

Rudolf Rasch

The Thirty-One Works of Francesco Geminiani

Work Twenty-Four: *Guida armonica* Opus 10 (1756)

Please refer to this document in the following way:

Rudolf Rasch, The Thirty-One Works of Francesco Geminiani: Work Twenty-Four: *Guida armonica* Opus 10 (1756), <https://geminiani.sites.uu.nl>

For remarks, suggestions, additions and corrections: r.a.rasch@uu.nl

© Rudolf Rasch, Utrecht/Houten, 2026

2 February 2026

WORK TWENTY-FOUR
GUIDA ARMONICA OPUS 10 (1756)

Contents

<i>Guida armonica</i> Opus 10 (1756).....	3
The First (Dutch) Issue (1756)	15
Engraving and Printing.....	19
The <i>Dictionaire harmonique</i>	22
The Second (English) Issue (1756)	25
The Third (Dedication) Issue (1758).....	30
The Italian Version.....	32
Early Reception	33
Modern Commentators.....	36
Modern Editions	37

WORK TWENTY-FOUR
GUIDA ARMONICA OPUS 10 (1756)

The *Guida armonica* is certainly Geminiani's most remarkable and at the same time least accessible music treatise. The main title occurs in its various sources in one of two different wordings, corresponding to 'Harmonical Guide' or 'Harmonical Dictionary', in several different language (English, French, Italian and Latin). The first, Dutch issue has a bilingual title page: French and Dutch. The French part calls the work 'Dictionnaire harmonique', that Dutch part uses a Latin main title: 'Dictionarium harmonicum'. The French title goes with a French preface and explanation, the Latin/Dutch title with the Latin and Dutch counterparts of these texts. The second, English issue calls the work 'Guida armonica, o Dizionario armonico', but the remainder of the title is in English and there are no Italian texts found in this edition itself: everything is in English. But what would be a 'Harmonical Guide' or a 'Harmonical Dictionary'? These titles do not imply by themselves a definite meaning. In fact, the subtitle presents a better description of the nature of the work. According to the title of the English issue the work is 'A Sure Guide to Harmony and Modulation, in which are Exhibited the Various Combinations of Sounds, Consonant and Dissonant, Progressions of Harmony, Ligature and Cadence, Real and Deceptive.'¹ The work is indeed about how to construct a composition as a figured bass consisting of a sequence of short passages. Each passage may be supposed to be an entry in the 'Harmonical Dictionary' and how to go from one passage to another is the 'Harmonical Guide'. The main part of the treatise consist of a long series of examples of such short figured-bass passages. This series is preceded, as already mentioned, by a general preface and an explanation of how to use the dictionary. In a later section more will be said about the contents of the *Guida armonica*.

The publication history of the *Guida armonica* is as exceptional as are its contents, as far as it is possible to compare the exceptionality of things of different nature. The First, Dutch Issue was published in 1756, but the writing of an earlier version must have been completed sixteen years earlier, in 1740. This time lapse has given rise to wrong datings of the edition that are wide-spread in the literature on Geminiani and in library catalogues. Many sources give 1742 as year of publication of the Second, English Issue, following statements by John Hawkins and Charles Burney to this effect.² The Issue itself bears no year on the title page. Enrico Careri (1993) showed that this dating could not be right: as Opus X the *Guida armonica* should follow the *Art of Playing on the Violin* (Opus IX) of 1751 and not precede it. Careri proposed a new dating, c. 1752,³ based on references to its contents of the *Guida armonica* that are contained in William Hayes's *Remarks on Mr. Avison's Essay on Musical Expression*, published in 1753.⁴ But this date, it must be said, is wrong as well. The present author (2013) could show beyond doubt that the Dutch Issue, published as *Dictionnaire harmonique* in Amsterdam and dated 1756 on the title page, is in fact the first publication of the treatise. The English Issue followed a few months later the same year.

Even if only first published in 1756, the *Dictionnaire harmonique* was written earlier. It is clearly included in the Dutch privilege of 1746, were it is described as 'een tractaat en woordenboek over de musicale Compositie' (a treatise and dictionary on musical composition). But its conception and writing goes even further back. Subscription for a publication called *The Harmonical Guide* was possible in Dublin from 3 March 1740 onward, as is evident from a prospectus published that day (Plate 24.1). This is an edited transcription of the prospectus:

¹ See Table 24.1 for the various forms and wordings of the title, the subtitle and the additional information.

² Hawkins ii, 903, Burney GH, ii, 991.

³ See Careri, 1993, pp. 179-180.

⁴ Hayes, *Remarks*, pp. 121-122. See Careri, 1993, p. 180.

Dublin, March the 3d, 1740.

Proposals for Printing by Subscription.

The Harmonical Guide, Containing the true Grounds of Harmonical Composition,

Laid down in a Method entirely New, and upon so easy and natural a Foundation, as to enable a Person absolutely unskill'd in Musick to write at Pleasure the most perfect Harmony, and with an infinite Variety.

The whole Art of Harmonical Composition is herein unveil'd; the Nature of the several Transitions from Concord to Discord, and è Contrari, with the forming of all Sorts of Cadences, as practis'd by the greatest Masters, is taught and explain'd.

The whole conducted upon such plain and obvious Principles, as carry the Face of Demonstration at the first View, and offer themselves with Facility to the meanest Capacity.

By Mr. Francis Geminiani.

Conditions.

I. The Book to be Engraven on Copper-Plates in Quarto, and printed on a fine Paper.

II. The price to Subscribers to be one Guinea for each Book, one half to be paid at the Time of Subscribing, and the other half on the Delivery of the Book stitch'd.

Subscriptions are taken in by Thomas Bacon at Bacon's Coffee-house in Essex-street, and by William Manwaring at Corelli's Head on College-Green.

Received from _____ one Half Guinea, being the first Subscription Payment for the Harmonical Guide. Dublin, the _____ Day of _____ 1740.

Of note are especially the three paragraphs that follow the main title and the subtitle. The paragraphs stress the following points: (1) The method of the publication can be applied by people without education in music and will produce an infinite variety; (2) All elements of music theory, progressions, consonances, dissonances, cadences, are included; and (3) The presentation is obvious and simple. Below, we will call these three paragraphs 'the explanation.' Elements from the explanation as found in the prospectus recur every now and then in later descriptions of the work, exactly or in slightly variant wordings.

One wonders how much of the description of the work—the centered main and subtitle and the three paragraphs of explanation that follow—was meant to be printed on the title page of the edition. The French advertisement of the work, of 1742 (see below), reproduces the main and subtitle and the first paragraph of explanation translated into French. The title of the Dutch issue of 1756 basically reproduces the main title and the subtitle of the prospectus using other words (in French and Dutch) without any further text, the English issue repeats this, using other words again (now in English), and adds a paraphrase of the second paragraph of the explanation in the prospectus. For the moment we assume that it was the intention to have the complete description in the prospectus on the title page. Having so much text on a title page is, after all, not uncommon in the eighteenth century.

The prospectus says that the publication would be 'Engraven on Copper-Plates in Quarto' and printed 'on a fine Paper'. The mentioning of the format 'in Quarto' is either a mistake or must be read as 'Royal Quarto', a format that produces copies of the same dimensions as the editions in folio format derived from Demy Paper, the most commonly used paper in music printing. No work by Geminiani was ever issued in quarto format.

The price would be one Guinea, one half of which had to be paid upon subscription, the other half upon delivery of the book.

Two subscription addresses are given, both in the prospectus and the advertisement: Bacon's Coffee House in Essex Street, where Thomas Bacon would take in the subscriptions, and William Manwaring's music shop 'at Corelli's Head' on College Green. Thomas Bacon (c. 1700-1768) did not only manage the coffee house named after him, he was active as a publisher and a bookseller as well.⁵ In 1745 he left for Maryland to become a minister and subsequently played an important role in the social life of the colony. In addition was a capable musical amateur on the violin and violoncello and one may wonder whether he might have been a pupil of

⁵ See J.A. Leo Lemay, *Men of Letters in Colonial Maryland* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1972), pp. 313-342: 'Thomas Bacon, Signior Lardini'.

Geminiani during the 1730s when both were in Dublin. William Manwaring (died 1763) was one of the most important music publishers and sellers in Dublin during the middle decades of the eighteenth century. The prospectus does not provide a closing date for the subscription. As is in several other cases of publication through subscription, Geminiani did not take in subscriptions himself.

A copy of the prospectus is extant with subscription of the works by the 'Reverend Dr. John Kearney'.⁶ This is John Kearney (1686-1771), Doctor of Divinity, Precentor of the Anglican Cathedral in Armagh (now Northern Ireland), seat of the Anglican Archbishop of Ireland. On 3 March 1740, the date also printed on the prospectus, Kearney paid half a guinea to Geminiani. The signature of 'F. Geminiani' is found in the right lower corner of the form. In the upper right corner Kearney wrote the following remark: 'Geminianis rect [receipt] for a book to be publishd'. On the back of the prospectus a little slip of paper has been pasted with a similar remark in Kearney's hand: 'Geminianis rect [receipt] for y^e subscription to his harmonic guide'. It may have come from a folder that once contained the form.

An announcement in *The Dublin Newsletter* of 22 April of that year repeats most of the text of the prospectus:⁷

The Harmonical Guide, containing the true grounds of harmonical composition laid down in a method entirely new and upon so easy and natural a foundation as to enable a person absolutely unskilled in Musick to write at pleasure, the most perfect harmony with an infinite variety. The whole secret of Harmonical composition is herein unveiled; the nature of the several transitions from Concord to Discord and a contra with the forming of all sorts of cadences as practised by the great Masters is taught and explained. The whole conducted upon such plain and obvious principles as carry the face of demonstration at the first view and offer themselves with facility to the meanest capacity. By Mr. Francis Geminiani. Subscriptions taken in at Bacon's Coffee House in Essex Street and by Mr. Manwaring at Corelli's Head on College Green.

The Dublin subscription campaign would not lead to the publication of the work. This would mean that Geminiani should pay back the received subscription fees, but it is of course unknown if this has really happened, given Geminiani's absence from Dublin for many years.

What would the 'Harmonical Guide' have looked like, had it been published in 1740? First, we must remind that, had it been published, it would have been Geminiani's first published treatise. In the end, he would publish five such works, if we count the *Rules for a Good Taste* and the *Treatise of Good Taste* as one, as also the two volumes of *The Art of Accompaniment*. The *Guida armonica* would be the fourth in the series. All published treatises adhere to the same format: a short introductory text printed in letterpress precedes a larger section of music or music examples printed from engraved plates. There is always an edition with the introductory text in English but there may also be parallel editions in different languages, as French, Italian or Dutch. As far as there is text in the music section, this is always in Italian; this is usually explained as facilitating the use of the plates in all language versions.

There is no reason to assume that the edition of the *Guida armonica* foreseen in 1740 would fundamentally deviate from the later established model of Geminiani's treatises, that is, a short introductory text followed by a series of music examples. After all, the price asked in 1740, one guinea, is the same as the price asked for the published English version in 1756. Therefore, the lengths of the text and musical part of the projected edition of 1740 will have been comparable to that of the realized edition of 1756. The two published editions and the manuscript version all have a text consisting of two sections, first a preface and then a short description of how to use the work. We assume that this bipartite structure was already there in 1740. The prospectus says

⁶ The copy is found pasted in at the end of a binding with the First and Second Parts of *The Art of Accompaniment*, GB-Ob, Mus 134 c.96. The pasting was done probably when the binding was restored or carried out, seemingly at the beginning of the twentieth century, perhaps by the Bodleian Library after they purchased the volume on 12 November 1927 (stamp). A sheet of paper has been pasted to the back of the prospectus to support it and to provide an extra edge to paste it to the back flyleaf.

⁷ Careri 1993, p. 31.

that the edition was engraved without further qualification but this does not have to exclude, it seems, that the text part was printed in letterpress.

A question hitherto not considered is the one about the language in which Geminiani first wrote the text part of ‘The Harmonical Guide’ (and his other treatises). Geminiani certainly mastered the English language as a spoken language but there is evidence that he definitely was not able to write English on a level necessary for the introductory texts of his treatises. This must simply mean that he wrote the introductory text for ‘The Harmonical Guide’ in Italian and that some acquaintance in Dublin translated that into English—after all, it is only a few pages. The original title would then be ‘Guida armonica’, identical to the form we use throughout, as taken from the version eventually published in English in 1756. In some way, writing of the introduction in Italian is also suggested by the use of Italian in the musical part of the work.

Geminiani’s signature on Kearney’s subscription form strongly suggests that the composer was still in Dublin on 3 March 1740. The advertisement of 22-26 April can be seen as a sign that he was still there, but this is not necessarily so. It is in fact unknown when exactly in 1740 Geminiani left Dublin and it is equally unknown if he went to London before going to Paris in the autumn of 1740: at least, there is no evidence for a stay in the English capital. Equally, nothing is known of a London subscription campaign for the ‘Harmonical Guide’, something one would expect.

Geminiani went to Paris by the end of 1740, probably first of all to publish the French issues of his Sonatas Opus 4 and *Le prime sonate*, both first published in London in 1739, in his absence, he himself being in Dublin. But he must have taken the ‘Harmonical Guide’ with him as well. In Paris subscription for the work was, now as ‘Guide harmonique’, opened in an announcement in the *Mercure de France* of April 1741, pp. 774-775 (Appendix 24.1):

On a parlé dans le Mercure, du mois dernier, d’un ouvrage de M. Rameau, pour le clavecin;[⁸] en voici un autre à peu près dans le même genre qui commence à faire du bruit.[⁹] M. Geminiani vient de proposer par souscription un livre qui a pour titre *Guide harmonique, ou Combinaison simple & sensible de tous les rapports que les sons peuvent avoir entre eux, ouvrage par le secours duquel, sans avoir aucune connoissance de la musique & sans cependant sortir des règles de la composition, on pourra dans l’instant composer de la façon la plus exacte & la plus harmonique, & varier cette composition à l’infini*. In-folio gravé. Le nom de l’Auteur semble faire l’éloge de cet ouvrage. D’ailleurs; ceux que nous avons déjà de lui, sont assez connus pour espérer beaucoup de ce dernier. Ce n’est point un traité de théorie; tant de grans Maîtres nous en ont donné, qu’il semble qu’on n’ait plus rien à souhaiter de ce côté-là; tout le secret de celui-ci est sous les yeux, il ne s’agit que d’opérer au moyen de cette espèce de dictionnaire, vous vous trouvez conduit par des exemples sensibles & sûrs dans tous les accords dont un ton peut être susceptible, soit dans le naturel, soit dans l’accidentel. Les amateurs de musique, & surtout ceux qui s’adonnent à la composition, ne peuvent trop s’intéresser au succès d’un ouvrage qui semble enfin nous dévoluer ce qu’un Art, aussi agréable et aussi utile, a paru avoir jusqu’à présent de difficile et obscur. Il a fait d’avance l’étonnement de ceux à qui l’Auteur a bien voulu le communiquer. C’est un de ces phénomènes qu’on voit de tems en tems sortir du sein des arts, lesquels ont les leurs, ainsi que la Nature.

Les Souscriptions se délivrent chés Prault, fils, Libraire, quai de Conti, vis à vis la descente du Pont-neuf, à la Charité.

The title of the work is a French translation of the title and subtitle and the first paragraph following these as given in the Dublin prospectus and advertisement. Thereafter follow several lines of praise of Geminiani and his work which is called here ‘some sort of dictionary’ (*cette espèce de dictionnaire*). Subscription was possible at the shop of Prault, fils, bookseller at the Quay de Conti. This is Laurent-François Prault (1712-

⁸ This is a reference to the announcement of Rameau’s *Pièces de clavecin en concert* (Paris: Author, 1741), in the *Mercure de France*, April 1741, pp. 566-567.

⁹ One would say that Geminiani’s ‘Guide harmonique’ is of a completely different nature than Rameau’s *Pièces*.

1780), a bookseller and publisher who occasionally cooperated in musical publications, among them Rameau's *Castor et Pollux* (1737).¹⁰ No particular term for the subscription is mentioned, nor a price.

It may be assumed that the announcement in the *Mercur de France* was for a French edition of the work. Geminiani will have had the title and the text part—only a few pages—translated into French. This will have been done from the Italian version rather than from the English version. Knowledge of the Italian language will have been more spread in Paris in 1741 than that of the English language, and translating from Italian to French is easier than from English to French. And, if our assumption about the original language of the text is correct, it seems better to use the original version of a text for a translation than an already translated version. The main part of the work consisted of figured-bass fragments, and these were, of course, independent of any language. If there was text, this will have been in Italian. The work is now announced as being engraven and in-folio.

A lengthy description of the 'Guide harmonique', more than 30 duodecimo pages, appeared a few months later, in the *Memoires pour l'Histoire des Sciences et des Beaux Arts*, the so-called *Journal de Trévoux*, of August 1741, as 'Article LXXI' (pp. 1475-1509), obviously to generate interest for the work and to raise the number of subscribers (Appendix 24.2). The article is unsigned but an English translation was published still the same year in London *An Extract out of the Journal des Savans, or Dissertation upon a Work Wrote by Mr. Geminiani, Intituled, The Harmonic Guide* and this publication mentions 'Father Castel, a learned Jesuit' as the author of the French article (Appendix 24.3).¹¹ According to Hawkins, it was Geminiani himself who took the article with him when he went to London later in 1641 and had it translated into English and published in London:¹²

In one of those excursions which Geminiani was frequently making during his residences in England, that is to say, to Italy, France, Holland, and other countries, he visited at Paris a learned and ingenious Jesuit, Pere Castel, a man well skilled in music; to whom he shewed his manuscript, and explained the nature and design of it: and with a view to obviate the prejudices that had been entertained against it, this person published in the *Journal des Sçavans* [*sic, rectè: Journal de Trévoux*] a dissertation on the *Guida Armonica*, which Geminiani upon his return hither got translated into English, and published in a pamphlet of about thirty pages.

'Father Castel' is the French Jesuit and mathematician-philosopher Louis-Bertrand Castel (1688-1757), mathematics teacher at the Jesuit school in Paris, author of several books and articles on mathematical and philosophical subjects and keeping a lively interest in music. He wrote on a variety of musical topics in the *Mercur de France* and in the *Journal de Trevoux* and designed a *clavecin oculaire*, a harpsichord that let shine light of different colours depending on the keys that were played. There is no independent confirmation of Castel's authorship of the article on Geminiani's 'Guide harmonique', but its style, with frequent excursions into semi-mathematical discourses, certainly does not contradict it.¹³

The name of the translator is not given. Native English readers consider the language as un-English and presume that the translator was a Frenchman. It was certainly not Geminiani himself. The musical interval 'Tierce' is translated as 'Tercet', which is a dictionary translation and shows that the translator had no knowledge of musical terminology. In the *Dictionnaire royal françois-anglois et anglois-françois* by Abel Boyer (Amsterdam, 1727, and many other editions), one finds (there are no page numbers):

¹⁰ With Mme Boivin, Leclerc l'Ainé, Duval and the author. About Prault see Devriès & Lesure 1979, p. 136.

¹¹ Published by John Roberts. RISM Écrits, p. 211. Copies in DK-Kk (Closed stack 128:2, 237 03737) and GB-Ckc.

¹² Hawkins, ii, 903.

¹³ An indirect confirmation is the saying '*Itali caprisant, Germani boant, Angli sibilant, Hispani latrant, Galli cantant*' that is found on p. 1504-1505 of the French text and also in Castel's *Esprits, saillies et singularités* ('Amsterdam' [=Paris], 1763), p. 267. The origin of this saying is not clear. Perhaps it comes from Athanasius Kircher's *Musurgia universalis* (Rome, 1650), I, p. 543; it may be older as well.

Tierce (certaine consonance en musique) a *Tercet*, or *Third*, in Musick.

By far the best candidate for the translation is Michel (Michael) Mattaire (1668-1747), a classical scholar of French (Huguenot) descent who spent most of his life in England, especially in London. He wrote the Latin distich that appears on the title page of the *Extract out of the Journal des Savans*:

Artem alii involvunt multis Ambagibus: Artem
Absque labore Artis, *Geminiane*, doces.

Others have wrapped Art in many Ambiguities;
You, Geminiani, teaches Art without the troubles of the Art.

On the title page the distich is signed 'MATTAIRE'. It is mentioned in a letter by Giovanni Giacomo Zamboni (1683-1753) to Mattaire of 31 October 1741: 'Mr. Geminiani has received your fine distick & most humbly thanks you for it.'¹⁴ Zamboni was an agent for the Langrave of Hesse Darmstadt in London, an amateur harpsichordist and one of the subscribers of the *Prima parte* of Geminiani's Corelli Concertos in 1726. He was, apparently, still in contact with Geminiani in 1741. I assume that the distich was made for the projected French edition of 1741 in the first place.

Castel's article will be discussed here at some length, because Castel had Geminiani's 'Guide harmonique' in front of him when writing the article and therefore his article is a first-hand testimony of what the text looked like in 1741. Quotations will be after the French version in the *Journal de Trévoux* and the English translation published in 1741.

Castel begins by saying that the work will be published on 1 April 1742 by subscription, that is, only for those who subscribe before 1 November 1741. A price is not mentioned. Then he addresses his subject. With music one must—he says—distinguish between Craft (*métier*), Art (*art*) and Science (*science*) (pp. 1476-1477). The ones who practice these fields are Craftsmen (*artisans*), Artists (*artistes*) and Scholars (*Sçavants*) (pp. 1477-1478). Geminiani combines all three aspects: he is a craftsman because of his violin playing, an artist because of his compositions and a scholar because of his writing, as author of the 'Guide harmonique' (pp. 1478-1479). Mathematics is a level above this all, being abstract, but Geminiani belongs to it as well: he has practiced a kind of mathematics in the examples of the 'Guide harmonique' which are realised only by letters and figures, that is, not by words or phrases (pp. 1479-1480).

Geminiani had borrowed the work in manuscript to Castel so that the latter could inform the public about its merits (p. 1481). According to Castel the work had a little *Avertissement* to introduce it, to explain how to use the book, probably an earlier version of the later 'Directions for the Use of this Book' (pp. 1480-1481). Castel tells us he has tested Geminiani's work by composing with his method, which indeed was possible. Then he compares Geminiani's method with playing on a barrel organ (*orgue d'Allemagne*) or a *serinette*, both mechanical instruments, played by people without any musical knowledge, as may be the ones who use Geminiani's method to compose something (pp. 1482-1484). Nevertheless someone following the method may become a good composer (p. 1485). He describes the work as follows (p. 1486; *Extract*, p. 10):

Car on y trouve tous les passages de Musique, soit réguliers, soit licentieux, soit d'exception qu'on peut employer, & qui ont été employés par les plus grands Maîtres; & on les trouve avec des guides & des renvois qui servent à les enchaîner, à les rassembler de toutes les manières dont ils peuvent être rassemblés & enchaînés.

For you will find there all the musical passages, whether regular, or of the class of licences and exceptions, that may be, or have already been employed by the greatest Masters: and you will have them attended with

¹⁴ Careri 1993, p. 34.

guided and references, that serve to link and clap them together again, in all the manners in which they can be connected and rejoined.

He goes on with describing the work more in detail (pp. 1486-1488; *Extract*, pp. 10-12):

C'est une espèce de Manuel de Musique, une Bibliothèque, un répertoire, une sorte de Dictionnaire, non alphabétique cependant. Nous ne trouvons point de terme, fait pour exprimer suffisamment la nature d'un Livre qu'on croiroit tout de pratique, & qui n'est pourtant qu'une sorte de théorie, immédiatement praticable à la vérité; qui ne contient que des notes de Musique avec des chiffres & des *a, b, c, d, s, x, u, &c.* & qui est cependant très-lisible pour toutes sortes de Lecteurs, non Musiciens mêmes.

Ce n'est pas un Dictionnaire pareil à ceux que nous avons. Il est tel, mais il est quelque chose de plus. Il est Dictionnaire, en ce qu'on y peut toujours trouver un passage, & comme un phrase ou périphrase de Musique, bonne à ajuster, avec élégance même & diversité tout autre qu'on a dans l'idée ou sur le papier. On peut donc s'assurer si une phrase, un passage, une suite d'harmonie, un progrès de modulation qu'on veut hasarder, est hasardé en effet, ou régulier & conforme à la pratique des bons Compositeurs, s'il est bien chiffré, bien préparé, bien sauvé, bien placé en un mot, si un ton rentre bien dans l'autre, & les moyens de rentrer dans ceux dont on s'est écarté.

Ce Livre passe le Dictionnaire, en ce que non-seulement c'est un Recueil de passages, phrases, cadences, expressions de Musique, mais en ce que l'enchaînement régulier s'y trouve, à l'aide des renvois qui servent de guides. C'est un Dictionnaire plein de phrases, tellement enchaînées ou *enchaînables*, si on peut le dire, que de phrase en phrase & et de renvoi en renvoi, on peut former un Discours musical et harmonieux, régulier pour le chant, pour la modulation, pour l'harmonie, & pour le chiffre, pour la mesure même, discours aussi long, aussi court, aussi varié qu'on le veut.

It is a sort of musical manual, a library, a repertory, a kind of dictionary, though not an alphabetick one. We neither find nor know of any word that [11] could sufficiently express the nature of a book, which one might be apt to look upon as wholly practical, though it is only a kind of theory; which, 'tis true, is immediately practicable, but which contains nothing but musical notes, together with arithmetical figures, and many *a, b, c, d, s, x, u, &c.* and which nevertheless is very legible to all sorts of readers, even to such as are strangers to music.

It is not a dictionary like those we have. Though of the kind indeed, it is something more. A dictionary it is, because you will always find in it, as I may say, a musical phrase or periphrasis, fit to be adapted, even with elegance and variety, to any other you have in your head or upon paper. You may then moreover by means of it make yourself sure whether a phrase, a passage, a succession of harmony, a certain progression of modulation, which you have in mind to venture upon, is hazarded indeed, or regular and conformable to the practice of good composers; whether it has its proper arithmetical figures, or is precede and followed with proper consonances, and well placed: in short, whether one tone takes cleverly in another, and what are the means of passing on those from which you have deviated.

[12] This book is above a dictionary, because it, not only, is a collection of musical passages, phrases, cadences and expressions, but has also the regular concatenation, by means of the references which serve as so many guides. It is a dictionary full of phrases so well connected, and, if I may use the word, so *connexible* with each other; that from phrase to phrase, and from one reference to another, you will be able to form a musical harmonious discourse, regular as to melody, modulation, harmony, arithmetical figures, and even as to time itself; a discourse, in short, as long, as short, and as much varied as you please.

Castel repeats here the word 'Dictionnaire': he considered Geminiani's work to be a dictionary of musical passages, each of which is provided with reference marks which show which class of passages can follow the passage in question. The work contained—according to Castel—not only figures (certainly bass figures), but also letters, 'des *a, b, c, d, s, x, u, &c.*'. These are missing in the published version of 1756, but they must indeed have been in the 1741 version of the work as reference marks, as will be shown below.

Castel compares the way of composing with the 'Guide harmonique' with taking words and phrases out of an ordinary dictionary and then following references to other words and phrases, and so on (pp. 1488-1489). This he calls 'l'art de Thrithème', the Art of Trithemius. This is a reference to the steganography as developed

by Johannes Trithemius, a cryptographic method where a message is hidden amidst otherwise normal text. This observation is followed by the rhetorical question whether it is possible to construct such a ‘harmonical dictionary’. According to Castel it is possible, for two reasons: music is inarticulate and vague in its expression, and limited in comparison with language in that it contains only 8 or 12 notes whereas language has 24 letters (pp. 1490-1491). Yet, Geminiani’s method leads to an infinite variety of compositions, which is only characteristic for music. In a curious way Castel calculates the number of basic musical progressions, as the product of 12 (different notes) x 12 (to different notes) x 2 (rising or falling) x 50 (different chords on each note) = 14400, or 7200 if the distinction between rising and falling is discarded (pp. 1496-1497). Instead of this *a priori* method, Geminiani followed an *a posteriori* procedure, by cutting the bass lines of compositions in many small passages and using these passages as elements in his ‘Guide harmonique’ (pp. 1497-1499). This way 3000 to 4000 passages of two, three or four notes may suffice (p. 1500). (The published *Guida armonica* contains 2236 passages.) Castel finds several duplicates in the ‘Guide harmonique’ that he finds superfluous. The infinite variety of composition that can be obtained by the work as promised in its title is reached—according to Castel—in the following way (p. 1501; *Extract*, pp. 22-23):

Car après pris une, deux, trois ou quatre notes à son gré dans le guide principal, & les avoir une fois prises, ou répétées, à son gré aussi, deux, trois, & vingt fois, ce guide vous mene à 20, 30 & 100 passages tous également bons & qu’on peut choisir; & chacun de ces passages vous donne un nouveau guide, qui vous remet dans la même liberté de choix en vous menant & vous remenant toujours à vingt & trente passages différens, & toujours bons.

For after having at your pleasure taken one, two, three or four notes in the principal guide, and at pleasure also repeated [23] them, twice, thrice, twenty times, or not repeated them at all; this guide leads you to 20, 30, and 100 passages, all equally good, and fit to be chosen, and every one of these supplies you with a new guide, that procures you an equal liberty of choice, by leading you again and again and for ever to 20 and 30 different and always good passages.

Here, a ‘guide principal’ is mentioned, probably a list of passages from which a choice could be made for the beginning of a composition. The further choices would lead to an infinity of results (pp. 1501-1502).

Castel then proceeds with an objection that could be raised against Geminiani’s work and that is that one may expect from the title an ordinary treatise on harmony, counterpoint, and so on, which it is not (p. 1503). The treatise lacks a discussion of melody, although it is contained in the figuring (pp. 1504-1505). Castel defines three elements in the Art of Music: melody (*chant*), modulation (*modulaison*) and harmony (*harmonie*). Of these, modulation, in the sense of progression from one chord or sonority to another, is the most important and ‘the key of melody and harmony’. Geminiani’s treatise deals with modulation in this sense in the first place. Composers like Lully, Campra, Rameau, Handel, Corelli, Scarlatti, Vivaldi, Telemann and Locatelli, all had little passages in their head, Castel goes on remarking (p. 1505). It is Geminiani who now makes these passages available to everybody. At the very end Castel alludes to Geminiani’s cosmopolitanism, for whom holds ‘ibi patria, ubi bene’ (where it is good, there is home).¹⁵

Castel’s review tells us several things about what the ‘Guide harmonique’ or ‘Harmonical Guide’ looked like in 1741. Basically it was similar to the version that was published in 1756 as *Dictionnaire harmonique* and *Guida armonica*, consisting of a brief introduction and a series of figured bass fragments that were provided with references to other ones so that they could be connected to one another. But there are also differences. The 1741 version obviously had only an ‘Avertissement’ about how to use the ‘Guide harmonique’, but not a preceding preface as one finds in the published versions. And, while the 1756 version just has the note D in

¹⁵ A variation of *Patria est ubicumque est bene*, a verse of the poet Marcus Pacuvius quoted by Cicero (*Tusculanae Disputationes*, V, 108).

various octaves (*d', d, D*) as elements to begin with, the 1741 seems to have had a 'guide principal', a list of passages from which one could take one as a start.

Probably, Castel was the first person who used the term 'Dictionaire' to describe the work. He describes how one can construct a 'Dictionaire' such as Geminiani's by taking existing compositions, cutting these in small pieces of three to five notes and detaching these from one another after having noted their continuation (pp. 1497-1498). One wonders if Geminiani has followed this procedure. The seemingly random order of the fragments, at least in the 1756 edition, confirms rather than contradicts it. In theory it would then be possible to trace back the pieces Geminiani's used for his work, but in practice this seems not possible. This question will be dealt with later on again.

Considering Castel's description of the 'Guide harmonique', he may well have been the translator of the text part of the work for the projected edition in French.

Most remarkable is Castel's remark that the music examples of the 'Guide harmonique' did not only contain figures (bass figures), but also letters, 'des *a, b, c, d, s, x, u, &c.*' These are missing in the 1756 Edition. Fortunately, there is unequivocal evidence from a different source that the 'Guide harmonique' of 1741 used letters for the references necessary to go from one fragment to another. This evidence comes from the engraving that Geminiani had made in Paris in 1741 to be inserted in the projected edition. It is an engraving by Michel Aubert (1700?-1757; 'M Aubert sculp') after a design of Edme Bouchardon (1698-1762; 'Ed Bouchardon invenit 1741') showing a young female figure, who can be identified as the Muse Erato (see below) and who is writing down music following the inspiration provided by a flying figure with a lyre, apparently Apollo (Plate 24.3). A closer look at what she is writing down reveals that the sheets contain a number of short figured bass fragments that are not unlike those in the later *Guida armonica*. The young lady has a violin and a harpsichord besides her. Above the flying figure three zodiac signs are depicted, Scales, Scorpion and the Centaur Archer, which are the three signs of the Autumn season. Also visible is the Pegasus horse on a rock, and a waterfall coming down that rock. The meaning of these elements is not clear. Underneath the image there is the motto 'Compono quæ mox depromere possim' (I put together what I can bring out soon), a quotation after Horace (*Epistolarum Liber primus*, 1, 12).

Bouchardon's design for the engraving has not been preserved. The design, in sanguine (red crayon), was exhibited at the 1741 Salon of the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture. In the livret of the Salon the item was described as 'La Muse Erato recueillant les accords que forme le dieu de la Musique.'¹⁶

Taken everything together, it becomes clear that this was an engraving to be included in the copies of the *Guide harmonique*, as projected in 1741. As this edition was not realized, Geminiani gave it a new application, as an engraving for the Concertos Opus 7, first published in 1748 and dedicated to the Academy of Ancient Music. There is no direct link between the engraving and the Concertos Opus 7. An indirect one may be that several movements of these concertos have a learned and contrapuntal character and thus refer to compositional theory.

The engraving with the motto 'Compono quæ mox depromere possim' was used when the *Guida armonica* was finally published, in 1756. Copies of the first, Dutch issue never have it, but a fair number of copies of the second, English issue, of the same year, do have the engraving.

The engraving as extant in copies of the Concertos Opus 7 and the later edition of the *Guida armonica* appears not to be its original state. There is a copy of the engraving in the Département des Estampes of the Bibliothèque nationale de France without the motto, but with a title on the left-hand page of the book the muse holds in her hands: 'GUIDA | ARMONI | CA' (Plate 24.2).¹⁷ This title was removed from the plate when the copies were printed for their inclusion in 1748 in copies of the Concertos Opus 7, apparently to hide the

¹⁶ Desmas *et alii* 2016, p. 193.

¹⁷ Listed in Marcel Roux, *Inventaire de fonds français: Graveurs français du dix-huitième siècle, Tome premier* (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale, Département des Estampes, 1930), pp. 183-184, Aubert no. 10, with a reference to the copy in Fa. 43. Dimensions 29.5 x 21 cm. Bouchardon's design seems not to be preserved.

relationship with the still unpublished *Guida armonica*. The title could have been re-inserted for the copies of the engraving needed for the *Guida armonica* of 1756, but these copies seem to have been printed already in 1748 (see below) and therefore lack the title.

Let us now have a closer look at the musical notation on the sheet the lady holds in her hands.

The music that the lady is writing down are in fact figured bass examples that must have been either copied from the ‘Guide harmonique’ or written in the same or a similar format:



They can be transcribed as follows:

G. P.	D. G. A.
 s. l. u. n.	 q. r. z. a. e.
 s. z.	 s. s.
 b. q.	

I could not identify the examples with more than one note as fragments in the 1756 edition of the *Guida armonica*, although they are, in themselves, valid harmonic progressions if read in the bass clef. They may have been written down on the spot as possible fragments. The three single notes that follow are of definite importance in the key of D minor and therefore amply represented in the printed *Guida armonica*. They look like random choice, without any special significance.

These examples—certainly to be read in the bass clef—do confirm, however, and beyond any doubt, that the early version of the ‘Guide harmonique’ used letters for the references to other fragments rather than numbers, as in the published version of 1756. But, whereas in the later version each fragment has just one number noted at the end (which refer to a class of fragments with which one could continue), the examples in the engraving have letters below each note, and extra letters as well. This makes it very difficult to grasp from the engraving what the basic method of the the version with letters was. It is possible that the letters stand for classes of first notes of the fragments as is the function of the numbers in the later version. But then there could be only 24 classes, whereas the later version has 49 classes. And one may wonder what the function of multiple letters below one fragment would be. The three- and five-note fragments can be indeed easily incorporated in a bass line in D-minor, as can also the single notes in the further fragments. Yet, the exact function of the letters remains obscure if there is any at all: they may not have been used in the engraving as in Geminiani’s manuscript.

The way in which the music examples are represented in the engraving shows another interesting feature: the examples are all separated by interruptions in the staves, in the same way as on the engravings of the work

when it was published in 1756. In most printed music treatises, small music examples are engraved continuously on the same staff, just separated by double bars. In fact, the separation of a few thousands of music examples by interrupting the staff, must have been a considerable labour for the engraver.

Attention must also be drawn to the letters that occur above the examples on the engraving. They seem to have to be read in two groups: 'G. P.' and 'D. G. A.'. The 'G' of 'G. P.' could stand for 'Geminiani', but the meaning of the 'P.' that follows can only be guessed at. Perhaps 'Professore'? For the moment, this seems the best solution. Castel calls a musician who possesses 'science' a 'Musicien Philosophe & Mathématicien' or a 'Musicien Docteur & Professeur', and the word 'Professore' in the meaning of 'music teacher' was not at all uncommon in the eighteenth century. The second group poses more problems. 'D. G. A.' could be written out as 'Dizionario o Guida Armonica', but this seems superfluous after the title on the other page of the book and also less probable because the element 'Dizionario' was not yet used in the title in 1741. Further guesses or speculations are possible, but so far I do not see a satisfactory solution.¹⁸

The publication of Castel's review of the 'Guide harmonique' in English translation had far reaching consequences in one respect: it mentioned 1 April 1742 as publication date of the work and this date was, first by Burney and Hawkins and after them by numerous scholars, librarians, and so on, applied to the later published *Guida armonica*. Doubts were only voiced in the 1990s, when Enrico Careri showed that the *Guida armonica* at least followed *The Art of Playing on the Violin*, which was published in 1751.¹⁹

The *Mercure de France* of October 1741 contains a second announcement of Geminiani's 'Guide harmonique' (pp. 1235-1236; Appendix 24.4), presumably induced by the review in the *Journal de Trevoux*. The title of the work as given is derived from the review and no new information is given:

GUIDE HARMONIQUE, ou Combinaison simple & sensible de tous les raport que les sons peuvent avoir entr'eux. Ouvrage par le secours duquel, sans avoir aucune connoissance de la musique & sans cependant sortir des règles de la Composition, on pourra dans l'instant composer de la façon la plus exacte & la plus harmonique. Par M. FRANCESCO GEMINIANI. A Paris.

L'Auteur de cet Ouvrage propose de le donner par Souscription le premier Avril 1742. c'est à dire à ceux qui auront souscrit avant le premier Novembre de la présente année 1742. C'est ce que nous aprenons dans le Journal de Trévoux du mois d'Août dernier. On n'y marque point le prix à l'égard des Souscripteurs, mais les Auteurs du Journal font une Analyse raisonnée de l'Ouvrage entier, avec tant d'ordre, & avec des traits d'estime si marqués, qu'on ne peut s'empêcher d'en concevoir une haute opinion. Cet Article, qui est le LXXII. & qui occupe plus de trente pages, finit par ces paroles également remarquable & sensées: «Cela est heureux pour notre siècle, qui s'enrichit ainsi tous les jours de nouvelles Sciences & de nouveaux Arts. Il nous permettra de lui en faire des complimens, & de l'exhorter à *encourager*, comme on dit en Angleterre, tous les bons citoyens de l'Univers. Car le Sage est *Cosmopolite*, & pour tout le monde, *ibi Patria, ubi bene*.

Geminiani went from Paris to London at some point in the autumn of 1741. He organized several concerts in London in December 1741 and January 1742.²⁰ The publisher John Walsh opened subscription for his next publications, the *Pièces de clavecin* and Concertos from Opus 4, on 27 February 1742.²¹

Geminiani went to Paris again in the course of 1742 and stayed there until the end of the year or the beginning of the next. It would not come, however, to a publication of the 'Guide harmonique' in Paris. In this period, he prepared and oversaw the engraving of *Pièces de clavecin* and the Concertos from Opus 4 by a

¹⁸ Another interpretation has been put forward in the catalogue of the 2016 Bouchardon exhibition in Paris. The first four letters are interpreted as '[Sa] G[randeur] P[rince] D[e] G[alles]', the fifth letter remains unexplained. This interpretation is dependent on an assumed dedication to Frederick Prince of Wales, for which there is no further evidence. Since the interpretation does not really fit the abbreviation, it seems an improbable solution. Desmas *et alii* 2016, p. 191, n. 12.

¹⁹ Careri 1993, p. 180.

²⁰ Concerts in London on 21 December 1741 and 8 January 1742, advertised in the *Daily Post and General Advertiser* of 12 December 1741 and the following days and in the *London Evening Post* of 2 January and the following days.

²¹ *London Evening Post*, 27 February and 30 March 1742, where the Concertos from Opus 4 are called 'Opus 5'.

French engraver, Mlle (Marie-Charlotte) Vendome. For the latter publication also an engraving was produced (Plate 24.4). Like the one for the 'Guide harmonique' it was designed by Edmé Bouchardon, but the engraving was executed by a different engraver: Simon-François Ravenet (1706-1774). The engraving is dated 1742. It shows a flying herald with a banner with the words 'ICH DIEN', the motto of the Prince of Wales. The herald also holds the coronet with the three feathers, a badge referring again to the Prince of Wales. A sheet of music paper, lying on some kind of shore, contains the first measures of the figured bass of the first Concerto from Opus 4. All these elements confirm that the engraving was indeed made to serve in the edition of the Concertos from the Sonatas Opus 4, which was published in 1743 and dedicated to Frederick Prince of Wales (1707-1751), the elder son of King George II.²² But visible on the engraving is also a book in oblong format with the title 'GUIDA ARMONICA'. It is the first time that the work is mentioned with its title in Italian, but its exact role in the engraving is not clear.

Despite the failing plans to publish the *Guida armonica* either in English in Dublin in 1740 or in French in Paris in 1742, Geminiani did not give up the idea. He must have taken the manuscript of the work with him all the time. As already remarked, it was explicitly referred to in the Dutch privilege of 1746, as 'een tractaat en woordenboek over de musicale Compositie' (a treatise and dictionary on musical composition).

It is unknown how well-known or unknown the 'Harmonical Guide' was between the first attempts to publish it, in 1740 and 1741, and the eventual publication, in 1756. Through Castel's review and description in the *Journal de Trévoux* and the separate publication of this text in English in London interested scholars and musicians could in any case be acquainted with its existence.

Thomas Harris (1712-1785), lawyer and musical amateur in London, wrote in a letter of 5 December 1741 to his elder brother James (1709-1780), also lawyer and musical amateur, but based in Salisbury, how he found Castel's translation in the music shop of John Walsh; he expected it to be of little value.²³ He repeated this judgment in a letter to his brother of 9 December 1742: the philosophers of his time, so he tells us, have hitherto refused to explain their discipline in so simple terms as Geminiani had done his. 'When I see a good concerto made by the Guida Harmonica, I shall expect a compleat system of philosophy from our modern sages,' he added.²⁴

William Hayes (1708-1777) discusses the 'Guida armonica' briefly in his *Remarks on Mr Avison's Essay on Musical Expression* (London: J. Robinson, 1753), pp. 121-122:

Why then this mighty Outcry, of having been slighted and neglected? Is it not evidently clear, that *He* is more blameable than the *Public*. And that consequently these Inuendo's are groundless and without Foundation? The only instance, or Shadow of one, in my Remembrance, that could occasion the least Pretence for such a Reflection on the Public, was the subscription to his Guida armonica not filling to his Satisfaction: And what are the Reasons for it? In the first Place, the Price was exorbitant; in the next, that no one cared to deposit the Money, beforehand, From the Opinion the World entertains of his m-l H-y, and lastly, from his promising more than could be expected, or perhaps performed; namely, to make any Man a Composer, at least to write good Harmony, in a Month's Time. Now although that Work, by the Accounts I have heard of it, might bid the fairest to effect what is pretended, of any Method yet invented, still, it might be allowed by his most sanguine Friends, to be at best merely Mechanical: For, (if I am rightly informed.) it points out, by a Kind of Alphabetical Index, a Progression of Notes, and the harmonical Accompaniments to each Note in that Progression. The Method, I grant, might enable a Person quite unskilled, to write good Harmony; but would the Composition be his *own*, or GEMINIANI's? Or would he be able to walk at the Month's End, out of the Go-Cart and Leading Strings? — I firmly believe no mor at the Month's End, than he would the very first Day of making the Experiment. It cannot be denied, that most of his other Works, have generally met with a favourable Reception, in every Part of *Great Britain*.

²² The engraving would also be inserted in copies of *A Treatise of Good Taste in the Art of Music*, published in 1748 and also dedicated to Prince Frederick.

²³ Burrow & Dunhill 2002, p. 128.

²⁴ Burrow & Dunhill 2002, p. 150.

This passage was understood by Careri (1993) as an indication that the *Guida armonica* had been published in the meantime, but in fact the text says that *not* publishing the *Guida armonica* so far was about Geminiani's only failure with respect to the English musical public. Had the *Guida armonica* been published in 1753, it would be strange if Hayes had not seen a copy and had to rely on hearsay only. In fact, everything he says about the work can be traced back to Castel's essay, especially its English translation. This holds in particular for remarks like the ones that the method would be 'Mechanical' and that the work would be some kind of 'Alphabetical Index'.

When Hayes published his *Remarks*, Geminiani was in France. He had arrived there in 1751 and would stay until 1755. He certainly took the manuscript of the 'Guide harmonique' with him again and probably worked on it as well. An appeal to publish the work is found in *Essais sur les principes de l'harmonie* (Paris: Prault Fils, 1753) by Jean-Adam Serre (1704-1788), in a footnote in the 'Avertissement' preceding the main text:

(a) Les Amateurs de la Pratique de l'Harmonie doivent souhaiter que le célèbre M. Geminiani veuille bien-tôt publier un Livre composé pour eux, & dont le titre est déjà assez connu: je parle de l'ouvrage qu'il intitule Guide Harmonique (*Guida Armonica*), à la composition duquel on sait qu'il a consacré au moins vingt ans de travail & de méditation.

Another passage in the *Essais* strongly suggests that Serre was personally acquainted with Geminiani, which gives extra weight to Serre's remark that Geminiani spent 'at least twenty years of work and meditation' to the 'Guide harmonique'. It is unknown whether Geminiani has tried to publish the work in Paris, although he did publish several other works there during his stay, such as the French versions of *The Art of Playing on the Violin* (French: *L'art de jouer au violon*, 1752) and *The Art of Accompaniment* (*L'art de bien accompagner du clavecin*, 1754), and probably also the revised versions of his Concertos Opus 2 and 3 (1755).

By the autumn of 1755 Geminiani went to Holland. There, finally, the work would be published, as *Dictionnaire harmonique*, early in 1756.

THE FIRST (DUTCH) ISSUE (1756)

The first time we hear about the *Guida armonica* in Holland is when subscription in Amsterdam was possible in the shop of the Jean-François Joly (also written Jolly), a French bookseller at the Rokin in Amsterdam. This is known from an advertisement placed on behalf of Geminiani himself in French in the *Gazette d'Amsterdam* of 28 October 1755:

Le Sr. Geminiani fait graver son oeuvre un Dictionnaire harmonique ou guide à la vraye Modulation; avec le secours de ce Dictionnaire on pourra sans aucune connoissance de la musique, composer, la Basse Fondamentale pour tous les Instrumens susceptibles d'Accords. On y trouvera tous les Sons, les Consonances, les Dissonances, leur véritables rapports, et généralement tout ce qui est nécessaire pour la vraye Modulation ou bonne Composition. Cet ouvrage doit être imprimé sur du papier super royal-super fin d'Hollande. Le Sr. Geminiani offre ce Dictionnaire aux Amateurs de Musique et d'autres par voy de souscription à raison de 10 florins 10 sols d'Hollande l'Exemplaire. La moitié payable en souscrivant et le reste recevant les exemplaires pour lequel on aura souscrit. La souscription sera ouverte jusqu'au 1er du mois de Janvier prochain. Après l'expiration de ce terme le Dictionnaire coûtera 14 florins de Hollande. Ceux qui désirent souscrire peuvent s'adresser chez F. Jolly Libraire à Amsterdam sur le Rokin, lequel leur donnera une reconnaissance de l'argent qu'il recevra, ainsi que son Billet d'engagement pour leur délivrer en terme surdit les Exemplaires en question. On les devra à tous prendre chez ledit Jolly. N.B. Le Même Libraire fait graver et distribuera dans peu l'Année Musicale. Il y fait ajouter une Basse par un célèbre Musicien. Tous les Airs sont des Ariettes Italiennes qui se chantent et se jouent sur le Clavecin, le violon, la flûte et la Basse. Cette feuille paraîtra tous les lundi, le prix est de 3 sols.

It is interesting to see that an edition only in French is announced, in terms that strongly recall the words used in the announcements in the *Mercure de France* in 1741. The price, *f* 10:10, is the Dutch equivalent of a British guinea, the price asked by Geminiani in Dublin in 1740.

A few days later, on 3 and 10 November, a similar announcement, but now entirely in Dutch, appeared in the *'s-Gravenhaagsche Courant*:

De Heer Geminiani doet in 't Koper graveeren, een Harmonique Dictionaire, of Rigtsnoer tot de waere schikking der verscheyde Toonen in de Zang-Kunst, met behulp van deeze Dictionaire kan men zonder de minste kennis van het Musicq, de Fundamentele Basse voor alle Instrumenten, die over een stemmen in 't gehoor maken. Men kan in dezelve de Toonen, de Consonants, de Dissonantes, hunne waerlyke betrekking, en in het generaal alles vinden wat tot een regte modulatie of goede Compositie nodig is. Dit Werk staet op allerbest Super Royal Hollands Papier gedrukt te worden. De Heer Geminiani presenteerd die Dictionaire aen de Liefhebbers der Musicq en andere, by wyze van Inschryving, voor *f* 10-10-0, Hollandsch Geld, het Exemplaer aen, de eene helft te betaelen by Inschryving, en de andere helft by de ontfanging van het Exemplaer. De Inschryving zal open zyn tot den eersten January van het aenstaende Jaer, zullende de Dictionaire na verloop van die tyd veertien Guldens Hollandsch kosten. De geene welke geneegen zyn in te schryven, kunnen zig te dien eynde adresseren by J .F. Joly, Boekverkoper op het Rokkin t' Amst., die hun een Quitantie van het ontfangen Geld geeven, en tegelyk zig verbinden zal, om binnen de bepaalde tyd het Exemplaer af te leveren. By niemand anders dan de gemelde Jolly, zullen dezelve te bekomen zyn, wordende die geene welke hem daerom gelieven te schryven, verzogt hem de brieven en het Geld franco te laeten toekomen.

Here, it looks as if the publication announced would be entirely in Dutch, and that may well have been the intention at that moment. Before, Geminiani had already published *The Art of Playing on the Violin* in English and French parallel editions and *The Art of Accompaniment* would likewise be published in that way. Therefore, it may have been Geminiani's intention to publish the *Guida armonica* in two versions, a French and a Dutch one, first and an English version later on. The various versions would share the musical part, while the introductory texts would differ in language but present the same content.

The texts of the announcements suggest that Geminiani was in Amsterdam by that time. Jean-François Joly (died 1757, buried 17 November) is not known as a music publisher or music dealer, but was, in the 1750s a publisher and seller of librettos of the French opéras-comiques and the Italian *opere buffe* which were performed in or near Amsterdam. At the same time he was an address for the sale of tickets for concerts and opera performances, including subscriptions. He printed several masonic works, among them songbooks,²⁵ but it is unknown if the masonic connection is relevant in his relation to Geminiani.

Subscription to Geminiani's *Dictionaire* was possible until 1 January 1756, for the price of *f* 10:10, which equals exactly one Guinea in English currency, the price Geminiani had set in the subscription campaign of 1740. Half of the amount had to be paid upon subscription, the other half upon publication—just as in 1740.²⁶

Another advertisement was published by Geminiani in the *Amsterdamsche Courant* of 25 November 1755 and this announcement does not mention any other names, but just refers to the announcements published before in the *'s-Gravenhaagsche Courant*:

Sr. F. Geminiani, adverteerd dat hy by intekening op Koper laet graveeren en de Explicatie op best Royael Papier in de Hollandse en Franse tael drukken, Dictionarium Harmonicum, of zeker Wegwyzer tot de ware

²⁵ *Recueil de chansons, vers, discours, réglemens, qui concernent les loges des Franc-Maçons et la Maçonnerie* (Amsterdam: Jean-François Joly, 1752). See Davies 2005. pp. 103, 124.

²⁶ In the same advertisement Joly advertised that he was going to publish a weekly periodical musical publication, *L'année musicale*. I assume he was just selling the publication with the same title published in these years by Duchesne in Paris. It was advertized separately in the *Amsterdamsche Courant* of 15 and 29 November 1755. One wonders if there is any connection with Geminiani's coming from Paris. Perhaps, but probably there is not.

Modulatie, en wat tot een goede en fraeye compositie behoord; breeder in de Haegse Courant van den 3, en 10 November, gespecificceerd.

The announcement now seems to imply that the publication would be bilingual. The title that follows is identical to that of the Dutch title of the bilingual publication that would be eventually published. The advertisement certainly confirms a personal presence in Amsterdam.

The next relevant advertisement appeared some days later, in the *Amsterdamsche Courant* of 29 November, again on the name of Geminiani himself:

Sig. F. Geminiani adverteerd dat by intekening op Koper laet graveeren een Dictionarium Harmonicum, 't geen op best Royael Papier zal gedrukt werden breeder in de Haegse Courant vermeld, de Explicatie daer van is Hollands en Frans, de intekening *f* 10-10 't Exemplaar, de eene helft te betaalen by de Soubscriptie, de andere by 't leveren des Exemplars. de tyd van inschryving is tot ultimo December en zullen na verloop dier tyd *f* 14 kosten. NB. 't Zal maer een klyn getal in 't Duits en Frans gedrukt werden. Men zal kunnen intekenen t'Amsterdam by J. Z. Triemer op de Blomgragt, en verder by de Boekverkoopers J. Covens Junior op de Vygendam, by H. Boussiere op den Dam, en by J.F. Joly op 't Rokkin, welke aennemen Quitantie van 't ontvangen geld te geven, en zig verbinden aen de Respectieve Inteekenaers, 't Exemplaar in de maend January 1756 te Leveren. NB. De Brieven buitens Lands moeten franco toegezonden worden.

The title here is the Dutch main title, the bilingual character is mentioned twice, always with Dutch in the first position: 'Hollands en Frans', 'Duits [=Dutch] en Frans'. The conditions of subscription are those described in the *'s-Gravenhaagsche Courant* of some weeks earlier, but the number of addresses where one could subscribe had increased to four. The musician and composer Johan Zeewald Triemer, on the Bloemgracht, has now become the main address, while Henri Boussière (Dam), Jan Covens Jr. (Vijgendam) and Jean-Francois Joly (Rokin as before) are mentioned as supplementary addresses. Publication is promised for January 1756.

Johan Zeewald Triemer was a musician—probably a violoncello player—and a composer of German descent (Johann Sewald), born in Weimar around 1705.²⁷ He settled in Amsterdam in the 1730s and published an opus 1 with cello sonatas (Witvogel, c. 1735),²⁸ an opus 2 with violin sonatas (probably private edition, 1748),²⁹ and an opus 3 with violoncello sonatas (offered for sale in manuscript, 1752).³⁰ He wrote melodies for the English psalms of Tate and Brady, which were published in Amsterdam in 1753.³¹ It is not clear how Geminiani and Triemer had come into contract with one and another and what the contacts exactly included, but it is clear that in late 1755-early 1756 Triemer was Geminiani's representative in Amsterdam. We assume that Triemer dealt in music in general in addition to being a musician. He would die in March 1756, soon after his business with Geminiani.³²

Johannes Covens Junior (1722-1794) was a music dealer and publisher in Amsterdam; he was in fact continuing the business of Gerhard Fredrik Witvogel. Hendrik (Henri) Boussière (1709-1762), finally, was, like Joly, a French bookseller in Amsterdam (although born in Leiden), not known as music dealer or publisher, but a regular address for theatre and opera tickets.

²⁷ Biographical data about Triemer were derived from the standard indexes of the Amsterdam Archives.

²⁸ Witvogel's edition of Triemer's Opus 1 (c. 1735) is lost, extant is the French reprint by Leclerc le Cadet (1738, RISM T 1218).

²⁹ Triemer's Opus 2 was advertised in the *Amsterdamse Courant* of 11 November 1748. The Amsterdam edition is lost. The work was reprinted in Paris by Maupetit, Mme Boivin, Leclerc and Mlle Castagnery. RISM T 1219. Note that except Maupetit the Paris publishers are also those of the French edition of Geminiani's Violin Sonatas 'Opus 6'. The work was also published by John Johnson in London. RISM T 1220.

³⁰ Lost. See the advertisement in the *Amsterdamsche Courant* of 17 October 1752.

³¹ *A New Version of the Psalms of David by N. Tate & N. Brady, and set to musick by J.Z. Triemer* (Amsterdam: Antony Bruyn, 1753). RISM T 1215.

³² He was buried in Amsterdam on 10 March 1756.

It was Triemer who published an advertisement in the *Amsterdamsche Courant* of 12 February 1756 saying that Geminiani's *Dictionaire harmonique* had appeared and would be delivered to the subscribers:

Men adverteerd dat op heden door J. Z. TRIEMER, voor de respective inteekenaers het Dictionarium Harmonicum, van Sr. F. Geminiani, zal afgeleverd werden, en zyn vervolgens te bekomen by de Boekverkopers J. Covens Junior op den Vygendam en A. Olofsen in de Gravestraet, a f 14 't Exemplaer.

Thereafter it would be for sale in the shops Johannes Covens Junior (Vijgendam) and Arnoldus Olofsen (Gravestraat), for f 14 per copy. Covens indeed included the *Dictionaire* in his advertisement in the 's-Gravenhaagsche *Courant* of 12 May 1756:

Te Amsterdam bij Joh. Covens Junior op den Vygendam, zyn te bekomen de volgende Musicq Werken: Raccolta di Arie dodici à Voce Sola col Basso Continuo da Migliori Maestri, Dell Italia, f 2-10-0. Santo Lapis, Terzetti per il Cembalo, con Flauto Traversiero, Violino, f 4-0-0. Roberto Valentine VIII Sonates à due Flauti, Opera 5, f 2-10-0. Geminiani Dictionarium Harmonicum, f 14-0-0. Als meede de Werken van: Locatelli, Corelli, Geminiani, Valentini, Vivaldi, Martini en andere voornaeme Meesters.

Arnoldus Olofsen (c. 1695-1768), the fifth name of an Amsterdam dealer in relation to the *Dictionarium*, had been a publisher and seller of books since the mid-1730 and had turned a music dealer and publisher around 1750. The music of Antoine Mahaut and the books about music by Jacob Wilhelm Lustig were certainly his most important publications in this field. He advertised the *Dictionarium* in the *Oprechte Haerlemsche Courant* of 11 March 1756:

t'Amsterdam by A.OLOFSEN, Muzyk-Drukker en Verkooper, als mede in de andere Steden, waar de twee voorgige Maand-Stukjes over de *Musicaale Beginselen* zyn uitgegeeven, word nu ook het 3de Kunstkundig beredeneerd door den alom bekende Taal- en Muzyk-Kenner J. W. LUSTIG, van wien zyn *Inleyding en Musicaale Spraak-Kunst*, tot bewys strekken, waar van in de Boekzaalen en Republyken dezes Jaars breedvoeriger word gemeld, zo kosten de 3 eersten yder 6 Stuyvers, en de 2 laatsten byeen 3 Gulden. Noch zyn by gemelde *Olofsen* alomme *Franse Cantonnetten, Recreationi Musicali* voor 2 Dwarsfluyten, en meer andere nieuwe Werken te bekoomen, welke vervolgd staan te worden met verscheyde anderen voor het Clave-Cimbalo en Fluto Traversiero, alle in 't Koper gegraveert, zo ook te bekomen dat berugte Werk van den Compositeur *Geminiani*, à 14 GL, waarvan tegen de Tytel van het 4de Maand-Stukje zal gezien worden.

Olofsen also advertized the availability of Geminiani's *Dictionarium* in 'Het Vierde Stuk' (fourth instalment: April 1756) and 'Het Vyfde Stuk' (fifth instalment: May 1756) of the *Samenspraaken over Muzikaale Beginselen* by Jacob Wilhelm Lustig, published by him twelve monthly instalments in 1756:³³

Mitsgaders in Commissie dat nieuwe berugte Werk, wegens de Compositie, van F. GEMINIANI, alom beroemt en bekend Compositeur, genaamt *Dictionarium Harmonicum*, of *zeekere Wegwyzer tot de waare Modulatie*, Cierlyk in't Koper gegraveert, waar van de prys is 14 Guldens, hier van nader Berigt begerende, die ziet de Republyk en Boekzaal van January en Fenruary, alsmede de Voor-Reede van het Werk.

The 'Republyk' and 'Boekzaal' to which this advertisement refers are two contemporary periodicals with book reviews and other literary news. In the instalment for February 1756 of the *Maandelyke Uittreksels, of Boekzaal der geleerde Waerelt* (Amsterdam: Dirk onder de Linden, 1756), p. 241 (Appendix 24.5) and that for January-February 1756 of the *Republyk der Geleerden, of Boekzaal van Europa* (Amsterdam: Gerrit de Groot, 1756), pp. 169-170 (Appendix 24.6), one finds indeed announcements of the *Dictionaire harmonique*, identical in both periodicals; the text is at the same time a short review. A short description of the work is

³³ Jacob Wilhelm Lustig, *Samenspraaken over Muzikaale Beginselen [...] Voor de Maand April 1756, Het Vierde Stuk* (Amsterdam: Arnoldus Olofsen, [1756]), p. 154 en *Voor de Maand Mei 1756, Het Vyfde Stuk*, p. 206. The quotation is after the April Instalment; the wording is slightly different in the May Instalment.

provided and not only Castel but also George Frideric Handel is mentioned as one who has said something in favour of the work. The work was available in the shops of Coven and Olofsen for the post-suscription price of fl 14:0.

The publication of the First or Dutch Issue of the *Dictionnaire harmonique* can thus safely be established at February 1756. The title page is bilingual, with French title and subtitle (*Dictionnaire harmonique, ou Guide sur pour la vraie modulaison*) in the upper part of the title page followed by their Dutch counterparts in the lower half (Plate 24.5). The Dutch main title is in fact in Latin: *Dictionarium harmonicum*, the subtitle is Dutch: *Zekere wegwijzer tot de waare modulatie*. On the title page Geminiani presents himself as publisher of the work, with Amsterdam as place of publication but Triemer's advertisement suggests that by the time of publication Geminiani had already left Amsterdam.

Following the title there is the text of the Dutch privilege of 6 December 1746 (Plates 24.6-7). (The privilege is also referred to on the title page, below the imprint.) Then comes a preface in French ('Au Lecteur') and Dutch ('Aan den Lezer'), printed in two parallel columns (Plates 24.8-9)). It is possible that Geminiani put here the preface that had been written already for the 1741 French version, perhaps with some revisions or updates. The Dutch preface is a literal translation of the French text, and again there is the question: 'By whom'? At all probably, Geminiani mastered the Dutch language in its spoken form to some extent but we cannot believe he could pen down a translation from French into Dutch. But in Amsterdam it will have been easy for him to find to do this job.

After the preface follows a brief introduction to the music examples that constitute the main part of the work. This two-page introduction is again present in French in the left-hand column ('Méthode de Composer suivant ce Dictionnaire'), in Dutch in the right-hand column ('Methode om te Componeeren volgens deze Dictionnaire'), with three brief music examples in the middle, that is, serving in both columns (Plates 24.10-11). This text may well have written anew: the change from a reference systems with letters to one with figures must have made necessary to write a new text. The Dutch text is again a faithful translation of the French text.

The French title and the French texts will have been chosen to facilitate dissemination on the Continent outside Holland. Why the Dutch text was added, does not become entirely clear: a French text would not have given the least of problems in Dutch intellectual circles of the time and considering the price the publications seems hardly to have been directed towards the lower or even the middle strata of the mid-eighteenth-century Dutch society. The high price will in general not have facilitated a quick dissemination of the publication, neither in Holland nor abroad. We do not know how long the stocks of Olofsen and Covens lasted.

By 1781 some copies of the *Dictionnaire* must have come into the hands of Johann Julius Hummel, who included the title in his 1781 catalogue, without a price.³⁴ Perhaps it were the last copies of the Olofsen and Covens stocks. Strange enough it is not found in the Hummel catalogues following the one of 1781 but the title reappears in the catalogue of 1802 and stays there until the very last catalogue of the firm, which was issued around 1814. The 1802 catalogue was issued in Berlin and lists the *Dictionnaire harmonique* for 2 Reichsthaler, 8 Groschen (which corresponds with *f*4),³⁵ the catalogue of c. 1814 was issued in Amsterdam and sold the *Dictionnaire harmonique*, now more than half a century old, for *f*5.³⁶

ENGRAVING AND PRINTING

The First Issue of the *Guida armonica* was produced in Holland entirely, as *Dictionnaire harmonique*, and that means that its engraving and printing procedures deviate in many respects from the treatises by Geminiani that were produced in England. As the earlier treatises the *Dictionnaire harmonique* consists of a title page,

³⁴ See Cari Johansson, *J.J. & B. Hummel: Music-Publishing and Thematic Catalogues* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1972 = Publications of the Library of the Royal Swedish Academy of Music 3), p. 36, note 10a.

³⁵ Johansson 1972, Vol. II, Facsimile 40.

³⁶ Johansson 1972, Vol. II, Facsimile 41.

introductory pages with text and a main part consisting of music examples. The ‘English treatises’ have an engraved title, letterpress text pages and engraved music examples. The *Dictionnaire harmonique* is similar but has a letterpress title page as well. This certainly has to do with the major difference in the production procedures and that is that the *Dictionnaire* is printed entirely on bifolios. It is not impossible to have an engraved title page preceding a text part in letterpress when printing on bifolios, but it is a less obvious solution. The title page plus text part consist of eight letterpress pages altogether, printed on two bifolios. The first bifolio has the title page (p. i) and the privilege (pp. iii-iv), the second bifolio has the preface (pp. v-vi) and the explanatory text (p. vii-viii).

The title page is bilingual, with the French title on the upper half of the page, the Dutch title on the lower half. The imprint at the bottom of the page is French.

The preface is bilingual as well, printed in two columns. The left column (headed ‘Au Lecteur’) has the French text, in roman type; the right column (headed ‘Aan den Lezer’) the Dutch text, in italics. The explanatory text is organized likewise, with a left column in French (headed ‘Méthode de Composer suivant ce Dictionnaire’) in Roman type and a right column in Dutch (headed ‘Methode om te Componeeren volgens deze Dictionnaire’) in italics. The explanatory text contains three music examples which are placed in a centered position over the whole width of the page so that they serve both the left and the right columns. These music examples seem to have been printed by a relief printing method so that the text and the examples could be printed at the same time. The technique of the music examples seems to be some kind of metal cut rather than woodcut.

The main part consists of 34 engraved pages of music examples (Plates 24.12-13). Both from the style of engraving and from the use of double-size plates it is immediately clear that the plates were engraved in Holland and that the printing was also done in Holland. Typical for Dutch music engraving of the first three quarters of the eighteenth century are the spiral bass clefs and the large italic figuring of the bass that are also recognizable in the engraving of the music examples of the *Dictionnaire harmonique*.³⁷ The use of double-size plates, which hold two pages of music, is also typical for the Dutch publishers. The double-plate system assumes units of four pages on a bifolio and has therefore been applied in its typical form to pages 1 to 32, printed on eight bifolios. Pages 33 and 34 are engraved on single plates and printed on a single folio. During the 1750s the engraving style of the *Dictionnaire harmonique* is found especially in the publications of Arnoldus Olofsen so that it may be assumed that Olofsen took care of the engraving and printing of the Dutch issue of the *Guida armonica*. Triemer, whose work was also sold by Olofsen after his death in 1756, may have been an intermediary between Geminiani and the engraver.

The plates on which the music examples are engraved measure 40 cm horizontally and 26.5 cm vertically. Each plate holds two pages that are next to one another on an unfolded bifolio. The margin between the two pages on a plate is not more than 3 cm, which is a bit small when the folios are folded and bound. In many copies the inner edge of the music examples is very near the furthest visible position on the paper.

The last two pages of the *Dictionnaire harmonique* (pp. 33-34) are printed on two single plates, of 20.5 cm wide and 26.5 cm high.

The passages that make up the *Dictionnaire harmonique* are engraved on small fragments of staff. There are six passages on a single staff, each about 2.4 cm wide, and separated from one another by a 7 mm wide blank space. There are eleven of these staves on a page, which makes 66 passages on a page. Only the first and the last page are deviant. The first staff on the first page begins with a longer music example, taking the space of two ordinary passages. And the last page has one staff less, because at the bottom of the page there is an ornament with the motto ‘Fine senza Fine’. This makes a total of $34 \times 11 \times 6 = 2244$ minus 1 minus 6 = 2237 passages.

³⁷ The spiral bass clef was used in England by Benjamin Fortier and John Phillips, but most English engravers preferred the mirrored C for the bass clef.

The passages are ordered in groups of passages, which are separated by an ‘=’ sign at the left end of the staves. Each group holds passages with the same first note and figuring. The music examples consist of two to five notes, most often written down as whole notes. A few notes are half notes and most of the examples have a barline. Tied notes of the same pitch occur frequently, with the ties across the barline or between barlines. Figuring above the notes is rather dense, in typical Geminiani style. All passages are followed by a number that indicates the page where passages can be found that can serve as a continuation of the present passage. We have seen above that in the early version, of 1741, there were letters underneath the notes and a letter following these to indicate the continuation. The *Dictionaire* as it was realised in 1755-1756 changed this into a system with page number references.

All copies of the First, Dutch Issue are—both text and music—printed on the same kind of paper, on bifolios derived from Super Royal Paper—as the advertisement of 3 and 10 November 1755 tells us—, with full sheets of about 50 x 70 cm, cut into two bifolios of 35 x 50 cm. This allows folios of a height up to 35 cm. ‘Normal’ Royal Paper, with full sheets of 50 x 65 cm, would not allow a height greater than 32.5 cm. Extant copies normally have a paper height of 31 to 33 cm, and a paper width of 22 to 23 cm. One of the copies in The Hague (NL-DHgm, 6 B 36) is nearly untrimmed, with a paper size of 35 x 23 cm.

The folios have horizontal chain lines that are 28 mm apart and a watermark or a countermark in the spine. The watermark is a Strasbourg Lily with a monogramme formed with the letters VDL underneath it, the countermark is ‘IV’, as so often. The letters VDL stand for ‘Van der Ley’ and this points to the Van der Ley mill in Zaandijk, a village about 15 kilometers north of Amsterdam. Jan Pieterszoon van der Ley (Zaandijk 1669-1750) was head of the firm from 1692. From 1750 to 1774 the firm was continued by his sons Claas and Aris as ‘Jan, Claas en Aris van der Ley’.³⁸

Eleven copies of the *Dictionaire harmonique* are found in libraries on the Continent and in the United States. No copies are found in libraries on the British Isles. The copy in the University Library of Leiden (NL-Lu, 680 A 45) is the deposit copy for the privilege. The copy in Amsterdam (NL-At, 208 A 16) has a label pasted over the imprint with the text

à AMSTERDAM. au Nouveau Magasin de Musique et Veritables Cordes d’Italie, chez J. VERMAAZEN
Marchand et Editeur de Musique, Rue Nes N^o. 79.

This refers to the music publisher, printer and seller Johannes Vermaazen (1787-1827), who had a shop in Amsterdam in the Nes (no. 79) and was apparently active only for a short period of time, from about 1825 onwards. The widow continued the business for one or two years more. Vermaazen published a few dozens of modest publications, sonatas, airs, rondos, for keyboard (with or without accompaniment), voice or voices, often by minor Dutch composers of the time. The copy of the *Dictionaire harmonique* with the Vermaazen label has the price ‘f 5’ (Hummel’s price of 1814) written in ink in the lower right corner of the title page.

It seems that the *Dictionaire harmonique* was mainly disseminated on the Continent: the Low Countries, France and the German-speaking countries. Known early owners of copies (probably) sold in Amsterdam include the Dutch composer Jan Coenradus Boers (1810-1896), whose copy was later owned by one ‘T. Trijssenaar’ (D-Rp, 9995/Mus.th. 2117),³⁹ and the Belgian musicologist Edmond Van der Straeten (Oudenaarde 1826-1895), who donated his copy in 1891 to the Belgian composer Abel Régibo (Renaix 1835-1897; now B-Bc, 8548). Copies probably sold in Berlin found their way to the collections of Anna Amalia Princess of Prussia (1723-1787), who donated it as part of her library to the Joachim’s Gymnasium in Berlin (now D-B, Am. Bibl. 409), and Johann Nikolaus Forkel (1749-1818; D-G, 4 MUS IV, 2105).

³⁸ Voorn 1960, pp. 535-541.

³⁹ ‘T. Trijssenaar’ may be Theodorus Andries Trijssenaar (1875-1937) or, but less probable, his father with the same name (1831-1914). Considering the handwriting I would guess the son.

Assuming a survival rate of 10 % for early works on music (opposed to 5 % of practical music) there would have been produced 100 copies of the Dutch issue of the *Guida armonica*. This is at least a plausible estimate.

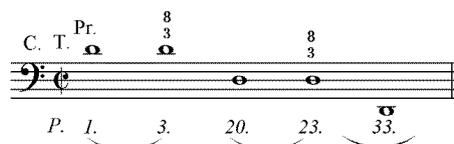
THE *DICTIONAIRE HARMONIQUE*

Although not Geminiani's first published treatise, the 'Harmonical Guide' was the first treatise that Geminiani designed and wrote, just before or in 1740, perhaps already revised for its projected French publication in 1741-1742. The treatise as published in 1756 probably still resembled the original idea, but was certainly not completely identical. The reference system was changed from using letters into using page numbers. Also it seems that the preface was added in 1755.

Geminiani's preface, 'Au lecteur' or 'Aan den Lezer', begins with a complaint about the present poor state of musical composition. He praises the 'Ancients', who had a complete mastery of the trade, only not of instrumental composition. Arcangelo Corelli and Giovanni ('J.' = John) Bononcini are cited as gifted composers, who would have done better, however, if they had 'drawn more substance from the Ancients'. It is not clear what is meant here exactly with 'the Ancients'. Normally, it would refer to Ancient Greek and Roman culture and in Geminiani's time there was still the belief that 'the Ancients' had possessed a superior musical culture, be it confined to melodic composition. But now one could describe what exactly their music looked like so that a reference to it is little more than a rhetorical figure.

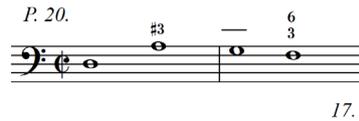
The poor state of the music of the present day—so continued Geminiani—was caused by the defective rules concerning melody, modulation ('Modulaisou', 'Modulatie', to be understood as the progression from notes and harmonies to the next), harmony and invention, as applied by players of instruments and singers who composed too many sonatas, concertos, airs, cantatas, and so on. This had inspired him (Geminiani) to publish his *Dictionnaire harmonique*. He admits that his work is incomplete, since the major mode is not included in it, and missing are also the modulation by rising and falling scales, and imitation. He hopes to discuss these subjects at a later moment, 'if time will permit it to him'. In the mean time he hopes that his work will guide the enlightened composers and place music rightly among the Liberal Arts.

After the preface follows a two-page explanation, titled 'Méthode de Composer suivant ce Dictionnaire' in French, 'Methode om te Componereen volgens deze Dictionnaire' in Dutch, of how to use the passages of the *Dictionnaire*. First the music example at the beginning ('Pr.' = Principio) is explained, with the only clef (marked by 'C.' = *chiave*) and a time signature (marked by 'T.' = *tempo*) found in the music pages⁴⁰:

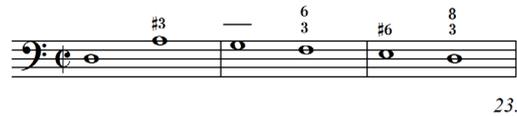


This example includes five whole notes, of pitch *d'*, *d'*, *d*, *d* and *D* respectively. Each note has a page number underneath it, 1, 3, 20, 23, and 33 respectively, and these refer to the pages where passages are found to start with. Rather, the page numbers refer to classes of passages, separated from one another by an '=' sign that begin on those pages. One of the passages, found in a class beginning on p. 20, is chosen to function as a beginning. In the musical part of the treatise itself it is found on page 21, the third passage in the eleventh (lowermost) system:

⁴⁰ I have chosen to interpret the abbreviations in the music example as Italian terms, since in general Geminiani uses the Italian language in the engraved musical parts of his treatises, certainly in order to be able to use the plates for publication with a different language for the text parts.



This passage is followed by a reference to page 17. Indeed, on page 17 there is a class of passages that start with an *f* with figuring 3 6. In his explanation, Geminiani chooses the fifth passage of the fifth staff of page 17. This extends the bass line with two more notes:



Quite a plausible musical progression, or ‘Modulation’. Geminiani does not discuss further continuations.

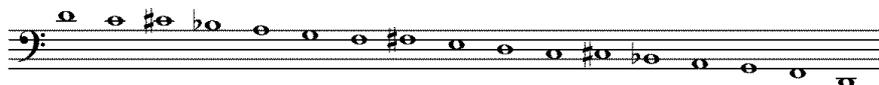
Two signs can be found in the music examples and they are explained by Geminiani in the ‘Méthode’: an inverted fermata (☺) and an inverted fermata on top of an upright fermata (☹). The first one indicates the final note of the movement, the second one an intermediary cadence. Then Geminiani comments a little bit upon the barlines found in the examples: one may add or remove stems to have either one semibreve or two minims between two barlines. If this is applied to the example, the result is:



Also ties across a barline (‘Ligatures’ or syncopations) are briefly discussed.

The Dutch translation follows the French text closely, sometimes too closely, but that is not uncommon in translated texts of the eighteenth century.

There have been remarks about the nature of the musical part of the *Guide harmonique* already several times before and part of what is being said here now repeats that. The musical part consists of 34 pages, each of which has eleven staves (page 34 has ten). Each staff is interrupted five times so that there are six short lengths of staff, each one with a passage. The passages are grouped in accordance with their beginning notes and the figurings on these notes. There are seventeen different beginning notes; they span two partially chromatic octaves from *d'* down to *D*:



There are two general questions in relation to Geminiani's *Dictionnaire harmonique*, to which we would like to have an answer. The first one is whether Geminiani constructed his *Dictionnaire* by taking small figured-bass fragments from existing compositions, either his own or by other composers. There are several hints that suggest such a procedure but not in a definitive way. The prospectus of 1740 maintains that everything in the work is 'taught and explain'd' 'as practis'd by the greatest Masters'. Castel echoes this statement in his review by saying that one finds in the work 'tous les passages de Musique, soit réguliers, soit licentieux, soit d'exception, qu'on peut employer, & qui ont été employés par les plus grands Maîtres' (p. 1486) or 'all the musical passages, whether regular, or of the class of licences and exceptions, that may be, or have already been employed by the greatest Masters.' A little later, he describes how one could arrive at such a collection of bass-line fragments (pp. 1497-1498):

Ne peut-on pas couper, ne peut-on pas dépecer en quelque sorte une Pièce de Musique, une Sonate, un Menuet, une Gigue, une Cantate, un Motet, en 30, 40, 100, 200, 300 petits morceaux, d'une mesure, d'une ou deux |1498| demies mesures, de 3, de 4, de 5 notes chaque morceau, les uns plus, les autres moins? Ne peut-on pas ensuite jeter tous ces morceaux *ab hoc & ab hac*, comme on dit, sur un papier, les détachant tous sans suite ni liaison, & marquant cependant leur suite naturelle par des chiffres, par des lettres, par des renvois qui servent de fil pour les remettre en ordre, quand ce ne serait que pour donner à quelqu'un le plaisir (plaisir de commençant) de les replacer, & comme de composer & de créer quelque chose de nouveau?

MIGHT not one cut up, and in a manner dissect a piece of musick, as for instance, a sonata, a menuet, a jig, a cantata, a motet, &c. into 30, 40, 100, 200, 300, small pieces, of one measure, of two half-|20|measures, of 3, 4, or 5 notes each; some more, some less? Might not one next throw all these bits *ab hoc & ab hac* upon a paper, separating them all without any order or coherency, marking however their natural succession by arithmetical figures, by letters and references, that would serve as a thread to put them again in order, though it were for no other purpose but to procure to some body the pleasure (a novice's pleasure indeed) of replacing them, and as it were of composing and creating something new?

It is true, he does not say that Geminiani used this method and we do not know if Geminiani had discussed his method with Castel. Whatever the case, already for Castel it was obvious to proceed in this way. If one looks, however, at the compositions that would be the first choices for the selection of fragments that would fit in a work like the *Guida armonica*, such as works in D minor by Geminiani himself, like his sonatas and concertos in that key, or by Corelli, the classical example for almost everything in the first half of the eighteenth century, it is impossible to establish any relationship between the bass lines of these works and Geminiani's *Guida armonica*.

The second question is whether perhaps Geminiani himself composed with help of procedures of this kind. This is not such an impossible assumption as it may look like at first sight. Geminiani's music has in it—in comparison to his contemporaries—very little repetition and very few sequential structures. It looks much more like being built from little building blocks of which one is never like the previous one. So, even if he did not compose strictly following procedures like those described in the *Guida armonica*, the method is certainly congenial with his own way of composing music.

Actually, in Geminiani's later works, there are two examples of the application of the method of the *Guida armonica*. The *Supplement to the Guida armonica*, published in 1758, contains two series of examples based on two different bass lines, one for Examples I-III and another one for Examples IV-VI. According to the 'Explanation of the Examples', these bass lines are constructed from fragments in the *Guida armonica*. They can indeed be described as a sequence bass-line fragments from the *Guida armonica* put together following the references found there (Appendix 25.7).

THE SECOND (ENGLISH) ISSUE (1756)

The first issue of the *Guida armonica* was produced in Amsterdam. This observation makes us expect that the English issue was published later. And indeed, the *Guida armonica* was advertised by Geminiani as a new publication two months after the availability of the Dutch version, in the *Whitehall Evening Post, or London Intelligencer* of 17 April 1756 and in the *London Evening Post* of 20 April:

This Day was publish'd, Guida Armonica o Dizionario Armonico: Being a Sure Guide to Harmony and Modulation; in which are exhibited, the various Combinations of Sounds consonant and dissonant, Progressions of Harmony, Ligatures and Cadences, real and deceptive. By F. Geminiani. To be sold at the Author's Lodgings at Grange-Inn, in Carey-street, near Lincoln's-Inn Fields; and at all the Musick Shops in London and Westminster.

Title, subtitle and additional information are exactly as they appear on the title page of the Second, English Issue (Plate 24.14). It was for sale at Geminiani's own address at Grange Inn, Carey Street, Lincoln's Inn Field, and besides that in 'all the music shops in London and Westminster.' Despite the fact that John Johnson is mentioned on the title page as printer and implicitly also as seller of the publication, his name is not separately mentioned, as one would expect.

The information of the first London advertisement was repeated and expanded in a second one, which was published in the *Gazetteer, and London Daily Advertiser* of 20 May 1756, where the first part of *The Art of Accompaniament* was the main part of the announcement:

New Musick, This Day is published, [...] Where may be had, just publish'd, Guida Armonica: Or, a Sure Guide to Harmony and Modulation: In which are exhibited, the various Combinations of Sounds Consonant and Dissonant, Progressions of Harmony, Ligatures and Cadences, real and deceptive, very necessary to all who study the Art of Composition, and desire to play the Organ and Harpsichord extempore. Opera 10th.

There are two additions in comparison with the first advertisement. First that the work would be 'very necessary to all who study the Art of Composition, and desire to play the Organ and Harpsichord extempore', and second that the work was Geminiani's Opus 10. The first addition does not have a counterpart on the title page, but the second one does have: 'OPERA X'. The same advertisement also announces *The Art of Accompaniament, Part the First*, which is described as Opus 11. In this advertisement both Geminiani and John Johnson are mentioned as sellers.

The advertisements do not mention any form of subscription so that one may rather safely assume that there was none. The work is further mentioned in an advertisement in the *Public Advertiser* of 5 December 1757, with Geminiani and John Johnson as sellers, and listed as a new publication in the *Universal Chronicle or Weekly Gazette* of 17 June 1758.

The Second, English Issue resembles the First, Dutch Issue in several respects, but differs from it in other. The musical part is identical: printed from the same double-size plates on the same kind of paper (from the Van der Ley firm) in the same way, that is, on bifolios of Super Royal Paper. Bifolio printing is unusual (although not totally unknown) in English musical publications,⁴¹ so that one may suppose that the music pages were printed in Holland, in Amsterdam, to be precise, and taken to England by Geminiani. This is not at all improbable: the First Impressions of the English Issues of the Violoncello Sonatas Opus 5 and the Violin Sonatas Opus 5 were also printed Holland (The Hague) and then transported to England (London).

The text part has three pages of text only—the Dutch Issue had six—and these are also printed on a bifolio: the 'Preface' on pp. i-ii (Plates 24.15-16), the 'Directions for the Use of This Book' on p. iv (Plate 24.17). This leaves p. iii blank. One may assume the the 'Directions' were printed on the verso page in order to have them

⁴¹ Geminiani's *The Art of Playing the Guitar* (Edinburgh: Robert Bremner for the Author, 1760) was printed on bifolios.

opposite to the first page of musical part. This would make up for the absence of the music examples that occurred in the French/Dutch ‘Méthode/Method’. (In addition, the material for the music examples may have remained in Amsterdam.) Remarkably, the paper of the bifolio of the text part is the same as used for the musical part, that is, Dutch paper from the Van der Ley firm. That means either that the text part was composed and printed in Holland or that Geminiani imported the Van der Ley paper in England or had it ordered for him there to be used for the text part. The second alternative seems to be the most plausible. The composition of the text is markedly different. The texts in the Dutch Issue have spaces before commas and periods, which are lacking in the English Issue. The Dutch Issue has only the second letter of the first word of the text as small capitals, the English Issue the whole words. The ampersand is a simple ‘&’ in the Dutch Issue, a more elaborated shape in the English Issue. The fermata signs in the text are different and the signs for the bass clef and cut time that occur in the Dutch Issue are not used in the English Issue. Also the absence of the music examples in the ‘Directions’ would point to production in England. In addition, the English text of the English Issue deviates too much from the French and Dutch texts of the Dutch Issue to be a translation of the French text or even to have been written more or less at the same time. For all these reasons it is more plausible to assume that the text parts of the *Guida armonica* were produced in Britain, at all probability in London, be it printed on the same Dutch paper as had been used for the musical part.

The similar paper also shows itself in the dimensions of the paper in the extant copies. The Super Royal Paper on which the Dutch Issue was printed gives untrimmed folios of 35 x 25 cm. Most copies of the *Guida armonica* are, as are those of the *Dictionnaire harmonique*, between 32 and 33 cm high and between 22 and 23 cm wide. Larger copies are rare. The one in Durham (GB-DR, Mus. D. 65.) measures 34.5 x 24 cm, the one in Venice (I-Vnm, Musica 1038) 34 x 24 cm.

The English Issue of the *Guida armonica* has an engraved title page. The engraving is unsigned. Its style seems to resemble that of the title page of Geminiani’s *VI Sonatas [...] from the VI last Solos of his Op^a. 1^a*, which was engraved by Thomas Bennett. The latter may therefore have engraved the title page of the *Guida armonica* as well, but this must not be seen as an established fact. The title page was printed on single folios, but these are cut from the same paper as used for the text and for the musical parts. Since it seems improbable that the engraving was done in Holland, this strengthens the idea that both title and text part were produced in England and printed on imported paper.

The main title is in Italian (*Guida armonico, o Dizionario armonico*), the subtitle in English (*being A Sure Guide to Harmony and Modulation*). It is followed by a paraphrase of the second paragraph of the description that followed main title and subtitle in the prospectus and announcement of 1740, that is, the paragraph containing the elements of music theory that are discussed in the treatise: ‘the various combinations of sounds, consonant and dissonant, progressions of harmony, ligatures and cadences, real and deceptive’. The work is now called ‘Opera X’, following *The Art of Playing on the Violin* (1751), which was published as ‘Opera IX’, and preceding *The Art of Accompaniment, Opera 11 Part the First*, which was published in England just one month after the *Guida armonica*.

The imprint of the *Guida armonica* says that the work was printed ‘for the Author by John Johnson’. Added is the remark that all other works of the composer are available on the same address. Between title and imprint the Latin distich by Michel Maittaire was inserted that was found already on the title page of *An Extract out of the Journal des Savans* (London, 1741), the English translation of Castel’s review of the ‘Guide harmonique’ in the *Journal de Trevoux*. Geminiani must have carefully preserved the little (or larger?) slip of paper on which Maittaire had sent the lines to him now fifteen years ago. On the title page Maittaire’s name is now misspelled ‘Maittaire’. (He had died in the meantime, in 1747.)

Several of the extant copies of the *Guida armonica*, about half of them, have the engraving with the motto ‘Compono quæ mox depromere possim’ inserted before the title page. The pictorial, musical and textual elements of this engraving have already been discussed. It was designed by Edme Bouchardon in 1741 and engraved by Michel Aubert for the projected but never realized French edition of the ‘Guide harmonique’. It

was added to several copies of the First Issues of the Concertos Opus 7 in 1648 and now, in 1756, to the *Guida armonica*, to which it actually belongs. The Concertos Opus 7 were first published in two parallel impressions, one on 'large paper', the other one on 'small paper'. The engravings added to copies of these impressions were printed on the same paper as the text and music of the copies. Therefore there were produced, in 1748, large-paper copies of the engraving 'Compono' and small-paper copies, but the difference in size is not very substantial. The large-paper copies are printed on folios with horizontal chain lines and the watermark Strasbourg Lily 5, which does not have the letters LVG that many other Strasbourg Lily watermarks have. The countermark is 'IV', but is most often not observed. The small-paper copies are on folios with vertical chain lines and a Strasbourg Lily 1C watermark, with an extension with the letters LVG, in the middle of the folio. Countermark 'IV'. The copies of the engraving 'Compono' found in the copies of the *Guida armonica* produced in 1756 appear to be printed always on one of the two kinds of paper used for the copies produced in 1748, and therefore it is likely that the copies of the engraving in the *Guida armonica* belong to the two impressions of 1748, meaning that they were printed already in 1748. (This could mean that Geminiani already thought of a third attempt to publish the *Guida armonica*.) The *Guida armonica* does not have the distinction between large-paper and small-paper copies, but the smaller copies of the engraving appeared to be large enough to be included in copies of the *Guida armonica*. Up to now four copies of the *Guida armonica* were found with the engraving printed on paper with horizontal chain lines ('large paper') and five printed on paper with vertical chain lines ('small paper').

The text parts of the *Guida armonica*, a preface and an explanation, are in English. These texts are not mere translations of the French texts of the Amsterdam edition. In fact, they may be based on the at that time current version of Geminiani's Italian text. This relation will be worked out when discussing the Italian version that is extant in a non-autograph manuscript copy. The contents of the texts are similar to the French-Dutch version in many respects, but the wording is definitely different. The English 'Preface' adds some elements in comparison to the French/Dutch version. Jean-Baptiste Lully ('B. Lulli') has been added to Corelli and Bononcini as 'first Improvers of Instrumental Musick'. Secondly, Geminiani states that the *Guida armonica* was 'a Work of no small Difficulty, the Labour of many Years, and not a few of them almost wholly spent therein.' And finally, when the promise to publish a Supplement is being done, he adds the condition 'if my Health permit', where the French/Dutch version had 'if time permits me'. One wonders of his health had deteriorated in the meantime. In 1756 Geminiani celebrated his 69th birthday but would still have six years to live, in which eight more Works would be published.

The musical part of the *Guida armonica* is completely identical with that of the *Dictionnaire harmonique*, probably printed even simultaneously, and does therefore not to be discussed here.

All the extant copies of the Second, English Issue of the *Guida armonica* that I have inspected are completely similar and strongly suggest that they were all produced on a single occasion. One may put forward the idea that, for example, three-hundred copies of the musical part were printed in Holland. One hundred copies of these stayed in Holland, to be sold on the Continent with the French/Dutch title and text part. Two-hundred copies with extra paper for the text part were then brought to England, where the English title and text parts were produced.

The English price will undoubtedly have been one guinea or £1:1:0. This price is mentioned in the catalogues of John Johnson, or, rather, of his widow, of 1765 and 1770.⁴² After the end of the Johnson firm Geminiani's publications came into the hands of Robert Bremner. The latter's catalogues of 1778 and 1782 give a price of £0:10:6, which is half the original price.⁴³ This price is also found in Preston's *Additional*

⁴² *A Catalogue of Vocal and Instrumental Musick, Printed for and sold by John Johnson, opposite Bow Church, in Cheapside, London*, p. 2.

⁴³ *Additional Catalogue* (after *A Catalogue of Vocal and Instrumental Musick, Printed for, and sold by R. Bremner, opposite Somerset-House, in the Strand, London* (August 1778), p. 4, and *A Catalogue of Vocal and Instrumental*

Catalogue, issued in 1790 when he acquired Geminiani's work from Bremner. The listings of the *Guida armonica* and its *Supplement* are accompanied by the following paragraph:

N.B. These Works are full of Instruction for those who wish to acquire Knowledge of Composition and Modulation; and have the Advantage over others on the same Subjects; that they set the Student immediately to work, for they afford little Insight, without [= apart from?] the Assistance of Pen, Ink, and Paper.

There are a few copies, notably the two in Edinburgh (GB-Ge, Sp. Coll. A.x.14 and A.x.64) and one of the Brussels copies (B-Br, Fétis 6427 C (Mus)), which have the reduced price of £ 0:10:6 written on the title page. They will have been sold either by the Bremner or by the Preston firm. The copy A.x.14 may have been sold by Bremner, because it goes with a copy of Third Impression of the *Supplement*, which was apparently sold out, when Preston sold the works. The other copy, GB-Ge, Sp. Coll. A.x.64, might then be one sold by Preston, since the handwriting of the price is rather different from A.x.14. This copy does not have the *Supplement*. The way the price was written on the title page of the copy B-Br, Fétis 6427 C (Mus) is similar to that of GB-Ge, Sp. Coll. A.x.64 and may therefore also be a copy sold by Preston.

Actually some characteristics of the copy of the *Supplement* that often is preserved together with the *Guida armonica* — notably the presence or absence of Geminiani's signature on the title page and the presence of deviating paper in the musical part of the Supplement — may also be used to have an educated guess about who sold the copy and when. Together with the information from the prices on the title page the following statements describe these guesses but it must be said they are certainly not completely deterministic (see also Table 24.3).

Copies of the *Guida armonica* that are preserved without the *Supplement* could be considered to have been sold before the *Supplement* appeared, that is, within the time span from 1756 and 1758, either by Geminiani himself or by John Johnson.

Copies of the *Guida armonica* that have a *Supplement* with the signature of Geminiani on the title page can be considered to have been sold by Geminiani himself, in the time span from 1758 to 1762. Of course, copies of this kind unsold in 1762 may have been sold later on.

Copies of the *Guida armonica* that have a *Supplement* without the signature of Geminiani on the title page can be considered to have been sold by John Johnson, in the time span from 1758 to c. 1775.

The copies of the *Guida armonica* with the price £ 0:10:6 written on the title page may have been sold by Robert Bremner, in the time span from c. 1775 to 1790. This is in fact rather a speculation than a hypothesis.

The copies of the *Guida armonica* with the price 10/6 written on the title page may have been sold by the Preston firm, as also the copies that have a *Supplement* printed on paper that deviates from that of the first and third impressions. This would be in the time span from 1790 to some point after 1800.

There appears to be virtually no relation between this classification and the presence or absence of the engraving 'Compono quod mox depromere possim'. About half the extant copies have this engraving and these copies are spread over all five groups. It is impossible to say if the copies of the *Guida armonica* that do not have the engraving today, did have one when they were sold. The only thing that can be said about this is that there seems to be or have been no circulation of the engraving apart from the copies of the Concertos Opus 7 and the *Guida armonica*, the editions to which Geminiani must have decided to add them.

Thirty-two copies of the First Issue the *Guida armonica* are extant, a rather large number for a treatise generally considered to be rather outlandish. It is in fact, apart from *The Art of Playing on the Violin*, Geminiani's most widely disseminated treatise. Several libraries have multiple copies, such as the British Library in London and the Royal Library in Brussels, who both have three copies. An early owner was the English organist and composer Charles Wesley Jr. (1757-1834): an inventory of his music books made up in

Musick, In Alphabetical Order, Printed for, and sold by R. Bremner, opposite Somerset-House, in the Strand, London (March 1782), p. 4.

1768, when he was ten or eleven years old, includes the *Guida armonica* and *The Art of Accompaniment*.⁴⁴ This copy does not seem to be preserved. The copy US-Wc, MT52 .G45 1742 has on several places the signature of the English painter, author and singer Emma Jane Greenland (1760-1834). The copy that is now F-Pn, Rés. F 1001, belonged to the 'Menus plaisir du Roi' in Paris and later to the Conservatoire Impérial de Musique; it became part of the library of the Conservatoire during the reign of Napoléon I. Several nineteenth-century English organists and composers may be mentioned as former owners, such as the Gresham Professor of Music and Charterhouse organist Richard John Samuel Stevens (1757-1837; GB-Lam, 4 GEMINIANI OP 11 (C) (1)), the organist of Lincoln's Inn Josiah Pittman (1816-1886; GB-Ckc, Rw. 55.11) and the organist and composer of hymn tunes Henry John Gauntlett (1805-1876; NL-DHgm, 6 B 26 (1)). The profession of Thomas Goodman (GB-Lbl, g.240.) is unknown; his copy was acquired by the British Museum in 1858.

The next generation of owners can be described as music collectors. Mentioned must be the Belgian music collector François-Joseph Fétis (1784-1871; three copies: B-Br, Fétis 6427 B (Mus), 6427 C (Mus) and 6427 C (RP)), the English organist and composer Ebenezer Prout (1835-1909), Professor of Music at Trinity College Dublin from 1894 onward (EIRE-Dtc, Prout C.75.), the English music collector Julian Marshall (1836-1903; I-Vnm, Musica 1038 (1)), the Oxford music dealer and collector Thomas William Taphouse (1838-1905; NL-DHnmi, 6 B 26 (1)), the collector James E. Mathew (collection sold 1908; I-Vnm, Musica 1038 (1)), the Belgian early photographer and collector Hector Colard (died 1924? Library auctioned in 1924, Brussels; GB-Lbl, Hirsch I.215), the Dutch banker, writer on music and collector Daniël François Scheurleer (1855-1927; NL-DHgm, 6 B 26 (1) and 6 B 30) and Frank Thomas Arnold, the author of the well known *The Art of Accompaniment from a Thorough-Bass as Practised in the 17th and 18th Centuries* (London 1931) (1861-1940, GB-Cu, MR590.a.70.1).

A few more copies have names and signatures inscribed in them, but these names cannot be further identified, such as 'S? Fisher' (EIRE-Dtc, Prout C.75), 'J. B. Cooper' (with the year 1833; GB-Chogwood, B1567), 'W. HARDING' (GB-Chogwood, B1567), 'Palmer' (GB-LEc, R 785.1 COR), Philip Salter (perhaps the Exeter vicar with that name, who died in 1854; GB-LEc, R 785.1 COR) and J. S. Glennie (perhaps a Scotchman with that name, c. 1820; US-BE, fMT52 .G45 1742).

A copy of the *Guida armonica* was sold at auction by Christie's in New York on 12 October 2000 (Sale 8431, lot 78) for US\$ 940.

Many copies of the *Guida armonica* are followed in the binding by a copy of the *Supplement* that Geminiani promised in the preface and that was indeed published two years later, in 1758. This is a separate Work and will be discussed as WORK TWENTY-EIGHT.

Reproductions of several copies of the *Guida armonica* are available on the Internet in PDF format (D-Mbs, J-Tn).

Finally, it may be remarked here that the title 'Guida armonica' was used twice by other authors as the main title of a text on music. First, there is the *Guida armonica* (Rome: c. 1690) by the Italian composer Giuseppe Ottavio Pitoni (1657-1743, mainly active in Rome). It is a treatise on music theory in general, surviving only as a single copy without title page (I-Bc, K.47).⁴⁵ And secondly, the *Guida armonica, in which the Origin, Signature, Name & Use of All the Chords Are Clearly Explained* (London: Goulding, Philips and D'Almaine, [1808]) by the French-born London-based musician John (Jean) Jousse (1760-1837). Jousse published several more rather elementary music instruction books. Whether Geminiani knew of Pitoni's *Guida armonica* is uncertain at best; on the other hand, there is a fair chance that Jousse has known Geminiani's *Guida armonica*, although his *Guida* seems not to be related in any way to Geminiani's concerning its contents.⁴⁶

⁴⁴ Maddox 2010, p. 106.

⁴⁵ Published in facsimile: Giuseppe Ottavio Pitoni, *Guida armonica*, Facsimile dell'unicum appartenuto a Padre Martini, A cura di Francesco Lini ([Lucca]: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 1989 = Musurgiana 16), a splendid edition in large folio format.

⁴⁶ As far as can be concluded from the title. I have not consulted the book itself.

THE THIRD (DEDICATION) ISSUE (1758)

Most copies of the *Guida armonica* with an English title page conform to the description given in the previous section. But two copies, D-B, Mus. Gg 143 and GB-Lcm, D 2625/1, are different: they have a different title page and they were produced differently. This is rather strange, because they must have been produced in 1758 (see below), when copies of the English Issue must have been still available. Both copies do also contain the *Supplement to the Guida armonica*.

The differences between these two copies and the other ones are remarkable. First of all, they have a letterpress title page (Plate 24.18); no use is made of the engraved title. A dedication that has been inserted between the description of the work and the name of the composer:

Dedicated
To his Royal Highness
Prince Edward.

This refers to Prince Edward Duke of York (1739-1767), son of King George II and younger brother of George III, who became King of England, Scotland and Ireland in 1760. Because of this addition the copies represent a new issue, which will be called the Third or Dedication Issue. The rest of the text on the title page—both before and after the dedication—is completely identical with the engraved title of the English Issue.

At first sight the text parts of these two copies look completely similar to that of the other copies of the *Guida armonica*, but at a closer look it is visible that the text was recomposed, be it line for line identical to the composition of the text in the English Issue (Plates 24.19-21). The text is word by word identical to that in the Second Issue. The special signs—the bass clef, the cut-time mark and the fermatas—are the same as those used for the Second Issue. ‘The Preface’ and the ‘Directions for the Use of this Book’ are printed on a bifolio, the title page is a single folio.

The musical part of these copies brings a new surprise (Plate 24.22). The double-size plates that were engraved in Holland have been sawed through the middle in order to create single plates of 26.5 x 19.5 cm. This has certainly been done to allow single folio printing, instead of the bifolio printing that would be necessary for the double-size plates.

Whereas the English Issue was entirely printed on bifolios of Dutch paper from Van der Ley, the Dedication Issue is entirely printed on single folios of Dutch paper of the Gerrevinck firm. It has horizontal chain lines, about 27 mm apart, and as watermark a Strasbourg Lily with the letters LVG (=Lubbertus van Gerrevinck) underneath it and as countermark and IHS monogram and the full name ‘I VILLEDARY’. It is paper that was used by Johnson for the re-issues of publications that were published earlier by Geminiani, probably both in the early and later 1750s.

Why did Geminiani take all the trouble to create this single deviant copy or perhaps a few deviant copies? He could have made a new title page with the dedication—either engraved or letterpress—and then add the text and musical parts of the Second Issue. Instead he chose to compose the text parts anew and to saw all the plates into two halves and to print at most a few copies from them. The reason must have been the size of the copy. The two copies measure 37 cm (height) by 27 cm (width) and this is impossible to create with the Super Royal Paper of the Second, English Issue. Geminiani printed the copies with the dedication on the title page on Imperial Paper, with a full-sheet size of 56 x 76 cm, which produces untrimmed single folios of 38 x 28 cm. The two copies are only slightly smaller than this: they are hardly trimmed at all.

The two ‘dedication copies’ of the *Guida armonica* have an engraving added to it, but it is not the one with the motto ‘Compono quæ mox depromere possim’, which is the one to be expected. Instead there is the engraving with the motto ‘Debent Charites hæc pignora Vati’, the engraving made for *Le prime sonate* as published in 1739. Probably the copies of the ‘Compono’ engraving that Geminiani still had at his disposal in

1758 were of too small dimensions. The ‘Debent’ engraving found in the Berlin copy is indeed printed on a large single folio of the same dimension as the *Guida armonica* and *Supplement* themselves. Curiously, the paper of the engraving is French: it has vertical chain lines at irregular intervals with an average of 30 mm and it has a Jesus watermark with a single circle in the middle of the sheet. The paper is almost certainly the same as used for the ‘Debent’ engraving that is found in the Brussels copy of the *Sonate a violino solo e basso [...] Opera prima* (Paris: Mme Boivin & Hue, 1740; B-Bc, 5690), which is the Second, French Issue of *Le prime sonate*. There, the same distances between chain lines are found, and in the middle of the folio there is the countermark ‘PI GO M’, which stands for ‘Pierre Gourbeyre Moyen’. Strikingly, the Brussels copy of the *Sonate [...] Opera prima*, including the ‘Debent’ engraving, is of the same dimensions as the Berlin copy of the *Guida armonica*: 36 x 27 cm. The paper used for the engraving in these two instances must have been of the Grand Jésus format, with full sheets of 56 x 76 cm. In principle that is large enough to produce four single folios of 38 x 27 cm, but the vertical chain lines and the watermark and countermark in the middle of the sheets show that for the engraving the printer has chosen to print the engraving just in the middle of the left or right half of the full sheet, as a Type Ib printing. The margins that had to be cut away are then rather large: 10 cm as top and bottom margin, 5 cm as left and right margin.⁴⁷ But then the engraving would at least fit a 36 x 27 cm copy of an edition.

It seems possible that the two extant copies with dedication were the only ones printed on Imperial Paper. If this is so, the copy now in the library of the Royal College of Music in London may have been the Dedication Copy, that is, the copy handed over to Prince Edward. The copy is bound rather luxuriously in blue-green leather, with guilt linings. The other copy, now in the Staatsbibliothek in Berlin, does not look like a dedication copy. It has been restored in 2001 and is now in a modern binding containing both the *Guida armonica* and a copy of the Supplement on similar paper as the *Guida*. Between the front cover and the beginning of the *Guida armonica* there are three bifolios as end papers: first an inverted wrapper of thick, marbled paper, then a bifolio of early paper (with vertical chain lines) and finally a bifolio of the same paper as the two treatises themselves. Between the back cover and the end of the *Supplement* there is the same series of three bifolios as endpapers, from back to front the wrapper of marbled paper, the bifolio with vertical chain lines and the bifolio with the paper of the treatises. The original constellation cannot be derived with certainty from the present one, but it seems in any case that the two wrappers were the original bindings of respectively the *Guida armonica* and the *Supplement*, especially in view of the traces of labels that were once pasted on the original outsides of the wrappers. The bifolios probably were end papers within these two wrappers, because they are of the same kind of paper as the end papers in the London copy, that is ‘Johnson paper’, the same as the treatises themselves. This similarity must mean that they were bound immediately after printing, probably in the printing shop that did the work for John Johnson. The Berlin copy may have been Geminiani’s personal copy. There seems to have been little reason to distribute these copies commercially: the regular copies must have been still available and there is nowhere any announcement listing of the existence of large-paper copies.

The London copy of the Dedication Issue of the *Guida armonica* comes from the library of the Sacred Harmonic Society, a choral society that existed in London from 1832 to 1875 and whose library was purchased by the Royal College of Music in 1883. It was donated to the Sacred Harmonic Society around 1870 by Joseph Alfred Novello (1810-1896), son of the music publisher Vincent Novello and also music publisher himself.

The Berlin copy of the Dedication Issue of the *Guida armonica* comes from the collection of the German-Baltic musician and music collector Georg Poelchau (1773-1836), who lived from 1813 in Berlin and whose collection, bought by the King of Prussia in 1841, was to form the nucleus of the newly formed Music Department of the Prussian Royal Library.

When was the Dedication Issue of the *Guida armonica* produced? Both extant copies go with a copy of the *Supplement* that is printed on the same paper, but which is otherwise complete identical to other copies of the

⁴⁷ There is a format *Petit Nom de Jésus* but this is too small for the engravings, with full sheets of about 30 to 40 cm, and single folios of 30 x 20 cm.

Supplement. These two copies of the *Supplement* constitute therefore a ‘Dedication Impression’. The letterpress parts of this Dedication Impression were printed from the same composition as the ‘regular copies’ or the First Impression. In addition, the composition style of the letterpress title page of the Berlin copy of the Dedication Issue of the *Guida armonica* is the same as that of the title page of the *Supplement*. This must mean that the Dedication Issue of the *Guida armonica* and the Dedication Impression of the *Supplement* were printed approximately at the same time as the regular First Impression of the *Supplement*, that is, in 1758.

Summarized: It seems that Geminiani wanted to produce, in 1758, at least two copies of the *Guida armonica* and the *Supplement* of larger dimensions than the commercially produced issues, in order to have at hand a dedication copy for Prince Edward. To realise this, the text parts of the *Guida armonica* were recomposed, the plates were sawn into two halves and larger paper, Imperial Paper, was used to print the copies. It is unknown if a dedication copy was really offered to Prince Edward. If so, it is equally unknown what the consequences of this action may have been.

THE ITALIAN VERSION

A version of the *Guida armonica* in Italian is found in the manuscript I-Bc, G.122 (Appendix 24.8). In size, it is a very large manuscript, 45 cm high and 32 cm wide; in pages, 36, less so. Full sheets, measuring 45 x 64 cm, are of *carta reale* format. In the paper no watermarks nor chainlines are visible, so it is impossible to determine its origin. The music pages have twelve staves of 26 cm wide. The staves appear to have been drawn with a rastrum of six staves. The manuscript has two pages of text and 34 pages of music. The folio with the text and the folio with pages 1-2 of the music form a bifolio, pages 3-34 form one gathering of eight bifolios. The text part does not have a separate title page. The first text page has the title on top, followed by a ‘Prefazione’ in Italian and the beginning of the ‘Regole da osservarsi volendo far uso di questo libro’. The second page continues the ‘Regole’. In the section ‘Regole’, there are nine rules, written as paragraph with a centred Roman number above it. The music pages are simply a complete copy in manuscript of the musical part of the 1756 edition.

The manuscript was not written by nor for Padre Giovanni Battista Martini, whose collection forms the nucleus of the collection of the Museo di Musica in Bologna. It was bought by the Liceo Musicale from Francesco Franchini for 5 Lire on 9 April 1880.

The main title—‘Guida, ossia Dizionario Armonico’—is a variant of the main title of the Second, English Issue. This is followed by a subtitle: ‘in cui si trova il modo di ben modulare e ben combinare i suoni consonanti e dissonanti’.

Although the handwriting of the manuscript resembles that of Geminiani, the manuscript definitely is not an autograph. Rather we would think that the text was written by an Italian in the second half of the eighteenth century, with a writing hand not dissimilar to Geminiani’s. Unfortunately, nothing can be said about the origin, unless data about similar music paper will be available. The ‘Prefazione’ by and large follows the set-up of the English Preface and looks almost as a translation of it but a few details suggest that the English Preface is in fact a translation of the Italian Prefazione. Where the Italian text writes, toward the end, ‘quando le mie occupazioni e la sanità me ne daranno agio’, the English text has only ‘if my Health permit’. It seems more probable that a translator would leave out then insert a phrase like ‘le mie occupazioni’. We must remind here that the French text had as corresponding phrase ‘si le tems me le permet’. This suggests that the Italian text represents a version in between the publication of the French-Dutch and the English Issue, that is, the first months of 1756.

The English Preface contains one paragraph (‘These Considerations, ...’) that does not have a counterpart in the Italian Prefazione. Instead, their contents is found in the French ‘Au lecteur’, only worded differently. Therefore, we consider the English Preface as a translation of the Italian Prefazione as found in the Bologna manuscript, with the paragraph ‘These Considerations’ inserted on the basis of text from the French ‘Au

lecteur'. The French 'Au lecteur' could have been based, as we already hinted at, on the French version of 1741. Note also that the Italian and English versions have cognate titles ('Prefazione' and 'Preface'), where the French version has 'Au lecteur'.

There is a remarkable difference in detail between the Italian and the English version: where the English text speaks about 'within these Forty Years' on two occasions, the Italian translation speaks of 'da 50 anni'. There is no obvious explanation of the difference. Perhaps the English translator did not want to have Corelli's death (1713) and the publication of his *Concerti grossi, Opera sesta* (1714) within the time span of decadence that was being described, if that time span was defined as the last fifty years.

The 'Regole' in the Italian version do not really correspond to either the French-Dutch or the English version so that it is neither a translation of the any of these versions nor their example. By being composed of nine separate rules it substantially differs from the other versions, which consist of a text not formally divided into sections. That means that the stemmatic relations between the various versions of the second text part, with the instructions how to use the *Guida armonica*, headed 'Regole' in the Italian version, 'Méthode' in the French version and 'Directions' in the English versions, differs from that of the preface. There is an overlap in content between the Italian version on the one hand and the French-Dutch and English versions on the other, but some content is found only in the Italian version and some content only in the other versions. If the French version of the 'Au lecteur' has its origin in the 1741 French version, this may also apply to the 'Méthode' that is found in the 1756 French-Dutch edition. This is, of course, a rather speculative statement but certain is it that the French 'Méthode' and the English 'Directions' are not based on the Italian version. But, since between 1741 and 1756 the reference system was changed from using letters to using figures, the 'Méthode' and 'Directions' of 1756 cannot be entirely equal to a text written in 1741. One could therefore assume that the 'Méthode' of 1741 was reworked to serve the *Guida armonica* as it looked like in 1756. The 'Directions' are then an adapted translation of the 1756 'Méthode', without the music examples of the 'Méthode'.

The musical part of the *Guida armonica* in the Bologna manuscript looks like a faithful transcription of the music in the printed *Guida armonica*. Therefore, we assume that the copyist of the manuscript had two sources for his work: a manuscript with the text part of the *Guida armonica* in Italian in its latest state and a copy of the printed *Guida armonica*.

The relations between the various versions of the text parts of *Guida armonica*, both of the original 1740-1741 and the 1756 versions are summarized in Tables 24.6 (for the preface) and 24.7 (for the instructions). These tables should not be seen as a definitive descriptions of those relation but rather as the best guesses on the basis of the preserved material.

EARLY RECEPTION

Geminiani's *Guida armonica* is a rather remarkable treatise and therefore it could not but arouse responses in the world of music theory.

The most comprehensive criticism of the *Guida armonica* was—seven years after its publication—put forward by the Swiss painter and writer on music Jean-Adam Serre (1704-1788), whom we have already met in relation to his remark about the *Guida armonica* in his *Essais sur les principes de l'harmonie* (Paris, 1753). Serre was born in Geneva and stayed most of his live there but spent time in Vienna, Paris and London as well. During his Paris years (from 1751 onwards) he probably got acquainted with Geminiani; he was in London when Geminiani published his *Guida armonica* there (1756). Serre's later publication entitled *Observations sur les principes de l'harmonie* (Geneva, 1763) consist of three parts, each of them discussing and criticising a work of music theory, namely Jean Le Rond D'Alembert's article 'Fondamental' in the *Encyclopédie, ou Dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers, Tome septième* (Paris, 1751), pp. 54-63 (pp. 1-107), Giuseppe Tartini's *Trattato di musica secondo la vera scienza dell'armonia* (Padova, 1754) (pp. 109-173) and Geminiani's *Guida armonica* (London, 1756) (pp. 175-206). Serre clearly based his discussion on

the English Issue of the *Guida armonica*; it seems that he was unaware of the existence of the French/Dutch version of the work published in 1756 as *Dictionnaire harmonique*.

Serre begins his discussion with praising Geminiani as a composer and as a music theorist and he is not *a priori* critical of the principles exposed in Geminiani's *Guida armonica*. Then follows a summary of 'The Preface' and the method employed in the *Guida*. The absence of a discussion of the major mode is an easy point of criticism. Serre also disagrees with the choice of D Minor (without key signature) as the model key for the minor mode, indeed a rather old-fashioned choice. He goes on with describing the musical section of the work and also here he sees a number of flaws and shortcomings. He would have liked to see an overview of possible chords, with their inversions, before discussing the progressions.

Serre remarks that certain notes are missing as first notes of passages, such as B and G-sharp in both octaves from *d'* to *D*, and F-sharp and E in the lower octave. Looking at the starting notes of any composition, the *D*, he remarks that for *d'* and *D* there are two figurings available, for *d* a total of nine. Then follow listings of the beginning notes of passages with their respective figurings. This is followed by a series of listings of figurings of beginning notes that are missing in the *Guida*, and these listings are longer than the ones found in the *Guida*. For *D*, for example, thirteen alternative figurings are provided, for C-sharp, fourteen, for B (missing in the *Guida*), seven, for B-flat, nine figurings, and so on.

Further criticism is expressed in the section 'Remarques sur les Branches d'accords à suppléer dans le Guide harmonique'. Many harmonic progressions are missing, according to Serre, and classes of passages that start with E-flat, A-flat and D-sharp would have been useful. The diminished seventh-chord is missing at all, both in its root position and in its inversion. (Here—and at other instances—the Rameau adept is heard. The diminished seventh-chord is, however, found here and there.) Serre wonders what the merits would be of a dictionary if there are so many missing items.

Serre then points to the lack of order within each class; the passages could have been ordered according to their second, third notes, and so on, just as in an ordinary dictionary. He also suggests the construction of an inverse dictionary, just as is the case for language dictionaries. At the end of his criticism he repeats the absence of the major mode in the work, admitted already by Geminiani himself. For the other elements whose absence was already pointed out by Geminiani—the treatment of scales and imitations—Serre proposes different solutions: the scales could be formed from passages found in the *Guida*, imitation would require a Musical Grammar or a Treatise of Composition rather than a Harmonical Guide or Dictionary. He finishes with expressing the hope that someone will pick up the task of improving or rather making perfect the work of the *Guida armonica*, which Geminiani has now published in an imperfect form.

It is not the place here to discuss or evaluate all the points raised by Serre. There is no point of being 'for' or 'against' Serre. The latter's work must also be seen as part of the general critical wave that went through music theory in all of Europe: many writers investigated the works of others and looked for everything they could criticize. But it may be said that Geminiani was—in the *Guida armonica* perhaps more than anywhere else—a rather unconventional theorist and at the same time rather unsystematic, and therefore an easy target for criticism.

Summaries of Serre's criticism are found in an unsigned article in the *Mercure de France* (April 1765, Second Volume), pp. 153-159 (Appendix 24.10); in an article entitled 'Beschluß der Observations sur l'harmonie par M. Serre' by the German music theorist Johann Adam Hiller (1728-1804), in his *Wöchentliche Nachrichten und Anmerkungen die Musik betreffend*, Zweyter Jahrgang, Erstes Vierteljahr, Elftes Stück (Leipzig, 14 September 1767), pp. 81-84 (Appendix 24.11); and in the article 'Geminiani' that Jean-Benjamin La Borde (1734-1794) included in his *Essai sur la musique ancienne et moderne*, Tome Troisième (Paris: Philippe-Deny Pierres, 1780), pp. 627-628 (Appendix 24.12).

Praise of the *Guida armonica* comes from the short description of the book included in the *Annales typographiques, ou Notice du progrès des connoissances humaines* (Paris: Vincent), Aoust 1760, Tome II, p. 128:

No CLXI.

Dictionnaire harmonique, vrai guide à la vraie modulation. A Amsterdam, 1758.

C'est une production du célèbre *Geminiani*, & le fruit de vingt années de travail; on prétend que cet ouvrage suffit pour mettre en état de composer ceux-là même qui n'ont aucune teinture de musique.

Quelle félicité seroit la nôtre, si chaque science avoit un pareil dictionnaire!

M.

Jacob Wilhelm Lustig (1706-1796), organist in Groningen, composer and author of a number of books about musical subjects, provided a series of brief biographical notices about Dutch musicians and composers—or musicians or composers with some relation with Holland—for the 123d letter in Friedrich Wilhelm Marburg's *Kritische Briefe über die Tonkunst*, Zweyter Band, Vierter Theil (Berlin, Friedrich Wilhelm Birnstiel, 1763), pp. 463-477. Among these, there is a brief notice about Geminiani, in which just the *Dictionnaire harmonique* is mentioned:

88. Geminiani (Francesco) hat vor einigen Jahren, (wo mir recht ist in Paris) ein Dictionarium harmonicum drucken lassen, so in Amsterdam 14 Gulden kostet. Es besteht dasselbe aus lauter ganz kurzen Passagen, die immer durch Zahlen von einem aufs andere weisen, woraus, meines geringen Ermessens, kein Mensch klug werden kann. Ich habe lange darauf studiret; allein vergebens.

Johann Philipp Kirnberger describes in his eight-page pamphlet *Methode Sonaten aus'm Ermel zu schüddeln* (Berlin, 1783) how one can compose by writing a new melody to an existing bass, and then a new bass to the melody, and so on. For those who cannot invent the smallest series of notes he advises Geminiani's *Dictionnaire harmonique*, as well as his own *Kunst des reinen Satzes* (Berlin, 1771, 1774):

Hiermit steht nun die Frage in genauer Verbindung, wie kann man einen Reichtum von Melodien erhalten, wenn man dazu und zum Schreiben nicht aufgelegt ist? Ausser der bereits angezeigten Mannigfaltigkeit aus der Veränderung der Melodie und Harmonie, giebt die Erfahrung dieses Mittel an; man nimmt nehmlich ein paar Töne aus verschiedenen Harmonien, wenn man dadurch einige Takte gesetzt hat, so geräht man ins Feuer, vergisst die paar harmonische Töne, und wird sein eigener Schöpfer; aber auch diese paar Takte selbst wollen gegeben seyn und dazu kann das Dictionaire harmonique par F. Geminiani, welches zu Amsterdam 1756. in 34 Seiten herausgekommen und beym Herrn Commerciens-Rath Hummel zu haben ist, dienen; und die R[e]ichhaltigkeit einer einzigen Folge von Harmonien lässt sich aus meiner Kunst des reinen Satzes 1ter Teil S. 103 mit Händen greifen, weil nach Seite 101 eben daselbst schon zwey Töne eine grosse Veränderung zu lassen.

It may be reminded that Geminiani's *Dictionnaire harmonique* was available in Johann Julius Hummel's Berlin shop according to a catalogue of 1781. Kirnberger may well have bought a copy there on behalf of his employer princess Amalia of Prussia and in this case this is probably the copy that is now D-B, Amalien-Bibliothek 409.

Both Charles Burney and John Hawkins mention Geminiani's *Guida armonica* in their writings. Hawkins, in his *General History of the Science and Practice of Music*, Volume 2 (1776), p. 903, gives a summary of Castel's review of the work, certainly after the English translation published in London in 1741. This he let precede by some anecdotal information:

The publication of this book was attended with circumstances that seemed but little to favour its reception; some suspected that the author's chief view in the publication of it was getting money to supply his necessities; many had been made to believe that the author professed by it no less than to teach the art of musical composition to persons totally ignorant of the science, and of consequence ridiculed the attempt; and there were very few that were able to comprehend the motives to, or the tendency of the work.

The problem with these lines is that we do not know exactly to which ‘publication’ Hawkins referred: to the failed ones in Dublin in 1740 or in Paris in 1741-1742, or to the successful one in 1756. After all, because of Castel’s review Hawkins believed that the work was published in 1742.

Burney considered, in his *A General History of Music from the Earliest Age to the Present Period, Volume the Fourth* (London, 1789), p. 642, Geminiani’s *Guida armonica* as an obsolete work already when it was published, referring to music of earlier times:

His long-promised work, with the title *Guida Armonica*, published in 1742, appeared too late; for though there are many combinations, modulations, and cadences, that would open the mind and enrich the memory of the young student in harmony, he promised too much (*b*); and his authority in the kingdom was diminished by new Music and new performers, as well as by his own frequent change of sentiment: setting up at one time as a model of perfection, what he would despise and condemn at another.

(*b*) The original title runs thus: ‘*Guida Armonico o Dizionario Armonico*, being a sure guide to harmony and modulation, in which are exhibited the various combinations of sounds, progressions of harmony, ligatures, and cadences, real and deceptice.’ It was a kind of mill, in which good Music was to be ground with little trouble and no genius: as good sense and science by the Laputan machine, in Gulliver’s Travels.

But this quotation suggests at least that Burney had consulted the original work. Laputa is the flying island from Jonathan Swift’s *Gulliver’s Travels*, whose inhabitants had a machine that could generate random word combinations.⁴⁸

MODERN COMMENTATORS

In the recent literature on Geminiani, the *Guida armonica* has not received much attention. In his monograph *Francesco Geminiani (1687-1762)* (Oxford, 1993, pp. 179-188) Enrico Careri discusses its dating and contents, transcribes the texts of the English ‘Preface’ and ‘Directions’, reproduces a page of the musical part and pays attention to the responses to the work by Serre, Hawkins, La Borde, Burney and other authors.

But the *Guida armonica* has also attracted the attention of a few commentators who viewed Geminiani’s text from a music-theoretical point of view. John Walter Hill’s essay ‘Cognate Music Theory’, published in 2002, is a plead for a music-theoretical approach of early music repertoire that is based on contemporary concepts and ideas and not on the application of concepts and categories that were only developed at later times. He proposed the bass-line fragments as presented in Geminiani’s *Guida armonica* as a possible model for the analysis of harmony in the works of early eighteenth-century composers:⁴⁹

For Corelli, Vivaldi, Handel, and J.S. Bach, I would suggest that chord syntax cannot be adequately defined by reference to a fundamental bass line alone and that we are dealing here, in part, with a rule-bound method of modular construction of a limited repertoire of actual bass lines, in which many chord progressions are confined to specific series of inversions, much as was proposed by Francesco Geminiani in his little studied *Guida armonica* of ca. 1742.

In the next paragraph there is both criticism and praise for Geminiani’s approach:⁵⁰

Geminiani attempts to classify hundreds of possible basso continuo modules and to provide working rules for their concatenation. [...] Unfortunately, he fails, due in part to his attempt to restore varieties of harmony that he rightly observes were expunged from the late-Baroque musical vocabulary by Jean-Baptiste Lully, Giovanni Maria Bononcini, and Corelli, in what we would today call the crystallization of a tonal harmonic style. Nevertheless, Geminiani’s idea has significant merit, and a cognate theory based upon it would provide

⁴⁸ About the Laputan machine, see Klotz 2006, p. 166-167.

⁴⁹ Hill 2002, pp. 128-129.

⁵⁰ Hill 2002, p. 129.

musicology with tools useful in charting the history of harmonic style in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.

The most comprehensive recent discussion of Geminiani's *Guida armonica* is found in Sebastian Klotz's study of combinatorial procedures described in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century writings about music published as *Kombinatorik und die Verbindungskünste der Zeichen in der Musik zwischen 1630 und 1780* (2006). A full chapter (Kapitel 8: 'Proceß-Moduation: Geminianis *Guida armonica*', pp. 145-168) is devoted to Geminiani's work. Klotz emphasizes its innovative character because for the first time in history music is approached as a modular process, a concatenation of cells of limited size:⁵¹

Für die vorliegende Geschichte einer Archäologie der musikalischen Verbindungskünste, die durch Kombinatorik und durch mechanisierbare, später automatisierbare Verfahren geprägt wurden, ist Geminianis *Guida* bedeutsam, ja geradezu ein Schlüsselwerk, da es neben der Lehre von der harmonischen Modulation eine Modularisierung der Musik forciert, hinter der ein neuartiger Zugriff auf Musik verborgen liegt.

Klotz reproduces several pages from the *Guida armonica* and provides a comprehensive discussion of Geminiani's introductory texts. Relations are established with other works on music theory such as Alexander Malcolm's *Treatise of Musick* (Edinburgh, 1721) and Christoph Pepusch's *Treatise on Harmony* (London, 1731). Words are also spent on Louis-Bertrand Castel's review of the *Guida armonica* in the *Journal de Trévoux* of 1741 (quoted after the English translation) and Geminiani's *Supplement to the Guida armonica* (1758; WORK TWENTY-EIGHT), as well on eighteenth-century discussions of the *Guida armonica* by Hayes, Serre, Hawkins and Burney. Klotz's final paragraph opens with the following sentences:⁵²

Der *Guida* verschafft einer Kunstauffassung Raum, die nicht das ästhetische Objekt, sondern den Vorgang der Herstellung, die Technologie des Verfahrens favorisiert. Zudem ist er ein Spiegelbild für die Manie von Elaboration und Transkription, der Geminiani, größtenteils aus wirtschaftlichen Gründen, unterlag.

There are brief discussions of the method of the *Guida armonica* in books and articles by Joel Lester (1992, p. 173), John Walter Hill (2011, p. 130), Roger Moseley (2015, pp. 135-137) and Marcus Held (2017, pp. 210-248). These discussions do not disapprove *a priori* of Geminiani's approach to composition.

MODERN EDITIONS

There are no facsimile editions of either the *Dictionnaire harmonique* or the *Guida armonica*.

The German musicologist Benjamin Bohl prepared a 'web-based edition' of the *Guida armonica*, as part of Magisterarbeit at the Julius-Maximilians-Universität Würzburg *Kombinatorik als Methode der Komposition. Studien zu Francesco Geminianis «Guida Armonica o Dizionario Armonico»* (2009). This edition was presented during a lecture at the 'e-Science for Musicology Workshop', held at Edinburgh on 1-2 July 2009. The conference report gives the following summary:

Benjamin Bohl (Paderborn) demonstrated work from his Master's Thesis on producing an interactive edition of a treatise on composition by Francesco Geminiani (1687–1762) called *Guida armonica o dizionario armonico*. The treatise provided formulae for composition of harmonic structures by requiring the user to select between permissible continuations of each harmonic fragment from the catalogue of available fragments (numbering around 2000). Bohl's system encoded each of the harmonic fragments and the paths linking them, and provided an interface which, at each point in the compositional process, presented all the possible continuations from which the user can choose. He argued that, as well as being a digital edition of an interesting

⁵¹ Klotz 2006, p. 145.

⁵² Klotz 2006, p. 168.

eighteenth-century piece of work, his Web-delivered interface to it actually adds to and extends the usefulness of the information it contains.

Marcus Held's Master's Thesis *Francesco Geminiani (1687-1762): Comentários e tradução da obra teórica completa* (São Paulo, Brazil, 2017) contains a transcription of the text part of the English Issue of the *Guida armonica* with a Portuguese translation (pp. 386-393). The music examples are reproduced in facsimile (pp. 394-428). The work itself is discussed on pp. 210-248.

The *Dictionnaire harmonique* and the *Guida armonica* are, with the *Supplement* and *The Harmonical Miscellany*, included in Volume 14 of the *Opera Omnia Francesco Geminiani*, edited by Richard Maunder and Rudolf Rasch and published in 2018. In this edition, the Italian version was believed to be an adapted translation of the English version and therefore included in the Appendix instead of the main corpus of the edition where it should have been.

The present text may have shown that the writing, publication and dissemination history of Geminiani's *Guida armonica* is quite an interesting one and that the contents of the work may be worth while a more thorough investigation than has been the case until now.
