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The Thirty-One Works of Francesco Geminiani

Work Ten: The Minuets with Variations (1739)

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WORK TEN

THE MINUETS WITH VARIATIONS (1739)

CONTENTS

The Minuets with Variations (1739)	3
Notation	7
Engraving and Printing	7
Later Issues	9
The Witvogel Edition	9
The Walsh Edition	11
Separate Editions	13
An Early Manuscript Version	16
Reception	19
Facsimile Editions	19
Modern Editions	19
Recordings	20
Conclusion	20

THE MINUETS WITH VARIATIONS (1739)

As a composer, Geminiani is not readily associated with the keyboard. Indeed, sonatas for violin and concertos for strings constitute the large majority of his works. Only three out of the twenty-five Works consisting of “practical music” contain keyboard music: the Minuets with Variations (1739; to be discussed here), the *Pièces de clavecin* (1743; WORK ELEVEN) and *The Second Collection of Pieces for the Harpsichord* (1762; WORK THIRTY-ONE, the last Work). Altogether, these works include 59 individual pieces, after all not so small an amount, corresponding roughly to fifteen sonatas, if we count with four movements per sonata. There is, however, an additional reason why Geminiani is not considered a typical keyboard composer: the vast majority of these sixty pieces are arrangements of movements from sonatas for violin or violoncello or from concertos for strings and are not what may be termed ‘original keyboard music’.

The two Minuets with Variations are the first of them, considering the year of publication: although the edition itself is undated, its publication can be rather safely set at 1739, shortly after the Sonatas Op. 4 (WORK EIGHT) and *Le prime sonate* (WORK NINE).

The *Menuetti con variazioni composti per il cembalo* is one of Geminiani’s smaller publications; it contains only eight pages of music, four for each of the two minuets with variations contained in it. It has a title page that is so simple that it hardly deserve that qualification. The title cited above is followed by the name of the author “da F. Geminiani”, everything in capitals of the same size and concluded by a period (PLATE 10.1). The page has no imprint; instead, there is some kind of a footnote: “*Il secondo è formato sopra un soggetto datagli.*” or “The second [minuet with variations] is based on a theme given to him.” The meaning of this phrase will be clarified later.

The first word of the title is, remarkably enough, “Menuetti”, and not “Minuetti”. The spelling “Menuetti” may be a simple mistake, made by the London-based French engraver, B. Fortier (see below).

The title page does not contain a year nor is known an announcement of the publication of the edition in a newspaper. Nor is there a place of publication. The paper of the edition, however, is similar to that of the First Issues of the Sonatas Op. 4 and *Le prime sonate*, both published in London and dated 1739, and the *Menuetti* were reprinted in Amsterdam by Gerhard Fredrik Witvogel early in 1740 at the latest (see below), so that the conclusion is justified that the First (and only) Issue of the *Menuetti con variazioni* was published in the course of 1739, presumably *after* the Sonatas Op. 4 and *Le prime sonate*, but even that is a presumption rather than a well-based statement.

The two Minuets with Variations that are contained in the *Menuetti con variazioni* show the two features described in the first paragraphs for Geminiani’s keyboard music in general, but they are different from the other keyboard pieces at the same time. Being minuets with variations they are like a movement in a sonata and they are indeed transcriptions of works written first for other instruments. They have, however, an origin that is different from that of the other keyboard pieces. In both cases, the minuets proper were first written as movements in concerti grossi and the variations were added to these movements in the form of variations for violin and figured bass, to be performed as a supplement to the concerto movements.

The first Minuet with Variations is based on the minuet movement that concludes Geminiani’s own Concerto Op. 2 no. I, in C minor. As a concerto movement it is headed simply “Allegro”. It is a minuet in rondeau form. It starts with an eight-bar refrain (bars 1-8) that is followed by two repeats (bars 17-24 and 37-44). The refrains are separated by two episodes or couplets (bars 9-16 and 24-36), the first one ending on the tonic of E-flat major, the second one on the dominant of C minor. The third refrain is repeated with the melody transposed an octave downward (bars 45-52). In this project the Variations for Violin and Figured Bass that

were added to the Minuet are placed among the “Miscellaneous Variations” and will be discussed in detail there. The idea that Geminiani performed these variations himself when conducting the concerto grosso is attractive but so far not supported by any evidence. For the moment the estimate is that they were composed at some point in the 1730s, but no evidence is available to be more specific.

The transformation of the variation series for violin into one for harpsichord may be prompted or inspired by the fact that soon after the concerto’s first performance and publication in 1732 the minuet received a life of its own, separated from the concerto context. It was disseminated as a simple minuet for melody and bass, in keyboard settings and in the form of a continuo song (for which it seems hardly appropriate), and in all these forms it received wide circulation, often simply referred to as “Geminiani’s Minuet”.

The variations on the minuet for violin and figured bass are transmitted in two sources, the manuscripts US-NYpm, Ms. G322.V299, and GB-Ob, Ms. Tenbury 752, pp. 53-55, in both sources without the minuet itself. The New York manuscript is a Geminiani autograph containing three variations. This transmission shows that the variations more or less presuppose the availability of the concerto minuet and the only explanation of that observation is that the variations were written to be performed as an addendum to a performance of the concerto in question, Concerto Op. 2 no. I. The Oxford manuscript has only the first two variations; they are preceded by a keyboard setting of the minuet, but this has a bass line different from the variations and a number of ornaments never used by Geminiani. This must mean that it was added to provide a proper introduction for the variations. This all is discussed in greater detail in the text on the Miscellaneous Variations.

Including the variations on the Minuet in C minor in the *Menuetti con variazioni* needed the addition of a keyboard setting of the minuet itself. This setting is clearly based on the concerto setting, but at the same time the concerto setting is, as a matter of fact, treated with great liberty. The keyboard melody faithfully follows the Violino Primo Concertino but adds a considerable number of ornaments, in particular Plain Shakes and Beats. The keyboard bass line follows the Violoncello and Basso Ripieno of the concerto in content, but with many variations such as octave transpositions. The refrain and the first episode are set in three-voice harmony and counterpoint, the second episode is mostly limited to melody and bass line.

The minuet is followed by three variations, which follow the principle of increasing note density. The minuet melody itself has roughly quaver movement, with every now and then larger and smaller note values. In the first variation semiquavers dominate, mostly in the right hand. In the second variation it is the left hand that has almost continuously a semiquaver movement. The third variation has a nearly constant demisemiquaver movement, most often in the right hand, less so in the left-hand part. The other part has then most often semiquaver movement.

We assume that the variations on the minuet for violin preceded those for harpsichord, but the latter can hardly be described as an arrangement of the former. The harpsichord variations follow the violin variations clearly only in the first eight bars of the first variation. Thereafter the two compositions deviate considerably from one another; the only connection is that they are both based on the same model. The two compositions differ from one another in several respects. In the violin version the bass of the variations largely follows the bass of the minuet’s concerto version, as a rather standard figured-bass line. In the harpsichord setting the left hand is very active in the composition, with many detailed figures in small note values. But also the melody line of the harpsichord variations is much more resolved in smaller note values than the violin variations, at least in the first two variations. The third variation runs in demisemiquavers in both versions, but the figuration is simply different. The violin version has the second variation run in semiquaver triplets for the larger part, a type of movement completely missing in the second variation of the harpsichord version.

Conclusion must be that in the variations on the Minuet in C minor for harpsichord little more is visible from the corresponding variations for violin than the basic idea of writing a series of variations on the minuet in question.

The Minuet with Variations in C minor for harpsichord is also transmitted in manuscript in a slightly different version. Below it will be shown that this version can be ascribed to Geminiani as well and probably preceded the printed version.

The second Minuet with Variations, in G minor, has a history that is similar to that of the first in some ways, but different in other ways. The minuet, that is, its theme or “soggetto”, as it is termed on the title page of the *Menuetti con variazioni*, is not of Geminiani’s own composition. It was “datogli”, “given to him”. It is nearly certain that the minuet in question is a composition of Geminiani’s pupil Charles Avison. A version of the minuet set as concerto movement is included in Avison’s concerto arrangements of Geminiani’s Sonatas of 1716, as found in Avison’s Workbook II.¹ The Minuet serves as a movement added to Avison’s concerto arrangement of Geminiani’s Sonata VI and is followed by a series of six variations for violin and unfigured bass.² Four of these variation recur in a transcription for harpsichord among the variations on the Minuet in G minor in the *Menuetti con variazioni*. The first two are not found in the harpsichord version so that Variations 1-4 of the harpsichord version correspond to Variations 3-6 of the violin version.

(There is a second source for the violin version of the Variations on the Minuet in G minor, a single folio held in the Cathedral Library in Durham in Ms. M 185. Fol. 7rv contains the violin part of the Minuet in G minor followed by the violin part of Variations 1, 3 and 4 (according to the numbering of the violin version); Variation 4 is not complete: the last three bars are missing.)

The Minuet in G minor is structured differently from any other minuet known by Geminiani. It has 32 3/4 bars, divided into two periods of 16 bars. The first sixteen bars are divided into two eight-bar passages that look like antecedent-consequent pair but are in fact two antecedent passages, because they both end on a half close in G minor. Actually, they are identical for the first six bars, and the last two bars differ only from one another in melodic contour: the first phrase ends melodically on the major third of the D major harmony, the second on the higher octave. Then follows a kind of “development”, with a kind of sequential figure in B-flat major and C minor and an authentic cadence in B-flat major. The last eight bars are in G minor again, but are melodically and harmonically unrelated to the first period.

The six variations of the violin version each have their own specific texture. They can be characterized as follows:

1. Violin part in quavers.
2. Bass part in quavers; violin part as minuet.
3. Violin part in semiquavers.
4. First period: violin part in quavers; second period: crotchet syncopations.
5. Violin part in quaver triplets.
6. Violin and bass parts in semiquavers, in alternation.

This all looks like a well-planned series of variations. In the Avison Workbook the bass is not repeated from the minuet but written out for each variation and is also different for each variation, adapted to the requirements of each one.

¹ GB-NTp, SL 780.8 (Charles Avison’s Workbook II), p. 52. The complete set of arrangements is on pp. 5-77.

² GB-NTp, SL 780.8 (Charles Avison’s Workbook II), pp. 53-55.

The three sources of the composition – two for the violin version, one for the harpsichord version – can now be compared as follows:

Variation	Character	Avison Workbook	GB-DRc	Harpsichord
Minuet	Minuet	Andante Tutti A 4	Andante (violin)	Minuet
Variation 1	Quavers in the upper part	violin/bass	Variation 1st. (violin)	
Variation 2	Quavers in the bass part	violin/bass		
Variation 3	Semiquavers in the upper part	violin/bass	Variation 2d. (violin)	Variazione 1ma
Variation 4	1-16: Quavers in the upper part 17-32: Syncopated crotchets	violin/bass	(violin)	Variazione 2da
Variation 5	Quaver triplets	violin/bass		Variazione 3za
Variation 6	Semiquavers in melody and bas in alternation	violin/bass		Variazione 4ta

The most important question is, of course, again: was the violin version written first, or the harpsichord version? The general rule (see the discussion of the Variations on the Minuet in C minor) dictates that the violin version was the first one, and this seems indeed to be the case here too. The harpsichord version is missing the first two variations, an omission possibly induced by the wish to restrict the engraving of the harpsichord version to four pages (as the Variations for harpsichord on the Minuet in C minor); with all six variations this would have been impossible. It is somewhat illogical to begin a variation cycle with a variation in the shortest note values, in this case semiquavers. However, the bass line of the second variation for violin, which is a variation in quavers, is used almost completely as the bass of the minuet itself in the harpsichord variations. Geminiani has, as it were, combined the minuet as introductory movement with the second variation. The first variation of the violin version is missing entirely; here Geminiani may have reasoned that quaver movement is also the dominant motive of the first half of the fourth variation for violin, or the second variation of the harpsichord version. All these differences between the violin version and the harpsichord version are more complicated to explain from the point of view that the harpsichord version was the earlier one and the violin version the later one. Therefore, unless other evidence surfaces, we consider the violin version of the Variations on the Minuet in G minor as the original version and the harpsichord version as an arrangement of it for harpsichord, therewith confirming the general rule.

There is another reason to believe that Geminiani received the Minuet in G minor from Avison: certain elements of Avison's concerto version apart from the melody and bass lines are visible in Geminiani's setting for harpsichord, in particular the middle voices of bars 5-6 (and 13-14):

Avison
(Alto Viola
left out)

Geminiani

When were the Variations for harpsichord on the Minuets in C minor and G minor composed? For those on the Minuet in C minor a *terminus post quem* can be safely set at 1732, a *terminus ante quam* at 1739. Avison's concerto arrangements of Geminiani's Sonatas of 1716 were probably composed after 1732, probably in the

mid-1730s and so may have his Minuet in G minor. This leaves the years from about 1735 to 1739 as the period in which the Minuets with Variations for keyboard must have been composed.

NOTATION

The *Menuetti con variazioni* is keyboard music and this requires a notation that has a resemblance to the solo sonata in that it consists of a two-stave score, different from the single-stave parts of concerto compositions (PLATE 10.2). A difference between keyboard notation and that of the solo sonata is of course that keyboard notation is played by a single performer. The upper staff has a violin clef, the lower staff a bass clef. In principle the two staves have the melody and the bass line respectively, but, when no clef changes on a staff are applied, the bass line is frequently notated on the upper staff, even portions of a beamed group. If there are added middle voices, they may have been written on either staff. In all these respects the notation of the *Menuetti con variazioni* follows the notational conventions of harpsichord music from the first half of the eighteenth century.

More specifically Geminiani are the ornaments, in particular the beat, marked by two strokes (“//”). The “*t*” for the trill, in Geminiani’s terminology “Plain Shake”, is conventional; probably it was “*tr*” in Geminiani’s manuscript. Remarkably enough, Geminiani’s “Turned Shake” (✎) is not found in the *Menuetti con variazioni*. Appoggiaturas are written as semiquaver notes in the Minuet with Variations in C minor, as quaver notes in the Minuet with Variations in G major. The difference may be related to the different time signatures, 3/8 and 3/4 respectively.

Both minuets consist of two repeated periods. The repeats are marked by double bars with repeat dots. If there are different first and second endings, they are written either in a single bar, or in consecutive bars, with curved lines over and/or under the first-ending bar.

Interesting is the time signature 9/6 for the Third Variation of the Minuet in G minor, where the metric is 9/8 in modern terms. The signature 9/6 must be probably read as meaning that there are 9 notes now in a bar with a length of 1/6 of a 3/4 bar. The violin version of the variation also has the time signature 9/6. The use of this time signature is certainly inspired by Corelli’s application in the *perpetuum mobile* movements of the Sonatas Op. 5 Nos. II and IV, which was maintained by Geminiani in his concerto grossi arrangements of these sonatas published in 1726.

Both minuets have the title “Minuet” in the indentation of the first system of the piece. The first variation of the first minuet still has a completely written out heading (“*Variazione I^a*.”), all further headings of variations are abbreviated (“*V^e: 2^a.*”, and so on).

ENGRAVING AND PRINTING

No engraver is mentioned for the edition of Geminiani’s *Menuetti con variazioni*. It seems, however, that the edition is the work of the engraver B. Fortier, a Frenchman, whose full first name is not known with any certainty. Frequently, one finds “Benjamin” as his first name, but there seem to be no contemporary sources for this interpretation of the initial “B”. Fortier worked in England for a short time only, from about 1735 to about 1740, but engraved during these years several important musical publications, among them Nicolò Porpora’s *Sinfonie da camera, Opera II* (1736), Giuseppe Sammartini’s *VI Concerti grossi, Opera II* (1738) and Domenico Scarlatti’s *Essercizi per gravicembalo* (1739). Fortier’s work is of very high aesthetic quality. It seems that the little hooks at the upper end of the “stem” of the flat marks are typical for Fortier. They are found not only in the *Menuetti con variazioni* but also in Sammartini’s *Concerti* and Scarlatti’s *Essercizi*. One

such a “hooked flat” is found in *Le prime sonate*, certainly a last-minute correction in London before the printing began and this confirms in a way that there was some kind of collaboration between Geminiani and Fortier in London in 1739. Other resemblances between the *Menuetti* and engraving work signed by Fortier are the spiral bass clefs and the simple lettering of the title pages.

The music is engraved on plates of 28.5 x 21.5 cm. The plate used for the title page is slightly larger, 29 x 21.5 cm. Each of the two minuets with variations is engraved on four pages, organized as two openings. The eight pages of music are numbered 1 to 8, which means that the odd pages are left-hand pages, the even pages right-hand pages. For each minuet there is only one page turn. For the Minuet in C minor it falls after the first period of the *Variazione 2da*, for the Minuet in G minor between the *Variazione 2da* and *3za*.

The edition is printed on Genoese paper, the same paper as the 1739 Issues of the Sonatas Op. 4 and *Le prime sonate*. It is rather thick paper, with hardly any chain lines visible. Watermarks can be found in the corners of the folios, at least if they are not cut away. The corner mark can be read as GM above T, which may refer to a paper maker with a name like Giovanni Maria T***. So far I could not identify the maker. Copies of the *Menuetti con variazioni* vary in height from 31 to 45 cm, in width from 23 to 31 cm. Considering the largest copies the plano sheets must have been about 45 cm high and 62 cm wide, and this corresponds unexpectedly well with the dimensions of Italian *carta reale* (45 x 62 cm), the Italian counterpart of the Dutch and English Royal formats. Printing is always on single folios.

There are eight known extant copies of the 1739 Issue of the *Menuetti con variazioni*, most of them in libraries in Britain and the United States. This number is considerably less than that of the 1739 issues of the Sonatas Op. 4 and *Le prime sonate* and this may mean that the *Menuetti* were printed in smaller number, perhaps one hundred or so. As said before, no announcement of its publication is known and also the price for which it was sold is unknown. Provenance data are available only for two extant copies. The copy now in the library of King’s College, Cambridge, has the inscription “F. Greville, Jan. 1773” and this probably refers to the British aristocrat Fulke Greville (1717-1808), Member of Parliament and British envoy in Bavaria. The copy in the Library of Congress belonged to the collection of the Scottish composer, editor and collector Alfred Moffat (1863-1950).

In 1908, the antiquarian bookseller and auction house of Leo Liepmannsohn offered for sale a binding with *Le prime sonate* (1739), the *Menuetti con variazioni* (1739) and *Les pieces de clavecin* (1743) that is described in the catalogue as a “dedication copy”, unfortunately without mentioning the dedicatee, with the following words:³

Magnifique reliure ancienne bien conservé, riches dorures sur les plats et sur le dos, tranche dorée. Exemple de dédicace. Sur le premier feuillet blanc se trouve 3 petits portraits en couleur et une très belle silhouette de Geminiani, tous dessinés d’après l’original de la main d’un contemporain du célèbre compositeur. — Des bibliothèques de Jul. Marshall et de J. E. Matthew.”

The binding was bought by the famous Belgian violinist Eugène Ysaÿe (1826-1905), but its present location is unknown.⁴

³ Leo Liepmannsohn, *Antiquariat, Katalog 169: Instrumental-Musik vom Anfange des 17. bis zur Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts, 4. Abteilung, Nachträge zur Kat. 154 und 157 (A-N)* (Berlin, 1908), p. 25, no. 367.

⁴ It is not in the Ysaÿe collection now in the Bibliothèque Royale in Brussels.

LATER ISSUES

The *Menuetti con variazioni* were never reissued as an independent publication. Its musical content, however, was reissued as part of the *Pièces de clavecin*, first published in 1743. The two Minuets with Variations can be found in this publication on pages 28-35 and these pages are printed from the plates prepared for the 1739 edition. Several changes were carried out on the plates, presumably by Mme Vendôme, the engraver of pages 2-27 of the *Pièces de clavecin*. The first change concerned the page numbers, which now run from 28 to 35 instead of from 1 to 8 (PLATE 10.3). The Italian headings of the variations, written in full or abbreviated, were replaced by French designations, always abbreviated: “*P^{re}. V^{on}.*”, “*S^{de}. V^{on}.*”, and so on. The third and fourth variations of the Minuet in G minor have no headings. Removed were also the dots that mark repeats on several places, such after the first eight bars of the First and Third Variations on the Minuet in C minor and at the very end of the Variations on the Minuet in C minor. Other repeat dots, however, were left where they were, as well as the first and second endings, so that the result is somewhat inconsistent. It may be that Geminiani wanted to suppress the repeats the second periods of the variations of the Minuet in C minor, which run from bar 9 to bar 52 within each variation and contain the refrain three times; perhaps this was misunderstood by the engraver of the new harpsichord pieces, Mme Vendôme, who will also have carried out the corrections. The complete repeats of the Minuet in G minor with Variations are left untouched. Interesting is it to see that Mme Vendôme added time signatures at the beginning of the variations wherever there was space for it and that was always the case except in the left-hand stave of the last variation of the Minuet in G minor.

Mme Vendôme also corrected some errors in Fortier’s engraving, among them the second crotchet in bar 2 of the left hand of the Minuet in C minor, which should be a quaver.

The *Pièces de clavecin* went through five consecutive issues, which can be described as follows:

First Issue	Paris: Mme Boivin, [1743]
Second Issue	London: [Geminiani], 1743
Third Issue	London: [Geminiani], “1743” [=1747]
Fourth Issue	London: John Johnson, “1743” [= 1751]
Fifth Issue	London: John Welcker, [1777-1780]
Sixth Issue	London: Thomas Preston & Son, [1790]

These issues will be, as a matter of fact, discussed in greater detail in relation to that work, WORK ELEVEN in this project.

THE WITVOGEL EDITION

Geminiani was still sufficiently popular in the early 1740s to inspire reprints of his work, both in and outside Britain. The two Minuets with variations were reprinted twice, first outside Britain, in Amsterdam by Gerhard Fredrik Witvogel, in 1739 or 1740, then in Britain, by John Walsh, in 1743.

Gerhard Frederik Witvogel (c. 1696-1746), organist of the Lutheran Church in Amsterdam, was a music publisher too, from 1731 until the end of his life, more or less imitating the publishing procedures of the Roger firm, by publishing sonatas and concertos of all sorts by engraving, with an appearance that resembles that of the editions of Estienne Roger and Michel-Charles Le Cène. Witvogel reprinted both Geminiani’s Sonatas Op. 4 and the *Menuetti con variazioni*, probably not together, but with some months between them. Witvogel’s reprint of the Sonatas Op. 4 has the publisher’s number 76, that of the *Menuetti* 79. The Sonatas Op. 4 were

announced in the *Amsterdamsche Courant* of 7 September 1739 as being printed but not yet available. That means that Witvogel's edition of the Sonatas Op. 4 may have been published in October or November 1739 and therefore his edition of the *Menuetti* again some month later, say either December 1739 or January or February 1740. There are too few advertisements by Witvogel known from this period to make any further inferences. For the moment, we will work with "[1740]" as year of publication.

The title of the Witvogel edition is copied from the British edition, with Geminiani's first name written in full (PLATE 10.4). It has one interesting addition, "Opera Quinta", certainly to let it follow the *Sonate a violino e basso, Opera quarta*. After the author's name follows the imprint, "*Stampate [sic] a Spese di GERHARD FRIDERICO WITVOGEL Organista della Chiesa nuova Luterana. A AMSTERDAM*", and the publisher's number, "N^o. 79.". The wrong plural form "Stampate" is a consequence of the copying of the imprint from the edition of the *Sonate, Opera quarta*.

Probably Witvogel tried to give the edition some more body than the British edition, which, despite its size, had only eight pages of music and a rather limited title page. Witvogel not only enlarged the title with an opus number and a true imprint, the music was engraved relatively spaciouly and therefore occupies thirteen pages instead of eight (Plate 10.5). There are always six two-staff systems per page, and we may remind here that Witvogel printed Geminiani's Sonatas Op. 4 with seven to ten systems per page. The Minuet in C minor fills an entire page now, each of the three variations an opening consisting of a left-hand and a right-hand page. The G minor minuet occupies with the first variation an opening, and so do the second and third variations together and the fourth variation alone. The musical text is identical to that of the British edition. Only the beat marks, whose meaning was probably not understood by the Dutch engraver, were left out and not replaced by any other mark. (In Witvogel's edition of Geminiani's Sonatas Op. 4, however, the beat marks were copied faithfully.)

Witvogel's edition of the *Menuetti con variazioni* is engraved on double plates, that is, plates with two pages of music. They have a size of 2 x 25 x 20 cm. Six such plates were used, for pages 1/4, 2/3, 5/8, 6/7, 9/12 and 10/11 respectively. The title page and page 13 are engraved on single plates, with a size 25 x 20 cm. This is the normal procedure for editions in folio format printed in Holland in the first half and the middle years of the eighteenth century. Witvogel's *Menuetti* is printed on bifolios, for pages 1-4, 5-8 and 9-12 respectively, with the title page and page 13 printed on single folios.

Witvogel published also catalogues with his editions, which resemble very much those of Michel-Charles Le Cène. His *Catalogue de la nouvelle musique* of 1742/1743 exists in two versions, which differ by the addition of one new title. Geminiani's *Menuetti* "Op. 5" are listed on p. 12 in both of them with a price of f1:10. This corresponds with an English price of £ 0:3:0. If this is – as usual when the prices of Geminiani's own editions are compared with those of the reprints – about half of Geminiani's own price. (Geminiani's price can then be estimated at £ 0:6:0.)

Witvogel died in 1746 in Aachen. Stock and plates of his publishing house were sold at auction on 13 October 1746 in Amsterdam, as described in the *Catalogus van een uitmuntende verzameling van een groote extra fraaije gedrukte partje exemplaren van nieuw musicq, van de beroemde meesters, benevens de fyne kopere gesnedene platen van dien compleet* (Amsterdam: Arent Kampen, 1746). Stock and plates were bought together in one purchase by Johannes Covens Junior (1722-1794) who used them to start his own business as a music seller which he later expanded with a (small) number of new publications. Witvogel's Geminiani editions are explicitly mentioned in a long list of Witvogel editions that Covens put in an advertisement in the *Amsterdamsche Courant* of 14 November 1747 (underlining editorial):

t'Amsterd. By Joh. Covens de Jonge op de Vygendam, zyn de bekomen, de Gereformeerde en Lutherse Psalmen voor het Clavier, door G.F. Witvogel, ieder a 6 guld. Canzonette van de Fesch 50

st. De Solos van Tassarini 5 guld. Van Geminiani 5 guld. Voor de Viool. De Solos van Quants 3 guld. Van Santis 5 guld. Van de Fesch 50 st. Weideman 4 guld. Voor de Dwarsfluyt. De Duetten van Leclair voor de Viool 3 guls. Divertissements voor twee Dwarsfluyten 2 fuld. De Trios van de Fesch 6 guld. Tassarini 4 guld. Voor de Dwarsfluyt. Sinfonie van Hasse 6 guld. Idem van temanza 5 guld. Concerten van Santis 8 guld. Van Tartini 9 guld. Van Zani 10 em 12 guld. Boor de Viool van Hasse voor de Dwarsfkuyt 6 guld. Pieces Choiesies pour le Clavessin 50 st. Hendel 62 Variations 50 st. Sonata 14 st. Capricia 18 st. Prelude 14 st. Fantasie 18 st. Sonates van de Boek 24 st. Kirchhof A.B.C. Musicael 2 guld. Scarlatti 30 Sonaten 6 guld. Geilfus 6 Sonatines 4 guld. Menuetten van Geminiani 30 st. Guistini [*sic*] 12 Sonaten 5 guld. Sonaten van Hasse 1 guld. Nozeman 24 Pastorellas 4 guld., alle voor't Clavier.

Prices are as in Witvogel's own catalogues.

Probably Witvogel's edition of Geminiani's *Menuetti* did not have a wide circulation, to put it mildly. Today, there is only one extant copy, in the Alströmer Collection, now part of the Musik- och Teaterbibliotek in Stockholm. The collection was formed already in the eighteenth century, by Patrik Alströmer (1733-1804), a musical amateur and collector from Gothenburg.⁵ Sweden was a major outlet area for Witvogel's publications.

THE WALSH EDITION

Geminiani's Minuets with Variations probably had their widest circulation through their inclusion in a Walsh edition, as a kind of appendix to a keyboard arrangement of Handel's Water Musick. The edition is entitled *Handel's Celebrated Water Musick Compleat, Set for the Harpsicord* and was published in 1743 (PLATE 10.6). The presence of Geminiani's *Menuetti* in the edition is mentioned on the title page in the subtitle: "Two which is added, Two favourite Minuets, with Variations for the Harpsicord." The edition was advertised repeatedly by Walsh in 1743, apparently on 26 February for the first time, in the *London Daily Post and General Advertiser*:

This Day is Publish'd [...] 4. Two celebrated Minuets with Variations, by Geminiani, and Handel's Water-Musick, set for the Harpsichord [...] J. Walsh [...].

The edition consists, just as the title announces, of two parts. First there is, on pages 1-19, a keyboard setting of the overture and nearly all movements of Handel's Water Musick. The Overture, on pages 2-4, has a second set of page numbers in the middle of the upper margin which runs from (64) to (66). These numbers reflect the inclusion of the overture in *XXIV Overtures fitted to the Harpsicord or Spinnet, Composed by Mr. Handel* (London: Walsh, [1730]), from which edition the plates were used.⁶ After the Water Musick follows, on pages 20-27, a reprint of Geminiani's *Menuetti con variazioni*, with a caption title at the top of page 20: "Two Celebrated Minuets for y^e Harpsicord by Francesco Geminiani" (PLATE 10.7). The music on pages 20-27 is a very accurate reprint of the 1739 edition, with the same division of music over the pages and a nearly identical division of music over the systems.

The title page and the pages with Handel's Water Musick except the Overture were engraved on plates of 26 cm high and 18.5 cm wide. The plates of pages 2 to 4 are somewhat wider, 19 cm, reflecting their borrowing from an earlier publication. The plates of pages 20 to 27 are larger, 29 x 20 cm, although the number of systems per page, six, is the same as for the preceding pages. There is more space between the systems and this

⁵ Jan Ling, "«Apollo Gothenburgensis»: Patrick Alströmer och Göteborgs musikliv vid 1700-talets slut", *Svensk Tidskrift för Musikforskning* 81 (1999), pp. 54-94.

⁶ See Smith 1960, p. 282, no. 9; RISM H 1310.

certainly has to do with the complexity of the music, compared to the relative simplicity of the keyboard arrangements of the *Water Musick*.

Walsh's edition of *Handel's Celebrated Water Musick Compleat, Set for the Harpsicord* was a quite successful publication. Probably there are around fifty extant copies. They can be divided over two issues, which can be distinguished from one another by the pagination. The First Issue, published in 1743, is recognizable by the page numbers 20 to 27 in the upper outer corners for the two minuets. The page number 20 is placed between parentheses. Copies with these page numbers are printed on paper with vertical chain lines, 26-27 mm apart, with a Fleur-de-Lys watermark around a chain line and a countermark "IV" also around a chain line. Printing is always on single folios.

In Walsh's catalogues *Handel's Celebrated Water Musick Compleat* is listed with a price of £ 0:3:0.⁷

Among the copies extant today I have been able to locate fourteen copies that belong to the First Issue.

The Second Issue has page numbers in the outer upper corners that run from 28 to 35, which are the page numbers of the minuets in Geminiani's edition of the *Pièces de clavecin* (PLATE 10.8). The "original" page numbers, from 20 to 27, have been placed in the middle of the lower margin. William Smith (1960, p. 256) has put forward the hypothesis that the new set of page numbers was added because the minuets were also part of an otherwise unknown edition of the *Pièces de clavecin* published by John Walsh and referred to in advertisements from "c. 1748" onwards. We can now confirm Smith's hypothesis because there appears to be indeed an edition that includes Geminiani's "Sonatas I-IV" of the *Pièces de clavecin* (with page numbers 2-27) immediately followed by the two Minuets with Variations as engraved by Walsh for the *Water Musick*. The Minuets have the page numbers 28-35, as in the Second Issue of Walsh's *Water Musick*. The title page of this edition does not have an imprint, and therefore lack place and year of publication and the name of a publisher. The engraving of the Minuets, however, clearly points to Walsh as responsible publisher. Two copies of this edition are known, today preserved in Oxford (GB-Ob) and Cambridge (GB-Ckc). The Oxford copy has the Minuets, the Cambridge copy stops at page 27 and does not have the Minuets.

So far I could not find any advertisement by Walsh offering for sale his edition of the *Pièces de clavecin* plus the Minuets. Smith may have been mistaken: in his 1768 Walsh bibliography he does not mention such an edition, let alone an advertisement for it. (He does refer, p. 158, no. 706, to the advertisement in the *General Advertiser* of 3 September 1747 in which Walsh is mentioned as sale address for the new issue of Geminiani's edition of the *Pièces de clavecin*.) In fact, Smith may have been thought of the listing of "Geminiani's Lessons for the Harpsichord" without a price in Walsh's *Catalogue of Vocal and Instrumental Musick*, to be dated "c. 1747" (Smith & Humphries 1768, p. xiii, Catalogue 24a). The absence of a price may be due to the fact that Walsh could sell two editions: an expensive one published by Geminiani and a cheap one published by himself.

The Second Issue of the edition also has new engravings for pages 2 and 4.⁸

Second-Issue copies are printed on three different kinds of paper. We assume that each kind of paper defines an impression. So far, two to four copies have been located of each impression, which suggest printing in much smaller numbers than the single impression of the First Issue. The chronology of the impression is not so easy to establish. If we look at the wear and tear of the plates and use data about the paper and other evidence, nevertheless a satisfactory order, with putative dates, can be established.

⁷ For example *A Catalogue of Vocal and Instrumental Musick, Printed for and Sold by I. Walsh in Catharine Street in the Strand* (Smith & Humphries 1968, no. 24a, c. 1747) and *A Catalogue of New Musick, and new Editions of Musick Printed for I. Walsh in Catharine Street in the Strand* (no. 25, c. 1755).

⁸ Smith (1960, p. 256-257) makes a distinction between copies of the Second Issue that have no new plates for pages 2 and 4 (no. 5) and copies that do have new plates (no. 7), but as far as I can tell, all copies with pages 28-35 for the minuets have new plates for pages 2 and 4.

One group of copies has paper similar to that of the First Issue: vertical chain lines with a Fleur-de-Lis watermark and an “IV” countermark around a chain line. Such paper was also used by Walsh for a number of impressions of Geminiani’s works around 1745 so that we assume that this First Impression of the Second Issue was published around 1745. Four copies belong to this impression. (The paper is in fact similar to that of the First Issue. If we look at paper used by Walsh for various concerto publications, we see that the Fleur-de-Lis watermark *around* a chain line was used from around 1741 and from around 1745, while the Fleur-de-Lis watermark *between* chain lines was used in the intervening years, from around 1743. We now assume that the paper of the First Issue of *Handel’s Celebrated Water Musick* belongs to the paper “from around 1741” and that the paper of the Second Issue belongs to the paper “from around 1745”.)

A second group of copies of the Second Issue of *Handel’s Celebrated Water Music* has paper with horizontal chain lines about 27 mm apart and with a large Strasbourg Lily watermark and a countermark with the name “I VILLEDARY”. The watermark and the countermark are not always visible due to trimming of the paper. It is the same paper as used by John Johnson for his reissues of Geminiani’s editions announced in 1751. Two copies with this paper are bound with a copy of Walsh’s edition of *The Musick for the Royal Fireworks set for the German Flute, Violin or Harpsicord*, which was published in 1749. We therefore assume that the Second Impression of the Second Issue of *Handel’s Celebrated Water Music* was produced about the same time, that is, around 1750. Three copies belong to this impression.

A third group of copies, finally, has paper with horizontal chainlines about 25 mm apart with no watermarks observed. These copies may have been printed much later, in the 1760s, for example. The paper resembles that used for *The Second Collection of Piece for the Harpsichord*, published by John Johnson in 1762 (or possibly in 1764). Copies of these publications usually show a Strasbourg Lily watermark and occasionally a countermark, but these marks may have been cut way in the copies of *Handel’s Celebrated Water Music* or overlooked when these copies were inspected. Two copies belong to this impression. We will given them the putative dating “c. 1760”.

SEPARATE EDITIONS

The Minuet with Variations in C minor was apparently considered attractive enough to warrant separate editions, as “Geminiani’s favourite Minuet, with Variations”. I will describe here three such editions, but it should not be excluded that there were more. The first edition of this kind must have appeared already before or around 1750. At least five music publishers and sellers refer to a separate edition in advertisements or catalogues during the time span from c. 1745 to c. 1760. It is not clear whether they refer to editions published by themselves or not, nor to how many different editions these listings refer.

The earliest reference to a separate edition of Geminiani’s Minuet with Variations is in an advertisement placed by the Edinburgh booksellers Gavin Hamilton and John Balfour (not known for any music publishing activities nor for music selling activities in general) in the *Caledonian Mercury* of 24 February 1747 (repeated 2 and 6 March) stating that they had brought from London a large quantity of music editions:

Musick Lately brought Home by Messrs. Hamilton & Balfour, To be Sold at the following Prices.

[...]

For the Harpsichord.

Geminiani’s Minuet, with Variation, [sic] 6d.

The Minuet is also listed in the *Catalogue of New Musick Printed for and Sold by John Cox at Simpson's Musick Shop*, which can be dated 1751 or 1752. It contains:

Geminiani's favourite Minuet, set with Variations for y^e Harpsicord — — — 0:6.

John Cox took over the music business of John Simpson when he married Simpson's widow, Ann Simpson, probably early in 1751.⁹ That means that the listing refers to an edition published by Simpson rather than Cox. ((Check if already in: John Simpson, *A catalogue of new Musick*, c. 1746, 3 pages, octavo, GB-Lbl, d. 56.))

Other catalogues from the 1750s that list the availability of a separate edition of Geminiani's Minuet in C minor include Peter Thompson's *Catalogue of Musick*, dated "c. 1752" by Humphries & Smith (1954), which has:

Geminiani's Minuet with Variations — — — 0 0 6

John Johnson's *Catalogue of Vocal and Instrumental Musick*, which may be dated 1754 by its contents, contains:

Geminiani's Minuet — — — 0 0 6

And Robert Bremner's *Catalogue of Vocal and Instrumental Music*, a catalogue that can be dated 1658 and reflects the stock of Bremner's shop in Edinburgh, lists:

Geminiani's Favourite Minuet — — — 0 0 6.

All catalogues may include titles not published by the publisher of the catalogue himself, so that it is impossible to say to which edition or editions these listings refer and if they refer to the same edition or to different editions. Johnson's catalogues of 1764 and 1770 do not contain "*Geminiani's* Minuet", but Bremner's later catalogues repeat the listing from the 1758 catalogue, as well as Preston and Son's *Additional Catalogue* of 1790 that contains the titles acquired from the Bremner catalogue. But in the latter catalogue the price is raised (doubled) to 1 shilling. Later catalogues of the Thompson firm, such as *A Catalogue of Music Printed and Sold by Samuel, Ann, and Peter Thompson*, from about 1790, also list "*Geminiani's* Minuet", for the same price as before.

Catalogues of the Longman, Lukey & Broderip, later Longman & Broderip firm list an edition of Geminiani's C minor Minuet with Variations as well, for example the catalogue entitled *Music, Engrav'd, Printed and Sold, Wholesale and Retail, By Longman, Lukey, and Broderip*, to be dated c. 1775:

Geminiani's favourite Minuet with Variations — — — 0 0 6.

So far I could not locate a copy of a separate edition of Geminiani's C minor minuet with an imprint of Cox, Simpson, Thompson, Johnson, Bremner or any other publisher active in the middle decades of the eighteenth century. But there are copies of two editions without imprints that could be among the ones to which the catalogues cited refer. They will be discussed first. For the Longman edition this is different: there are extant

⁹ Humphreys & Smith 1954, p. 120.

copies with a Longman imprint that can be directly connected with the listings in the Longman catalogue. This edition will be discussed after the “anonymous editions”.

A copy of an edition of Geminiani’s C minor minuet with variations without imprint was in the possession of the late Christopher Hogwood (PLATE 10.9). It consists of six pages in upright folio format, of which the first and last pages are blank. The second to fifth pages are numbered from 1 to 4, that is, left-right reversed. The Minuet with Variations is printed on pages 2-5. The music is clearly copied from the 1743 edition of the piece as part of the *Pièces de clavecin*, as can be seen, for example, from the repeat marks. Since there are now seven systems on a page, the music is engraved somewhat more spacious than in the original edition. In the indentation at the beginning the title “Menuet” [sic] is given, in relatively large letters, with the text “*A favourite – with Variations by Mr. Geminiani*” engraved above and below it in smaller size. The engraving is very much like engraving work of John Philips, so it could have been done by him or in his shop. The edition is printed on paper with vertical chain lines, a Fleur-de Lis watermark and a “IV” countermark between chain lines. Such paper was used around 1743-1744 and in the 1750s, but it is impossible to make any inference about the publication date of this copy. Since the engraving resembles that of editions produced by Simpson in the middle years of the 1740s the edition could be his, but this is far from certain.

A copy of an edition that is similar to the one just described is in the Cathedral Library in Durham (PLATE 10.10). It has the same set-up, with pages 1-4 preceded and followed by a blank page and with the title in the indentation of the first system. The title is identical to that of the previously discussed edition but the lettering is different, with a mixture of italic and roman letters, including small capitals: “*A favourite | Minuet | with VARIATIONS | by M^r Geminiani*”. The paper has horizontal chain lines, 27 mm apart, with no watermarks observed. Such paper is typical for the later years of the 1740s. It is impossible to draw any conclusion about the publication date.

A copy supposedly in the Central Library of Manchester could not be investigated. It may be identical to one of the two editions just discussed or represent a different edition.

A third (known) separate edition of the Minuet in C minor with Variations does have an imprint at the bottom of the last page (PLATE 10.12). It mentions “Longman and Co.” as publishers, an imprint used by James Longman for a relatively short time, from around 1765 to around 1770, in which year he associated with Charles Lukey. The imprint also mentions some other musical items available in Longman’s shop:¹⁰

LONDON. Printed for J. LONGMAN, and C^o, Cheapside; where may be had for the | Harpsichord, Lady Powis’s Minuet with Var^s. Handel’s Water Music. Hasses Concerto. Overture in Artaxerxes. | Love in a Village, Tho^s & Sally, price 6^d. each; also just publish’d The Airs Sung at the Jews | Synagogue, 1^s.6^d. with the greatest choice of Musical Instruments. &c. &c. &c.

Longman’s edition differs from the preceding ones in that the four pages of music begin with a right-hand page and end with a left-hand page, so that the edition is limited to four engraved pages only, numbered from 1 to 4 (PLATE 10.11). This is, of course, a much more efficient layout, requiring just a single bifolio. On top of page 1 is a caption title: “*Geminiani’s favourite Minuet | With VARIATIONS*”. There are seven systems per page and because the page turns are on different places the music is differently divided over the pages and

¹⁰ The titles can be identified as follows: *Lady Powis’s Favourite Minuet with Variations* (anonymous, copy US-Wc), *Handel’s Water Music* (H 1325); *Hasse’s Favourite Concerto* (H 2284), *Overtures to Artaxerxes* (Arne), *Love in a Village* (Abel) and *Thomas and Sally* (Arne) set for keyboard (a copy of the Artaxerxes overture is in US-Wc), William Keith, *The Airs as Sung at the Jews Synagogue* (K 251).

systems in comparison with the other editions. The music itself may be copied from one of the previously mentioned separate editions or from the *Pièces de clavecin*.

I know of two extant copies of Longman's edition of Geminiani's Favourite Minuet, now in the British Library and the Library of Congress, respectively. The Library of Congress copy is the last item in a binding with seven items of harpsichord music all published in London in the 1760s or around 1770, among them works by Johann August Just (his *Six Sonatas* Op. 2, Longman & Lukey) and Campioni (*Sonatas*, Bremner) and some titles mentioned in imprint of Geminiani's *Favourite Minuet*, such as *Lady Powis's Minuet with Variations* and Arne's *Overture to Artaxerxes* set for harpsichord. According to a label on the title page of Just's *Sonatas* the works were sold by Michael Hillegas (1729-1804), later the first treasurer of the United States. I assume Hillegas sold the set in the 1770s in Philadelphia.

AN EARLY MANUSCRIPT VERSION

The Minuet in C minor is, without or with the Variations, also transmitted in an early manuscript version, one that reflects the musical text before the publication of 1739. This version is found in two manuscripts. The most important of these is the manuscript F-Pn, D 18365, a manuscript with a mixed content, with keyboard pieces and vocal music, written in England around 1740 by two different, clearly non-professional hands, on music paper of 32 x 21 cm in size (APPENDIX 10.1).¹¹ The manuscript is incomplete at both ends, it begins with the final bars of a piece and ends with an incomplete piece. It has an outside cover, added later in France, with a title in pencil, "Fragments divers | Scarlatti Hasse (il Sassone) | Chocchi [sic] etc.", that was supplemented by some lines in ink, "Scarlatti (morceaux divers) | geminiani | Vinci". Some of the keyboard works in the manuscript are ascribed to Geminiani and Domenico Scarlatti. In addition there are some keyboard arrangements of works by Handel. The vocal pieces are arias from operas by Johan Adolph Hasse, Leonardo Vinci and Antonio Vivaldi.

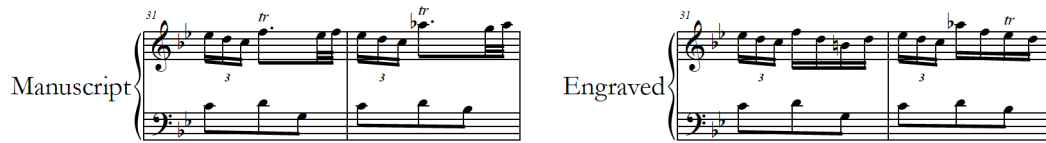
I have been somewhat elaborate in my description of this manuscript for the reason that the reading of Geminiani's Minuet in C minor with the Variations 1-2 that we find in this manuscript (on fols. 1v-4v) is not without importance, as will be shown below. The piece has a title in the left margin of fol. 1v, running from down to the top: "Minuet [sic, perhaps corrected from "Menuet"] con variazione [sic] per Cembalo, famosismo [sic] | Del Sig^r. Fran^o Geminiani". The Italian is corrupt, of course, but that holds also true for the text underlay of the Italian arias in the manuscript. Interesting is the adjective "famosissimo" in this context. It must be connected with "Minuet" and apparently refers to the fame that the piece had acquired in the years since its first publication in 1732. The variations that follow the minuet are headed "2da Variazione" and "3a Variazione", for the first and second variation respectively. The third variation is not included in the manuscript.

Most remarkable is it that the manuscript shows a large number of substantial variants in the musical text, variants that cannot so easily be explained away as "copyists' variants", the variants in details regarding chords, articulation, ornamentation, note values, and so on that one always find in manuscript copies made from printed examples. In many bars notes are changed, removed or added. The background structure of the composition is left untouched, the changes are in the "foreground", as is usual where we find versions of compositions revised by Geminiani himself.

It is impossible to discuss here all the differences between the manuscript and the printed version. But a few examples can be given. In bar 8 there are no first and second endings in the manuscript. In bar 13 the manuscript has a g in the left hand, as continuation of the bass line of the preceding bar; such a g is missing in

¹¹ See about this manuscript Rudolf Rasch, "Lost and Found: «Apri le luci e mira», An Aria from Vivaldi's Opera «Ginevra, Principessa di Scozia»", *Studi Vivaldiani* 19 (2019), pp. 65-84.

the published version. The engraving has quavers *f1* and *d1* in the left hand of bar 13, the manuscript only the *d1*. In bars 31-32 the manuscript has trill, which are replaced by a figure in semiquavers in the engraving:



The right-hand part is different in the two versions in bars 31-32, 108, 127, 137, 141-142 and 149-151. In most cases the engraved version has an “alto voice” that is missing in the manuscript. As an example bars 141-142:



In bar 108 the manuscript has an “alto voice” that is not in the engraving, while the left hand of bar 109 has been changed in the engraving:



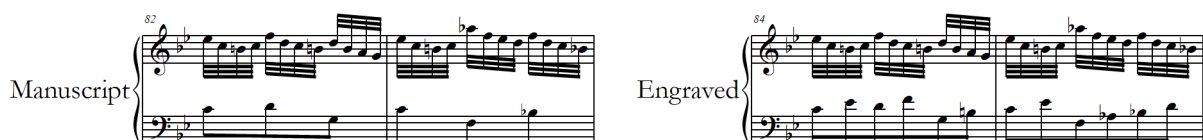
The figure of the left hand of bar 109 is repeated in the manuscript in bars 125 and 145. In the engraving bars 125 and 145 are as in the manuscript, not as the engraved bar 109.

Interesting are the differences in bar 137:



The manuscript version has a dominant harmony at the end of the bar, to introduce the F minor harmony in the next bar (although it must be admitted that the natural before *e1* is editorial).

In bars 82-84 the left hand was changed in the engraved version:



In the manuscript version most notes and chords that close phrases have a full-bar length; in the engraving this is often shortened to a crotchet, which a quaver rest added.

Although in general the manuscript version is somewhat simpler than the published version where they deviate from one another, viewed from the point of view of the version as published in the *Menuetti con variazioni* there do not seem to be particular technical reasons for the changes. This all leads to the inevitable

conclusion that the manuscript version represents a version by Geminiani himself, in particular a version that preceded the published version. This impression is reinforced by the observation that the manuscript version in some places presents readings that seem better than the one in the *Menuetti con variazioni*, among them the tie from *c*1 in the first bar to *c*1 in the second bar, which is missing in the printed version.

The layout of the music in the manuscript, that is, which notes are placed on which staves, which notes are beamed together, stem directions and similar aspect, resembles by and large that of the printed version. I take that to mean that the manuscript version was not far “removed” from Geminiani’s autograph, since we must assume that Fortier also copied Geminiani’s layout more or less faithfully from the autograph in the engravings.

In one respect the notation of the Minuet in C Minor with Variations in the manuscript F-Pn, Rés. 18365, definitely deviates from Geminiani’s notational later habits, and that concerns the ornaments. Instead of Geminiani’s Beat mark (//) there is the conventional mordent mark (✱). The mark proposed by Henry Purcell in his *Choice Collection of Lessons for the Harpsichord or Spinnet* (London: Francis Purcell, 1696) for the “Turn’d Shake” (♪) is also found several times, as well as the conventional turn marks (∞). The latter mark is interesting because this mark is also found in two autograph keyboard movements by Geminiani in the manuscript GB-Lbl, Add. Ms. 32587, preceding the versions later included in the *Pièces de clavecin*. Although it is not a priori excluded that Geminiani himself used these conventional ornament symbols before he introduced his own set of four signs, with the Plain Shake (*tr*), the Turn’d Shake (♪), the Beat (//) and the Swell (♮ , not in the keyboard works), with the exclusion of all other signs, it does not seem very probable. The scribe of F-Pn, D 18365, used his marks for the mordent, turned shake and the turn also in some of the Handel arrangements so that they seem to have to be connected with the scribe rather than with Geminiani.

There is a second source for the early manuscript version described in the preceding paragraphs. It is the manuscript 11645 in the Bodmer Collection in Coligny, Switzerland (APPENDIX 10.2).¹² The manuscript is in some ways comparable to the Paris manuscript described above. It has mixed contents, with keyboard arrangements of instrumental and vocal items from operas and oratorios by Handel and some other composers (pp. 1-65), some vocal pieces by Handel (pp. 66-70) and some more miscellaneous vocal and keyboard pieces (pp. 71-100). The pages 66-70 are in Handel’s hand. Some of the composers mentioned are Hasse and Vinci, as in the Paris manuscript. The manuscript is in oblong format, 22.5 x 28.5 cm.

“Geminiani’s Minuet” is found on page 64-65 of the manuscript, in a version that closely resembles the readings of the Paris manuscript. Everywhere the Paris manuscript deviates substantially from the engraved version the Bodmer manuscript follows the Paris manuscript. Between the Paris and the Bodmer manuscript there are differences, but they are unsubstantial, just the kind of differences one would expect with manuscript copying. The Bodmer manuscript has only the minuet and lacks the variations. Its version is certainly not copied from the Paris manuscript. They may have the same example both of them.

The Paris and Bodmer manuscripts are examples of what I have called, in relation to the dissemination of the works of Boccherini, “pre-publication manuscripts”, manuscripts that are not based, directly or indirectly, on printed editions. Such manuscripts are exceptions within the manuscript transmission of Geminiani’s works: the large majority of manuscripts is copied from an edition. Two movements from the *Pièces de clavecin* are also known in variant versions transmitted in pre-publication manuscripts and one wonders if it is just an accident that the only works from the Thirty-One Works that are known from pre-publication manuscripts are keyboard works, apart from the autograph score of “La foresta incantata”, later published as *The Incharnted Forrest* (1761). Other pre-publication manuscripts contain “Miscellaneous Sonatas” and “Miscellaneous Variations”. Perhaps a transmission in pre-publication manuscript means that Geminiani did not have the intention to have the works in question printed and published. Such an interpretation would lead to the

¹² See Tilman Seebass, *Musikhandschriften der Bodmeriana* (Coligny-Geneva, 1986), pp. 25-29.

conclusion that in first instance Geminiani did not write his keyboard music with the intention to publish it, which is why it could be disseminated in manuscript form.

Manuscripts that copy the printed *Pièces de clavecin* completely also include, as a matter of fact, the two Minuets with variations. There are two such manuscripts, D-B, Mus. Ms. 7333, and GB-Lbl, Add. Ms. 16.155. The manuscript, US-Cn, *VM21.R295, contains a copy of the Minuet in C minor with the first and second variations from the First, French Issue of the *Pièces de clavecin*. These manuscript will be discussed further in relation to the *Pièces de clavecin*.

RECEPTION

Geminiani's *Menuetti con variazioni* were not among his best-known works in the eighteenth century. Although they were easily available in eighteenth-century Britain, due to their inclusion in Geminiani's own *Pièces de clavecin* and Walsh's *Handel's Celebrated Water Music*, neither John Hawkins nor Charles Burney mentions the pieces.

The Minuet with Variations in C minor was practiced by Richard John Samuel Stevens (1757-1837), later Charterhouse organist, as a student. In his memoirs he wrote:¹³

During my apprenticeship I recollect that I was nearly a year learning a concerto of Paradies and almost the same time tormented with Geminiani's Favorite Minuet with Variations for the harpsichord.

Considering the title Stevens will have used one of the separate editions, probably Longman's. The concerto by Domenico Paradies is without doubt the latter's Favourite Concerto for the Organ or Harpsichord published by Richard Welcker in 1768, almost at the same time as Longman's edition of the Minuet.

FACSIMILE EDITIONS

There is no facsimile edition of Geminiani's *Menuetti con variazioni*. The pieces are, of course, included in the various facsimile editions of the *Pièces de clavecin*. *Handel's Celebrated Water Musick Compleat* is available in facsimile in the series Performers' Facsimiles (no. 117) published by Performers' Editions (New York, no year). The First Issue is being reproduced but it is not mentioned which copy is used for the edition.

MODERN EDITIONS

Modern editions of the *Pièces de clavecin* always include the two Minuets with Variations. I know of one separate edition of one of the minuets with variations, namely that of the Minuet in G Minor, published as *Minuet No. 1 [sic] from Pieces for Clavicord [sic] (1743)* and revised and edited by Dudley E. Bayford (London: Francis, Day & Hunter Ltd., 22291, 1951). There is a brief "Foreword" by John F. Russell on p. 1; the score follows on pages 2-8. The music is, as expected, arranged for the pianoforte.

¹³ Mark Argent, *Recollections of R. J. S. Stevens, An Organist in Georgian London* (Carbondale IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 1992), p. 13.

RECORDINGS

The Minuets in C minor and G minor with variations are – as to be expected again – included in all complete recordings of the *Pièces de clavecin* (see WORK TWELVE). I do not know of any separate recording of either minuet.

CONCLUSION

Geminiani's Minuets with Variations have an interesting history, which includes several “episodes”, such as their origin from variations for violin and figured bass, their publication separately first, and their inclusion in the *Pièces de clavecin* next. In addition they were disseminated through *Handel's Celebrated Water Musick Compleat, Set for the Harpsicord* and through the separate publications of the Minuet in C Minor. It is a history that differs from that of all other works by Geminiani. In a way, that is no surprise: different works never have the same or even a similar history.
