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The Thirty-One Works of Francesco Geminiani

Work One: The Violin Sonatas of 1716

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THE VIOLIN SONATAS OF 1716¹

No early eighteenth-century composer of violin music could escape the influence of Arcangelo Corelli's *Sonate a violino e violone o cimbalo [...] Opera quinta*, first published in Rome in 1700 and then rapidly disseminated all over Europe, either in copies of the original edition or in reprints issued in London, Amsterdam or Paris. This influence had two sides: on the one hand, composers could imitate or emulate Corelli's example, while on the other they could choose to do things differently on purpose. Therefore, when examining a set of sonatas for violin and figured bass published in the decades following 1700, the first question one always asks is how they are like Corelli's sonatas and how they differ from them.

This must also be applied to Francesco Geminiani's Violin Sonatas of 1716.² Of course, it is tempting to relate Corellian influences in these works – if they are indeed found there – to the question of whether or not he once was a pupil of the Roman master, but this is to no avail. Since the influence of Corelli's Opus 5 can be found everywhere, in the work of pupils and non-pupils alike, it cannot be used to decide if a composer was or was not once a pupil of Corelli's.

The fact that Geminiani's first publication was a volume of sonatas for violin and figured bass meant that he was deviating from a tacit rule of the late seventeenth century – although already less strict after 1700 – to begin one's publications with a volume of trio sonatas. Geminiani never composed in this genre until the second revision of Violin Sonatas of 1716, published more than forty years later, in 1757, but even here they are more than just trio sonatas because of the addition, albeit ad libitum, of ripieno parts to the basic instrumental forces.

Although the debts that Geminiani's Violin Sonatas of 1716 owe to Corelli's Opus 5 are numerous, the instances where different approaches were adopted are just as prevalent. The wording of the main title – *Sonate a violino, violone e cembalo* – already illustrates this point: on the one hand it lists the same instruments as Corelli had done one and a half decades earlier, but on the other hand it shows a slightly different punctuation and substitutes “e” for Corelli's “o”. The title at least suggests that three instruments are needed for a proper performance of the pieces: violin, a bass instrument—the violoncello seems most appropriate—and an instrument for the realisation of the basso continuo, preferably a harpsichord.

Geminiani's *Sonate a violino, violone e cembalo* do not have an opus indication, but because it was his first work and no subsequent work was given the title of Opus 1, the *Sonate* of 1716 can safely be called the composer's Opus 1. The works are called *Le prime sonate* in the 1739 revision and *Opera prima* in the revision of 1757. The title page of the First Issue of the 1716 version is reproduced in PLATE 1.1.

There is much that relates Geminiani's Violin Sonatas of 1716 to Corelli's Opus 5. Although there is neither formal separation between the first six sonatas and the last six sonatas in the set of twelve, nor a separate titling – as there was in Corelli's Opus 5 – the first six sonatas clearly represent the *sonata da chiesa* type, the last six equally clearly the *sonata da camera* type.³ It is telling that one – Italian – manuscript copy calls the first six sonatas “Sinfonia” and the last six sonatas “Balletto”, typical Italian designations for *sonata da chiesa* and *da camera* respectively.⁴ The first six sonatas are built around one or two fugues, which are preceded or separated by slow movements often ending with a half close. There is only one movement with a division in two sections separated by a double bar. Two sonatas (I, III) have only one fugue. Geminiani

¹ Much of this text is also found in Rasch 2012, pp. 37-63.

² See also Careri 1994, Barnett 2013.

³ Hawkins 1776, Volume 5, p. 239: “The first six with fugues and double stops, as they are vulgarly called; the last [six] with airs of various measures, such as Allemandes, Courants, and Jigs.”

⁴ I-Nc, M.S. 2622/a.

clearly avoids the regular structure of the first six sonatas of Corelli's Opus 5, which all have fugues as second and fifth movements, a slow first movement and a pair consisting of a slow middle movement and a *perpetuum mobile* (in either order) between the two fugues. In Geminiani's Violin Sonatas there is only one *perpetuum mobile* movement, which has a role that differs from movements of this kind in Corelli's Opus 5: it ends the first sonata and therefore takes the place of the second fugue that one would expect. Almost as if to show that there must always be an exception to the rule, this movement is divided by double bars into two halves in the manner of a *da camera* movement.

Geminiani's fugues differ from Corelli's in various respects: they are technically more demanding (they ask for higher positions, for example) and they already abundantly define Geminiani's style in their capricious, irregular and dense compositional style. Their lengths are comparable with Corelli's fugues.

Two of the *da chiesa* sonatas, I and III, have multi-sectional first movements, with an alternation between slow and fast passages, echoes of the introductory movement of Corelli's Sonata Opus 5, No. 1.

Slow middle movements are never very extensive, often quite short, of a transitory nature. They always start in a key different from the other movements. Sometimes they end in that key, but more often they are constantly modulating, ending on a half close in either the main key of the sonata or yet a different one. Normally they retain the key signature of the other movements. Only in one case (VI/ii) does one find another key signature: two flats for E-flat major, whereas the surrounding movements have a key signature of one flat for G minor.

Geminiani's "*sonate da camera*" (Sonatas VII-XII) do resemble those of Corelli's Opus 5 in certain aspects, but deviate from them in other. As in Corelli's Opus 5, they are technically less demanding than the *da chiesa* sonatas: no double or triple stops, with an ambitus not exceeding the third position (except for the last movement of Sonata XII, with double and triple stops and a range up to *f''*). Three sonatas have an order of movements that reproduces the time-honoured *da camera* model of slow-fast-slow-fast (VII, VIII, X), but the other sonatas have three movements only. Most of the fast movements and some of the slow movements are in binary form, with a division into two repeated sections, but none of them has a title derived from a dance form such as Allemanda, Corrente, etc. They are simply headed Adagio, Allegro, Vivace, etc. But some movements *could* be called Allemanda (VII/ii; IX/i;⁵ X/ii; XI, iii; XI/iii), Corrente (IX/iii), Sarabanda (IX/ii, Andante; X/ii, Affettuoso; XII/i, Amoroso) or Giga (VII/iv; VIII/ii, iv; X/iv; XII/iii), although one feels never entirely at ease with these designations. The Vivace that opens Sonata XI opens is a Ciaccona, but with a period of seven bars; the eighth bar is the first bar of the next period.

Some slow middle movements are of the kind typical of the first six sonatas of the set: they are short, in one section only, modulate and end on a half cadence. Sonata XII features a small, three-bar Adagio formula separating the first, second and third movements.

The various formal characteristics described make clear that the last six sonatas of Geminiani's Violin Sonatas of 1716 are *sonate da camera*, but with an unmistakable Geminianian flavour and deliberate deviations from the Corellian model.⁶

THE DEDICATION

Geminiani dedicated his *Sonate a violino, violone e cembalo* to Baron Johann Adolf von Kielmansegg, born in Schleswig (town) on 30 September 1668, died in London 14/25 November 1717.⁷ Kielmansegg belonged

⁵ The arrangement of this movement in Geminiani's *Second Set of Lessons for the Harpsichord* (1762) is called "Allemanda".

⁶ See also the extensive discussion of the sonatas in Careri 1993, pp. 84-95. Careri's music examples are reproductions of the Roger reprint, which does in fact not always exactly present the sonatas as published by Geminiani himself.

to a family with their origin in Itzehoe in Holstein in Germany (about 50 km northwest of Hamburg). Johann Adolf's grandfather was Johann Adolf Kielmann (1612-1676) who was made *Reichsfreiherr* (Imperial Baron) by Emperor Ferdinand III in 1640, after which he could call himself "von Kielmansegg". He served the Dukes of Schleswig-Holstein-Gottorf in several functions, but ended his life imprisoned with his sons in Copenhagen, accused of conspiracy against the Danish King.⁸ The sons were rehabilitated and Friedrich Christian (1639-1714) became *Vizehofpräsident* of the Gottorf Court. The latter's son Johann Adolf von Kielmansegg, Geminiani's patron, continued to raise the social status of the family by entering into the service of the electoral court of Brunswick-Lüneburg in Hanover under Elector Ernst August (1629-1698), where he became *Hofkavalier* (1693), *Kammerjunker* (1696), *Kammerherr* (1698) and *Vize-Oberstallmeister* (Vice-Master of the Horse). He is often called *Oberstallmeister* (Master of the Horse) of the Court in Hanover, but this function was fulfilled by Friedrich Harding (1632-1724). Considering the latter's age, Kielmansegg probably did all the real work. In 1701 Kielmansegg married a natural daughter of the Elector, Sophia Charlotte von Platen-Hallermund (1675-1725). By this marriage he became a half-brother of the next Elector, Georg Ludwig (1660-1727), and of Sophia Charlotte, Electress of Brandenburg (1668-1705), the dedicatee of Corelli's Sonatas Opus 5.

When Elector Georg Ludwig became George I King of Great-Britain in 1714, Kielmansegg followed the new monarch to London. It is often said that he became Master of the Horse of the British Court, but this is certainly not true, although he apparently did act as if he were that position.⁹ Higher posts in the royal household were always held by British peers. Charles Seymour, Duke of Somerset, was Master of the Horse from 1714 to 1715 (after having had this position from 1702 to 1712). After his resignation no new Master was appointed and two commissioners, Conyers Darcy and Francis Negus, acted as the responsible persons. Kielmansegg remained Hanoverian *Vize-Oberstallmeister*.

The main reason why Kielmansegg went to England was probably that the new king wanted Kielmansegg's wife Sophia Charlotte around.¹⁰ It is often said that she was the king's mistress but others doubt or deny this. She is described as tall, fat and ugly, with the nickname "The Elephant", and was, after all, the King's natural half-sister. Whatever the case, she clearly had the King's sympathy, as is visible, among other things, in the generous emoluments she received and in the Irish and British noble titles she was granted, after the death of her husband: Countess of Leinster (1721, Irish) and Baroness of Brentford and Countess of Darlington (1722, British). She appears more prominently in the bibliographical and historical literature than her husband.

Not much is known about Kielmansegg's musical education. During his grand tour through Germany, France and Italy he had visited Paris, where he had learned to play the guitar. Geminiani's dedication speaks about "la somma intelligenza ch'Ella possiede nè melodiosi Concerti" (the thorough understanding which you possess of melodious concerts), and in the report of his death in the *Political State of Great Britain of 1717* it is said that he had "great Skill in Music".¹¹ The collection of keyboard pieces *The Ladys Banquet First Book* (London: Walsh, [1730]) contains a "Minuet by Baron Kilmanseck" and another composition

⁷ Today the standard spelling of the surname is "Kielmansegg". In historical times a variety of spellings were used for the surname: the first vowel may be simply "i" (often so in England, as on Geminiani's title page), the last part of the name may be -egg, -egge, or -eck, often without the apostrophe. In England it often was "Kilmanseck". The date of his death is 14 November in Old Style, used in England at that time, 25 November in New Style. The date of birth is certainly Old Style.

⁸ Carstens, Carsten Erich, "Kielmanseck, Johann Adolph Kielmann von", in: *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* 15 (1882), pp. 719-720 (<http://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd118722204.html>); Kielmansegg 1910 (not consulted).

⁹ See Beattie 1967, pp. 101-102; Hatton 1978.

¹⁰ See about her the article "Sophie Charlotte, Freifrau von Kielmansegg, geb. Gräfin von Platen-Hallermund (1675-1725)" in Marx 2009, pp. 624-626.

¹¹ See Deutsch 1955, pp. 78-79.

attributed to him is in *The Ladys Banquet Fourth Book* (c. 1735). I do not know of any other musical publication dedicated to Kielmansegg than Geminiani's Violin Sonatas of 1716.

In terms of the general history of music, Baron Kielmansegg is best known for his relation to George Frideric Handel.¹² It is said that the two men met in Venice in 1710 and that it was Kielmansegg who suggested to Handel that he should go to Hanover to offer his services to Elector Georg Ludwig, which is what happened. It is equally said that Kielmansegg made the Elector forgive Handel for staying in England while in the service of the Hanover court, and that he encouraged Georg Ludwig, after having become King George I of England, where he was bound to meet Handel again, to let him keep his appointment at the British court. Finally, Kielmansegg organized and paid for the famous 1717 water party on the Thames for the King that inspired Handel to compose music for it: the Water Music.

Kielmansegg did not reach an advanced age: he died on 15/26 November 1717, not yet 50 years old.¹³

The question now is what brought Geminiani to dedicate his Violin Sonatas of 1716 to this man Kielmansegg. The letter of dedication tells us that he had played one of the sonatas before the Baron, but this leads us to the question of how the two men had come into contact with one another. Kielmansegg is not known for any musical activities in London except for his relationship with Handel. It seems plausible, therefore, although there is no proof, that it was through the mediation of Handel that Geminiani met Kielmansegg for the first time. If this is true, one wonders if Handel and Geminiani had not met before, for example, in Italy, between 1707 and 1710. But here we enter the field of pure speculation.

On the title page of the *Sonate a violino, violone, e cembalo*, Geminiani spelled the name of his dedicatee "Kilmans'egge", which is partially English (the single "i" as the first vowel sound), partially German (the suffix "'egge"), the most frequent English spelling of the name being "Kilmanseck". Kielmansegg is called "Cavalerizzo Maggiore e Ciamberlano di Sua Maestà Britannica e Elettore di Brunswick e Lunebourg". "Cavalerizzo Maggiore" is a correct Italian translation of *Oberstallmeister* or Master of the Horse, but, as we have seen, a qualification would have been in place, since officially he was "only" *Vize-Oberstallmeister* and this in Hanover only, not in London. "Ciamberlano" is Italian for Chamberlain or *Kammerherr* in German. This is also a quality that Kielmansegg invested in Hanover, not in London.

It was customary in the eighteenth century to print the name of the dedicatee in larger or even much larger type than the composer's name. The title page of Geminiani's sonatas is no exception to this rule: his own name appears in small letters at the bottom end of the title page only, whereas the name of the dedicatee is much more prominent. The phrase that refers to the King himself – "Sua Maestà Britanica [sic] e [sic] Elettore di Brunswick e Lunebourg" – is printed in even larger type. It is interesting to note that the German territories of the King are indicated with their English names (Brunswick, Lunebourg) and not with the Italian (Brunsvigo, Luneburgo). Listing the electoral properties in the title took a little more space than the engraver expected so that the last letter (G) crosses the line that is the right border of the area of the title page reserved for the title.

Geminiani provided the edition of his *Sonate a violino, violone e cembalo* with a letter of dedication addressed to Baron Kielmansegg (see PLATE 1.2), which reads as follows:

¹² See Deutsch 1955, pp. 29, 63, 65, 76-69; article "Kielmansegg, Baron Johann Adolph von" in *The Cambridge Handel Encyclopaedia* 2008, p. 375; article "Johann Adolf VI., Freiherr von Kielmansegg (1668-1717)", in Marx 2009, pp. 621-624; article "Kielmansegg, Johann Adolf VI., Freiherr von" in *Das Händel-Lexikon* 2011, p. 428.

¹³ Johann Adolph's son Georg Ludwig von Kielmansegg (1705-1785) was made Reichsgraf (Imperial Count) in 1728. From that point on the members of the family could call themselves Count. The family has produced many important figures in the military or political hierarchy of Germany, among them the namesake of Geminiani's and Handel's patron Johann Adolph Graf von Kielmansegg (1906-2006), general in the service of the Third Reich and later of the Bundesrepublik.

Illustrissimo et Eccellentissimo Signore,

L'approvazione gratiosa, con cui l'Eccellenza Vostra si compiacque, non ha molto, d'honorare una mia Sonata, mi fa prender l'ardire di pubblicare col di Lei pregiatissimo Nome alcuni trattenimenti Musicali da me composti per il Violino, à diletto studioso di coloro, che non si appagano della sola superficiale Harmonia di quello. Quindi dovendo io soddisfare al desiderio, ch'Ella mostrò di qualch'altra mia compositione, humilmente Le consacro li medesimi con il più rispettosissimo ossequio, per divertirla in alcuno di quei momenti, che dalle cure più gravi Le avanzano, e ch'Ella suol dispensare al Genio sublime di tutte l'Arti più belle. E quantunque io non li riputi degni della somma intelligenza, ch'Ella possiede nè melodiosi Concerti (che pur tra le doti nobili dell'animo suo non tiene se non l'infimo luogo), nondimeno, poich'è palese quanta sia la di Lei generosità in benignamente aggradire i saggi dell'altrui virtù, io mi lusingo, che non incontreranno accogliamento men favorevole del primo, come pegno sicuro di poter promettermi da ogn'altro quel gradimento, che di questi io bramo. In tanto, riposandomi all'ombra del di Lei Patrocinio, mi rassegno con intiera Veneratione, et Osservanza. – di Londra, li 28 Novembre 1716.

Dell' Eccellenza Vostra

Humilissimo, divotissimo et obligatissimo servitore,
Francesco Geminiani.

To be translated as:

Most Illustrious and Excellent Lord,

The gracious approval with which Your Excellency were so kind, no so long ago, to honour a sonata of mine makes me take the boldness of publishing under Your beloved name some musical compositions composed by me for the violin, for the industrious pleasure of them who do not content themselves with the mere superficial harmony of the instrument. Therefore, in order to satisfy the wish You showed for some more compositions of mine, I humbly dedicate them to You with the most respectful submission, to amuse You in some of those moments which remain to You after the more serious tasks are done and which You are used to devote to the sublime genius of all the finest arts. And although I do not consider them [the sonatas] worthy to the complete understanding which You possess of melodious concerts (which yet among the noble gifts of Your mind certainly do not occupy the lowest place), nonetheless, since it is clear how great Your generosity is in kindly receiving the works of someone else, I flatter myself that they will be received not less favourably than the first, as a secure guarantee that I can promise myself for all the other pieces the appreciation that I wish for them. Meanwhile, taking a rest in the shadow of Your patrimony, I remain with complete veneration and obedience, London, 28 November 1716,

Your Excellency's

Most humble, most devoted and most obliged servant
Francesco Geminiani.

Apart from the usual flattering and other commonplaces – such as the dedicatee's appreciation for the composer's work, the brilliant intellectual, artistic and social talents of the dedicatee and his interest in the arts during the rare moments that he was free from official duties – the text of the letter contains some factual

information. Apparently Geminiani had played one of the sonatas for Kielmansegg, to the latter's satisfaction, and Kielmansegg had asked for more. This event was used as a basis for dedicating the whole set to the Baron. As mentioned earlier, the dedication refers to Kielmansegg's "complete understanding of melodious concerts".

It is not known what kind of reward Geminiani received for the dedication. It is sometimes said in general that dedicatees provided the means to pay for the printing, but in the case of Geminiani's *Sonate* this is hard to believe: as will be shown, everything was done to reduce the cost of the edition. But if we believe Hawkins, the sonatas at least provided Geminiani with access to King George I. Geminiani's compositions pleased Baron Kielmansegg to such an extent that it led him to organize a performance of the sonatas by Geminiani himself accompanied by Handel, in the presence of the King:¹⁴

The publication of this work had such an effect, that men were at loss to determine which was the greatest excellence of Geminiani, his performance or his skill and fine style in composition; and, with a due attention to his interest, there is no saying to what degree he might have availed himself of that favour, which his merits had found in the country: This at least is certain, that the publication of his book impressed his patron [Kielmansegg] with such a sense of his abilities, as moved him to endeavour to procure for him a more beneficial patronage than his own; to this end he mentioned Geminiani to the King as an exquisite performer, and the author of a work, which at the same time he produced, and the King had no sooner looked over, than he expressed a desire to hear some of the compositions contained in it performed by the author. The Baron immediately communicated the King's pleasure to Geminiani, who, though he was gladly disposed to obey such a command, intimated to the Baron a wish that he might be accompanied on the harpsichord by Mr. Handel, which being signified by the King, both masters had notice to attend at St. James's, and Geminiani acquitted himself in a manner worthy of the expectations that had been formed of him.

Geminiani's next publication, the concerto arrangements after the first six sonatas of Corelli's Opus 5, published in 1726, would be dedicated to King George I.

NOTATION

Some remarks about the notation of Geminiani's Violin Sonatas of 1716 sonatas may be in place here. We will briefly review a number of characteristics such as clefs, key signatures and accidentals, time signatures, rhythmic notation, articulation, ornamentation, figuring, fermatas and repeats.

The standard clef of the violin part is, as a matter of fact, the G-clef on the second line. But occasionally, for passages that go higher than *e''*, the French violin clef, a G-clef on the first line has been used (II/ii/13/4-16/3, 23/2-30/3).¹⁵ Remarkably, this clef is not used for the highest passage of the sonatas (III/i/42-43). The bass line is most often written in the bass clef, but passages that go higher than *d'* (up to *a'*) are notated with a tenor clef.

Key signatures are mostly in accordance with the modern circle of fifths, but occasionally there is one flat less than expected, in accordance with earlier modal practice, such as B-flat major with a key signature of

¹⁴ Hawkins 1776, Volume 5, p. 239.

¹⁵ References to particular passages in the sonatas are made by Roman numerals (for the Sonata), lower-case Roman numerals (for the movement), Arabic numerals (for the bar), Arabic numerals (for the beat) and V (violin part) or B (bass part), all these elements separated by forward slashes. Therefore, II/ii/13/4 means Sonata II, second movement, bar 13, fourth beat.

one flat (Sonata V); D minor, with no key signature (II); G minor, with one flat (VI); and C minor, with two flats (VII). The slow middle movement of Sonata VI (G minor) is in E-flat major, with a key signature of two flats.

The notation of accidentals follows the conventions of the early eighteenth century. Frequently a flat is used for changing a sharp into a natural, or a sharp to change a flat into a natural. F double sharp occurs in two sonatas (I/i/21/4/B, ii/44/3/B, iii/3/B; X/iii/19/2/V, X/iv/19/2/B, 20/4/V) and is indicated by a sharp in the score that has to be interpreted as an addition to the sharp in the key signature. A double sharp is needed in the figuring two times, and this likewise done by a simple sharp (X/iii/19/2/B, X/iv/20/4/B). Accidentals normally hold for the motive in which they are used, not necessarily for the entire bar, and certainly for repeated notes after a barline. Usually no second accidental is given for a note after an octave leap or notes an octave lower or higher in a scale or chord pattern. In some cases it is not entirely clear how far the influence of a certain accidental goes (IV/ii/51/4/V; VII/iii/26/4/V); then one must depend on good taste and judgment. The notation of the sixth degree in a scale figure in a minor mode between the fifth degree and a raised seventh degree (in either order) is often ambiguous, that is, no accidental is given, but most often a sharpening seems to be the best solution musically.¹⁶ Sometimes a flattened interpretation is made explicit by the addition of a natural or a flat (XII/iii/21/1/V), while in other passages the context suggests such a solution (XII/iii/9/3, 14/1, 33/1). But even after all this flexibility in interpretation, there remain a number of accidentals missing which are absolutely necessary. In several cases the revised edition of 1739, where the notation of accidental is much more precise, confirms that in 1716 indeed an accidental was missing (assuming continuity in Geminiani's tonal language in this respect).

The use of time signatures in Geminiani's Sonatas Violin Sonatas of 1716 is 'modern', that is with a complete fraction (2/4, 3/4, 3/8, 6/8, 12/8) or barred or unbarred C. Two fugues have been notated in double-length bars with the ordinary *alla breve* sign as time signature (I/ii, VI/iii). The first of these even has one 3/1 bar (I/ii/43). In some 3/8 triple-time movements there are some bars of double length (3/4) to accommodate hemiolas (II/iv/53, 61, 80; IV/iv/70, 71, 97; V/iv/35).

Tempo markings include Allegro, Vivace and Presto for the fast movements and Adagio, Affettuoso, Amoroso, Andante and Grave for the slower movements. A section of the first movement of Sonata III is headed "Tempo giusto". Geminiani never used double markings.

Triplets of quavers or semiquavers or even demisemiquavers occur every now and then, sometimes marked by "3", sometimes not. In Sonata IX (i/28/3/V) two semiquaver triplets are written as demisemiquaver triplets, perhaps by mistake, because there is no obvious reason for doing so.¹⁷

Prolongation dots of which are applicable after the barline, are indeed placed after the barline as well.

Minims that are syncopated over a barline are often written over the barline, instead of being split into two tied crotchets. This procedure is applied systematically in the first movement of Sonata VI, where the syncopation is part of the main theme. It is also found in Sonatas VII and XI.

Some rhythmic figures with small note values do not add up to the proper duration (I/i/22/1; III/i/1/2), a feature that is not uncommon in early eighteenth-century notation.

A number of movements have fermatas above the final notes of both the violin and the bass part, but others have not. There seems to be no system in the placement or non-placement of such fermatas. Multi-sectioned movements like the ones that open Sonatas I and III have fermatas to mark the end of the sections.

The notation of rests in 3/8, 6/8 and 12/8 time needs some comment. As a matter of fact, the semibreve rest is used for the full-bar rest in all cases, but the minim rest is used for the half bar both in 6/8 and 12/8. A

¹⁶ Implied raised sixth degree in scale figures: XI/30/3/V, 59/2/V, XII/iii/19/4.

¹⁷ The same notation was retained in the revision of 1739, but "corrected" in that of 1757.

rest of 3/8 duration in 6/8 and 12/8 meter is always written as a crotchet rest plus a quaver rest. A rest of the first two quavers of a 3/8 duration unit is written as a crotchet rest in 6/8 and 12/8 time, as two crotchet rests in 3/8 time. Rests of the last two quavers of a 3/8 duration unit do not occur in 6/8 and 12/8 time. In 3/8 time they are written as two quaver rests (as to be expected).

Articulation includes slurs for legato and small vertical strokes for staccato. Although slurring is rather extensively applied, it is certainly not complete and slurs are left out in many parallel passages or on figures where one would expect them. In his later work, from about his Sonatas Opus 4 and the 1739 revision of Violin Sonatas of 1716 as *Le prime sonate* onwards, Geminiani was very precise in the notation of his articulation, which very often shows irregular and unexpected patterns. Because of this, it is somewhat risky to supply extra slurs in the Violin Sonatas of 1716: one does not know to what extent Geminiani expected the performer to be consistent when performing these sonatas. It is interesting to see some slurs in the bass part: over the triplets in Sonata IX (iii/34, 36; but triplets were slurred almost universally at Geminiani's times) and over the descending semiquaver scale figure in Sonata XII (iii/15/2).

In contrast to the slurs for legato, the strokes for staccato are very rare. They are used in the violin part for repeated notes (I/i/19), for setting apart a note after a slurred group (I/i/21, I/ii/29/2, I/iv/31/1, II/ii/38/3), or for marking the beginning of a phrase (IV/iv/36). Some staccato strokes occur over notes in the bass line, as in Sonatas I (i/30/2) and IV (iv/70), in the latter case certainly to emphasize the hemiola.

Portato ("tremolo") may be assumed for the repeated double stops in Sonata IV (ii/25-28), but there is no hint for it in the notation.

Dynamic markings occur extremely sparingly: there are just two "piano" markings in Sonata IV (ii/29, 53), and no *forte* indications follow. But since the *piano* is applied to a repeated figure it may be assumed that its application holds as far as the figure goes.

The only ornament to be found in the edition is the trill, indicated mostly as "t.", sometimes as "tr". The former sign is used systematically on pp. 1-26, the latter on 27-35 and occasionally on earlier pages, probably as later additions. Trills are applied rather frequently, but still missing at many places where one would expect one or where at least one is possible. There is one trill sign in the bass (XI/ii/20/1), but we believe this is simply a mistake of the engraver: a "6" would be appropriate there.

Arpeggiated figures are sometimes written in abbreviated form, such as the "broken intervals" in Sonata I (ii/25/3-29/1, 42/3-43/6, 44/3-46/4) and broken triads in Sonata III (i/34-38). In the case of the broken intervals the abbreviation is indicated by wavy lines, in the case of the broken triad the pattern set up in the preceding bar is expected to be continued without further indication. The abbreviated notation for broken intervals absolutely suggests execution over two strings.

Continuo figures include the numerals 2 to 9 and the accidentals sharp, flat and natural. The accidentals may occur before a numeral or separately, in the latter case indicating the quality of the third. Sometimes a flat is used to flatten a sharpened pitch, where modern usage would indicate a natural, and sometimes a sharp is used to sharpen a flattened pitch, also where modern usage would indicate a natural. But most often the application of accidentals is as modern usage. Single figures occur most often, but there are many double figures as well as a certain number of triple figures. Horizontal lines for maintaining the figuring while the bass line proceeds to other notes are not used. The application of figures is rather ample and sometimes even dense, but in the final analysis far from "complete". There are many instances where the addition of a figure would have been easy and at the same time helpful to the continuo player. And there are a number of instances where the figuring is certainly wrong, either by providing the wrong numerals or the wrong accidentals. Sometimes there is a little tension between the figuring and the violin part, for example in Sonata VI (ii/21/3). Because of the cramped engraving it is not unusual to find a separate accidental placed

so close to a numeral that follows that it seems to apply to it. The horizontal placement of successive figures on the same bass note is also often incorrect or ambiguous, that is, too close to the first figuring on the note. As usual in eighteenth-century notation, a figure may be placed above a prolongation dot, and sometimes even above a rest sign.

Finally, there is the question or, rather, the problem, of the notation of the repeats for the two halves of binary movements. Before discussing this problem we must remind that the engraver of Geminiani's *Sonatas Violin Sonatas of 1716* had at his disposal only one way to indicate a repeat: a pair of thick barlines with two dots on both sides. Bars with dots on one side, as in use today, were unknown to him (and to the early eighteenth century in general). Now, all binary movements of Geminiani's *Sonatas Opus 1* have a double bar with repeat dots on both sides in the middle of the movement. These are not the problem. What causes problems is the fact that a double bar with repeat dots might be placed at the beginning of a binary movement, even before the clef, or even on the preceding system if the movement starts on a new system. Also, a repeat bar is missing several times at the end of the movement, especially when it is the end of the sonata. The first practice has the consequence that it looks as if the preceding movement or its final section had to be repeated, while the second suggests that a second part of a binary movement is without repetition. I believe that both are unintentional mistakes by the engraver. If we see that in Corelli's *Opus 5* all binary movements have two repeated sections and no non-binary movement is repeated, and find that this principle is applied systematically also in the 1739 revision of the *Violin Sonatas of 1716*, it is very improbable that in the 1716 version a number of binary movements would not have two repeated sections, let alone that non-binary movements were to be repeated. We believe that the general rule is that binary movements have two repeated sections and non-binary movements are not repeated. It is, of course, never possible to exclude exceptions, but there should be clear evidence for such an exception.

Only in one case there is a section with a *prima* and *seconda volta* ending (XII/i/12). This is notated on the usual eighteenth-century way by placing the two bars in succession with a slur above the two of them, and a repeat bar between them. The part of the second section of the movement which must be repeated is delineated by the sign “:S:” at its beginning and ending.

ENGRAVING AND PRINTING

Geminiani's *Sonate a violino, violone e cembalo* have yet another feature in common with Corelli's *Sonatas Opus 5*: both sets of sonatas were first published as private editions, published on the composer's behalf. In both cases the title page of the first edition mentions composer, dedicatee and engraver, but no publisher. Whereas Corelli kept the plates, engraved by Gasparo Pietrasanta, in his possession until his death—whereupon his heir Matteo Fornari sold them to the stationer Filippo Farinelli, while they later came in the possession of Innocenzo Massimini, equally a stationer—Geminiani sold the plates of his *Violin Sonatas of 1716* to the music dealer and publisher Richard Meares, just a few years after the first release. For Geminiani this had the advantage that he was not fated to remain a music dealer for the rest of his life and it saved him the trouble of storing the plates himself for a long time or at least taking care of the storage. By producing the first issue himself, however, he could have the advantages of the first sales, which were often secured by subscription and by the novelty of the work.¹⁸

¹⁸ Later on, in 1732, Geminiani would publish his *Concertos Opus 2* privately. This edition was replaced in 1737 by the Walsh Edition. Further private editions were issued from 1739 to 1751 (*Opus 4 to 9*), which were ceded to John Johnson in 1751.

Thomas Cross Jr., the engraver of Geminiani's Violin Sonatas of 1716, was one of the most noted British music engravers of the time. He worked both independently and for other publishers. Since he was probably born around 1660 and he died after 1730 (no precise dates or years are known), the engraving of Geminiani's Violin Sonatas belongs to his later works. Among his first productions the *Sonnatas of III. Parts* by Henry Purcell (1683) must be mentioned. It is generally acknowledged that Cross's later work is of less quality than his earlier work, possibly by the employment of assistants. One of his last productions was the engraving of Corelli's Sonatas Opus 5 for Benjamin Cooke in 1732.

Geminiani's decision to choose Thomas Cross as the engraver of his *Sonate a violino, violone e cembalo* and the later choice of Richard Meares as their seller (see below) is not without significance. It had everything to do with Geminiani's wish to avoid, wherever possible, the services of Walsh's publishing house, probably because Geminiani believed that in case of publication with Walsh the latter, and not he himself, would receive the profits of his work.

The engraving by Cross of Geminiani's Violin Sonatas (see PLATE 1.3) cannot be compared with his elegant earlier engraved works, as, for example, Purcell's *Sonnatas* of 1683, nor with the superior engraving by Gasparo Pietrasanta of Corelli's Opus 5. Whereas the latter's work is absolutely astonishing in aesthetic terms and musically as clear and as legible as one could wish, Cross's engraving is somewhat clumsy and often cramped, and often almost illegible, making it seem that the primary and most important goal was to fit as much music as possible on a single page, or to use as few plates as possible for the total work.¹⁹ The Sonatas VII to XII were engraved on two separate facing pages. This indeed avoided the need to turn pages, but there is simply not enough space on those pairs of pages to accommodate a complete *da camera* sonata each. In the first part of the volume, the problem often is the alternation of longer and shorter movements. If one wants to avoid page turns within a movement—a noble goal in itself—then one has either to stretch the shorter movements to fill two pages or to have a short movement combined with a longer one on two pages. Unfortunately the latter choice was always made, resulting in a number of overcrowded pages.

Pietrasanta's plates measure 29 x 20 cm (width x height), Cross's 27 x 20 cm. Whereas Pietrasanta put 80 to 100 notes on one stave of 28 cm (three notes per cm), Cross put 100 to 150 notes on a stave of 26 cm (that is, an average of five notes per cm). (Modern standards are like Pietrasanta's.) Cross often put the notes one after the other as closely as possible, irrespective of their duration, and without taking into account that an accidental might have to be added later, a practice which does not contribute to legibility. Cross never puts more than two or three quavers on a beam, whereas Pietrasanta formed larger groups, of four and six, as well as groups of eight semiquavers. Cross's staves are somewhat narrower than Pietrasanta's: 9 to 9.5 mm against 10 mm. Cross's staves are evenly spaced over the page, with 11 mm between staves, either within or between systems. Pietrasanta has less space between staves of one system than between systems (12 against 14 mm), a method certainly to be preferred. The overall result is that Pietrasanta's engravings look grand and royal while Cross's work makes a poor and cheap impression.

The general layout of the pages of Cross's engraving is, however, clearly derived from Pietrasanta's: four two-stave systems per page, with through-lines at the left and right margins of the music and accolades at the left end of the systems. Pietrasanta's engraving may be considered as a precise reproduction of Corelli's manuscript *exemplar*: the engraver is not known for any other musical work and it is difficult to hold him responsible for the perfect notation and lay-out of the music, so he must have simply reproduced his

¹⁹ Also John Hawkins, in his *General History*, v, p. 110, was critical about Cross's work: "Thomas Cross, junior, a son of him abovementioned, stamped the plates of Geminiani's Solos, and a few other publications, but in a very homely and illegible character, of which he was so little conscious, that he set his name to every thing he did, even to single songs."

exemplar. Cross's engraving contains some non-standard ways of notating music, such as the use of a minim rest sign for the half of a 12/8 *and* of a 6/8 bar.

Thomas Cross did not do any further engraving work for Geminiani.

Geminiani's Violin Sonatas of 1716 Sonatas were printed on single folios, a common method in early eighteenth-century Britain. Extant copies are remarkably uniform in size, with a width ranging from 29 to 32 cm and a height ranging from 21 to 23 cm. This probably points to the use of full sheets originally measuring about 50 x 65 cm, a size known as Royal Paper. After folding the full sheets twice and then cutting, four oblong folios are produced which measure about 25 x 32.5 cm (height x width). This procedure is described in the INTRODUCTION as Printing Type IIIb. Chain lines are vertical and spaced about 27 mm. Half watermarks (lower or upper halves) may be visible at the middle of one of the long sides (upper or lower) of the folios. The watermark, a so-called Strasbourg Lily, a fleur-de-lis on a shield with a crown on top, with a downward extension with the letters LVG, can be identified as no. 1808 in Heawood's *Watermarks* (1950).²⁰ The letters LVG stand for the name Lubbert van Gerrevink, a Dutch paper-maker domiciled at Egmond-aan-de-Hoef, a little village in Holland, some miles west of Alkmaar.²¹ The countermark, "IV" is not visible in copies of because of the trimming of the paper before printing or binding.²²

Printing on single folios does not make it easy to make gatherings and sew them. To hold the folios together in the right order they could be sewn a few millimetres from the left edge, or glued together in pairs to form a bifolio, which could be bound in the regular way. Extant copies show variations of these methods, applied to them at any time from 1716 till today.

THE SECOND, CORRECTED ISSUE

It was mentioned that the aesthetic or even the "musical" quality of the engraving of Geminiani's Violin Sonatas of 1716 leaves much to be desired. But what about the textual quality of the edition? How many errors or other defects does it contain? The answer to these questions can be simple: the textual quality of the engraving work is rather good but not perfect. There are three definitely wrong notes: the final note of the first bar of the two-bar "cadenza" at the end of the first fugue of Sonata II (ii/44/3/V), which should be a high *d3* instead of the engraved *c3*; the first note of the violin part of bar 5 of the third movement of Sonata IV, which has a flat (*d2-flat*) instead of a sharp (*d2-sharp*), and a semiquaver *e-flat* in the second movement of Sonata V (ii/30/3/V), which has a natural by mistake. Rhythm was engraved incorrectly two times: a quaver followed by two semiquavers instead of the other way round (IV/ii/16/2/V), and a crotchet followed by a quaver in a 3/8 bar instead of the other way round (IV/iv/12/V). Accidentals are missing in the violin part here and there²³ and in a few cases the figuring is certainly wrong, as mentioned before.²⁴ The second movement of the first sonata does not have a tempo indication. (*Allegro* is the natural choice.) Articulation, ornamentation and figuring are certainly not complete, rather, they are far from complete, but this is not

²⁰ Heawood 1950, no. 1808.

²¹ See Voorn 1960, pp. 243-246.

²² The letters "IV" stand for Jean Villedary, a seventeenth-century French paper-maker, whose paper was common in Holland. But there is no direct relationship between Gerrevink's paper and Villedary.

²³ Missing accidentals: I/i/6, 23 (sharps missing), VII/iii/3/4 (natural missing), VIII/ii/40/1/V (sharp missing), X/ii/14/1/V, 2/B, 16/2/V (naturals missing), XII/i/16/3, ii/10/4/V, 11/1/V, 19/1 (naturals missing). Wrong accidentals: V/ii/30/3 (erroneous natural).

²⁴ Wrong figuring: I/ii/7/1, III/ii/104/3, IV/ii/11/1, V/ii/7/4 (wrong figures in all these cases), VII/ii/23/4 (flat underneath 7 instead of before it), XI/iii/21/2 (superfluous or confusing "6"). Wrong accidentals in figuring: V/1/15/1 (flat instead of natural), VIII/ii/29/2 (sharp missing), 39/1 (sharp missing).

abnormal at all in early eighteenth-century editions. TABLE 1.11 lists all details in Geminiani's text that could be considered for correction or change.

At first sight all copies privately produced by Geminiani look identical, but a closer study brings to light a number of engraved corrections that occur all together in about two thirds of the known extant copies: there are eight copies with the corrections against five without them. The corrections are of minor importance and they do not relate to any of the above mentioned defects of the score. There are five of them. One is in the third movement of Sonata V, the other five in the first movement of Sonata VI (p. 21, see PLATES 1.4 and 1.5). Five are just additions to or changes of the figuring of the bass. One is the addition of a note to the violin part (Sonata VI/i/35) so that a double stop becomes a triple stop. TABLE 1.1.1 list these corrections.

Because the corrections are visible in the printed copies they define a Second Issue of the Geminiani Edition, which will be called the Corrected Issue. Copies of the Corrected Issue are printed on exactly the same paper as the copies of the First Issue. In the next section manuscript corrections applied by Geminiani will be discussed and then it will appear that copies of both issues have such manuscript corrections, in various numbers and combinations, and that identical sets of manuscript corrections may occur in copies both without and with engraved corrections. This can only mean that the Corrected Issue, with the engraved corrections, was printed before the dissemination of the copies had begun and that copies with and without engraved corrections were mixed indiscriminately when distributed. Such a conclusion is difficult to understand but there is little choice. If it is realized that about two thirds of the extant copies have the engraved corrections, it means that after about one third of the projected stock had been printed there was a stop during which a small number of corrections were applied to the plates (be it on only two different plates), that after this stop the other half of the projected stock was printed and that only after that the dissemination process begun. It is strange that the uncorrected copies were added to the corrected copies for further dissemination.

Today fourteen copies of the two Geminiani Issues are known, certainly not a bad score for such complicated music. Five of these copies are in Continental libraries (Germany, Italy, Sweden, Portugal), the remaining nine are in Britain or the United States. Great Britain seems to have been the main area of dissemination. Most known early provenances point to British possessors, such as persons named George Baillie (GB-C-Hogwood, dated 1724), Peter Gillier and William Howard (GB-En), J. F. Forster (GB-Lgc), J. Miller (GB-Ob) and Charles Robert (US-CHua). Nineteenth- and early twentieth-century owners were mostly collectors: Fulke Greville Upton (c. 1770-1847; US-Wc), Johan Mazer (1790-1847; S-Skma), Julian Marshall (1836-1903; GB-Ob), Thomas William Bourne (1856-1940?; GB-Ob) and Alfred Moffat (1866-1950; US-Wc). Of all these people the Swedish collector Johan Mazer is the only one not British. The Roger reprint and the manuscript copies made in Germany and Italy already in the middle years of the eighteenth century show that the edition was not unknown on the continent. TABLE 1.5 presents an overview of the known provenances of the extant copies.

Several copies have handwritten additions on top of the autograph corrections. One of the copies in London (GB-Lcm), for example, adds figuring here and there and slurs to groups of notes in the bass part.

MANUSCRIPT CORRECTIONS

In addition to engraved corrections that are found in the Corrected Issue of the Geminiani Edition there are manuscript corrections of which every extant copy of both the First and Corrected Issue has a certain number, varying from two to seven. They may occur at seven different places, in Sonatas I, II, IV and X. They are listed in TABLE 1.2. The corrections appear to have been done in such a way as to make them

indistinguishable from what was already printed, by using the same style, the same colour of ink and the same thickness of lines as in the engravings. Sometimes extant copies have all seven of these corrections (Copy D-Mbs, GB-Ckc, GB-Ob, I-Vc, P-Cug), sometimes they have subsets, as nos. 1, 2, 3 and 6 (D-MZsch, S-Skma) or no. 4, 5, 6 and 7 (GB-Lbl, GB-Lcm). Two copies (GB-En, GB-Lgc) have only the first and second corrections. In total there are at least seven different correction profiles, that are, different sets of corrections applied in single copies. TABLE 1.3 lists the various correction profiles with the copies in which they occur.

The existence of subsets of corrections suggests that the corrections were made on a certain number of copies simultaneously at some point between printing and selling. The different numbers of corrections in the subsets suggest that the subsets with fewer corrections were applied in copies disseminated earlier and the subsets with more corrections in copies disseminated later. There is one curious problem. Some subsets of corrections clearly show cumulative relationships, but in other cases correction subsets rather have overlapping relations, no cumulative ones. The subsets of corrections are also recognizable in manuscript copies of the sonatas made after printed copies and in the Walsh and Roger reprints.

Who did carry out these manuscript corrections, and when? Since we find the same corrections in a number of copies, some of them in nearly all copies, and most of these corrections are rather subtle and were carried out in such a way as to make them not noticeable there is no alternative to the conclusion that they were done by Geminiani himself. Corrections by users would show unpredictable patterns and variable ways of executing them. (Some extant copies have such corrections or additions by early users as well.)

The number of corrections is so small that one wonders whether they really were the result of a serious correction round or rather just applied to mistakes seen by accident at same point of time. In fact, many more corrections would have been possible, especially the addition of slurs, accidentals, trill signs and figures, or the correction of wrong figuring.

It is almost certain that with the method followed we did not find all the corrections made by hand in any copy of the Geminiani Issue. The corrections were “discovered” by comparing the two facsimile editions of Geminiani copies – which give identical readings – with the Meares Issue. That means we could only find errors that were corrected in the Meares Issue but not so in the copies facsimiled, or errors corrected in the facsimile copies but not so in the Meares Issue. The method followed does not find corrections applied by hand in the copies used for the facsimile editions *and* engraved in the Meares Issue, nor those applied in other copies of the Geminiani Issue but *not* in the Meares Issue. The only way to overcome this limitation would be to compare among them, note for note and meticulously so, all extant copies of the Geminiani Issue, for the presence of handwritten additions and differences among the copies, a task possible in theory, but not in practice.

THE MEARES ISSUE

Two years after their first appearance, Geminiani’s Violin Sonatas of 1716 were reissued by the London musical instrument maker and music dealer Richard Meares. This second issue is recognizable by a new imprint, mentioning Meares as the publisher of the edition and Geminiani only as the composer of the sonatas. Ten copies are known with a Meares imprint, which is three less than the first, private issue.

Richard Meares (the Younger, born around 1670, died ?1743) continued the business of his father, Richard Meares the Elder, and seems to have begun selling music in 1699, publishing music in 1714.²⁵ Most

²⁵ Humphries & Smith 1954, p. 250.

of his publishing took place during the 1720s, with works by Handel, Corelli, Ariosti, Castrucci and others. Often he used the services of Thomas Cross as engraver. He built and sold musical instruments as well.

Meares advertised his issue of Geminiani's Violin Sonatas of 1716 in the *Daily Courant* of 8 August 1718:²⁶

This day is published by Richard Meares, Musical Instrument-Maker and Musick-Printer, at the Golden Viol and Hautboy in St. Paul's Church Yard, Twelve Sonato's [sic], Composed by the Celebrated Signor Francisco [sic] Geminiani, shewing a marvelous Composition and curious Passages throughout the whole Work. To oblige the Ingenious, all engraved upon Copper Plate, and to render it more acceptable, corrected by his own Hand. Printed upon Royal Paper, Price 8s. N.B. A large Incouragement given to those that take a Dozen Books.

Because of this advertisement, 1718 is taken to be year of publication of the Meares Issue of Geminiani's Sonatas of 1716 and up to now there is no reason to doubt that. There are three interesting remarks in the text of the announcement. First, that the new issue was corrected by the composer himself; secondly, that it was printed on 'Royal Paper'; and, thirdly and finally, its price: 8 shillings. Since Geminiani's later private issues were sold for the same price as the commercial issues, we assume that the 1716 private issue of the Sonatas was sold for 8 shillings as well.

The original title page showed the name Francesco Geminiani in rather small type as the last line of the title. Meares removed on the plate the small rendering of the composer's name, replaced it by his name in bigger type and added his own name and address as the seller of the volume (see PLATE 1.6):

London, Printed for & Sold by Richard Meares, Musical Instrument Maker and Musick Printer at the Golden Viol & Hautboy in St. Paul's Church Yard.

In fact the new engraving of the composer's name and the new imprint take the place of mostly white space on the original title-page, as if in the original design there was already counted with an imprint to be added later. Meares retained the dedication to Baron Kielmansegg on the title page, and many copies (not all) include the letter of dedication on the second sheet, although the good dedicatee had passed away in the meantime, on 14/25 November 1717, just one year after the dating underneath the original letter of dedication. The lettering style of the new imprint differs from Cross's contribution to the title so it is practically certain that it was not Cross who carried out the changes on the plate of title page.

Changing the imprint in the engraving of the title page made it impossible to print further copies of the original title page, which means that Geminiani must have sold the plates to Meares, although he may have kept a number of already printed copies with him. The presence of a fixed set of seven engraved corrections in the Meares Issue and the absence of further corrections by hand confirms that Geminiani was no longer involved in the dissemination of the edition after the transfer to Meares.

Meares's advertisement says that his copies were printed upon Royal Paper. That is indeed true for a number of copies: they have paper similar to that of Geminiani's copies, with vertical chain lines 27 mm apart and the lower or the upper half of a watermark visible in the middle of the upper or lower edge of the folios. They are printed in the same manner as Geminiani's issue, as Type IIIb. But the watermark is different. It is a so-called Strasbourg Bend, consisting of a shield with a three-line bend with a fleur-de-lis above it and can be identified as no. 73 in Heawood's *Watermarks*. The original full sheets may have been

²⁶ Tilmouth 1961, p. 103; Careri 1993, p. 12.

smaller than those used for Geminiani's own issue. Extant copies never exceed a width of 30 cm (some are as narrow as 27.5 cm). Height varies from 21 to 22.5 cm. The folios may have been cut from English Royal Paper, measuring 20 x 25 inches (about 50 to 63 cm), which was somewhat smaller than Dutch Royal Paper of 50 x 65 cm. Seven extant copies have this kind of paper. It may be assumed that they were produced in a single impression, probably in 1718.²⁷ One copy (now GB-Lbl, d.74.a.) has Geminiani's autograph initials ("F. G.") in the lower right corner of the title page, which must mean that Geminiani received a (probably small) number of copies to sell himself, perhaps as payment for the transfer of the plates (or part of it).²⁸ It probably means also that Geminiani had sold out his own copies completely.

There are also copies of the Meares Issue that were printed on paper of lesser quality, derived from full sheets of smaller size, probably Short Demy Paper, of about 14 x 20 inches (about 35 x 50 cm). These sheets were just cut in two along the long side, to produce two single sheets of approximately 10 x 14 inches (25 x 35 cm). At the average extant copies are slightly larger than the copies printed on folios from the Royal Paper described above, with a width from 29 to 32 cm and a height from 21 to 23 cm. Then chain lines run horizontal and the watermarks are in the middle of the sheets, fully visible, but rotated 90 degrees clockwise or counter clockwise. The sheets used by Meares show distances between the chain lines of about 25 mm; the watermark, a Strasbourg Lily, with a fleur-de-lis on a shield with a crown on top, resembles the one found in the paper of copies of the Geminiani Issue, but the letters LVG are missing and the downward extension ends with a small WR monogram instead.²⁹ It can be identified as the design of nos. 1805 and 1806 in Heawood's *Watermarks*, which are very similar. The countermark "IV" is found on other sheets of the edition, also rotated clockwise or counter clockwise. The origin of this paper is unknown to me. This paper seems to be typical for the 1720s. It is found, for example, in the First Impression of Walsh's reprint of Geminiani's Sonatas of 1716 (first announced 1719), in *Musica sacra* by William Croft (Walsh, c. 1725) and in the First Impression of the Walsh Edition of Geminiani's Concertos from Corelli's Sonatas Opus 5 Nos. I-VI (1726). Three extant copies of the Meares Issue belong to this impression, which can be dated tentatively at "c. 1725".

The Meares Issue is homogeneous as far as corrections are concerned, by having always the same set of eight engraved corrections (see TABLE 1.4). Some were also found carried out by hand in the Geminiani Issue (nos. 1, 2 and 5), the others are "new" corrections (nos. 3, 4, 6, 7, 8). Four instances of manuscript corrections (corrections nos. 4, 5, 6 and 7 of TABLE 1.2) were not executed and remained incorrect on the plates; they are therefore found in all extant copies of the Meares Issue.

Who did carry out the corrections in the Meares Issue? Meares claims, in his advertising, correction by Geminiani, that is, on behalf of Geminiani, and so far there is no reason to doubt that: some of the corrections found engraved in Meares's issue are found added by hand in copies of the Geminiani Issue. It may be assumed they were carried out the engraver who also changed the title page, and this was almost certainly *not* Thomas Cross Jr., the engraver of the first version of the edition.

²⁷ Available information about the watermark suggest a later date, but such information is almost by principle incomplete. Heawood gives "c. 1730" as dating of his example of the Strasbourg Bend watermark and copies of the First Impression of the Le Cène Edition of the Parte seconda of Geminiani's concerto arrangements of Corelli's Sonatas Opus 5 (see WORK 4), which must be dated around 1730, also has this watermark. For the moment greater weight is given to Meares's mention of royal paper and the number of extant copies (seven of this versus three of the other impression): one may assume that a first impression was produced as a bigger print run than a second impression. But more evidence that could confirm or reject these hypotheses would be most welcome.

²⁸ Careri 1993, Plate 2.

²⁹ The letters WR stand for Wendelin Riehel, an early seventeenth-century paper-maker from Basel, Switzerland, but this addition is merely conventional.

Why were some corrections found in manuscript in copies of the Geminiani Issue not reproduced in the Meares Issue? For three of them the reason seems clear: they needed an alteration of the engraving, that is removing something and adding something else, whereas all the corrections that were carried out merely consist of adding something, a tie, a slur, a trill sign, a sharp or some figures. Manuscript correction no. 4 requires the change of a demisemiquaver $c3$ into a $d3$, manuscript correction no. 5 the change of a flat into a sharp, manuscript correction no. 6 the change of a crotchet-quaver rhythm into a quaver-crotchet rhythm. Obviously these were seen as too complicated actions in relation to the result. Manuscript correction no. 7 consisted of the addition of some naturals; it is not entirely clear why this correction has not been implemented on the plates. Perhaps Cross thought there was not enough space to carry them out properly.

Ten extant copies are known of the Meares Issue of Geminiani's Violin Sonatas of 1716. The present locations point again to a largely British dissemination: seven copies are in Great Britain, the United States or New Zealand, three copies are on the Continent. If the provenance is known this mostly points to British owners. Names of early possessors are S. (Shuckburgh?) Boughton (NL-Uim), various ladies Wilkson (GB-HAdolmetsch), Richard Goodson (organist in Oxford, 1688-1741; GB-Och), Henry Freeman (GB-HAdolmetsch, with date 15.3.1847) and H. H. Hughes (US-Bp, with date 1848). Later known owners are typically collectors: Fortunato Santini (1778-1861; D-MÜs), Guido Richard Wagener (1822-1906; B-Bc), Joseph Drexel (1833-1888; US-NYp), Allen A. Brown (1835-1916; US-Bp) and Frank Maxwell Stuart (died 1953; GB-Ge). TABLE 1.6 presents an overview of the provenance of the extant copies of the Meares Issue.

THE WALSH EDITION

Within a few years after their first appearance, Geminiani's *Sonate a violino, violone e cembalo* were reprinted twice, by John Walsh in London and by Jeanne Roger in Amsterdam. Both editions appeared in 1719. On first glance, Walsh's reprint may come as a surprise, since it was issued in the same city in which the original publication had appeared. Book publications were protected more or less by the so-called Statute of Anne, in force since 1709, if the protected works had been entered into the registers of the Stationers' Company before publication. Until much later in the eighteenth century, however, music, and certainly engraved music, was not considered to belong to the category of books; rather it belonged to the category of prints and maps and it was not considered to be covered by the Statute of Anne. Composers had to obtain special privileges to protect their work. Since Geminiani had published his first opus without a privilege, this gave Walsh a free and safe way for reprinting. Moreover, since the first issue mentions no place of publication and had an Italian title, Walsh could probably maintain as well that it was not a British publication that he was reprinting.

Walsh's reprint was advertised in the *Post Man* of 5-8 September of 1719.³⁰ Walsh translated the Italian title into English with considerable liberty: the number of sonatas was added ("XII"), the pieces were designated as "Solo's" and the accompanying instruments ("violone e cembalo") were mentioned as "a Thorough Bass for the Harpsicord or Bass Violin", somewhat resembling the title of Corelli's Opus 5 ("violone, o cimballo"). The dedication on the title page was dropped, and, of course, the letter of dedication omitted (see PLATE 1.7). Apart from the fact that it would serve little purpose in an unauthorized reprint, Kielmansegg had died in the meantime.

The reprint must not have pleased Geminiani, to put it mildly. It presented his sonatas in a much more accessible notation than in his own edition and in an absolutely correct reading of the musical text. Walsh's reprint is in upright format, with plates of 30 cm height and 22 cm width (see PLATE 1.8). With these

³⁰ Smith 1948, p. 162.

dimensions the plates are rather large. They allowed the engraving of seven two-stave systems of 21 cm length on a page. Where Cross had $4 \times 25 = 100$ cm length of stave available on a page, Walsh's engraver had $7 \times 20 = 140$ cm at his disposal, an increase of 40 %. Since the Walsh Edition follows Cross's engraving page by page, the increase of available length allowed for a more convenient and comfortable spacing, automatically leading towards better legibility of the music. Well, actually the Walsh Edition followed Cross's engraving by pairs of left-hand and right-hand pages. Since Walsh's engraver had more space at his disposal, his left pages often contain more music than Cross's left-pages. Because of this there may be some unused space at the bottom of Walsh's right-hand pages. Where Cross's engraving begins the right-hand page with a new movement, Walsh's engraver did the same. In addition Walsh's engraver put more space between the systems than between the staves of each system, which creates better orientation on the page for the performer. Walsh could easily advertise his edition as being "in a large and fair Character".

On top of the quite accessible notation of the Walsh Edition there is the quality of its musical text. The Walsh Edition is a very close, in fact a meticulous copy of the composer's own edition. The engraver must have had before him a copy without the engraved corrections (he did not engrave the added note in bar 35 of the first movement of Sonata VI), but with the manuscript corrections nos. 2, 3 and 6 (as the copies of the Geminiani edition now in Stockholm and Mainz). The engraver followed his example exactly where it came to clefs (including the French violin clef for high passages of the violin part), accidentals (including the use of sharps and flats for natural pitches), fermatas, abbreviated notations, articulation, ornamentation, figuring, the notation of repeats (thereby repeating the somewhat misleading procedures of Cross's engraving in this respect and even making them more convincing, because of their clear notation), the notation of rests in $3/8$, $6/8$ and $12/18$ times, the double *alla breve* bars, and so on.

In fact, it is difficult to find differences in the music and its notation between the Geminiani and Walsh Editions. But there are some. The most notable is the tempo indication for the last movement of Sonata IX: the Walsh Edition has *Vivace*, where Geminiani had put *Allegro*. In addition, one tie is missing in the Walsh Edition (IV/iv/17/4/B), one flat is misplaced (V/iv/46/V), and one note is changed: an *f1* ♯ in the bass line has become *e1* (X/ii/17/4/B). Walsh's engraver or his copy-editor noticed that there was some problematic figuring, which was subsequently corrected in the new edition (II/ii/23/4; IV/ii/26/1, 46/2; V/i/15/1; VI/i/70/1-2; etc.).

The Walsh Edition is, as we now have seen, much more legible than the Geminiani editions, his musical text is at least as good as the original one, and it had one further, even major advantage: it was cheaper. Geminiani and Meares sold their copies for 8 shillings; the Walsh Edition was available for only 6 shilling, which is 25 % cheaper. In addition, Walsh was a more important and probably also more efficient and effective dealer of music than Richard Meares. Geminiani had every reason to be "not amused" about Walsh's reprint. But nothing could be done against it.

Extant copies of the Walsh Edition can be classed in two issues, as far as the title page and two engraved pages of music are concerned. The First Issue, of 1719, mentions the names of John Walsh and John Hare in the imprint, the latter as "I. Hare" (see PLATE 1.7). John Hare died in 1725, after which his business was continued by his son Joseph Hare, so that the "I. Hare" in the imprint was still applicable.

Considering the high esteem in which Geminiani's sonatas would soon be held, plus all the advantages of the Walsh Edition, one would expect a larger sale of this edition than of Geminiani's own edition. If we take the number of extant copies today as a measure for eighteenth-century dissemination, the Walsh Edition indeed outnumbered Geminiani's in terms of sales. There are 23 extant copies of the three issues of the Geminiani edition and about 40 of the two issues of the Walsh Edition. The latter figure can be divided into about a dozen copies for the first issue (Walsh & Hare, produced from 1719 to c. 1731, see below) and two

dozens for the second (Walsh, no. 378; produced from c. 1734 to c. 1745?, see below). The Walsh Edition is mentioned in advertisements of the firm from 1719 until around 1750 (see below). They are listed in all of Walsh's catalogues from the 1720s to the 1750s and also in the catalogues of Walsh's successors, William Randall (1776) and his widow Elizabeth Randall (1782).³¹ The price is £ 0:6 from beginning to end. This data show, I believe, that Walsh continued to sell his edition with good results at least until well into the second half of the century. William and Elizabeth Randall may have sold copies printed in the 1740s until the 1780s, many decades after the Geminiani/Meares edition had ceased to be available. At times also other sellers listed the edition in their catalogues. John Johnson lists in his catalogue of 1754 Geminiani's Violin Sonatas of 1716 by Geminiani (which are not the 1739 revision) for six shillings.³² This almost certainly refers to the Walsh Edition. Richard Bremner listed "Geminiani's 12 Solos" in his 1759 Edinburgh catalogue for the same price; this must again be Walsh's edition.³³

The printing history of the Walsh Edition of Geminiani's Sonatas is complex. The First Issue, with the names of Walsh and Hare in the imprint and without publisher's number, apparently went through three impressions. Most copies – nine, to be exact – have paper with vertical chain lines, 26 mm apart, and a Strasbourg Lily watermark with a short downward extension with a monogram consisting of the letters WR. It may be assumed that these copies represent the First Impression. The watermark is also found in the Third Impression of the Geminiani Edition of the Sonatas, which have a Meares imprint and which was dated "c. 1725". It seems that the paper that Walsh used for his edition does indeed have the same watermark but it is not necessarily the same paper as the one used by Meares. The extant copies of the First Impression of the Walsh Edition are systematically larger than those of the Meares Impression: between 32 and 37 high (Walsh) against between 28 and 30 cm wide (Meares). The plates of the Walsh Edition are substantially larger than those of Geminiani's Edition, which is probably why Walsh used folios derived from larger full sheets, probably Crown Paper, with full sheets of 15 x 20 inches or 38 x 51 cm.

After 1719 the Walsh Edition was advertised in the *Post Boy* of 13 September 1722 and the *Daily Post* of 21 December 1722. If new copies were printed on this occasion, these may have been printed on similar paper as copies produced in 1719. For further conclusions comparison with the paper of other Walsh editions from these years is necessary.

A few copies of the Walsh & Hare Issue are on different paper. One (US-AA) is on paper with a simple Fleur-de-Lis watermark (between chain lines). Since this paper is also used for the First Impression of the *Seconda Parte* of Geminiani's Corelli Concertos, which was issued in 1729, it may be assumed, for the moment, that this copy belongs to a small impression produced in or around 1729. It may be connected with the advertisement of the sonatas in the *Country Journal* of 1 November 1729.

Two copies (A-Wn, GB-En, F-Pn) were printed on paper with a watermark consisting of a Strasbourg Lily with a downward extension with the letters LVG. Such paper was used by Walsh in particular in the early 1730s and is probably the paper referred to in advertisements of 1731 and 1734 as "Dutch paper". Walsh did not advertise Geminiani's "Solo's" in these years. The advertisement of 1 November 1729 (*Country Journal*) seems too early for this paper, the various advertisements of 1738 to 1740 (*London Daily Post*) too late. For the moment it is assumed that the copy with the LVG Strasbourg Lily was produced in or

³¹ William Randall, *A Catalogue of Vocal and Instrumental Music, For the Year 1776* (GB-Lbl, Hirsch IV. 1113. (12.) and G. 159 Vol. I); Elizabeth Randall's *A Catalogue of Vocal and Instrumental Music* (c. 1783, GB-Lbl, Hirsch IV. 1113. (11.) and cc. 13. (22.)).

³² *A Catalogue of Vocal and Instrumental Musick, Printed for and sold by John Johnson, [...] London, [1754].*

³³ *A Catalogue of Vocal and Instrumental Music, Printed for and sold by Robert Bremner, [...] Edinburgh, [1759].* Copy GB-Lbl, General Reference Collection C.161.f.3.(1.).

around 1731 or 1732, when also the Concertos from Corelli's Opus 5 and the Concertos Opus 3 were printed on this paper.

In a few cases earlier possessors of copies of the Walsh & Hare Issue of the Walsh Edition are known. The copy in Brussels (B-Br) has inscriptions of "Joseph Valentine" and "J. Prior", the copy in San Francisco (US-SFc) belonged to John Vickers, probably all them eighteenth-century owners. The copy in Paris (F-Pn) once belonged to the organist and composer Charles Wesley (1757-1834). Other copies can be linked to nineteenth- and twentieth-century collectors, such as Alfredo Piatti (1822-1901; I-BGi) Jean-Auguste Stellfeld (1881-1952; US-AA), and Anthony von Hoboken (1887-1983; A-Wn). An overview of sizes and provenances of the Walsh & Hare Issue is presented in TABLE 1.7.

Joseph Hare died in 1733. After this, the edition was reissued with only the name of John Walsh in the imprint, and with a publisher's number added: 378. This title page must have been first used in the mid-1730s (PLATE 1.9). On the same occasion the first two engraved pages of music were replaced by new engravings, in a style that aimed to be as similar as possible to the original engravings (PLATE 1.10). The difference between the two engravings is best seen in the tempo markings. In the first engraving the capital A of Adagio has a notable flourish, in the second engraving the "g" is extended. Also, in the first engravings the treble clefs are clearly tilted, whereas they are rather upright in the second engraving.

The re-engraving of the first two pages was in fact brought to my attention only when I saw Alfred Moffat's note in his copy of the First Impression of the Walsh & Hare Issue (IRL-Dn):

See my other copy of this work, note that Hare's imprint is deleted, also that the publication number 378 is added and pp. 1-2 have been reengraved. | See imprint. John Hare died in Sept. 1725. His son Joseph became Walsh's partner. So this work must have been issued prior to 1725, probably about 1720.

Moffat was also right in his guess of the publication year of his copy: "about 1720". In fact, his "other copy of this work" is now in the possession of the present author.

Later in the 1730s the Walsh firm quitted the use of publisher's numbers. RISM indeed list copies of the Walsh Edition of Geminiani's Sonatas with only Walsh's name in the imprint but without the number 378. So far I have not come across such a copy. Unless one is found one day, I consider them to be non-existent. All copies reported to have only Walsh's name in the imprint without a publisher's number do have in fact the publisher's number 378.

In the engraved *A Cattalogue [sic] of Musick: Containing all the Vocal and Instrumental Musick Printed in England of John Walsh*, issued in several issues from about 1734 to about 1744 (Smith & Humphries's Catalogue 18, p. xiii), Geminiani's works are listed on page 10. From the typography it is clear that the first version of the catalogue listed only Geminiani's Corelli Concertos (no. 377), the "Twelve Grand Solos" (no. 378) and the Concertos Opus 3 (no. 379). Later added were the *Select Harmony Third Collection* concertos (1734-1735, no. 506), the Concertos after Corelli's Opus 3 (1736, no. 569) and the Concertos Opus 2 (1737, no number). The works with nos. 377-379 certainly received their numbers at the same time and this must have been after the publication of the Concertos Opus 2 (1732) and before the *Select Harmony, Third Collection* (1735). This sets a time frame from 1732 to 1735 for the Second Issue of the Sonatas.

The Second Issue of the Walsh Edition, with Walsh's name only in the imprint and with the number 378 in the lower right corner of the title, probably went through four impressions.

Three copies have paper with vertical chain lines and a watermark consisting of a Strasbourg Lily with the letters LVG attached to it, just like the Third Impression of the First Issue. This copy may have been

produced in or around 1734, when the use of this paper (“Dutch Paper”) was advertised for several editions. The New York copy without title page can also be counted to this impression, the First Impression of the Second Issue.

Two copies (US-BE; US-IO) have a watermark consisting of a Fleur-de-Lis between chain lines. These constitute the Second Impression and may be connected with advertisements mentioning the sonatas in 1738 and 1739.³⁴

Two other copies of the Walsh Edition of Geminiani’s Sonatas of 1716 (GB-Chogwood; GB-Cu) were printed on paper with the sole mark “IW”, pointing to paper made by James Whatman. According to Hudson (1977) Walsh used paper from the Whatman mill nearly exclusively in the years 1740-1741. The copy of the Sonatas on this paper may therefore be produced in those years, as Third Impression. The “Whatman Impression” may be connected with the various advertisements of the works in the *London Daily Post* of 1740.³⁵

The watermark found in the majority of the copies of the Second Issue is, however, yet a different one, a simple Fleur-de-Lis around a chain line, and paper of this kind seems not to have been used by Walsh before 1740. Therefore the copies with the Fleur-de-Lis watermark around a chain line probably were produced after 1740. The Fleur-de-Lis watermark around a chain line was used by Walsh for impressions of other editions of works by Geminiani produced in or around 1741, 1745 and in the 1750s, in the later decade also by John Johnson. 1741 seems too early for a Fourth Impression of the edition (too quick after the James Whatman Impression of 1740), the 1750s too late. Therefore, for the moment the Fourth Impression of the Second Issue – the seventh of the edition as a whole – will be dated at or around 1745. This impression must have been considerably larger than the two previous ones, considering the number of extant copies. It is of course also possible that there were several impressions with this watermark, but this was not investigated.

The edition was still advertised rather frequently in 1750; for the moment it may be assumed that Walsh sold in these years (and later) copies printed around 1745.³⁶

The number of extant copies of the Walsh Issue is larger than that of the Walsh & Hare Issue, about thirty against thirteen, probably due to its prolonged availability in the shop. Some of them can perhaps be linked to eighteenth-century possessors, as the ones with the names of, “S. S. Stowe” (I-BGi), “R. Dales” (RUS-MI) and “F. Turner” (US-Pu), about whom nothing is known. Two copies belonged to eighteenth-century organists: James Worgan (1715-1753; I-MOe: first owner, a copy bought c. 1735?) and Richard John Samuel Stevens (1757-1837; GB-Lam). The librarian Reverend Charles Hoyle (1771-1848) presented his copy to the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge (GB-Cfm). The influential theologian George Hodges (1856-1919) donated his copy, from the music libraries of his father and grandfather, to the Library of Congress in Washington in 1919 (US-Wc). Some of the copies already mentioned and some other copies got into the hands of nineteenth- and twentieth-century collectors such as the British pianist Charles Kensington Salaman (1814-1901), the Italian cellist Alfredo Piatti (1822-1901; I-BGi), the Italian collector Conte Luigi Valdrini (1837-1901), the British musicologist Frank T. Arnold (1861-1940), the American musicologist Otto Kinkeldey (1878-1966; US-NYp), the Swiss musicologist Emile Amoudruz (1882-1967; CH-Gpu), the British composer Gerald Finzi (1901-1956; GB-SA) and the American musicologist Theodore Finney (1902-1978; US-Pu). Amoudruz must have played through all the sonatas: everywhere in his copy one finds his fingering marks and occasionally there is an added trill mark or “(x)” where a single sharp has the meaning of a double sharp. He noted the wrong placement of the flat in bar 45 of the last movement of Sonata V. In

³⁴ *London Daily Post*, 18 April and 1 September 1738, 9 August 1739.

³⁵ *London Daily Post*, 11 July, 13 August, 1 and 23 October 1740.

³⁶ *General Advertiser*, 7, 16 February, 6, 12, 14 April and 22 May 1750, *London Evening Post*, 4 August 1750.

the last movement of Sonata X he applied a correction where in fact the musical text is correct: in the third beat c2# was changed into d2#.

TABLE 1.8 presents an overview of sizes and provenances of copies of the Walsh Issue.

THE ROGER EDITION

Geminiani's Violin Sonatas of 1716 were not only reprinted in London; in the same year as the Walsh Edition, that is 1719, the Amsterdam music publisher Estienne Roger produced another reprint. On the title page (PLATE 1.11) his daughter Jeanne Roger is mentioned as publisher, but this is more a formality rather than a factual statement: in 1716, Roger had divided his business between his two daughters Françoise and Jeanne, heirs for the non-musical and musical parts respectively.³⁷ Music editions from 1716 to 1722 mention therefore Jeanne Roger in the imprint, although, being born in 1702, she was not yet or hardly twenty years old.

No press announcement is available for Roger's edition of Geminiani's sonatas. For the dating, however, the publisher's number, 459, can be used. The firm assigned these numbers in a rather regular chronological order. The number 459 points to a publication in 1719, therefore the edition is roughly contemporaneous with the Walsh Edition. In fact, we do not know which of the two editions, Walsh's and Roger's, appeared first and which one later.

The title of the Roger Edition is an exact copy of that of Geminiani's edition, including the dedication to Baron Kielmansegg, with the same division over lines, but most often with difference letter forms.

Although the appearance of the Roger Edition resembles that of the Walsh Edition rather closely, there is no direct relation between the two editions. Both are dependent solely on the Geminiani Edition. The two publishers (Roger and Walsh) followed more or less the same principles for the layout of their editions. In the case of Geminiani's sonatas, this led to an upright folio format with seven systems per page, thereby accommodating one page of the Geminiani edition on one of their pages with an increase of available space of about 40 % (see PLATE 1.11). Whereas Walsh maintained the relationships between the pages of the Geminiani/Meares edition and his until the end, Roger took somewhat more space for the *da camera* sonatas in the second half of the volume. This was possible because of the shorter lengths of the movements. The final result is that there are three pages more in the Roger Edition than in those of Geminiani and Walsh. Roger's edition is as legible and accessible as Walsh's and is in some respects, for example, the italic figuring, aesthetically superior.

English music editions of the first half of the eighteenth century are always printed from single plates, that is, plates with one page of music on it. Two pages of music are printed on the recto and verso sides of each folio. Dutch editions, on the contrary, are normally printed from double plates, with two pages of music on it, on the two sides of a folded-out bifolio. Roger's edition of Geminiani's sonatas is no exception to this procedure. Nineteen double plates were used for the 38 pages of music, eighteen plates for the nine gatherings that make up pp. 1-36, each consisting of one bifolio with four pages of music. Pages 37-38 were engraved on a double plate. Bifolios were printed with both pages on both sides but in such a way that after cutting the page into two single folios the folios showed p. 37 on one side, p. 38 on the other.

Whereas it is very difficult to distinguish the musical text of the Walsh Edition from that of Geminiani, the Roger Edition presents a clearly different version. An editor has done work here who wanted to modernize the notation on the one hand and to simplify it on the other. The notes have been reproduced

³⁷ Lesure 1969, p. 10.

faithfully, apart from a small number of errors.³⁸ But the clefs have been standardized to a violin clef for the violin part and a bass clef for the bass part, by replacing the French violin clefs of the violin part by standard Italian violin clefs and the tenor clefs of the bass part by bass clefs. Also the use of sharps and flats has been modernized: sharps or flats used as naturals are replaced by naturals, both as accidentals and figuring. But the editor did not understand the implied double sharps in the basses of Sonatas I and X and the violin part of Sonata X: he regarded the sharps there as superfluous and removed them, thereby in fact destroying the harmony.

Key signatures and time signatures are the same as in the Geminiani edition, but the movements in double *alla breve* bars (I/ii; VI/ii) were rewritten as single *alla breve* bars. And the double (3/4) bars for the hemiolas in the fugal movements in 3/8 (II/iv; IV/iv) were split into two 3/8 bars. The notation of syncopated minims with a barline through them was replaced by two crotchets tied over the barline. One movement has a different tempo indication, Adagio instead of Grave (II/i). Slurs were copied faithfully but only part of the staccato strokes. Ornamentation was dropped totally, as were the two *piano* markings in Sonata IV. The abbreviated notations in Sonatas I and III were maintained, but the wavy lines used in Sonata I to signal them were omitted. The notation of rests in 3/8, 6/8 and 9/8 times, the application of fermatas and the notation of repeat signs follows Geminiani's edition closely.

The figuring of the Roger Edition deviates from the original figuring in many respects, both in notation and content. On many places figures have been added, removed or changed. To indicate a sharpened or flattened pitch in the figuring, an accidental is solely used for the flattened fourth, fifth or sixth, where the flat is placed after the numeral. Flattened sevenths have a flat through the horizontal line of the "7". The raised fifth and sixth are indicated by transverse dashes, the raised fourth by an extension of the "4" in the form of a plus sign. Raised or lowered thirds are indicated by sharps and flats respectively. In Geminiani's edition there are number of problematic figures. Roger's editor saw them, but solved the problem most often by simply *omitting* the problematic figure, not by replacing it with an acceptable figuring as Walsh's editor had done.

The Roger Edition follows a copy of the Geminiani Edition that does not have the engraved corrections, which is clear from the omission of the added note in the first movement of Sonata VI (i/35/V). Some of the engraved additions to the figuring of the bass are found in the Roger Edition, but this must be a consequence of the editing of the volume. It copies several manuscript corrections that are found in the Geminiani Edition, notable nos. 3-7 of TABLE 1.2. This means that, as far as engraved and manuscript corrections are concerned, the Roger Edition is similar to the copy of the Geminiani Edition in the library of the late Christopher Hogwood (GB-Chogwood). This is probably a later subset of corrections than that of the copy on which John Walsh had based his edition. The size of the known extant copies is remarkably similar, with a height from 30 to 31 cm and a width from 22 to 23 cm. This probably point to the use of Schrijf-Papier (writing paper), with full sheets of c. 35 x 45 cm. Chain lines are vertical, 26 mm apart, and one folio of each bifolio has is a lettermark "D" in the middle of the page. This may point to the papermaker Jan Jacobszoon Doncker, who owned the mills De Herder and Het Herderskind in Zaandijk, some miles north of Amsterdam.³⁹ He, at least, is the only major papermaker in Holland with a surname beginning with a D.

In sum, the Roger Edition is nicely produced and its musical text is good but not perfect. Roger asked *f*4 for a copy of his edition, which is the exact Dutch equivalent of 8 shillings, the price in Britain for Geminiani's own edition. Charles Burney possessed a copy of the edition, which he called "beautifully

³⁸ For example: IV/i/10/4/V: last note *a''* instead of *b''*; V/ii/19/3/V: quaver with two semiquavers instead of two semiquavers and a quaver; and /27/2: an erroneous natural before *b''*.

³⁹ Voorn 1960, pp. 382-392.

engraved in copper” and which he believed, of course erroneously so, to have been appeared before the first London edition.⁴⁰

Five extant copies are known with a Jeanne Roger imprint, two in the Netherlands, one in Great Britain, one in France and one in the United States. Eighteenth-century owners are known of all these five copies. The copy in Delden (Netherlands, NL-DELLEN-Twickel) was bought by the Dutch aristocrat Carel Bentinck (1708-1778). The copy now in Louisville (United States; US-LOU) must have been first-owned by no one less than Francesco Maria Veracini (1690-1768). The copy in the collection of Ton Koopman (NL-BUSSUM-Koopman) has inscriptions by one “Robert Mackintosh” with the date 1773. The copy in London (GB-Lbl) has the inscription “Kibrouck”. Also the French violinist Jean-Baptiste Cartier (1765-1841) possessed a copy (F-Pc).

Roger’s successor Michel-Charles Le Cène reissued the edition under his own imprint (PLATE 1.13). Of this issue six extant copies are known, most of them in Continental libraries, one in Great-Britain. Two copies (A-Wn, GB-Chogwood) have the mark “D” as occurring in the Jeanne Roger Issue and this one may have been produced in the later 1720s. Other copies have “SK”, probably pointing to a production in the 1730s: the same paper is found in Le Cène’s editions of Geminiani’s Concerto’s Opp. 2 and 3 (published 1733-1734) and the *Seconda Parte* of the Corelli Concertos, published in 1730. The letters SK may refer to the paper maker Simon Janszoon Kramer, owner of the mill De Visser in Zaandijk.⁴¹

Three copies of the Le Cène Issue have known provenances: the Liceo Musicale in Bologna (I-Bc, from the collection of Giovanni Battista “Padre” Martini), the “Bibliotheca Musica Regia” in Dresden (D-Dlb) and the Dutch collector Daniel François Scheurleer (1855-1927; NL-DHgm). An overview of sizes and provenances of copies of the Roger Edition is in TABLE 1.9.

In the 1730s, Roger’s edition of Geminiani’s violin sonatas was also sold in Paris by Jean-Panthaléon Leclerc or “Leclerc L’Ainé”, for 10 livres, as is apparent from his catalogues of 1734 and 1737.⁴²

After Le Cène’s death in 1743 the stock of the firm was inventoried. The inventory lists 14 printed copies of the edition of Geminiani’s Violin Sonatas, while also the plates were still there. Together they were valued at *f*26:16, not a bad price in the context of the inventory. After all, Geminiani was still a well-selling composer in 1743.

The Roger Edition of Geminiani’s Violin Sonatas of 1716 is the only publication by Geminiani mentioned by Johann Gottfried Walther in his *Musicalisches Lexicon* (1732, p. 275). Since Walther mentions the dedication to Kielmansegg, he must have had access to a copy of the edition: the catalogues of the Roger firm do not provide this information.

MANUSCRIPT COPIES

Twelve manuscript copies of Geminiani’s Violin Sonatas of 1716 can be found in European libraries, all on the Continent, from Italy to Sweden. The geographical spread is remarkable because, as we have seen, the dissemination of the editions (with the exception of Roger’s) was mainly restricted to the British Isles. But it seems that in general manuscript copying was relatively rare in England in the eighteenth century, because of the easy and wide availability of printed editions, whereas in many continental areas there was a strong

⁴⁰ Burney 1789, Volume 4, p. 641, footnote.

⁴¹ Voorn 1960, pp. 398-400.

⁴² *Catalogue général de musique imprimée ou gravée en France, ensemble de celle qui est gravée ou imprimée dans les pays étrangers dont on fait usage* (Paris: Leclerc, 1734-1737), p. 79, in the section “Musique Italienne”, where one finds most Italian titles published by Roger and Le Cène. The price of 10 livres for Geminiani’s Opus 1 is somewhat above the exchange rate between the Dutch guilder and the French *livre tournois*.

manuscript tradition, due to absence of important centres of music printing and publishing in many areas. Manuscript copying was notably common in Italy, the German-speaking areas and Scandinavia.

All twelve manuscript copies of Geminiani's Violin Sonatas of 1716 appear to be dependent on one of the printed editions. None of them is independent in the sense that it derives from Geminiani's autograph without the intervention of an edition. In all cases the variants found in the manuscript copies make it possible to determine from which edition (or issue) the copy was derived.

The two manuscripts found today in the library of the Conservatory of Naples are both derived from a copy of the Geminiani Issue of the sonatas with the engraved corrections. Both are certainly of Italian origin, with their oblong formats and the scarcity of articulation and figuring. The manuscript Ms. 22-6-18¹ (olim M.S. 2622/a) entitles the whole set as "Sinfonie a solo e Basso", but has a "Fine" at the end of the "Sinfonia Sesta" and introduces the remaining six sonatas as "Balletti Per Camera" (see PLATE 1.19). Sonatas VII-XII are entitled "Sinfonia Seconda-Sesta". A later hand wrote on the title page "(Terza copia de sei soli e sei sinfonie per Violino e Basso)", where "sei" was corrected to "12" and the words "e sei sinfonie" were crossed out. This suggests that at that time there were two other manuscript copies in the same collection as well. The manuscript has the manuscript corrections 2, 3 and 6 of TABLE 1.2.

The Naples manuscript M.S. 2622/b has a provenance that is independent of the manuscript just discussed. It calls the works "Sonate a solo di Violino e Basso" and bears the date 1764 (see PLATE 1.20). In addition it has an owner's indication "Del Marchesino di Casella".⁴³ The bass is entirely without figures. The manuscript has the manuscript corrections 1, 2, 3 and 6 of TABLE 1.2.

The manuscript Amalienbibliothek 405 of the Deutsche Staatsbibliothek in Berlin is a copy of a Geminiani Issue with the Engraved Corrections and all the Manuscript Corrections of the Geminiani Issues (see PLATE 1.15). The manuscript once belonged to the library of Princess Anna Amalia of Prussia (1723-1787). It is certainly of German origin, perhaps written by Johann Philipp Kirnberger, Princess Amalia's music teacher.⁴⁴ The manuscript Amalienbibliothek 408 is a copy of Am. Bibl. 405 that once belonged to Johann Philipp Kirnberger (1721-1783), perhaps also written by him.

Four manuscript copies were derived from copies of the Meares Issue. Ms. 15115 of the Conservatory of Brussels is an anthology of sonatas for violin, flute or oboe and basso continuo, probably compiled in Germany in the eighteenth century. It contains Geminiani's Sonatas I, III and X (see PLATE 1.14). The Manuscript Mus. 2201-R-1a of the Sächsische Landes- und Universitätsbibliothek in Dresden is a complete copy of Geminiani's 1716 sonatas written for the Dresden court. Johann Georg Pisendel (1687-1755) copied the sonatas one by one, perhaps from the same printed copy (see PLATE 1.16). His copies of Sonatas I, V, VII, VIII, X and XI are in manuscript Mus. 2201-R-1b (see PLATE 1.17), that of Sonata II in manuscript Mus. 2201-R-9. In addition there is a complete copy in the Bibliothèque nationale de France in Paris (Ms. D 4402; see PLATE 1.18).

The manuscript now in the Staatsbibliothek in Berlin as Mus. ms. 7331 was copied after the Walsh Edition, a manuscript without specific shelfmark in the Statens Musikbibliotek in Stockholm (in Musik rar.) after the Le Cène issue of the Roger Edition.

⁴³ Casella is a town in the Apennines north of Genoa and belonged to the marquisate of Savignone, so that the inscription "Marchesino di Casella" probably refers to a member of the Fieschi family, who were marquesses of Savignone in the eighteenth century.

⁴⁴ Blechschmidt 1965, p. 243.

EARLY RECEPTION

Since Geminiani was in England only for a short period (two years?) and no public appearances of him are known from this time, the publication may have been quite unexpected.⁴⁵ How well it sold, we do not know. The sonatas must have been technically more demanding than any other violin music available at that time. Burney wrote about the sonatas that “few could play [them], yet all the professors allowed them to be still more masterly and elaborate than those of Corelli”.⁴⁶

Little is known about early performances. It may be assumed that Geminiani played them during his private concerts. The otherwise hardly-known violinist Rouse Hawley performed some of the sonatas on various occasions, for the first time, as far as known, during a concert giving in the Great Room in Villiers Street (York Buildings), on 10 December 1718.⁴⁷ A second concert by Hawley where he played Geminiani’s sonatas took place in Hickford’s Great Room in James Street on 6 March 1719.⁴⁸

The later famous violinist John Clegg (1714-c.1750) played as a child prodigy, ten years old, a sonata by Geminiani during a concert given in Haymarket Theatre on 8 May 1724.⁴⁹ During the same concert he also played the Concerto *La tempesta di mare* by Vivaldi. Mr. Kitch sung an aria from Handel’s opera *Giulio Cesare*.

The sonatas also attracted the attention of the Swedish composer Johan Helmich Roman (1694-1758). He visited England twice, first from 1716 to 1721 and later in 1735, and it is almost certain that he met Geminiani at least on one of these occasions. His arrangement of one of the sonatas as a concerto grosso will be discussed later. Here we must mention the various notations derived from Geminiani’s sonatas that can be found among his musical papers now in the Musikbibliotek in Stockholm: a transcription of the first movement of Sonata VIII with an added middle-voice, a harmonization of the first movement of Sonata X (both in Ms. Ro 97:106a) and the incipit of the last movement of Sonata II in a table with incipits in all twenty-four tonalities (in Ms. Ro 97:129a).⁵⁰ The pages in question are reproduced in APPENDIX 1.1.

CONTEMPORARY ARRANGEMENTS

Geminiani’s *Sonata e violino, violone e cembalo* were remarkably often arranged for other instrumental combinations. All twelve of them were arranged for transverse flute and figured bass by Edward Finch (1663-1738) and included in a large oblong manuscript of 350 pages written by William Armstrong and Edward Finch now in private possession and known as the Armstrong-Finch Manuscript.⁵¹ Finch was a nobleman, son of Heneage Finch, First Earl of Nottingham, and based mainly in York. He was a competent amateur musician and composer and a prolific copyist. His arrangements for transverse flute from Geminiani’s Sonatas are found as a series on pp. 1-53 of the second backward pagination of the Armstrong-Finch Manuscript, introduced by the heading “Sign^r. Francesco Geminiani’s Sonata’s Written out & Fitted for the German Flute in the following Order: IX, X, XI, XII, VII, VIII, IV, V, I, III, II, VI”. In spite of the

⁴⁵ Hawkins 1776, Volume 5, p. 239: “In the year 1714 he came to England, where in a short time he so recommended himself by his exquisite performance, that all who possessed to understand or love music, were captivated at the hearing him; and among the nobility were many who severally laid claim to the honour of being his patron; but the person to whom he seemed most closely to attach himself was the Baron Kilmansegge, chamberlain to king George I. as elector of Hanover, and a favourite of that prince.”

⁴⁶ Burney 1789, Volume 4, p. 641.

⁴⁷ *Daily Courant*, 10 December 1718; *The London Stage, Part 2* 1960, p. 519.

⁴⁸ *Daily Courant*, 4, 5, 6, March 1719.

⁴⁹ *The London Stage, Part 2* 1960, p. 775.

⁵⁰ Bengtsson 1976, p. 61.

⁵¹ See Holman 2012. Peter Holman was so kind as to provide additional information that was relevant for this text.

different order—probably reflecting the perceived ease of the arrangement—the original numbers of the sonatas are retained. The majority of the sonatas is transposed a whole tone up or down, to arrive at a key signature with fewer sharps or flats. Only the sonatas in D minor (II, XII) and D major (IV) are left untransposed. In the arrangement as much as possible was left unchanged. Even double and triple stops were retained in the transcriptions, apparently to be played arpeggio. Sonatas I and V were arranged a second time further on in the manuscript. These second versions are simpler than the first and avoid double stops and figuration typical for the violin.

The 1720s saw the appearance of several arrangements of one or more of Geminiani's Violin Sonatas of 1716. A collection with the title *Six Sonatas or Solos Contriv'd & Fitted for a Flute and Bass, Collected out of the Last New Solos Compos'd by Mr. Geminiani & Castrucci* was published by John Walsh, with the name of John Hare added to the imprint, around 1720.⁵² Probably the edition was reissued in the 1730s with Walsh's name alone in the imprint and with publisher's number 102, but there seems to be no extant copy of this reissue.⁵³ The edition is listed in Walsh's *Catalogue of Musick*, p. 25, as "Geminiani's and Castrucci's Solos", with number 102, and a price of 5 shillings. It contains as fifth and sixth sonatas Sonatas VII and X from Geminiani's Violin Sonatas of 1716, in arrangements for treble recorder and figured bass. Sonata VII has been transposed up from C minor to D minor, Sonata X from E major to G major. Apart from the transposition very little was changed: some passages were altered to make them fit in the range of the recorder. Manuscript Correction 7 in Sonata X was applied; the anonymous arranger must have used a copy of the Geminiani Issue. Sonatas I to IV are Sonatas V, VI, X and XI from Pietro Castrucci's *Sonate a violino et violone o cembalo [...] Opera prima* (Amsterdam: Jeanne Roger, No. 435, [1718]), all transposed and arranged for treble recorder.⁵⁴ Castrucci's authorship of the first four sonatas is confirmed by the remark "Fine del Sig^r: Castrucci" at the end of Sonata IV. Above Sonata V we read instead "Del Sig^r: Geminiani".

Michel-Charles Le Cène in Amsterdam reprinted the volume as *Six sonate [sic] à une flûte et une basse choisies des derniers ouvrages solo de la composition de Messieurs Geminiani et Castrucci* (PN 531, [1727]).⁵⁵ It is an unaltered reprint of the Walsh edition.

Pietro Chaboud, a musician of Italian descent active in London from about 1705 to about 1725,⁵⁶ compiled a collection of six sonatas arranged for transverse flute or other treble instrument and figured bass

⁵² See Smith 1948, No. 611, p. 171, but Smith's further information refers to a different edition, the *Solos for a German Flute* edited by Chaboud, discussed next in this text. See also Smith & Humphries 1968, No. 717, p. 160, where there is the same confusion. Listed in RISM Recueils XVIII, p. 365, with a Walsh alone imprint but referring to the Walsh & Hare Issue. The two extant copies known, F-Pn, D 10763 and GB-Lbl, h.48.j.(1.). The London copy was apparently not noticed by Smith. The Paris copy has the following handwritten remark on the title page "costa due fiorini e mezzo in Haya, l'anno 1725". The Dutch price of f2:10 matches exactly the British price of £ 0:5:0. See also Careri 1993, Instrumental Music, 18b, p. 273. Facsimile edition of title page and Sonatas II (Castrucci) and VI (Geminiani) in *[XII] Solos for a German Flute* (Florence, 1985 = Archivum Musicum, Flauto Traversiere 3).

⁵³ Smith 1968, No. 717, p. 160, mentions a copy of the Walsh alone Issue with number 102 in GB-Ckc, but this cannot be found in the online catalogue. It may be a confusion with the *XII Solos for a German Flute by Geminiani and Castrucci*, which is in GB-Ckc, with number 428, and which is not mentioned by Smith for his No. 716.

⁵⁴ Sonata I (Castrucci Sonata V) was transposed upward from B flat major to F major, Sonata II (Castrucci VI) from A major to C major, Sonata III (Castrucci X) from B minor to D minor and Sonata IV (Castrucci XI) from E major to G major. Modern edition of the four sonatas by Castrucci: Pietro Castrucci, *4 Sonaten für Altblockflöte und B.c.*, Nach der Quelle erstmals in kompletter Neuausgabe vorgelegt von Winfried Michiel (Münster: Mieroprint, 2016). Modern edition of the two sonatas by Geminiani: Francesco Saverio Geminiani, *2 Sonaten für Altblockflöte und B.c.*, Nach den Quellen herausgegeben von Winfried Michel (München: Mieroprint, 2017). There is a recording of the six sonatas in this edition by the Danish recorder player Pernille Petersen: *Sonatas by Mr. Castrucci & Mr. Geminiani*, CDK 1054, 2010.

⁵⁵ RISM Recueils XVIII, p. 366. Copy F-Pn, Vm7 6418. There is a manuscript copy dated "A Upsala le 18 d'Aout 1758" in S-ÖS (Jämtland Läns Bibliotek), no shelfmark, RISM 190.016.755. Modern edition of the two arrangements, after the Le Cène edition: Francesco Geminiani, *Two Sonatas for Alto Recorder and B.c. Opus 1, No. 7 & 10*, Edited by Thiemo Wind (Amsterdam: Broekmans & Van Poppel, No. 1649, 1996).

that was published by John Walsh (with the names of both John and Joseph Hare added to the imprint) as *Solos for a German Flute or Hoboy or Violin with a Through Bass for the Harpsichord or Bass Violin*, in 1723.⁵⁷ A few years later, so around 1725, a similar and similarly titled second collection appeared, marked *Parte secondo* [sic] on the title page, published again by John Walsh.⁵⁸ Neither the first nor the second volume gives any composers' names: on the title pages of both volumes it is just said that the pieces are by "the greatest authors" and are now "fitted to the German flute".⁵⁹ The *Parte secondo* contains as Sonata IV an arrangement of Geminiani's Sonata X from the Sonatas of 1716.⁶⁰ The sonata was transposed from E major down to D major, to make it better suited for the transverse flute, but otherwise very little was changed. A few trills and some figures were added, and some passages that included low notes were altered. Manuscript Correction 7 was not applied, so that Chaboud must have used either a "Geminiani copy" without this correction or a copy of the Meares Issue. The penultimate note in the flute part of the third movement has a sharp, which creates an augmented sixth with the bass, which was certainly not meant so in Geminiani's edition, where it is rather a half close.⁶¹

The two volumes of Chaboud's arrangements were reissued by Walsh as a single volume, now with the title *XII Solos for the German Flute, Violin, or Harpsicord*, without mentioning Chaboud's name anywhere.⁶² The imprint has only the name of John Walsh and has an added publisher's number, 428, which means that it was not published before 1733, so probably in the mid-1730s. There is no separate title page for the *Secondo parte*, but the original sonata numbers, from I to VI in both volumes, and paginations, from 1 to 24 and 1 to 25 respectively, are maintained. As far as known there are no changes in the music, which was printed from the original plates. Now, composers' names were added on the title page: "Compos'd by Sigr: Geminiani and Castrucci". Indeed, there is one sonata (Sonata IV of the *Secondo parte*) that can be ascribed to Geminiani and another one to Castrucci (Sonata I of the *Secondo parte*, which is an arrangement of Sonata VI of Castrucci's Violin Sonatas Op. 1). In fact, the composers' attributions on the title page may have been copied from the Le Cène reprint of the two-volume set of 1723-1725 (see below) that appeared around 1730, that is, before Walsh's reissue.

As just said, before Walsh's reissue the two Chaboud volumes had already been reprinted together, in Amsterdam by Michel-Charles Le Cène, around 1730, with the title *XII Sonate a flauto traversie, o violino, o hautbois e basso continuo delle compositioni degli Sign. Francesco Geminiani e Castrucci* and publisher's

⁵⁶ About Chaboud see Wind 1984.

⁵⁷ Advertisement in the *Daily Courant* of 22 May 1723. Smith & Humphries 1968, no. 350, pp. 78-79, under the name of Pierre Chaboud. Not in RISM Recueils XVIII, but, taken together with the second volume, in the *Einzeldrucke* series as C 1767 under the name of Chaboud. Copies in GB-CDp (incomplete), GB-Lbl, g.422.j.(3.), LEC (incomplete) and I-BGi.

⁵⁸ The second volume adds the availability of Chaboud's own sonatas for the German flute to the title page, and was therefore probably published a little later than the first. Smith & Humphries 1968, No. 351, p. 79. Included in RISM C 1767 (see previous note). Facsimile editions of both parts by Studio per Edizioni Scelte as [*XII*] *Solos for a German Flute, Being All Choice Pieces by the Greatest Authors and fitted to the German Flute by Sig. Pietro Chaboud, Parte prima e seconda, London s.d.* (Florence, 1985 = Archivum Musicum, Flauto Traversiere 3).

⁵⁹ Walsh published a sequel to the two volumes as *Solos for a German Flute, a Hoboy or Violin, with a Thorough-Bass for the Harpsicord or Bass Violini, Part the 3d* in 1727, with sonatas by Ariosti, Bononcini and Handel. I assume that Chaboud was not involved in this publication. See Smith & Humphries 1968, no. 1591, p. 310, and RISM Recueils XVIII, p. 360. Copies in GB-Lbl and GB-Mp.

⁶⁰ Sonata I is Sonata VI in Pietro Castrucci's *Sonate a violino et violone o cembalo [...] Opera prima* (Amsterdam: Jeanne Roger, No. 435, [1718]).

⁶¹ Modern editions: in *Das italienische Barock*, Herausgegeben von Máriássy István (Budapest: Editio Musica, Z 13534, 1989; series 300 Jahre Flötenmusik), pp. 19-23, Flauto part pp. 8-10, Violoncello part pp. 6-8; and Francesco Geminiani, *Sonata in D Major for Flute or Oboe and B.c. Op. 1, No. 10*, Edited by Thiemo Wind, Realization of the Figured Bass [by] Anneke Uittenbosch (Amsterdam: Broekmans & Van Poppel, no. 1601, 1991).

⁶² RISM Recueils XVIII, p. 361. Copies in GB-Ckc, Rw.16.47, S-Skma, C 1B-R (without title page), and US-AA, Special Collections General and Rare, M 241 .G32 173-. Facsimile by Musica Musica (Basel, 1983).

number 551.⁶³ Now the sonatas are through-numbered from I to XII and there is a single pagination, from 1 to 44. A clever editor will have noted that one of the sonatas in the complete set (Sonata IV of the *Parte secondo*, now Sonata X) was based on a sonata by Geminiani and another one (Sonata I of the *Parte Secondo*, now Sonata VII) on a sonata by Castrucci, so that an edition with sonatas for transverse flute and figured bass could be created that was a kind of parallel to the *Six sonate [sic] à une flûte et une basse choisies des derniers ouvrages solo de la composition de Messieurs Geminiani et Castrucci* that had been published a few years before.

The mentioning of the names of Geminiani and Castrucci on the title pages of the Le Cène edition and Walsh's reissue before the identification of the composers of Sonatas VII (Castrucci) and X (Geminiani) was known has given rise to various speculations about the composers of the sonatas in the two volumes. When Hugo Ruf published, in 1963, Sonata III of the first volume after the Le Cène edition as *Sonate e-Moll für Oboe oder Querflöte oder Violine und Basso continuo* with an ascription to Geminiani (Kassel: Bärenreiter = Hortus Musicus 178), he assumed that Sonatas I-VI (first volume) were composed by Geminiani and Sonatas VII-XII (Sonatas I-VI of the *Parte secondo*) by Castrucci, because of the way their names were added to the title: Geminiani first, then Castrucci. James Ladewig, in the work-list added to David Boyden's article on Geminiani in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* 7 (1980), pp. 223-229, assumed that Sonatas I-VI were by Castrucci and Sonatas VII-XII by Geminiani, because in the meantime Sonata X was identified as a transposed version of Sonata X in Geminiani's Violin Sonatas of 1716. It seems best, however, to consider all sonatas in the set, except Sonatas VII and X, anonymous until a convincing identification is available.⁶⁴

Sonata III, in E minor, the one published for oboe by Hugo Ruf in 1963, is a rather standard early eighteenth-century sonata da camera for a melodic instrument. It opens with a short Adagio, followed by an Allegro, a Largo and a Vivace that are in fact an Allemanda, a Sarabanda and a Minuetto in 3/8 time. Could this be a sonata by Geminiani? Certainly and the avoidance of using dance title for movements clearly based on dance models could point to Geminiani. On the other hand, its style is little outspoken and one could as easily think of Jean-Baptist Loeillet, Willem de Fesch, Johann Christian Schickhardt or even Georg Philip Telemann as its composer, all composers born in the 1680s, just as Geminiani.

Whoever its composer, the Oboe Sonata in E minor must have become a rather popular piece among early-oboe players, considering the number of recordings. The sonata is found on three LPs that are mostly anthologies of "Baroque" oboe sonatas, played by Michel Piguet (c. 1973?),⁶⁵ Jean-Paul Goy (c. 1980?),⁶⁶ and Paul Dombrecht (1979),⁶⁷ and on two CDs of similar nature, played by Giuseppe Piccinino (1995)⁶⁸ and Michele Antonello (1999).⁶⁹ The sonata is also recorded with other instruments, notably the descant recorder,

⁶³ Not in RISM Recueils XVIII. Copies in B-Bc and S-Skma.

⁶⁴ Sonata VII (or Sonata I of the *Parte secondo*) is found in a transposition from G Major to A Major in manuscript S-Sk, S 177, fols. 9v-10v, as "Sonata a Violino Solo del Sr Geminiani" (RISM 190.013.817), but this ascription may be based on an erroneous inference from the mentioning of Geminiani's name on the title page of Le Cène edition, the probable source for the setting in this manuscript. The sonata is, in fact, by Castrucci.

⁶⁵ Ensemble Ricercar de Zürich: Michel Piguet (oboe), Martha Gmünder (harpsichord), Walther Stiftner (bassoon), *Six sonates italiennes pour flute à bec, hautbois baroque & continuo*, Erato, STU 70663, no year, c. 1973.

⁶⁶ Jean-Paul Goy (oboe), René Oberson (organ), *Geminiani-Telemann-Haendel-Messiaen-Peeters-Oberson-Langlais*, Gallo 308, c. 1980?

⁶⁷ Paul Dombrecht (oboe), Robert Kohnen (harpsichord), *Oboe Sonatas between 1700-1750*, Accent ACC 7804, 1979.

⁶⁸ Giuseppe Piccinino (oboe), Roberto Cognazzo (harpsichord), *Italian Sonatas for Oboe, Cor Anglais and Harpsichord*, Antes Concerto, BM-CD 931025, 1995.

⁶⁹ Michele Antonello (oboe), Margherita Gianola (organ), *Musica per organo, tromba, oboe, del Settecento italiano*, Nalessa Records Productions, NR 002, 1999.

by Manfred Harras (1979),⁷⁰ the voice flute, by Giovanni Antonini (1992),⁷¹ and the transverse flute, by Raymond Traverso (2008).⁷²

Whether Sonata III is by Geminiani or not, there is still a possibility that Chaboud's collection contains more sonatas by Geminiani than just Sonata IV of the *Secondo parte*. In his *General History of the Science and Practice of Music, Volume the Fifth* (1776), p. 424, John Hawkins, quotes the collection with the following words:

And in a collection of solos, published by the same person [that is, Walsh], with the names of Geminiani and Castrucci, are three solos undoubtedly of the former [that is, Geminiani], two whereof are no where else to be found.

This cannot refer to the volume with six recorder sonatas after examples by Geminiani and Castrucci, since it must have been clear to Hawkins in that case that there were four sonatas by Castrucci and two by Geminiani. If it refers to Chaboud's collection, Hawkins was right in his assertion that one of the sonatas could be identified among Geminiani's known works. Several questions remain, unfortunately, unanswered. First, which are the two solos that are "undoubtedly" of Geminiani? And, secondly, wherefrom came Hawkins's knowledge about these two solos? Related to the latter question is the one what Hawkins did exactly mean with "undoubtedly". Had he seen manuscripts of the sonatas, or had he recognized Geminiani's style in the two sonatas? For the moment there is no answer to these questions.

The arrangements of Geminiani's violin sonatas for recorder or flute fit into a much wider tradition of transcribing for wind instruments sonatas originally written for violin. First of all this happened, of course, with Corelli's Violin Sonatas Op. 5, of which the *Parte seconda*, with the sonate da camera, was published as *Six Solos for a Flute and a Bass* by John Walsh in 1702.

An overview of the arrangements for recorder or transverse flute after Geminiani's Violin Sonatas of 1716 is given in TABLE 1.10.

And then there are Barsanti's arrangements of the Sonatas VII-XII in the form of trio sonatas, published a dozen years or so after the original publication. Francesco Barsanti (1690-1772) was another Italian, in particular another musician from Lucca, living in London.⁷³ He was an oboist and a flautist, and was associated with Geminiani in several ways: apparently he had gone to England in 1714 together with Geminiani, and later he was among the musicians selected by Geminiani to participate in the performances of the Philo-Musicae et Architecturae Societas, the Masonic lodge established first of all to produce and promote Geminiani's concerto reworkings of Corelli's Sonatas Opus 5.⁷⁴ Barsanti's Opus 1, *Sonate a flauto o violino solo con basso per violone o cembalo*, was published privately in 1724.⁷⁵ Walsh reprinted this work

⁷⁰ Manfred Harras (recorder), Roswitha Friedrich (viola da gamba), Martha Gmünder (harpsichord), *Flauto dolce: Musiche italiane*, 1979.

⁷¹ Il Giardino Armonico: Giovanni Antonini (recorder), Paolo Beschi (cello), Lorenzo Ghielmi (harpsichord), *Talian Recorder Sonatas*, Nuova Era 6789, 1992.

⁷² La Barca Leyden: Raymond Traverso (transverse flute), Cees van der Poel (harpsichord), Cassandra Luckhardt (cello), *Italian Matserpieces*, Aliud ACD HN 022-2, 2008.

⁷³ About Barsanti see Walter Bergmann, "Francesco Barsanti," *The Consort* 18 (1961), pp. 67-77, and Michael Talbot, "A Busy Copyist and a Shy Composer: Two Sides of Francesco Barsanti (ca. 1690-1775)," *De Musica Disserenda* 11 (2015), pp. 125-146.

⁷⁴ Careri 1993, pp. 17-18.

⁷⁵ Barsanti, Opus 1 (private edition): RISM B 1053. Unique copy in GB-Lbl. Advertised in the *Daily Post* of 30 April 1724, for sale at Bressan's. Facsimile edition Florence, Studio per Edizioni Scelte 1985 = Archivum Musicum, Collana di testi rari 75.

in 1727, with the name of Joseph Hare added to the imprint.⁷⁶ It was followed by a similar Opus 2: *VI Sonate per la traversiera, o German flute, con basso per violone e cembalo*, published by Benjamin Cooke in 1728.⁷⁷ Later works by Barsanti, published until as late as 1769, include trio sonatas, concerti grossi, overtures and vocal music. He died in 1772.

It is not known whether Barsanti's arrangements after Geminiani's Violin Sonatas of 1716 were composed with or without the latter's consent or even if Geminiani knew about them before publication. They were first published by John Walsh as *Sonatas of three parts for two violins, a violoncello and through bass, made out of Geminiani's Solos*, with Joseph Hare's name added to the imprint, in 1727.⁷⁸ The edition was dedicated to Hewer Edgeley-Hewer (baptized Hewer Edgeley), the godson and later the heir of William Hewer (1642-1715). William Hewer began as Samuel Pepys's manservant and went on to become a very rich independent merchant and even a Member of Parliament. Having no children of his own, he appointed his godson heir on the condition that he took the name Hewer for his last name as well. Hewer Edgeley-Hewer died 6 November 1728. Benjamin Cooke reprinted Barsanti's trio arrangements of Geminiani's sonatas soon after their first appearance.⁷⁹ John Walsh produced later issues in the 1730s (without Hare's name in the imprint, and with the publisher's number 354)⁸⁰ and in the 1750s.⁸¹ The latter issue does not mention the dedication to Edgeley-Hewer nor even does name Barsanti as arranger.

Barsanti's arrangements are as simple as they are effective. The violin and bass parts of Geminiani's sonatas are retained with occasional small-scale changes, but no bars were removed or added. The second violin part "steals" a few figures from the original violin part, but mostly provides a counterpoint with simple imitation, parallel thirds and sixths, complementary figures, and so on. The figuring is more comprehensive than in Geminiani's original versions. The most striking difference is the addition of many dynamic markings, such as piano, forte or fortissimo, which are applied mostly to phrases and rather consistently indicated. The fortissimo is only found in the Violino Secondo, to emphasize phrases that need to stand out above the Violino Primo.

Expanding solo sonatas to the form of trio sonatas certainly was not a common procedure in the first half of the eighteenth century. There was a certain tradition in Italy during the second half of the seventeenth century of writing sonatas for two violins and figured bass of which the Violino Secondo was ad libitum, to begin with Maurizio Cazzati's *Correnti e baletti per sonare nella spinetta, leuto o tiorba, overo violin e*

⁷⁶ Barsanti, Opus 1 (Walsh & Hare): *Sonatas or Solos for a Flute with a Thorough Bass for the Harpsichord or Bass Violin*, advertised *London Journal*, 16 September 1727. Smith & Humphries 1968, No. 143, p. 35. RISM B 1052. Copies in GB-DRc and GB-Lbl.

⁷⁷ Barsanti, Opus 2 (Cooke): RISM B 1049. Copies in GB-Lbl and GB-LEc.

⁷⁸ Barsanti, from Geminiani's Op. 1 (Walsh & Hare): Smith & Humphries 1968, No. 710, p. 159. RISM G 1498. Advertised in the *Country Journal* of 23 December 1727 and *Mist's Weekly Journal* of 6 January 1728.

⁷⁹ Barsanti, from Geminiani's Op. 1 (Cooke): RISM B 1047. The dedication has been omitted. The Violino Secondo Part has a remarkable addition on the title-page: "In this Impression is avoided the Turnings Over in the middle of the Quick movements, in the second Violin." In Walsh's edition, such page turns indeed occur in three of the six sonatas. The Violino Primo partbook of Walsh's edition is printed according to the "principle of sonata/concerto partbook printing", with the part for one sonata on a pair of left- and right-hand pages. But the Violino Secondo partbook is systematically printed with one and a half pages for each sonata, which means that three times (for Sonatas II, IV, VI) a page turn at about one third of the sonata is unavoidable. In all three cases Walsh's engraver has chosen to put the page turn in the middle of the second movement.

⁸⁰ Barsanti, from Geminiani's Op. 1 (Walsh 354): RISM G 1499. Smith & Humphries 1968, No. 711, p. 159. Copy GB-Lbl, g.274.(7.), with watermark "Fleur-de-Lys around a chain line".

⁸¹ [Barsanti], from Geminiani's Op. 1 (Walsh): RISM G 1500. Smith & Humphries 1968, No. 712, p. 159. Most commentators follow the dating of Smith & Humphries 1968, p. 159: "c. 1742". But the title-page contains a list of recently published editions, which appear to have been published between about 1745 and 1755, so that we can safely conclude that this issue was not published before c. 1755. Copies GB-Lbl, g.409.c.(3.), R.M. 17.a.4.(5.), R.M. 17.d.6.(3.) (horizontal chain lines, no watermark).

There are two manuscript copies in S-Skma (shelfmark C2-R, RISM 190.019.706-719).

violone, col secondo violino a beneplacito (Bologna, 1662) and perhaps to end with Domenico Gabrielli's *balletti, gigue, correnti, allemande e sarabande a violino e violone, con il secondo violino a beneplacito* (Bologna, 1684). These pieces can be performed with a single violin, or with first and second violins, the Violino Secondo being mostly accompanying. But we do not know if these works were known to Barsanti, neither if they were his inspiration for making his arrangements. Thirty years after Barsanti Geminiani would himself arrange his Sonatas "Op. 1", that is, his revision of the sonatas published in 1739 as *Le prime sonate*, in the form of trios with added ripieno parts, in a far more complex way than Barsanti had done. They were published in two volumes as *VI Sonatas for Two Violins & a Violoncello or Harpsichord [...] from the VI First (Last) Solo's of His Op^a. 1^a* (WORKS TWENTY-FOUR, TWENTY-FIVE).

In addition to the arrangements discussed so far in the chamber-music format there are arrangements in concerto form. Charles Avison (1709-1770) arranged eleven of Geminiani's Violin Sonatas of 1716 as concertos. (Sonata XI is missing in the set, for an unknown reason.) They are extant as a score in Avison's "Workbook II", preserved in the Charles Avison Archives, housed in the Newcastle City Library.⁸² The score does not provide instrument designations for the various parts.

Avison must have used the Walsh Edition of Geminiani's sonatas for his arrangements. Sonata X/ii/17/3-4/B has Walsh's reading instead of Geminiani's. Also several of the corrections of the figuring that can be found in the Walsh Edition are found in Avison's concerto arrangements.

One may assume that Avison composed the arrangements as a kind of exercise. He must have used Geminiani's concerto arrangements of Corelli's violin sonatas Op. 5 as a model and as his major source of inspiration. The concertino consists of a Violino Primo and Secondo, Viola and Violoncello. The latter part is figured. The concerto grosso consists of Violino Primo and Secondo Ripieno and Basso. The Basso part is unfigured. The score puts the concertino on top of the concerto grosso.

Avison's arrangements are rather straightforward. The movements are divided in blocks of variable length with and without the ripieno parts. The violin and bass parts of Geminiani's sonatas have been retained for the better part in the concertino. The polyphony of the fugues of the first six sonatas provided material for both violin parts. The ripieno parts double the concertino parts wherever there are tutti sections. The second violin of the non-fugal movements and the viola in all movements most often provide simple counterpoints. Although allotted to the concertino, the viola only plays in ripieno passages. Much passage work from the Sonatas is merely set for the Violino Primo and the figured Violoncello. Occasionally changes have been introduced. Passages that go very high were recomposed (II/ii/23-26) or skipped (III/i/40-44). The written-out cadenza at the end of the second movement of Sonata II was replaced by a fermata, suggesting an improvised cadenza. Figuring mostly follows Geminiani's figuring, with occasional additions and omissions. The double *alla breve* bars of the fugues of Sonatas I and VI were split into two single *alla breve* bars.

Sonata I was transposed from A major to G major, Sonata X from E major to C major, certainly to avoid the complex harmonies involving, for example, G double-sharp. The first movement of Sonata III has a newly composed ending. Sonata VI has been enlarged by a minuet headed "Andante" with variations, of which the Andante is set for a four-part tutti, the variations for violin and bass. The variations are in fact the original form for violin and bass of the second Minuet in Geminiani's *Menuetti con variazioni composti per il cembalo*, published in 1739, which is a keyboard arrangement, with relatively few changes. With fair certainty the variations can be ascribed to Geminiani, but the preceding Andante must have been composed

⁸² Complete modern edition: Charles Avison, *Concerto Grosso Arrangements of Geminiani's Opus 1 Violin Sonatas*, Edited by Mark Kroll (Middleton, Wisconsin: A-R Editions, 2010 = Recent Researches in the Music of the Baroque Era 160). About the source see Kroll 2005. About Avison and Geminiani see the Introduction to the edition, Kroll 2013 and Kroll forthcoming.

by Avison. Even, the Andante must have been the “Minuet given to Geminiani” according to the imprint of the *Menuetti*.

When did Avison compose these arrangements? In his Workbook I, they follow his copies of Geminiani’s Concertos Opp. 2 and 3 but precede his arrangements of Geminiani’s Sonatas Op. 4. The copies from Geminiani’s Opp. 2 and 3 cannot have been written before 1732, the arrangements after Geminiani’s Sonatas Op. 4 not before 1739. For these reasons the mid-1730s seem to be the best guess for the arrangements of Geminiani’s 1716 sonatas, especially as there are no traces of Geminiani’s revised version of the sonatas, published in 1739 as *Le prime sonate*, in the arrangements. The inclusion of the Andante, which was the theme for Geminiani’s violin variations, later published for keyboard and included in the *Menuetti* of 1739, does not contradict this dating.

The composer William Hayes (1708-1777), organist in Worcester and Oxford, made a concerto arrangement of Sonata IV, which is extant in the manuscript GB-Ob, Ms. MS Mus. c.21, an autograph by Hayes.⁸³ In the manuscript, the arrangement after Geminiani immediately follows a concerto arrangement of Sonata X from Giovanni Stefano Carbonelli’s *Sonate da camera a violino e violone o cembalo* [London, 1729],⁸⁴ which makes us believe that this arrangement and that of Geminiani’s sonata were made in the 1730s. Hayes’s arrangement of Geminiani’s sonata is, unfortunately, incomplete in the Oxford manuscript: the folio with the last bars of the last movement, from bar 91, are missing.

Other concerto arrangements of Geminiani’s Violin Sonatas of 1716 sonatas are preserved in manuscripts in the Musikbibliothek in Stockholm. A complete set, both in score and in parts, copied by the composer and music copyist Arvid Niclas von Höpken (1710-1778), is preserved under shelfmark Oba-R.⁸⁵ The title page, on which may have been mentioned the name of the arranger, has been cut out of the binding. But a very similar set of concerto arrangements after Geminiani’s Sonatas Opus 4 is preserved in the same library, and this volume has a title page that designates the set as “Volume II”. It mentions “Gerardo Cristoforo Raupach” as the arranger.⁸⁶ Because of this, the arrangements after Geminiani’s Violin Sonatas of 1716 may be considered to be the corresponding “Volume I” by the same composer, Gerhard Christoph Raupach (1709-1758), who spent nearly his entire life as organist in Stralsund in Northern Germany, on the southern coast of the Baltic Sea. On the front of the bindings of the score and parts are stamped the letters “G. et R.”, probably meaning “Geminiani and Raupach”.

Raupach’s example was probably a copy of the Geminiani Issue of the Sonatas. What is most telling is that fact that we here find Manuscript Corrections 1, 3, 4, 5, 6 and 7. The arrangements also contain some of the corrections only found in the Meares Issue (nos. 3: the addition of a tie; 7: the addition of a trill; and 8: the addition of figuring). I assume they were made by Raupach on his own, because they are found in passages where an arranger could easily notice that something was missing.

Raupach’s score is for Violino Primo and Secondo Concertino, Violino Primo and Secondo Ripieno, Violetta, Violoncello and Basso Grosso. Contrary to Avison’s score it is the Basso Grosso which is figured, not the Violoncello. Geminiani’s violin and bass parts are almost completely retained in the Violino Primo and Secondo Concertino and Violoncello parts respectively. Nowhere has Geminiani’s violin part been simplified or altered: Raupach’s Violino Primo also contains the high register passages of Sonatas I-III.

⁸³ GB-Ob, MS Mus. c. 21: 30 x 23 cm, 105 fols., on fols. 26r-29v: untitled concerto arrangement of Geminiani’s Sonata IV. The title Concerto and the name of the composer were added by William Henry Havergal (1793-1870), who owned the manuscript. RISM 800271030. Not in Heighes 1995.

⁸⁴ GB-Ob, MS Mus. c. 21, fols. 13v-25v: “*A solo of Carbonelli made into a concerto*”, a title added by Havergal. RISM 800271029.

⁸⁵ RISM 190.019.804-815 (Concertos I-XII).

⁸⁶ “*Sonate a Violino Solo col Basso di Francesco Geminiani, trasmutate in XII Concerti a duoi Violini concertini, duoi Violini ripieni, Violetta, Violoncello, Basso grosso, col Cembalo, da Gerardo Cristoforo Raupach. Volume II.*”

Violin polyphony is divided over the two concertino violins, as to be expected. Many passages in continuous quavers or semiquavers for the violin have been set just for Violino Primo and Violoncello in Raupach's concerto arrangements. In a number of cases solo passages begin with two violins and then continue with the Violino Primo only (and the Violoncello). In the Violino Primo and Secondo Concertino and the Violoncello parts there are many "Soli" and "Tutti" indications to tell the performers where the ripieno plays. Since the Violoncello is not figured the solo passages are apparently meant to be played without basso continuo realization, meaning that a fair part of Geminiani's figuring is not found in Raupach's arrangements. In the tutti the ripieno violins most often double the concertino violins, but not always. Sometimes they have independent material. The Violetta plays only in the ripieno passages. It may double the bass line and is rather unremarkable where it does not. The Basso Grosso part is unfigured, but the Cembalo part that doubles the Basso Grosso part does have the figures. The Basso Grosso and Cembalo parts play in only the ripieno sections.

Raupach also arranged of Geminiani's complete Sonatas Op. 4 as concerti grossi, which cannot have been done before 1739. It is impossible to say whether or not Raupach composed his arrangements of the Violin Sonatas of 1716 more or less simultaneously or, rather, consecutively, or if the arrangements are from a substantially earlier date. The copies in the Stockholm library seem to have been written by Von Höpken at the same time, but this does not say anything about the original dates of the arrangements.

The Johan Helmich Roman papers in the Musikbiblioteket in Stockholm contain the score and a set of parts of a concerto grosso arrangement of the first and third movements of Sonata VI, composed at all probability by Johan Helmich Roman (1694-1758).⁸⁷ The score is for Violino Primo and Secondo Concertino, Violino Primo and Secondo Ripieno, Viola, Basso Ripieno and Violoncello. In the parts the Violoncello is called Violoncello Concertino, the Basso Ripieno "Basso Grosso". The parts are contained in a folder that lists on the cover the number of copies for each part: one for the concertino parts and the viola, two for the ripieno parts, and this indeed corresponds to what is found in the folder. The duplicate parts are, however, in a different hand, as if written on a later occasion.

In the score it is the Violoncello part that is figured, but the separate Violoncello part is without figures; one of Basso Grosso parts is figured instead. Since the Basso Ripieno/Grosso plays with the ripieno passages and is silent in the solo passages (of which there are only a few), not all of the figuring in the score is found in the parts. The arrangement follows roughly the model set by Geminiani in his Corelli Opus 5 arrangements: solo passages are for the concertino, ripieno passages for the entire ensemble, where the ripieno violins double the concertino violins and the Basso Ripieno/Grosso the violoncello. Violin polyphony is divided among the two violin parts.

One may wonder why no fewer than four composers took the trouble of transforming one or more or all of Geminiani's violin sonatas into concertos, apparently all of them nearly twenty years after their first publication in 1716. In fact, this was Geminiani's own fault, as it were. With his reworkings of Corelli's Violin Sonatas Op. 5 in the form of concertos, he had provided iconic examples of how to make difficult soloistic works for violin available for performance by ensembles consisting of amateurs with a wide range of capabilities. These reworkings were published in the late 1720s so that it is no wonder that the reworkings of his own violin sonatas would be written mostly in the 1730s. In their original form Geminiani's sonatas were not written for the amateur performer. But in the arrangements difficult passages could be simplified

⁸⁷ S-Skma, Ms. Ro: 44. Score and parts. See Bengtsson 1976, p. 84. The score was written by Per Brant (1714-1767), the parts by various other hands. RISM 190.019.830. A modern edition was prepared by Hilding Rosenberg: Johan Helmich Roman, *Concerto grosso efter Francesco Geminiani G-moll*, Bearbetad av Hilding Rosenberg (Stockholm: Gehrman's Musikförlag. No. 3757, 1944). First performed by Bromma Orkesterförening directed by Rosenberg in Drottningholmsteatern on 26 October 1944.

and passages with double and triple stops could be divided over several parts so that in all the works came within the reach of the average amateur performer who had the additional pleasure of playing the works in a highly social setting. Where the original solo violin part was maintained it could be performed by the leader of the ensemble, often a professional performer.

Finally must be mentioned a transcription for keyboard of Sonata VII that occurs in a manuscript mostly devoted to keyboard works by the Portuguese composer Carlos de Seixas (1704-1742), with the title “Sonatas para Orgão e Cravo do Senhor Jozé Antonio Carlos” (P-La, Cod. Mus. 48-i-2).⁸⁸ The manuscript also contains ensemble works and works by other composers. Sonata VII is split into two parts. Its first movement is the first movement of Tocata 21 (“Tocata” here means “Sonata”; fols. 38v-39v), where it is followed by a Giga Allegro “de Paqueti”, probably Antonio Paghetti, an Italian violin player active in Lisbon.⁸⁹ The movement is transcribed without change, even with a larger part of its figuring so that it could be played on a keyboard instrument as well as by a violin with accompaniment. The second, third and fourth movements of Sonata VII are the second to fourth movements of Tocata 23 (fols. 40v-41v); they are preceded by a Largo in C minor for keyboard, certainly by Seixas.⁹⁰ Again, the transcription is without any change and retains a few figures.

MODERN ARRANGEMENTS

The final movement of Sonata XII, Allegro, was, with the preceding transitory bars as an “Introduzione”, published by Alfred Moffat in a transcription for two violins and piano as part of his series “Transkriptionen Klassischer Stücke für 2 Violinen mit Klavierbegleitung (Opus 16)” published by Schott in Mainz. The Violine I follows Geminiani’s violin part, the Violine II is composed additionally in trio sonata style. The edition includes a separate violoncello part as well, which is labelled as *ad libitum*.

FACSIMILE EDITIONS

There are two facsimile editions of Geminiani’s *Sonate a violino, violone e cembalo*, both of the Geminiani Issue. The first is the one published in 1991 by Studio per Edizioni Scelte (S.P.E.S.; Florence), no. 10 in the series Monumenta Musicae Revocata, with a preface by Enrico Gatti.⁹¹ The source copy is not mentioned. It has the engraved corrections and nos. 4, 5, 6 and 7 of the manuscript corrections (see TABLE 1.2). This correction profile is only found in the copy now in the British Library (GB-Lbl, d.74.). Probably it is this copy that is being reproduced. In order to fit the original oblong format into an edition in upright format, size was reduced to 69 % of the original size. Then two pages of the original edition go on one page of the facsimile edition and care has been taken that pages facing in the original edition are together on one page of the facsimile edition. The volume also includes a facsimile of the Roger Edition of the sonatas and of Geminiani’s revision of the sonatas published in 1739 as *Le prime sonate*.

⁸⁸ See D’Alvarenga 2009.

⁸⁹ D’Alvarenga 2009, p. 102. D’Alvarenga supposes that the Paghetti who is mentioned is Alessandro Maria Paghetti, but it is Antonio Paghetti who is referred to as composer in other contexts.

⁹⁰ D’Alvarenga 2009, pp. 102, 121 (App. 2-1). Published in Carlos Seixas, *80 Sonatas para instrumentos de tecla*, Edited by Macario Santiago Kastner (Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1965, 1992 = Portugaliae Musica 10), no. 18, for violin and accompaniment (not consulted).

⁹¹ Francesco Geminiani, *Sonate a violino, violone e cembalo Londra 1716, Amsterdam [1717], Le prime sonate a violino e basso, Londra 1739*, Preface by Enrico Gatti (Florence: Studio per Edizioni Scelte, 1991 = Monumenta Musicae Revocata 10), pp. [1]-[20].

The second facsimile edition of Geminiani's 1716 sonatas was published in 2002 by Fuzeau in Courlay (France), in the Collection Dominantes, with a "Présentation" by Nicolas Fromageot.⁹² Despite the remark in the preface that the London Meares copy, with Geminiani's signature, would provide the most trustworthy text (which it certainly does not, because of the uncorrected errors on the plates), the facsimile is based on the London copy of the Corrected Geminiani Issue. This copy has the engraved corrections and nos. 4, 5, 6 and 7 of the manuscript corrections. The reproduction is reduced in size to 75 %, for the same reason as in the first facsimile edition. But now pages that are recto and verso in the original edition appear on one page. In the volume the facsimile of the 1716 edition follows after a facsimile of *Le prime sonate*.

A facsimile edition of the first issue of the Walsh Edition is available from the Early Music Company (Huntingdon, England, formerly King's Music, first issued c. 1985), with a preface by Clifford and Elaine Bartlett. Presumably one of the copies in Cambridge was used for this edition. A facsimile of the Le Cène Issue of the Roger Edition is included in the S.P.E.S. edition of the sonatas, already mentioned above.⁹³ The source copy is not mentioned.

MODERN EDITIONS

The first modern edition of any of the Violin Sonatas of 1716 is the edition of Sonata III edited by the Italian violinist Mario Corti (1882-1957) for violin and pianoforte and published by Carisch in Milan in 1924 as *Introduzione e Allegro*.⁹⁴ It is an arrangement rather than an edition. The first movement has elaborate ornamentation in the first section (bars 1-4), the Presto of bars 40-44 is changed beyond recognition. In the second movement there are two sizable cuts (bars 52-68 and 75-101). After bar 115 (transposed an octave downward, while bar 114 was left out) a cadenza has been inserted. The edition is dedicated to Corti's American colleague Albert Spalding (1888-1953).

Sonata XII was edited by Alfred Moffat and published in Berlin by Simrock in 1929 under the title "Sonata »Impetuosa«".⁹⁵ The sonata has been reworked rather drastically: passages in the violin part may have been transposed an octave upward or downward, many notes were changed, articulation and dynamics added, repeats written out or suppressed. At the end of the second movement is a written-out cadenza. The accompaniment is a fully idiomatic piano part. At the beginning of the score the arrangement is described as "New Concert Version" and this applies certainly.

A complete modern edition of Geminiani's Violin Sonatas of 1716 version was edited by the American composer Ross Lee Finney (1906-1991), as *Twelve Sonatas for Violin and Piano*; it is Volume 1 of the series Smith College Music Archives (Northampton MA, 1935).⁹⁶ According to the Preface the edition was prepared after photographs of a copy of the Meares Issue in the Boston Public Library, but this is certainly not entirely correct. The title page and page 1 of this copy are indeed reproduced on p. iv of his edition. But the edition itself follows the readings of a copy of the Geminiani Issue with the corrected engravings and

⁹² Francesco Saverio Geminiani, *Sonate a violino, violone, e cembalo Opus 1. Édition originale de 1716 (Édition de 1739, agrémentation complétée)*, Présentation par Nicolas Fromageot (Courlay F: Fuzeau, 2002 = Collection Dominantes).

⁹³ Francesco Geminiani, *Sonate a violino, violone e cembalo Londra 1716, Amsterdam [1717], Le prime sonate a violino e basso, Londra 1739*, Preface by Enrico Gatti (Florence: Studio per Edizioni Scelte, 1991 = Monumenta Musicae Revocata 10), pp. [21]-[60].

⁹⁴ Francesco Geminiani, *Introduzione e Allegro*, [A cura di Mario Corti] (Milan: Carisch 14753, 1914 = I Classici Violionisti Italiani Ia Serie 3). Score pp. 2-9, violin part pp. 3-7.

⁹⁵ Francesco Geminiani, *Sonata »Impetuosa«: Sonate in D moll für Violine mit bezifferten Bass* (Berlin: Simrock, 15164, 1929). Score 8 pp., violin part 3 pp.

⁹⁶ [Francesco] Geminiani, *Twelve Sonatas for Violin and Piano*, Edited by Ross Lee Finney (Northampton MS: Smith College, 1935 = Smith College Music Archives 1).

with manuscript corrections nos. 1, 3 and 5, a profile not seen in any copy known to me. Finney added articulations borrowed from *Le prime sonate* almost everywhere, visible as dotted lines. A number of readings of *Le prime sonate* were also added in the form of footnotes. Finney used a copy of *Le prime sonate* in the possession of Carleton Sprague Smith, then director of the Music Division of the New York Public Library, now in US-NYp. The title page and page 1 of the music are reproduced on p. vi. In general Finney's edition follows the principles of the Urtext edition, with a relatively modest continuo realization.

A second complete modern practical edition was planned by Walter Kolneder for Schott, but only the first instalment, Heft 1, with Sonatas I-III, was ever published, in 1961.⁹⁷ Heft 2-4, with Sonatas IV-XII, were announced, with the publisher's number EDs 5192, 5193, 5194, and certainly also prepared—Heft 1 contains incipits with realized continuo parts for all twelve sonatas—but never published. The preface states that the edition presents the text of the 1716 Geminiani Issue, with some articulations added after the 1739 revision of the sonatas, but actually it reproduces a copy of the Roger Edition, as is particularly clear from the figuring, as well as from some other details. The edition follows the Urtext practice of the second half of the twentieth century.

Hugo Ruf published two of the sonatas, I and IV, in the Bärenreiter series Hortus Musicus (nos. 173 and 174, 1962, resp. 1961 [sic]), based on the copy of the Geminiani Issue in Munich.⁹⁸ They are Urtext editions with the figured basses realized. The two publications have an identical short "Vorwort" in German by Ruf, with an English translation ("Preface") by L. Swinyard. They are presently available in a reprint by Masters Music Publications (Boca Raton, Florida, nos. M 2920 and M 2947, no year).

A complete modern critical edition is now available in Volume 1A of the Francesco Geminiani Opera Omnia, edited by Rudolf Rasch.⁹⁹ An overview of the modern editions before the critical edition is in TABLE 1.12.

Since 2019 a complete modern edition, edited by John Wade (born 1952) for "JW Edition", is available on the internet, via the site of the International Music Score Library Petrucci (IMSLP). It is an Urtext edition with a simple, often three-part realization of the figured bass. It divides the twelve sonatas in four portions of three sonatas each (54, 46, 64 and 46 pages, respectively). Two separate parts, for violin (in two portions, with six sonatas each, 17 and 15 pages) and cello (18 and 12 pages), are supplied, the cello part without figuring. As source the Roger Edition has been used, a somewhat unfortunate choice, because of the unauthentic alterations that are found throughout the twelve sonatas.

RECORDINGS

Recordings of Geminiani's Violin Sonatas of 1716 are not numerous. Three of them, Sonatas I, IV and XII, are included in the CD "The Complete Sonatas Op. 1" by the London Handel Players, with Adam Butterfield as violin player, issued in 2012.¹⁰⁰ This CD also includes the anonymous arrangement for treble recorder and figured bass in D Minor from Sonata VII, played by Rachel Brown, the arrangement for flute and figured bass by Pietro Chaboud in D Major from Sonata X, also played by Rachel Brown, and Barsanti's

⁹⁷ Francesco Geminiani, *12 Sonaten für Violine und Basso continuo*, herausgegeben von Walter Kolneder, Heft 1: Sonaten 1-3 (Mainz: Schott, ED 5192, 1961).

⁹⁸ Francesco Geminiani, *Sonata A-Dur für Violine und Basso Continuo, Op. I/1*, Herausgegeben von Hugo Ruf (Kassel: Bärenreiter, Hortus Musicus, 173, 1962). Francesco Geminiani, *Sonata D-Dur für Violine und Basso Continuo, Op. I/4*, Herausgegeben von Hugo Ruf (Kassel: Bärenreiter, Hortus Musicus, 174, 1961).

⁹⁹ Francesco Geminiani, *12 Sonatas for Violin and Figured Bass [Op. 1] (1716); 12 Sonatas for Violin and Figured Bass [Op. 1] (Revised, 1739)*, Edited by Rudolf Rasch (Bologna: Ut Orpheus Edizioni, GCE 6, 2015).

¹⁰⁰ Francesco Geminiani, *The Complete Sonatas Op. 1*. London Handel Players. Somm, SOMMCD 248-2, 2012/

arrangements as trio sonatas from Sonatas X and XI. It also includes recordings of Geminiani's 1739 revisions published as *Le prime sonate* and his 1757 arrangements of the sonatas in the form of trios.

Apart from the recording just discussed I can mention only recordings of arrangements of the sonatas. The Czech violinist Ladislav Jásek (born 1929) recorded Sonata II in Alfred Moffat's arrangement as "Sonata Impetuosa", on the LP *Ladislav Jásek: Violin Recital*, issued by Supraphon at some point around 1960.¹⁰¹ The recorder versions of Geminiani's Sonatas VII and X have been recorded on CD a few times: Sonata VII by the German recorder player Dorothee Oberlinger (2007),¹⁰² Sonatas VII and X by the Danish recorder player Pernille Petersen (2010).¹⁰³ The flautist Jean-Pierre Rampal (1922-2000) recorded Sonata X in Chaboud's arrangement for transverse flute, on the LP *Le livre d'or de la flûte*, issued by Musidisc probably at some point around 1975.¹⁰⁴ Sonata X was recorded by the ensemble Festina Lente for the label Tactus; the recording was first released in 1997, then again in 2007.¹⁰⁵ The solo part is played by Mario Folena on the notated pitch on a flauto d'amore, the bass part on bassoon (Paolo Frezzato) and harpsichord (Roberto Loreggian). The recording also contains the three sonatas from the *Three Solos* of 1781 (see MISCELLANEOUS WORKS) and the four Airs of *A Treatise of Good Taste* (1749). Barsanti's arrangement of Sonata XI was recorded by the Brook Street Band, on the CD *Handel: 'Oxford' Water Music: Chamber Works Performed on Period Instruments by Corelli, Geminiani, Leclair and Handel*, issued in 2004 by Avie Records.¹⁰⁶ Avison's concerto arrangements of the sonatas were recorded complete by the Avison Ensemble directed by Pavlo Beznosiuk, on a CD issued by Divine Art, in 2007.¹⁰⁷ The sonata missing in Avison's arrangements is supplied by an arrangement by Beznosiuk.

CONCLUSION

The Violin Sonatas of 1716 are Geminiani's first published works and possibly among the first works that he composed. At the same time they belong to his best known works, only equalled or surpassed in this respect by his Concertos from Corelli's Opus 5, his original Concertos Opus 2 and 3 and his Violin Sonatas Opus 4. At the moment of their appearance Geminiani's Sonatas of 1716 must have been the most demanding music for violin at the time, setting new standards for composing music for this instrument. The wide range of arrangements made after the sonatas also testifies to their wide availability and dissemination; this was not only due to Geminiani's own edition but also, and especially so, to the reprints by Walsh and Roger.

¹⁰¹ *Ladislav Jásek: Violin Recital*. Ladislav Jásek (violin), Josef Hála (piano). Supraphon (Czechoslovakia), LPV 467, c. 1960.

¹⁰² *Italianische Sonaten*. Dorothee Oberlinger (recorder), Walter Vestidello (cello), Giancarlo Rado (guitar, lute), Giampietro Rosato (harpsichord, organ). Deutsche Harmonia Mundi – 88765400492, 2007. Reissued in 2014 as *Italian Sonatas*.

¹⁰³ Pernille Petersen (recorder), Gunnhild Tønder (harpsichord), Tom Pitt (cello), *Sonatas by Mr. Castrucci & Mr. Geminiani*, CDK 1054, 2010.

¹⁰⁴ *Le livre d'or de la flûte*. Jean-Pierre Rampal (flute), Kenneth Gilbert (harpsichord). Musidisc (France), 30 RC 786, c. 1975. The recording also occurs on later issues under different titles (such as *Jean-Pierre Rampal and Friends*) and on compilations.

¹⁰⁵ *Francesco Geminiani; Sonate e arie per flauto e basso continuo*. Festina Lente: Mario Folena (transverse flute, flauto d'amore), Roberto Loreggian (harpsichord, organ), Paolo Frezzato (bassoon). Tactus TC 680701, 1997, 2006.

¹⁰⁶ *Handel: 'Oxford' Water Music: Chamber Works Performed on Period Instruments by Corelli, Geminiani, Leclair and Handel*. The Brook Street Band: Marianna Szücs, Katalin Kertész (violins), Tatty Theo (violoncello), Carolyn Gibley (harpsichord). Avie Records (London), AV0028, 2004.

¹⁰⁷ *Avison/Geminiani: Charles Avison's Concerto Grosso Arrangements of Francesco Geminiani's Sonatas for Violin and Basso Continuo, Op. 1*. The Avison Ensemble, Pavlo Beznosiuk (direction). Divine Art (UK) DDA 21210, 2007. Two CDs.