecutive sixths in bar 5 and similar places (see figure 44). The most important feature of artistic inventiveness in *Allegro* movements such as these is the articulation in the *passaggio* which connects the relatively short fugal sections. These sections consist of runs of semiquavers in sequence, which also provide much harmonic interest. In Carbonelli these sequences feature extended chains of suspensions (9/8, bars 12–13) and unresolved sevenths (bar 20 onwards). In bar 31 a long progression of wandering and unpredictable harmonic progressions commences, leading us eventually to the relative minor in bar 39 and creating a chance for the violinists to explore 'heightened passions' as well as impress with exuberant arpeggiations. In excecuting the whole passage from bars 20 to 39 the ideal of shifting between smooth articulation (in passages moving by step) and detached articulation (in leaping figurations) has been taken into consideration in order to adhere to the ideals of *chiaroscuro,* though the final degree to which this is applied remains up to the discretion of the performer. This movement certainly displays Carbonelli's ability to balance "correct and

[83] Johnstone, "Tempi in Corelli's Christmas Concerto", 958.

judicious counterpoint" with inventiveness in the more virtuosic passages which connect the moments of counterpoint.[84]

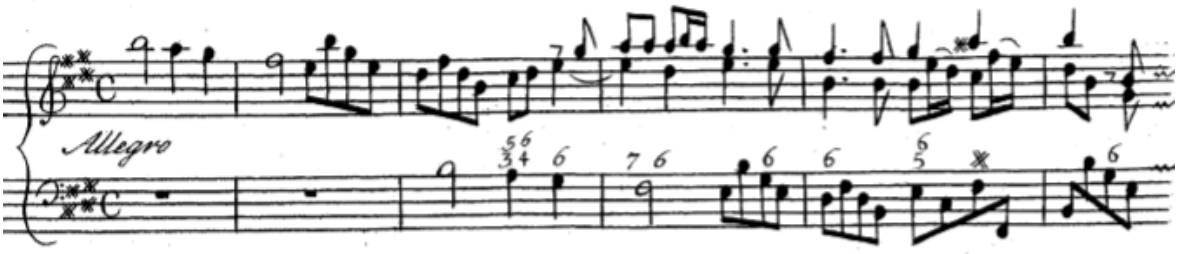

Figure 44: Carbonelli Op. 1 No. 3 (c. 1719/20), 2nd Movement, bars 1–6.

In terms of Carbonelli's individual style, the second slow movement, an *Adagio* in the minor mode, is of particular interest with its exploration of continual suspensions, which create a prolonged delight in dissonance (CD 1 track 3 and Appendix 5 p. 219). Although suspensions can be found in Solos by other authors (both Pasquali, and Pugnani employ the technique – see Appendix 5 on p. 227 bar 10), this is the most dramatic and extended use of this effect within the Solo repertoire surveyed for this study. This sequence of suspensions and dissonances truly stretches the performer's technical and expressive abilities in a way that is not flashy in the ordinary sense. The technical challenges lie in the combination of keeping the long sustained bows which bring out the dissonances, whilst also ensuring perfect intonation through the chains of thirds, seconds and fourths (see figure 45). The delayed entry of the violin in this particular movement is unusual but not unique in the repertoire, as Castrucci uses a similar device in the opening slow movement of Opus 1 no 7 mentioned above.

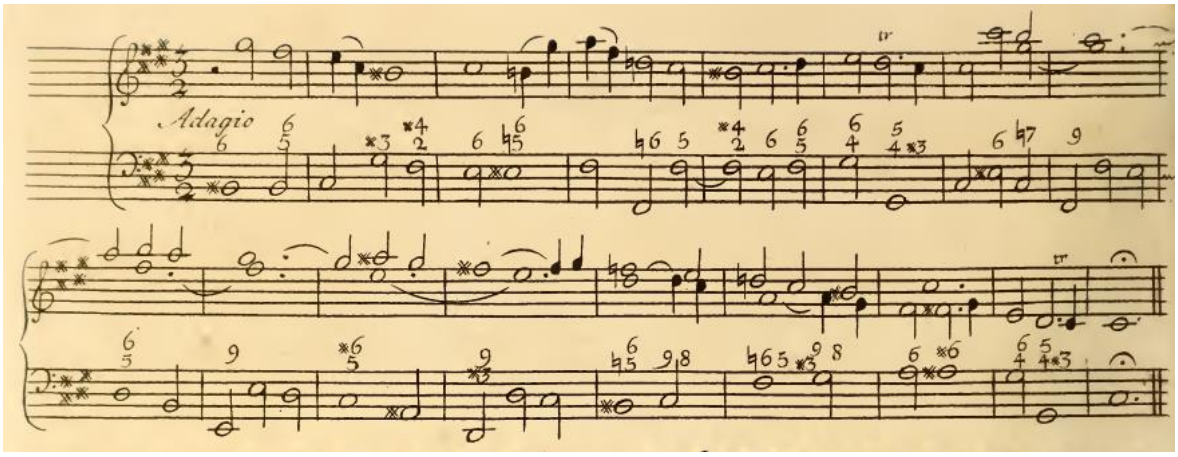

Figure 45: Carbonelli Op. 1 No. 3 (c. 1719/20), 3rd Movement, whole movement.

The harmonic structure of the bass-line, which is one of the most adventurous in the repertoire, influences the scope of the ornamentation apart from a few connecting graces as

[84] Michael Talbot, "From Giovanni Stefano Carbonelli to John Stephen Carbonell: A violinist turned vintner in Handel's London", *Göttinger Händel-Beiträge Band 14* (Göttingen: Vanderhoeck and Ruprecht, 2012), 299.

is demonstrated on CD 2 track 20. Whilst passages like this were not uncommon in violin repertoire of the period (indeed similar though shorter and less complex examples are found elsewhere in the repertoire), none of the surviving treatises discusses how best to execute this technique. However, the general principle of slow sustained and shaped bow-strokes, as extolled by writers from Geminiani to Viotti, certainly applies in this instance. The harmonic drama of this movement has the potential to raise the passions and transport the listener for a moment, before the final movement brings light relief, preventing the listener from indulging in excessive passion.

Though *giga* movements were popular throughout the Solo repertoire, Carbonelli seems to have favoured this movement type in particular. Whereas many of his contemporaries (Geminiani and Castrucci, see table 3 above) include giga-like movements, Carbonelli stands out as the one who specifically labels his movements as such (CD 1 track 4 and Appendix 5 on p. 219). Harmonic interest is created through a combination of the inventive use of sequences and pedal points. This movement also presents one case of potentially ambiguous articulation. In bars 3–5 it could be argued that the slurring is ambiguous (2+1 or 3), creating an opportunity for artistic interpretation. In the recording both options are featured, and the repeat of the A section provided an opportunity to experiment with variants of light and shade as well as articulation.

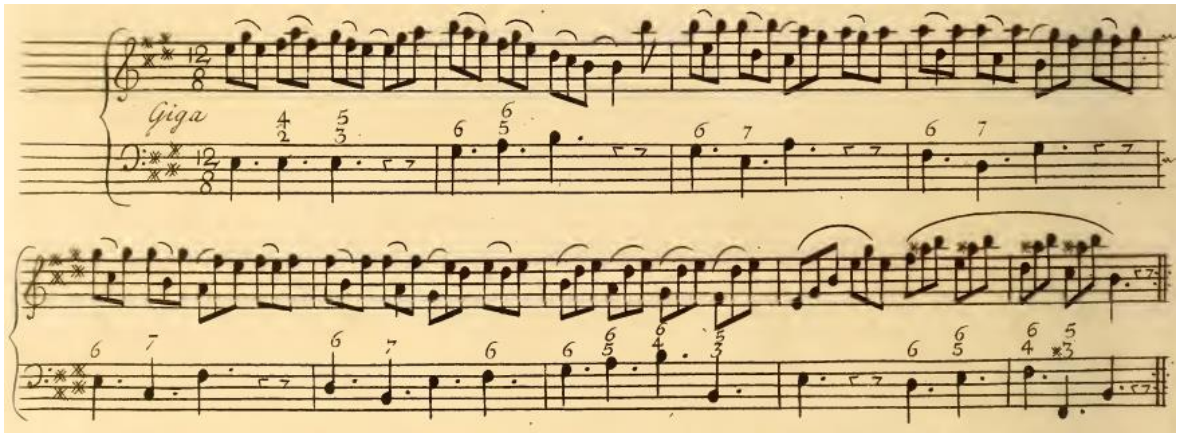

Figure 46: Carbonelli Op. 1 No. 3 (c. 1719/20), 4th Movement, bars 1–9.

Carbonelli's contemporaries in London, Castrucci and Geminiani, follow similar patterns in their Solos, though Castrucci dispenses with the fugato genre completely, favouring binary forms for fast movements. Castrucci in particular stands out with the most dramatic use of dissonance in the Solo repertoire. Indeed, the slow movements by in particular Castrucci (Opus 1 no 7, CD 2 track 13) and also Geminiani (Opus 1 no 4, CD 2 track 21) are in some ways bolder in their harmonic adventurous. However, the concept of a uniting phrase-idea and the pre-cadence formulas occur in both of these movements.

After Geminiani and Carbonelli the fugato genre virtually disappears. A final flowering of the genre is found in Francesco Maria Veracini's Opus 2 and Nicolo Pasquali's Opus 1, which were both published during the 1740s. One reason for the demise of the fugato in the Solo could be that while the genre did show off the compositional skill of the author, a skill which could be admired by the music connoisseurs, it never showed off the violinist to his greatest advantage in performance, providing little scope for 'flights of fancy' or indeed 'beauty of tone'. Pasquali's one example of fugato could therefore be seen as a demonstration of skill and also an acknowledgement that in the Solo and, indeed, elsewhere this genre was no longer favoured (CD 2 track 11).

While Carbonelli seems to only have published one set of Solos, Geminiani and Castrucci published a second set of sonatas in 1739 and 1734 respectively. These sets, along with Veracini's *Sonate Accademiche* (1745) and Pasquali's Opus 1(1744), illustrate the various highly individual forms the Solo genre took on in these decades. (Geminiani and Veracini have been the subjects of major monographs so we will focus on Castrucci and Pasquali in the following). Whereas Castrucci's Opus 1 pushed the boundaries of dissonance and extreme leaps, the Opus 2 Solos are much more restrained and almost elegant, though opportunities for emotion and *pathetic* expression still abound, as does the delight in the exploration of dissonance (see figure 47 and CD 2 track 14 listen particularly at 0:34).

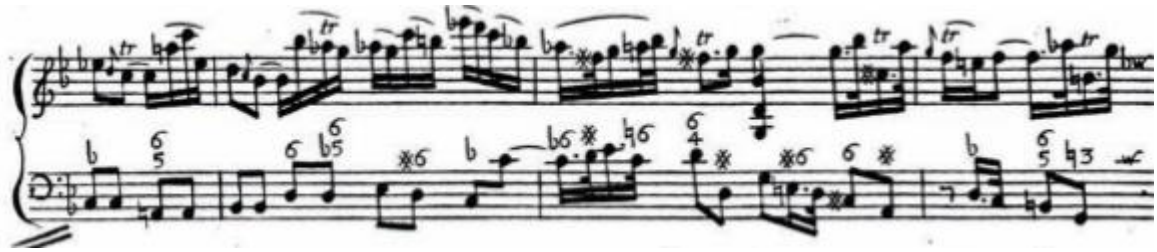

Figure 47: Castrucci Op. 2 No. 2 (1734), 1st Movement, bars 8–11.

Whereas the movements in the Castrucci Opus 1 Solo present a variety of melodic and rhythmic ideas which serve dramatic and virtuosic purposes, the Opus 2 set presents the idea of unification through the use of a limited set of rhythmic ideas to hold the movement together, with much less emphasis on extremes of harmony and virtuosity. That being said, harmonic tension does occur and the musical ideas, though few, both complement and contrast one another, providing the performer with the opportunity to vary a given musical idea within subsequent repeats of it.

Nicolo Pasquali's Opus 1, published in 1744, stands out in combining conservative elements which point back to Carbonelli and forward to Agus and Giardini. The set contains examples of strict fugal style (such as Solo No. 3 2st movement, an excerpt of which was

featured on CD 2 track 11) as well as lighter and *Affettuoso* movements, and moments of virtuosic *Presto* fireworks (No. 5 2nd and 3rd movements), thus combining aspects of the styles of the Solos of the 1720s with their focus on 'motivic play' and with the evolving trend of structuring melodic lines around 'phrase grouping'.

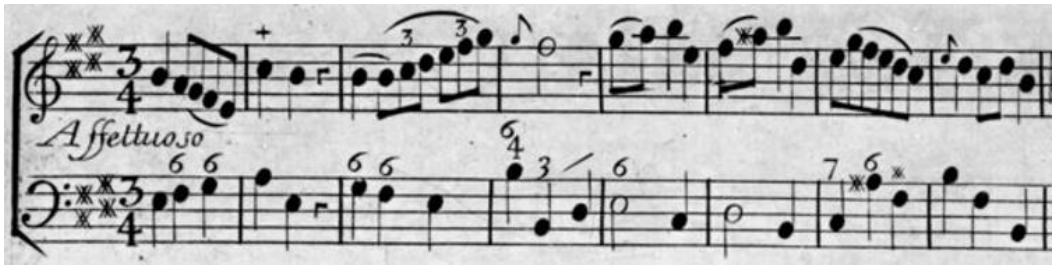

Figure 48: Pasquali Op. 1 No. 5 (1744), 3rd Movement, bars 1–8.

The binary structure of the *affettuoso* movement also affords a chance to add passages on the repeat in order to create variety, always remembering Tosi's advice that 'Good Taste' in performance consists of "putting forth the Voice agreeably" and not in "continual Velocity" but rather enhancing the *affettuoso* expression, and that "a Deficiency of Ornaments displeases as much as the too great Abundance of them".[85] The *Presto* by contrast features extreme string crossings (figure 49) and up-bow staccatos which must be sharp and precise, employing detached *allegro* strokes as advised by Tartini (CD 1 tracks 5–6).[86]

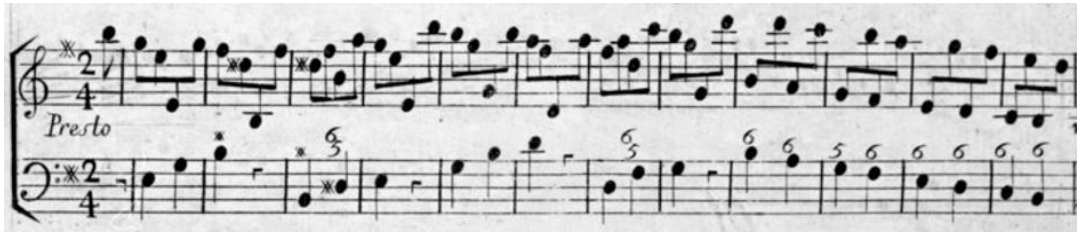

Figure 49: Pasquali Op. 1 No. 5 (1744), 4th Movement, bars 1–12.

The virtuosity of this final movement is balanced by the gracefulness of the preceding movement. As with the two final movements of the Carbonelli Solo this is an instance where the character of each movement within the four-movement structure created Solos which balanced the virtuosic flights of fancy with beauty of sound in the overall structure of these works, resulting in Solos which adhered both to 'Good Taste' and the 'aesthetic of moderation'.

[85] Tosi, *Observations*, 55 and 69.
[86] Tartini, *Rules for Playing the Violin*, 55.

Giuseppe Agus and the state of the Solo genre in the 1750s

Giuseppe Agus's Opus 1 Solos (1750) represent an interesting midpoint in the Solo's development through the century. Whereas his contemporary Felice Giardini has been the subject of a dissertation and several articles, Agus is relatively unknown today, and as of yet he has not been the subject of scholarly articles. This is at least to some extent due to the fact that Agus held less prominent positions, pursuing a less glamorous but very steady career. By contrast Giardini held very prominent positions in London's cultural life, mingled with the highest echelons of society, and received patronage from members of the royal family. Musically Giardini broke new ground and introduced new structural ideas to the Solo genre in the English context in his Solos, whilst Agus adhered more to the form of the previous decades. While Giardini's Opus 1 impresses, Agus's Opus 1 with its limited virtuosity possibly suited the social functions and aesthetic ideals of the times better than Giardini's exuberance. Indeed, subsequent sets of Solos by Giardini were less extreme in their virtuosity, though they retained the use of high registers.[87] Both Agus and Giardini had their Opus 1 Solos published at the beginning of the 1750s, so contrasting Agus's work with Giardini's provides a unique insight into the range of styles that existed alongside one another.

Agus's adherence to tradition is particularly obvious in his choice of movement ordering. He favours Slow – Fast – Slow – Fast and Slow – Fast – Slow movement orderings over the Fast – Slow – Fast pattern preferred by Giardini and subsequent authors of Solos (see table 2 above). Furthermore Agus's bass-lines are generally very active and almost melodic in places, particularly when compared with Giardini, whose bass-lines are purely supportive; and his slow movements generally adhere to the free-form model rather than binary form, which was becoming more common. However, Agus's Solos also include forward-looking elements, in particular the cadenza. The Opus 1 set is the earliest in the Solos surveyed which has a cadenza point featured in every single Solo in the set (Giardini's set only features 3 Solos with cadenza), and the formula used to set up the cadenza presents the conventions of the concerto of the 1760s and 70s.[88] Even here, however, Agus does not entirely conform to the convention of his contemporaries, placing the cadenza at the end of the opening slow movement rather than the middle slow movement. Interestingly, however, the very earliest specific indication of a cadenza (in Castrucci's Opus 2) is also at the end of the opening slow movement. Agus's movement titles are very descriptive and some of the most directive in the repertoire. The ambitus of these Solos is relatively modest and double stopping is used relatively sparingly (table 4 above). Instead, Agus uses chromaticism and

[87] See for instance: Felice Giardini, *Six Solos for the Violin and a Bass opera 16* (London: Bremner, 1772).
[88] The formula is best known from Mozart's violin concertos.

rhythm to create variety and challenges for the performer. Though not frequent, daggers and dynamic indications are used in these works in select places, and the cadenza provides the performer with an opportunity to show off further feats of virtuosity and invention.

The opening slow movement of Agus's Solo Opus 1 no 5 in F major – a Grave – features a particularly good example of an almost melodic bass-line, as the bass answers the violin line in motivic play focusing on the opening idea, though there is also a sense of phrase grouping in the way the theme is structured (figure 50 and CD 1 track 7). The notated trills, appoggiaturas, turns, and daggers are some of the most detailed in the Solo repertoire, creating ample opportunity for the performer to explore different lengths of appoggiatura (figure 5 bar 2 features a slow and a fast appoggiatura as well as a notated turn) and speeds of trills. While this movement does not present any passages of great technical demand, its melodic and harmonic inventiveness, with the inflections into the minor, require great attention to detail in their execution (see Appendix 5 on p. 220). Interestingly, this movement presents two points at which a cadenza could be inserted, namely bars 17 and 20. The accompanying recording features an improvised cadenza at the end of the movement based on the principles discussed earlier in the chapter.

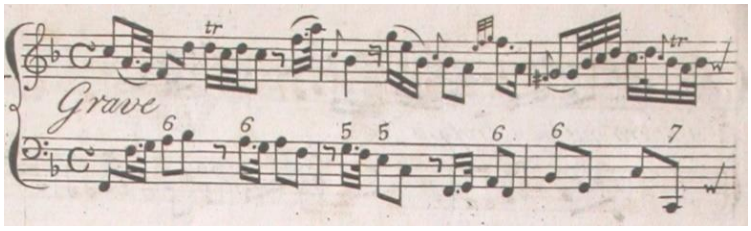

Figure 50: Agus Op. 1 No. 5 (1750), 1st Movement, bars 1–4.

In terms of form, the second movement is a fairly conventional movement of the binary structure and its *Allegro ma non troppo* indication ensures that performance of, for instance, the string crossing figure in bar 2 (Appendix 5 p. 221–222), does not come across as overtly flashy. There are, however, several unique features within the detail of the movement. Though many of the authors of Solos use at least some dynamic indications, Agus is the only one to use *dolce* instead of *piano* – that is describing a mood rather than a dynamic (though *piano* is used in the bass-line see p. 221 bars 13 and 21). Trills, appoggiaturas and daggers also feature in this movement, and a few instances of double stopping create a challenge for the left hand. Again the bass-line is very interactive and the harmonic interest is derived from passages of chromatic alterations and sudden shifts between major and minor mode, while inventive use of syncopation, daggers and demi-semiquavers ensures further liveliness and agility of bow (CD 1 track 8). While there are technical challenges in this movement (mainly created by the precision required to execute

the figurations and articulations in, for instance, bars 13–16), they are not flashy and overt, belonging rather to the category of 'hidden virtuosity' primarily discernible by the connoisseur.

Similarly to Carbonelli, the second slow movement, *Andantino Grazzioso*, is the most unique of the four movements in this Solo, taking the form of a 'canon' in binary form cast in relative minor (F minor). While the harmony is not quite as adventurous as the Carbonelli example, there are some lovely dissonances along with some rhythmic inventiveness and *pathetic* appoggiaturas in the second half of this movement (CD 1 track 9 and Appendix 5 on p. 223). The final movement - *Presto con Spirito* - is another binary form (CD 1 track 10 and Appendix 5 on pp. 223–224). After the chromaticisms of its predecessor, this rustic movement, with distinctive octave leaps in the bass-line (bars 8, 9, 12, 13 for instance), is much more conventional and light-hearted in spirit, with only a few appoggiaturas to create a little chromatic interest (p. 224 bars 51 and 58); as with the middle fast movement, the jagged rhythms require agility of the right hand. Again we encounter a sense of balance in the two final movements: a raising and transport of passions in the slow movement in the minor key is followed by the light mood of the finale, ensuring that neither *pathetic* nor allegro passion is enjoyed to excess.

Whereas Agus's career was relatively modest, Giardini burst onto the London concert scene, and with his Opus 1 Solos (1751), London famously witnessed a new style of violin playing.[89] Whereas Agus's Solos do not display feats of overt virtuosity, Giardini's first set of Solos employs up-bow staccatos, high registers, double stopping, and even the novelty of harmonics (an effect which was derided by Geminiani in the opening paragraph of his treatise) as well as the use of the 8va sign.[90] All the Solos in Giardini's Opus 1 are cast in the Fast-Slow-Fast pattern, and the individual movements tend towards presenting distinct musical ideas in contrasting phrase groupings with very little motivic play. Moreover, Giardini employed a simpler bass-line structure with regular repetition of the same chord, and the use of repetition of motifs at the same pitch rather than the use of harmonic sequence (see for instance figure 51).

[89] Simon McVeigh, "Felice Giardini: A Violinist in Late Eighteenth-Century London", *Music and Letters* 64 (1983): 162–163.
[90] Geminiani, *Art of Playing on the Violin*, preface, 1; Giardini, *Sei Sonate a Violino solo e Basso opera prima*.

Figure 51: Giardini Op. 1 No. 5 (Bremner, 1751), 1st Movement, bars 19–23.

All these elements are particularly evident in Giardini's Op. 1 no. 5 and especially in the opening *Allegro*, which features an abundance of the new takes on melodic structuring (repetition of thematic ideas both in their original form and up or down an octave) and effects (in particular repeated daggers) and a 'pared down' bass-line moving almost exclusively in crotchets (CD 1 track 11). However, the melodic lines in these Solos are similar to earlier decades in that they consist of relatively short musical ideas rather than the long melodic lines which would emerge later in the century. The second movement Adagio again features a sparing bass-line with repeated notes at the same pitch. Interestingly, the thematic structure of this movement still leans towards motivic play rather than distinct phrase groupings (CD 1 track 12). This movement also features a written out cadenza which was discussed earlier in this chapter.

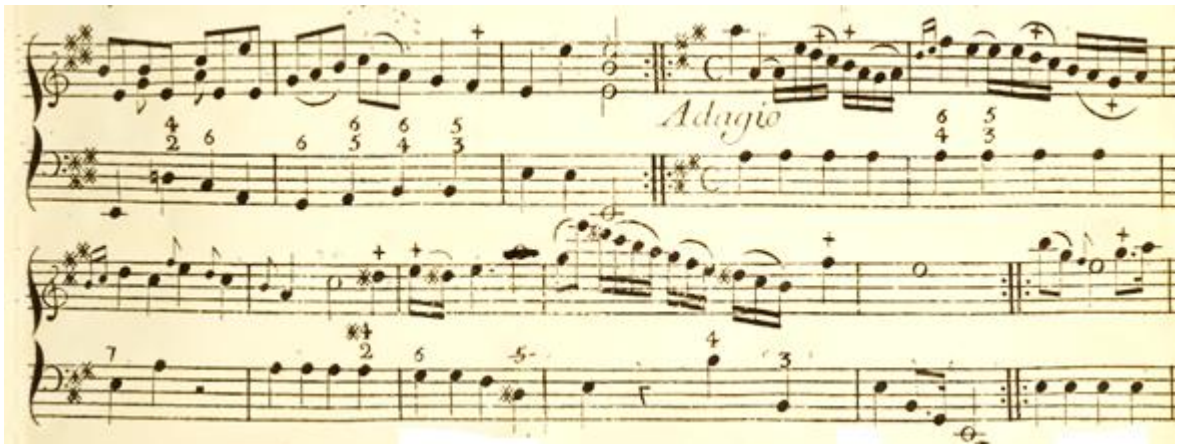

Figure 52: Giardini Op. 1 No. 5 (Bremner, 1751), 1st Movement (end) & 2nd Movement, bars 1–8.

Pugnani – towards the end of an era – the Solo by the 1770s

As we have seen, by 1770 there was a sense of uniformity of style and particularly structure in the Solos being performed and published. This move towards uniformity had been established during the 1760s in the sets published by Giardini, Marella, Morigi, Noferi, Pugnani, and Borghi. Indeed, all sets from this period consist of Solos of three movements in either Moderate – Slow – Fast or Fast – Slow – Fast pattern (see table 2 above).[91] With the exception of finale movements taking the form of *Rondo* or *Theme and Variations*,

[91] Ratner, *Classic Music*.

practically all movements are in binary form with the seeds of what would later be known as Sonata form: an A and B section which feature contrasting motivic ideas organised around an opening principal melodic idea, a transitional middle, and a cadential statement.[92] Themes are generally structured around 'phrase groupings' and repetitions, though the idea of 'motivic play' still plays a part particularly in slow movements.

As Gaetano Pugnani was the most internationally famous of the Italian violinists active in London by 1770, it seemed natural to focus on him to conclude this study.[93] Successful not only as a performer but also as an opera composer and pedagogue, his fame preceded him in London. His trios published in London were advertised as his 'capital works' by the publisher, and his Solos Opus 3 had already been printed by Welcker in 1760.[94] Pugnani's Solos Opus 7 were published during his time in London and dedicated to an English patron as an example of the final flowering of the Solo genre.

As a whole, the set illustrates the virtually standardized form of the Solo. All its Solos are cast in a major key with only one middle movement being cast in a contrasting minor key (the other Solos in the set have middle movements in the key of the dominant or subdominant). They employ an extensive ambitus and the occasional use of the octava sign; they also incorporate several examples of *Theme and Variations* – a movement type which, along with *Rondeau* type movements would come to dominate the Solo genre in the next two decades. However, with Pugnani there is still a sense of moderation even in the variation movements. Pugnani also includes two cadenza points in all but one of the slow movements in this set. A similar trend is found in Giardini's opus 16 Solos, which were also published in the 1770s, though most sets (Noferi, Agus, and Borghi) only feature one cadenza per Solo. The set also illustrates the dominance of the binary form with all slow movements and most fast movements (which are not variations) being cast in that shape.

Though it does not feature a Variation movement, Pugnani's Opus 7 no 2 in A major is a good example of the Fast – Slow – Fast structure which became standard in the Solo during the 1760s. This Solo also features the widest ambitus of the 3 Solos under closer study (Appendix 5 on pp. 225–229). It could possibly be argued that this Solo is a Moderate – Slow – Fast rather than a Fast – Slow – Fast depending on how one interprets the indication *Andantino*. Though both movements are notated in 2/4, the figurations in the first movement (including dotted rhythms in the bass) suggest a slower pulse than the final movements. This Solo also illustrates the subservient and simplified bass-line (particularly

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[92] Robert O. Gjerdingen, *Music in the Galant Style* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 417.
[93] McVeigh, "Italian Violinists in Eighteenth-Century London", 145–146; and Boris Schwarz and Marita P. McClymonds, "Pugnani, Gaetano". Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online, Oxford University Press, accessed 26 August, 2016, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/22526.
[94] Pugnani, *Six Trios for two Violins and a Violoncello Opera IX*.

when compared with Agus from just two decades prior), the dominance of phrase groupings creating distinct 'theme zones', a focus on particular formulas such as triplets leading to final cadences, 6/4–5/3 cadence patterns not only at the ends of phrases but within themes. Interestingly, this particular Solo does not feature any dynamics though *rin* (*rinforzato*) is indicated. While a few other dynamics are to be found elsewhere in the set, *rin* seems to be the only indication found throughout the set as a whole.

The opening movement – *Andantino* – is a binary form movement with clear thematic zones, though the opening triplet idea is used as motivic play throughout the movement. What makes Pugnani's work further stand out is his use of short melodic ideas in structuring longer melodic lines (see figure 53). Indeed, it could be argued that in doing so Pugnani is uniting the old and new styles of the Solo of the past (CD 1 track 13). While the bass-line is subservient, as with Giardini, there is some interplay between the parts, for instance in bars 1–3 which features both triplet figuration and the distinctive 6/4–5/3 cadence pattern. In addition Pugnani combines 'motivic play' and 'phrase groupings' in structuring the opening of the first movement, presenting four distinct but complementary ideas (Appendix 5 p. 225). Although trills feature throughout the Solo repertoire, Pugnani uses this element to particularly good effect both as a technical challenge and as a *pathetic* melodic feature (p. 225 bars 21, 23, 36, 38 and similar). While there is nothing like the chromaticism of Carbonelli to be found, the inflections of minor and the inventive use of a few thematic ideas create great charm in this movement.

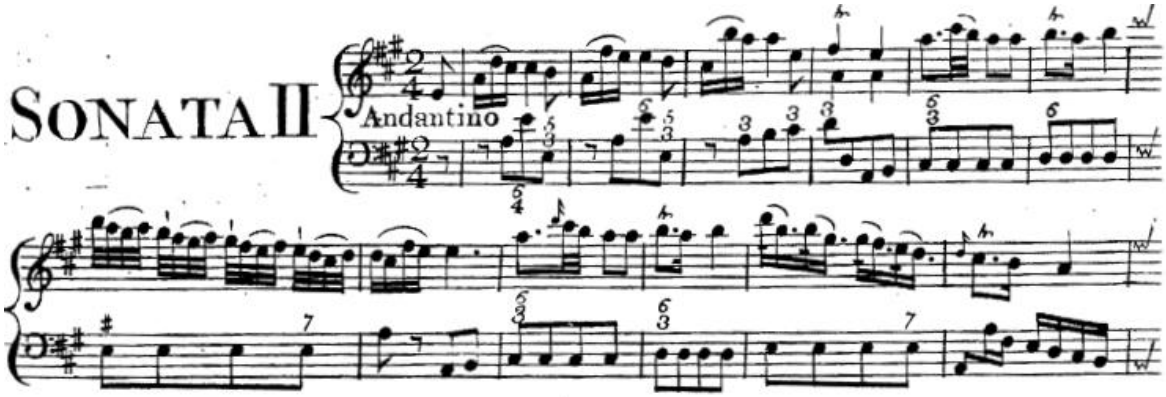


Figure 53: Pugnani Op. 7 No. 2 (1770), 1st Movement, bars 1–12.

The middle slow movement – *Largo* – is a perfect example of slow binary form with a cadenza at the end of both the A and the B sections. Indeed, as both halves can be repeated there are really four occasions to include a cadenza (Appendix 5 on p. 227, bars 6 and 17). Unlike the other slow movements studied, this Largo has almost no notated articulation in terms of slurs, daggers, dots or even dynamics. However, since articulation was considered an ornament, the performer is offered the opportunity to add slurs as well as passages and

graces to create further variety of expression.[95] In so doing, the only slur indicated (bar 2) has been taken as a starting point alongside the overall emotion of the movement in order to create a more flowing effect. A few passages have also been added on the repeat. The movement focuses on motivic play rather than spinning ideas in an almost rhetorical manner. Harmonic interest is introduced through the use of diminished 7th (figure 54 bars 2 and 7) and Neapolitan devices (Appendix 5 on p. 227, bars 2 and 14), and 'hidden virtuosity' is introduced through double stops and suspensions (bars 10–11). The many opportunities for cadenza in this movement provide the performer with a chance to experiment. On the accompanying recording three different options are demonstrated: a shorter self-improvised cadenza to finish the A section (CD 1 track 14); an almost complete version of a cadenza from Borghi which matches in key and 'tempo' (featured on CD 2 track 25); and finally a longer self-improvised cadenza inspired by the Borghi cadenzas and the Tartini skeleton (CD 1 track 15).

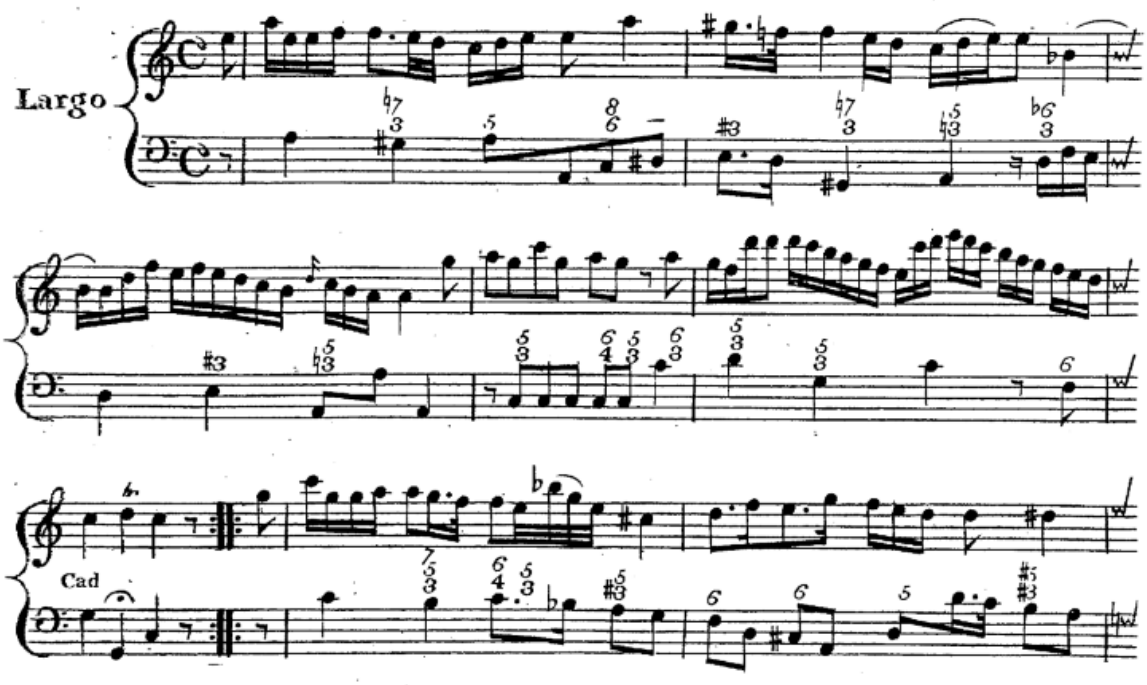


Figure 54: Pugnani Op. 7 No. 2 (1770), 2nd Movement, bars 1–8.

The final *Allegro assai* – another binary fast movement – does to some extent present fewer points of interest when compared with the first two movements. Across the repertoire final movements are often less serious, and both in composition and performance the focus is on technique more than expression. However, this movement does have a unique feature in the way in which the appoggiatura is used. With the same figure repeated three times in a row,

[95] See Geminiani, *Art of Playing on the Violin,* Example XX, Figure 39.

there is scope for varying the expression of this feature on each repetition, making it either passionate or sprightly and pleasing (Figure 55 and CD 1 track 16, listen at 0:50 and 2:09).

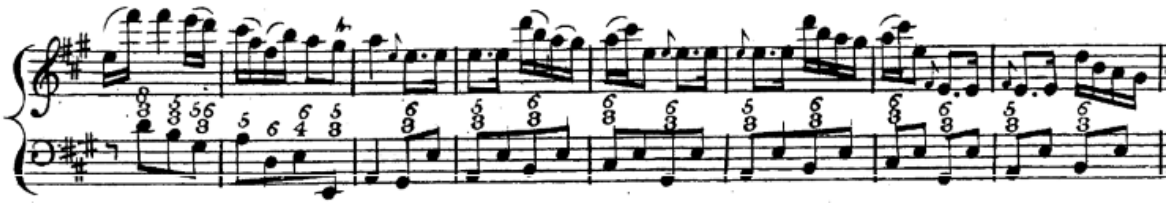


Figure 55: Pugnani Op. 7 No. 2 (1770), 3rd Movement, bars 100–107.

As in the opening movement, the idea of triplets is expanded, resulting in extensive runs of sextuplets underpinned by the characteristic 6/4–5/3 cadence which ends each section of the movement (Appendix 5 pp. 228–229, bars 46–50 and 108–112). This particular movement features a bowing which indicated the use of the new raised head bow, which was discussed at the beginning of the chapter (see figure 1 p. 120). This particular section is also the occasion for a change of mood with the momentary introduction of the dominant minor in a movement cast in the major.

Shortly after Pugnani published his Opus 7, his student Luigi Borghi published his Opus 1. The two sets do not radically differ but rather illustrate the final stage of the Solo genre before it began to disappear from first public concerts and then from publishers' catalogues.[96] Each composer seems to have a favourite virtuosic element: Pugnani uses trills in challenging places, whereas Borghi favours consecutive thirds and sixths, and daggers, to test the performer – applying a tradition from Carbonelli and Geminiani in new ways (figure 56). Interestingly, whereas Pugnani provides comparatively sparing dynamic indications, Borghi provides quite detailed instructions. The opening movement of Opus 1 no 5 illustrates this well (CD 1 track 17). Cast in E*b* major it also serves as an example of another trend in the Solo of the 1760s and 70s: the employment of keys with a three-flat key signature as a home key for a whole Solo (see Appendix 4 table 1).

[96] See Appendix 2 table 1.

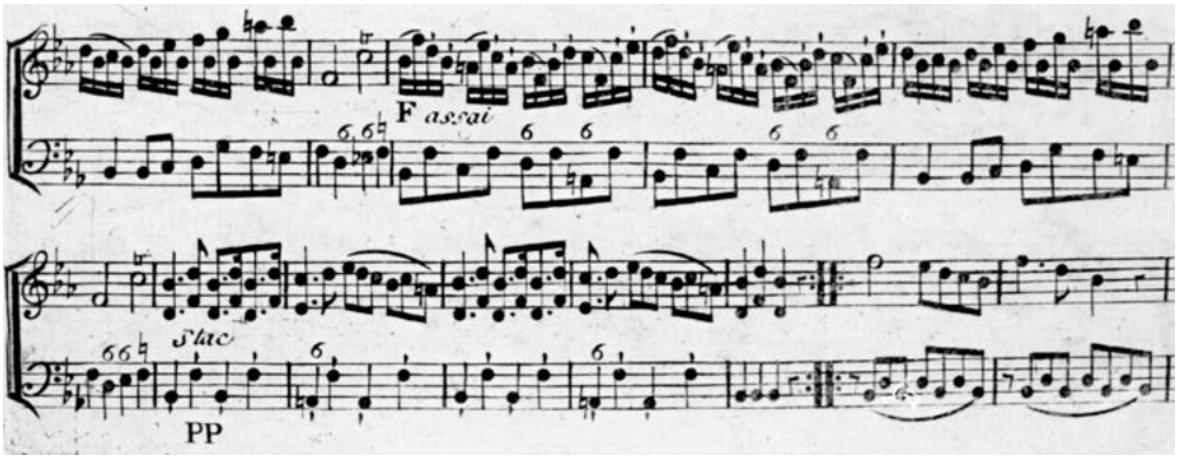


Figure 56: Borghi Op. 1 No. 5 (1772), 1st Movement, bars 30–42.

The Borghi movement also features the most extensive use of daggers in the whole repertoire and a clear alternation between *cantabile* and *allegro* melodic ideas, with the latter featuring the most daggers. Like Pugnani, Borghi combines 'motivic play' and 'phrase groupings' in the structuring of this opening theme, though it could be argued that he primarily uses 'phrase groupings' in his structuring. Furthermore the slow movement of this Solo again features the cadenza-formula first introduced by Agus. Borghi, unlike his contemporaries, actually uses a free-form structure for his slow middle movements rather than a binary form; nevertheless, his frequent use of 6/4–5/3 within the movements places him with his contemporaries.

General observations

While the Solo genre did change over the course of the decades studied in this chapter, there is also a sense of continued tradition. New elements such as variations grew out of the older tradition of the *Chiaconna*, and while the cadenza as a specific event was a gradually emerging feature, it was derived from the flourishes found in the Corelli Opus 5. Thus elements which were prominent in early Solos by, for instance, Carbonelli still feature in Pugnani, though much less prominently, and vice versa. Throughout the period, however, the ideals in terms of performance ('inventiveness', 'beauty of tone', 'aesthetic of moderation') remained constant. Indeed, while there are many performance practice issues to consider when approaching this repertoire, it is equally important to consider the overall artistic ideals of the time, which emphasised control of tone production as well as great artistic invention, both in composition and in execution. Similarly, although written decades apart, the treatises by Tosi, Geminiani and Tartini extol the same virtues in the performer: great invention and beauty of tone, and the importance of finding a balance between 'lack of invention' and 'excessive virtuosity'.

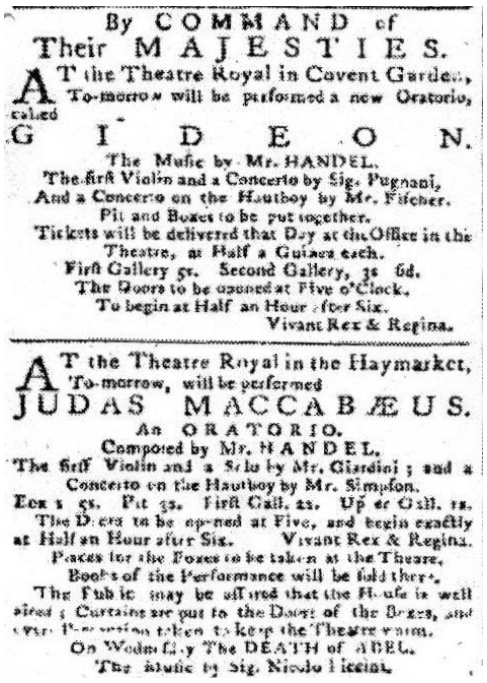
Both continuity of tradition and change in style are well illustrated by a comparison of Carbonelli's Solo Opus 1, no. 3, published around 1720, with Pugnani's Solo Opus 7, no 2, published in 1770. Whilst the technical challenges and musical structure of these two Solos differ in a number of ways, these Solos contain similar stylistic elements (short motivic ideas making up the thematic material), just with a difference in the weighting of motivic play and phrase grouping. These two Solos call for both *pathetic* and *allegro* playing, and while they each feature virtuosic elements, these never predominate. Indeed, even though Carbonelli and Pugnani, and to a lesser degree Agus, challenge the performer technically, there is a sense that the virtuosity is always moderated or serves a dramatic purpose rather than purely providing a chance to show off. In fast movements with impressive sequences or other devices exploring the fingerboard there are moments of hidden virtuosity and elegance, and for every chance to provide a flourish in a slow movement there is also a chance to demonstrate beauty of tone. Consequently, 'Good Taste' and indeed 'aesthetic of moderation' are reflected in each of these Solos. Within the repertoire as a whole Giardini is possibly the one author whose Solos (at least his Opus 1) seem to feature overt virtuosity for its own sake rather than for dramatic purpose.

Even though the printed scores of the Solo genre are generally very precisely notated, the scores are to some extent still just frameworks on which performances were and can be built. In actual performance the violinists would have had to (and will still have to) make informed decisions, particularly with regards to free ornamentations and the cadenza, to ensure that these elements of performance struck a balance so they displayed neither 'lack of invention' nor 'excess'. At the same time it is necessary to keep in mind that these boundaries reflect a personal understanding and application of these concepts and that of 'Good Taste' which we explored in the previous chapter.[97]

[97] David Hume, "Of The Standard of Taste", in Hume, *Four Dissertations* (London: A. Millar, 1757), as quoted above on p. 92.

Conclusion

In 1769 the famous violinist Gaetano Pugnani arrived in London for the first time.[1] He was to spend the next couple of seasons working and performing in London to great acclaim. At this time the Italian violinist was still a vital part of the London cultural scene, both leading orchestras and occupying humbler tutti section positions. Many of the Italians who had arrived in the previous decades were still active, in particular Giardini, and they were joined by a new generation of artists including Pugnani's students Luigi Borghi and possibly even a very young Viotti.[2] The Italians were colleagues but also each other's competitors. In *The Public Advertiser* on Thursday February 9th 1769 two adverts printed right next to each other announced that Pugnani would be leading an oratorio performance "tomorrow" at Theatre Royal in Covent Garden, whereas Giardini would be leading another oratorio performance the very same day at the same time at the Theatre Royal in the Haymarket.[3]



By COMMAND of
Their MAJESTIES.
AT the Theatre Royal in Covent Garden,
To-morrow will be performed a new Oratorio,
called
GIDEON.
The Music by Mr. HANDEL.
The first Violin and a Concerto by Sig. Pugnani,
And a Concerto on the Hautboy by Mr. Fischer.
Pit and Boxes to be put together.
Tickets will be delivered that Day at the Office in the
Theatre, at Half a Guinea each.
First Gallery 5s. Second Gallery, 3s 6d.
The Doors to be opened at Five o'Clock,
To begin at Half an Hour after Six.
Vivant Rex & Regina.

AT the Theatre Royal in the Haymarket,
To-morrow, will be performed
JUDAS MACCABÆUS.
An ORATORIO.
Composed by Mr. HANDEL.
The first Violin and a Solo by Mr. Giardini; and a
Concerto on the Hautboy by Mr. Simpson.
Box 5s. Pit 3s. First Gall. 2s. Upper Gall. 1s.
The Doors to be opened at Five, and begin exactly
at Half an Hour after Six. Vivant Rex & Regina.
Places for the Boxes to be taken at the Theatre.
Books of the Performance will be sold there.
The Public may be assured that the House is well
aired; Curtains are put to the Doors of the Boxes, and
every Precaution taken to keep the Theatre warm.
On Wednesday The DEATH of ABEL.
The Music by Sig. Nicolo Piccini.

Illustration 11: Advertisements announcing competing performances of Pugnani and Giardini. *Public Advertiser*, Thursday, 9 February, 1769, issue 10697.

That an oratorio by Handel would be a great attraction should come as no surprise. What is surprising is the prominence given to the instrumentalists. The performances of the leaders are specifically mentioned, with Giardini performing a Solo and Pugnani a concerto. The advertisements also mention the performance of an oboe concerto in both programmes (by Mr Fischer (Pugnani) and Mr Simpson (Giardini)). Intriguingly, the names of vocal soloists

[1] *Index to The London Stage 1660–1800,* ed. William van Lennep *et al.* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1960–1968) and Simon McVeigh, *Calendar of London Concerts 1750–1800 Advertised in the London Daily Press* (Goldsmiths College, University of London, database, 1990).
[2] Warwick Lister, *Amico: The Life of Giovanni Battista Viotti* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 15.
[3] *17th and 18th Century Burney Collection,* British Library Database. See also Simon McVeigh, *Calendar of London Concerts 1750–1800 Advertised in the London Daily Press*

are conspicuously absent. It would seem that instrumental music had become an attraction in its own right and Italian violinists were benefitting from this in a major way.

While the Italian violinists and the Solo still played an important role in cultural life, the 1770s was the era when other nationalities began to gain prominence and the Germanic dominance began to be felt as artists such as Cramer, Abel and eventually Salomon rose to prominence.[4] During the 1780s other genres of instrumental music such as the string quartet began to take the place of the Solo in concert programmes and also in the ever expanding publishers' catalogues.[5] Indeed, the new generation of Italian violinists arriving in London during the 1780s seem to not have authored any new sets of Solos.[6] Even so, it was only towards the end of the century, with the advent of new styles of violin playing and ever grander venues beginning to appear, that the Solo truly receded in importance. Nevertheless, while no new Solos were being conceived, publishers such as Preston kept a considerable catalogue of Solos authored during the preceding decades.[7] It was only after the turn of the century that the Solo really died out as an independent genre in publishers' catalogues.[8]

The Solo repertoire authored by the Italians in London over the course of the eighteenth century is very extensive – more than 30 sets of Solos are currently available and more will likely be discovered. Consequently, a study of every Solo in the repertoire would have been beyond the scope of this dissertation.[9] There is therefore much that can still be learned about this repertoire in general, and in particular about the lesser known artists – particular the group contemporary to Felice Giardini including Agus, Morigi, Marella and Noferi. Even so, this study has revealed the general trends within the repertoire: how the Solo as a genre was particularly well-suited to the general ideals of the 'aesthetic of moderation', 'beauty of sound' and 'invention' due to the way in which the Solo balanced structural elements with the ideals of the Italian violinists.

Italian violinists used the Solo in particular to improve their artistic (and financial) circumstances in eighteenth-century London through improving, adapting and forming the genre to demonstrate particular individualities, as well as the balance between virtuosity and expression. Indeed, the Solo was a genre which provided the author-performer with the unique opportunity to display inventiveness both in composition and execution. Throughout

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[4] Simon McVeigh, "Italian Violinists in Eighteenth-Century London", in *The Eighteenth-Century Diaspora of Italian Music and Musicians*, ed. Reinhard Strohm (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2001), 146–7.
[5] *Ibid.*, 146. See also for reference: McVeigh *Calendar of London Concerts 1750–1800 Advertised in the London Daily Press*, database, Goldsmiths College, University of London, 1990; and catalogues by Bremner and Preston listed in the Catalogues section of the Bibliography.
[6] See Appendix 1.
[7] *1790 An Additional Catalogue of Instrumental and Vocal Music Printed and Sold by Preston and Son...* Late the Property of that Eminent Dealer Mr. Robert Bremner, Hirsch IV 1113 (8).
[8] See: *Additional Catalogue or Musical Publications printed and Sold by Preston*, 1803. Hirsch IV.1113.(9)
[9] The Scores section of the Bibliography features 35 sets of Solos by Italian violinists active in London in the eighteenth century.

the eighteenth century it played an important part in the life of an Italian violinist when working in London. As we have seen, it was the repertoire of choice for first appearances in England, whether in public (Castrucci) or in private settings (Geminiani), and the performances by Italian violinists of Solos (primarily of their own composition) played a central role in the theatre and public concert (both the subscription series and the benefit), as well as in more private settings. The Solo lent itself to being performed in the broadest variety of settings and contexts, but it also served as a tool for self-promotion through publication, and demonstrating gratitude to patrons through dedications on the front page of "Solos Opus 1" in particular. The publication of a set of Solos as Opus 1 paved the way for further engagements, private students, patronage, and general artistic success.[10]

The Solo was also a saleable printed commodity; a repertoire to be purchased by students who wished to aspire to and imitate the art of the Italian violinists, and relive these performances. The works would likely create a desire to take lessons with the Italian violinist in order truly to understand the style, thus providing the original artist with another means of enhancing their career. By having these works as part of a collection, the owner showed off his 'good taste'. In time the works were bound in volumes stored in collections in country houses. It is through these collections that the prints of the Solos have survived to this day in various library collections. Sadly, in almost all cases details of the original purchaser have been lost. In order further to instruct lovers of music, a number of Italian violinists published treatises either on a single subject such as how to ornament in 'good taste' (Zuccari) or more broad tutors on violin playing (Geminiani) which strove to teach the students the art of playing the violin with 'good taste' and 'invention'.

Even though the conditions to make a decent income were present in eighteenth-century London, artistic and financial success were never guaranteed. Lasting success depended both on artistic merit and the ability to cultivate connections which could lead to patronages of various kinds. Nevertheless, most of the Italian violinists covered in this study were generally successful, though some of that success came from pursuing other careers – trading in pictures, instruments and even wine (Carbonelli and later Viotti).[11] A number of Italian violinists covered in this dissertation ended their careers in humbler settings working in the provinces (such as Geminiani) or migrating (Giardini), though it seems most of them escaped abject penury.[12]

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[10] For an early example of this see: Alberg W. Cooper, *Nicola Cosimi 1667–1717. His English Visit 1701–1705*, accessed 26 August, 2016, http://www.thecoopercollection.co.uk/art11.htm.
[11] Michael Talbot, "From Giovanni Stefano Carbonelli to John Stephen Carbonell: A violinist turned vintner in Handel's London", *Göttinger Händel-Beiträge Band 14* (Göttingen: Vanderhoeck and Ruprecht, 2012).
[12] Enrico Careri, *Francesco Geminiani* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993) and Simon McVeigh, *The Violinist in London's Concert Life: Felice Giardini and His Contemporaries* (New York and London: Garland Publishing, 1989).

The economic conditions which created the financial circumstances that made the careers of the Italian violinists possible are well documented, but the cultural and aesthetic contexts are much harder to grasp. The study of publishers' catalogues, concert advertisements in contemporary newspapers, surviving scores, the various databases and publications which document the quantitative evidence with regards to the popularity of the Italian violinists and the Solo repertoire is intriguing and reveals vital information. However, while these sources clearly demonstrate that the Italian violinist was popular, they cannot tell us why these Italian violinists were so well received. It is, however, evident that to succeed the Italian violinist had to conform to an ideal of 'good taste', 'beauty of tone' and an overall ideal of an 'aesthetic of moderation'. The 'aesthetic of moderation' is an expression for treading the middle ground between ideals and desires which existed in English society at large, and which formed the ethic and cultural debates of the times. Music in particular and art in general were seen as means of cultivating and refining the student so he could acquire taste; the Italian artist with his dramatic and passionate performance could further inspire such taste; and even luxurious possessions could at times be an expression of refinement of taste. However, over-indulgence and consumption of inferior art and luxury could equally cultivate effeminacy and debauchery, and the qualities which made the Italian violinists so appealing could just as easily be perceived as excessive and therefore morally dangerous. Finally, music could on the one hand delight, inspire and transport and on the other it could transport man to excess and amorality through the loss of sense. As a result, though the Italian violinists were greatly admired for their artistry, they were also held under a certain degree of suspicion. Italian violinists who wished to be successful therefore had to negotiate not just the general social and cultural norms of a foreign nation, they also had to negotiate these tensions and balances so that their performances and works displayed neither 'lack of invention' nor 'empty virtuosity'.Their performances needed to present a balance of moderation, beauty of sound and expression and invention (such as flashes of astonishment) to conform to the ideal of 'aesthetics of moderation'.

Even though Italian violinists and singers undoubtedly dominated the cultural scene in London during the eighteenth century, they did not do so to the total exclusion of musicians of other nationalities. French and German musicians also played prominent roles, and native artists (both singers and violinists) were an important part of the cultural scene. Solos by these artists were being published and sold, albeit on a much more modest scale than the output of the Italians.[13] From the middle of the century catalogues started to carry a broader range of repertoires by German authors in particular, many of whom, however, are

[13] Deborah Rohr, *The Careers of British Musicians 1750–1850: A Profession of Artisans* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001). Appendix 2 table 3.

scarcely known today – another topic for further research.[14] The Welcker catalogues of the 1770s do contain a number of treatises on figured bass by German authors such as "Feux" (very likely a misspelling of Fux).[15] Both the repertoire and treatises of French origin are surprisingly rare though L'Abbé le Fils's violin school appears in the Preston catalogues toward the end of the eighteenth century, possibly indicating the shift at this time towards other ideals in violin playing.[16] However, with regards to the advanced treatise on singing or violin, the Italian authors seem to have been favoured and these treatises are worthy of further study both individually and as another aspect of the aesthetics debate. There is certainly scope for further research into the interaction between the Italian violinists and, in particular, their German colleagues and the ways in which these artists influenced each other in their artistic outputs.

Much eighteenth-century research has focused on the last decades of the century for a very good reason: the source material is much more diverse and available in much larger quantity. For a whole variety of reasons newspaper articles, advertisements, diaries and similar contemporary sources are comparatively sparse in the first half of the eighteenth century. Even with these limitations a number of interesting conclusions can be drawn and the scope for further research is certainly present. Consequently this study is by no means the definitive story of the Italian violinists in London, as there is much still to be discovered about the individual careers of, in particular, some of the lesser-known artists. A number of the minor artists such as Carbonelli and Castrucci have been the subjects of academic articles within the last decade, but there is certainly scope for a study of the careers and lives of Gaetano Pugnani (who rather surprisingly does not seem to have been the subject of a major monograph in English), as well as Giuseppe Agus and other less known artists.

While the cadenza in the opera aria and the concerto is a well-known convention, this study has revealed that the cadenza was also an important part of the Solo genre. Whereas extempore ornamentation is a much studied area, the extemporized cadenza as a feature of the Solo genre has not yet been explored. The convention first emerges in the 1730s and by the 1750s no Solo was complete without one if not two points of rest where the "instrumentalist stops at will without regard to the beat, and makes them last as long as he

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[14] See Appendix 2 below.

[15] In the catalogue the full description of this treatise reads: Feux Practical Rules for learning Composition Translated from the Latin, this Book is in the very first estimation allover Italy and Germany and the best of the kind. See: *A Catalogue of Vocal and Instrumental Music printed for and sold by P. Welcker* [1772]. 7896.h.40.(16.).

[16] See: *1790 An Additional Catalogue of Instrumental and Vocal Music Printed and Sold by Preston and Son... Late the Property of that Eminent Dealer Mr. Robert Brenner*, Hirsch IV 1113 (8); and *A Catalogue of Vocal & Instrumental Music Engrav'd Printed and Sold Wholesale Retail and for Exportation*. John Welcker. g. 415 (1).

wishes or as long as he can prolong them".[17] However, the few written-out examples found in the repertoire suggest that the cadenza in the Solo was less elaborate than the cadenzas found in the concerto, partly because they were a feature of slow rather than fast movements. Future research might reveal to what degree the cadenza as part of the Solo was a convention peculiar to the Italians working in London, or whether cadenzas were a general convention within the Solo and indeed Sonata genres across Europe.

While the Solo was instrumental to the Italian violinists in London, contemporary concert advertisements make it clear that the concerto played an almost equally important role in careers of the Italian violinists, at least in terms of public performance. As the century progressed, the concerto became more important and eventually dominant in public concerts. Consequently, though Viotti did publish a set of Solos, he never seems to have performed these in public concerts in London.[18] On the other hand, though we know from concert advertisements that both Carbonelli and Castrucci performed Solos and Concertos of their own composition, only the Solo repertoire seems to have been published at the time (though an Opus 3 by Castrucci is mentioned in Walsh's *Great Cattalogue* along with Locatelli and Vivaldi).[19] It is only by the middle of century that Concertos for violin and orchestra began to become available in print and listed in publishers' catalogues, though it seems the Concerto was always mainly a performance repertoire and much less a publishing and selling repertoire. (In that respect the Solo was unique, covering both bases). A study of the interaction between the Solo and Concerto genres could (if the sources can be found) provide further understanding of the repertoires which the Italian violinists performed and possibly reveal the more astonishing elements of their performance, thereby adding another strand to our understanding of 'good taste' in music in the eighteenth century.

This study has revealed that the Solo was not just written to be performed in concert, but it was also a saleable commodity which was bought and used by those with the financial means to do so. However, there is still much that is unknown about how the works of these Italians were actually used and performed in the context of private music making. To what degree did the devoted amateur violinist have the technical abilities to play these works? Were these works even purchased to be performed? Or were they primarily bought as mementos of amazing performances to be stored in private music libraries as

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[17] Tartini, *Rules for Playing the Violin* [c. 1771], ed. Erwin R. Jacobi (Celle: Hermann Moeck Verlag, 1961), 117.

[18] McVeigh, *Calendar of London Concerts 1750–1800.*

[19] *A Cattalogue of Musick: Containing all the Vocal, and Instrumental Musick Printed in England, For Iohn Walsh. Where may be had, variety of English, and Italian Songs, also Musical Instruments of all Sorts, and a variety of Curious Pieces of Musick Printed abroad London. Sold by I: Walsh, Musick Printer and Instrument maker to his Majesty at ye Harp&Hoboy, in Catherine Street, in the Strand, Price 6d.* [1741].C.120.b.6.

demonstrations of 'good taste' or, indeed, as demonstrations of the purchaser's refinement culture and wealth?

While a few of the Italian violinists covered in this study published only one or two sets of Solos and no other works, most also published other instrumental works (particularly from the 1750s onwards) such as "Sonatas for two Violins and Bass" or "Opera dances", which, unlike the Solo, were genres aimed more specifically at the amateur market. Further exploration of these repertoires and their correlation with the Solos by the same composer could potentially provide new perspectives and insights. In particular, knowing the role that Italian violinists played in the theatre and opera orchestras, it would be interesting to investigate repertoires such as "opera dances" both as an independent genre and how they were incorporated into performances of the time. Of particular interest in this context is Giuseppe Agus, whose greatest success in his own day lay in his opera dances. While looking for Solos in the British Library, I discovered several sets of these dances arranged for violin or flute and bass by Agus as well as Noferi and Borghi, and there is likely much more repertoire yet to be discovered and unearthed.[20] While Italian violinists were less prolific in producing "Sonatas/trios for two Violins and Bass", Noferi, Agus and Pugnani all left sets of this genre, ranging from Pugnani's technically demanding Opus 7 to those envisaged for the amateur market (Noferi). Indeed, the developments in this genre in the 1760s to 1790s could merit a study of their own as that was a period of great transition for the profession and genres in general. Such a study could also focus on the genres which took over from the Solo such as the Duo Concertante and to what degree this new genre reflected shifts in the aesthetics of the time and the ideal of 'Good Taste' and beauty in violin playing in general. Such a study could also further explore to what extent some authors changed their compositional style between genres.

Many of the violinists covered in this study also worked outside London, either permanently relocating to the provinces or touring during the summer months. Recent research has begun to look at concert life in the provinces in more detail, but there is still room for understanding how the artists covered within this study furthered their careers by touring the provinces outside the London season.[21] How did such touring function in building careers and connections? To what degree did artists under patronage move with their patrons to the country during the off-season? And did the patterns change over the course of the century as a broader section of society (the commercial classes in particular),

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[20] *The Opera Dances both Serious and Comic. Danced at the King's Theatre, 1771, for the German Flute, Violin or Harpsichord. Book iii* (London: Welcker, 1771), as found in British Library Music Collections b.51.a. which contains several further sets of these dances.

[21] David Wyn Jones, ed., *Music in Eighteenth Century Britain* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000).

both in London and in other major cities, began to pursue and support artists, as can be seen in the dedications and subscriptions to various publications?

Whilst there is still much to be discovered with regards to the Italian violinists in eighteenth-century London, it is my hope that this study has shed a new light on a little-studied repertoire, revealing its role within the context in which it was heard and performed. The study has revealed why this particular repertoire and its authors and performers were so well received by contemporary audiences: the ability of this repertoire to be flexible and evolve to suit changing styles, and show off not just flights of fancy in an artist, but also its ability to be performed in a way that touched the listeners and adhered to that elusive and varying notion of 'Good Taste'. Indeed, the Solo repertoire was (and is) inherently adaptable to suit changing perceptions of taste, as well as providing great freedom of expression to the performer, whilst at the same time giving an idea of the artistic inventiveness of the Italian violinist. These artists arrived in London to meet the demands for all things Italian and because violinists were a vital part of the Italian Opera. Once in London, however, their careers developed to become extremely multifaceted. As we have seen, Italian violinists fitted into a whole variety of roles and settings as artistic directors, teachers and performers. The Solo as a genre was borne out of the need of the violinists to fit this wide range of markets, both public and private, and the genre was adaptable in such a way that it could be adapted to suit not only various venues but also varying perceptions of the excessive and lack of invention. In the process these Italian violinists created works which, while requiring great technical facility, focused on beauty of tone and bow control.

In an article announcing a concert series at the York Buildings featured in *The Spectator* on 18 January, 1712 Nicolo Haym and two of his colleagues provide, in their own words, an explanation of their artistic intentions: "Our Purpose is only to improve our circumstances, by improving the Art which we profess".[22] While the quote refers to the Italian Opera, I believe that the best Italian violinists strove to do the same in all aspects of their professional lives, including authoring and performing their Solos.

[22] *Spectator*, Issue 278, Friday 18 January, 1712; classified advertisements, as found in *17th and 18th Century Burney Collection,* British Library Database.

Appendices

Appendix 1: List of Italian violinists active in eighteenth-century London

This table lists all Italian violinists currently known to have been active in London between the 1670s and the 1820s. For each artist their full lifespan (where known), and era active in London is listed. Also listed are known sets of Solos published by these artists, as well as any particularly pertinent points about their careers such as patronage.

Violinist	Lifetime	Active in London	Sonatas/Solos for violin	Notes
Niccola Matteis	Dates uncertain	1674?–1690?	4 books of Ayers for the violin	Published between 1676 & 1687
Nicola Cosimi	1660 – 1717	1701 – 1705	1 set of Solos	Served Duke of Bedford Published 1701/2. 12 sonatas of 4–5 movements, following the *da camera* model
Gasparo Visconti	1683 – 1713?	1702 – 1705	1 set of Solos	Published c. 1703
Claudio Rogier	? – 1758	1707 – 1758	Not in Grove	
Francesco Geminiani	1687 – 1762	1714 – 1762	2 sets of Solos	Patron: Baron Kielmansegg & Earl of Essex Op. 1 published 1716, Op. 4 published 1739. *Treatise on Good Taste* published 1748. *The Art of Playing on the Violin* published 1751. Also series of treatises on harmony.
Francesca Maria Veracini	1690 – 1768	1714 & 1733 –1745	Op. 2 published in London	
Pietro Castrucci	1679 – 1752	1715 – 1750	2 sets of Solos	Op. 1 published c. 1718 Op. 2 published 1734
Prospero Castrucci	? – 1760	1715 – 1760	1 set of Solos	
Alexander Bitti	unknown	1715 – 1722?	Brother Martino Sonate, vn/fl, b (London, 1711)	Then went to Jamaica with Duke of Portland. The brother's early sonatas were promoted by Visconti & manuscripts survive in various collections.

Violinist	Lifetime	Active in London	Sonatas/Solos for violin	Notes
Gaetano Scarpettini	? – ?	1717 – 1755	Not in Grove	
John Ruggiero	? – ?	1718 – 1720	Not in Grove	Worked at Cannons?
Giovanni Stefano Carbonelli	1700 – 1772	1719 – 1772	1 set of Solos	Duke of Rutland's household until 1724. Probable date for Op. 1 is 1719/20. BL catalogue suggested 1729 as year of publication
Giuseppe Cattanei/o	? – 1762	1720 – 1762	2 sets of Solos	Op. 1 probably 1740/60s. Op. 2 probably 1760s.
Nicolo Pasquali	1718 – 1757	1743	1 set of Solos	Also lived in Edinburgh in 1752. Op. 1 published 1744.
Carlo Tessarini	1690 – 1766	1747 – 1748	Several sets Solos, only 1 published in London	
Giuseppe Agus	1725 – 1803	1748 – 1803	2 sets of Solos Opera dances	Op. 1 published 1750. Op. 2 published 1751.
Angelo Morigi	1725 – 1801	1750 – 1751	2 sets of Solos	
Thomas Pinto	1727 – 1782/83	1750 – 1769	1 set of Solos	Father was a political refugee in England
Felice Giardini	1716 – 1796	1751 – 1784	7 sets of Solos	Years of publication: 1751, 1755, 1759, 1765, 1772, 1777. Some years saw several sets published.
Carlo Chiabrano / Charles Chabran	1723 – ?	1752 – 1754	1 set of Solos	Set published 1751.
Giuseppe Passerini	1716 – 1783	1752 – 1762		Married to Christina Passerini, Soprano
Giovanni Battista Marella	? – 1778?	1755 – 1778?	1 set of Solos	

Violinist	Lifetime	Active in London	Sonatas/Solos for violin	Notes
Giovanni Battista Noferi	? – 1782	1757 – 1782	4 sets of Solos	Op. 1 published c. 1757. Op. 2 published c. 1760. Op. 3 published c. 1765. Op. 4 published c. 1770.
Giuseppe Sonderini	? - ?	1758 – 1798	Not in Grove	
Carlo Falco	? - ?	1759	Not in Grove	
Carlo Zuccari	1704 – 1792	early 1760s	1 set of Solos	Sonatas published in Italy in 1747. Treatise published in London 1760.
Thomas Mazzinghi	? – 1775	1768 – 1775	1 set of Solos	Op. 1 published c. 1763.
Gaetano Pugnani	1713 – 1798	1767 – 1769 & 1772 – 1773	2 sets of Solos	Op. 3 published in Paris in 1760. Op. 7 published in London in 1770.
Giovanni Salpietro	? – ?	1768 – 1810	Not in Grove	
G. B. Vidini	? – 1808	1768 – 1808	Not in Grove	
Luigi Borghi	1745 – 1806	1769 – 1806?	2 sets of Solos	Sonatas published 1772 & 1783. Treatise published 1790.
Magdalena Lombardini Sirmen	1745 – 1818	1771 – 1773	No Solos	
Eligio Celestino	1739 – 1812	1772 – 1776	2 sets of Solos	Contact for English people travelling to Rome. Sonatas published 1774 & 1797.
Joseph Agus	1749 – 1798	1773 – 1778	No Solos	Born in London but studied in Italy
Giovanni Battista Viotti	1755 – 1824	1773 & 1792 – 1798 & 1801 – 1824	2 sets of Solos first published in Paris, then in London & Leipzig	London / Leipzig publication dates: 1788 & 1792.

Violinist	Lifetime	Active in London	Sonatas/Solos for violin	Notes
Giuseppe Puppo	1749 – 1827	1777 – 1781?	No Solos	
Felice Chiabrano	1756 – 1829	1782 – 1829	No Solos	
Vincenzo Lanzoni	1757 – 1790	1784 – 1790	Not in Grove	
Antonio Lolli	1725 – 1802	1785 & 1791	Solos published later in London	
G. F. Pinto	1785 – 1806	?		Grandson of Thomas Pinto
Ignazio Raimondi	1735 – 1813	1785 – 1813	1 set of Solos	
Girolamo Stabilini	1762 – 1815	1789 & 1791	Not in Grove	
G. M. Giornovichi	1747 – 1804	1790 – 1796		
Giuseppe Demachi	1732 – 1791	1791	Uncertain?	
Louis Pilotti	1746 – 1836	1791 – 1836	Not in Grove	
John Bianchi	1775 – 1802	1792 – 1793 & 1801	Not in Grove	
Federigo Fiorillo	1755 – 1823	1793 – 1815	No Solos	Viola
Cesare Bossi	? – 1802	1795 – 1802		
Paolo Spagnoletti	1773 – 1834	1799 – 1834		Led Paganini's concerts
The Primary source for this table is Simon McVeigh's "Italian Violinists in Eighteenth-Century London", in *The Eighteenth-Century Diaspora of Italian Music and Musicians*, edited by Reinhard Strohm (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2001). The information has been cross-referenced with entries in Grove Music Online.				
This list only includes Sonatas/Solos and not trio sonatas or other chamber music.				

Appendix 2: Italian violinists and the Solo as documented in catalogues by UK publishers active in eighteenth-century London

Table 1: Italian violinists and their UK Publishers – Solos

This table illustrates the range of publishers who published the works of particular Italian violinists. While many violinists were just represented by one publisher, the more famous artists were picked up by several publishers. In some cases this was due to one publisher taking over another's stock.

	Self-published	Walsh	Roger	Cox	Bremner	Welcker	Johnson	Longman	Preston	Thompson	Cross	Hare	Wheatley	Napier	Cooper
Gasparo Visconti		x													
Giuseppe Cosimi			x												
Francesco Geminiani	x	x	x		x	Op4	x		x		x				
Pietro Castrucci		x	x									x			
Prospero Castrucci		x													
Giovanni Stefano Carbonelli	x	x													
Francesco Maria Veracini	Op4	Op1	Op1												
Nicolo Pasquali		x													
Giuseppe Agus					x	x	x								
Carlo Chiabrano (cellist)						x									
Felice Giardini	x			x	x	x		x	x	x					
Giovanni Battista Marella													x		
Tommaso Mazzinghi						x									
Carlo Zuccari					x										

	Self-published	Walsh	Roger	Cox	Bremner	Welcker	Johnson	Longman	Preston	Thompson	Cross	Hare	Wheatley	Napier	Cooper
Giuseppe Cattanei	x				x		x								
Giovanni Battista Noferi	x						x								
Angelo Morigi		x			x										
Gaetano Pugnani					x	x		x							
Luigi Borghi	x					x		x						x	
Eligio Celestino	x				x	x			x						
Antonio Lolli								x							
Giovanni Battista Viotti															x

Sources: *Grove Dictionary of Music (printed edition),*
Music Published in the British Isles and *surviving original editions*

Table 2: Italian Violin Solos in London Publishers' Catalogues

This table explores the Solos listed in the actual extant catalogues. The first page represents a selection of the most important catalogues brought out by Walsh and his successors. The second page lists the content of other major publishers' catalogues. This pattern is repeated in tables 3 and 4.

	Walsh c. 1710	Walsh c. 1721	Walsh c. 1731	Walsh c. 1733	Walsh c. 1753	Walsh c. 1748	W. Randall c. 1776	E Randall 1782
Alberti				x		x	x	x
Albinoni		Op4	x	x	x	x	x	Op6
Martino Bitti		x		x		x	x	x
Bomponti	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Bononcini			x					
Cabran							x	
Campioni							x	
Pietro Castrucci			x	x	Op1,2		x	x
Prospero Castrucci						x	x	x
Chabran								x
Vincenzo Ciampi						x	x	x
Corelli	Op5	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
De Santi						x	x	
Gasparini			x	x				
Gasparini / Visconti	x	x				x		
Geminiani		Op1	Op1	x	x	Op1,4	x	x
Locatelli					Flute?			
Mancini			x	x	x		x	x
Mascitti		x	x	x	x	x	x	
Nardini							x	x
Pasquali						x	x	x
Tartini						x	x	
Tessarini					Flute?			
Torelli						x	x	x
Giuseppe Valentini		x	x	x	x	x	x	
Veracini				x	x	x	x	x
Vivaldi		x	x	x	x	x	x	Op2

	Thompson c. 1752	Johnson c. 1754	Johnson c. 1770	Bremner c. 1765	Bremner c. 1772	P. Welcker c. 1765	P. Welcker c. 1773	J.Welcker c. 1775	J. Welcker 1776	Bremner 1782	Preston 1790
Agus		x	x	x				x	x	x	x
Alberti		x									
Albinoni		x									
Barbella					x		x	x	x	x	x
Borghi								x	x		
Pietro Castrucci		x		x							
Prospero Castrucci		x									
Celestino									x		
Chabran						x	x	x			
Corelli	x	x	x	x				x	x	x	x
De Santi		x									
Ferrari					x				x	x	
Geminiani	x	x	x	x				x	x	x	x
Giardini		x		x	x		x	x	x	x	x
Lamota									x		
Lolli									x		
Morelli			x								
Morigi		x	x							x	x
Mazzinghi						x	x	x	x	x	x
Noferi			x	x	x			x	x	x	x
Pasquali	x	x		x							
Pizzolato	x										
Pugnani					x		x	x	x	x	x
Stratico						x	x				
Tartini	x	x		x		x	x	x	x		
Tessarini	x										
Vachon									x		
Valentini		x									
Veracini		x									
Vivaldi		x	x								(x)

Table 3: Violin Solos by English, French, Spanish, German composers in the same catalogues

For comparison this table lists the Solos by non-Italian composers as found in the catalogues surveyed in table 2. The surge in items composed by those of other nationalities after 1770 is marked.

	Walsh c. 1710	Walsh c. 1721	Walsh c. 1731	Walsh c. 1733	Walsh c. 1735	Walsh c. 1748	W. Randall c. 1776	E Randall 1782
Babel			x					
Bitckenstock			x	x	x	x	x	x
Finger		x	x					
Fritz							x	x
Handel			x					
Leclair			x			x	x	
Melande			x					
Nussen						x	x	x
Pepush	x	x				x		
Purcell	x	x	x					
St Germain						x	x	x
Telemann						x	x	x
Valentine							x	
R. Valentine			x					
Viner			x	x	x	x	x	

	Thompson c. 1752	Johnson c. 1754	Johnson c. 1770	Bremner c. 1765	Bremner c. 1772	P. Welcker c. 1765	P. Welcker c. 1773	J.Welcker c. 1775	J. Welcker c. 1776	Bremner 1782	Preston 1790
Astogas							x				
Barthelemon						x	x	x		x	x
Berkenstock		x									
Carter	x										
Cramer								x	x		
Desabry							x	x	x		
Eifert							x				
Falco							x			x	x
Festing		x	x							x	x
Fisher							x		x		
Germain											x
Gibbs	x										
Gunn	x										
Hellendaal										x	x
Holcombe											x
Jones	x										
Kammel / Kammell								x	x		
Leclair				x							
Lomta								x			
Mante	x										
Nussen		x									
Pagin										x	x
Pepush		x									
Pergin				x							
Pezzolato							x				
Portier								x			
Potiers									x		
Stamitz						x	x		x		
Tremier										x	x
Vachon										x	
Wodezka										x	x
Woodizka	x										
Ximene / Ximenes							x			x	x

Table 4: Two violins and continuo

This table lists the trio sonata repertoire as contained in the same catalogues as explored in tables 2 and 3. Rather than splitting into Italian and non-Italian authors, the former have been marked in bold. From the middle of the century there is sometimes an ambiguity as to whether sets under the trio sonata category are really string trios. This is a field worthy of further research.

	Walsh c. 1710	Walsh c. 1721	Walsh c. 1731	Walsh c. 1733	Walsh c. 1735	Walsh c. 1748	W. Randall c. 1776	E Randall 1782
Albinoni	x			x	x	x	x	x
Arne							x	x
Barsanti			x	x	x			
Bendal							x	x
Beretti						x		
Bezzozi							x	x
Bomponti	x					x	x	x
Bononcini	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Boyce						x		x
Brioschi					x			
Campioni							x	x
Cervetto							x	x
Corelli	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Finger	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Fritz								x
Geminiani						x		x
Handel			x			x	x	x
Humphrie					x	x	x	
Jerace								x
Lampugnani						x	x	x
Leclair								x
Loeillet			x					
Martini / St Martini						x	x	x
Mascshitti / Massiti			x	x	x	x	x	
Matteis / Matice		x	x	x	x		x	x
Morigi						x		x
Nussen							x	x
Pepush			x					
Pez		x	x	x	x		x	x
Porpora						x		x
Purcell	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Ravenscroft	x	x	x	x	x		x	x
Schickart		x	x					

	Walsh c. 1710	Walsh c. 1721	Walsh c. 17231	Walsh c. 1733	Walsh c. 1735	Walsh c. 1748	W. Randall c. 1776	E Randall 1782
Solnitz							x	
Solniz						x		
St Germain							x	
Tibaldi	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Topham		x	x	x	x		x	x
Torelli						x		
Valentine			x	x	x	x		
Valentini			x	x	x	x	x	x
Van Valdere							x	
Wagenseil								x
Zanetti								x
Ziani	x	x	x	x	x		x	x

	Thompson c. 1752	Johnson c. 1754	Johnson c. 1770	Bremner c. 1765	Bremner c. 1772 (violin trios?)	P. Welcker c. 1765	P. Welcker c. 1773	J. Welcker c. 1775	J. Welcker c. 1776	Bremner 1782	Preston 1790
Abel					x			x	x	x	
Agus					x		x	x	x		
Alberti										x	
Albinoni		x									
Allesandrei							x		x		
Androus						x	x				
Avison										x	
Bach								x	x		
Barbant / Barbandt						x				x	
Barbella					x		x	x	x		
Barthelemon						x	x	x	x		
Boccherini					x				x	x	
Bomporti		x									
Bononcini	x	x									
Borghi								x	x		
Boyce		x									
Burney										x	
Campion									x		
Campioni					x		x	x		x	
Cervetto		x								x	
Ciampi											x
Cirri						x	x	x	x		
Corelli	x	x	x	x	x			x	x	x	x
Cramer							x	x	x		
Desaubry / Desabry										x	x
Earl of Kelly							x			x	x
Ferigo										x	x
Festing										x	x
Filz								x	x		
Fisher										x	x
Franceschini								x	x		
Franzl								x	x		
Fritz		x									
Galeotti						x	x				
Gasparini										x	x
Geminiani		x	x							x	x
Giardini					x		x	x	x		x
Giordani								x	x		
Gluck					x					x	x

	Thompson c. 1752	Johnson c. 1754	Johnson c. 1770	Bremner c. 1765	Bremner c. 1772	P. Welcker c. 1765	P. Welcker c. 1773	J. Welcker c. 1775	J. Welcker c. 1776	Bremner 1782	Preston 1790
Handel	x	x	x	x				x	x		
Haydn								x	x	x	x
Heotti									x		
Herschel					x					x	x
Humble							x	x	x		
Humphrie				x							
Kammel							x	x	x		
Kofswarra								x	x		
Lampugnani	x	x						x	x		
Lidarti						x	x	x	x		
Madam Sirmen							x		x	x	x
Martini					x		x			x	x
Mascitti		x									
Misliwececk							x	x	x		
Morigi		x		x							
Noferi					x		x	x	x	x	x
Nusen								x	x		
Nussen		x									
Pergolese / Pergolesi					x			x	x	x	x
Pesch								x	x		
Porpora		x		x							
Pugnani					x			x	x	x	x
Punto								x	x		
Purcell											
Ricci							x	x	x		
Richter								x	x		
Sacchini										x	x
Schetky										x	x
Schmitt								x	x		
Schuman								x	x		
Schwindel					x		x	x	x		
Shiati						x	x				
Solnitz		x									
St Germain		x									
St Martini		x							x		
Stamitz					x				x		
Tibaldi		x									
Toeschi								x	x		
Vachon									x		

	Thompson c. 1752	Johnson c. 1754	Johnson c. 1770	Bremner c. 1765	Bremner c. 1772	P. Welcker c. 1765	P. Welcker c. 1773	J. Welcker c. 1775	J. Welcker c. 1776	Bremner 1782	Preston 1790
Valentine		x									
Valli										x	x
Vanhal										x	x
Vento						x	x	x	x		
Weideman								x	x		
Windling								x	x		
Zanetti							x			x	x
Zanretti					x			x	x		
Zappa						x	x	x	x		
Zuccari					x					x	x

Source for tables 2–4: Original eighteenth-century music catalogues held in the British Library and in the Royal College of Music Library

Table 5: Treatises on violin playing and general music published by eighteenth-century London publishers

This table lists treatises by Italian violinists active in London as well as other treatises by Italian authors published in London in the eighteenth century. The list also includes a couple of treatises by English authors (Avison and Bremner) who were both greatly influenced by the Italians and whose works are referred to in the text. It is noteworthy that while Walsh excelled in bringing out the musical works of the Italians, he was much less active in the field of treatise publishing (his *Great Cattalogue* has no treatises at all).

	Walsh	Cox	Johnson	Welcker	Bremner	Preston	Self-published	Book Traders
Antoniotto: L'Arte Armonico or A Treatise on the Composition of Music		x						
Avison: An Essay on Musical Expression (Lockyer Davis)								x
Borghi: 64 cadences or solos for the violin...					x			
Bremner: The Rudiments of Music					x			
Geminiani: A Treatise of Good Taste in the Art of Musick							x	
Geminiani: Art of Playing on the Violin		x				x	x	
Geminiani: Guida Armonico			x					
Geminiani: Rules for Playing in Taste			x			x		
Geminiani: The Art of Accompaniment			x					
Keller: Rules for a thorough Bass	x							
Pasquali: The Art of Fingering the Harpsichord					x			
Pasquali: Thoroughbass made Easy					x			
Tartini: Variations			x					
Tessarini: An Accurate Method to attain the Art of Playing the Violin				x	x			
Tosi: Treatise on Florid Song (J. Wilcox)								x
Zuccari: The True Method of Playing an Adagio					x	x		

Source: Eighteenth Century Catalogues in the British Library and Music collections held in the same place

Table 6: Publishers and sellers of Italian instrumental music without catalogues

A number of Italian artists had their works brought out by publishers, few if any of whose catalogues have survived. This table lists these publishers as well as the works they are known to have published and any other pertinent information. This table also demonstrates the competition Walsh had at the beginning of the century.

Printer	Date where known	Publication	Notes
Ralph Agutter	September 1695	Twelve Sonatas (newly come over from Rome) in 3 parts Composed by Sig.r Corelli	
Richard Alderman	1760	Sei Sonata ... composte dal Sigr Tomaso Prota di Napoli	
John Banister	1700–02	Selling agent for music published in Rome and Amsterdam including Corelli's Opus 5 and Cosimi	Banister played in the Drury Lane Theatre Band with Loillet, Paisible and Visconti
Edmund Chapman	1759, 1760	Six Solos for the German flute, Hautboi or Violin... Allessandro Besozzi as well as Tomaso Prota's Sonatas	Besozzi (Bezozzi): oboist
Thomas Cross		Castrucci, Corelli, Geminiani	Engraver working for Cullen and Meares
B. Fortier	1740	Sonate a violino con viola di gamba o cembalo da Francesco Guerini opera prima	French engraver active in London
Hickford	1732	Concertos in seven parts by Mr. Francis Geminiani	Hickford of Hickford's music rooms
Mr. Kelway	1734 and 1749	Sold Geminiani's Opus 4 and 5 by subscription at Depuis Coffee House	Pupil of Geminiani
Gabriel Leone	1765	Six Duets for two violins Composed by Sigr Emanuelle Barbella	
Richard Meares	1722	Corelli's sonate a tre	
Henry Riboteau		Book and music seller who succeeded Isaac Vailland as selling agent for E. Roger of Amsterdam	
Slaughters Coffee House	1732	Twelve Sonatas for the Chamber for two Violins and a Bass doubled composed by Mr Bononcini	
George Terry		Six Trios for two German flutes or two violins with a thorough Bass for the harpsichord by Giacomo Androux	Terry was one of his Majesties Musicians in Ordinary
Francis Isaac Valliant	1700–06	Selling agent for Estienne Roger	
John Wynne	c. 1765	Six Sonatas for the violoncello e Basso composed by Alexis Magito opera prima	

Appendix 3: Dedications to patrons within the Solo repertoire

This list contains the wording of all dedications to English patrons. Dedications to foreign patrons have been left out of the list. Composers are in alphabetical order. Where possible, the original punctuation and abbreviations have been retained. For further details see the bibliography.

Giuseppe Agus
Opus 1
Dedicate a Sua Eccellenza Il Conte d'Haflang, Signore di Hohen Cammer di Haflang Kreith, di Dissleng, e di Giebing, Gran Maestro Ereditario dell'Alta, e Bassa Baviera; Consigliere di Stato della su Maestra Imperiale Carlo VII; Inviato Straordinario di S. All.Se^ma^ Elettorale di Baviera alle Maestra il Re della Gran Bretagna; e Gran Croce dell'ordine di S^n^ Georgio in Baviera
Opus 2 – no dedication

Luigi Borghi
Opus 1
Six solos for a violin and and a bass humbly dedicated to Sir Rowland Wynne Baronet composed by Lewis Borghi

Giovanni Stefano Carbonelli
All illustrissimo ed Eccellentissimo Signore il Sig. Duca di Rutland, Marchese di Granby, Conti du Rutland, Baron Roos di Hamlake, Trulbute Belvoir, e Baron Maners di Haddon, Luogotenente & Custos Rotulorum della Contea di Leicester, Cancelliero della Ducea di Lancastro, Consigliero Privato di S. M. Britannnica &c &c e Cavaliere del Nobiliss^mo^ Ordine della Giartiera

Cattanei
Opus 2
Contains a list of subscribers – the only one discovered in the research of this repertoire. See table 1 below.

Pietro Castrucci
Opus 1
Dedicate All' Eccellenza Riccardo Conti di Burlington e Cork, Barone Clifford di Landestrough &c.
Opus 2
Dedicate alle Serennesissma Altezza Reale La Principessa Anna

Celestino Opus 2
Humbly dedicated to William Hanbury Esq

Nicola Cosimi
Illus^mo^ et Ecc^mo^ Prencipe Wriothesly Duca di Bedford, Marchese di Tavistok, Conte di Bedford, Barone Russel, Barone Honland di Stratham, Govenatore della Provincie di Bedford, Cambridge, et Middlesex, et Custos Rotulorum per la detta Provicia e Caualiere del Nobilis^mo^ Ordine della Giartiera

Francesco Geminiani
Opus 1
Dedicate Al Illustrissimo et Excellentissimo Signore Il Sig^r^ Barone di Kilmans'egge Cavallerizzo Maggiore e Ciamberlano Di sua Maestà Britanica e Elettore di Brunswick e Lunebourg
Opus 1 – revision
Dedicate All' Illustrissima ed Eccellentissima Signora Dorotea Contessa di Burlington
Opus 4
Dedicate all Illustrissima ed Eccenllentissima Signora Margarita Contessa D'Orrery

Felice Giardini
Opus 1
Dedicate all' Merito Sublime dell Ill^mo^ Signore Conte Turpin Brigadiere dell Armate di sua Maesta Cristianissima e Collonello d'un Regimento d'Ussari
Opus 6
Dediees a Madame Isabelle Comtesse de Carlisle
Opus 7
Decidate at Ill^mo^ Signora Will^m^. Hamilton
Opus 10
Dedicate a Sua Altezza Il Serenissimo Principe Ereditario di Brounsuic e di Lunebourgh
Opus 16
Dedicated to The Right Hon^ble^ Lord Bingley[1]

Giovanni Batista Marella
Dedicated to Miss Amelie Rebecca Forster

Giuseppe Battista Noferi
Opus 1
Eight solos for a violin with a bass for the harpsichord or violoncello dedicated to the hon'ble Harriott Lane by her most obliging and very humble servant Giovanni Battista Noferi.
Opus 2
Dedicated to Signor Felice Giardini
Opus 8
Dedicati a Sua Eccellenza Lord Giorgio Sutton
Opus 11
Dedicated to the Right Honourable Lord Melbourne

[1] The title-page also reveals that Giardini was at this point "Music Master to their Royal Highnesses the Duke of Gloucester and the Duke of Cumberland".

Gaetano Pugnani
Opus 3?
Six solos for a violin and bass composed and most humbly dedicated to Lord Coleraine by G. Pugnani.
Opus 7
Ill Sig[re] Duca di Marlborough Marchese di Blandford

Without dedication:
Giuseppe Cattanei (sometimes Cattenei or Cattaneo)
Nicolo Pasquali

N.B. Veracini published his Opus 4 while in London. However, the set is dedicated to a patron abroad for whom he wished to work.

Table 1: Subscription list from Giuseppe Cattanei, *VI Sonate a Violino e Basso Opera Secondo*. London: for the author, and sold by Bremner

A

LIST

OF THE

SUBSCRIBERS.

A

SIR George Armitage, Bt.
Sir William Anderſon, Bt.
Stanhope Harvy, Eſq;

B

The Right Hon. Lady Bingley.
Mrs. Bowes.
Mrs. Bright.
—— Briſtow Eſq;
Miſs Briſtow.

C

Mrs. Challoner.
—— Challoner Eſq;
Miſs Jenny Challoner.
Miſs Cookſon.

D

Sir Laurance Dondas, Bt.
John Delmy Eſq;

E

Giles Earle, Eſq;
Mrs. Earle.
Francis Edmond, Eſq;

F

Sir Mathew Featherſton, Bart.
Lady Featherſton.

H

Walter Hawkſworth, Eſq;
Mrs. Hales,
Miſs Houlbourne.

I

The Right Hon. the Lord Irvin.
The Right Hon. the Lady Irvin.

L

Lady Lowther.
Mrs. Laſcelles.
Miſs Lampton.
Edwin Laſcelles, Eſq;
Thomas Liddell, Eſq;
Rev. Mr. Laſcelles.

M

Sir Ralph Millbank, Bart.
The Right Hon. Lady Mary Millbank.
Sir George Mitham Mongomery, Bart.
Miſs Mariot.
Mr. Melliſh.

P

Miſs Pelham.

Q

George Quarme, Eſq;

R

The Right Hon. Lord Rockingham.
The Right Hon. Lady Rockingham.
The Right Hon. Lord Ravenſworth.
Sir John Ramſden, Bart.
Lady Ramſden.
Thomas Ramſden, Eſq;
Col. Ramſden.

S

The Right Hon. Lady Scarborough.
The Right Hon. Lord Scarborough.
The Right Hon. Lady Bewes Strathmore
Sir George Saville, Bart.
Capt. Shill.

T

Charles Turner, Eſq;

W

The Right Hon. Lady Charlotte Wentworth
Goodfrey Wentworth, Eſq;
Peregine Wentworth, Eſq;
Pal. Wentworth, Eſq;
Hugh Wentworth, Eſq;
Lady Wake.
Patience Ward, Eſq;

Appendix 4: The structure of the Solo

Table 1: Table illustrating the keys used in the Solo

This table provides a survey of the keys used in the Solo genre. The overall key of each Solo has been marked in **bold**. In cases where there is no bold there is an unusual equal distribution of keys within the piece. Parentheses denote where part of a movement is in this contrasting key. In some Solos there is a slight ambiguity of, in particular, flat keys as some authors notate for instance B*b* major with one instead of two flats.

Key Areas	Geminiani Opus 1	Geminiani Opus 4	Castrucci Opus 1	Castrucci Opus 2	Carbonelli Opus 1	Pasquali Opus 1	Giardini Opus 1
I	**A maj**/ C# min	**D maj**/ D min	C min	D min	**D maj**/ B min	C maj	**G maj**/ C maj (G min)
II	D min	**E min**/ C maj	E min	Bb maj	D min	**D maj** (D min)	**F maj**/ Bb maj
III	E min	**C maj**/ A min	G min	**G maj**/ G min	**E maj**/ C# min	G min	**E min**/ E maj (E maj)
IV	**D maj**/ B min	**D min**/ F maj	C maj	F maj	G min	**A min**/ A maj	**A maj**/ E maj (A min)
V	Bb maj	A min/ A maj	Bb maj	G min	C min	**E min**/ E maj	**E maj**/ A maj
VI	**G min** Bb maj	**D maj**/ D min	**A maj**/ F# min	F min	A maj	**F maj** (F min)	G min/ G maj (Bb min)
VII	C min	**A maj**/ F# min	D min	**E maj**/ E min	A min		
VIII	B min	**D min**/ Bb maj	E min	Eb maj	G maj		
IX	**F maj** ?	**C min**/ Eb maj	'D min' no flats	B min	E min		
X	**E maj** B min?	A maj	B min	**A maj**/ F# min	G min		
XI	A min	**D maj** D min	E maj	C min/ G min/ G maj	A **maj**/ F# min		
XII	D min	A maj	A min		B min		

Key Areas	Giardini Opus 16	Agus Opus 1	Agus Opus 2	Cattanei Opus 1	Noferi Opus 2	Pugnani Opus 7	Borghi Opus 1
I	**D maj**/ G maj	A maj	**Eb maj/** Bb maj	**D maj**/ D min	**C maj**/ G maj	**Bb maj**/ F maj	**Bb maj**/ F maj
II	**A maj**/ D maj	Bb maj	**Bb maj** Eb maj	**Bb maj**/ G min	**D maj**/ A maj	**A maj**/ A min	**G maj**/ D maj (G min)
III	**G maj**/ C maj	C maj (C min)	**A maj** E maj	**D min**/ D maj	**Eb maj**/ Bb maj	**C maj**/ G maj	**E maj**/ A maj (E min)
IV	**Eb maj**/ Bb maj	G maj (G min) (E min)	**C maj** F maj	**A maj**/ A min	**A maj**/ E maj	**E maj**/ A maj (A maj)	**D maj**/ A min (D min)
V	**Bb maj**/ Eb maj	**F maj**/ F min	**G maj** C maj	E min	**Bb maj**/ Eb maj	**Bb maj**/ F maj	**Eb maj**/ Bb maj
VI	D maj	E maj	**E maj** A maj	E maj (E min)	**F maj**/ C maj	**G maj**/ D maj	A maj/ E maj (A min)

Table 2: Imperfect cadences, cadenzas, and contrasting keys within Solos

This table provides an overview of the frequency of the major and minor mode within the Solo genre overall, both with regards to home key and the key of individual movements. The table also lists the occurrences of particular features such as movements ending on imperfect cadences and sets that feature 'bridge' movements as well as cadenzas. In the Solos by Giardini and Pugnani cadenzas sometimes occur in both A and B sections of movements. This is notated accordingly in the table below.

Solos in/with:	Geminiani Opus 1	Geminaini Opus 4	Castrucci Opus 1	Castrucci Opus 2	Carbonelli Opus 1	Pasquali Opus 1	Giardini Opus 1
Major mode	5	7	4	6	5	3	4
Minor mode	7	5	8	5	7	3	1
Movements in relative or parallel minor	2	3	1	3	3		
Movements in relative or parallel major		4		1		2	2
Movement in dominant or sub-dominant key							
Part of movement in relative/parallel major/minor		4				2	3
Cadenzas				1			3 (notated)
Imperfect cadences	4	5	1	5	5	2	
'Bridges'	4	2	6	2	1		

Solos in/with:	Giardini Opus 16	Agus Opus 1	Agus Opus 2	Cattanei Opus 1	Noferi Opus 2	Pugnani Opus 7	Borghi Opus 1
Major mode	6	6	6	4	6	6	6
Minor mode				2			
Movements in relative or parallel minor		1		3			1
Movements in relative or parallel major				2			
Movement in dominant or sub-dominant key	6		6		6	6	5
Part of movement in relative/parallel major/minor		2		1		1	4
Cadenzas	A-4 B-6	6	6		6	A-5 B-6	6
Imperfect cadences				5			
'Bridges'							

Table 3: Movement labels in the Solo

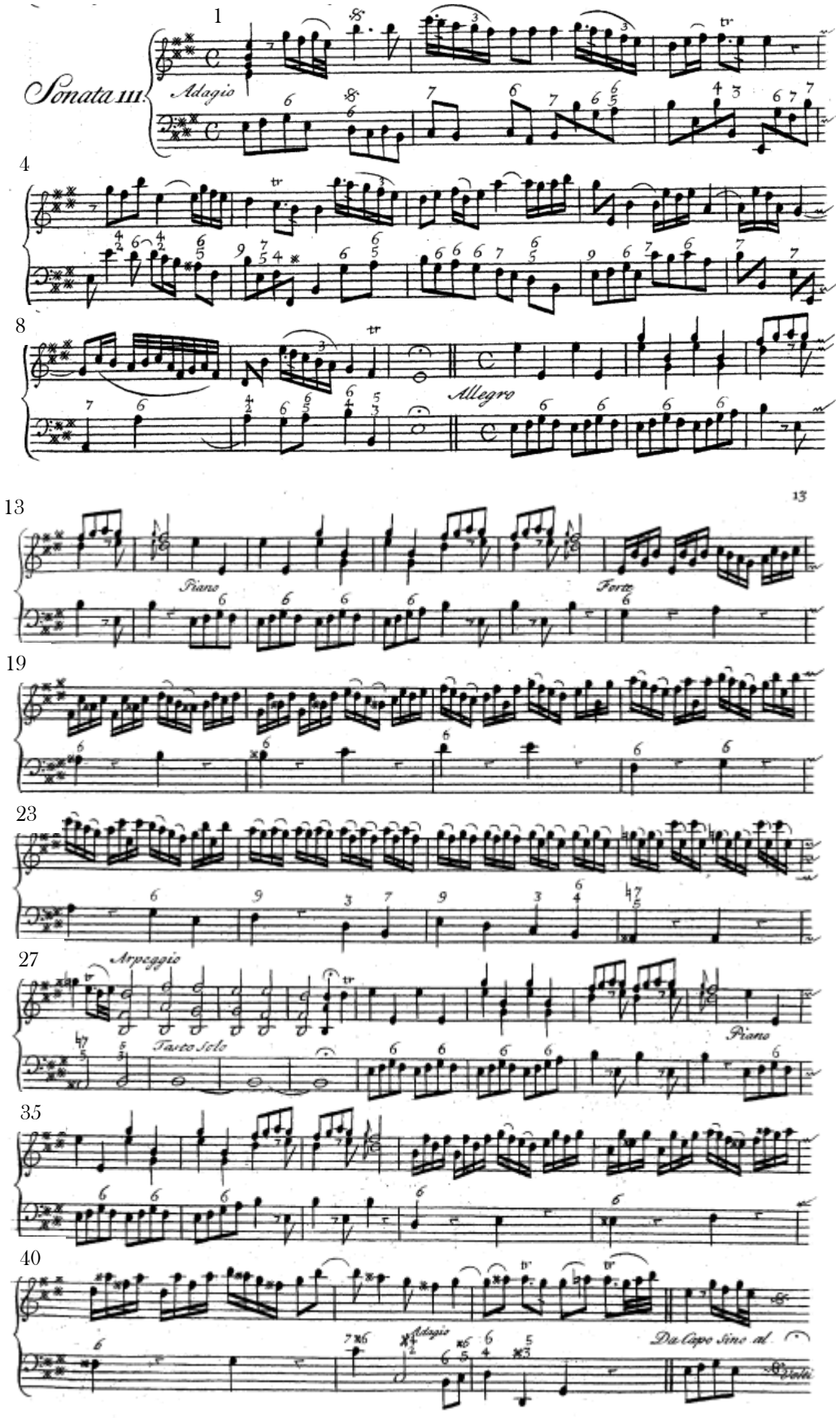
This table list the usage of movement labels within the Solos, indicating the number of occurences of each title within individual sets. Note that some titles (such as Adagio and Allegro) might be used more than once within any given Solo.

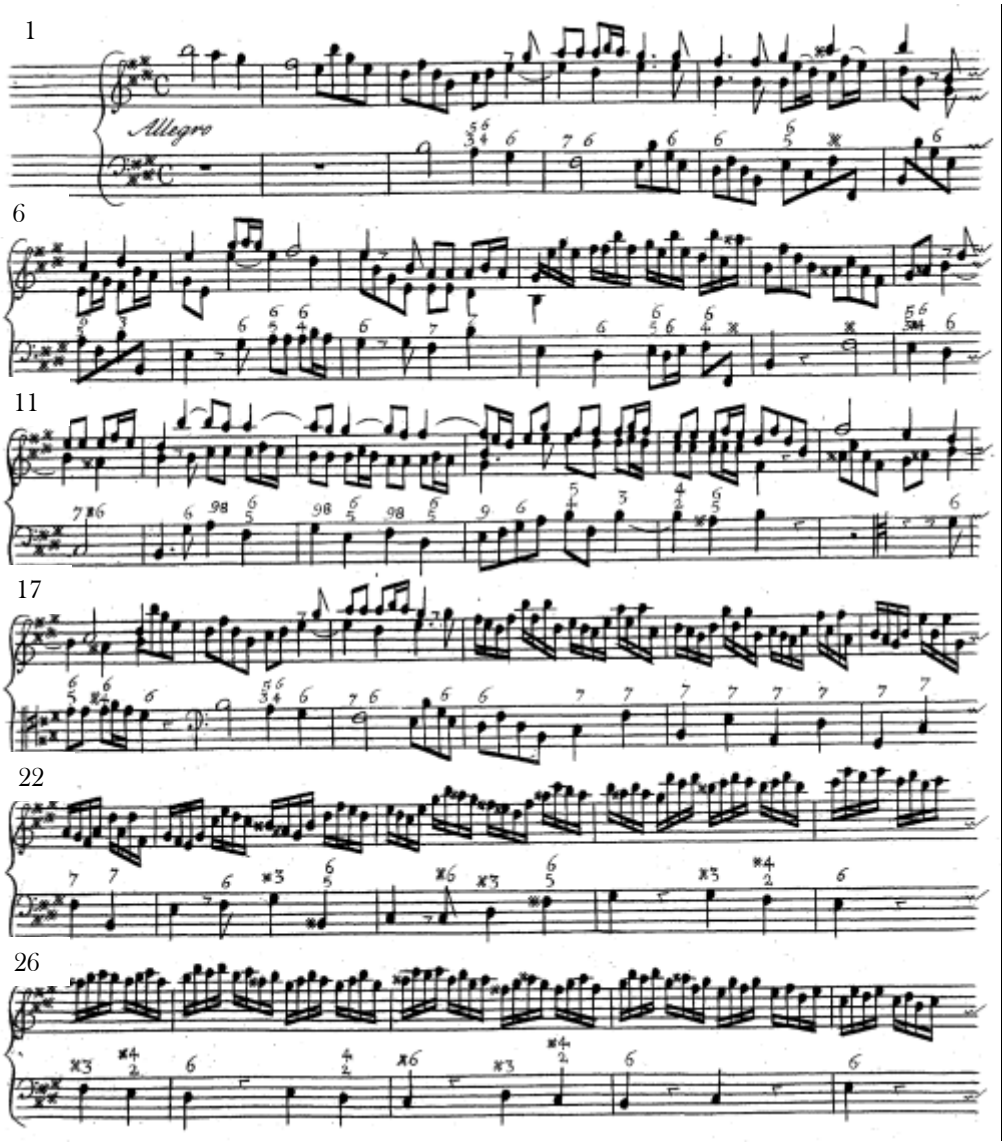
	Geminiani Opus 1	Geminaini Opus 4	Castrucci Opus 1	Castrucci Opus 2	Carbonelli Opus 1	Pasquali Opus 1	Giardini Opus 1
'Slow/Fast'	3	1	1 Adagio/ Andante		5		
Grave	5						
Adagio	6	5	13		7	3	3
Largo		4	1		8	1	
Affettuoso	4					1	
Amoroso	2						
Andante	1	7			5 (2 fugato)		1
Moderato							
Andantino							
Larghetto							
Aria					2		
Allegro (Fugato)	6				4	1	
Allegro	8	18			7	3	9
Vivace	5 (1 fugato)						
Allegro assai							
Presto		3			1	3	
Allegro ma non troppo/presto...							
Allegro assai							
Allegretto							
Giga Allegro			1				
Allemande							
Chiaconna							
Musette							1
Minuetto/Menue/ Tempo di..						3	1
Giga					4		1
Siciliano					1		
Rondeau							

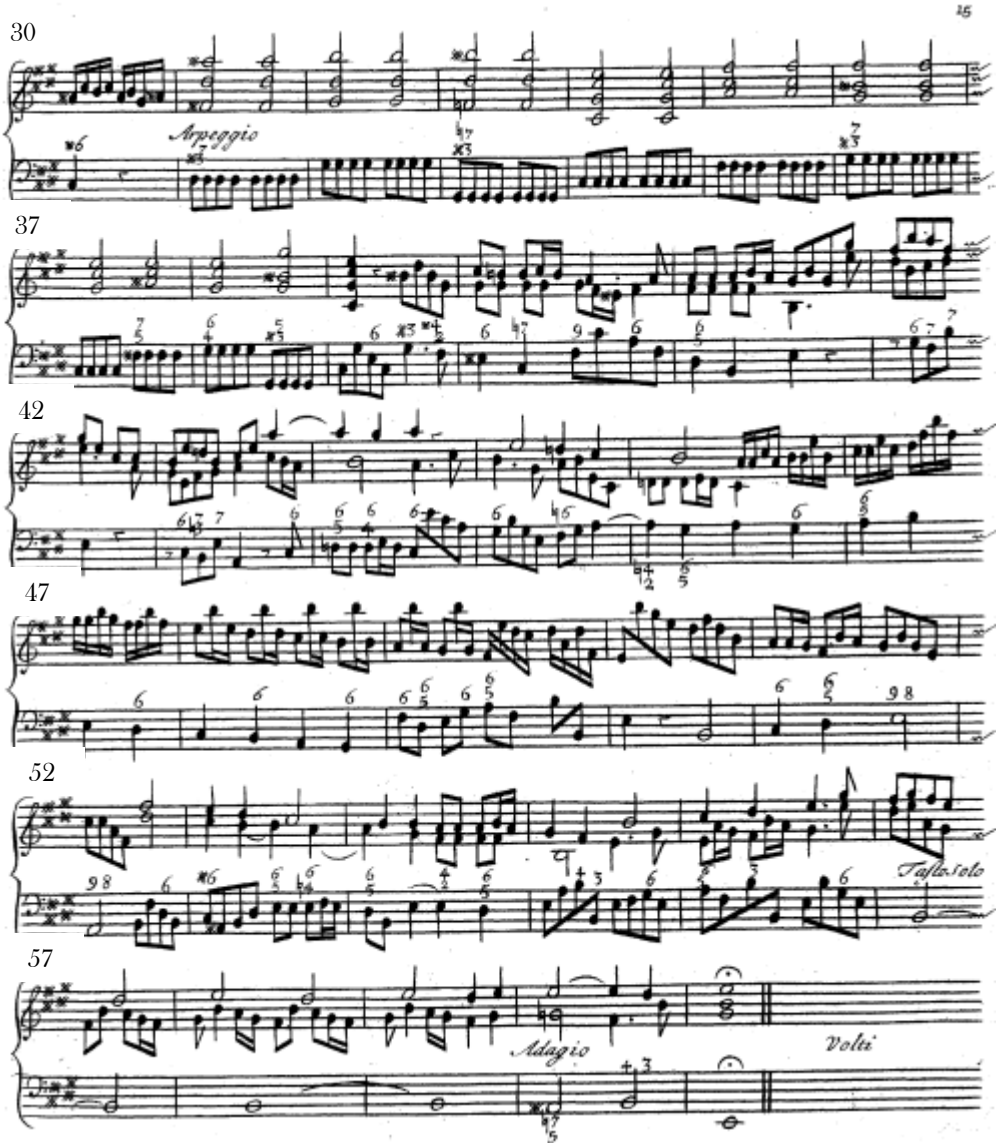
	Giardini Opus 16	Agus Opus 1	Agus Opus 2	Cattanei Opus 1	Noferi Opus 2	Pugnani Opus 7	Borghi Opus 1
'Slow/Fast'							
Grave		1			2	1	
Adagio	6	1	1	2	2	3	4
Largo		2		7	2	2	2
Affettuoso					1		
Amoroso						1	
Andante	3	1	2	1	2		1
Moderato						1	1
Andantino						2	
Larghetto			1				
Aria						1	
Allegro (Fugato)							
Allegro	5		6	4	2		3
Vivace	1						
Allegro assai		1				1	
Presto	1		2		1		1
Allegro ma non troppo/presto...		2		1	2		
Allegro assai		2				1	
Allegretto						4	2
Giga Allegro				1			
Allemande							
Chiaconna							
Musette							
Minuetto/Menue/Tempo di..		3			2	2	2
Giga							
Siciliano				2			
Rondeau			1				4

Appendix 5: Scores for Case Studies

Carbonelli Opus 1, No. 3 (Walsh Edition, n.d.) [1729]




1
Allegro
6
11
17
22
26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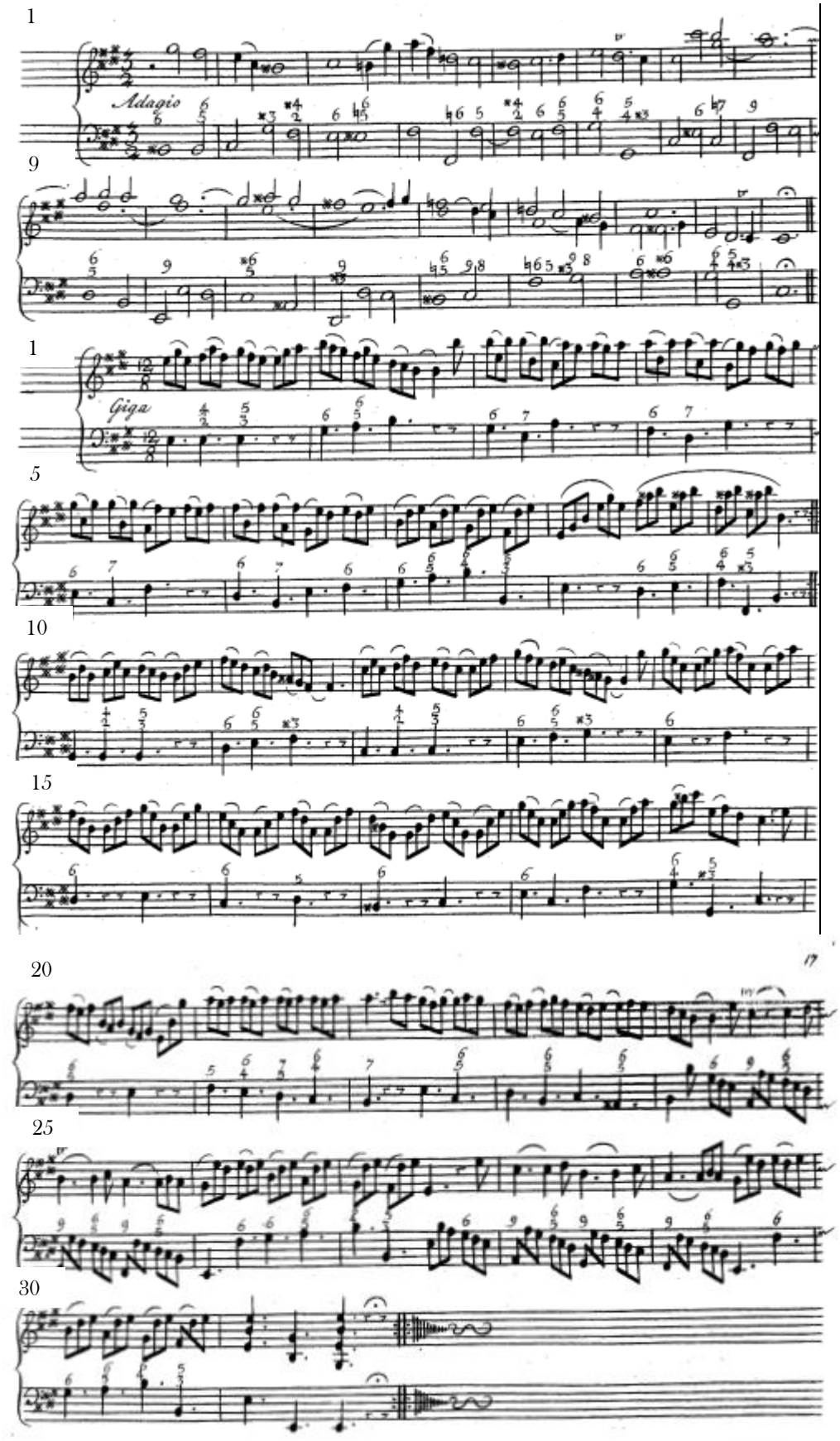
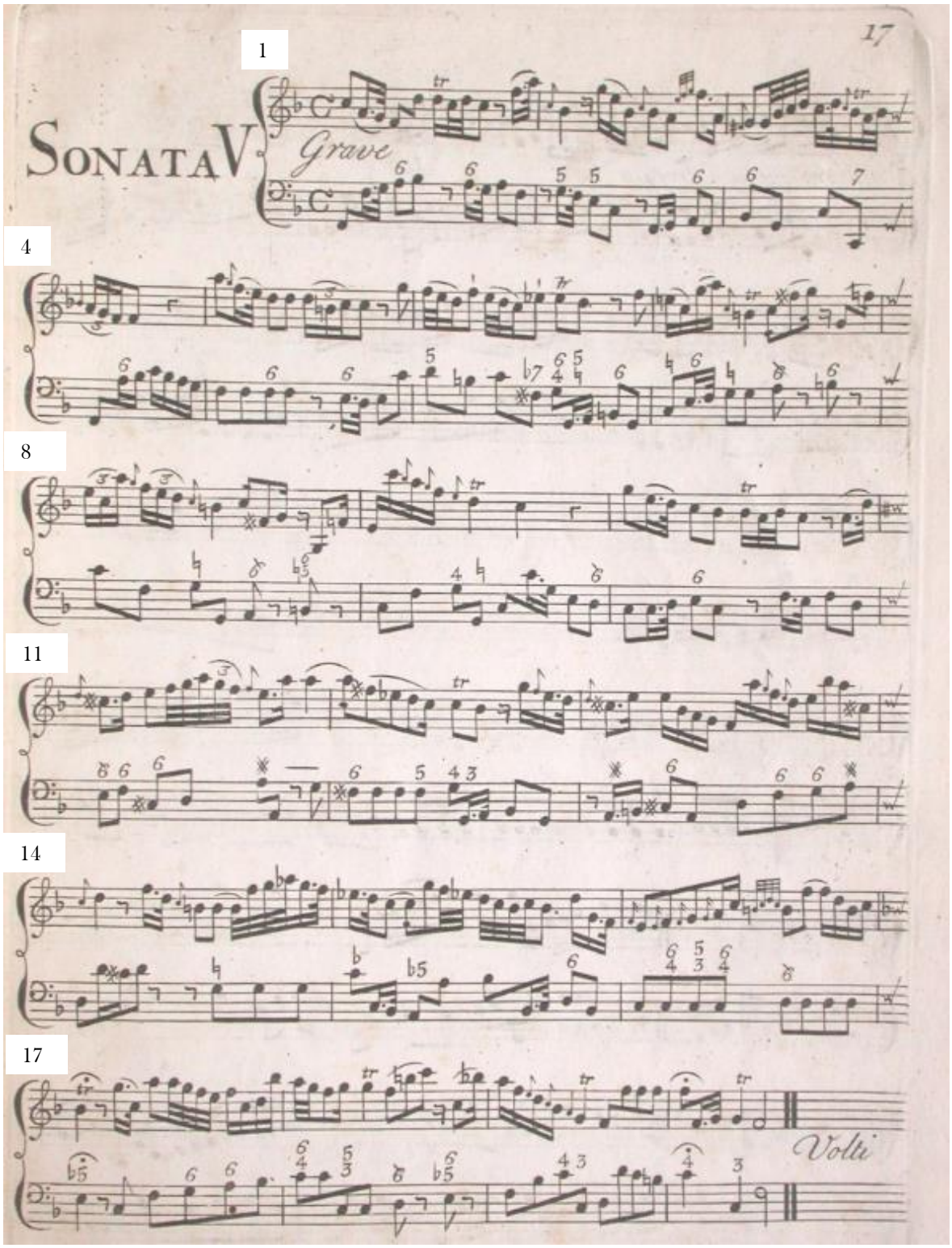
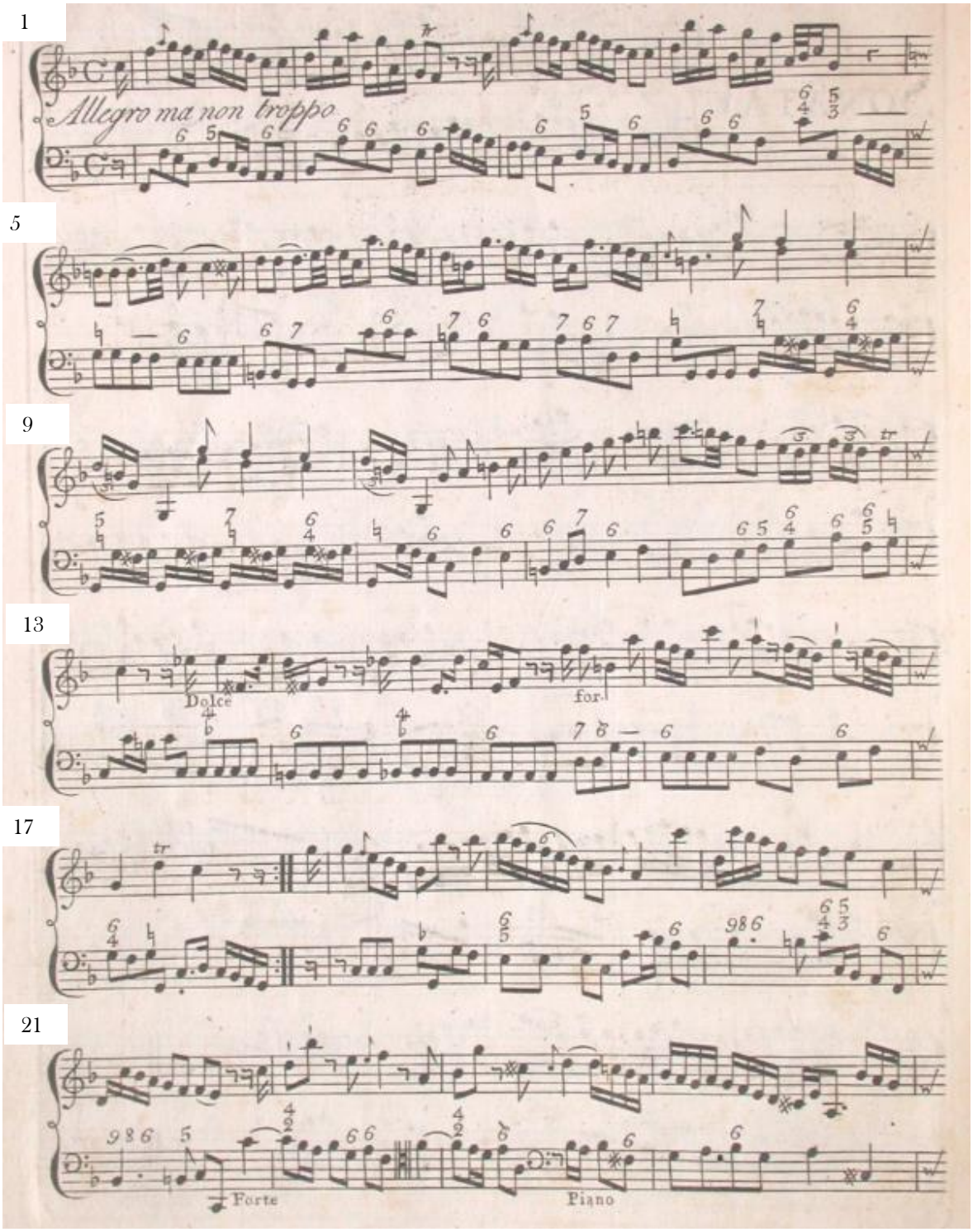
Arpeggio
37
42
47
52
Tasto solo
57
Adagio
Volti


Adagio
Giga

Agus Opus 1, No. 5 (publisher unknown, [1751])

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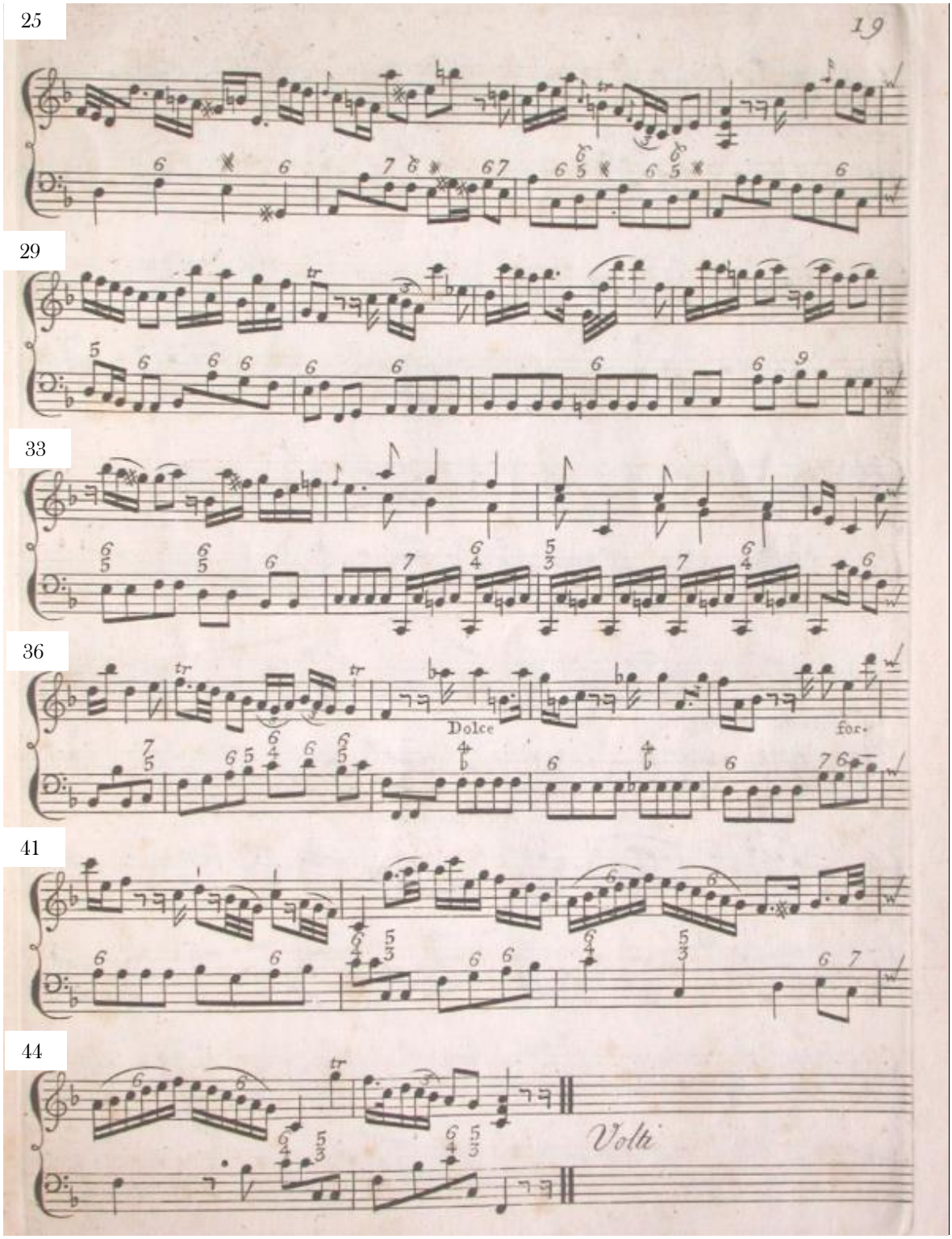
Allegro ma non troppo
5
9
13
Dolce
for.
17
21
Forte
Piano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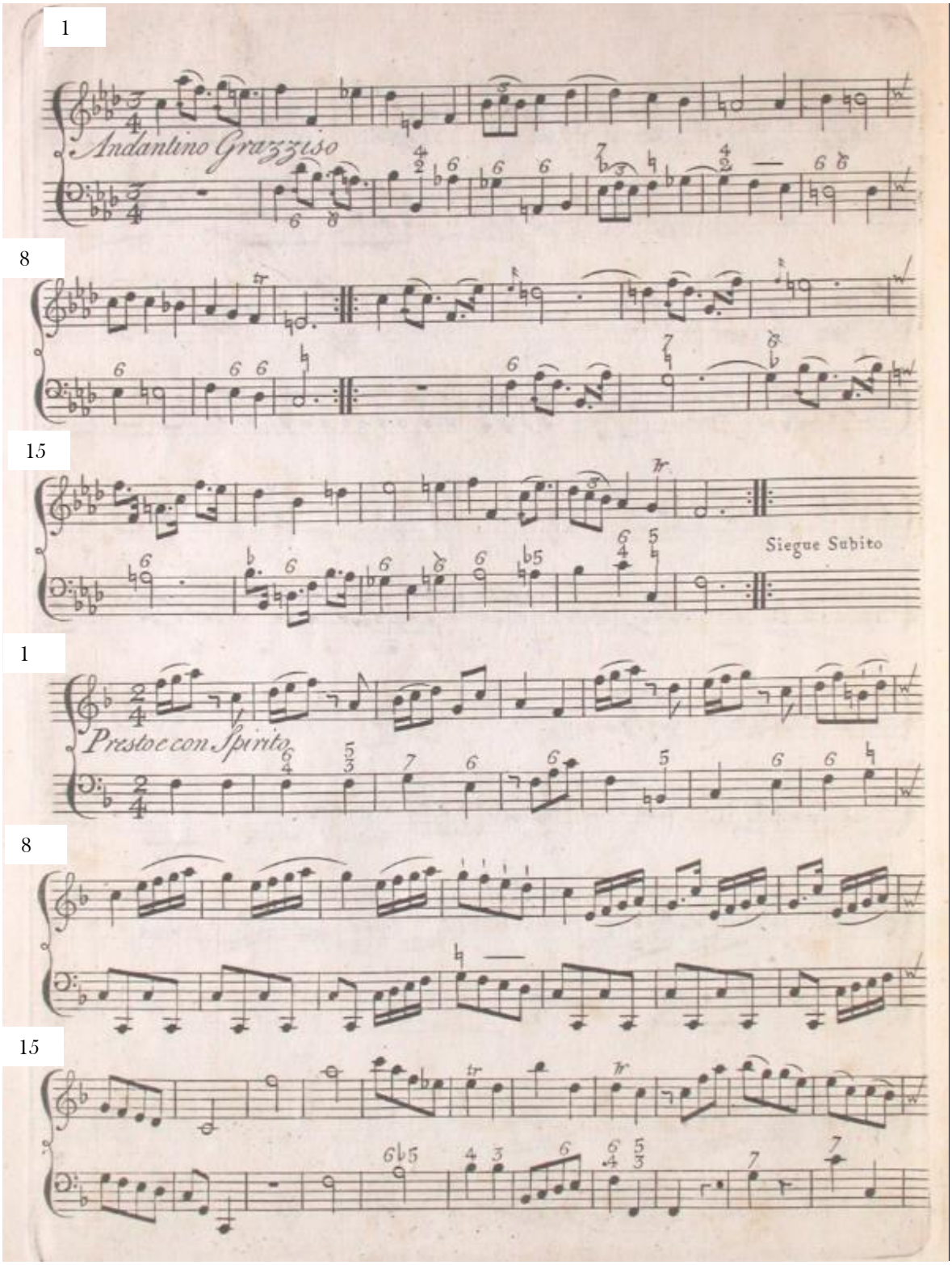
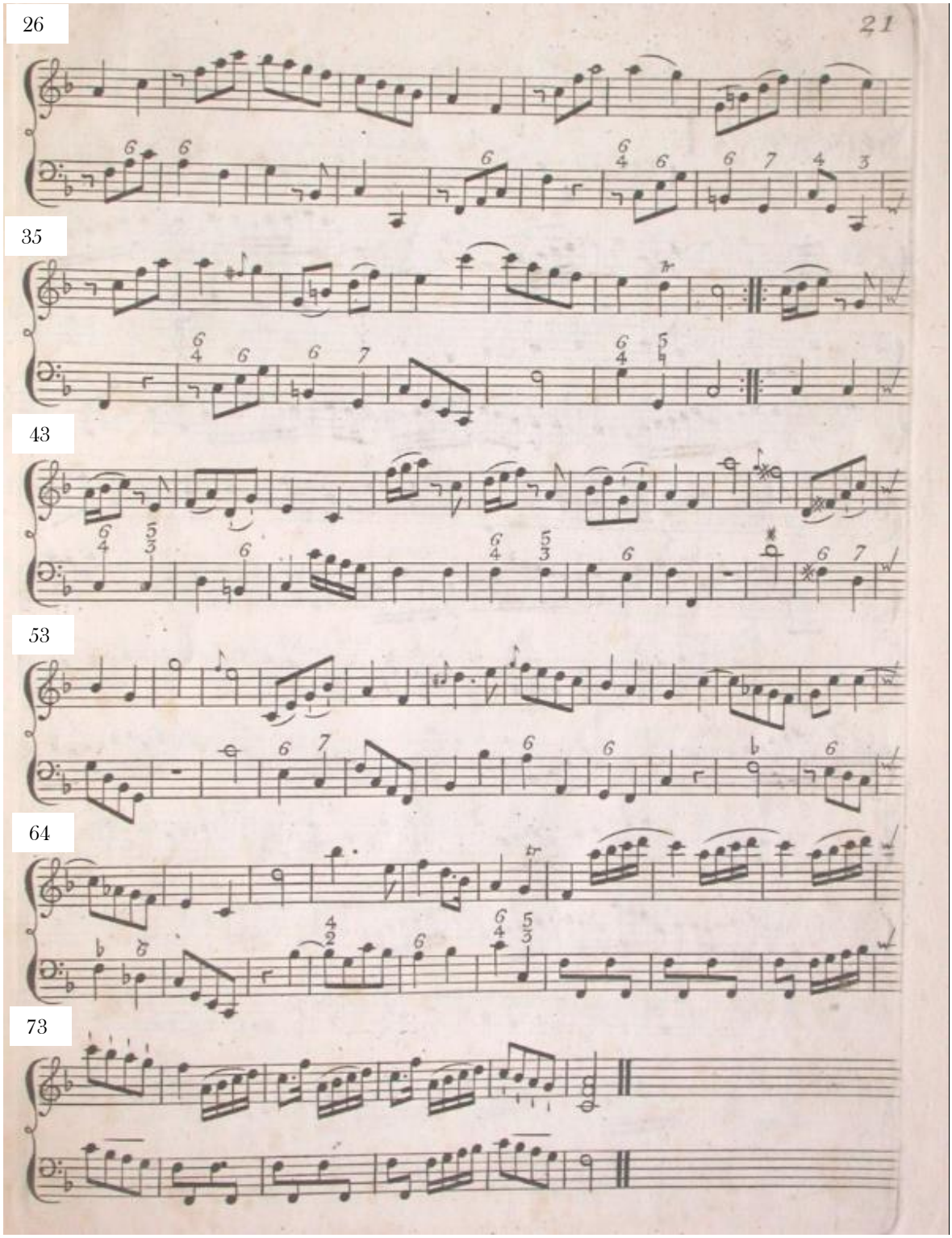
25
29
33
36
Dolce
for.
41
44
Volti


1
Andantino Grazzioso
8
15
Siegue Subito
1
Presto e con Spirito
8
15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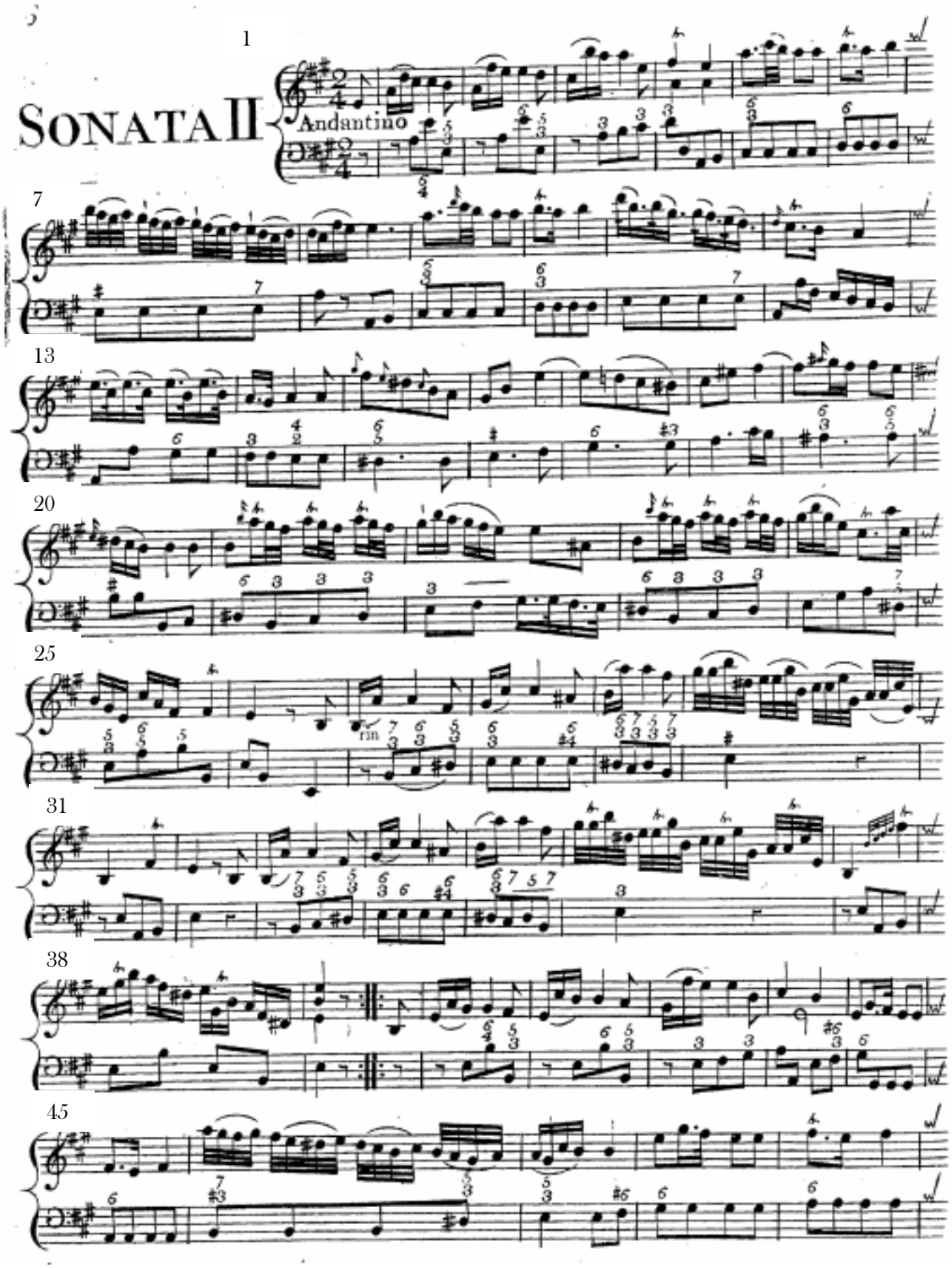
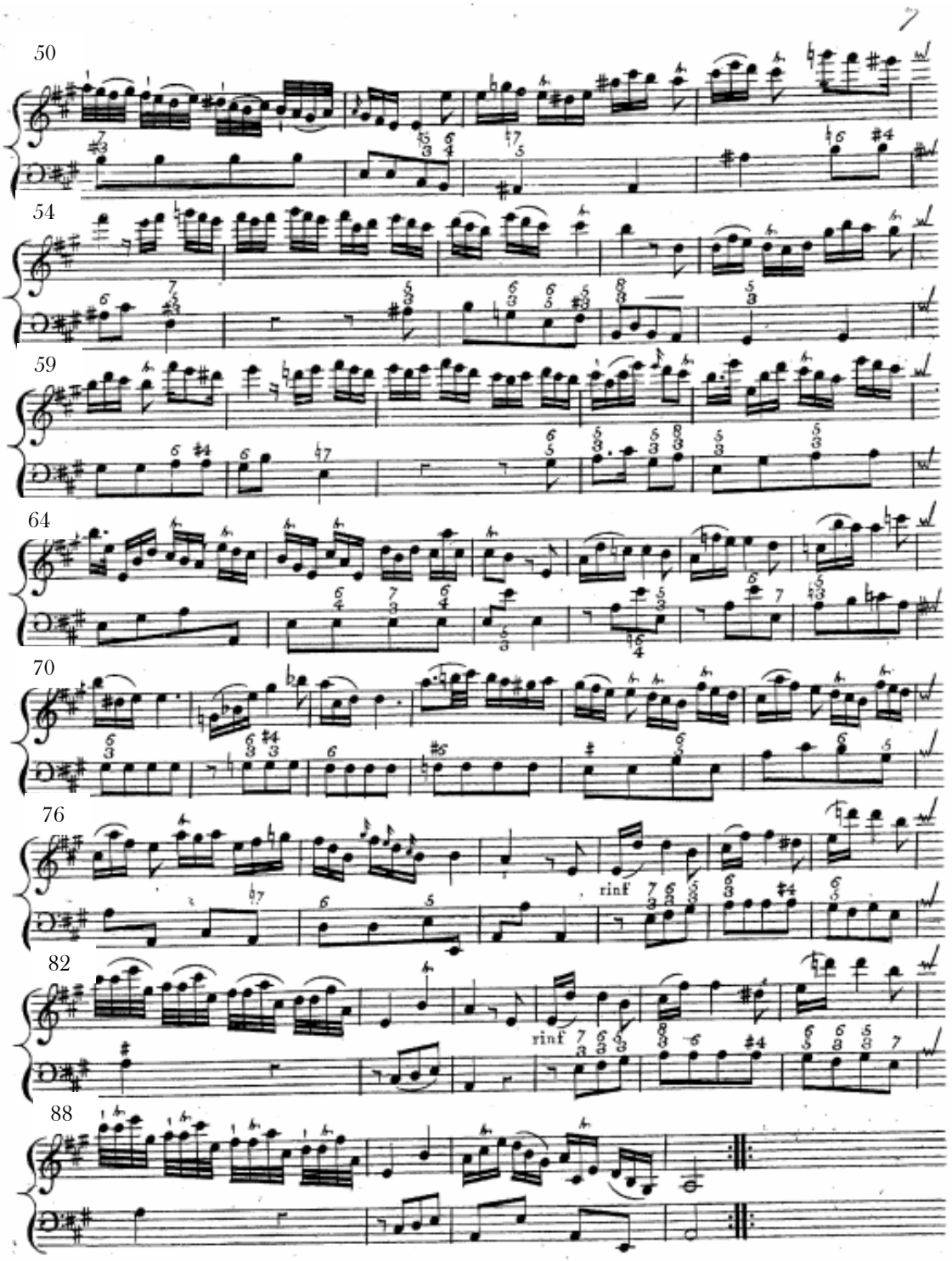
43
53
64
73

Pugnani Opus 7, No. 2 (London: Welcker. 1770)

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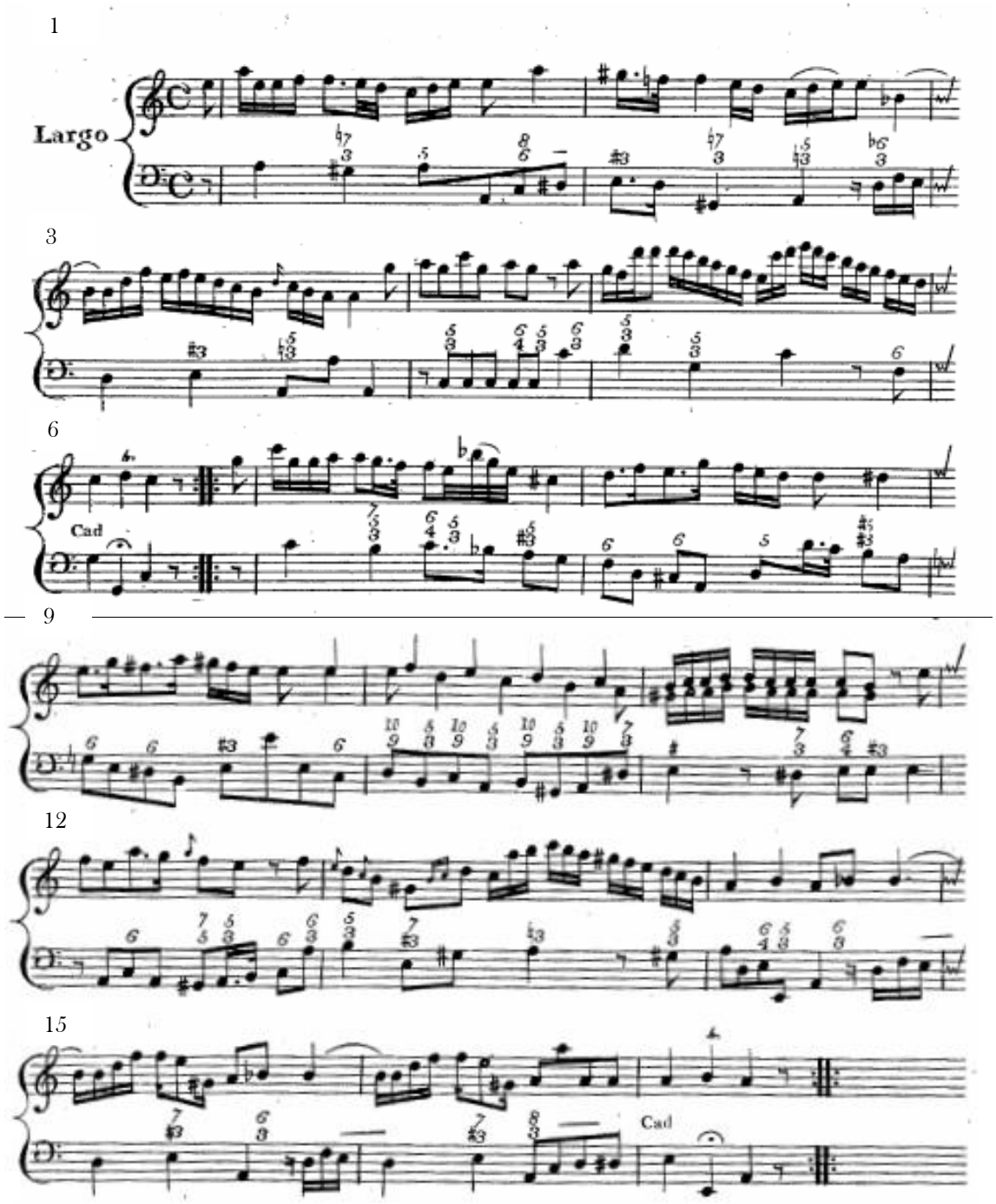
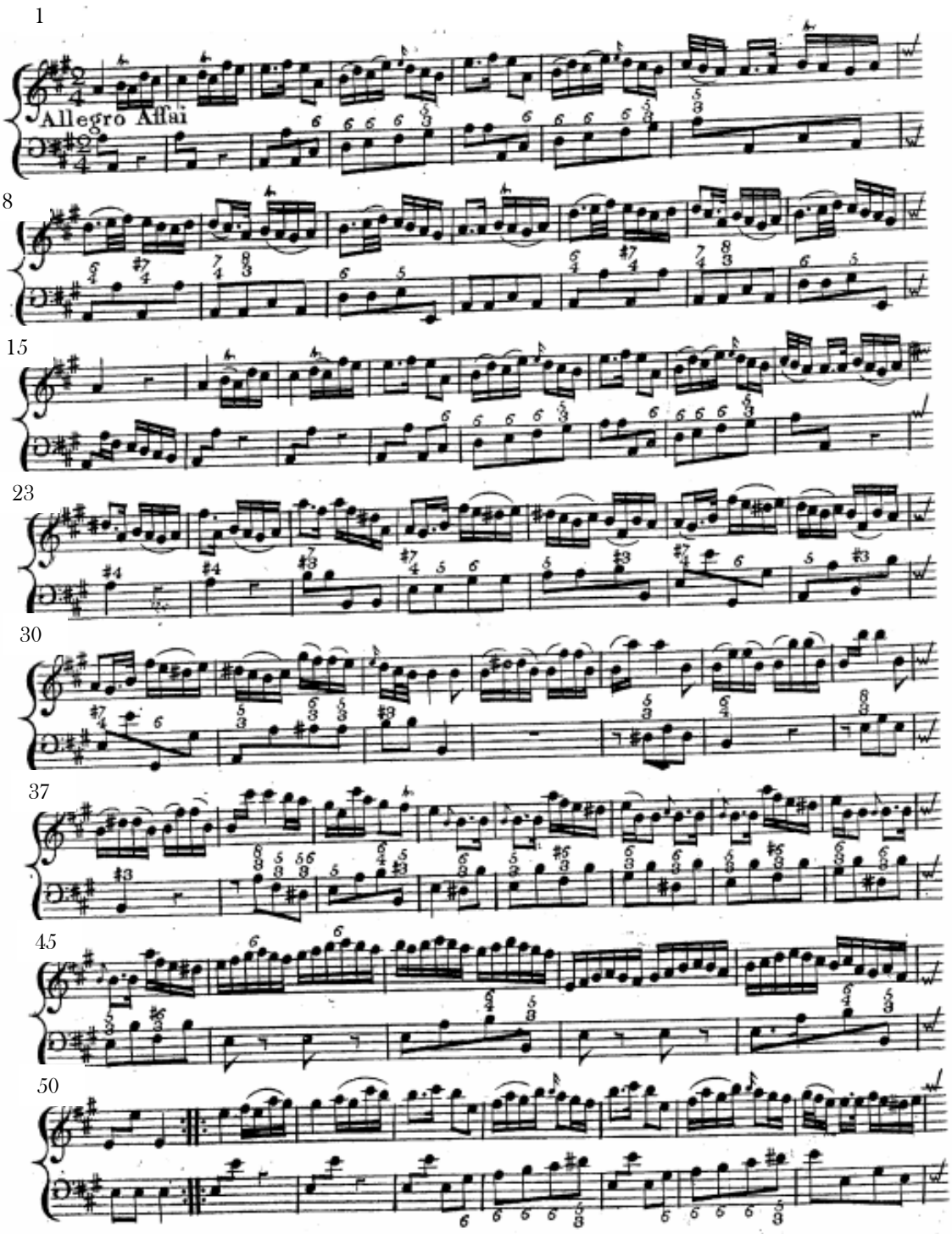
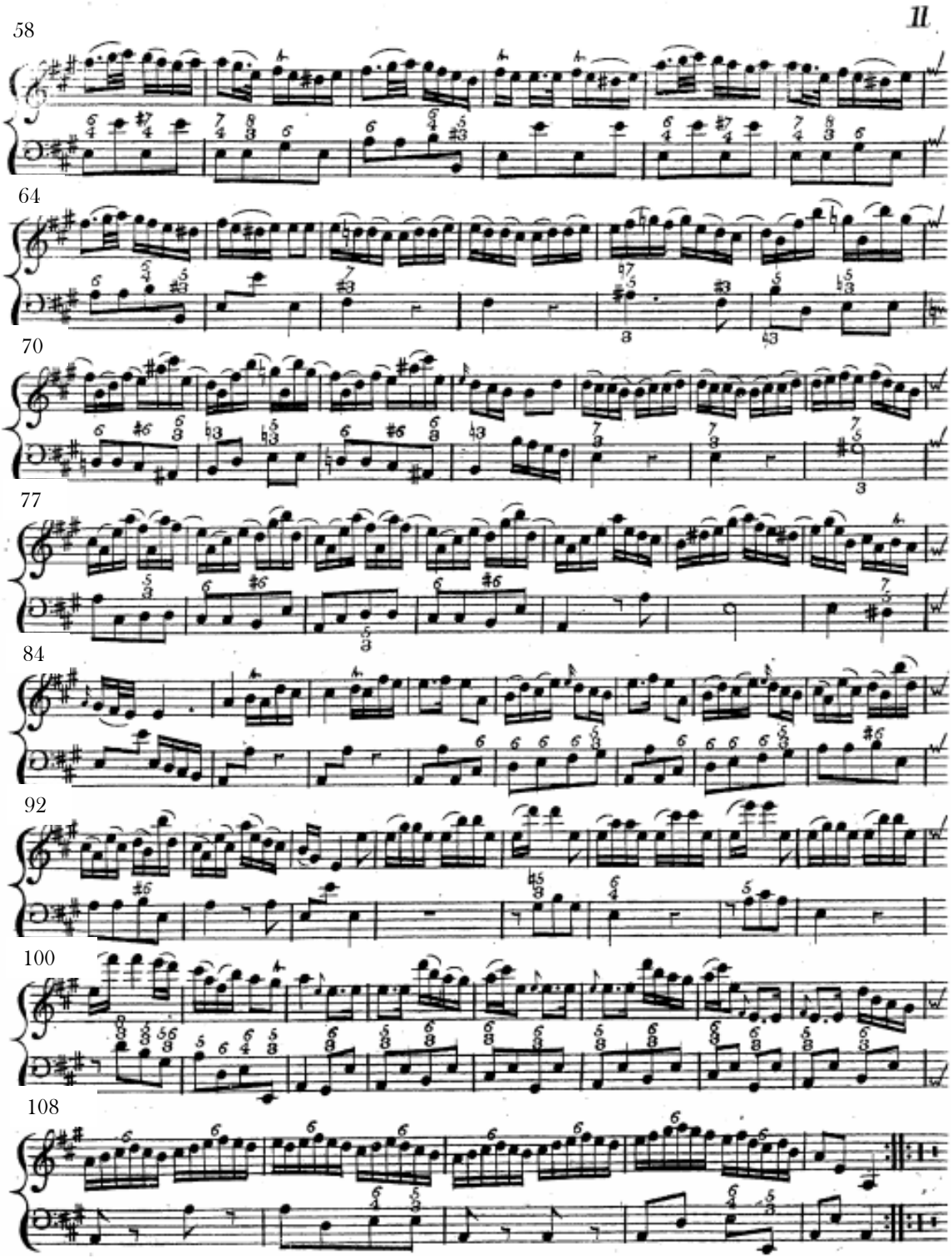
rinf
82
rinf
88


1
Largo
3
6
Cad
9
12
15
Cad


1
Allegro Affai
8
15
23
30
37
45
50


II
58
64
70
77
84
92
100
108

Appendix 6: CD track listings

Track	Composer	Composition	Date	Recording / accompanist details	Duration
CD 1					
1	Giovanni Stefano Carbonelli	Op. 1 no. 3 – 1st movement (Adagio-Allegro)	c. 1720	Richard Moore, Inner Parry Rooms, RCM, 09/05/2016	03:42
2	Giovanni Stefano Carbonelli	Op. 1 no. 3 – 2nd movement (Allegro)	c. 1720	Richard Moore, Inner Parry Rooms, RCM, 09/05/2016	02:39
3	Giovanni Stefano Carbonelli	Op. 1 no. 3 – 3rd movement (Adagio)	c. 1720	Richard Moore, Inner Parry Rooms, RCM, 09/05/2016	01:23
4	Giovanni Stefano Carbonelli	Op. 1 no. 3 – 4th movement (Giga)	c. 1720	Richard Moore, Inner Parry Rooms, RCM, 09/05/2016	02:02
5	Nicolò Pasquali	Op. 1 no. 5 – 3rd movement (Affettuoso)	1744	Thomas Allery, Inner Parry Rooms, RCM, 06/05/2016	02:39
6	Nicolò Pasquali	Op. 1 no. 5 – 4th movement (Presto)	1744	Thomas Allery, Inner Parry Rooms, RCM, 06/05/2016	01:33
7	Giuseppe Agus	Op. 1 no. 5 – 1st movement (Grave)	1751	Richard Moore, Inner Parry Rooms, RCM, 02/05/2016	2:50
8	Giuseppe Agus	Op. 1 no. 5 – 2nd movement Allegro ma non troppo	1751	Richard Moore, Inner Parry Rooms, RCM, 02/05/2016	02:55
9	Giuseppe Agus	Op. 1 no. 5 – 3rd movement Andantino Grazziso	1751	Due Corde 2012	02:03
10	Giuseppe Agus	Op. 1 no. 5 – 4nd movement Presto con Spirito	1751	Due Corde 2012	01:44
11	Felice Delgiardino (Giardini)	Op. 1 no. 5 – 1st movement (Allegro)	1751	Richard Moore, Inner Parry Rooms, RCM, 02/05/2016	03:48
12	Felice Delgiardino (Giardini)	Op. 1 no. 5 – 2nd movement (Adagio)	1751	Richard Moore, Inner Parry Rooms, RCM, 02/05/2016	02:02

Track	Composer	Composition	Date	Recording / accompanist details	Duration
13	Gaetano Pugnani	Op. 7 no. 2 – 1st movement (Andantino)	1770	Thomas Allery, RCM Museum, December 2015	03:19
14	Gaetano Pugnani	Op. 7 no. 2 – 2nd movement (Largo)	1770	Thomas Allery, RCM Museum, December 2015	03:07
15	Gaetano Pugnani	Op. 7 no. 2 – 2nd movement (Largo) cadenza	1770	Thomas Allery, RCM Museum, December 2015	00:53
16	Gaetano Pugnani	Op. 7 no. 2 – 3rd movement (Allegro assai)	1770	Thomas Allery, RCM Museum, December 2015	02:27
17	Luigi Borghi	Op. 1 no. 5 – 1st movement (Allegretto)	1772	Thomas Allery, RCM Museum, December 2015	02:54

Track	Composer	Composition	Date	Recording / accompanist details	Duration
CD 2					
1	Gaetano Pugnani	Op. 7 no. 2 – 3rd movement (Allegro assai) Excerpt	1770	Thomas Allery, RCM Museum, December 2015	00:15
2	Luigi Borghi	Op. 1 no. 5 – 3st movement A section	1772	Studio Recording RCM Museum Sophia Russel	00:33
3	Francesco Veracini	Op. 2 no. 9 – 3rd movement (Scozzese)	1745	Thomas Allery, Inner Parry Rooms, RCM, 06/05/2016	07:52
4	Antonio Lolli	Op. 1 no. 5 – 3rd movement (Allegro assai)		2010 RCM Museum live recording	03:32
5	Pietro Castrucci	Op. 1 no. 7 – 2nd movement (Allegro)	1718	Thomas Allery, Corelli Room, RCM, 27/04/2016	03:14
6	Nicolò Pasquali	Op. 1 no. 3 – 1st movement (Adagio)	1744	Thomas Allery, Corelli Room, RCM, 27/04/2016	02:57
7	Francesco Geminiani	Op. 1 no. 4 – 1st movement (Adagio) 3 cadence flourishes	1716	Thomas Allery, Inner Parry Rooms, RCM, 06/05/2016	01:26
8	Pietro Castrucci	Op. 2 no. 2 – 1st movement (Adagio Cantabile) Excerpt with cadenza	c. 1734	Aidan Philips, Corelli Room, RCM, 22/04/2016	00:32

Track	Composer	Composition	Date	Recording / accompanist details	Duration
9	Giuseppe Agus	Op. 1 no. 5 – 1st movement (Grave) Excerpt ending with cadenza	1751	Richard Moore, Inner Parry Rooms, RCM, 02/05/2016	1:21
10	Francesco Geminiani	Op. 1 no. 4 – 2nd movement (Allegro) Opening bars	1716	Aidan Philips, Corelli Room, RCM, 22/04/2016	00:27
11	Nicolò Pasquali	Op. 1 no. 3 – 2nd movement (Allegro) Excerpt	1744	Thomas Allery, Corelli Room, RCM, 27/04/2016	01:04
12	Giovanni Battista Noferi	Op. 2 no. 4 – 1st movement (All: Ma non Troppo) Excerpt	1760	Graham Coatman, Leeds. 14/05/2016	00:24
13	Pietro Castrucci	Op. 1 no. 7 – 1st movement (Adagio)	1718	Thomas Allery, Corelli Room, RCM, 27/04/2016	02:28
14	Pietro Castrucci	Op. 2 no. 2 – 1st movement (Adagio Cantabile)	c. 1734	Aidan Philips, Corelli Room, RCM, 22/04/2016	01:56
15	Gaetano Pugnani	Op. 7 no. 2 – 1st movement (Andantino) Excerpt	1770	Thomas Allery, RCM Museum, December 2015	00:43
16	Carlo Zuccari	Adagio IX	1762	Graham Coatman, Leeds. 14/05/2016	03:00
17	Carlo Zuccari	Adagio IX	1762	Graham Coatman, Leeds. 14/05/2016	03:03
18	Giovanni Stefano Carbonelli	Op. 1 no. 3 – 1st movement (Adagio recap with ornaments)	c. 1720	Richard Moore, Inner Parry Rooms, RCM, 09/05/2016	01:24
19	Carbonelli	Adagio 1st mov ornaments		Alternative version	01:16
20	Carbonelli	Adagio 3rd mov		Alternative ornamentation	02:25
21	Francesco Geminiani	Op. 1 no. 4 – 1st movement (Adagio with ornaments)	1716	Alternative ornamentation	1:35
22	Francesco Geminiani	Op. 1 no. 4 – 1st movement (Adagio with ornaments)	1716	Thomas Allery, Inner Parry Rooms, RCM, 06/05/2016	01:40
23	Felice Delgiardino (Giardini)	Op. 1 no. 5 – 2nd movement B section and Cadenza	1751	Richard Moore, Inner Parry Rooms, RCM, 02/05/2016	01:01

Track	Composer	Composition	Date	Recording / accompanist details	Duration
24	Gaetano Pugnani/ Luigi Borghi	Op. 7 no. 2 – 2nd movement Cadenza	1770	Thomas Allery, RCM Museum, December 2015	1:12
25	Francesco Veracini	Op. 2 no. 9 – 3rd movement Variation 2	1745	Thomas Allery, Inner Parry Rooms, RCM, 06/05/2016	01:19
26	Felice Delgiardino (Giardini)	Op. 1 no. 5 – 1st movement Excerpt	1751	Richard Moore, Inner Parry Rooms, RCM, 02/05/2016	1:14
27	Giovanni Battista Noferi	Op. 2 no. 4 – 1st movement (All: Ma non Tropo)	1760	Graham Coatman, Leeds. 14/05/2016	3:16
28	Nicolò Pasquali	Op. 1 no. 5 – 3rd movement Excerpt	1744	Thomas Allery, Inner Parry Rooms, RCM, 06/05/2016	00:22
29	Nicolò Pasquali	Op. 1 no. 5 – 4th movement Excerpt	1744	Thomas Allery, Inner Parry Rooms, RCM, 06/05/2016	00:21
30	Francesco Veracini	Op. 2 no. 9 – 3rd movement Excerpt	1745	Thomas Allery, Inner Parry Rooms, RCM, 06/05/2016	

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- British Library: A few items have been copied from this collection.
- Simon McVeigh collection: When I started my research Professor McVeigh kindly let me borrow his microfilms and make copies from these as needed.
- Washington Library of Congress: kindly provided the Solos by Gasparo Visconti.
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