The Violinist in London's Concert Life, 1750-1784: Felice Giardini and his Contemporaries

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ABSTRACT

According to Burney, Giardini began 'a memorable æra in the instrumental Music of this kingdom' with his first performance in London in 1750 [1751]. The period up to his departure in 1784 saw a proliferation of musical activities - winter subscription and benefit concerts (featuring the most modern music), oratorio performances, societies (some favouring 'ancient' music) and summer gardens concerts, besides productions at the Italian Opera and English playhouses. Private concerts abounded and music at court was far from negligible.

Many foreign violinists were attracted by British wealth. Still prominent were Italians, notably Giardini, but later in the period Germans rivalled them, especially Cramer and Salomon; and occasionally a Frenchman such as Barthelemon came to London. These four, together with the natives Pinto, Hay and Fisher, were London's principal resident violinists, opposition occasionally being provided by visitors such as Pugnani and Lamotte. Though several were significant composers, London's violinists were primarily in demand as leader and soloist. The violin solo (with continuo) remained a virtuoso showpiece until 1773, after which it rapidly declined in face of the textural variety of concert chamber music. The violin concerto was able to survive stylistic changes and its popularity was not threatened by the *sinfonia concertante*, a genre often heard from 1775.

Accounts of some 80 violinists are included, and also a biography of Giardini, an outstanding violinist of the century, noted for his tone and graceful style rather than for technical wizardry. He was involved in concert and opera management; he organised charitable performances (especially for the Lock Hospital); he was a noted leader and teacher, as well as a prolific composer; and he was acquainted with many members of aristocratic and artistic circles.

Appendices list London's concert and oratorio series during the period, Giardini's works, contemporary violinists and their violin music.

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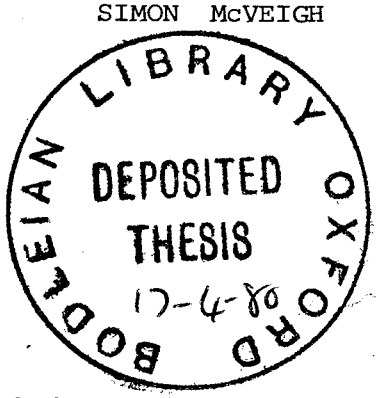
By

SIMON McVEIGH



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PREFACE

No apologia is needed for a study either of musical life in late 18th century London or of violinists during this period. London's music at this time has so far been investigated primarily through the lives of major international figures or of British composers. Only when an overall picture is established, however, can the real importance of such musicians for London be estimated. Violinists in the city have been equally neglected. Foreign performers, especially, have yet been inadequately studied, largely because little interest has been shown by British scholars, while foreign researchers have lacked access to relevant material. This thesis presents a general survey of London's concerts and attempts to assess the role of the violinist there, during the years that Felice Giardini spent in England.

Some explanation is required of the abbreviations used:

a) Full information on works cited will be found in the bibliography, which is divided into three sections - manuscripts, contemporary London newspapers and periodical publications, and printed sources.

b) Newspaper references are abbreviated in the form PA 4.2.1774 (*The Public Advertiser*, 4 February 1774). Concert advertisements are quoted in the manner PA DSt, 14.4.1753, indicating an advertisement on 14 April 1753 for a concert on the same day. (Abbreviations for concert venues are listed in Appendix A.) If no advertisement is found on the day of the concert itself, then an earlier advertisement is cited, as LDP 13.3.1741 for H, 17.3.

c) Where no other reference is given, information on stage performances, such as KT, 4.4.1778, is derived from *The London Stage* (*LS*).

d) 'The 1749-50 season' is used as an abbreviation for the winter season 1749 to 1750, which may be further shortened to 'the 1750 season' where there is no ambiguity. On the other hand 1749/50 calls attention to uncertainty of date (1749 or 1750).

e) Currency in use during the period was as follows:

One pound (£1) = 20 shillings (20s) = 240 pence (240d)

One guinea (here abbreviated to 1gu) = £1-1s

A half-guinea (half-a-guinea) = 10s 6d = 10/6 (here used interchangeably)

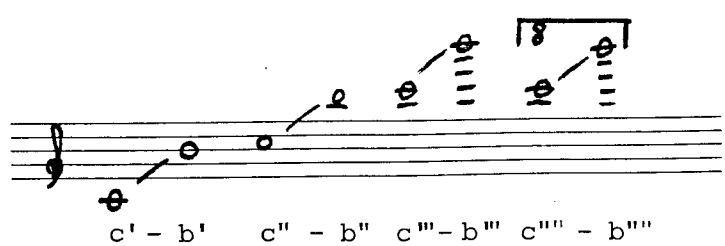
A half-crown (half-a-crown) = 2/6

f) Library sigla used are as listed in *Répertoire International des Sources Musicales* (*RISM*). Printed editions may be referred to by the number given in *RISM* A/I, such as G1918. Single movements are cited as Op. 1/1/I.

g) Instruments are abbreviated as follows:

fl	flute	hpd	harpsichord
ob	oboe	str	strings
bn	bassoon	v	violin
hn	horn	va	viola
gui	guitar	vc	cello
pf	piano	b	bass (i.e. continuo)

Single notes are identified using the following system:



It need hardly be added that many quotations, whether literary or musical, do not conform to modern standards of consistency, and only exceptionally is the word *sic* appended.

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Aberdeen,

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CHAPTER ONE

Concert Life in London, 1750-1784

The 18th century saw the rise of Britain as a major world power. Her military campaigns, though not always successful, opened up new trading links which brought ever-increasing prosperity to the country. Wars abroad caused little hardship at home and the period up to the French Revolution was one of remarkable stability. Not only was Britain's economy secure, but the established social order was not yet under serious threat.

The hub of Britain's wealth was the capital city, which dominated the country even more then than it does now. With a population of some 675,000 in 1750, rising to about 900,000 in 1800, London itself demanded sizable resources.[1] It was the centre of political and aristocratic life, and Britain's principal city for trade and finance. In addition the cultural life of 18th century Britain was firmly focussed on London. Many leading figures in the arts chose to live in the metropolis, where aristocratic patronage and other employment were to be found, and London's social life was of perpetual interest to writers of the period.

Much has been written about life in the Age of Johnson, which may be said to date from his arrival in London in 1737 to his death in 1784.[2]

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[1] Wrigley/ *Model*, p.44.

[2] For example Humphreys/*Augustan*; Jarrett/*Hogarth*; Marshall/*Johnson*; Rudé/*Hanoverian*; Turberville/*Johnson*; Williams/*Georgian*.

This was undoubtedly one of the most vigorously creative periods in England's history, with a whole panoply of intellectual achievements - scientific, artistic and philosophical. On the artistic side, one need mention only the works of Johnson himself, of Fielding and Richardson, of Goldsmith, Sheridan and Gray, of Sterne and Gibbon - besides the paintings of Hogarth, Gainsborough and Reynolds, the architecture of the Adam brothers, the acting of Garrick and numerous collections of illuminating letters.

This is a richly varied and often strikingly original endeavour, reflecting an environment fundamentally stable but not yet complacent. An element of inquiry and experiment, whether romantic or harshly realistic in emphasis, enlivens the art of a period often mistakenly regarded as decorous and formal. Against this background it is hardly surprising that music has been regarded as one of the failures of the Johnson era. It was just this element of experiment that so many native composers lacked - Boyce and Stanley especially, Arne and Dibdin to a lesser extent - and this period is generally dismissed as a conservative nadir in British music.

Such a view neglects the many positive aspects to music at the time of Johnson. The period saw the beginnings of musical scholarship with the historical work of Hawkins and Burney, who raised music for their contemporaries to a new intellectual level. Understanding of England's great musical past received a powerful stimulus from the publication of Boyce's *Cathedral Music* (1760-78) and from the foundation of societies for the performance of older music. But most important was the widespread appreciation and patronage of contemporary music, which enabled musical life in London to flourish in the second half of the 18th century as it never had before.

At the lower end of the social scale were clubs like the Madrigal Society, founded in 1741 for mechanics, weavers and others, and meeting at a city tavern.[3] At the other end were aristocratic institutions like the Concert of Ancient Music, founded in 1776, which included members of the nobility amongst the performers. No longer did the aristocracy follow Lord Chesterfield's injunction to his son in Venice:

> If you love music, hear it; go to operas, concerts, and pay fiddlers to play to you; but I insist upon your neither piping nor fiddling yourself. It puts a gentleman in a very frivolous, contemptible light; brings him into a great deal of bad company; and takes up a great deal of time, which might be much better employed.[4]

Several members of the royal family were notable musicians. Indeed it was a social accomplishment for a gentleman to be able to play the violin or flute, and a necessity for him to be able to take part in a glee; while ladies were expected to be able to sing and play the harpsichord or piano.

The increasing popularity of music in London from the middle of the century is attested by the proliferation not only of societies but also of public concerts, oratorio performances and musical plays at the English theatres. Music publishing too thrived after 1760, with all kinds of symphonic and chamber works in the catalogues, besides vocal and keyboard music. To some extent this reflects the rise of the middle classes, who had money enough to buy published music and to attend concerts of high quality at such as Vauxhall Gardens. Many writers noted the widespread enthusiasm for music, and Richard Eastcott wrote approvingly of the '*kind, liberal*, and *indulgent public*'.[5]

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[3] Hawkins/*History*, ii.887.

[4] Letter of 19 April 1749 (Chesterfield/*Letters*, p.1331).

[5] Eastcott/*Sketches*, p.158.

London's varied musical activity failed, for a number of reasons, to encourage a native school of composers of the highest rank. Contemporary commentators too bemoaned the extravagant patronage of foreigners at the expense of our own musicians. But credit should be given for the generous encouragement of Handel, J.C. Bach, Mozart, Clementi and subsequently Haydn, besides innumerable singers and instrumentalists.[6] Britain was now sufficiently confident and broad-minded to accept the European influx without self-conscious jealousy.

The present study is focussed primarily on the role of the violinist in London's more prestigious and fashionable concerts during the period from 1750 to 1784. Musical taste was dictated largely by the nobility and gentry. Though the Georges were far from deaf to music and each had a distinctive musical preference, fashions no longer originated at the royal court. Music depended rather on a subtle balance between private patronage and commercial enterprise. It was still possible for a musician to find more or less benevolent patronage in a noble household, but at the same time he was looking to the expanding publishing market and the competitive world of public performance. This balance, though fraught with pitfalls, at least allowed the musician a freedom denied the servant of a dictatorial monarch or a tasteless bourgeoisie.

Most of the upper classes spent only a few months of every year in London. The winter season, following approximately the sittings of Parliament and the King's levées, lasted from autumn until the beginning of June; though during the reign of George III the celebrations of the Queen's birthday on 18 January and of the King's on 4 June were regarded as the normal extent of the season, and Easter provided a further recess.

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[6] This defence was expounded by Samuel Wesley (*Reminiscences*, ff. 71^{v} - 72^{r}).

During these months, the 'bon ton' indulged in an endless search for amusement. Besides private dinners and assemblies, there were innumerable public balls and masquerades, theatrical performances and displays of all kinds.

Thomas Gray thought that this pursuit of pleasure made London a 'tiresome dull place' and even Leopold Mozart found that the number of entertainments 'really weary one here'.[7] More serious were the constant tirades against the unbounded luxury and extravagance of the age. Nevertheless, music, one of the less frivolous occupations of the time, certainly benefited. Several foreign visitors were impressed by the numerous opportunities to hear music of all kinds in London.[8] Not only was it increasingly popular in private company, but public performances also figured largely in the fashionable week. An item in *The Public Advertiser* listed the following regular entertainments for 1774:

> On Monday the Pantheon [Concert], Tuesday the Opera, Wednesday Bach and Abel's Concert, Thursday Almack's [Assembly], and Saturday the Opera again.[9]

Frequently the newspaper included notice of musicians and forthcoming performances in its gossip columns. In both *Evelina* (1778) and *Cecilia* (1782) Fanny Burney introduces her young heroines to the social round, which included the ever-fashionable Italian Opera and concerts at the Pantheon, at both of which it was perhaps more important to be seen than to listen to the music. Cecilia's host apologised for her dilatoriness:

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[7] Letter of 19 November 1764 (Gray/*Correspondence*, p.853); letter of 19 March 1765 (Mozart/*Letters*, i.55).

[8] See especially Archenholtz/*Picture*; Kielmansegge/*Diary*; Wendeborn/*View* (particularly ii.233-41).

[9] PA 4.2.1774.

> Lord, I have done nothing for you yet, and you never put me in mind. There's the ancient music, and Abel's concert;- as to the Opera, we may have a box between us;- but there's the ladies' concert we must try for; and there's - O Lord, fifty other places we must think of![10]

One might, with Fanny Burney, be cynical about the attendance of audiences to the music, while even the interest shown in new musicians may seem a mere quest for novelty.[11] Yet it is hard to believe that the general enthusiasm for music in London was altogether false.

All such fashionable events took place in the West End of town and either maintained exclusive admittance or charged prices prohibitively high for most. Johann Archenholtz noted that 'none but the higher ranks' could afford the half-guinea for concerts, and surviving records (newspaper reports and bank accounts) tend to support this.[12] It is not clear whether wealthy merchants and bankers of the City would have sought entry to such company. Though still emulating the fashionable world in many ways, the City tended to remain aloof from the extravagance it saw in the West End: there existed 'a kind of hatred between the inhabitants of each'.[13] Accordingly the City organised its own more modest musical entertainments. Presumably the larger subscription concerts attracted a certain proportion of the middle classes, as has been assumed by modern authors,[14] and the same may apply, to a lesser extent,

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[10] FBurney/*Cecilia*, i.63.

[11] Goldsmith, in 'The Citizen of the World' (1760-1, *Works*, ii.148) observed that the English nobility 'were not fond of thinking' and so supported music to 'indulge an happy vacancy' while retaining pretensions to taste.

[12] Archenholtz/*Picture*, ii.175. William Jackson (*Observations*, p.33) found this '*exclusive principle*' socially unacceptable.

[13] Archenholtz/*Picture*, i.125.

[14] For example Landon/*England*, p.23; Edwards/*Revolution*, pp.756-7. Many of Haydn's London friends were of this class. Thomas Robertson (*Inquiry*, p.418) held that the wealth of the 'middle ranks' contributed

to the Italian Opera. Without doubt all classes, including even tradesmen and apprentices, visited the English theatres and the pleasure gardens, at both of which music played an important part.

It is evident that music was enjoyed in London at widely different levels, and that many contrasting genres co-existed - indeed the variety of London's musical life at this time is perhaps its most striking feature. The survey that follows concentrates largely on winter concerts, whether public subscription series and benefits or private societies. It glances too at the Italian Opera and the English theatre, as well as summer concerts at the gardens. No attempt has been made to cover the numerous picturesque references to amateur music-making, or to wind-bands or dance orchestras, which so enliven for the musician the memoirs and letters of the period.

Sources

Recent literature on London's concerts in the second half of the 18th century is scanty - except in so far as it impinges on the lives of Handel, Abel, J.C. Bach, Mozart, Clementi and Haydn. Standard histories of British music deal with the subject in summary fashion.[15] Still the most useful general discussion of concerts of the whole period is Pohl/*London*. Scholes/*Burney* adds to this picture, especially from the literary angle, while information on concert halls is to be found in Elkin/*Rooms*.

This study is largely derived from contemporary sources, especially memoirs, letters and London newspapers. The principal newspaper consulted

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[14] to the capriciousness of musical taste. 'Foreigners are courted, and old foreigners must give place to new.'

[15] Mackerness/*Social* and Young/*British* are the most illuminating.

was *The Public Advertiser* (from 1734 to 10 March 1744 *The London Daily Post, and General Advertiser,* then simply *The General Advertiser* until 30 November 1752). This carries advertisements for a wide variety of public entertainments throughout the period, and frequent advertisements for music publications. Other London newspapers could no doubt provide additional information: by 1780 London supported seven daily newspapers and nine evening newspapers thrice weekly, not to mention weekly publications. But only towards 1784 is *The Public Advertiser* less favoured with musical advertisements. Other newspapers, notably *The Morning Chronicle, The Morning Herald* and *The Morning Post,* have therefore been consulted towards the end of the period, to consolidate a comprehensive picture of London's concert life.

There are a number of limitations inherent in this documentary method. In the first place one is seldom sure that a particular concert actually occurred. A reference such as PA 10.3.1755 indicates only a newspaper advertisement on the day of the concert. Secondly, and perhaps more importantly, some concerts were clearly so well-known and well supported that they did not need extensive and detailed advertisement, or even any newspaper notification. A large number of advertisements may presage an unsuccessful concert. Finally, private concerts were naturally not advertised, and it is thus hard to chronicle them, though there are occasional newspaper notices.

Though reviews of operas and oratorios are occasionally to be found earlier, notices of concerts are rare until the 1780s. From this time they proliferate in all London's daily newspapers. Such journalistic reports should, however, be treated with caution in an age when theatrical 'puffs' were standard practice.

London's Concerts up to 1750

London's musical life in the early 18th century has been comparatively well documented, largely as a result of Handel research. The Italian Opera, established by Handel at the King's Theatre, remained in a central position even after Handel's resignation in 1741. Composers such as Galuppi, Gluck and Ciampi took his place and with only one brief interruption the Italian Opera continued to the end of the century. Music played an increasing part at the English playhouses, especially in ballad operas, masques and pantomimes, while a truly theatrical composer emerged in Thomas Arne. Handel presented oratorio series in London almost every year from 1733 until his death. Usually about a dozen performances took place, on Wednesdays and Fridays during Lent, from 1746 regularly at Covent Garden Theatre; the singers were mainly English rather than Italian opera stars. Benefit performances of Handel oratorios were also given, and other composers attempted to compete without success.

Public concerts began earlier in London than either Italian opera or oratorio, although it was a long time before they were established on a permanent basis.[16] The pioneers were John Banister, who organised public concerts at his house and elsewhere from 1672 to 1678; and Thomas Britton, whose celebrated concerts at his Clerkenwell loft lasted from 1678 to 1714.[17] Britton's concerts, despite their lowly surroundings, were patronised by all classes; at first he would accept no payment, but later a subscription of ten shillings a year was charged. Other subscription series were instituted and by the turn of the century benefit concerts too were frequently advertised, the most popular venue being the Great Room

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[16] The following paragraphs are derived partly from Scott/*Concerts*; Tilmouth/*Calendar*; Tilmouth/*Concerts*.

[17] See Hawkins/*History*, ii.788-91; Price/*Small-Coal*.

in Villiers Street, York Buildings, which had supplanted the 'Vendu' in Charles Street. From 1713 Hickford's Room, between James Street and Panton Street, became more fashionable, and concerts were often given in City Companies' halls, theatres (where circus items might be interspersed with musical items) and taverns.

Roger North criticised the haphazard programme-planning of the York Buildings concerts,[18] but a 'Concert of Vocal and Instrumental Musick' was soon put together with more care. The programme of a concert given by the violinist Carbonelli in 1722 alternates concertos, songs and solos, in a way that foreshadows later developments.[19] Novelty items, musical as well as gymnastic, might be introduced. In 1731 Pietro Castrucci advertised that he would perform the unremarkable feat of playing '24 Notes with one Bow'.[20] Such displays became less popular as the century progressed, though the virtuoso concerto was never ousted. An occasional concert of sacred music, or 'Concerto spirituale', was also to be heard.

Subscription concerts took place at Hickford's Room at least as early as 1729; in December 1731 Geminiani announced a series of twenty concerts and similar schemes followed under different management.[21] In 1738 Hickford removed to Brewer Street, and the new concert room attracted even greater fame.[22] Subscription concerts continued, with Michael Christian Festing as leader. In 1740, for example, twenty concerts were given on

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[18] Quoted in Tilmouth/*Concerts*, p.17.

[19] DL, 14.3.1722 (*LS* Part 2, p.668); see Burney/*History*, ii.996.

[20] H, 26.3.1731 (*LS* Part 3, p.119).

[21] *LS* Part 2, p.1006; *Grove* 5, art. 'Hickford's Room'. Cf. Burney/*History*, ii.992.

[22] See Harrison/*Forgotten*; also Burney/*History*, ii.1005.

Fridays from 4 January to 16 May, for a subscription of six guineas. Vocal works by John Christopher Smith were featured and Festing usually played a solo.[23]

Burney wrote of the year 1744:

> The only subscription concert at the west end of the town at this time, was at Hickford's room or dancing-school, in Brewers-street; and in the city, the Swan and Castle concerts, at which the best performers of the Italian opera were generally employed, as well as the favourite English singers.[24]

The Castle Concerts originated in weekly meetings organised by Talbot Young, with Maurice Greene and others, at his father's house in St. Paul's Churchyard.[25] A small subscription was introduced when the concerts were moved to the Queen's Head Tavern in Paternoster Row. In 1724 the nearby Castle Tavern became the venue. Later auditors were admitted as subscribers and a limited number of ladies' tickets was made available. Professional musicians were hired, including Prospero Castrucci as leader, and in about 1744 the normal subscription was raised from two to five guineas to support the performance of oratorios.[26]

On a similar plan were concerts at the Swan Tavern, Cornhill, instituted in about 1728 by a number of opulent merchants.[27] The leader was, successively, Obadiah Shuttleworth, John Clegg, Abraham Brown and Festing. In 1748 a fire destroyed the tavern, which was rebuilt as the King's Arms. Here Charles Burney appeared 'with fear and trembling' in the winter of 1749, having been invited to take the place of John Stanley, who had

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[23] *LDP* 4.1.1740 et seq. For the later history of the concerts see p.30.

[24] Burney/*History*, ii.1008.

[25] See Hawkins/*History*, ii.807-8.

[26] For the later development of this society and details of its organisation see pp.28-9.

[27] See Hawkins/*History*, ii.808.

quarrelled with one of the organisers. His success at these concerts played a significant part in introducing him to London's principal musicians.[28]

London also supported a number of more private societies during the early 18th century, of which the most important and long-lived was the Academy of Ancient Music.[29] Though stated by Hawkins to have been instituted in 1710, this is now believed to be identical with the Academy of Vocal Musick founded in 1726. The founders included Pepusch, Galliard, Gates (with gentlemen and boys of the Chapel Royal), Greene (with those of St. Paul's) and Henry Needler, a gentleman violinist who led the concerts. These were held fortnightly on Fridays at the Crown [and Anchor] Tavern, and were directed by members in turn. Initially, the subscription was a half-guinea, and early members included the violinists Geminiani and Festing; already a few auditors were allowed as guests. An important asset was the growing library of music, containing vocal music of the 16th to early 18th centuries and Baroque instrumental music, which was the favoured repertoire. The Academy was partly responsible for the development of Handel oratorios and these it continued to perform. Early difficulties nearly brought collapse - including the secession of Greene and Festing around 1728 to form the Apollo Society at the Devil Tavern, and of Gates in 1734, leaving the Academy without boys. The situation was saved by the formation of a boys' seminary directed by Pepusch, to be financed by the raising of the subscription to two guineas and the admission of auditors as members. Eventually the

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[28] Burney/*Fragment*, ff. 13^{r} - 14^{r}. For the later history of these concerts see p.30. Burney states that Stanley 'despotically reigned' at the Castle Concerts also.

[29] See *Academy-orders* (started on 7 January 1726); Hawkins/*Academy*, somewhat amplified in Hawkins/*History*, ii.805-6, 861-2, 885-6.

Academy was unable to sustain its character, but it survived almost to the end of the century.[30]

It is clear that the Academy was a private organisation intended for performers, only later admitting auditors as subscribers. The Castle Concerts also originated from performance, auditors likewise being admitted later and professional musicians hired; the Swan Concerts were probably similarly organised, though not inspired by practising musicians. While Burney described both as subscription concerts, they might better be regarded as musical societies. The situation at Hickford's Room was somewhat different. Concerts by professional musicians were sometimes extensively advertised as a series with tickets available, thus according with the normal conception of a public subscription series. But it is not clear who managed these, nor how they continued during the later 1740s.

Attempts to establish regular public subscription concerts were thus tentative, and the above quotation from Burney is slightly condescending towards the period. The number of benefit concerts advertised - usually between six and twelve per season - is small compared with later years. There is a notable increase however in 1747-8 and 1748-9 to over fifteen per season, prefiguring developments in the 1750s.[31] Already in 1754 one writer, scandalised by the attention given to the effeminate art of music, called to witness 'the shameful number of concerts now subscribed for in this kingdom'.[32] The subsequent proliferation of concerts and entertainments of all kinds up to about 1780 is unmistakable.

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[30] See pp.31-3.

[31] This may partly reflect the increasing popularity of *The General Advertiser*. See GA 24.2.1746.

[32] *The London Magazine*, xxiii (1754), 484.

The Winter Concerts, 1750-1784

Burney wrote that Felice Giardini's arrival in London (in 1750 or 1751) formed 'a memorable æra in the instrumental Music of this Kingdom'.[33] No doubt he was referring primarily to his outstanding violin-playing, but Giardini had considerable influence on London's concerts in general. Besides promoting the most modern Italian music of the day, he gave significant impetus to the concert movement by organising fashionable concert series in the early 1750s. These and similar ventures paved the way for the more regular Bach-Abel concerts and contributed to the growing importance of instrumental music. By the later 1770s London's first-class instrumentalists were featured in news items as well as reviews, and costly advertisements were taken up with detailed programmes.

London's concerts were held at a variety of venues, including theatres, taverns, auction rooms and City Companies' halls. Some halls were designed partly with concerts in mind. The principal venues during this period are listed in Appendix A.

a) Subscription series

A summary of the principal series of public subscription concerts, given by professional musicians in the 'polite end of town', will be found in Appendix B; this includes information on leaders and solo violinists. More details on one season (1777-8) are given in Appendix C. Concert series closely followed the winter season, beginning sometimes before Christmas, but usually not until January. Either hall proprietors or individual musicians might promote a series of concerts, which normally took place weekly, perhaps with some interruptions, on a given day.

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[33] Burney/*History*, ii.849. For the date of arrival see pp.149-50.

It should be noted that public concerts could not in practice be held on Sundays, or (from 1753-4) on Tuesdays or Saturdays, because of the Italian Opera. The number of concerts varied, generally decreasing through the period from twenty to fifteen to twelve or less.

Ideally subscription to the whole series was expected in advance. A list was often opened by the end of the previous season. Some weeks before the opening night the receipt was exchanged for tickets at an office or private house. Very occasionally the system of ladies' books, familiar to the fashionable world, was operated to provide social screening. Terms of subscription normally ranged from three to six guineas for twelve or fifteen concerts, and there might be reductions on double tickets; in any case tickets sometimes admitted more than one person. Terms occasionally differed for gentlemen and ladies, always to the advantage of the latter. Often elaborately engraved, the tickets would be distinguished by colour; they were usually transferable, but subscribers were asked to write the name of the borrower on the back.[34]

Generally tickets were valid only on a specified day. Some organisations admitted non-subscribers for a half-guinea. Presumably tickets would then be bought in advance, although the occasional stricture that no money would be taken at the door might imply that one could sometimes buy tickets as at the theatre.[35] Other organisations were adamant that admission was for subscribers only. Bach and Abel make this repeatedly clear, though single tickets changed hands through advertisements and a bookseller named Hookham ran a black market.[36] The Pantheon concerts

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[34] It is notable that ladies were as free as gentlemen to visit public entertainments on their own (Potter/*Observations*, p.106).

[35] E.g. PA 19.12.1766 (for Hay's concerts).

[36] See for example PA 24.2.1777.

abandoned the subscription principle entirely. Initially the organisers advertised twelve tickets for six guineas, which could be used on any night, and insisted that no less than twelve could be bought; but under pressure they eventually sold tickets in any number, with a minimum of two. Costing a half-guinea these admitted one person to any night, but had to be bought in advance.[37]

The time of concerts varied. While opera and oratorio began immediately after dinner at 6.30, subscription concerts began somewhat later - usually at 7 early in the period, but often at 7.30 or 8 by the mid 1770s. These were not marathon performances such as we might expect. The Pantheon concerts, for example, were designed to last from 8 until about 10, followed by refreshments and dancing.[38]

The size of audiences varied also. In June 1767 Bach and Abel announced that only 200 gentlemen and 200 ladies would be admitted to their next season's concerts, while in 1774 attendance at Soho Square was limited to 500.[39] The Hanover Square concert hall was originally intended to seat 800, but proposals for the 1783 series indicated that only 600 subscribers would be admitted.[40]

After this consideration of general features of London's concert series, some particular organisations will be discussed. The Hickford's Room concerts continued, but they were not of the same nature and are described below in the context of musical societies. The most prestigious

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[37] PA 30.12.1773, 21.1.1774, 31.1.1774.

[38] PA 30.12.1773. Often people arrived late; Fanny Burney's Cecilia arrived during the second part of a concert there (*Cecilia*, i.266).

[39] PA 22.6.1767 (the concerts took place at Almack's); PA 22.12.1773. Bach's bank account reveals that 500 tickets were sold for the 1774 concerts.

[40] PA 13.7.1782. Apparently 1500 people attended Haydn's 1792 benefit there (Landon/*England*, p.161).

concerts of the 1750s took place at the Great Room, Dean Street. The owner of this room was a Mr. Ogle, who organised an impressive series of 20 concerts in 1751-2. He himself played the harpsichord, but many well-known performers took part, including Giardini who contributed some music. Unusually at this period complete programmes were advertised,for every night except the first. Proposals were announced for a similar scheme the following year,[41] but it seems that Ogle died, for he did not administer the concerts and the harpsichordist was Butler;[42] in addition Mrs. Ogle took a benefit (PA DSt, 14.4.1753). A shorter series did however take place in 1753, led by Charles Chabran, while Giardini and the oboist Thomas Vincent ran a rival series on Tuesdays. A further series led by Chabran was proposed,[43] but no subsequent reference has been found. Giardini and the singer Giulia Frasi organised another major series at the same room in 1755.

Another enterprising promoter was the violinist Giuseppe Passerini, who organised a number of concert series featuring his wife, the singer Christina. In 1753 he collaborated with the two oboists Pla, and further series followed in 1754 and 1760. Passerini's wife was primarily an oratorio singer and many of these concerts included some sacred music; in 1760 some complete oratorios were included. But Passerini did not command the fashionable audience and his ventures were not totally successful. In 1754, despite his attempt to match the English taste, the last seven performances were postponed and never again advertised;[44] while in 1760 prices had to be reduced towards the end of the series, even as Passerini

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[41] GA 21.3.1752.

[42] PA 3.2.1753.

[43] PA 31.3.1753.

[44] PA 5.10.1753, 27.2.1754.

introduced the 'viola angelica' to London (PA DSt, 29.2.1760).

A French visitor wrote in the mid 1750s: 'On trouve à Londres, pendant l'hiver, plusieurs concerts très-complets, entretenus ordinairement par souscription.'[45] Yet if concerts in London were on the increase during this decade, there was still no regular annual concert series. It was left to J.C. Bach and C.F. Abel to establish the first major series of this kind. The Bach-Abel concerts (1765-81) have been described by several authors,[46] and they are listed in detail in Appendix B. Still somewhat obscure is their inception, which revolves round the colourful figure of Mrs. Teresa Cornelys, originally a singer. Having settled in London towards 1760, she acquired an elegant mansion in Soho Square named Carlisle House, to which she attracted the fashionable world for assemblies. 'The Society', as she termed the select group of subscribers, met first on 27 November 1760, and music was already part of the entertainment.[47] Twelve evenings were offered, approximately fortnightly on Thursdays, and similar enticements were offered in succeeding years. Music dominated the first part of the evening:

> The vocal and instrumental music, by an orchestra at the end of the room, begins at seven o'clock and lasts until nine; dancing afterwards goes on until one or two.[48]

In the 1762-3 season, however, the music was swiftly succeeded by a ball at 8.[49]

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[45] Rouquet/*L'Etat*, p.174.

[46] Terry/*JCBach*, p.90 et seq.; Charters/*Abel*, p.1225; Rimbault/*Soho*, p.41 et seq.

[47] PA 26.11.1760 mentions a general rehearsal and PA 12.3.1761 indicates that the music began at 7.

[48] Description of the assembly on 26 November 1761 (Kielmansegge/*Diary*, p.196).

[49] Advertisement in PA 30.12.1762.

In spring 1764 Mrs. Cornelys began to organise full-scale concerts in addition to 'Society' meetings. Described as 'The Wednesday's Subscription Concert', the series began on 15 February, when the director was Cocchi.[50] It is difficult to chronicle her concerts this season as they are not numbered, but at least seven were given on Wednesdays, and two more were transferred to a different night.[51]

It has been suggested that Abel may already have been involved in Mrs. Cornelys' entertainments in 1761.[52] At any rate for her concerts in 1765 she enlisted the services of Bach and Abel, who had already joined forces at a benefit concert the previous year (PA SG, 29.2.1764).[53] This series established the pattern for years to come - weekly concerts on Wednesdays, directed by Bach and Abel in alternation, at a subscription of five guineas.[54] It appears that Mrs. Cornelys managed the concerts for three seasons, until the musicians decided to move to Almack's new room for the 1768 concerts. (They then began to advertise for themselves and Bach opened an account at Drummond's Bank.)

The later history of the Bach-Abel concerts needs no retelling. They were given at Almack's for six seasons, at Soho Square again in 1774 (following Mrs. Cornelys' rapid decline from favour), and from 1775 at the new Hanover Square Rooms, built by Bach, Abel and Giovanni (later Sir John) Gallini. Bach's death on 1 January 1782 brought a sudden and untimely

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[50] PA 15.2.1764.

[51] The concert and ball on 24 February 1764, singled out by E.F. Rimbault (*Soho*, p.45), was only a more grand additional 'Society' meeting.

[52] Charters/*Abel*, p.1224.

[53] Originally 21 concerts had been planned, seven each by Bach, Cocchi and Abel, according to a letter of Mrs. Harris of 19 October 1764 (*Malmesbury Letters*, i.115). Her letters make frequent reference to the Bach-Abel concerts.

[54] Later reduced to three for ladies, at least in 1768 and 1769.

end to a remarkable collaboration.[55]

No-one can doubt the importance of the Bach-Abel concerts, both for London's concert tradition and for instrumental music generally. At the time they were regarded as socially prestigious and musically pre-eminent. Burney wrote of Bach and Abel:

> As their own compositions were new and excellent, and the best performers of all kinds which our capital could supply, enlisted under their banners, this concert was better patronised and longer supported than perhaps any one had ever been in this country; having continued for full twenty years with uninterrupted prosperity.[56]

He does however hint that the concerts lacked variety, and one cannot escape the impression that interest in the concerts dwindled towards their close. Perhaps the public was seeking some novelty, a whim subsequently gratified in the music of Haydn and in the appearance of the composer. At any rate, after their initial financial success the partners seem to have met economic difficulties with their ambitious Hanover Square venture. Bach's bank account implies steadily diminishing receipts after the 1777 season, though the interpretation of the ledgers is difficult.[57] According to a later writer the Earl of Abingdon subsidised the Bach-Abel concerts to the extent of £1600.[58]

One factor contributing to the declining popularity of these concerts was increasing competition. From 1775 Gallini himself organised at the Hanover Square Rooms highly successful 'festinos' - assemblies with

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[55] From 1773 the leader was Wilhelm Cramer; for suggestions as to earlier leaders see pp.378-9.

[56] Burney/*History*, ii.1017.

[57] The figures quoted in Terry/*JCBach*, pp.96 and 143, are misleading and partially inaccurate.

[58] Sainsbury/*Dictionary*, art.'Abingdon (Lord)'. This could refer to his later concerts.

some musical entertainment. Rival subscription concerts also formed a considerable attraction. Several of these were organised by violinists, significantly not Germans. Richard Hay advertised concert series at Hickford's Room every year from 1767 to 1770. Giardini, with Mattia Vento, gave a 'Musical Academy' in 1770 and 1771, by inference at the Soho Square room.[59] François Hippolyte Barthelemon announced a number of concert series, including one at the Casino, Great Marlborough Street, in 1776; others perhaps never took place. Noteworthy concerts were organised at the Hanover Square Rooms by Franz Lamotte, with Venanzio Rauzzini, in 1778 and 1779, and by Rauzzini alone in 1781.

More important than any of these were the concerts at the Pantheon, the impressive James Wyatt building in Oxford Street, which was opened as 'a winter Ranelagh' in January 1772. At first the Pantheon offered only assemblies for the rich, similar to those elsewhere, but in 1774 a concert series was instituted - twelve concerts on Mondays, with twelve tickets costing a high six guineas. In clear opposition to the German Bach-Abel concerts, these featured Italian and English music. On the first night two parts were Italian and one English, the music being directed and composed by Vento and Samuel Arnold. For the second night the arrangement was reversed and the pattern was maintained throughout the season, with solo items added between the parts.[60]

The Pantheon concerts continued until 1782, with a succession of celebrated performers. After the initial season programmes were planned less rigidly - indeed many of the performers were from the Bach-Abel concerts. However the 1780 series was described as 'The Italian Concert' and featured

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[59] Not to be confused with Mrs. Cornelys' disastrous 'Harmonical Meetings' in 1771, for which see pp.177-8.

[60] PA 30.12.1773, 24.1.1774 et seq.

Italian vocal finales. At their height these concerts were the most fashionable entertainment in London, always excepting the Italian Opera.[61] Fanny Burney's two heroines attended the concerts as a matter of course, though the audience was censured in both cases:

> There was an exceeding good concert, but too much talking to hear it well. Indeed I am quite astonished to find how little music is attended to in silence; for though every body seems to admire, hardly any body listens.[62]
>
> They entered the great room during the second act of the Concert, to which, as no one of the party but herself had any desire to listen, no sort of attention was paid ...[63]

Cecilia's companion, Mr. Meadows, affected a world-weary distaste for 'the same dull round' of public entertainments: 'All my amazement is that these people think it worth while to give concerts at all; one is sick to death of music.' Cecilia replied sarcastically that at least music inspired conversation: 'I think every body talks more during the performance than between the acts.'[64]

Evidently music was not the only attraction of the Pantheon, although a new performer was a draw. When the singer Lucrezia Agujari was engaged for the concerts in 1774-5 and 1776-7, at either or both series receiving £100 per night for two songs only, the risk brought sizable financial returns.[65] Mrs. Harris went to the Pantheon just to hear her and noted that 'the best company goes off soon after the concert is over'.[66]

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[61] MC 8.2.1780 gives an impressive list of the nobility in attendance the previous night.

[62] FBurney/*Evelina*, p.105.

[63] FBurney/*Cecilia*, i.266.

[64] Ibid., i.267-9.

[65] Burney/*History*, ii.882-3.

[66] Letter of 21 March 1775 (*Malmesbury Letters*, i.297).

Burney was enthusiastic about music at the Pantheon, but criticised the managers for subsequent lack of enterprise, which brought financial collapse.[67] Fashion, which had so rapidly raised the Pantheon in the 1770s, as swiftly turned away from it in the 1780s. By 1782 the 'poor *Pantheon*' was declared moribund and 'ever out of Fortune' as the managers attempted new projects.[68] No formal concert series was given in 1782-3 and it was commented that the Pantheon would be suitable as a church.[69] Music of various types was however heard here up to the fire of 1792.

After Bach's death Abel continued the Hanover Square concerts, Bach's widow having declined to join the management.[70] Abel promised a varied programme and boasted 'the best Band of Instrumental Performers in Europe', but according to most sources the series was not a success.[71] When Abel left the country for a visit to Germany, the Earl of Abingdon stepped in with plans for an ambitious re-organisation of the concerts. On 13 July 1782 the plan was unfolded, with a scheme for enlarging the hall by 'the Removal of the Band into an Orchestra raised *above* the Audience' and the sensational news that 'Hayn and Graafe' had been engaged as composers.[72] Friedrich Graf duly arrived, but the mention of Haydn was only the first of many false promises made during the decade.[73] Nevertheless the 'Hanover Square Grand Concert' provoked an enthusiastic press reaction, especially for Haydn performances, and Sylas Neville

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[67] Scholes/*Burney*, ii.174; Burney/*History*, ii.883.

[68] PA 20.3.1782, 28.2.1782.

[69] PA 1.1.1783.

[70] PA 5.2.1782.

[71] PA 6.2.1782. Abel has been defended in Charters/*Abel*, p.1226.

[72] PA 13.7.1782.

[73] See Roscoe/*Haydn*.

described the orchestra as 'a band of the most distinguished excellence'.[74] A similar series followed in 1784, but, for all its magnificence, it cannot have been well supported. Graf announced bitterly that he was leaving the country, as through the ingratitude and illiberality of the public Lord Abingdon was 'to have nothing further to do with the Hanover-Square Concert'.[75] Indeed the concerts were set up the next season in a different way by the players themselves, to be known as the Professional Concert.

The man who eventually brought Haydn to London in 1791 - Johann Peter Salomon - had already broken with the Hanover Square Concert after the 1783 season. The series at Free Masons Hall in 1783 was not organised by Salomon, but in 1784 he was responsible for a number of concerts at the Pantheon, at which he introduced the singer Madame Mara to London audiences.[76] Thus initiated, the rivalry between Salomon and the Hanover Square concerts continued for three further seasons; but only in 1791 did he achieve the ascendancy over the Professional Concert with the arrival of Haydn. The concerts of the early 1790s represent a last flowering of London's aristocratic and brilliant 18th century concert life.

b) Benefit concerts

Just as actors and opera singers took benefit performances at the theatres every year, so did many leading musicians put on concerts for their own benefit, some also annually. A soloist at a subscription series would often take a benefit concert with the same performers. Normally the organiser of a series would not, however, and J.C. Bach advertised no benefit concerts after 1764. Musicians might join forces, as in 1780

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[74] Entry of 28 May 1783 (Neville/*Diary*, p.304), referring to a benefit concert at which the orchestra played.

[75] PA 8.5.1784.

[76] Cf. Parke/*Memoirs*, i.32-3.

when James Cervetto, Wilhelm Cramer, John Crosdill and Johann Christian Fischer gave a concert at the King's Theatre (PA 14.4.1780). The number advertised varies from year to year, but usually a few early benefit concerts preceded a spate from mid March to early June, with a total of perhaps between 15 and 25.[77]

Benefit programmes were apparently similar to those at subscription series, except that they would often feature the principal artist in more than one solo item. Specially composed works or even new instruments, such as Barthelemon's 'ipolito' in 1778,[78] sometimes formed an added attraction.

Tickets were generally sold at the promoter's house and it was expected that he would also wait on members of the aristocracy. It was a thinly disguised means of eliciting patronage, but the nobility might show their appreciation of outstanding talent by contributing more than the standard half-guinea. It was always possible to lose money on a benefit concert, but it could make a sizable profit. As part of his contract, Haydn was later guaranteed net takings of £200 at his 1791 benefit, and he is said to have made £350.[79]

Leopold Mozart gives some idea of concert finances. Before his benefit concert in 1764 (PA SG, 5.6.1764) he was not optimistic. While he might have expected an audience of 600 earlier in the season, many people had left London and the pleasure gardens had already opened. In addition he had only a few days in which to distribute tickets and expenses of 40 guineas were anticipated. In the event, since many of the performers took no fee, the expenses were as low as 20 guineas and Mozart envisaged that 'the profit will certainly not be less than ninety guineas'.[80] In February 1765 Mozart encountered typical difficulties of

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77 Appendix C lists 25 benefit concerts advertised in 1777-8.

78 PA 6.3.1778.

79 Landon/*England*, p.77.

80 Letters of 28 May 1764 and 8 June 1764 (Mozart/*Letters*, i.46-8).

organisation.[81] Two postponements were necessary and the number of current entertainments caused a low attendance at the concert, his first of the year (PA Hay, 21.2.1765). The expenses amounted to nearly 30 guineas, yet the concert still realised a profit of over 100 guineas.[82] Mozart may have found the cost of living in London high, but he was loath to leave a city where he could make such 'a good catch of guineas'.[83]

Not all benefit concerts were promoted by well-established soloists. Some featured child prodigies, to whom the English were always partial; as with the Mozarts, tickets were sold by an enterprising parent. A notable example was the four-year-old William Crotch, 'the Musical Child', who appeared at the Pantheon in 1780 (PA 26.5.1780). Other concerts had a more curious novelty value. In 1773 three blind Italian musicians performed at the Mitre Tavern, Fleet Street; in one item two violins were played 'with two small Pieces of Wood like Matches' (PA 3.6.1773). Generally, however, such oddities were uncommon by this date, when musical considerations were on the increase.

Music played an important part in the growing philanthropic mood of the 18th century. Charitable causes were closely connected with church services, or at least with oratorios, but concerts were also used to raise money. They might be in aid of an individual, such as 'a Gentlewoman and her Child in great Distres[s]' (PA H, 11.3.1762), or Vento's widow (PA H, 6.6.1777); or for disaster funds, such as the 'Sufferers by the late dreadful Hurricane in Jamaica and Barbadoes' (MC P, 20.4.1781); or for established charities, such as hospitals. A major annual event was the concert for the benefit of the 'Fund established for

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[81] Cf. Frasi's complaint in PA 29.3.1754 that her performers were engaged every night from then until mid May.

[82] Letter of 19 March 1765 (Mozart/*Letters*, i.55-6).

[83] Letter of 13 September 1764 (Ibid., i.52).

the Support of Decayed Musicians and their Families', administered by the Society of Musicians.[84] Originating in 1738, the Society was formally inaugurated on 28 August 1739 with the signatures of 226 musicians. The annual concert made a significant financial contribution. Originally an oratorio was given, but by 1745 when the first complete programme was advertised the 'Entertainment of Vocal and Instrumental Musick' had become more varied (GA CG, 10.4.1745). The three parts mixed instrumental items, Italian arias and Handel oratorio airs, a pattern which with variations persisted throughout the period. Usually the concert was given at the King's Theatre, with the Italian Opera singers and orchestra, and some additional performers. Between 1759 and 1769, the concert sometimes gave way again to oratorio, with works by Handel, Arne and Arnold performed. The success of the Fund performances is one of the outstanding achievements of London's musical life in the 18th century, rewarded by royal recognition in 1785 and by the granting of a charter in 1790.

Benefits considered so far have mainly been of a formal description - a 'Concert of Vocal and Instrumental Music', given by performers of European fame to a society audience. London saw concerts of many different types. Arne, for example, promoted public performances of catches and glees, with instrumental items, most years from 1767 to 1776. Music played a considerable part in evenings of recitation such as Thomas Sheridan's 'Attic Evening's Entertainment' (PA Hay, 2.2.1769 et seq.). Benefit concerts were given too by less eminent performers, usually at City taverns, where prices might be five shillings or less. Surviving information on such concerts is scanty, but even less is known about performances at such places as the General Post Office, Lombard Street, where a

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[84] See Drummond/*Society*. The concerts during this period are listed in Appendix B, with names of leaders and solo violinists.

symphony of J.W. Callcott was played on 5 October 1785.[85]

c) Musical societies

It is sometimes difficult and even fruitless to make a fine distinction between public subscription series and musical societies. Most concerts considered so far were given by professional performers without amateur participation; they were extensively advertised and admission was more or less by application for tickets. The present section is concerned rather with concert series organised as musical societies, mostly in the City. Still financed by subscriptions, they however kept a permanent membership and were run by committee with occasional general meetings. Concerts took place weekly but often started as early as October or November. Guests, even ladies, might be admitted in some cases, but most of these societies were founded on gentleman membership. Profit was not the aim and participation by members was to a greater or lesser extent encouraged. For example, in 1761 gentlemen subscribers to the concerts at the Ship Tavern, behind the Royal Exchange, were asked to indicate whether they wished to perform.[86] Professionals might be invited to take part, though a club at the Union Coffee House, Piccadilly, sought 'Gentlemen only for their own Practice, Amusement or Improvement'.[87]

Little information on most of these societies has survived. It was necessary to advertise in newspapers little more than the opening night, general meetings and any changes of date during the season. However the

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85 Note in the manuscript parts, *GB* Lbl, Add. 27636, f.129^{v}.

86 PA 16.10.1761.

87 PA 25.10.1769.

Castle Concerts (or Society) can be more fully described thanks to the publication of the rules of the organisation.[88] By 1751 there were two classes of membership - performers (paying a subscription of 2½ guineas) and auditors (paying 5 guineas). Some ladies' tickets were available each night and professional musicians might be hired. Strict regulations governed the officers of the society and conduct during the concerts, which took place at 7 on Wednesdays, except during Lent on account of Handel's oratorio performances. Concerts were in two 'acts' with a twenty-minute interval. The later publications exhibit only minor changes, but some undated manuscript alterations in the copy of the 1764 *Laws* in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, reveal more significant re-organisation - in particular, only 12 concerts (as against 24 in 1759) were to be held, now fortnightly; and the total number of members, each paying five guineas, was not to exceed 200. Newspaper announcements indicate that the society moved from the Castle Tavern after the 1752-3 season, though still retaining the name - for one season to various taverns, then in 1754-5 to Haberdashers Hall and again in 1773-4 to the King's Arms Tavern, Cornhill.[89] No newspaper reference to the Society has been found after the following season, though it was apparently still flourishing in 1783.[90] From the 1768-9 season it met on Thursdays.[91] Nothing is known about the programmes, except that Handel oratorios were occasionally performed.

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[88] *Castle Laws*, 1751, 1759, 1764.

[89] GA/PA, especially PA 29.3.1754, 30.10.1754, 9.4.1774.

[90] *Grove 5*, art. 'Castle Society Concerts', which however gives inaccurate dates for the changes of venue.

[91] PA 8.11.1768 et seq.

The King's Arms Concerts (formerly the Swan Concerts) also continued well into the second half of the century, taking place on Thursday initially and on Monday from the 1755-6 season. For the 1759-60 season they were transferred to the Crown Tavern, behind the Royal Exchange, and again to the Swan and Hoop Tavern, Cornhill, for 1761-2. No more is heard of the series after the 1763-4 season, but it was important in its time, for in 1752-3 the leader was Giardini, who was succeeded by Chabran. It is not clear whether members were expected to perform here: one advertisement was addressed to 'Members and Performers'.[92]

Also obscure is the relationship between membership and performance at the Hickford's Room concerts. Announcements in *The Public Advertiser* indicate that these were now certainly run as a society, to which subscribers only were admitted. They did not cease immediately after Festing's death, as stated by Burney,[93] but continued under various names at least until the 1760-1 season. In 1758-9 additional performers were engaged, enabling a performance of Pergolesi's *Stabat Mater* to take place on 8 January.[94] It is not known how long this organisation lasted; similar announcements have been found in 1770-1 and 1771-2 (with Hay as leader in the latter season),[95] but the series from 1767 to 1770 were organised by Hay himself.

Especially early in the period, newspapers contain numerous references to other societies meeting at taverns, usually in the City. Writing in 1828, Henry Angelo claimed that

> up to within the last half century, there were, perhaps, ten or a dozen musical meetings, private and public, held weekly "within the sound of Bow-bells."[96]

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92 PA, especially 25.8.1755, 18.10.1759, 15.10.1761; GA 23.10.1752, PA 12.11.1753; PA 14.1.1758.

93 Burney/*History*, ii.1005.

94 PA 12.12.1758, 8.1.1759.

95 PA 21.1.1771, 31.1.1772.

96 Angelo/*Reminiscences*, i.278.

He describes some convivial entertainments, with both amateurs and professionals taking part, and regrets their decline towards the end of the century. Notable societies of the 1750s were the Crown Concert, at the Crown Tavern, which was distinguished as the 'Little Concert' there before a move to the nearby Ship Tavern for the 1761-2 season;[97] and Miss Turner's Tuesday Night Concert at the Castle Tavern, which was called the St. Cecilian Concert (or Society) on a move to the Crown Tavern for the 1752-3 season.[98] By 1755 Arne was associated with the latter society, his vocal works being performed there in 1755 and subsequently, while in 1756 it was designated 'for English Musick'. The 1757-8 season saw a further move, to the King's Arms Tavern, Cornhill.[99] The Crown Concert is last heard of, under a different name, in 1762-3, the St. Cecilian Society in 1759-60.

More famous were two similarly-named but quite distinct societies dedicated to the performance of older music. This side of London's musical life was occasioned both by a genuine veneration for the past and by a natural traditionalism. The conflict between 'ancient' and 'modern' styles was the root of some intellectual controversy;[100] but the same performers often played for each and we can assume that London audiences enjoyed both.

The Academy of Ancient Music suffered a blow in 1752 in the death of Pepusch. Benjamin Cooke was appointed his successor, but a change in

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[97] GA/PA, especially PA 17.10.1761.

[98] GA/PA, especially GA 10.10.1752, PA 14.2.1753. Not to be confused with the Cecilian Society established in 1785.

[99] PA 14.4.1755 et seq., 28.9.1756, 23.8.1757.

[100] See for example Marsh/*Comparison*; cf. also Day/*Renaissance*, and (for a discussion of the terms 'ancient' and 'modern') Schueller/*Quarrel*.

organisation was threatened, by a proposal to engage first-class performers. However 'the great increase of late years in the number of places of public diversion, and the consequent increase in the demands of eminent performers' resulted in failure even with a subscription of 2½ guineas, and the Academy reverted to its former principles.[101]

Surviving programmes for the seasons 1768-9 to 1772-3 give an idea of the organisation at this time.[102] Generally meetings were held fortnightly on Thursdays on some dozen occasions during the winter season, with rehearsals in the intervening weeks. One public night took place towards the end of the season, when ladies were admitted.[103]

Eventually the Academy did lose its amateur background and hence its initial character. In 1780 ladies were admitted as guests and in 1788 as subscribers.[104] For the 1784-5 season the Academy moved to Free Masons Hall, evidently to increase the number of subscribers (280 in 1788), and it became just another series of subscription concerts with professional performers. Arnold was engaged as musical director in November 1789, but the organisation appears to have ended in 1794 or soon after.[105] The violinist Needler was still a member, and presumably leader, in October 1752, while Hay was a soloist in the 1769-70 season.[106] The Academy was

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[101] Minute of 12 October 1752 (*Academy-miscellanea*); Hawkins/*Academy*, pp.10-11.

[102] *Academy-miscellanea*.

[103] Cf. LHawkins/*Anecdotes*, p.226. The notice of a public night in PA 9.4.1766 refers to ladies' tickets. Normally only members were admitted to concerts, but there was some flexibility on this (minute of 26 October 1752 in *Academy-miscellanea*).

[104] PA 4.11.1780; Doane/*Directory*, p.80. Doane includes a useful account of the later years of the Academy (pp.79-83).

[105] Not 1792. A review dated 25 April 1794 is quoted in Landon/*England*, p.249.

[106] Minute of 12 October 1752 and programmes for 1769-70 (*Academy-miscellanea*).

led at unspecified dates by 'Mr. Trudway, a gentleman of some fortune', David Richards and Barthelemon (who was succeeded by Salomon in 1789-90).[107]

According to Michael Kelly, the subscribers to the Academy of Ancient Music 'were chiefly bankers and merchants from the city'.[108] The Concert of Ancient Music (or Ancient Concerts) was graced with a rather different patronage. Founded in 1776 at the suggestion of the Earl of Sandwich, the 'kettle-drumming Lord', it was supported 'by the concurrent zeal and activity of other noblemen and gentlemen of the first rank',[109] ladies also being admitted as subscribers. No music less than 20 years old was to be performed, and the music of Handel and his contemporaries dominated the programmes.[110] The directors presided in turn and selected the music. Twelve concerts were held every year between February and May at the Tottenham Street Rooms, on Mondays (Wednesdays from 1786).[111] As at the Academy in its later years, the subscription was at first five guineas, but this was subsequently raised to eight.[112] Most of the performers were professional, though directed by the dilettante organist Joah Bates, who was said 'to understand Handel perfectly'.[113] The leader of

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107 Doane/*Directory*, p.80; PA 18.12.1789. Barthelemon was leading in 1784 (MC 26.4.1784).

108 Kelly/*Reminiscences*, p.165.

109 Burney/*History*, ii.1022. See also Matthew/*Antient*.

110 *Ancient-catalogue* is a register of works performed between 1776 and 1792. Programmes were also printed.

111 Dates derived from *Ancient-catalogue*.

112 Pohl/*London*, ii.8, ii.11.

113 Kelly/*Reminiscences*, p.164.

the 'select and powerful band' was initially Hay; according to Pohl he was succeeded by Cramer in 1780, although *The Public Advertiser* noted that Cramer was to take over from Barthelemon in 1783.[114] When in 1785 the King began to attend the concerts regularly, they became almost a court activity and the number of subscribers rose significantly.[115] The programmes of these 'King's Concerts' had to be approved by the monarch, who was thus directly responsible for the continuance of the Handelian tradition. Only gradually were new works introduced, but the concerts continued after two changes of venue until 1848. One of the organisation's most significant achievements - the Commemoration of Handel in 1784, also patronised by the King - is discussed below.

Other societies must be mentioned more briefly. Several concentrated on vocal music - including the Madrigal Society, founded in 1741 for the working classes, though soon appealing to higher levels;[116] and the Noblemen and Gentlemen's Catch Club, formed in 1761 and meeting at the Thatched House Tavern from April 1767.[117] The latter invited 'privileged members' (professional musicians) to improve the singing and to judge entries for prizes; a number of violinists were amongst them. Both societies regarded music as an accompaniment to social pursuits, as did the Anacreontic Society founded in 1766:

> The meetings were held in the great ball-room of the Crown and Anchor Tavern in the Strand, once a fortnight during the season, and the entertainments of the evening consisted of a grand concert, in which all the flower of the musical profession assisted as honorary members. After the concert

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[114] Burney/*History*, ii.1022; Pohl/*London*, ii.11; PA 1.1.1783.

[115] Pohl/*London*, ii.12.

[116] See Nettel/*Oldest*.

[117] See Gladstone/*Catch Club*.

> an elegant supper was served up; and when the cloth was removed, the constitutional song, beginning, 'To Anacreon in Heaven,' was sung by the chairman or his deputy. This was followed by songs in all the varied styles, by theatrical singers and the members; and catches and glees were given by some of the first vocalists in the kingdom.[118]

Parke noted that several noblemen and gentlemen were among the subscribers, but Kelly asserted that they were principally bankers and merchants.[119] In 1783 the society was described as the 'best Bargain in London', the inclusive price for the evening being only six shillings. The leader this season (and in later years) was Cramer, at least until the start of the Hanover Square concerts, also on Wednesdays.[120] This popular and characteristic society was dissolved in 1794 soon after the admittance of ladies to the audience, which brought unwelcome restraint on the singers.[121]

d) Music at court

It has become clear that the King was not the arbiter of public taste and that music at court occupied a separate position in Britain's musical life.[122] George II (d.1760) was a keen supporter of Handel, and his successor ardently maintained the Handelian cause. A frequent attender at the Oratorio and the Concert of Ancient Music, George III also encouraged music as part of his domestic routine. Already in 1761 he played the flute in private, and his German wife Queen Charlotte (whom he had married that

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[118] Parke/*Memoirs*, i.81.

[119] Ibid., i.80; Kelly/*Reminiscences*, p.225.

[120] PA 1.1.1783, 14.2.1783.

[121] Scholes/*Burney*, ii.168.

[122] See Harley/*Court*; King/*Royal*; Scholes/*George III*.

year) sang and played the harpsichord in domestic concerts[123] - although she soon showed her preference for the modern style in the appointment of J.C. Bach as her music master in 1763 or 1764.

The principal royal orchestra was the King's Band, founded by Charles II and still nominally numbering 24.[124] The musicians received £40 per annum, while the Master of the King's Musick took £200 per annum. His main duty was the setting of odes for performance at the celebrations of New Year and the King's birthday. Boyce succeeded Greene to this post in 1755, and Stanley followed him in 1779. There were in addition a Serjeant Trumpeter at £100 per annum and, at least from 1765, an Assistant Master at the same salary - described in 1767 as the 'Conductor of the Ball Musick', and responsible for the composition of minuets for the two royal birthday celebrations. The flautist Charles Weideman held this post until his death in 1782, when Stanley himself was appointed. Other additional musicians were sometimes listed.

Only a few members of the Band are known from other London musical activities. Court posts were not obtained without influence and Burney bitterly resented his treatment in his various unhappy attempts on court appointments.[125] Parke, having acted as a deputy for 'Lord somebody's butler' for many years, once tried to obtain a place in the Band, but found that 'merit was nothing' for an orchestra made up of 'noblemen's butlers and valets'.[126]

The chief function of the King's Band was the performance of the two annual odes.[127] During the reign of George III they were given at

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123 Entry of 3 November [1761] (Northumberland/*Diaries*, p.41).

124 *Court Register*, published annually, lists the members.

125 See Scholes/*Burney*, ii.321-7.

126 Parke/*Memoirs*, i.269-71, ii.129.

127 See McGuiness/*Song*.

noon in St. James's Palace, with singers mainly from the Chapel Royal. On New Year's Day 1762 Kielmansegge found the room very full and the ode, less than half an hour long, 'not badly done'.[128] A description in 1784 reveals that the singers were placed in a passage adjoining the council chamber and the orchestra out of sight in another room.[129] It is impossible to ascertain who led the Band. The most important violinist until his death in 1752 was Festing, who was succeeded by Brown. Hay, first listed as a member in 1780, probably led ode performances in 1783 and 1784.[130]

Soon after her marriage Queen Charlotte was allowed to form her own 'Queen's Band'. The leader in 1763 was Dubourg, probably succeeded on his death in 1767 by Hay, who apparently cheated Barthelemon of the post by devious means.[131] In 1770 there were nine members - six string-players headed by Hay, an organist and two oboists, some of them also members of the King's Band. Five years later a fourth violinist was added, but during the 1780s posts falling vacant were not filled and by 1790 there were only three members.[132] The Queen also maintained a 'Chamber Band'. According to Mrs. Papendiek this began (not before 1772) with Bach, Abel, Cramer and Fischer; but Cramer's numerous engagements forced him to vacate the post for Frederick Nicolay, one of the Queen's pages.[133] Bach, Abel and Nicolay were indeed members in 1775 and thereafter but the oboist was Simpson. In 1782 the flautist Charles Papendiek joined the group, but it

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128 Kielmansegge/*Diary*, pp.225-6.

129 MC 2.1.1784.

130 See PA 5.6.1783, 2.1.1784.

131 Mortimer/*Directory*, p.28; Henslowe/*Barthelemon*, p.6.

132 *Court Register*. The Queen's Band is not included before 1770.

133 Papendiek/*Court*, i.65, i.76.

too was allowed to decline, with only two members left in 1790.[134]

The function of these different groups is by no means clear, and the picture is complicated by the King's frequent changes of residence. St. James's Palace was used now only for court ceremonies, with Buckingham House (the Queen's House) being the King's London residence from 1762. In the summer he spent much of every week at Richmond Lodge (until 1771), later at Kew House (the White House, until 1779), and then at the Queen's Lodge, Windsor.[135] There are a number of references to musical performances at these places, some domestic concerts for the royal family, others formal concerts for a large company.

Mrs. Papendiek, unfortunately not a reliable source, states that there were evening parties on Tuesdays and Thursdays, lasting from eight o'clock until ten,

> when between two and three hundred were invited to cards and music. The concert consisted of the private band, with the addition of other talented performers.[136]

Cramer was among the additional performers. It is difficult to ascertain which orchestra was involved. If it was the ill-constituted King's Band, then an extensive system of deputies must have operated. Yet this interpretation is strengthened by Fanny Burney's statement that a concert was superior for the addition of players from the Queen's Band.[137] Mrs. Delany was invited by the Queen to concerts in London and Windsor, and she noted:

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[134] *Court Register*. The Queen's Chamber Band is not included before 1775.

[135] Williams/*Residences*.

[136] Papendiek/*Court*, i.94.

[137] Entry of 7 August 1786 (FBurney/*Diary*, ii.430).

> In the *next* room is the band of music, which plays from eight o'clock till ten. The King generally directs them what pieces of music to play, chiefly Handel.[138]

She also heard more recent music:

> I had two hours most delightful entertainment; the musick, tho' modern, was excellent in *its kind* and well performed; particularly the first fiddle by Cramer, Abel on the *Viol de Gambo* (tho' I don't like the instrument) and a new hautboy, just come from Germany.[139]

Contemporary music was supplied by the Queen's two ensembles, with, it seems, extra performers. Mrs. Papendiek states that the Chamber Band gave 'private quartett parties' twice a week, except in the summer when they took place only once a fortnight.[140] The King's equerry, the Hon. Robert Fulke Greville, noted concerts at Windsor in August 1781 at which Fischer, Bach, Abel and Crosdill participated.[141] The 'Queen's Concerts' at Buckingham House, presumably performed by the Queen's Band, were sometimes reported in the press. In 1782 they took place on Mondays. The leader was Hay, at least until 1783; his obituary in 1785 indicates that Cramer succeeded him some time before his death.[142] On 19 June 1784 a concert of sacred music was performed by the Queen's Band, and both types persisted for many years.[143]

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[138] Letter of 9 November 1785 (Delany/*Correspondence*, vi.309).

[139] Letter of 29 October 1779 (Ibid., v.478-9).

[140] Papendiek/*Court*, i.65, i.106.

[141] Greville/*Diaries*, pp.26, 30.

[142] PA 4.1.1782, 1.1.1783, 18.2.1785.

[143] PA 21.6.1784. Cf. Pohl/*London*, ii.5.

The King's brothers - William, Duke of Gloucester and Henry, Duke of Cumberland - both maintained small musical establishments, at least from 1775 when they were headed by Giardini.[144] Gloucester played the cello, Cumberland the violin; the latter was the more important patron, holding concerts at his Windsor lodge and (perhaps only after Giardini's departure in 1784) on two mornings a week during the winter in London.[145]

Even before he came of age in 1783, George, Prince of Wales, had turned his extravagant eye to music.[146] Giardini was engaged to teach him singing and Crosdill instructed him on the cello, on which he made rapid progress. He was soon organising and participating in musical entertainments, which Giardini directed:

> After the Queen's parties were over, the Prince's began, and two or three times a week he would have a quartett party, and sometimes quite a grand concert.[147]

But when the Prince took over Carlton House in 1784, 'there were not the same grand concerts or gala nights as heretofore'.[148] Parke confirms that his later concerts, whether private in the morning or on a larger scale in the evening, were still of a chamber character.[149] On his departure from England Giardini was succeeded by Cramer, Salomon and others - indeed most major performers seem to have been invited to the Prince's concerts, which reflected a cultivated and forward-looking taste, lacking in the royal household.

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144 *Court Register*. Giardini had styled himself 'Maestro di Musica' to the two Dukes as early as 1767 (see p.169).

145 Parke/*Memoirs*, i.89, i.241, i.121, ii.187-90. Cumberland's establishment was later headed by C.F. Baumgarten.

146 For further details, especially of Giardini's role, see pp.185-7.

147 Papendiek/*Court*, i.200.

148 Ibid., i.234.

149 Parke/*Memoirs*, ii.320.

e) Private concerts

Letters and memoirs of the period sometimes make passing reference to concerts at the London houses of the aristocracy, held either around mid-day or after dinner. Usually these were informal gatherings, with a small number of performers, either dilettanti or invited celebrities. For the professional musician such concerts usually meant a dinner in the highest circles, and Parke had a name for them:

> [Salomon] devoted a great portion of his time to what are termed bread-and-butter parties. This requires explanation. Bread-and-butter parties are those to which professors of talent are invited to dinner, or to a supper, where a little music is given in a friendly way in the evening.[150]

Some found the system degrading, and Fischer replied to one invitation to take his oboe to a dinner: "My Lord, my oboe never sups!"[151]

Mrs. Delany was invited to numerous private concerts. On 10 December 1755, for example, she had a choice between one at Lady Cowper's and another, with Handel, at Mrs. Donnellan's.[152] In March 1756 she preferred another concert at Lady Cowper's to the Covent Garden oratorio.[153] Seldom does she provide any details, but she records that at Lord Exeter's, on 26 February 1779, Lord Mornington performed on the harpsichord, 'Mr. Hays' played the violin, and Miss Harrop sang four songs and a ballad.[154]

Foreign travellers visited private as well as public concerts. Wendeborn was amazed that in private companies 'even of the better sort'

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[150] Parke/*Memoirs*, ii.16.

[151] Ibid., ii.17.

[152] Letter of 11 December 1755 (Delany/*Correspondence*, iii.383).

[153] Letter of 27 March 1756 (Ibid., iii.415).

[154] Letter of 27 February 1779 (Ibid., v.407-8).

a song might be performed by a gentleman or lady after dinner.[155] Kielmansegge was invited in 1762 to a number of private musical entertainments, mostly consisting of songs and keyboard music, although at one such on 12 March an Italian violinist played solos and accompanied singing.[156]

The politician James Harris was also a writer on music, and he and his wife were enthusiastic patrons of opera and concerts. They organised music at their own house. On 5 April 1764 Mrs. Harris wrote of 'our concert Wednesday morning',[157] and similar references are to be found up to Harris' death in 1780. On 9 March 1775 their friend Sacchini rehearsed a *Miserere* at their house for performance a week later, their daughter Louisa singing alongside the best opera singers.[158] Fanny Burney described one of the concerts in March 1778:

> On Thursday morning, we went to a delightful Concert at Mr. Harris's. The sweet Rauzini was there, and sung four Duets with Miss Louisa Harris ... La Motte, Cervetto, ... [sic] played several Quartettos divinely, and the morning afforded me the greatest entertainment.[159]

It was at concerts such as these that performers new to the country were introduced to London's musical patrons before they ventured into public concert halls.

Professional musicians also organised private concerts, whether for their own entertainment, or to make and maintain links with the aristocracy.

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155 Wendeborn/*View*, ii.235.

156 Kielmansegge/*Diary*, p.279.

157 *Malmesbury Letters*, i.107.

158 Mrs. Harris' letter of 10 March 1775 (Ibid., i.293-4).

159 FBurney/*Early Diary*, ii.218.

In 1779 William Parke first made an impression as an oboist at the house of Baumgarten, 'who occasionally gave music parties on Sunday evenings, at which his friends attended to hear his masterly compositions'.[160] Among the audience of musicians, dilettante and professional, was Sheridan, who two years earlier had given a concert before 'the first nobility and gentry' - a rare opportunity to hear his wife (formerly Elizabeth Linley), whom he would not allow to sing in public.[161]

Charles Burney built up an extensive acquaintance both with performers of European fame and with members of the upper classes; many of these were frequent visitors to his house. He also occasionally organised somewhat more formal concerts, beginning in the early 1760s and continuing throughout his life at his various houses. The invited audience was small and the atmosphere good-humoured and unconstrained; a few professional musicians participated, but no programme was advertised.[162] Fanny Burney described some evenings in detail. On 4 May 1772 the performers were the violinist Eligio Celestino and the flautist Joseph Tacet, who both played solos; with Sir William Hamilton, an amateur violinist, and William Beckford on the flute.[163] An elaborate concert took place in May 1775 in honour of the Danish Ambassador and his wife. With evident pleasure that 'these entertainments are revived amongst us', Burney's daughter noted a company of about a dozen, mostly from the lesser nobility or professional classes. As usual at such concerts songs and harpsichord music formed the bulk of the programme; Louisa Harris was the singer and members of the

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[160] Parke/*Memoirs*, i.13.

[161] Ibid., ii.136-8. Entrance to Sheridan's concerts was ardently sought (FBurney/*Memoirs*, ii.68).

[162] FBurney/*Memoirs*, ii.9-10. Cf. the list of professionals in ibid., i.281. See Scholes/*Burney* for more details.

[163] FBurney/*Early Diary*, i.169-70.

Burney family played, with Edward Jones, the Welsh harper, providing variety.[164] Sunday became the usual day for Burney's concerts.[165] Not always were they successful - the celebrated evening when Burney introduced Johnson, the Greville family and the Thrale family to the singer Gabriele Piozzi turned into a disaster.[166]

The Wesley family organised concerts at their house in Chesterfield Street on a more regular basis.[167] In the nature of private subscription concerts, they were given each year from 1779 to 1785; at least from 1782 (when detailed records begin) there were seven in each season, approximately fortnightly on Thursdays. The subscription was three guineas. The number of subscribers varied between 28 in 1779 and 52 in 1781; amongst them were many prominent members of the nobility, and even Johnson himself. The performance of the young Wesleys - Charles on the organ, Samuel on the violin and organ - was the principal attraction, but some lesser singers and a minimal orchestra were also engaged. Profits were considerable, to the extent of over £65 in 1782.

It is evident that it was only possible to hear certain performers at private concerts. Burney mentions two patrons who regularly organised concerts around the mid century. One was Lady Brown, whose concerts were directed by the mysterious Comte de Saint-Germain (presumably about 1745) and took place 'at the risk of her windows' on Sundays.[168] The other was Mrs. Fox Lane, soon after the arrival of Giardini:

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164 Ibid., ii.56-60.

165 Cf. Mr. Harris' letter of 14 November 1775 (*Malmesbury Letters*, i.330); and the caricature of 'A Sunday Concert' published in 1782.

166 FBurney/*Memoirs*, ii.101-13. The widowed Mrs. Thrale eventually married Piozzi.

167 See *Wesley-register*, a copy of the original manuscript of Charles Wesley, sr.

168 Burney/*History*, ii.1013. She was still giving concerts in 1775 when Louisa Harris introduced the new harp (Mrs. Harris' letter of 31 March 1775 in *Malmesbury Letters*, i.299).

> As Giardini was seldom to be heard in public after his first arrival, she invited very select parties of the first people in the kingdom to hear him at her house, for which happiness she did not suffer them to remain ungrateful at his benefit.
>
> When Mingotti arrived in this kingdom, ... Mrs. Lane espoused *her* cause with great zeal ... With two such performers, the concerts she gave to her choice friends were subjects of envy and obloquy to all those who were unable to obtain admission.[169]

Burney indicates that private concerts were rare at this time, but that by 1789 elegant concerts were 'frequently given by the nobility and gentry at their own houses'.[170] In part this was a reaction against the crowded mixed company of 'public places', a reaction characteristic of the 1780s when public assemblies were on the decline and masquerades had become dull or rowdy:

> Almost all Ladies of Character and Rank avoid these Entertainments; ... [instead] private Houses are opened for the Ladies, and the more elevated and accomplished among the Gentlemen.[171]

This closing of ranks affected concerts also, and two important private series arose at this time. The 'Grand Private Subscription Concerts' were already in existence in 1782, the select company paying ten guineas for twelve Sunday evening concerts at various houses; the performers, amongst them Cramer, were of the highest ability.[172] This series was also known as the 'Sunday Concerts' or the 'Nobility Concert'. Another

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[169] Burney/*History*, ii.1013-14. For further details on these concerts, see pp.167-8.

[170] Burney/*History*, ii.1013.

[171] PA 24.2.1783.

[172] PA 18.5.1782. Cramer led the following year (PA 1.1.1783) and subsequently. In 1787, at least 400 of the aristocracy attended and the orchestra was that of the Professional Concert (Parke/*Memoirs*, i.89).

organisation, the 'Ladies' Concert' had also been formed by 1782, for it was mentioned in *Cecilia* published in that year. Concerts followed a similar scheme, taking place however at ladies' houses on Fridays.[173]

f) Theatre music and oratorio

Alongside its flourishing concert life London also supported three permanent theatres - the King's Theatre for Italian Opera (uninterrupted from 1753-4) and the two English playhouses at Covent Garden and Drury Lane. Italian Opera was heard only on Tuesdays and Saturdays, but the English theatres opened every night except Sunday, during the winter season. All maintained full-time orchestras and the leaders (listed in Appendix F) were often eminent violinists. Naturally, however, music was of secondary interest and reviews carry comparatively little comment on instrumental performance.

At the King's Theatre only serious or comic Italian opera was to be heard, almost always composed by Italians, though sometimes in pasticcio form. The orchestra was described in glowing terms, even by foreigners.[174] Comments on individual performers are rare, except for the occasional commendation of an obbligato part. The famous aria 'Infelice in van m'affanno' in J.C. Bach's *La Clemenza di Scipione* (KT, 4.4.1778) received special advertisement for its obbligato parts for violin (played by Cramer), cello, flute and oboe. Purely instrumental music played a small part at the Opera House, and it was usually only at benefit performances that a concerto might be heard in an interval.[175]

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[173] At least later in the century (Pohl/*London*, ii.5).

[174] See Petty/*Italian*, Chapter 4.

[175] Exceptionally Maddalena Sirmen played solo items on a number of ordinary nights in May 1771.

At the playhouses music played a surprisingly large role.[176] Opera in English, whether entirely sung or not, and containing more or less borrowed material, formed an important part of the repertory; while music was also used for pantomimes and incidentally in spoken plays. The orchestras were not beyond criticism. In 1783 it was noted with surprise that the Covent Garden orchestra followed the leader with 'an Accuracy and pointed Taste seldom heard in an English Theatre'; but when Haydn visited the theatre on 10 December 1791 he found the orchestra 'sleepy'.[177] One of the functions of the theatre orchestra was to provide music before the play and during intervals. Burney describes the repertoire:

> [Purcell's *Ayres composed for the Theatre*] were played as overtures and act-tunes in my own memory, till they were superceded by Handel's hautbois concertos, and those, by his overtures, while Boyce's sonatas, and Arne's compositions, served as act-tunes. In process of time these were supplanted by Martini's concertos and sonatas, which were thrown aside for the symphonies of Van Maldere, and sonatas of the elder Stamitz. About this time, the trios of Campioni, Zanetti, and Abel, came into play, and then the symphonies of Stamitz, Canabich, Holtzbauer, and other Germans, with those of Bach, Abel, and Giardini; which, having done their duty many years very pleasantly "slept with their fathers"; and at present give way to Vanhall, Boccherini, Haydn and Pleyel. *Sie transit gloria Musicorum*![178]

Sometimes concertos were featured as special items, particularly at benefit performances.

In the theatres also there took place London's annual oratorio series, which are listed in Appendix B, with details of leaders and solo violinists. By this period performances were regularly given on Wednesdays and Fridays during Lent. Following the ruling of 1753 that no theatrical entertainments

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176 See Fiske/*Theatre*. An evening's entertainment consisted of a mainpiece and a shorter afterpiece.

177 PA 17.10.1783, Haydn/*Correspondence*, p.274.

178 Burney/*History*, ii.389.

should take place in Holy Week, the number was standardised at eleven. Handel continued to promote oratorios at Covent Garden Theatre until his death, when his amanuensis J.C. Smith and Stanley took over. In 1770 they transferred the series to Drury Lane Theatre, where five years later Thomas Linley the elder replaced Smith; the partnership continued until 1785. With the King's patronage the later organisers faithfully maintained the Handelian tradition, with *Messiah* always ending the series as in Handel's later years. Only occasionally were other works, by Smith, Stanley and Linley's son, performed.

Their rivals, on the other hand, usually mixed Handel judiciously with their own oratorios. In many seasons other series took place elsewhere on the same days, often at reduced prices. Particularly notable were the oratorio series of Arne (1755, 1761-2 and 1773), 'so unfortunate, that he was always a loser whenever they were performed';[179] of Samuel Arnold (1768-73 and 1776-7), 'never more effective, or ever better conducted';[180] of J.C. Bach (1770-1 and 1775), which 'in a great measure failed';[181] and of Barthelemon (1774, 1779 and 1784, the latter in collaboration with Arne's son).

Oratorio singers were rarely of European fame, but their direct and unembellished style of singing was appreciated by English audiences. The orchestra, presumably based on theatre players, was subject to criticism. However, solo items, usually concertos after Acts 1 and 2, were often played by first-class instrumentalists who might be brought in specially for the occasion.

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[179] Ibid., ii.1015.

[180] SWesley/*Reminiscences*, f.91^{r}. Arnold's management of all of these series has not been confirmed; he may also have been involved in the 1778 series of James Hook.

[181] Papendiek/*Court*, i.107.

No new oratorio was performed more than a few times. Yet if Handel was not supplanted, a new development was beginning in the performance of his music. To obviate complaints of 'unevenness' in the oratorios, various selections were made from his works, each provided with a new libretto. Perhaps the first of these was John Brown's *The Cure of Saul* (CG 4.3.1763, some of the music by other composers). Sometimes a 'Concerto spirituale', consisting of shorter sacred pieces, replaced a full-length oratorio. As yet however the 'Grand Selection', popularised by the Handel Commemoration, had not ousted complete oratorios as it subsequently did in London and at the provincial festivals.[182]

These trends indicate already a certain dissatisfaction with the unchanging pattern of Handel oratorios. By the 1780s they were considered unfashionable, and rivals to Stanley and Linley had almost disappeared. Writing in about 1806, John Marsh recalled 'the languor, with which the oratorios of Handel were carried on in Lent a little more than twenty years ago'.[183] Attendance had declined drastically. On 24 March 1784 *Acis and Galatea* was performed at Drury Lane Theatre, but 'the House, to the Disgrace of our idle People, was very indifferent indeed'.[184]

The decline was arrested by one event crucial for the subsequent development of music in Britain - the Handel Commemoration of 1784. The five performances (two sacred concerts and two performances of *Messiah* in Westminster Abbey, and a secular evening concert at the Pantheon, tickets costing one guinea) have often been described.[185] It is necessary only to

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[182] The case for pasticcio oratorio was put in PA 7.3.1782. The change was regretted by both Parke (*Memoirs*, ii.209-10) and Samuel Wesley (*Reminiscences*, f.140^{r}), who indicate that eventually ballads were also included.

[183] Marsh/*Hints*, p.60.

[184] PA 26.3.1784.

[185] Principally after Burney/*Commemoration*. See also Burney/*History*, ii.893, ii.1022-3; Parke/*Memoirs*, i.36-44; Lonsdale/*Burney*, pp.296-314.

emphasise the influence of the Concert of Ancient Music, whose directors managed the performances, and of the King, who approved the scheme at an early stage; and to remark on the number of performers - 525 professional and amateur musicians from the provinces as well as London, under the direction of Bates.[186]

Against all expectations the performers succeeded in keeping time and 'the effect resembled clock-work in every thing, but want of feeling and expression'.[187] The audience, too, was unusually attentive:

> It may be said, that though the frequency of hearing good Music in this capital, of late years, has so far blunted the edge of curiosity and appetite, that the best Operas and Concerts are accompanied with a buz and murmur of conversation, equal to that of a tumultuous croud, or the din of high 'Change; yet now, such a stillness reigned, as, perhaps, never happened before in so large an assembly.[188]

Sylas Neville also noted the accuracy of the first concert, 'one of the greatest musical performances I ever heard'.[189] Other writers shared the mood of optimism, though some newspapers commented on the absence of certain celebrated performers.

The Commemoration provided new inspiration to festivals already flourishing in the provinces and to the Concert of Ancient Music, patronised by the King in the following year. With the exception of 1788 and 1789 similar events took place annually until 1791, in which year there were 1067 performers.[190] At the same time William Jackson warned of the

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[186] For the leaders see pp.98-9, 111.

[187] Burney/*Commemoration*, p.15.

[188] Ibid., p.40.

[189] Entry of 26 May 1784 (Neville/*Diary*, p.320).

[190] This figure from Crosse/*York*, p.174.

possible petrifying effect of the Commemoration and suggested that other composers might be represented.[191]

The proceeds of these festivals were applied to charitable purposes. In 1784, £6000 went to the Society of Musicians and £1000 to Westminster Hospital. Vocal music in church had long been associated with charity. Usually numbering at least 5000, the Charity Children had sung at St. Paul's Cathedral since 1713 (outside until 1782).[192] A more important musical event there was the annual rehearsal and feast of the Corporation of the Sons of the Clergy, held on Tuesday and Thursday usually in early May.[193] This centred on a morning charity sermon with music. In 1739 an agreement was made whereby the Society of Musicians would provide an orchestra for £50, and in 1748 there were over 100 performers in all.[194] The musical repertoire varied little; it consisted in 1774 of the Overture to Handel's *Esther*, the 'Dettingen' *Te Deum*, the Hallelujah Chorus, Boyce's anthem 'Lord, Thou hast been our refuge', and after the sermon, 'Zadok, the Priest'.[195] Greene was succeeded as musical director in 1755 by Boyce, to be followed by Samuel Howard in 1779 and Philip Hayes from 1780 to 1796, but little information has survived on the instrumentalists. Hay led in 1771, Richards in 1780 (identified as David Richards in 1785).[196]

In this context it is not surprising that oratorios, sacred or secular, were often performed for charity. Especially during the 1750s oratorios might even be given for the benefit of professional musicians, but this practice declined and such performances as Barthelemon's *Jefte in Masfa* (PA HSq, 3.5.1782) were unusual by this date. There were isolated perfor-

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[191] Jackson/*Observations*, pp.28-32.

[192] Scott/*St. Paul's*, p.21.

[193] See Pearce/*Clergy*, especially pp.234-9.

[194] Entry of 3 May 1748 (Kalm/*Account*, p.30).

[195] After PA 5.5.1774; cf. Pearce/*Clergy*, pp.236-7.

[196] PA 11.5.1771; Pearce/*Clergy*, p.244; *Society Minutes*, p.11.

mances such as *Acis and Galatea* for a 'Widow Gentlewoman in great Distress' (PA DSt, 1.4.1758) and the Society of Musicians occasionally put on Handel oratorios. But particularly interesting are those in aid of London's hospitals. Many hospitals raised money through an annual sermon with music, in imitation of the Sons of the Clergy festival, and some expanded the idea into a sacred oratorio performance or a 'Concerto spirituale'. Most famous were the *Messiah* performances at the Foundling Hospital Chapel, given annually from 1750 to 1777.[197] These brought a sizable income, at least until the death of Handel; in 1754 profits exceeded £600, but they were down to less than £90 in the final year.[198] The later performances were organised by various musicians, among them Giardini, who was largely responsible for a similar series in aid of the Lock Hospital.[199] Concerts and oratorios were given most years between 1752 and 1780, with Giardini's *Ruth* eventually proving an oratorio worthy of annual performance. Other hospitals followed the idea towards the end of the period, especially the Middlesex Hospital, which introduced J.A. Fisher's *Providence* in 1777 (PA FMHall, 14.5.1777), the City of London Lying-in Hospital and Westminster Hospital. John Crosse lamented the demise of these hospital performances around 1784;[200] perhaps this was partly caused by a growing unwillingness among principal musicians to waive their fees for charitable concerts.[201]

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197 See Burrows/*Foundling*, which includes a list of performances. Note however that the 1764 performance was on 1 May (*Foundling Minutes*, C,ix. 97; PA 30.4.1764) and that there was a performance on 12 April 1770 (PA). There are additional account sheets for 1761, 1764 and 1765 in the Greater London Record Office. See also pp.178-9.

198 *Foundling Minutes*, C,iv.176; S,xiii.57.

199 See pp.161-4 and Appendix D.

200 Crosse/*York*, p.53.

201 Cf.Parke/*Memoirs*, ii.256.

The Summer Concerts, 1750-1784

With the close of the season in early June most of London society left for the country and it was necessary for musicians to seek other employment. Some were invited to the country houses of their patrons:

> Nay, I have known many of them so good, as to pass two or three months of the summer, at the country seats of some of their noble friends.[202]

They might also be employed at a succession of provincial festivals, or they might travel abroad, especially to Paris or Dublin.

Others remained in London, however, to entertain the public in concerts at the pleasure gardens.[203] It was here that music of a high standard was accessible to the widest cross-section of the London public. Aside from Ranelagh, whose exclusive character was maintained by the half-crown admission, the gardens charged a shilling or less and this might include refreshment. Kielmansegge observed even at Ranelagh that 'contrary to the custom which generally prevails in England, no distinction is made between the several classes'.[204] The principal gardens opened three or more evenings during the week, while gardens at springs like Sadler's Wells and tea-gardens like White Conduit House were primarily day resorts, especially popular on Sundays.

Several of the gardens contained 'long rooms' for music and dancing, but it was at the main evening resorts that the best music was to be heard. Cuper's Gardens had introduced music in 1738, but when a licence was refused for the 1753 season it became merely a tea-garden.

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[202] *The World*, No.98 (14 November 1754).

[203] See Cudworth/*Vauxhall*; Sands/*Ranelagh*; Scott/*Vauxhall*; Southgate/*Pleasure*; Wroth/*Pleasure*.

[204] Kielmansegge/*Diary*, p.24. Cf. Mackerness/*Social*, pp.104-5.

Marybone Gardens opened effectively in 1738, with an orchestra from the theatres to play 'from six to ten, eighteen of the best concertos, overtures and airs'.[205] It never achieved fashionable status, however, and strenuous efforts were necessary to attract the public, including the performance of comic operas such as *La Serva Padrona* (from 1758). In 1768 Thomas Lowe admitted a loss of over £2000 in three seasons,[206] and the violinist Thomas Pinto is said to have been ruined in the management of Marybone in 1769. Arnold was apparently a later manager but the gardens eventually closed in 1776, after two seasons of merely miscellaneous entertainments.

Vauxhall Gardens re-opened in 1732 and five years later the famous 'orchestra' was built in the grounds. 1745 saw the introduction of vocal items, and songs became the particular speciality of the gardens. Hook, previously at Marybone, presided at the organ from 1774 to 1820, playing a concerto every night.

At Ranelagh, opened in 1742, there were experiments in the timing of the concerts and in the placing of the 'orchestra'. According to Burney, concerts took place originally in the morning, consisting primarily of oratorio choruses, until a complaint that 'the young merchants and city apprentices were frequently seduced from their counting-houses and shops by these morning amusements'.[207] The morning concerts with breakfast came to an end about 1753;[208] there had however been concerts in the evening many years before. The 'orchestra' was initially positioned in the centre of the rotunda, but it was later moved to the side for acoustical reasons.

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[205] Wroth/*Pleasure*, p.95.

[206] PA 27.9.1768.

[207] Burney/*History*, ii.1011.

[208] They were advertised only until 1752, but PA 9.4.1754 draws attention to the refusal of the licence for morning music.

Unlike the other gardens, Ranelagh often opened only on Monday, Wednesday and Friday evenings. The entertainments there, being indoors, usually began earlier in the season - around the beginning of April rather than May, and thus before the end of the winter season. Concerts at the gardens initially began at 6 o'clock. In 1763 the concert at Vauxhall lasted from 6 to 10, sonatas and concertos alternating with songs.[209] But even in the same year Ranelagh's concerts began later and by the end of the period concerts at Vauxhall were beginning at 7.30 (or 8 at the height of summer), lasting for three hours.

Concerts at the three main gardens were by no means mediocre in standard. Many of the best English singers performed there, and instrumentalists of high calibre were sometimes to be heard.[210] In addition the orchestra was stable, with the same leader and keyboard-player, a rare situation outside the theatres. Memoirs often mention delightful music at Vauxhall and Ranelagh, though few give any details.[211]

While songs and instrumental music formed the basis of concerts, there were other musical attractions. The performance of comic operas at Marybone has already been noted. Other vocal works - serenades, odes, cantatas - were sometimes included, especially on benefit nights; and at charitable benefits a longer work such as *Acis and Galatea* might be heard. Sometimes the birthday of George III was celebrated with a Coronation Anthem or with fireworks and Handel's music.[212] There are also frequent references to ensembles of two horns and two clarinets playing at

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[209] PA 14.7.1763.

[210] Appendix F lists appearances of violinists at these gardens.

[211] For example Archenholtz/*Picture*, ii.176; Kalm/*Account*, pp.65-6, 94; Kielmansegge/*Diary*, p.23; Moritz/*Travels*, pp.40, 47; Wendeborn/*View*, i.353-4. See also novels such as Fanny Burney's *Evelina* and *Cecilia*; Tobias Smollett's *Humphry Clinker* (1771).

[212] In 1772 all four Handel Coronation Anthems were included at Ranelagh (PA 5.6.1772).

Ranelagh, and to trumpets, horns and drums on special nights.[213]

Towards the end of the century the gardens began to lose their original spirit, with the appearance of spectacular turns like tightrope-walking and balloon-flying, besides a greater emphasis on Vauxhall's 'dark lanes'. Ranelagh closed in 1803; Vauxhall struggled on until 1859, but Parke already noted a decline by 1822 in the music at that 'once elegant and fashionable place of resort'.[214] The pleasure gardens were essentially a child of the leisured 18th century. Sir John Fielding even wondered why Londoners went to Mrs. Cornelys' when they had 'Ranelagh with its music and fireworks and Marybone Gardens with their music, wine and plum-cakes'.[215]

Conclusions

London's concert life clearly flourished in the late 18th century as never before. For the first time regular series of concerts were established, featuring the most modern music of the day. Meanwhile, renewed interest was shown in preserving England's musical heritage - music of the 'golden age' as well as Purcell and Handel - and Burney wrote with understandable pride that 'there is, perhaps, no country in Europe, where the productions of old masters are more effectually preserved from oblivion, than in England'.[216] A broad-minded provincial musician like John Marsh may have regretted the constant division between ancient and modern music, and between Italian and English vocal music,[217] but not even Paris could

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213 Full bands were not yet heard in the gardens, though they performed in the public parks (Sadie/*Wind*, p.108).

214 Parke/*Memoirs*, ii.175, ii.318-19.

215 Quoted in Wroth/*Pleasure*, p.96.

216 Burney/*Commemoration*, p.v.

217 Marsh/*Comparison*.

rival the number and variety of London's concerts.

If 1750 was a natural starting point for this survey, with the arrival of Giardini and the vogue for the new Italian music, the year 1784 also marks the end of an era in some respects. The 1780s are generally regarded as representing the beginnings of social change in England.[218] With sudden rises in population and developments in industry came the economic growth that laid the foundations for 19th century society. Political agitation made significant though temporary inroads and the moral reaction already embodied in methodism and in the person of George III gathered strength against the frivolity and extravagance characteristic of the 1770s. Respectability in the best sense of the word - marked by seriousness of purpose and simplicity of fashion - was confirmed by the French Revolution. Henry Angelo observed in 1828:

> In no period of our domestic history has so universal a change in the manners and habits of the people generally, taken place, as within the last half-century. Even up to the period of which I am now speaking, about the year 1790, there were clubs and societies of humourists, of a cast and character so dissimilar to modern habits, that, with reference to their frequency then, we may be said to be no longer the same people.[219]

The earlier haphazard but gentlemanly ways were increasingly replaced towards the end of the century by tighter bureaucratic organisation and centralised control. The aristocracy tried to ward off these threats to their life-style, but even they were not unaffected by the new standards, until a reaction took place during the Regency.

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[218] See for example Jarrett/*Hogarth*, pp.28-33; Rudé/*Hanoverian*, Chapter 12; Watson/*George III*, Chapter 20; Williams/*Georgian*, Chapter 6.

[219] Angelo/*Reminiscences*, i.283-4.

In the literary field 1784 marks the end of an era with the death of Johnson. Many of the figures associated with the vibrant culture of Johnson's London died soon before or after - Goldsmith in 1774, Garrick in 1779, Gainsborough in 1788, Reynolds in 1792. It was not long before the visionary world of Blake or the romantic nature poetry of Coleridge and Wordsworth.

It is often facile to try to link developments in music with those in other arts or in society in general. Attempts have been made to correlate the social changes mentioned above with changes in musical style. Thus George Rudé asserts that the 'new middle-class audience' at London's public concerts, especially those of J.C. Bach, effectively caused the musical revolution, earlier but parallel to that of the nature poets.[220] On the other hand J. Steven Watson argues that 'music alone of the arts showed no sign of being revivified by the experiments of a shifting society'.[221] This is no place to discuss the influence of London's middle class on musical style - on symphonic and chamber music, on gardens songs and English opera, on oratorio and hymns, on keyboard music. It should be said however that, though it may occasionally incline towards the sentimental, little music in London before 1784 reveals either the coarseness or the romantic gothicism of much 'middle-class' literature of the period. It rather reflects the civilised exterior of the genteel Augustan world.

Three general observations may be made about London's music in the 1780s. In the first place, with the death of J.C. Bach in 1782, that of Abel in 1787, and the departure of both Sacchini and Giardini in 1784, the later *galant* style gave way to the early romanticism of Clementi, Cherubini,

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[220] Rudé/*Hanoverian*, pp.239-40. Cf. Edwards/*Revolution*, pp.756-8.

[221] Watson/*George III*, pp.543-4.

Viotti and even Haydn.

Secondly, alongside this transformation of musical style went subtle changes in organisation. The nobility naturally maintained their leisured life-style, and it was a long time before musical patronage was entirely transferred to a middle-class public. However with the tendency of the aristocracy to turn to their own private concerts in the 1780s, public concerts and oratorios were not flourishing as previously. Musicians attempted to combat this trend with a new joint organisation, the Professional Concert of 1785, thus demonstrating the move towards centralisation already noted.[222] By contrast with the earlier more modest concerts, dependent largely on London's musical resources, this new commercial venture, together with the concerts of Salomon, soon previded the impetus for a wave of international celebrities, including besides Haydn and Pleyel, the violinists Lolli, Giornovichi, Yaniewicz and Viotti. The concerts of the early 1790s are a final flowering of London's 18th century concert life, but they have already taken on a new tone, seen even in the journalistic coverage in the newspapers. There followed a bleak period during the economic difficulties of the Napoleonic wars.[223] The principal concert series was the Vocal Concert (instituted in 1792, but including instrumental music from 1801),[224] until the Philharmonic Society in 1813 resolved to remedy 'the almost utter neglect into which instrumental pieces in general have fallen'.[225] The original

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[222] Compare the foundation of the Royal Academy in 1768.

[223] Parke (*Memoirs*, ii.190) commented on music's temporary decline. Samuel Wesley (*Reminiscences*, ff.122^{r} - 123^{r}) was undecided as to whether music was at its best at the time of Bach, Abel and Giardini or at that of Salomon.

[224] Parke/*Memoirs*, i.151, i.292.

[225] Foster/*Philharmonic*, p.4.

stricture excluding concertos, solos or duets was soon disregarded, but it is on the high ideals of this institution, which sought in part to recreate the musical values of the later 18th century, that the orchestral music of today is built.

The 1780s, finally, saw the celebration of the 'ancient' cause on an unprecedented scale at the Handel Commemorations from 1784 onwards. Indirectly in its influence on the Concert of Ancient Music, and directly in its inspiration to provincial festivals, this was a vital factor in the development of the British choral tradition based on the oratorios of Handel.

1784 may therefore be seen as the close of one era in London's musical history, an era which nevertheless contained the seeds for the development of many of the musical institutions of today.

CHAPTER TWO

Violinists in London's Concert Life, 1750-1784

> Many foreign singers, fidlers, and dancers, are extravagantly paid; and, if they are the least frugal, they are enabled to retire to their own country, where they may live in affluence, enriched by English money.[1]

Among musicians, singers and violinists were especially favoured with British wealth, and London was accordingly invaded by performers of the first rank. It is thus hardly surprising that, even allowing for the traditional aversion to native talent, British violinists should have remained largely in the background.

Perhaps the financial inducements were more legendary than real. When Samuel Sharp wrote that an Italian performer, 'if he be well advised, will certainly set out for *England*, where talents of every kind are rewarded ten-fold above what they are at *Naples*',[2] the acid-tongued Giuseppe Baretti replied:

> As to the fiddlers and other Italians, who come here to play or to teach music, foolishly attracted by the great renown of English riches, they perform at the Opera and at Madam Cornely's, and trot about from house to house every morning, to give lessons for two guineas a dozen, while the winter lasts: but scarcely one in twenty has found himself twenty pounds the better at the

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[1] Wendeborn/*View*, ii.237.

[2] Letter of November 1765 (Sharp/*Italy*, p.80).

year's end for these twenty years past.[3]

In addition there was the difficulty of keeping in the fashionable eye. For a public ever seeking amusement in novelties the appearance of a new violinist was itself worthy of comment. Mrs. Delany wrote cynically of Dublin fashion in 1750: 'Our new, and *therefore* favourite performer Morella is to play the first fiddle, and conduct the whole.'[4] If it was possible to move straight to the forefront of fashion, it was as easy to be swiftly neglected in the face of a new star. Nevertheless many violinists did make sizable fortunes in London, and, as Archenholtz commented, 'the greatest part of the foreign musicians who visit London remain there'.[5]

The Violinists

The biographical accounts in this section have been compiled from three types of source:

i) Articles in standard modern dictionaries (*DNB*, *Grove 5*, Highfill/*Dictionary*, *MGG*, Riemann/*Lexicon*). Occasional reference has been made to Eitner/*Lexicon* and biographical entries in Pohl/*London*. All these articles should be treated with caution, and there are frequently slight discrepancies. These sources have not however been acknowledged except in cases of serious disagreement.

ii) Specialised modern studies, cited at the beginning of each entry.

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[3] Baretti/*Italy*, i.149-50.

[4] Referring to a performance of *Messiah*; letter of 10 December 1750 (Delany/*Correspondence*, ii.626).

[5] Archenholtz/*Picture*, ii.161.

iii) Contemporary sources, including dictionaries (especially Gerber/*Lexicon* and *Neues Lexicon*, Sainsbury/*Dictionary*[6]), directories, archival sources, memoirs, letters and London newspapers. (For the sake of brevity passing references to benefit concerts of no special interest are not fully annotated.)

For a chart of performances in London from 1750 to 1784, years of first performance, identification and dates of violinists on the chart, see Appendix F, where will be found further information on concert and theatre leaders, orchestral players and violinists at the gardens. For violinists at concert and oratorio series, including performances for the Decayed Musicians' Fund, see Appendix B and Chapter 1 (which deals also with societies and court appointments). Appendix C gives details of concerts in the 1777-8 season, Appendix D of the concerts of Giardini. Particulars of violinists at the Foundling Hospital *Messiah* performances are taken from the sources listed in Burrows/*Foundling*, pp.283-4, and on p.52 above. Information on provincial festivals is derived from *Festival 1-4* and Lysons/*Three Choirs*.

Burney lists London's musicians at the time of his arrival in 1744:

> Festing, Collet, and Brown were our principal performers at this time on the violin, among the natives; and Veracini, Carbonelli, and Pasquali, among the Italians.[7]

These names, especially the first three, appear regularly in newspaper advertisements during the 1740s. Burney had no high opinion of Michael Christian FESTING, probably a German, and a pupil of Geminiani:

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[6] Largely derived from earlier sources, particularly Bingley/*Biography* (see Ritchey/*Wesley*).

[7] Burney/*History*, ii.1008.

> This performer, with a feeble hand, little genius for composition, and but a shallow knowledge in counterpoint, by good sense, probity, prudent conduct, and a gentleman-like behaviour, acquired a weight and influence in his profession, at which hardly any musician of his class ever arrived. He led during many years at the opera [succeeding Pietro Castrucci in 1737], at Ranelagh [from 1742], at the concert at Hickford's room, at the Swan and Castle concerts in the city, and often at Handel's oratorios. Nor was there a benefit concert for any English professor at that time without a solo on the violin by Mr. M.C. Festing; and yet there is not a ripieno player on the violin at the opera now, whose hand and abilities are not superior to those of Festing upon that instrument.[8]

Burney might have added that he played in and perhaps led the King's Band until his death, that he was a member of the Academy of Ancient Music and other societies; and that he was a founder and first secretary of the Society of Musicians. Hawkins rightly defended Festing's compositions, but even he admitted that Festing was 'inferior to many of his time' as a violinist.[9] After mortifications caused by the success of Giardini he died in 1752.

Richard COLLET was leader at Vauxhall Gardens during the 1740s. 'His tone was full, clear, and smooth, and his hand strong; but having neither taste nor knowledge of Music, he always remained an inelegant player.'[10] His name appears in concert advertisements until 1751, although he was leader at Drury Lane Theatre in 1763 and it was only in 1766 that he announced his retirement to the country.[11]

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[8] Ibid., ii.1011-12. See Beechey/*Festing*.

[9] Hawkins/*History*, ii.892-3.

[10] Burney/*History*, ii.1011.

[11] Mortimer/*Directory*, p.28; PA 10.4.1766. Not to be confused with John Collett, also a violinist, or with Thomas, an instrument-seller. Parke mistakenly calls the Vauxhall violinist Tom, and describes his eccentricities; he was apparently averse to music outside the first position (Parke/*Memoirs*, ii.170-1, ii.257).

Abraham BROWN was as severely censured by Burney as the two previous:

> [He] had a clear, sprightly, and loud tone, with a strong hand; but ... he was ignorant of Music, and the pieces he played consisted of *notes, et rien que des notes:* for he had no soul or sense of expression.[12]

He had visited Italy, and according to Burney he brought back a solo of Tartini, 'with which alone he figured at all concerts, for at least six or seven years, without ever entering into Tartini's true style of playing it'; he nevertheless maintained 'a full conviction of his superiority'.[13] He succeeded Festing at Ranelagh and elsewhere, taking his place in the King's Band.[14] Brown was frequently advertised as a leader throughout the 1750s, and he often took a benefit concert until 1756. He led the Foundling Hospital *Messiah* performances at least in 1754 and 1758, and also at the Three Choirs Festival in 1755. His name is last found in newspaper advertisements in 1763, but by this year he was a member of the Queen's Band, and he maintained the two court appointments until 1781.[15] He had apparently died by 1785.[16]

Of the three Italians listed by Burney, much the best known is Francesco Maria VERACINI (1690-1768).[17] He played at a number of concerts in 1741, including Handel's oratorio on 28 February, and in autumn 1742 he performed concertos on numerous occasions at Drury Lane Theatre. He

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[12] Burney/*History*, ii.1012-13.

[13] Ibid., ii.1013.

[14] Ibid., ii.1012; *Court Register*, 1753.

[15] Mortimer/*Directory*, p.27; *Court Register*. At least from 1770 he played second violin to Hay in the Queen's Band.

[16] Gerber/*Neues Lexicon*, art. 'Brown (Abraham)'.

[17] See White/*Veracini*.

was leader and composer at the Italian Opera in the 1743-4 season. According to Burney he led a benefit concert for the singer Jozzi in 1745, 'in such a bold and masterly manner as I had never heard before', but left the country soon after.[18]

Giovanni Stefano CARBONELLI (1700-1772), 'a plain intelligent performer of Corelli's school',[19] had been leader at the King's Theatre (before Castrucci) and at Drury Lane Theatre; by 1745 he was leading Handel's oratorio series. But his name is advertised during this decade only as a concerto player at the Decayed Musicians' Fund concerts from 1746 to 1749. Nothing further is heard of him, as he turned to wine-selling in his later years.

Niccolò PASQUALI came to England in about 1743 and his name was advertised as a violinist and composer between 1744 and 1748. He led Geminiani's short opera series at the Haymarket Theatre in 1745.[20] After some time as a theatre composer in Dublin, he was again in London by 1751, and in 1752 he led several concerts. For one of these was advertised his adaptation of the fourth concerto of Corelli, with trumpets, horns and drums, an arrangement later popular at Marybone Gardens.[21] Soon after, Pasquali, 'an excellent performer on the violin and a good musician', was in Edinburgh where he died 'much respected'.[22]

It is understandable that Burney should have omitted London's most famous violinist from his list. As he wrote, 'Geminiani was seldom heard

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[18] Burney/*History*, ii.451.

[19] Burney/*History*, ii.1010.

[20] Deutsch/*Handel*, pp.606-7, after Burney/*History*, ii.844.

[21] GA 11.3.1752 for DSt, 12.3; e.g. PA 4.9.1770.

[22] Burney/*History*, ii.1014. Mrs. Delany, writing on 8 June 1750 (*Correspondence*, ii.552), found his playing neat and tasteful.

in public during his long residence in England'.[23] He directed the short Haymarket opera series in 1745, which Pasquali led. Only three other references to his performance in London after 1740 have been found. He gave a benefit concert in 1741 by command of the Prince and Princess of Wales (LDP Hay, 21.12.1741), another in 1742, and in 1750 (not 1749) he put on a 'Concerto spirituali' of Italian sacred music (GA DL, 11.4.1750). The latter was mentioned by Burney and Hawkins, who however both mistook the date.[24] It is clear from the two accounts that Geminiani was not adept at organising concerts, though only Burney criticises his unsteady direction of the orchestra, and Hawkins praises his solo performances. Geminiani afterwards travelled to Paris, returning in 1755 to England to publish revisions of his earlier works. His music to *The Enchanted Forest*, a curious programmatic spectacle performed in Paris in 1754, was revived in 1761 at a benefit concert for Elisabetta Gambarini (PA DSt, 15.4.1761). The music was lent by the composer 'being lately returned to England', but this is ambiguous. He is normally stated to have revisited Dublin in 1759, dying there in 1762. The leader at Gambarini's concert was in any case Pinto, the conductor Worgan.

Other violinists in London during the 1740s are mentioned by Burney elsewhere. Matthew DUBOURG, another pupil of Geminiani, was in 1728 appointed Master of the State Music in Ireland, in which capacity he set two odes every year until his death in 1767. The post did not require constant residence in Ireland, and Dubourg was sometimes heard in London - for example, at Handel's oratorios in 1743 (following the Dublin performances in 1742). From 1750 to 1761 he played a concerto at many of the

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[23] Burney/*History*, ii.992.

[24] Ibid., ii.993; Hawkins/*History*, ii.915.

Decayed Musicians' Fund concerts, but his name is seldom otherwise advertised. He had already been music master to members of the royal family, including Frederick, Prince of Wales; and in 1761 he was appointed leader of the newly-formed Queen's Band, a post he probably held until his death.[25] Burney commended his performance of Corelli, especially the 'fulness of his tone and spirit of his execution'.[26] Hawkins also remarked on his 'bold and rapid' performance, by comparison with Geminiani's 'tender and pathetic' playing; and he noted that Dubourg's style passed to his brilliant pupil John Clegg, regrettably confined to Bedlam in 1744.[27]

William DEFESCH was a regular performer in London throughout the 1740s. He put on a series of three oratorios in 1745 (CG, 6.3.1745 et seq.) and was leader at Marybone Gardens in 1748 and 1749. Though he lived until 1761 no further mention of him has been found, except as composer of a 'full Piece' (GA MGdn, 25.9.1752) and of *The London 'Prentice* (DL, 23.3.1754).

Carlo TESSARINI 'of Rimini' (b.1690) was advertised as a leader in 1747 and he also played concertos at a concert series given by Palma the following year.[28] The well-known violinist Pietro CASTRUCCI (1679-1752), leader at the King's Theatre until 1737, took a final London benefit concert in 1748 (GA 30.3.1748 for H, 31.3). The identity of JACKSON, advertised as leader of a number of minor concerts between 1745 and 1761 (in which year he led Barbandt's oratorios), remains obscure. One Thomas Jackson was a member of the King's Band at least from 1748 to 1778.[29]

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[25] Still in 1763 (Mortimer/*Directory*, p.28). He was not a member of the King's Band as often stated.

[26] Burney/*History*, ii.998.

[27] Hawkins/*History*, ii.892; Burney/*History*, ii.1004.

[28] The ninth night (GA H, 18.4.1748).

[29] *Court Register*. See p.375.

It is evident that London's two most famous violinists before 1750 - Veracini and Geminiani, who both first came to England in 1714 - were not frequently heard in public; and it is therefore not surprising that in 1751 Giardini should have so amazed his listeners, who could only compare with Festing, Collet and Brown.[30] These three continued to perform in London after his arrival, as did Pasquali, Dubourg and Jackson. But the old school, founded on the performance of Corelli's music, rapidly gave way to the new, pioneered by Giardini. Other performers arrived in the 1750s, and the influx rose to a peak in the 1770s, by which time the new style was firmly established.

The biographical accounts which follow, dealing with all violinists listed after the chart in Appendix F and some other unidentified violinists from the chart, are not intended to be comprehensive. Rather they investigate the role of each violinist in London's concert life, giving major appointments held and contemporary reviews where available.

Several of these violinists were virtuosi of more or less international standing who spent a number of years in London, but never settled there permanently. Often such performers dominated a London season, especially as soloists at benefit concerts and oratorios.

Angelo MORIGI, a pupil of Tartini, performed in London only in 1750 and 1751, giving a benefit concert in both years. Some years later he had returned to Italy, and took up a court appointment in Parma.

Charles CHABRAN, like Giardini a pupil of G.B. Somis (who was his uncle), visited Paris in 1751, but he was not regarded as one of the top violinists there.[31] In 1752 he was in London, where he played an important part for three seasons. He must have been something of a rival to Giardini,

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[30] See p.151.

[31] Pierre/*Concert*, p.114.

for he succeeded him at the Dean Street concerts in 1753 (where he 'met with universal Applause'[32]), at the Decayed Musicians' Fund concert in 1753 and at the King's Arms Concert in 1753-4.[33] The two violinists however played at some of the same concerts, a circumstance which caused comment in *The General Advertiser*.[34] Chabran took a benefit concert in 1753.

A much more famous pupil of Somis (and perhaps also of Tartini) was Gaetano PUGNANI, violinist at the Turin court for much of his life.[35] He was invited to London to lead the Italian Opera orchestra in 1767-8, and he presumably retained the post the following season, when his comic opera *Nanetta e Lubino* was performed (KT, 8.4.1769). He is repeatedly billed in these two seasons as leader and soloist at benefit concerts, many of them involving Bach and Abel (whose concerts he probably led). For example, he led Fischer's concert in 1768, at which Bach is first advertised playing a piano sonata (PA ThHTav, 2.6.1768). He was a soloist at the Covent Garden oratorios in 1769 and took benefit concerts in both years, at the first of which all the music was his own (PA A, 17.3.1768). In addition he led at the Salisbury festival in 1769. After a return to the Turin court, he was again in London in 1773, possibly as leader once more at the King's Theatre - some of his music was performed there, including the serious opera *Apollo ed Issea* (KT, 30.3.1773). But Cramer had usurped him at the Bach-Abel concerts and his concert performances were few. An advertisement for Jean Baptiste Janson's benefit concert (PA H,

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[32] PA 22.1.1753.

[33] PA 12.11.1753.

[34] GA 16.3.1752, concerning Miss Sheward's concert (DSt, 17.3).

[35] See Zschinsky-Troxler/*Pugnani*; Müry/*Pugnani* (which is slightly more detailed on the London years, on pp.4-5).

13.5.1773) intriguingly refers to a trio played by Pugnani, Viot and the cellist, suggesting that his celebrated pupil Viotti (1755-1824) may have travelled with him much earlier than has been supposed. Pugnani returned to Turin soon after this and his later tours never brought him to England. No reports of his playing in London have been traced, but his strength of tone and melodic eloquence, combined with his authority as a leader, placed him among the foremost violinists of the day.[36]

Pierre LAHOUSSAYE was in London for at least two seasons between Pugnani's visits.[37] A pupil of Tartini, he apparently arrived in London in 1768 with the composer Pietro Guglielmi.[38] It is possible that he led at the Italian Opera for the last three seasons of Guglielmi's popularity (1769-70 to 1771-2). He was a soloist at several of the King's Theatre oratorios in 1770, when music by Guglielmi and J.C. Bach was performed, and he might have led the Bach-Abel concerts in this year, possibly also in 1771. But despite his technical brilliance Lahoussaye does not appear to have impressed the London public and he remained for the rest of his life in Paris.

Undoubtedly he was overshadowed in London by the extraordinary success of Maddalena SIRMEN, another Tartini pupil, who dominated the 1771 and 1772 seasons.[39] Fêted as 'the celebrated Performer on the Violin', Signora Sirmen was introduced at the first of Bach's oratorios in 1771 (PA KT, 10.1.1771). She was a soloist there on succeeding nights, and also at Arnold's oratorios at Covent Garden Theatre, where she was

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[36] Rangoni/*Essai*, pp.58-64. See however p.199.

[37] See La Laurencie/*École*, ii.500-7.

[38] *Grove 5*, art. 'Lahoussaye'.

[39] Scott/*Syrmen*. She was the recipient of the famous letter from Tartini on violin-playing.

'received with uncommon Applause'.[40] No doubt she was the '*fiddling woman*' Mrs. Delany was invited to hear at Lord Warwick's on 16 January.[41] She was a soloist at the Decayed Musicians' Fund concert and at several other benefit concerts, some directed by Bach and Abel at whose concerts she presumably played. But at her own she performed a harpsichord concerto (PA A, 15.4.1771). She also played violin concertos, exceptionally, between the acts at the Italian Opera on several occasions. The following season she was slightly less in demand, but played again at the Fund concert, at her own benefit, and at the Covent Garden oratorios, that on 10 April 'being the last Time of her performing in England'.[42] Her playing was distinguished by purity and grace, and by expressive adagio playing, rather than by strength of tone. Her subsequent career is uncertain: an attempt to conquer the King's Theatre in 1773 as an opera singer failed (KT, 1.6.1773), and her violin-playing was found old-fashioned in Paris in 1785.

A number of performers made their London début in 1772. Nicolas XIMENEZ led at the Drury Lane oratorios, but was only apparently a soloist there once (DL, 13.3.1772). Though leader also at the Salisbury and Winchester festivals in 1773, he remains an obscure figure. Eligio CELESTINO was however regarded as one of the principal virtuosi of the age; in Rome in 1770 Burney approved the 'brilliancy, taste, and precision' of his playing.[43] He appeared at a number of concerts between 1772 (when he perhaps led the Bach-Abel concerts) and 1776, taking his own benefit in 1775. Thereafter he found employment at various German courts, before

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[40] Review of her performance on 15.2.1771 in PA 16.2.1771.

[41] Letter of 15 January 1771 (Delany/*Correspondence*, iv.322).

[42] PA 10.4.1772.

[43] Gerber/*Neues Lexicon*, art. 'Celestino'; Burney/*Tours*, i.202.

returning to London at the very end of the century. He was a regular visitor to the Burney household. In 1772 he led at one of their concerts 'and charmed us all with a solo'; described as 'that sweet violinist' he played there again in 1773.[44]

A pupil of Charles Chabran, Pierre VACHON was a well-known figure in Paris before he went to London in 1772, apparently in the employ of the Comte de Guines, the French ambassador.[45] His name is found in London concert advertisements in 1772, 1774 (when he was a soloist at the Drury Lane oratorios) and 1777 (when he also played viola). According to *ABC Dario*, England found his compositions 'in the most peculiar style' and he faced competition:

> It required no small share of ability in musick, and *industrie*, for Vachon to secure a comfortable residence in this country, amongst so many able masters. But his *politicks* and his fiddle assisted each other.[46]

Nothing is known of his subsequent life until his appointment at the Prussian court in 1784 or 1786.

A more significant impression was left by Franz LAMOTTE, who it seems was born in Brussels but trained in England under Giardini, before he left for Italy.[47] An advertisement in *The Public Advertiser* of 11 April 1765 indicated that the twelve-year-old had just arrived from Italy, esteemed 'the finest Performer', and that he would be pleased to 'wait on any Gentleman or Lady'. He later toured the continent before settling in 1772 as violinist to the Austrian imperial chapel; Burney deemed him 'the

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[44] FBurney/*Early Diary*, i.169-70, i.186.

[45] *ABC Dario*, p.46; see La Laurencie/*École*, ii.333-46.

[46] *ABC Dario*, p.46.

[47] Fabbri/*Duetti*, p.260. Cf. Burney/*Tours*, ii.125.

best solo player and sightsman, upon the violin, at Vienna'.[48] Whether he resigned this post is not clear, but he was to be heard in London every season from 1776 to 1780. Already in 1776 he was leader of the Pantheon concerts, at the Decayed Musicians' Fund concert and at Arnold's oratorios at Covent Garden Theatre. On 28 February he was unable to lead at the latter due to a fall from his horse, and Richards took his place. Lamotte, however,

> determining not to disappoint the Audience, performed a Concerto at the End of the Second Act, which (though interrupted a little by excessive Bursts of Astonishment) was honoured at the End with repeated and universal Marks of the greatest Admiration.[49]

He was a frequent performer at benefit concerts this year, also taking one himself. In the 1776-7 season he again led the Pantheon concerts and the Fund concert, was a soloist at the Covent Garden oratorios,[50] and organised the orchestra for Mrs. Stuart's concerts at the Tottenham Street Rooms. He gave a benefit concert and played at many others, including the last Foundling Hospital *Messiah* performance. But he caused friction by refusing at short notice to play at that of Luigi Borghi.[51] In the summer of this year he first played at provincial festivals.

1778 and 1779 saw a new venture - the organisation of subscription concerts with Rauzzini at the Hanover Square Rooms; and Lamotte was less involved elsewhere.[52] In 1780 he advertised a benefit concert at the

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[48] Burney/*Tours*, ii.125.

[49] PA 29.2.1776.

[50] For a glowing review of his performance there see p.199.

[51] See Borghi's notice in PA 5.6.1777.

[52] They had already collaborated in Bath; see Sands/*Rauzzini*, p.108; Parke/*Memoirs*, ii.53.

King's Theatre, with both Barthelemon and Cramer among the performers, but it is not clear whether it ever took place.[53] According to *The Morning Chronicle* of 25 September 1780 he died at The Hague on 7 September of that year, not yet 30 years of age.

Lamotte was one of the most accomplished virtuosi of his time, renowned for double-stopping and staccato playing. But technical display did not appeal to British audiences, and *ABC Dario* wrote stingingly:

> We know not from whom he received instructions, nor does his style seem to be the adoption of any particular master, but rather an effort to play the most difficult and ill-suited passages on the violin. We advise Mr. La Motte to endeavour at obtaining a tone. We think it is in his power.[54]

Charles Dibdin was equally caustic:

> LA MOTTE's great merit was to figure away in *alt*, till at last, approaching to the bridge, he played himself, as it were, out of sight. The *dexterity* was *wonderful*, but for heaven's sake where was the *pleasure?*[55]

On the other hand Fanny Burney heard him in 1778 playing quartets 'divinely'.[56]

Last in this group comes the Mannheimer Carl STAMITZ, who spent several years in London at about the same time as Lamotte, with whom he often performed. His first appearance was at the unimportant Hatton House (PA 23.10.1776 for 24.10), where he directed a concert and played a violin

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[53] See the various announcements in PA 18.5.1780, 2.6.1780, 6.6.1780, 9.6.1780.

[54] *ABC Dario*, p.33.

[55] Dibdin/*Tour*, p.199.

[56] See p.42.

concerto. But he became known in London almost entirely as a viola-player, the first major performer that London had seen:

> His tenor [viola] playing is very great, and he only wants a little affettuoso to be intermixed with it, to make it capital. His violin performance is very inferior.[57]

During his first season he was frequently heard alongside Lamotte, especially in duets for violin and viola - at the Pantheon concerts, at Mrs. Stuart's concerts, and Covent Garden oratorios. He was probably also employed at the Bach-Abel concerts,[58] and he appeared in a duet with Cramer at Tacet's benefit (PA Hay, 29.4.1777). Stamitz also played the viola d'amore, on which he was 'an exquisite Performer'.[59]

In 1778 he was again employed by Bach,[60] and he was often associated with the Bach-Abel performers. He himself took a benefit concert, with two orchestras, one visible, the other an 'Eccho'; and he introduced the 'violetton', 'his own new-invented Instrument' (PA Hay, 6.4.1778). Again he played at some Covent Garden oratorios, now with the young Weichsel.

Stamitz joined once more with Lamotte in 1779, at his concerts with Rauzzini, but he continued to play alongside Cramer, for example at the Decayed Musicians' Fund concert. On one occasion he provided ballet music for the Italian Opera. During the following season he performed at the Pantheon concerts, now led by Cramer. Exceptionally he led a performance of *Acis and Galatea* for a family in distress, with 'upwards of a Hundred of the most capital Performers' (PA FMHall, 10.12.1779);

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[57] *ABC Dario*, p.42.

[58] The ledgers of Bach's account at Drummond's Bank reveal a payment of 9 guineas on 26 May 1777.

[59] SWesley/*Reminiscences*, f.156^{r}.

[60] Payment of 15 guineas on 16 April 1778.

and he organised a concert in May, with his 'Canticum sacrum' and a chorus in honour of Admiral Rodney (MC FMHall, 26.5.1780). Throughout his four seasons in London Stamitz was in constant demand at benefit concerts, especially in duets for violin and viola, concertos for the same or larger combinations, and concertos for viola d'amore.

Many lesser performers were for various reasons only briefly heard in London. Some left to take up residence in the provinces. Probably the best violinist in this category was Pieter HELLENDAAL, a Dutch pupil of Tartini, who had already been heard in London in 1741.[61] He was again in London in 1752, taking a benefit concert in that year and playing at several concerts in the two following years. A supporter of older music, he subsequently sought employment in the provinces. Late in 1759 he failed in an attempt to be made leader of the Oxford concerts, but after further performances in London in 1760 he moved to King's Lynn and two years later settled in Cambridge as an organist, remaining there until his death in 1799.

At one of his 1760 appearances (Barbandt's oratorio on PA Hay, 15.2.1760) Hellendaal played alongside the most famous of all the performers under consideration - William HERSCHELL, in London as a violinist and viola-player at least in 1760. Later he moved to the North of England and then to Bath for the musical part of his career, before he took up astronomy.

Other violinists made only occasional solo appearances in London, in some cases even taking a benefit concert; but of their other musical activities there and of their length of stay nothing is known. The more important of these are Giuseppe CATTANEI (also a viola-player), Carlo FALCO, Giuseppe (?) GIORGI,[62] Jean OLIVER Y ASTORGA, Étienne(?) PIFFET,

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[61] His own benefit (LDP 13.3.1741 for H, 17.3). See Parkinson/*Hellendaal*.

[62] Later in Dublin (Kelly/*Reminiscences*, p.8).

and Giuseppe PUPPO.[63]

London saw too a number of child prodigies, some of whom were better known elsewhere or in a different capacity. Among them were John WARD, a pupil of Brown, who played at benefits given by his father between 1749 and 1752; James LATES, who led concerts in 1754 (aged 10) and 1755, and later became well-known in Oxford; Hugh BARRON, a pupil of Giardini who made his début at the age of 13 in 1760 but adopted painting as his profession;[64] Gertrud SCHMÄHLING, who played at the same concert, aged 11, and elsewhere, but was persuaded by English ladies to concentrate on singing[65] - which brought her European fame as Madame Mara; and Johann Heinrich SCHROETER, younger brother of the pianist, who performed at the age of nine with his family in London in 1772 but probably left thereafter. We may mention here the young Samuel WESLEY, who was taught by Cramer and described himself as 'really an Adept on the Violin, [who] found no great Difficulty in mastering the Compositions of the fashionable Violinists of the Day, such as Giardini, Cramer, Borghi [,] Giornovichi, &c.' for his family's concerts (from 1779 to 1785).[66]

Four prodigy violinists were eventually to achieve more lasting fame. Charles WEICHSEL was the son of an oboist and a singer well-known at Vauxhall Gardens. He first appeared, aged six, at his mother's benefit in 1774, playing a concerto (PA Hay, 10.3.1774). His sister Elizabeth played a piano concerto and the children were featured at Mrs. Weichsel's benefit every year up to 1783.[67] Charles, at some time a pupil

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[63] Also a viola-player, Puppo was an eccentric and impulsive man who came to London to replenish his fortune but seldom appeared in public.

[64] For a description of this concert see pp.202-3. As a boy he was patronised by Lord Eglinton, being equally brilliant as a painter and a musician (entry of 4 May 1763 in Boswell/*London*, p.252).

[65] Burney/*Tours*, ii.167.

[66] SWesley/*Reminiscences*, f.100^{r}; cf. ff.37^{r}, 81^{v}.

[67] Elizabeth first sang in 1775; she became the celebrated soprano

of Cramer,[68] usually played a concerto, and sometimes additional items, such as a duet with Stamitz in 1778 and a Boccherini sonata with his sister in 1779; in 1781 he played a piano duet with his sister. At one of these benefit concerts, Henry Angelo heard him play a violin solo 'in such a peculiarly fine style, that the audience were both astonished and delighted'.[69] He played elsewhere occasionally, including concertos and other items at Hook's oratorios in 1778. Samuel Wesley was there:

> I well remember his playing at one of the Oratorios in Covent Garden Theatre, when he was about Nine Years of Age, Cramer's pleasing Concerto in F, with general and deserved Applause.[70]

He put on his own benefit concert in 1782, but another the following year was cancelled.[71] His name is found in no advertisements after 1783, indicating that he may have travelled abroad. He reappeared in 1790 and soon became one of London's foremost violinists.

Another pupil of Cramer was 'Master Ware' who joined his teacher in a Cambini concerto for two violins in 1781 (PA SSq, 6.4.1781). The identity of this WARE is unclear, but two players of this name became well-known.[72] Also in 1781 'Master Cobham' came before the public in a Corelli solo (PA 21.5.1781). This was probably the seven-year-old Charles COBHAM, who a few weeks later impressed John Byng in Oxford,[73] and who

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[67] Mrs. Billington. Charles played 'in a white frock' (*Billington Memoirs*, p.4).

[68] SWesley/*Reminiscences*, f.157^{r}.

[69] Angelo/*Reminiscences*, ii.253.

[70] SWesley/*Reminiscences*, f.157^{r}.

[71] Cf. PA 28.4.1783.

[72] See p.377.

[73] Entry of 8 July 1781 (*Torrington Diaries*, i.55).

later became a regular orchestral player. One 'Master Ashley' was among the second violins at the 1784 Handel Commemoration.[74] No doubt this was General Christopher ASHLEY (1769-1818), a pupil of Giardini and Barthelemon, and later celebrated for his leading of oratorios.

Two young players can hardly be considered prodigies, although they never achieved the highest class as soloists. Joseph AGUS, a pupil of Nardini 'lately arrived from Italy', first appeared in 1773 at Arnold's oratorios at the Haymarket Theatre.[75] He played a solo on 26 February and was received 'with that Applause which great Merit will ever command';[76] again the following year he was heard there in a concerto for two violins by Barthelemon (PA Hay, 23.3.1774). However in 1777 he was involved in a scandal concerning the attempted rape of his goddaughter Elizabeth Weichsel and he emigrated to Paris.

More important is the younger Thomas LINLEY, who also studied with Nardini in Florence, from 1768 to 1771, and met Mozart there in 1770.[77] He returned to his home-town of Bath, but he already had connections with London before settling there with his father in 1776. He played at various concerts in 1772 and 1773, taking a benefit in the latter year; he was a soloist at least once at Marybone Gardens in 1772 and at the Drury Lane oratorios in 1773. In addition he and his sister Elizabeth, the singer, performed before the royal family in April 1773.[78] It is unlikely that Linley led the Drury Lane oratorios in 1774 and 1775, as sometimes implied, even though his father was one of the directors in the latter year. But

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[74] Burney/*Commemoration*, p.17.

[75] See Parkinson/*Agus*.

[76] PA 1.3.1773.

[77] See Black/*Linleys*; Beechey/*Linley 1-3*.

[78] Black/*Linleys*, p.97.

he was it seems leader of the theatre orchestra in the 1776-7 and 1777-8 seasons, as well as soloist at the oratorios there from 1776 to 1778. He led occasionally elsewhere, including the Foundling Hospital performance of *Messiah* in 1773.[79] His death in 1778 as a result of a boating accident was tragic in several ways for English music. He had already written such creditable works at the music for *The Duenna* (CG, 21.11.1775) and the *Ode on the Spirits of Shakespeare* (DL, 20.3.1776).

Contemporary reviews of Linley's playing were enthusiastic. For example, at the Drury Lane oratorios in 1778 the orchestra was 'led with great judgment by young Mr. Linley, whose excellence also as a solo performer, needs not the aid of panegyric to recommend it'.[80] According to Parke he was 'a great favourite with the public' and already 'a highly finished performer on the violin, displaying most of the requisites which constitute a fine player'.[81] This contains a hint of criticism, and the following paragraph may indicate a somewhat limited taste:

> [He led] with such precision and animation as astonished and delighted every hearer. In the masterly manner of his performance of the concertos of Handel and Geminiani, no English violin player had ever excelled him, and in the neatness and delicacy of his execution he stood unrivalled. His own solos and concertos, which he occasionally introduced, also gave evident tokens of his continental studies, being full of imagination and spirit, but requiring in almost every bar the touch of the finished master to do justice to their merit.[82]

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[79] Stanley arranged for the appearance of the Linley family at this performance (*Foundling Minutes*, C, xiv.128; S, x.238). The fee was £100, but £20 was returned as a benefaction (Ibid., C, xiv.147-9).

[80] MP 26.3.1778.

[81] Parke/*Memoirs*, i.8.

[82] Sainsbury/*Dictionary*, art. 'Linley (Thomas [jr.])'.

There is little doubt however that this 'bright Ornament' of the musical world would have developed into one of the major figures of English music.

Many of the violinists listed, whether foreign or not, settled in London for much of their lives. They may have taken the occasional benefit concert, or played sometimes as a soloist; but they must primarily be considered as orchestral musicians. Among them are the following:

AGUS, Giuseppe.[83] First heard of in 1748 when he signed the admission book of the Society of Musicians, Agus was a prominent figure in London's orchestras for the rest of the century. In particular he must have been responsible for the dances at the Italian Opera at least by 1761, when his first complete book of dances was published. He has frequently been confused with Joseph Agus, possibly his son, who first appeared in London in 1773. But Giuseppe was never an important soloist, and the only mention found of him in this role is in connection with Schuman's short series in 1762.

BLAKE, Benjamin. Blake was taught by Kammell and Cramer when he went to London in 1768. By 1775 he was a member of the Italian Opera orchestra, and subsequently he was in demand at many public concerts and in royal circles until his retirement in 1792. Though often listed as a violinist, he was particularly noted as a viola-player. At the Decayed Musicians' Fund concert in 1783 and at the Hanover Square Grand Concert in 1784 he was the viola soloist, playing generally alongside Cramer - sometimes with Borghi and Cervetto in a quartet which continued thereafter.

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[83] See Parkinson/*Agus*.

BORGHI, Luigi. A pupil of Pugnani, Borghi may have been introduced to London by his teacher. He was already there in 1769 when his name appears in the orchestra list of the Foundling Hospital *Messiah* performance, led by Giardini. In 1773 he gave a joint benefit concert with Savoi, when the performers included Bach and Abel - no doubt indicating that he played at their concerts. However the following season he took the second violin part in Giardini's quartet at the rival Pantheon concerts. His name appears occasionally later in concert advertisements.[84] He gave an impressive benefit concert in 1777 (PA FMHall, 21.5.1777) and he was the second violinist in Cramer's quartet at the Hanover Square concerts from 1784. A commentator contrasted the playing of Borghi and Cramer in a Stamitz concertante:

> Their Stile was different. That of the first was deep and nervous; whilst, from the second, the Ear listened to Notes *apparently* separated from the Instrument, and floating ... in Air.[85]

Rarely is Borghi listed as the principal violinist at a concert. He was also connected with the Italian Opera, being 'Leader for the Dances' in the 1782-3 season and subsequently manager. With Soderini he led the second violins at the 1784 Handel Commemoration.[86]

BULKLEY, George or Stephen. Hardly known as a soloist, Bulkley was however a member of Giardini's string quartet at his 1780 benefit concert and at the Lock Hospital performance that year. He may be identical with George Bulkley, a violinist at Covent Garden Theatre.

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[84] In summer 1779 Borghi was temporarily in Italy (Kelly/*Reminiscences*, p.15).

[85] Review of the tenth Hanover Square concert on 5 May 1784 (PA 7.5.1784).

[86] In this year also he became a friend of Mrs. Thrale (Piozzi) through his association with the singer (*Queeney Letters*, p.137 et seq.).

FREAKE, John George. The name 'Freek' or 'Freeke' is regularly found in the violins in the earlier orchestra lists of the Foundling Hospital *Messiah* performances. He was also advertised as a leader at one benefit (GA Hay, 9.12.1748). There is some confusion with a horn-player, who may have been the organiser of 'Mr. Freak's Musical Entertainments' in 1750 (the last night GA KT, 26.3.1750).

FROUD, Charles? Like Borghi, Froud was frequently advertised as a second violinist, but in his case during the 1750s. He had been second violin to Festing at the Swan Concert, and in 1753 was under Chabran at the Dean Street concerts.[87] 'Frowd' led at the Foundling Hospital *Messiah* performances at least from 1760 to 1767.[88]

GEHOT, Joseph. Trained in Belgium, Gehot achieved some reputation in Europe as a solo violinist, but he made little impression in London when he settled there in the late 1770s. The name appears often in orchestral lists, generally among the second violins, and his appearance as leader at a minor concert in 1781 was exceptional. A letter of Thomas Twining in 1789 seems to indicate financial instability and Gehot emigrated to America in 1792.[89]

HACKWOOD, Francis. Hackwood was principally an orchestral viola-player, though Parke in describing his eccentricities repeatedly refers to him as a violinist.[90] He played in a quartet with Giardini at one of the Pantheon concerts (PA P, 26.4.1779); and he was one of the principal viola-players at the 1784 Handel Commemoration.

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87 Burney/*Fragment*, f.13^{r}; PA 6.1.1753.

88 Records are missing for some of these years.

89 Letter of [26 February 1789] (Twining/*Recreations*, pp.248-9).

90 Parke/*Memoirs*, i.103 et seq. He was a violinist at the Foundling Hospital *Messiah* performance in 1761.

HINDMARSH, John. A pupil of Salomon, Hindmarsh was better known later in the century, as a violinist and (from 1791) a viola-player at Salomon's concerts. He was however already advertised as leader and soloist at a minor concert in 1783.

KAMMELL, Antonín. It is difficult to assess Kammell's role in London's concerts. The Bohemian violinist, a pupil of Tartini, was a popular composer but he never achieved eminence as a performer. Resident in London somewhat earlier, his first known performance there was at his 1768 benefit concert, directed by Bach and Abel (PA A, 6.5.1768). There is little doubt that he maintained a close connection with the two Germans throughout his career, their names being frequently linked (as in the joint publication of six trios in 1777). He presumably played at their concerts; but he was infrequently advertised as a leader or as a soloist.

Kammell is principally known through the benefit concerts which he gave annually from 1768 to 1782, some of them jointly with other performers at the Bach-Abel concerts. Usually Bach and Abel are advertised as performers, and often as directors of the concert. It seems likely that the 'Subscription Concert' sometimes mentioned in connection with Kammell refers not to a substantial series, but rather to this annual benefit.[91]

Kammell's violin playing was not highly regarded by *ABC Dario*: 'As a perfomer on the violin his talents are below mediocrity.'[92] This seems to accord with his lack of recognition in London. It should be pointed out, however, that even when such as Cramer, Giardini or Stamitz took part in his benefit Kammell still played a solo or concerto on the

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[91] See, for example, the Dittersdorf 'favorite sinfonie' published by Thomas Skillern [c.1780].

[92] *ABC Dario*, pp.31-2.

violin, or else (from 1774) a viola solo. At his 1771 benefit he joined Sirmen in a concerto for two violins (PA H, 9.5.1771). In addition he led at the Salisbury and Winchester festivals on a number of occasions during the 1770s. In 1775 he even led a concert directed by Bach and Abel, and played a concerto (PA HSq, 28.4.1775). This suggests a considerably higher standard of attainment. Kammell is reputed to have entered into a rich marriage, perhaps in 1782, after which he is not known as a concert performer.

MARELLA, Giovanni Battista. In 1750 Marella arrived in Dublin, probably from Paris, and he soon achieved success there as a leader of Handel oratorios. Mrs. Delany clearly regarded him as a famous French violinist, with a penchant for '*nonsense music*' in which he could exhibit his remarkable technique and indulge in superficial ornamentation. She was therefore agreeably surprised when he restrained his 'wild fancy and fingers' at a performance of *Messiah* in December 1750.[93] By January 1755 he was in London, leading a concert for the managers of the previous season's Italian comic operas at Covent Garden (PA Hay, 22.1.1755). He established a position of some importance as leader and soloist at concerts in the late 1750s, for example at Barbandt's oratorios in 1755 and 1756. He took a number of benefit concerts for himself, in 1756 performing on the viola d'amore for the first time. But apart from a benefit in 1764, at which he introduced the cellist Giovanni Battista Cirri, Marella later fell into comparative obscurity as an orchestral violinist and a guitar teacher.

MAZZINGHI, Thomas. The Mazzinghi family, originally from Corsica, has never been fully disentangled. It may be assumed that Thomas was the orchestral violinist, presumably the Mazzinghi whose name appears in

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[93] Delany/*Correspondence*, ii.610, ii.626-32.

Bach's bank account ledgers. Mazzinghi gave two benefit concerts, one in 1773 with Salpietro and another in 1774 with Cirri. He died the following year, his widow taking a benefit in 1777. Their son Joseph (b.1765) was a pianist and a prolific composer.

NAPIER, William. Having moved from Edinburgh to London by 1765, Napier became a well-known orchestral viola-player. He played in a quartet with Giardini at one of the Pantheon concerts (PA P, 1.12.1777); and he was one of the principal viola-players at the 1784 Handel Commemoration. He is almost certainly identical with the music publisher.

NOFERI, Giovanni Battista. Some time after the publication of his *Eight solo's* in London in 1757, Noferi moved to Cambridge, where in 1760 he published another set of solos, Op. 2, dedicated to his 'friend and master' Giardini. By 1762 he had returned to London, for he led a charitable benefit in March (PA H, 11.3.1762). There is no indication that Noferi was an outstanding violinist. His name occurs regularly as an orchestral player, but he is only rarely advertised as leader or soloist. (The concert for the Decayed Musicians' Fund in 1770 is a notable exception.) Like Kammell he was primarily known for his compositions and for benefit concerts which he gave most years between 1774 and 1781, that in 1775 jointly with Cervetto. Some of the advertisements mention Bach and Abel, while two include Cramer amongst the instrumentalists. Noferi had already been a violinist at the King's Theatre; on 24 February 1778 he accompanied one of the dances there on the guitar. This was presumably a regular engagement for there are further similar announcements, and Noferi published sets of opera dances between 1778 and 1781. For the 1781-2 season he was announced as 'Leader for the Dances', probably still using the guitar, until a sudden illness during rehearsal on 20 February 1782.[94] He died soon after, for his widow took a benefit concert

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[94] See pp.381-2.

in May (MC HSq, 13.5.1782), for which the Concert of Ancient Music postponed a performance.[95]

SALPIETRO, Giovanni. Salpietro's name is also regularly found in orchestral lists from 1771 until the next century. Solo performances were rare, though he gave a joint benefit concert annually from 1773 to 1776. At some of these Bach and Abel participated, as did Salpietro's wife, a singer.

SCOLA, Charles? An orchestral viola-player, presumably distinguishable from the cellist Scola who performed at the Hanover Square concerts from 1784, Scola made solo appearances in 1763 and 1776.

SODERINI, Giuseppe. A name often found alongside that of Salpietro is Soderini. He was a more significant orchestral violinist, but nothing is known of his playing and Michael Kelly was more impressed by his ugliness.[96] He was a soloist at Marybone Gardens in 1758 and leader there in 1763; very occasionally he is mentioned as a soloist elsewhere, as at Schuman's series in 1762 and alongside Barthelemon in a Handel concerto at an oratorio (PA CG, 5.3.1766). In 1763 he took a benefit concert with Florio and in 1775 another, directed by Bach and Abel. He was in addition leader on many occasions at the Salisbury and Winchester festivals during the late 1750s and 1760s, and at the 1784 Handel Commemoration he led the second violins with Borghi. Soderini's name is found in orchestral lists many years after this.

WILTON, Charles Henry.[97] Wilton was a native of Gloucester and a pupil of Giardini, with whom he played regularly in string trios and

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[95] *Ancient-programme* for 6 May 1782 and MC 16.5.1782.

[96] Kelly/*Reminiscences*, p.52. Soderini had only temporarily returned to Italy in 1781.

[97] See Lysons/*Three Choirs*, p.220.

quartets between December 1777 and spring 1780, sometimes at the Pantheon concerts. He returned from a visit to Italy to lead the Three Choirs Festival in 1784, subsequently moving to Liverpool and York.

Many other violinists are regularly included in orchestral lists but were never advertised as soloists. These must go unnoticed here. Mention should however be made of some comparatively well-known performers at London's theatres and pleasure gardens who were rarely heard elsewhere:

BAUMGARTEN, Carl Friedrich. The violinist, organist and composer should not be confused with Samuel Baumgarten, the bassoonist, whose name appears much more frequently in London's newspapers. Carl Friedrich came to London from Lübeck in 1757 and soon obtained an organist's post. He is said to have been leader at the Haymarket Theatre in 1763 and at the Smock Alley Theatre, Dublin, in 1764. As early as 1762 he was advertised as a violinist at a London concert, but he became known principally through his connection with Covent Garden Theatre. He led the oratorios there in 1778 and the theatre orchestra from 1780-1 until 1793-4. He was also employed as composer and leader by the Duke of Cumberland and he organised his own concerts occasionally on Sundays.[98]

Baumgarten was well-known as an organist, a theoretician and a composer.[99] He wrote a number of pieces for Covent Garden, and several

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[98] He perhaps succeeded Giardini at Cumberland's concerts on his departure in 1784. The duke died in 1790. See pp.40, 43.

[99] Parke studied composition with Baumgarten using a treatise he thought lost (Parke/*Memoirs*, ii.191); this is presumably *GB* Lbl, Add. MS 36681.

chamber works and *sinfonie concertanti* were performed at London's concerts. His violin playing was less celebrated than his learning:

> His tone on the violin is good, but his manner is languid and spiritless.[100]
>
> As to Mr. BAUMGARTEN, who is at this moment supposed to be the best *theorist* in the kingdom, he has so wonderfully *improved* upon fuguing, that he never *leads* the band at *Covent Garden theatre* but the instruments all *follow*.[101]
>
> The leader is Herr. Baumgartner, a German who, however, has almost forgotten his mother-tongue ... THE ORCHESTRA IS SLEEPY.[102]

RICHARDS, John and David. As explained in Appendix F there were two violinists named Richards, whom it is hard to distinguish. John was heard in Bath in the late 1750s, but is listed in Mortimer's *Directory* of 1763 as a teacher of violin and trumpet in London.[103] One Richards was a soloist at Ranelagh Gardens in 1767, and two benefit concerts at Marybone Gardens in 1770 and 1771 may have been for the violinist. In 1776 Richards led one night of the Covent Garden oratorios in place of Lamotte. This was probably David, who led the Drury Lane oratorios, without taking a solo part, from 1779 to 1785. He was also leader of the theatre orchestra from 1778-9 to 1784-5, when he was succeeded by Shaw.[104] He led the Academy of Ancient Music at some date, and at the Sons of the Clergy festival in 1780;[105] one Richards was leader at the Winchester festivals in 1772 and 1775.

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[100] *ABC Dario*, pp.11-12.

[101] Letter of 4 March 1788 (Dibdin/*Tour*, pp.181-2). Dibdin thought Baumgarten's pupil Shaw superior.

[102] Haydn/*Correspondence*, pp.273-4. Haydn went to Covent Garden Theatre on 10 December 1791. Some newspaper notices (e.g. PA 17.10.1783) express a contrary opinion.

[103] Deutsch/*Handel*, pp.785, 822; Mortimer/*Directory*, p.29.

[104] Thomas SHAW, from Bath, was however known in London considerably earlier. See also note 101 above.

[105] See pp.33, 51.

David Richards was approved by Dibdin and was an intimate friend of Abel.[106] Of his playing *ABC Dario* was again not complimentary:

> We pronounce Mr. Richards [by comparison with Giardini] a regularly rude, rugged, rough rasper.[107]

However *The Public Advertiser* reported that he led in 1779 'with Spirit and Exactness' and that in 1781 the 'excellent Band was judiciously conducted by Mr. Richards'; while his tone was thought superior to that of the famous Lolli during his 1785 visit.[108]

SHIELD, William. The well-known composer to Covent Garden Theatre, later a friend of Haydn and from 1817 Master of the King's Musick, began his career as a violinist in the North of England. He is supposed to have been recommended to Giardini, who placed him in the second violins at the King's Theatre in 1772; and to have been appointed principal viola there by Cramer in 1773, which post he held for 18 years. The chronology of this is, however, open to doubt, and there is reason to accept Parke's statement that Shield was invited to London by Giardini in 1776.[109] He certainly became an important viola player in many of London's concert series, and he was one of the four principal viola-players at the 1784 Handel Commemoration. However his only solo appearance advertised during the period under consideration was for the Decayed Musicians' Fund concert in 1781, when he was subsequently replaced by the oboist Fischer.[110]

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[106] Dibdin/*Life*, ii.167; Parke/*Memoirs*, i.62.

[107] *ABC Dario*, p.41.

[108] PA 20.2.1779, 3.3.1781, 26.2.1785.

[109] Parke/*Memoirs*, ii.274. See Sainsbury/*Dictionary*, art. 'Shield' for a description of his many concert engagements.

[110] PA 3.4.1781, 19.4.1781. William DANCE (1755-1840), a pupil of Baumgarten and Giardini, was another notable King's Theatre violinist who was not regarded as a soloist.

Samuel Wesley described Shield as 'one of the finest performers on the Tenor Violin that England ever produced'.[111]

Of the violinists known solely through a connection with the pleasure gardens, only one is of any importance:

COLLETT, John. Perhaps a son of Richard Collet, he was leader and soloist at Marybone Gardens between 1765 and 1768. He wrote a number of songs and odes for performance there.[112]

So far considered have been those violinists who spent a comparatively short part of their lives in London and those who were permanent residents but principally orchestral players. Eight other performers, aside from Giardini, stand out for their substantial and varied contribution to London's musical life over many years - Passerini, Pinto, Hay, Barthelemon, Fisher, Cramer and (towards the end of the period) Salomon and Pieltain.

Of these, Giuseppe PASSERINI was by far the least notable as a violinist, but through his enterprising efforts to promote his wife, the singer Christina, he was of some importance for London's music in the 1750s. The son of a Bolognese hair-dresser, he is first heard of at The Hague in

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[111] SWesley/*Reminiscences*, f.159^{r}.

[112] Little is known of two other performers at Marybone Gardens - REEVES, a frequent soloist in 1771; and Flora ABRAMS, a soloist in 1776, who later appeared elsewhere and took a benefit concert in 1778.

1750, when he was heading for Scotland.[113] In London by 1752, he came before the public with a benefit concert, at which his wife sang and he performed solos on the violin and viola d'amore (GA DSt, 30.4.1752). He was subsequently in some demand as a leader and soloist at lesser concerts, but more significant were his own musical promotions, at which he no doubt always led. These began with the six Dean Street Room concerts in 1753, at one of which Passerini supposedly played a violin solo for the first time (PA DSt, 22.3.1753); and continued with a twelve concert series the following year, on his return from the Brunswick court,[114] though this series was apparently truncated. Passerini had to advertise in December 1754 that he was still teaching singing and violin 'notwithstanding some malicious Reports to the contrary'.[115]

Meanwhile his wife was achieving fame as a singer at the Italian Opera and at oratorios. Her benefits took the form of an opera in 1754 and Handel secular oratorios in 1755 and 1756. To these last was added a 'pastoral' which the Passerinis championed - *Charlottenburg Festeggiante*, the music by Frederick the Great and composers at the Prussian court.[116] Passerini also promoted two Handel oratorio performances by subscription at the Dean Street Room in 1756. He and his wife apparently spent the next year in the provinces, where they had previously appeared during the summer months; they, for example, promoted oratorios in Bath in December 1757.[117] Again in 1758 Signora Passerini was singing in oratorios, taking a benefit the following year. 1760 saw a further series of six

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113 Kelly/*Reminiscences*, p.60; Deutsch/*Handel*, pp.696-7.

114 PA 5.10.1753.

115 PA 12.12.1754.

116 First mentioned in PA 19.3.1754 for a performance which never took place; the 1755 benefit was at PA Hay, 18.4.1755.

117 Deutsch/*Handel*, p.764 et seq.

performances, mainly of sacred music, at the Dean Street Room, at one of which Passerini introduced the 'viola angelica' to London (PA DSt, 29.2.1760). In 1761 he again opened a subscription for two Handel oratorio performances. At the first, his two nephews were introduced in a violin duet (PA DSt, 16.2.1761);[118] but the second was abandoned after three postponements. It cannot be claimed that Passerini's undertakings ever attracted an extensive following, and he himself observed ruefully: 'Disappointments will never cease to persecute Mr. and Mrs. Passerini.'[119] In 1762 they moved to Dublin, where they continued to promote oratorios; Passerini was the singing teacher of Michael Kelly.[120]

Passerini was clearly a mediocre violinist. The remaining seven were also involved in many musical undertakings, and they were performers of outstanding calibre also. Thomas PINTO was the son of a Portuguese refugee from Naples. He spent his early years in Edinburgh, once leading the orchestra and playing a Corelli solo there at the age of nine.[121] He is first heard of in London in 1750, when he played the second violin part at Morigi's benefit concert (PA 18.4.1750 for H, 23.4). Between 1750 and 1752 there are occasional references to his performance as leader and soloist at moderately significant concerts, but his name is then not advertised for three seasons. From 1756 to 1763 Pinto assumed a role of increasing importance as leader and soloist, both in London and in the provinces. In April 1757 he played alongside Giardini at a

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[118] Cf. O'Keeffe/*Recollections*, i.56.

[119] PA 1.6.1761.

[120] Flood/*Dublin*, p.277; O'Keeffe/*Recollections*, i.56-7; Kelly/*Reminiscences*, p.2.

[121] *Harmonicon-GFPinto*, p.215. This article is a memoir of his grandson by his first marriage.

benefit concert for the two Besozzi's (PA DSt, 28.4.1757); and later in the same year he succeeded Giardini as leader at the King's Theatre. He was a soloist at Miss Ford's concert series in 1760 and at the Decayed Musicians' Fund concert in 1762, in which year he also played concertos at many of the Drury Lane oratorios organised by Arne.

It might be inferred that Pinto was already leading the Drury Lane Theatre orchestra in 1762, but this is unlikely. Burney is unhelpful:

> After leading at the opera, whenever Giardini laid down the trunchion, he was engaged as first violin at Drury-lane theatre where he led during many years.[122]

In Mortimer's *Directory* of 1763, Pinto is still given as leader at the Opera House.[123] It is thus probable that he moved to Drury Lane Theatre for the 1763-4 season, when Giardini took over at the Italian Opera. In 1763 Pinto took a benefit concert led by a 13-year-old pupil (PA Hay, 15.4.1763), and he was also then leader at Vauxhall Gardens.[124]

During the period 1764 to 1769 Pinto's name is almost totally absent from concert advertisements, which strengthens the theory that he was then leading at Drury Lane. He continued to perform however at the Decayed Musicians' Fund concerts, certainly in 1764 and from 1766 to 1769, possibly (though unadvertised) in 1763 and 1765 also. In 1766 he married the English singer and pupil of Arne, Charlotte Brent, his first wife having died. In the summer of 1769 he embarked on a scheme to revive Marybone Gardens, in partnership with one Troughton (not Arnold, though his music was performed); but a wet summer ruined the project and Pinto lost £2000 as a result.[125] Never financially secure as a result of his

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122 Burney/*History*, ii.856.

123 Mortimer/*Directory*, p.29.

124 Ibid.

125 PA 11.5.1769; *Harmonicon-GFPinto*, p.215. Pinto took a benefit, playing a concerto as usual (PA MGdn, 21.8.1769).

extravagance and generosity, Pinto was forced to flee London. Between 1770 and 1773 he was in Scotland; he then moved to Dublin, where he led at the Smock Alley Theatre from 1773 to 1779.[126] He died three years later.

Pinto was renowned for his sight-reading ability. A powerful soloist and spirited leader, he was however 'indolent, lazy, and whimsical', and 'he performed the most difficult Music that could be set before him, better the *first* time he saw it, than ever after'.[127] John O'Keeffe found his manner in Dublin 'perfectly respectable, proper, and very grave', noting without criticism his lack of preparation with the orchestra.[128]

Richard HAY has received remarkably little recognition, even in early 19th century sources, despite his position as one of the foremost leaders in London during the 18th century, especially of 'ancient' music. He has suffered from confusion with the Hayes family of Oxford, which did not include a prominent violinist. (It might therefore be supposed that very occasional references to a violinist Hayes in London signify Richard Hay.) The date and place of his birth are unknown.

Hay is first mentioned in 1756 when one 'Hayee' led a concert for the harpist John Parry (PA H, 25.3.1756). Until 1760 he was in frequent demand as leader, primarily for performances by British musicians; he was a soloist at the Decayed Musicians' Fund concert in 1760. There is no mention of him in 1761 or 1762, and to judge from an advertisement

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126 Walsh/*Dublin*, p.164.

127 *ABC Dario*, p.39; Burney/*History*, ii.856. Burney observed that competition with Giardini forced him to practise.

128 O'Keeffe/*Recollections*, i.346.

of 1763 he visited Italy.[129] Here he studied under Tartini, but apparently learnt little from the great teacher:

> He was instructed to play the violin in Italy by Tartini for several years, but received his first impressions from Giardini, which it would seem were much the stronger, as he brought nothing of Tartini out of Italy but his music.[130]

Already in 1763 he was leading a gentlemen's subscription concert at the Spring Gardens Room;[131] and he was a soloist at the Covent Garden oratorios. He subsequently played at many important performances, including the festival of the Sons of the Clergy in 1771,[132] the Decayed Musicians' Fund concert in 1773 and the Foundling Hospital *Messiah* in 1775; besides a number of benefit concerts, some of these charitable Handel oratorio performances. He also led at some provincial festivals during this period.

A clear preference for 'ancient' music is evident, and indeed Hay is rarely advertised as a performer at benefit concerts where modern music might have been played. However it is difficult to imagine that he performed only older music (or even that of Tartini) at the concert series he organised at Hickford's Room annually from 1767 to 1770; or at the concerts there in 1772 which involved many of the opera performers;[133] or especially at Ranelagh Gardens where Hay performed regularly in 1765 and 1766.

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129 'The Band to be led by the celebrated Mr. HAY, lately returned from Italy' (PA 11.6.1763 referring to the Oxford festival, 6-8 July).

130 *ABC Dario*, p.26. Jonathan Battishill echoed the last sentiment, adding that Hay's own music was in the same mould (Busby/*Anecdotes*, ii.21).

131 PA 12.1.1763.

132 See p. 51.

133 PA 16.1.1772.

A certain catholicity of taste is implied by his various connections with the court. Probably on the death of Dubourg in 1767, Hay was appointed leader of the Queen's Band at £200 per annum, having apparently cheated Barthelemon of the post.[134] He retained it until his death in 1785, although Cramer played in his stead for the last year or so.[135] Equally lucrative was his appointment, again in succession to Dubourg, as 'Chief Composer and Master of the Musick attending his Majesty's State in Ireland'.[136] For setting the two Dublin birthday odes every year he received £200 per annum, without the £50 reduction normally levied for non-residence in Ireland.[137] From 1780 he was also a member of the King's Band, probably leading London ode performances in 1783 and 1784, perhaps in succession to Brown.[138]

Hay was a soloist at the Academy of Ancient Music during the 1769-70 season, though it is not known whether this was a temporary engagement.[139] He was also leader at the Concert of Ancient Music during the first yearsof its existence.[140] It was no doubt through this connection that he was appointed one of the leaders at the 1784 Handel Commemoration. The arrangement whereby Hay led one performance and Cramer the next was curious, and aroused comment.[141] In the event however Hay's leading was

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134 See p.37. Cf. also PA 17.2.1768, 18.2.1785; *Court Register*, 1770-85.

135 See p.39.

136 PA 17.2.1768.

137 PA 18.2.1785.

138 *Court Register*, 1780-5. See p.37. Cf. the query in PA 7.6.1782 as to whether Hay or Cramer would be made 'Conductor'.

139 See p.32.

140 See pp.33-4.

141 PA 27.5.1784.

approved:

> They played in time - excellent time - contrary to all expectations. Hey was the leader; his manner is graceful & easy to be observed by the band.[142]

Hay died the following year. An obituary in *The Public Advertiser* observed that his circumstances were far above his profession. His brother, a Navy captain, had some years earlier left him five or six hundred pounds per annum and with the court appointments his income was in the region of £1000.[143] Hay's playing was highly regarded. Even *ABC Dario* described him as 'on the whole, a very neat performer, and a tolerable imitator of Giardini's tone and manner', while according to Boswell some thought his playing superior to that of Giardini.[144] Parke was impressed by his 'sweet and powerful' tone, which induced one noble lord to offer handsome sums for his Klotz violin, a violin which realised a mere £40 on Hay's death.[145] That perceptive critic Mrs. Delany found him 'an excellent performer' at a private concert in 1779.[146]

François Hippolyte BARTHELEMON was a major figure in London's musical life from 1764 to the end of the century. It is impossible to give here an approach towards a complete biography, but modern sources are readily available.[147] According to his daughter he was born in Bordeaux

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142 Entry of 26 May 1784 (Neville/*Diary*, p.320). This casts doubt on Busby's misdated anecdote that George III was so incensed by Hay's 'puerile flourishing' that he ordered the remaining performances to be led by Cramer (Busby/*Anecdotes*, i.69). See however note 193 below.

143 PA 18.2.1785.

144 *ABC Dario*, p.26; *Boswell Notebook*, French theme, c. 25 October 1763.

145 Parke/*Memoirs*, i.302.

146 Letter of 27 February 1779 (Delany/*Correspondence*, v.408).

147 See, besides dictionary articles, La Laurencie/*École*, ii.357-68; Sands/*Barthelemon*. The principal source is his daughter's memoir (Henslowe/*Barthelemon*).

of a French father and an Irish mother. Possibly trained in Paris, he subsequently joined an Irish regiment, where he chanced to meet Thomas Erskine, the Earl of Kelly. Kelly, a pupil of Johann Stamitz and a well-known musical amateur, encouraged Barthelemon to pursue a career in music and accompanied him to England, probably in 1763.[148] The violinist was soon introduced to many of the highest nobility; later the King and Queen expressed a desire to hear him perform, and the infant Prince of Wales observed that he had 'a flute in his violin' when he played harmonics. However Barthelemon subsequently failed to secure the coveted post of leader of the Queen's Band, apparently by a trick on behalf of Hay.[149]

In 1764 he came before the public, his name first appearing in an advertisement for Miss Formentel's benefit concert (PA 8.2.1764 for H, 10.2); he played both a violin solo and a concerto on the viola d'amore, an instrument to which he frequently returned. The young violinist appeared as leader or soloist at most London benefit concerts during the years 1764 to 1766, among them two of the concerts given by the Mozart family (PA SG, 5.6.1764 and H, 13.5.1765). Often Barthelemon played alongside his friend Abel, occasionally also Bach; he may have led the Bach-Abel concerts between 1765 and 1767. Some concerts included among the performers the flautist Joseph Tacet, with whom Barthelemon probably lodged on his arrival.[150] Barthelemon himself took benefits in 1764 and 1766, the latter featuring his cantata *The Return of Spring* (PA Hay, 17.4.1766). During the season 1765-6 he was leader at the King's Theatre, thus forming an association with the composer Mattia Vento. His own opera *Pelopida* was first performed there on 22 May 1766, receiving six performances and the approval of Burney for its 'traits of genius', though the

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148 Barthelemon/*Tutor*, p.v.

149 See p.37.

150 Cf. PA 3.4.1764.

historian observed inexperience in writing for the Italian voice.[151] This season Barthelemon was also a soloist at the Covent Garden oratorios. Later in 1766 he married Mary (Polly) Young, a niece of Arne's wife and a singer of some note, who performed at most of Barthelemon's musical undertakings.

Barthelemon again led at the Italian Opera in the 1766-7 season, and by January 1767 an advertisement could assert that his 'distinguished Merit is very well known to the Musical World'.[152] However, despite his success there, Barthelemon did not settle as permanently in London as did Giardini or Cramer. He maintained links with Paris, appearing at the Concert Spirituel in late spring 1767 and during the winter season 1768-69.[153] The latter season saw also the production of his opera *Le Fleuve Scamandre* in Paris (on 22 December 1768). Barthelemon also spent part of at least two seasons in Dublin (1771-2 and 1783-4) while in 1776 he and his wife embarked on an extensive European tour, returning only late in 1777. In Florence he wrote an oratorio, *Jefte in Masfa*, which was highly successful and later earned praise from Haydn.[154]

If he was looking outside London for new challenges, Barthelemon was not content when living there to remain purely a concert violinist. Indeed from the 1767-8 season (which Pugnani dominated) he was less involved in fashionable concerts. He still performed occasionally at concerts with Bach and Abel (especially in 1770, indicating that he may have returned to lead their concerts on the departure of Pugnani). In

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[151] Burney/*History*, ii.871.

[152] PA 15.1.1767.

[153] Pierre/*Concert*, pp.293-6.

[154] He returned from this tour severely ill, and convalesced with the Cradock family at Gumley, Leicestershire (his daughter's letter of 13 January 1826 in Cradock/*Memoirs*, iv.132).

1771 he directed concerts at Soho Square on the collapse of the 'Harmonical Meetings', while in 1781 he played at Rauzzini's Hanover Square Room concerts. He also re-established connection with the King's Theatre during the early 1780s, writing music for a number of ballets and succeeding Giardini on the Opera's financial collapse at the end of the 1782-3 season.[155]

Increasingly however Barthelemon was concerned with native undertakings, partly no doubt as a result of his marriage. Such concerts as he did lead were often benefits for British performers, as for example the Welsh harpist Evans. He was connected for many years with the English stage. In 1766 David Garrick, impressed by *Pelopida*, had commissioned a song from him and he subsequently introduced a burletta by Barthelemon entitled *Orpheus* into *A Peep behind the Curtain* (DL, 23.10.1767).[156] In the summer of 1768 Barthelemon wrote a burletta for the Haymarket Theatre, where he also played concertos, and he apparently provided some music for Garrick's Shakespeare Festival at Stratford-on-Avon in September 1769. Between 1774 and 1778 he contributed a substantial amount of music for plays at Drury Lane Theatre, including *The Maid of the Oaks* (DL, 5.11.1774), which had been written for the Earl of Derby's wedding celebrations in June 1774.

He was equally in demand at oratorio series and at the summer gardens. As leader or soloist he played at the Drury Lane oratorios in 1770, 1771 and 1775; for Arnold at the Haymarket Theatre in 1768; for Arne at Covent Garden Theatre in 1773; and at his own series at the Haymarket Theatre in 1774, 1779 and 1784, the latter in collaboration with

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[155] He regarded as unfair his subsequent treatment by the Opera managers (Highfill/*Dictionary*, art. 'Barthélemon (François Hippolyte)'). He played also at some concerts given at the Pantheon in aid of the Opera performers.

[156] Parke (*Memoirs*, i.93) tells an anecdote of this.

Michael Arne. Barthelemon's music was included at his own series, notably an ode entitled *Victory* in honour of Admiral Keppel in 1779 (PA Hay, 17.3.1779). The connection with the Arne family is not surprising in view of his wife's relationship, and indeed Barthelemon played frequently for Arne - at many of his concerts of catches and glees between 1768 and 1776 and at his parody ode *Whittington's Feast* (PA Hay, 18.4.1776). With Arnold he directed a benefit concert in 1778 for Arne's widow, then living with the Barthelemons (PA Hay, 28.4.1778).

As early as 1768 Barthelemon was associated with the pleasure gardens, a song of his being performed at Ranelagh. More important was his connection with Marybone, where he led in 1770 and 1773 for Arnold. In these two seasons four of his burlettas were performed, and the Barthelemons took a number of benefits. Fanny Burney's Evelina visited the gardens and found the violinist 'a player of exquisite fancy, feeling, and variety'.[157] He subsequently led at Vauxhall for many years, at least from 1775 to 1782;[158] again some of his vocal music was performed there.

Two further appointments, both probably made towards the end of the period, should be mentioned.[159] At least as early as 1784 Barthelemon was leading at the Academy of Ancient Music. He was succeeded by Salomon in the 1789-90 season. He may also have led at the Concert of Ancient Music until 1782.

Throughout this period Barthelemon was organising his own musical entertainments - benefit concerts for himself and his wife, and also concert series, though not all of these seem to have taken place. He

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[157] FBurney/*Evelina*, p.232.

[158] According to Highfill/*Dictionary*, art. 'Barthélemon, (F.H.)' he 'sacrific'd' the post in 1783 to lead at the Italian Opera.

[159] See pp.33, 34.

apparently began to organise series early in his career for in 1769, on his return from Paris, he proposed to renew his 'Philharmonic Concert';[160] but on this occasion he decided to postpone it as it was so late in the season, and took a benefit instead (PA ThHTav, 22.5.1769). Later in the year, after a disastrous fire had caused him considerable loss,[161] he advertised the Concert again - twelve nights at the Thatched House Tavern - but no further mention has been found.[162] 1771 saw notice of a 'Morning Academy' at the Turk's Head Tavern, but a 'Harmonic Society' at Soho Square in 1773 seems to have been abandoned. Barthelemon's only substantial concert series was a 'Musical Academia' at the Casino, Great Marlborough Street, in 1776. This was organised in collaboration with Mrs. Stuart, twelve concerts being given on Fridays from 2 February; little further information has come to light.

One might well assume that Barthelemon's concerts received only mixed success. He did however put on benefit concerts most years between 1768 and 1782, for himself, for his wife, or jointly. Many of these featured substantial works by Barthelemon, of which we may single out a setting of *Oithona*, from Ossian (two acts only, PA Hay, 3.3.1768); a Metastasio serenata, *La Danza*, at his 1770 benefit with Bach and Abel (PA ThHTav, 30.4.1770); and further performances of *Jefte in Masfa*, as performed 'with great Applause' at Florence and Rome (selections, PA Hay, 27.4.1779; complete, PA HSq, 3.5.1782). Vocal works, with Mrs. Barthelemon as principal soloist, formed an important attraction at these benefits, but Barthelemon himself is regularly advertised as soloist, sometimes in unusual items - for example a concerto for oboe, harp, flute and

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160 PA 24.4.1769. Cf. PA 2.5.1769.

161 PA 31.7.1769, 22.9.1769.

162 See Appendix B for details of this and subsequent series.

'ipolito', a five-stringed instrument of Barthelemon's own invention (PA HSq, 6.3.1778).

After 1784 or so Barthelemon moved increasingly away from concert performance, though he still took part occasionally in some benefit concerts of his own and of others. He preferred however to foster his interest in theology and in the newly formed Swedenborg Society.[163] When Haydn visited London, the two became affectionate friends and they played at concerts together on a number of occasions. Barthelemon's last years saw him increasingly involved in mysticism. His wife died in 1799 and after an unfortunate second marriage he died 'paralytic and broken-hearted' in 1808.[164]

Small in stature, he was (according to his daughter) elegant and polite, energetic of mind and generous of heart, as well as widely accomplished - qualities that no doubt endeared him to Haydn. Fanny Burney thought he had 'a most amiable character'.[165] Yet he never achieved the success in London that many felt he deserved. One writer suggested he look elsewhere, while *ABC Dario* simply put his lack of recognition down to an excess of bile.[166]

Of his skill as a violinist there is no doubt. A leader of 'fire and spirit', his solo playing was marked by elegance and expressiveness.[167] Burney singled out his 'powerful hand and truly vocal adagio'; his unrivalled adagio playing, inspired by Abel, impressed many critics and moved

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163 He had already written music for the chapel of the Female Orphan Asylum, including the tune 'Awake, my soul'. He was a member of the Cecilian Society, founded in 1785 for the rendering of sacred music.

164 Henslowe/*Barthelemon*, p.8 [10].

165 Ibid., p.7; FBurney/*Memoirs*, i.171.

166 PA 1.7.1785; *ABC Dario*, p.10. The latter opinion is echoed by the malicious *Billington Memoirs*, p.56, on the unpopularity of the Barthelemons in Dublin in 1784.

167 Henslowe/*Barthelemon*, p.7; PA 6.3.1784.

the Earl of Kelly to tears.[168] Samuel Wesley noted also the originality of his playing and commended his performance of Corelli's ninth solo, 'justly & universally celebrated'.[169] Though much of his own music was in the modern style, his interpretation of older music was well-known. Salomon is reported to have said on his death: "*We have lost our Corelli! There is no one now* that can play those sublime solos!"[170] Parke spoke highly of his performance of Geminiani, adding that 'his extempore cadences were so scientific and appropriate, that they appeared to be a continuation of the composer'.[171] Barthelemon's numerous compositions, vocal, instrumental and didactic, are worthy of further investigation. He was the teacher of General Christopher Ashley and of George Bridgetower. His daughter, Cecilia Maria (b.1770?), later Mrs. Henslowe, was a singer, keyboard-player and harpist.

Another virtuoso violinist who made a siginficant contribution to music at London's playhouses during the 1770s was John Abraham FISHER. Born in either Dunstable or London, he studied under Pinto. His patron was Lord Tyrawley, for it was he who gave permission for Fisher to give his first public performance in 1765 - a violin solo at the Decayed Musicians' Fund concert, which Pinto perhaps led. Already in 1764 he had joined the Society of Musicians. In 1767 he again played at the Fund concert led by Pinto, this time in a concerto. From 1768 he is occasionally advertised as a leader and soloist, especially (like Hay) as a soloist at oratorio benefits, many of them for charity. In 1771 he played

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168 Burney/*History*, ii.1021, ii.1019; *ABC Dario*, p.10; Henslowe/*Barthelemon*, p.5.

169 SWesley/*Reminiscences*, ff.84^{v} - 85^{r}.

170 Henslowe/*Barthelemon*, p.8 [10].

171 Parke/*Memoirs*, i.92-3.

solos at Bromley's three subscription concerts, and he appeared twice at Marybone gardens (in 1770 and 1774). There are also some references to his leading performances outside London.

Fisher's fame derived principally from his connection with Covent Garden Theatre. He was probably leader of the orchestra from 1769-70 until 1779-80, during which time he is occasionally advertised in solo items there. On his marrying the widowed Mrs. Elizabeth Powell in 1772, he acquired a sixteenth-share of the theatre. Though his vanity was not popular with the other proprietors, he contributed music to many entertainments during the 1770s. Notable among these is *The Golden Pippin* (CG, 6.2.1773), for which much of the music was as usual selected from other composers, including a difficult Vivaldi concerto movement.[172]

On 5 July 1777 Fisher was awarded a doctorate at Oxford University, for which he presented the oratorio *Providence* (performed on 2 July). This had already been given in London for the benefit of the Middlesex Hospital (PA FMHall, 14.5.1777); and it was performed again in the same hall in 1778, 1780 and 1781 - the last two years in aid of the City of London Lying-in Hospital. Fisher played a concerto on each occasion, except in 1778.

His wife having died in 1780, Fisher left soon after on a European concert tour. This took in Russia (where, according to a report of 1782, the expedition 'exceed[ed] his most sanguine Expectations'[173]), Germany in 1783, Vienna thereafter, and at some stage France and Italy. In Vienna he was billed as 'ein Engelländer und Virtuoso di Violino'.[174] Here late in 1783 he married the young singer Nancy Storace, but he ill-treated her to such an extent that the Emperor (Joseph II) expelled him from the

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[172] Fiske/*Theatre*, p.382.

[173] PA 31.7.1782.

[174] *MGG*, art. 'Fisher'.

city.[175] His reputation ruined, Fisher took refuge in Dublin, where he lived from 1786 to 1788, or according to some sources until his death in 1806. Nothing is known of his last years, except that he did not attempt to recapture the admiration of London audiences.

Fisher's arrogance of manner and exhibitionist taste in clothes may have contributed to his reputation as a charlatan.[176] But he was far from negligible as a composer, and to judge from his published concertos he must have possessed a formidable technique as a violinist. According to a report of his performance in France, he displayed considerable dexterity, but his playing was impetuous and wild; the comparison made with Lolli seems particularly apt.[177]

Of a very different background from most of the violinists considered so far was Wilhelm CRAMER.[178] One of the few German violinists to establish themselves in London during this period, his reputation depended hardly at all on compositions and he is not known to have written any music for the stage. He was celebrated purely as a violin virtuoso and leader, and must be counted London's foremost violinist in the last quarter of of the 18th century.

The son of a violinist in the court orchestra at Mannheim, he was a pupil of Johann Stamitz and of Christian Cannabich. Already by 1757 he was a member of the Mannheim orchestra. The circumstances of his subsequent move to London are somewhat obscure. It appears that he obtained leave of the Elector Palatine to make a concert tour of Europe, while maintaining his post at Mannheim. He performed several times at the

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[175] Kelly/*Reminiscences*, pp.117-18; Edgcumbe/*Reminiscences*, pp.65-6. The Emperor may have had his own reasons for this action (cf. Fiske/*Theatre*, p.494).

[176] Cf. Morgan/*Memoirs*, i.80.

[177] Neefe, quoted in Gerber/*Lexicon*, art. 'Fisher'.

[178] See Schlesinger/*JBCramer*, pp.11-23.

Paris Concert Spirituel between May 1769 and April 1770.[179] But he cannot have settled in England immediately after this, as sometimes stated, for his son Johann Baptist (later the famous pianist) was born in Mannheim in February 1771 and Franz (later the violinist) was born at nearby Schwetzingen in June 1772. There is little doubt that Cramer was invited to London by J.C. Bach to lead his concerts,[180] though this cannot have been as a result of Bach's visit to Mannheim in the autumn of 1772, since Cramer was already in England by August, before Bach's arrival in Mannheim.[181] Already he was 'reckoned one of the best solo players in Europe'.[182]

Cramer initially lodged with Bach, as his concert advertisements indicate. It is not clear whether he had resigned his post at Mannheim. According to Parke he had not, but he experienced 'such extraordinary success' in England that he 'forgot to return', a circumstance which caused later embarrassment.[183] In view of the inaccuracy of details of the story, including even the name of his patron, this may be apocryphal. However only in 1774 was he joined by his wife, a singer of little importance, and his eldest son.[184]

Though he was presumably already leading the Bach-Abel concerts earlier in 1773, Cramer's name first appears in newspaper advertisements in connection with his own benefit concert that year, at which Bach, Abel, Fischer and others performed; Cramer played both a solo and a

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[179] Pierre/*Concert*, pp.296-8. This paragraph is partly derived from the articles on the Cramer family in Highfill/*Dictionary*.

[180] Cf. *ABC Dario*, p.15.

[181] Burney/*Tours*, ii.32, ii.34.

[182] Ibid., ii.32.

[183] Parke/*Memoirs*, i.278-9.

[184] Franz came to London later; Johann Baptist returned to Germany for some years, making his London début at his father's benefit concert in 1781 (PA SSq, 6.4.1781).

concerto (PA H, 22.3.1773). Thereafter he was in constant demand in London both as leader and as soloist. Without doubt he led the Bach-Abel concerts up to 1781, as well as succeeding concert series at the Hanover Square Rooms - including from 1785 the Professional Concert, of which he was one of the principal organisers and on behalf of which he negotiated unsuccessfully with Haydn. Cramer has appeared in a somewhat unsavoury light in view of the consequent rivalry with Salomon, but he was no enemy to Haydn. Despite the collapse of the Professional Concert after the 1793 season and the failure of an attempted revival in 1799,[185] Cramer was still one of London's principal violinists during the 1790s, by no means overshadowed by Salomon.

Cramer also directed the Pantheon concerts, in rivalry with Bach and Abel, from 1780 to 1782. He led at the King's Theatre every season (except for 1782-3) from 1777-8 to 1795-6, after which he was deprived of the position by Viotti.[186] On many occasions he was commended in the press for his rendering of obbligato parts, and his leading was equally praised. Already in 1778 he led at the Italian Opera 'with a Force, a Precision, and Attention very rarely if ever to be found'.[187] From 1774 he frequently played at the Decayed Musicians' Fund concerts, and he was sometimes a soloist at charitable oratorio performances and Lenten series - including that organised by Bach at the King's Theatre in 1775 and those at Drury Lane Theatre from 1779 to 1781. Cramer took a benefit concert every year from 1773 to 1784 and beyond, that in 1780 being shared with Cervetto, Crosdill and Fischer (PA KT, 14.4.1780). The performers usually included Bach, Abel, and others from their concerts, for whom Cramer often played in return.

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185 Parke/*Memoirs*, i.185, i.273.

186 Cf. ibid., i.254, although the date is inaccurate.

187 PA 13.4.1778.

He was in equal demand at private concerts. His connection with the court has perhaps been exaggerated. There is no evidence that he was ever formally leader of the King's Band as sometimes stated. He was a member of the Queen's Chamber Band, or quartet, only until about 1775 when pressure of engagements forced him to resign.[188] Only shortly before Hay's death in 1785 did he begin to lead the Queen's Band.[189] Cramer was sometimes earlier asked to play at royal concerts, however, as in 1779 when Mrs. Delany heard him lead a concert at the Queen's Lodge, Windsor.[190] He was also engaged by the Duke of Cumberland and by the Prince of Wales to play for their private concerts, presumably after the departure of Giardini in 1784.[191]

During the 1780s Cramer was a performer at the 'Nobility Concert', at the Anacreontic Society, and (at least from 1783) leader at the Concert of Ancient Music.[192] Through this latter connection he was appointed one of the leaders of the 1784 Handel Commemoration, sharing duties with Hay.[193]

Cramer was naturally called on frequently to lead at provincial festivals throughout his career in England. He seems to have retained some connection with Paris, at least during his early London years. Much of his music was published there; and towards 1775 Henry Angelo once

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188 See p.37. He was succeeded by Frederick NICOLAY, the Queen's German page and a violin pupil of Dubourg (Papendiek/*Court*, i.16, i.76).

189 See p.39.

190 See p.39; cf. also p.38.

191 Parke/*Memoirs*, ii.189-90, i.88.

192 See pp.45, 35, 34.

193 It was apparently intended that the two violinists should alternate as leader (cf. Burney/*Commemoration*, p.xii, p.17). An anecdote of the King's displeasure with Hay has been seen to be of doubtful authenticity (see note 142 above); but MC 7.6.1784 indicates that Cramer did lead all the performances except the first. Parke (*Memoirs*, i.39-40) tells of a dispute between Cramer and Philip Hayes, who intended to beat time, but this is inaccurate; perhaps he confused the occasion with the first New Musical Fund concert in 1787 (Ibid., i.98).

accompanied him and his son on a journey to Paris.[194]

When still in Germany Cramer was regarded as an exceptional violinist. One commentator wrote that he combined the rapid execution and facility of Lolli with the expression and vigorous bowing of Franz Benda.[195] A French critic thought it impossible 'de joindre plus de précision et de goût à plus de rapidité, de feu, et d'éclat'.[196] It was this very combination of qualities which so impressed English critics:

> Fischer and Cramer are among those few great Performers who contrive to make brilliant Execution subservient to the more superior Purposes of the Art, harmonious Composition and passionate Effect. Their Adagios have the Power of Pathos; their Allegros are as eminently exhilarating.[197]

Burney spoke of Cramer's 'fire, tone, and certainty', Parke of his 'rich powerful tone, neat execution, and commanding style'.[198] Yet if Cramer's playing was often on a large scale, it could also be ethereal - a revealing comparison with Borghi has already been quoted.[199] The precision of his playing was aided by a technique unusual at the time favouring off-the-string bowings.[200] This is no doubt connected with the development of the bow before Tourte, with which Cramer is often linked.[201]

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194 Angelo/*Reminiscences*, i.62-4.

195 Gerber/*Lexicon*, art. 'Cramer (Wilhelm)'.

196 Pierre/*Concert*, p.148.

197 PA 17.4.1782.

198 Burney/*History*, ii.1021; Parke/*Memoirs*, i.102. According to Burney (*History*, ii.1019) he was, like Barthelemon, inspired by Abel's *cantabile* playing. Giardini is supposed to have assisted him in the improvement of his tone (see p.182).

199 See p.83.

200 Schubart/*Ideen*, p.139.

201 Cf. Boyden/*Geigenbogen*, pp.300-5.

His sight-reading was celebrated. He was a brilliant leader, noted equally for his accuracy and the firmness with which he compelled attention.[202] He could turn with ease from 'ancient' music to the most modern of his day. Though he faced considerable competition during the 1770s and 1780s, probably none of his rivals combined all these qualities to such an outstanding degree. Not until the arrival of Viotti with his grander and more emotional early romanticism did Cramer's star go into decline. He died in 1799 in financial insecurity, after a series of misfortunes, not the least of which was his removal from leadership of the Italian Opera in 1796.

With the exception of Weichsel, his violin pupils were comparatively unimportant - indeed, to judge from Samuel Wesley's experience he tended to discourage professional performance.[203] However his two eldest sons, by his first marriage, became eminent musicians of the early 19th century.

The remaining two violinists - Salomon and Pieltain - came to London only shortly before 1784, and their lives will therefore not be considered in such detail. Johann Peter SALOMON was born in Bonn. He found early employment there and elsewhere in Germany, meanwhile engaging in European concert tours.[204] In 1780 he was in Paris, whence he moved to London in search of more lucrative patronage. His letters of introduction made him known to many noble amateurs of music, while his cheerful disposition and polite, educated manner rapidly won him their friendship.

He first came before the public at an oratorio performance of Arne's music to *Elfrida*, playing a violin concerto after the second part (PA CG,

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202 Cf. *ABC Dario*, p.15; Busby/*Anecdotes*, i.76.

203 SWesley/*Reminiscences*, f.37^{r}.

204 See *Harmonicon-Salomon*; Pohl/*London*, ii.73-85; Landon/*England*, pp.24-7.

23.3.1781). Mrs. Papendiek, a close friend of Salomon, wrote a long report of the occasion, but since most of the verifiable details are inaccurate it is unwise to put much trust in it.[205] She speaks in glowing terms of his sublime entrance in a Kreutzer concerto; of a new effect in the cadenza - a melody underneath a trill - 'which put Fischer almost into fits'; of astonished reactions to the adagio and rondo. She concludes: 'Such a *début* has scarcely ever been experienced. We were jumping from our seats.'[206] *The Morning Herald* was less ecstatic:

> He does not play in the most graceful style it must be confessed, but his tone and execution are such as cannot fail to secure him a number of admirers in the musical world.[207]

Salomon did not immediately take a prominent place in London's public concerts. Indeed throughout his life he seems to have preferred to play at private concerts for the aristocracy.[208] However in 1783 he performed at the Hanover Square Grand Concert, as a solo violinist and as a viola-player in *concertante* works (with Cramer as violinist). He played also at the Decayed Musicians' Fund concert, and at the concert series at Free Masons Hall. This rival series was not organised by Salomon, but there were soon signs that a disagreement must have taken place. No doubt it was coincidental that in May one Kloeffler organised a 'battle' between two orchestras, directed by Cramer and Salomon (PA W, 26.5.1783). But in

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[205] Papendiek/*Court*, i.185-7.

[206] Ibid., i.186-7.

[207] MH 24.3.1781.

[208] Cf. Papendiek/*Court*, i.207; Parke/*Memoirs*, ii.16. He was later a regular attender at the concerts of the Prince of Wales and the Duke of York; and he led at the Academy of Ancient Music from 1789-90 (see p.33). He was a leader at provincial festivals from 1781, but was less in demand in this capacity than Cramer.

1784 Salomon was not among the performers at Hanover Square, and he subsequently seldom played at concerts with Cramer.[209] Instead he organised a number of concerts at the Pantheon, at which he introduced Mara to London audiences.[210] The singer took a benefit concert there on 7 June, but Salomon's concert appears never to have taken place.[211]

Salomon and Mara collaborated in further series from 1785 to 1787, but it was not until his first concerts with Haydn in 1791 that Salomon won extensive fame as a concert organiser and public performer. He gained as a result of the Haydn concerts a position of respect which he maintained until his death in 1815. He was also one of the founder members of the Philharmonic Society, and leader of its first concert on 8 March 1813.[212]

Mrs. Papendiek found Salomon neither handsome nor imposing, but yet animated of countenance and elegant of manner.[213] His violin-playing appears to have shared these characteristics. It was described as energetic and expressive, even original and mannered, but nevertheless tasteful.[214] His tone was not strong and he excelled in chamber music:

> Salomon was a finished performer: his style was not bold enough for the orchestra, but it was exquisite in a quartett.[215]

Less important than Salomon but probably a more brilliant virtuoso was Dieudonné Pascal PIELTAIN. Born in Liège he became a pupil of Giornovichi and from 1776 was heard as a soloist at the Paris Concert

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209 Exceptionally Salomon played a concerto at a Professional Concert in 1785 (PA HSq, 6.4.1785), indicating that the rift was not as serious as might be supposed.

210 See p.24.

211 PA 7.6.1784, 15.6.1784, 18.6.1784.

212 Foster/*Philharmonic*, pp.5-7.

213 Papendiek/*Court*, i.186.

214 Quotation in Pohl/*London*, ii.80; PA 14.3.1786; quotation in Landon/*England*, p.25; Burney/*History*, ii.1021.

Spirituel.[216] By 1782 he was in London, making his first public appearance with a violin concerto at a Drury Lane oratorio (PA DL, 20.2.1782). One report was somewhat critical:

> *Mons. Peiltein* on his Violin, did not want for brilliant Execution;- when England shall have taught him, and in Truth it is *the Property of England* so far to teach, "Perfection in the Adagio," Mons. Peiltein must be a very capital Performer.[217]

Nevertheless during this and ensuing years Pieltain was quite frequently engaged as leader and soloist.[218] He played at the Hanover Square Grand Concert in 1783, sharing solo performances with Cramer and Salomon; and his name was advertised for the following season,[219] though there is no further mention of him in the concert programmes. He led at Jane Mary Guest's concert series at the Tottenham Street Rooms in 1784.

Pieltain was leader at Vauxhall Gardens, perhaps as early as 1784 until 1790; he played in the orchestra there for one more year, under the leadership of Joseph Mountain.[220] Subsequently he toured Eastern Europe and returned to his birth-place. There is little doubt that Pieltain possessed an outstanding technique, which his own concertos illustrate. One critic likened his playing to that of 'the late admirable *La Motte*'.[221]

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215 Gardiner/*Music*, i.356.

216 Pierre/*Concert*, p.305.

217 PA 21.2.1782.

218 He should not be confused with his younger brother, the horn-player, who also performed in London from 1782.

219 PA 28.1.1784.

220 Parke/*Memoirs*, i.36; Cudworth/*Vauxhall*, p.26.

221 MP 23.2.1782.

Not everyone approved this style, especially in slow movements; but all apparently agreed with Burney on the 'neatness and precision' of Pieltain's performance.[222]

Some general conclusions may be drawn about London's violinists during this period. Italians, following in the footsteps of Veracini and Geminiani, still held an important position - Giardini throughout the period; visiting virtuosi such as Morigi, Chabran, Pugnani, Sirmen and Celestino; and a number of principal orchestral musicians. In 1755 a French visitor wrote: 'La Musique Italienne est celle qu'on aime en Angleterre.'[223] The early 1760s saw the beginning of a trend towards German music, which was reflected in the role of Bach and Abel. There had been violinists from Germany before (notably Festing), but not until this period was Italian dominance seriously threatened by Germans and Austrians - at first only lesser names such as Baumgarten and Kammell, after 1770 such major figures as Cramer, Stamitz and Salomon. A number of Frenchmen and Belgians (including Lahoussaye, Vachon and Lamotte) took the opportunity of a visit to London, though only Barthelemon and Pieltain remained there for many years. Perhaps more surprising is the number of notable British violinists, who were certainly superior to their predecessors Brown and Collet; admittedly Pinto was of Italian parentage, but Hay, Fisher and Linley must on any count be regarded as major British violinists.

It is impossible to assess accurately the standing of these different violinists, in view of conflicting reports. Some comparisons

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222 Burney/*History*, ii.1021.

223 Rouquet/*L'Etat*, p.171.

with Giardini are offered in Chapter 3.[224] One can deduce that London's principal resident violinists during this period were Giardini and Cramer, with Barthelemon and, in the last years, Salomon some way behind. Mrs. Papendiek compared the roles played by these four violinists, noting that Barthelemon was called upon when neither Giardini nor Cramer could be obtained; while later (in 1782-3?) duties were shared - Giardini leading at the Opera, Cramer at 'the established concerts', Salomon at private concerts.[225] Of an international reputation equal to that of any of these were the visiting virtuosi Pugnani and Lamotte.

After Giardini's departure from England in 1784, it seemed as if Antonio Lolli, who arrived the following year, would put all others into shade. But his wild, eccentric compositions and reliance on technical dexterity only made English listeners laugh, and he was forced swiftly to leave the country.[226] It was not until the new performers of the 1790s - Giornovichi, Yaniewicz and especially Viotti - that Cramer and Salomon were eclipsed. And it may be observed that while Viotti held undoubted influence on the new French school of Rode, Baillot and Kreutzer, London's dominant violinists in the early 19th century were Cramer's son Franz and his pupil Charles Weichsel.

The biographical accounts above demonstrate that London's violinists were involved in numerous different musical activities. Many of the principal violinists organised concert series or benefits. No doubt most were also teachers - not only of the violin to gentlemen, but also

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[224] See pp.198-9.

[225] Papendiek/*Court*, i.149, i.207.

[226] Burney/*History*, i.1020-1. *The Public Advertiser* for 1785 fully endorsed this (e.g. 14.1, 18.2, 26.2); such involuntary laughter was regarded as proof of England's sound musical taste (9.3, 1.7). Lolli apparently absconded owing Salpietro 108 guineas (PA 20.5.1785).

of singing and the harpsichord to ladies.[227] Nearly all published solos or concertos for the violin,[228] and many also produced chamber and orchestral music. A few wrote a considerable amount of vocal music - odes, oratorios or stage works, besides single songs. As will be seen, Giardini was concerned with all of these activities.

Primarily however violinists were in demand in two ways - as leader and as soloist.

The Leader

The function of the violinist as leader varied considerably according to the musical genre and place of performance. There appear to be three main categories - theatrical performances, oratorios and concerts.[229]

a) Theatrical performances

At opera performances it was usual for the harpsichordist to superintend the whole and to direct the singers, especially if the composer was present to take the position. The principal violinist, sometimes advertised as 'Leader of the Band', was responsible for the conduct of the orchestra throughout. This dual direction is implied by numerous advertisements for the Italian Opera, and by newspaper reviews.[230] The latter more often mention the violinist-leader, who was always held accountable for the orchestral playing. Some uncertainty arises in the case of

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[227] Barthelemon, for example, taught the viola da gamba and Italian and English singing, besides the violin (PA 17.10.1769). See also p.169.

[228] These are listed in Appendix F.

[229] Carse/*Orchestra*, pp.88-109 remains a useful summary. See also Zaslaw/*Revival*.

[230] For example, a review in PA 25.11.1782, which noted the ability of [Michael] Arne and Baumgarten at Covent Garden Theatre.

violinists who directed at the Opera; it is possible that they played the harpsichord on these occasions. At the less prestigious two playhouses the violinist-leader may have been considered more important. An anecdote told by Michael Kelly of an exchange between Shaw, the Drury Lane leader, and Kemble, the actor, ends with Kemble's riposte: "My dear Sir, it is better for me to murder time at once, than be continually beating him as you do."[231]

b) Oratorios

At performances of oratorios a slightly different practice obtained, though it still involved shared responsibilities. As at staged performances, the principal violinist was responsible for the direction of the orchestra in both instrumental and solo vocal items. A second conductor, however - usually the organiser and overall musical director - took charge of the choruses, an essential precaution in larger buildings. Again both men were often mentioned, the violinist-leader more frequently in newspaper reviews.[232]

Apparently two similar methods might be used by the conductor. He might sit at the organ, which at the Covent Garden oratorios was positioned in the centre of a specially constructed stage.[233] According to Winton Dean, from 1739 onwards Handel normally also played the harpsichord in numbers other than choruses, using a special double instrument; this practice may have been taken over by Joah Bates, conductor at the Concert

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231 Kelly/*Reminiscences*, p.149.

232 Parke (*Memoirs*, ii.150-1) discusses the relationship, in which there was 'no apparent jealousy', despite the conductor's sense of superiority.

233 See the print reproduced in *LS* Part 5, after p.726.

of Ancient Music.[234] Bates was also in overall musical command at the 1784 Handel Commemoration, being listed as both conductor and organist.[235] Richard Mount-Edgcumbe noted that 'the *long movement* (now in common use)' was used here for the first time with Bates seated at a console distant from the organ. The leader stood behind the console, enabling both to 'act in perfect concert with each other'.[236] Bates could also see the other performers more easily, as is clear from the print and plan published in Burney's account. A description of the Academy of Ancient Music, performing similar types of music, implies a very similar organisation (without the 'long movement'), and again emphasises the need for both leader and conductor to be visible to all.[237]

It is probable that the organist in this arrangement occasionally beat time with his hands. Sometimes, however, the conductor did not play any instrument, preferring to use a roll of paper to mark time. Such was used at the Sons of the Clergy festivals by Greene, Boyce and their successors, at least until 1827.[238] This method seems to have been favoured at festivals in very large buildings with many more performers than at the Lenten oratorios. It was regarded as exceptional that at the 1784 Handel Commemoration there was no *'Manu-ductor'* and astonishing that the performances were so accurate.[239] Perhaps this caused the temporary decline of

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234 Dean/*Handel Oratorios*, pp.109-11.

235 Burney/*Commemoration*, pp.16-17.

236 Edgcumbe/*Reminiscences*, pp.54-5. Cf. Burney/*Commemoration*, p.8.

237 Doane/*Directory*, p.81. All these sources imply that the principal singers, standing at the front, had no need of leader or conductor.

238 Hawkins/*Boyce*, p.99; lecture dated 1827 in SWesley/*Lectures*, f.44^{r}.

239 Burney/*Commemoration*, pp.14-15. Cf. also the anecdote in note 193 above.

the scroll-waving method which both William Jackson and Samuel Wesley found unnecessary, distracting to the audience and degrading to the performers.[240]

c) Concerts

There is little doubt that most concerts were directed by the principal violinist. The keyboard player was here subordinate, although it is not at all clear whether J.C. Bach or Haydn might have directed from the keyboard. The normal, unambiguous description of the leading violinist - thought worthy of advertisement regularly from the beginning of the period, unlike the keyboard player - was 'First Violin': as for example, 'First Violin and a Concerto by Mr. Barthelemon'. Occasionally a violinist might 'lead the Concert', but the phrase 'Leader of the Band' was in common use only from the 1780s. Rarely did violinists 'conduct' the orchestra, this term being usually reserved for the organist or time-beater in the sense outlined above. More ambiguous is the word 'direct'. 'A Grand Concert. Under the Directions of Mr. Giardini' (PA SSq, 6.6. 1769) seems to refer more to organisation of the performance than to musical command. (And the recurrent phrase 'under the Direction of Mr. Bach' may well have the same connotation.) The principal violinist certainly continued to take control at concerts, with some possible assistance from a pianist, even after Spohr introduced baton conducting in 1820.[241]

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[240] Jackson/*Observations*, p.25; SWesley/*Lectures*, f.44^{r}.

[241] Foster/*Philharmonic*, p.6; Plantinga/*Clementi*, pp.241-2.

Some further observations may be added on London's orchestras. Their size was average, and except at the Handel Commemoration numbers were not comparable to those at the Paris Opéra, the Concert Spirituel or the Turin Opera:[242]

Orchestra	Number of string-players	Source
Foundling Hospital *Messiah*, 1754	14, 6, 3, 2	*Foundling Minutes*, C, iv.176
Drury Lane Theatre, 1775	5, 4, 3, 4, 0	Fiske/*Theatre*, p.281. One or more of the cellists played bass
Hanover Square Grand Concert, 1784	13, 4, 3, 4	PA 28.1.1784
Handel Commemoration, 1784	48, 47, 26, 21, 15	Burney/*Commemoration*, pp.17-19

The orchestra at the Italian Opera was regarded as among the best in Europe, and no doubt orchestras at London's most fashionable concerts were of a similar standard. The playhouse orchestras were sometimes accused of ragged playing; it was a severe indictment of the reduced King's Theatre orchestra in 1784 to write that few of its members were superior to playhouse musicians.[243] Orchestras at lesser concerts and the gardens were presumably similar to those at the English theatres.

It is clear from published strictures that in amateur orchestras at least there was a tendency for violinists to add embellishments of their own and to ignore the phrasing and ornaments adopted by the leader.[244]

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[242] See the lists in Zaslaw/*Revival*, pp.171-7.

[243] PA 23.4.1784.

[244] For example Potter/*Observations*, p.79; Bremner/*Thoughts*, pp.50-2.

But, as will be seen, orchestral discipline under Giardini was exemplary and presumably other first-class leaders were equally demanding. It is misleading, too, to suppose that all 18th century concerts were under-rehearsed. In the first place, players fully conversant with the musical style and performing frequently together, often repeatedly in the same works, would not have needed more than a minimum of rehearsal. Secondly, an advertised 'public rehearsal' was preceded by rehearsal in private. Finally, rehearsal was not always as limited as might be imagined. There were two rehearsals at tavern rooms for a single New Year's Ode performed in 1783.[245] Shield recalled that for one new work at the King's Theatre 'they had very long rehearsals every morning'.[246]

The Soloist

Few concerts in this period were without the solo appearance of a violinist, usually the leader. The series of programmes which follows is designed to show how the violinist participated in a variety of types of performance, and to illustrate the changing repertoire.[247]

Complete programmes were advertised comparatively rarely until the mid 1770s. Those which have been discovered indicate that the format remained static throughout the whole period. To judge from programmes for Ogle's series in 1751-2, concerts in the early 1750s still featured the music of Handel, Geminiani and Corelli:

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[245] PA 31.12.1782.

[246] Holcroft/*Memoirs*, i.287-8.

[247] Editorial procedure is as in Appendix C, which also includes more information on repertoire. Songs, whether Italian or English, are rarely named.

GA DSt, 15.2.1752 (tenth concert)

Act 1 Overture by Handel
Song by Pasquali (Miss Sheward)
Song by Conforto (Signora Francesina)
Bassoon concerto (Miller)
Song by Gluck (Signora Galli)
Song by Schiassi (Signora Francesina)
Harpsichord concerto by Handel (Ogle)

Act 2 Oboe concerto (Vincent)
Song by Handel (Miss Sheward)
Song by Hasse (Signora Galli)
Violin solo (Giardini)
Song by Porpora (Signora Francesina)
Song by Paradies (Signora Galli)
Concerto by Geminiani

It was largely through the influence of Giardini that London became aware of the newer Italian music - not only his own but also that of Giovanni Battista Sammartini. London was many years behind Paris, however. Only towards 1760 did an interest grow in German music, or more specifically in music of the Mannheim school. For example, a benefit concert for Koerbitz, billed significantly as musician to the King of Prussia, included two symphonies by Richter (PA DSt, 25.5.1758). Again Giardini was connected; he was for example leader at this concert in 1761:

PA DSt, 8.4.1761 (benefit for Aynscombe)

Act 1 Overture by Richter
Song (Aynscombe)
Bassoon concerto (Baumgarten)
Song (Signora Calori)
Cello solo (Siprutini)
Song (Aynscombe)
Concerto by Sammartini

Act 2 Oboe concerto
Song (Signora Calori)
Song (Aynscombe)
Violin solo (Giardini)
Song (Aynscombe)
Song (Signora Calori)
Concerto [Symphony?] with oboes and horns by Stamitz

After the arrival of Abel in 1759 and of J.C. Bach in 1762, concerts increasingly featured their music, with its particular blend of Italianate lyricism and Germanic sentiment and craftsmanship. By the early 1770s their works were in a dominant position, alongside concertos written in imitation by soloists at their concerts. These years saw the beginning

of the regular inclusion of chamber music:

PA H, 13.5.1773 (benefit for Janson)

Act 1	Overture by Abel	Act 2	Overture by Pugnani
	Song (Savoi)		Song (Savoi)
	Viola da gamba solo (Abel)		French horn quartet (Spandau)
	Harpsichord concerto (Hüllmandel)		Song (Millico)
			Cello solo (Janson)
	Song (Signora Carara)		[Vocal] Duet by Sacchini (Signora Carara, Millico)
	Trio (Pugnani, Viot, Janson)		
	Flute concerto (Weiss)		Oboe concerto (Fischer)

Benefit concerts usually gave prominence to the organiser. Otherwise the following is probably typical of a Bach-Abel concert programme of this time;[248] the *sinfonia concertante* was a regular item from the mid 1770s:

PA HSq, 6.5.1776 (benefit for Cramer)

Act 1	Overture for two orchestras by Bach	Act 2	Piano concerto (Bach)
	Song (Savoi)		Song (Signora Grassi)
	Viola da gamba solo (Abel)		New concerto for violin, oboe, viola and cello 'composed on purpose by Mr. Bach' (Giardini, Fischer, Crosdill, Cramer)
	String trio (Giardini, Crosdill, Cramer)		
	Song (Signora Salis)		[Vocal] Duet by Salis (Signora Salis, Savoi)
	Violin concerto (Cramer)		
			Cello solo (Crosdill)
			Oboe concerto (Fischer)

Still frequently performed however were works by composers outside the influence of the J.C. Bach circle - by other violinists, by Italian opera composers such as Sacchini, by composers of the Mannheim school, and increasingly by composers from Vienna, especially Vanhall at first, later Haydn and sometimes Mozart. Another violinist's benefit concert included a different repertoire from that of Cramer:

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[248] Bach and Abel did not advertise programmes for their concerts. See Appendices C and D for additional programmes of the 1770s, including one of a Pantheon concert.

PA TSt, 12.5.1777 (benefit for Lamotte)

Act 1 New overture by Vachon
Song (Piozzi)
String trio (Lamotte, Crosdill, Vachon)
Song (Signora Balconi)
Violin concerto (Lamotte)

Act 2 Overture by Toeschi
Song (Piozzi)
Cello solo (Crosdill)
Quintet for two violins, viola and two cellos (Crosdill, Cervetto, Vachon, Puppo, Lamotte)
Song (Signora Balconi)
Oboe concerto (Fischer)

A programme of 1784 shows how the music of Bach, Abel and Carl Stamitz persisted alongside that of Haydn, Mozart and the 'house composer' Graf:

PA HSq, 5.5.1784 (tenth 'Grand Concert')

Act 1 Overture for two orchestras by Bach
String quartet by Abel (Cramer, Borghi, Blake, Cervetto)
Song (Harrison)
Harpsichord concerto (Master Cramer)
Song (Miss Cantelo)
Concertante for two oboes by Graf (Suck, Ramm)

Act 2 Symphony by Mozart
French harp sonata (Master Mayer)
Song (Tasca)
Concertante for two violins by Stamitz (Borghi, Cramer)
[Vocal] Duet (Harrison, Miss (Cantelo)
Symphony by Haydn

Occasionally programmes from the 1780s include an 'ancient' item, such as a concerto grosso by Corelli or Geminiani, presumably under the influence of the Concert of Ancient Music.

Charitable concerts often highlighted large vocal works:

PA CG, 4.5.1759 [benefit for the Lock Hospital]

Act 1 Overture to *Saul* by Handel
Song by Galuppi (Signora Mingotti)
Song by Handel (Beard)
Song by Arne (Miss Brent)
Flute concerto (Tacet)
Song by Hasse (Signora Mingotti)
Lauda, a chorus by Hasse

Act 2 Oboe concerto (Vincent)
Funeral anthem by Handel
Violin solo (Giardini)

Act 3 Organ concerto (Stanley)
Stabat Mater by Pergolesi, with several parts made into choruses by Giardini

Concerts in aid of the Decayed Musicians' Fund were almost invariably in three parts, usually including Italian arias and sometimes music by Handel; the programmes kept pace with new musical trends:

PA KT, 8.2.1771 (benefit for the Decayed Musicians' Fund)

Act 1 Overture to *L'Olimpiade*
Song (Signora Grassi)
Song (Savoi)
Bassoon concerto (Baumgarten)
Song (Signora Guglielmi)

Act 2 Flute concerto (Tacet)
Song (Signora Romani)
Song (Signora Guglielmi)
Cello solo (Duport)
Song (Tenducci)
Song (Ristorini)
[Vocal] Trio from *Ezio* by Guglielmi

Act 3 Oboe concerto (Fischer)
Song (Signora Grassi)
Song (Tenducci)
Violin concerto (Mrs. Sirmen)
[Vocal] Quartet from *Astarto* by Bach
New full piece by Giordani

A violin soloist was often heard at oratorio performances:

PA CG, 8.3.1776

Samson by Handel

End of Part 1. New concerto for three chromatic French horns
End of Part 2. Violin concerto (Lamotte)

Less information has survived on concerts of London's musical societies. However extant programmes of the Academy of Ancient Music for the seasons 1768-9 to 1772-3 give some idea of its repertoire. Complete oratorios were occasionally performed, but usually shorter vocal works together with 'ancient' instrumental works made up the programme:

[CATav], rehearsal 11.1.1770, concert 18.1.1770 (Academy of Ancient Music, from *Academy-miscellanea*)

[Act 1] 11.1 Overture to *Samson* by Handel
18.1 Grand concerto no.1 by Handel
Madrigal by Morley
Anthem 'Let God arise' by Handel

[Act 2] 11.1 Concerto no.10 by Corelli
18.1 [Solo (Hay)
[Concerto op.2 no.1 by Geminiani
Mass in four parts by Perez

The Concert of Ancient Music also performed entire oratorios, but normally the programme consisted of oratorio and opera extracts, short choral works and 'ancient' instrumental music:

TSt, 21.5.1781 (Concert of Ancient Music, twelfth concert, from *Ancient-programme*)

Act 1 Grand concerto no.5 by Handel
Glee by Morley
[Vocal] Duet by Purcell (Miss Harper, Dyne)
Air and chorus from *Solomon* by Boyce (Harrison)
Concerto op.8 no.2 by Martini
Chorus from *Judas Maccabaeus* by Handel
Song from *Berenice* by Hasse (Miss Abrams)
Recitative and chorus from *Esther* by Handel

Act 2 Concerto op.3 no.6 by Geminiani
Gloria by Negri
Song from *Samson* by Handel (Miss Harper)
Chorus from *Messiah* by Handel

The less formal concerts held by the Wesley family from 1779 to 1785 involved a skeletal orchestra of some dozen players, which was adequate to play 'ancient' concerti grossi and 'modern' violin concertos by Giardini, Cramer and others. Vocal solos and instrumental items for smaller forces were also included.[249] On programmes at still smaller private concerts it is difficult to speculate. To judge from miscellaneous references, some included in Chapter 1, they consisted largely of songs, keyboard pieces, instrumental solos and perhaps chamber music. Concerts at the summer gardens were of a slightly different nature:

PA MGdn, 31.5.1768

Part 1 Full piece
Song (Taylor)
Overture by Arne
Song (Miss Davis)
New piece by Arne
Song from *Thomas and Sally* [by Arne] (Lowe)

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[249] *Wesley-register*, which gives complete programmes from 1782.

Part 2 Overture to *Artaxerxes* [by Arne]
Song (Miss Froud)
Song (Master Brown)
Overture to *Ariadne* [by Handel]
Catch (Taylor, Miss Froud, Miss Davis)
Solo [violin] concerto (Collett)

Part 3 Organ solo, with variations on 'Lovely Nancy' (Hook)
Song (Lowe)
Song (Miss Davis)
Song (Miss Froud)
Song (Master Brown)
March from *Judas Maccabaeus* [by Handel]
[Glee by Arne] (Lowe, Master Brown, Miss Davis, Taylor)
Ode

This was apparently an ordinary night, rather than a special benefit performance, for which more programmes have survived. The emphasis on English vocal music is characteristic - the gardens had much more in common with the playhouses than with the Italian Opera. Eventually modern Italian and German instrumental music was also included in the concerts, the mixture of styles being an attractive feature, rare in London.[250]

It is clear from these programmes that a violinist was regarded as a significant attraction at London's concerts - principally in solo items (solos and concertos) but also towards the end of the period in chamber music and *sinfonie concertanti*. Occasionally a violinist might play another instrument, such as a viola d'amore, as a novelty; but his usual skills were sufficient to attract the approval of audience and critic alike. Objections were raised at some violinists' emphasis on technical display. This type of criticism, often using the antitheses 'execution rather than simplicity and pathos' or 'surprising rather than pleasing', became a cliché:

> [The cello solo and oboe concerto] were, what Solos and Concertos usually are, admirable

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[250] See Cudworth/*Vauxhall*, pp.39-42.

> for most brilliant *Execution*; - but why should the best Portion of the Art be unaccomplished? - Why with Execution should there not be *Pathos* likewise?[251]

One should, therefore, perhaps not set too much store by these objections. However it is significant that Giardini and Cramer were absolved from such censure, whereas the internationally celebrated Lolli was not. English listeners prided themselves on this discrimination, which recalls their dislike of extravagant vocal ornamentation.

a) The violin solo

The sonata for violin and continuo, or violin solo as it was called in England, continued to have value as a virtuoso showpiece. No doubt it was easier to compose and rehearse than a concerto, as well as being more transportable. In addition it lent variety to a concert programme and it perhaps gave the performer more opportunity for display and embellishment than the concerto. Violin solos were regularly performed in London's concerts until the early 1770s and they were published there many years later. A solo by Charles Weichsel, 'as Performed at the Professional Concert', was published in about 1793. It need not be thought that the persistence of this supposedly Baroque form was due to any English conservatism. London's public concerts were as modern as any, and violin solos with continuo accompaniment were also composed by such European virtuosi as Dittersdorf in Vienna and Viotti in Paris.

One might argue that the term 'First Violin and a Solo by Mr. Vachon' need not necessarily refer to the same genre as a set of *Six solos for the violin*. There is indeed occasional confusion between solo

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[251] PA 18.2.1782. Mrs. Harris wrote that it was merely 'the *ton*' to say that the singer Agujari was 'more surprising than pleasing', and she did not subscribe to this view (letter of 21 March 1775 in *Malmesbury Letters*, i.297).

and concerto, as for example a discrepancy between concert advertisement and review. But there is abundant evidence that the terms 'solo' and 'concerto' were not interchangeable, and that the former refers to the continuo sonata. Firstly, 'solo' was invariably used on title-pages in English for sonatas with continuo, and it was regarded as a standard term:

> Solo, - [a Piece of Music for one Instrument whilst the Bass accompanies.[252]

Secondly, concert advertisements meticulously distinguish solos from concertos. 'Solo on the Violin' may appear alongside 'Concerto on the Hautboy'; and, especially at a violinist's benefit, there may be both 'a Concerto and a Solo on the Violin'. Thirdly, there are occasional references to concert performance, as in the case of the title-page noted above or the following advertisement for Borghi's solos, Op. 1:

> N.B. In this Set are several Solos, which Madam Syrmen has frequently performed with great Applause, particularly that one which gave such universal Sa[t]i[s]faction at the Concert in the Opera-House, for the Benefit of decayed Musicians.[253]

London advertisements hardly ever give a precise identification of works to be played. Occasionally it is indicated that a violinist would perform his own solo, and this was presumably the normal practice. Referring to Geminiani's solos, Op. 4 (1739), Burney writes that 'about this time it became more than ever the fashion for public solo-players to perform only their own compositions, and others were unable to execute

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[252] Barthelemon/*Tutor*, p.v.

[253] PA 12.3.1772.

them'.[254] A few references have been found to performance of solos by other composers - for example, Brown playing Tartini, Giardini playing Sammartini in 1751, Chabran playing Corelli and Geminiani in 1753, Master Barron playing Giardini in 1760, Sirmen playing Borghi in 1772, and Master Weichsel playing Ferrari in 1775 and Pugnani in 1782. Solos were not heard at the Concert of Ancient Music, but performances of 'ancient' solos were very occasionally advertised in the later part of the century.

In 1783 a writer to *The Public Advertiser* wrote: 'We cannot but recommend Concertos instead of Solos'.[255] The solo had fallen out of fashion by this date, although it had not quite disappeared from London's concerts. It is impossible to chart the demise statistically in view of the lack of regular complete programmes. But it appears that the solo and concerto were on approximately equal terms until about 1773, the years 1772 and 1773 representing a final flowering of the solo before its rapid decline. It might be thought that the brilliance and novelty of the new concertos and *sinfonie concertanti* finally defeated the genre, but another factor may have been as important. From 1774 items of chamber music of a virtuoso character appeared regularly in concert programmes. The textural variety inherent in such works perhaps dealt the death-blow to the solo, as will be seen in more detail in Chapter 4. Burney later lamented the loss of the solo, taking the opportunity of an invective against a well-known musical amateur:

> Solos, which used to afford the most exquisite delight to persons of refined taste, when composed and performed by great masters, are now wholly laid aside; and whoever attempts to perform one, is subjected to a penalty instead

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254 Burney/*History*, ii.991.

255 PA 13.3.1783.

> of a reward; a law instituted at the concert of ancient music, where a composition was never thought complete by the late earl of Sandwich, without a kettle-drum, nor with, unless he beat it himself.[256]

The sonata for keyboard with violin accompaniment was not a rival to the violin solo. While the latter was by this time an idiomatic virtuoso concert-piece, the 'accompanied sonata' was designed for domestic performance by amateurs, with the lady at the keyboard, the gentleman playing the violin. Even though London publications gave more interest to the violin parts than those of Paris,[257] such works were hardly ever advertised for London concerts. Very exceptional were the performances of accompanied sonatas by Giardini in 1760 and by Boccherini in 1779 and 1783;[258] the keyboard players were all young ladies, and in any case the sonatas were probably taken from Giardini's Op. 3 and Boccherini's Op. 5 sets, which have obbligato violin parts. In his Op. 2 set of piano sonatas (1779), Clementi clearly distinguished three solo sonatas, presumably intended for his own concert use, from three easy accompanied sonatas.[259] Only when composers began to write for the violin as an equal partner did the sonata for piano and violin take a place in concert programmes.

b) Chamber music

There are a few isolated references to string duets and trio sonatas in London concert advertisements in the earlier years of the

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256 *Burney(Rees)*, art. 'Solo'.

257 Kidd/*Emergence*, p.131. Few of London's violinists contributed to the genre.

258 PA 23.4.1760, 30.4.1779, 10.4.1783.

259 Plantinga/*Clementi*, p.51.

period, and it is possible that these may have been performed more often than advertised. But the sudden increase around 1770 in the number of advertisements for chamber music performances is unmistakable; and from this time many more sets of chamber music were published, significantly included in catalogues at first under the heading 'For Concerts'. Performances of string quartets by Kammell in 1769 (PA H, 27.4.1769) and by Pugnani in 1773 (PA A, 24.4.1773) are early examples; while from 1774 chamber items are found very frequently in concert programmes.

These are of many types. Some are for strings only - including duets (especially by Carl Stamitz for violin and viola from 1776), trios (particularly string trios by Giardini) and quartets (string quartets by such as Abel, Barthelemon, Davaux, Giardini, Haydn - from 1778 - and Vanhall). Others feature woodwind instruments, especially the flute and oboe, almost always in combination with strings. Advertisements have been found for performances of such works composed by Bach, Baumgarten, Giardini, Graf, Lidel and others. Occasionally chamber works included a piano; Bach contributed a number of works of this type, such as a quartet for violin, oboe, cello and piano written for Tenducci's benefit concert in 1779 (PA HSq, 10.5.1779). An important feature of most of these chamber works is their virtuoso, usually *concertante* character. Chamber music was thus written in London for professional concert use as well as for performance by amateurs, towards whom the numerous publications in the last three decades of the century were doubtless directed.[260]

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[260] Chamber music became less common in concerts around the turn of the century, and it was partly to remedy this that the Philharmonic Society was set up in 1813. The domestic 'quartet party' also declined during the 19th century as the piano increasingly dominated music in the home (Temperley/*Domestic*, p.35).

c) The violin concerto

The solo concerto, having developed earlier in the century, continued to fulfil its role of violinistic display throughout this period. Together with the symphony it rapidly ousted the concerto grosso entirely and it assumed an increasingly virtuoso character as its musical style progressed. The scarcity of concerto publications throughout Europe during the 1750s tends to suggest a lull in popularity.[261] But during this hiatus concertos were regularly performed at the Concert Spirituel and at London's concerts. From 1764 in Paris and from 1771 in London concertos were published in considerable numbers, and the number of performances also increased as the solo went into decline.

Again London programmes rarely identify individual works. Occasionally it is advertised that a violinist will play his own concerto, which must have been normal practice for major figures. There are infrequent references to the performance of concertos by other composers - for example, Marella playing Vivaldi in 1755, Sirmen playing Cirri in 1772, Linley playing Nardini in 1773, and Master Weichsel playing Cramer in 1779. The young Samuel Wesley's repertoire included concertos by Giardini, Cramer, Giornovichi and probably Borghi,[262] and it is likely that works like these would have been attempted by London's lesser violinists. An exceptional work is the concerto Op.3 No.1 by Geminiani, effectively a solo concerto, which was played publicly on a number of occasions by such as Giardini, Pugnani, Linley and Cramer, the latter being then leader at the Concert of Ancient Music.

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261 Cf. Schering/*Instrumentalkonzert*, pp.168-75; White/*Giornovichi*, p.24. Appendix F includes only one set of concertos from this decade, that by Morigi. A set by Giardini was listed in a royal privilege of 1751 but never published (see p.325).

262 SWesley/*Reminiscences*, ff.81^{v}, 100^{r}.

From the 1770s it was common to introduce into concertos folk-songs, usually Scottish or Irish - in a slow movement, as a rondo tune or with variations. Such works were thought worthy of special advertisement. At an oratorio performance in 1774, for example, Barthelemon included in a concerto the Scottish tune 'Lochaber' (PA Hay, 25.2.1774). Dibdin regarded the practice as an indication of national tunefulness.[263] On the other hand, William Gardiner thought that public delight in 1774 at a concerto in which Giardini introduced the song 'Come, haste to the wedding' showed a lamentable lack of taste.[264] Even a contemporary audience found this piece unacceptably frivolous at one performance of *Messiah*.[265] Perhaps the general view was expressed by one critic in 1785, who found Salomon's inclusion of the ballad 'Colin stole my heart away' vulgar, but felt that it appealed to the heart as adagios seldom did.[266]

d) The concerto grosso and *sinfonia concertante*

Concerti grossi by such composers as Corelli, Handel, Geminiani, Martini and Avison were still being performed in London's public concerts during the early 1750s. Younger violinists hardly contributed to the genre. Hellendaal published a set in 1758, and one concerto was perhaps performed at his 1752 benefit concert; but the old-fashioned form with limited opportunities for solo virtuosity was unlikely to endear itself to more forward-looking violinists. The concerto grosso was

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263 Letter of 27 March 1788 (Dibdin/*Tour*, p.199). Such songs were frequently heard on the English stage from *The Duenna* (1775) onwards (Fiske/*Theatre*, p.274).

264 Gardiner/*Music*, i.6. Cf. ibid., iii.302.

265 Parke/*Memoirs*, ii.209.

266 PA 21.3.1785.

rarely advertised for performance after the mid 1750s, although it never died out entirely, partly due to oratorio performances and charitable concerts; while in the 1780s, as a result of the 'ancient' revival inspired by the Concert of Ancient Music, concerti grossi are again advertised occasionally in subscription and benefit concert programmes.

The modern *sinfonia concertante* developed in Paris around 1770, and almost came to threaten the popularity of the symphony there.[267] It reached prominence in London slightly later, and it never achieved quite the same vogue. Perhaps the earliest advertised performance of such a work to include a violinist was of a double violin concerto in 1771, played by Sirmen and Kammell (PA H, 9.5.1771). From 1775 the *sinfonia concertante* was frequently included in concert programmes, though hardly at the expense of the violin concerto.

Few of London's violinists wrote *sinfonie concertanti*, to judge from concert advertisements. They include Barthelemon, who composed some works for the most unlikely combinations; Baumgarten, who also experimented with unusual groupings of wind and strings; and the viola-player Carl Stamitz, who frequently played in concertos for violin and viola. More popular were the works of Bach and Abel. Though many more have survived (and were presumably played at his concerts), only three *sinfonie concertanti* by Bach were, it seems, advertised for performance in London - a concerto for flute, oboe, violin and cello (written for an oratorio night, PA KT, 3.3.1775), a concerto for two violins and cello (PA KT, 24.3.1775) and a concerto for violin, oboe, viola and cello, written for Cramer's benefit concert in 1776 (PA HSq, 6.5.1776). The first and last of these were advertised for many years, as was Abel's concerto for oboe, violin and cello (PA KT, 22.3.1775).[268] Other similar

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[267] Brook/*Concertante*, pp.502-3.

[268] It is reasonable to assume that later advertisements refer to the same works, for their novelty is no longer stressed. Compare also the aria in Bach's *La Clemenza di Scipione* (1778) with obbligato parts for flute, oboe, violin and cello.

works were heard in London, written either by resident composers such as Graf or by international figures such as Cambini. London's *sinfonie concertanti* were written for many different combinations of soloists - strings or wind only, mixed ensembles, and even piano with other instruments. An example of extravagant scoring is Baumgarten's concerto for violin, flute, viola, bassoon, two cellos and oboe (MC HSq, 7.5.1783).

The publication of music in London partly reflected these trends in concert performance. Music publishers' catalogues give a detailed picture of available repertoire throughout the period. A catalogue of Peter Welcker, dating from late 1775 or early 1776, is typical of its time;[269] it includes the following items:

For Concerts.	Overtures	30
	Concertos	13
	Quintettos	7
	Quartettos	23
For the Harpsichord or Piano Forte		150
For the Pedal or Small Harp		3
Trios for two Violins and a Bass		61
Duets for 2 Violins		25
Solos for the Violin. with a Thorough Bass for the Harpsichord		23
(with Giardini's Portrait		1)
Violoncello Music		23
German Flute Music		61
Guittar Music		21
Vocal Music Italian		52
English Vocal (including Catches, Operas and Divine Music)		70
(Treatises and Instructions)		12

Violin solos were still being newly published at this time, although the number of publications declined until about 1784, after which few new works appeared and the air with variations took the place of the solo in catalogues. Chamber music was published in considerable quantities from

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269 In Kammell's *Six overtures*, Op.10, *GB* Lbl, g.474.a.(1.). The list which follows is intended only as a guide, since each item may include from one to six or more works.

shortly before 1770; concertos too appeared with some frequency from 1771, usually in sets of six, though several of London's violinists preferred to have their concertos published singly in Paris, which was undoubtedly the centre of concerto publication. Hardly any *sinfonie concertanti* were printed in London. In the last decade of the century, comparatively few new concertos were published, and chamber music was also in decline. Catalogues of the early 19th century are dominated by piano, harp and vocal music, much of it of a particularly trivial kind.

The majority of violin solos and concertos, as well as some of the chamber music, in catalogues such as that described above was written by London violinists. Most of these works are of considerable technical difficulty, and it is significant that solos 'for the German-flute, hautboy, or violin' were scarce by this date. There is justification for assuming that virtuoso published works are such as were performed in London's concerts.[270] No doubt violinists would have retained much music in manuscript for their own private use, which has since been lost. Fanny Burney recorded that Sir William Hamilton played out of Celestino's book in 1772.[271] It is not impossible that such manuscript music might have been different in character, and even more demanding, by comparison with publications. An autograph manuscript of solos by Hellendaal includes, alongside movements published elsewhere, some much more virtuoso and rhapsodical compositions.[272] But confirmation that published violin music may be

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[270] See the references to concert performance above and other title-pages (for example, Barthelemon's *Two ... concertos*, 'now performing with universal Applause at Vaux-Hall-Gardens'). Giardini played his concertos, Op. 15, 'in all public Places' (advertisement in PA 28.2.1771).

[271] FBurney/*Early Diary*, p.170. It was regarded as an exceptional favour for Trani to be allowed to copy Ferrari's best solos and concertos (Dittersdorf/*Autobiography*, p.41).

[272] *GB* Cfm, Mu. Ms. 715.

regarded as primarily professional concert music is provided by complaints that it was far too difficult for all but the most talented amateurs. Even Tartini's sonatas, Op. 1, were regarded as 'fit only for performers of the first ability and judgment',[273] a consideration that no doubt prompted the publication of Giardini's two sets of 'gentlemens solos'. Fisher clarified the position in the preface to his *Six easy solos*:

> The generality of Solos hitherto Published having been, chiefly calculated for the Inspection and Use of accomplished Musicians, and consequently attended with too much difficulty to be practiced by Gentlemen for their private Amusement, a Work of the same Nature on a different Plan suggested itself to the Imagination of the Composer, and he presumed such a Production might not be unwelcome.

Quartets were seen in the same light. In 1776 William Napier published some easy quartets with the advertisement:

> It has been a general Complaint among the Lovers of Music, that the Quartettos which have been lately published, although many of them are excellent and well composed, yet are so very difficult that none but the best Masters are capable of performing them.[274]

The same objections might have been raised against published concertos, which are always technically exacting.

It would therefore appear that most published violin solos, concertos and larger chamber works were not originally intended for the amateur market. It is hardly surprising that such pieces should have been outnumbered in catalogues not only by keyboard and vocal music for the ladies, but also by trio sonatas, violin duets and music for that other gentleman's instrument, the flute.

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[273] Jones/*Treatise*, p.54.

[274] PA 18.1.1776.

The Social Status of London's Violinists

The winter concert season, permanent opera and theatre companies and the summer gardens provided constant employment in London for numerous violinists. The most famous could make substantial sums - £100 or more - from benefit concerts. In addition there were ample opportunities for teaching and for the publication of music.

Fees paid for violinists' concert appearances varied. For the Foundling Hospital *Messiah* performances, members of the orchestra received between eight and fifteen shillings, the leader taking one guinea, until 1769 when at the instigation of Giardini all violinists were paid one guinea.[275] Bach's bank ledgers imply, with their frequent debits of fifteen guineas, that he paid violinists at the Bach-Abel concerts one guinea for each night. Soloists at London's concerts might be paid three or four times this amount. The decline in London's musical life from the end of the period has been discussed in Chapter 1. It had a direct effect on fees.[276] George Smart received only a half-guinea for playing violin or viola at Salomon's concerts, and he noted that many foreigners played for him 'at very low salaries'.[277] Wendeborn wrote in the later 1780s that notable musicians might receive four or more guineas for playing at a private concert, but that 'this kind of liberality' had recently 'somewhat lessened'.[278]

Teaching was also more profitable before this decline. Wendeborn observed that some used to receive as much as a guinea or a half-guinea

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[275] For Giardini's influence on orchestral fees see p.201.

[276] Samuel Wesley (*Reminiscences*, f.137^{r}) attributed this to the influx of foreigners.

[277] Smart/*Journals*, p.3.

[278] Wendeborn/*View*, ii.238.

for a lesson 'who now, perhaps, must be content with five shillings'.[279] Wesley later quoted similar figures, noting that by the 1830s teachers could charge only three shillings or even less.[280]

It is difficult to assess the annual income of London's violinists. Hay earned more than £1000 per annum, but most of this came from private sources and court appointments.[281] According to Goldsmith, Giardini earned about £700 a year, which was not regarded as an unduly high figure.[282] It bears no comparison with those demanded by Italian opera singers, but it would put Giardini towards the upper end of the financial scale - perhaps the equal of the lesser gentry and merchants, and above many lawyers and clergymen.[283]

The social status of the professional violinist was not in general high.[284] Johnson made a number of disparaging remarks about 'fiddlers', though he surprisingly acknowledged that it was the one small occupation a man could do without disgracing himself, adding: "Had I learnt to fiddle, I should have done nothing else."[285] Thomas Holcroft had to

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279 Ibid. An entrance fee of several guineas might be charged, in which case the fee for each lesson was reduced (cf. Haydn/*Correspondence*, p.308). Already in 1784 Burney commented on the unwonted difficulties faced by music teachers (Lonsdale/*Burney*, p.294).

280 SWesley/*Reminiscences*, ff. 133^{r}, 135^{r}.

281 See p.99.

282 See p.172.

283 Cf. the figures for 1759-60 in Mathias/*Massie*, pp.42-3; Colquhoun's figures for 1801 and 1803 in George/*England*, pp.152-5. These sources are however notoriously difficult to interpret. Colquhoun gives the average income of musicians and theatrical persons as £200.

284 See Sands/*Profession*.

285 Entry of 7 April 1778 (Boswell/*Johnson*, iii.242). Johnson was slightly afraid of music's power to captivate, but he held that it was 'a method of employing the mind, without the labour of thinking at all' (entry of 15 October 1773 in ibid., v.315).

desist from violin-playing as a child, after his uncle asked his father: "Do you mean to make a fiddler of the boy?"[286] However as both Burney and J.C. Bach aspired to acceptance in aristocratic and artistic circles, through teaching and (in Burney's case) literary endeavours, so did some violinists, notably Giardini. A performer would be more easily received into artistic circles with a literary or at least a theatrical connection. Occasionally he might be invited to an aristocratic table as a celebrity, and to a country seat during the summer months almost as an acquaintance rather than a servant. But the relationship between the musician and the nobility remained ambiguous. Giardini was accustomed to sit at the Duke of Marlborough's table at Blenheim, where he 'lived as one of the family';[287] but Parke felt that he overstepped his situation by expecting to dine with the Duke of Cumberland. It was left for the Prince of Wales, later George IV, to 'burst the barrier which had kept the arts at a chilling distance' by inviting men of talent to sit at his table.[288]

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[286] Holcroft/*Memoirs*, i.8.

[287] Parke/*Memoirs*, i.51.

[288] Ibid., i.241.

Felice Giardini, by Reynolds

CHAPTER THREE

Felice Giardini

> And the professor of whom I am going to speak has been so long the delight and wonder of our country; has so much improved the general knowledge and practice of his particular instrument; and had so large a share in our musical transactions, that he is well entitled to an honourable niche in my work.[1]

In this way Burney introduces an account of Felice Giardini, who indeed stands out in importance above all other violinists in London during this period. Not only was he the organiser of numerous concerts of various kinds, and a performer at many more, but he was also closely connected with the Italian Opera, the Foundling Hospital and the Lock Hospital. He was a prolific and popular composer, as well as a teacher and instrument-dealer. Many of the nobility were among his acquaintances, and many of the artistic world among his friends. But above all Giardini was celebrated as the leading violinist in England, at least until the 1770s.

Few substantial biographical accounts of Giardini have been published.[2] The present chapter attempts to bring together material gleaned from a variety of contemporary sources, mainly musical histories, miscellaneous memoirs and letters, and London newspapers. The emphasis is on

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[1] Burney/*History*, ii.895.

[2] Foremost among them is Pohl/*London*, i.170-6, from which the articles in *Grove 5* and *MGG* are partially derived. Appendices D and E provide additional information on Giardini's life and works.

Giardini's life in London and no doubt further information is to be found on Giardini's performances in the provinces.

Before England

Giardini's early years, before his arrival in London, remain obscure. According to Pohl, he was born in Turin on 12 April 1716.[3] His father was 'a french musical settle [?] at Turin' by the name of Jardin, who introduced Giardini to the violin.[4] As a boy he became a chorister at the Duomo in Milan, where he learnt singing, harpsichord and composition under Paladini; 'but having previously manifested a disposition and partiality for the violin, his father recalled him to Turin, in order to receive instructions on that instrument of the famous *Somis*'.[5]

In this way Giardini became a member of the so-called Piedmontese school - the pupils of Somis, amongst them such names as Leclair and Pugnani. There is some confusion as to which of the brothers Somis was the teacher of this distinguished school. Burney refers to 'Lorenzo Somis, maestro di capella to the King of Sardinia [the Duke of Savoy]' as the teacher of both Giardini and Chabran.[6] There is clearly an error here. The director of the Turin court orchestra was in fact Giovanni Battista Somis (1686-1763), a pupil of Corelli; his brother Lorenzo never achieved eminence as a player. It is thus likely that Giovanni Battista, whose playing induced travellers such as Quantz to visit Turin, was also the famous teacher.

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[3] Pohl/*London*, i.170.

[4] *Burney Notebook*, c 98, p.79.

[5] Burney/*History*, ii.895.

[6] Ibid., ii.446. For the biography of the Somis family see Basso/*Somis*.

In 1718 the Prince of Carignan, from the House of Savoy, moved to Paris, and a number of violinists of the Piedmontese school eventually followed him, playing at his Italian concerts in Paris.[7] Giardini did not immediately contribute to this invasion, but remained in Italy until he was over thirty. He moved first to Rome,[8] and then obtained a place 'among *Ripienos*' in the Naples opera orchestra.[9] Burney's account includes a well-known anecdote:

> He used to flourish and change passages much more frequently than he ought to have done. "However," says Giardini, of whom I had this account, "I acquired great reputation among the ignorant for my impertinence; yet one night, during the opera, Jomelli, who had composed it, came into the orchestra, and seating himself close by me, I determined to give the Maestro di Capella a touch of my taste and execution; and in the symphony of the next song, which was in a pathetic style, I gave loose to my fingers and fancy; for which I was rewarded by the composer with a violent slap in the face; which," adds Giardini, "was the best lesson I ever received from a great master in my life." Jomelli, after this, was however very kind, in a different way, to this young and wonderful musician.[10]

The story is curious. It presents the image of a respected maestro and a young upstart in the ranks, but only two years separated Jommelli and

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[7] Basso/*Somis*, p.xvii; Cucuel/*La Pouplinière*, p.341. Two of Somis' most distinguished pupils (Leclair and Guillemain) were French, and he himself visited Paris in 1733.

[8] 'Early in his life' (Burney/*History*, ii.895); aged 12 (Pohl/*London*, i.171); scarcely 17 (*Harmonicon-Giardini*, p.215).

[9] Burney/*History*, ii.896. Aged 14 (*Burney Notebook*, c 97, p.39); in Naples he was regarded 'as a Divinity', but according to Giardini only through ignorance.

[10] Burney/*History*, ii.896. According to *Harmonicon-Giardini*, p.215, Giardini quickly reached the first desk of the Naples orchestra. Jommelli was in Naples in the years 1737-8 and 1747-8, but his operas were not performed at the Teatro San Carlo on the former occasion.

Giardini. Yet even if it in fact combines different incidents, the story nevertheless points to Giardini's later insistence on orchestral discipline.

Giardini travelled to Germany in about 1748. He visited Berlin, where he played alongside the King of Prussia, whom he regarded as a much better flautist than Quantz.[11] Franz Benda heard Giardini play and was highly pleased with the remembrance when Burney visited him in 1772.[12] It seems that Giardini was at some time in Dresden, for the Paris edition of his solos, Op. 1, pronounced him 'Virtuoso di Camera' to the King of Poland (Augustus III, Elector of Saxony). No details of this short-lived appointment have come to light. By 1750 he was in Paris, playing at the Concert Spirituel - his own concertos on 24 and 28 March, and his own duets (with Venier) on 26 March and 3 April.[13]

The Early Years in London

The dates of Giardini's arrival and of his first performance in London have been a matter of some dispute. The confusion originates with Burney, who mentions Giardini's arrival in London several times:

> [Francesca Cuzzoni] came to London a third time, in 1749, just after Giardini's arrival, who performed at her benefit, at the little theatre in the Hay-market, the first time he was heard here in public.
>
> The arrival of GIARDINI in London, in the spring of this year [1750], forms a memorable æra in the instrumental Music of this kingdom. His first performance in public was at a benefit concert for Cuzzoni, May the 18th, at the little theatre in the Hay-market ... Giardini played a solo of Martini of Milan's composition.

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[11] *Burney Notebook*, c 97, p.40.

[12] See p.198.

[13] Pierre/*Concert*, pp.257-8.

> Giardini came to England in 1750. His first public performance in London, at which I was present, was at a benefit concert for old Cuzzoni ... [at] the little theatre in the Hay-market ... Giardini played a solo and concerto.[14]

Cuzzoni's public benefit concerts were as follows:

Date and Source	Place	Notes
GA 18.5.1750	H	No performers given
GA 23.5.1750	H	A second concert 'by particular Desire'
GA 20.2.1751	H	Some performers given, but no violinist
GA 27.4.1751	Hay	'A Benefit of Signor Guadagni, For the Profit of Signora Cuzzoni'. A concert replacing the formerly advertised *La Forza d'Amore*. Giardini plays two concertos and a 'Sonata del Signor St. Martini'; two of his overtures are performed
GA 23.5.1751	H	A final concert out of 'extreme Necessity' before Cuzzoni left England. Morigi plays a violin solo and concerto

It is evident that Giardini was the principal attraction on 27 April 1751. His performance received a very rare notice:

> We are assured that Signor Giardini's Performance on the Violin, at Signiora Cuzzoni's Benefit, at the New Theatre in the Haymarket, on Saturday Night last, gave the highest Pleasure to several of the best Judges of that Instrument.[15]

Burney's vivid report corresponds very closely with known details of this concert and it seems likely that he made a simple error. The conclusion is, therefore, that Giardini's first public performance in London was on 27 April 1751, but that he might nevertheless have come to England in 1750 after his stay in Paris.

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[14] Burney/*History*, ii.737, ii.849-50, ii.896.

[15] GA 1.5.1751.

The reason for Giardini's move to London, other than the usual financial incentive, is not known.[16] His success was immediate. As often the case, he appeared first in private circles. Burney describes a concert at the house of Napthali Franks, which took place the night before the Cuzzoni concert. He played his own 'brilliant' solos, and sight-read with assurance several by Tartini; he made some of Burney's music better than the composer had intended; and finally extemporised variations on a minuet for half an hour - all of which 'threw into the utmost astonishment the whole company, who had never been accustomed to hear better performers than *Festing, Brown,* and *Collet*!'[17] At the Cuzzoni concert, which was otherwise a pathetic reminder of a great singer, the applause for Giardini was 'so loud, long, and furious, as nothing but that bestowed on Garrick had ever equalled'; and Burney never again heard 'such hearty and unequivocal marks of approbation' at a musical performance.[18]

At the start of his long career in London Giardini was already in his mid-thirties, and his later rivals were almost all of a later generation. He moved early into a position of respect and was received by fashionable circles:

> [Giardini's] great hand, taste, and style of playing, were so universally admired, that he had soon not only a great number of scholars on the violin, but taught many ladies of the first rank to sing.[19]

He also began to publish his music in partnership with the small business of John Cox. A subscription was launched on 23 July 1751 for six sonatas,

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[16] Roger Fiske (*Theatre*, p.250) suggests he was invited by the Prince of Wales, but gives no source for this. The Prince died on 20 March 1751.

[17] Burney/*History*, ii.896.

[18] Ibid., ii.896, ii.850.

[19] Ibid., ii.1012.

possibly the Op. 3 set, and a royal privilege for a number of works was issued on 27 September 1751.[20]

In the 1751-2 season Giardini was the leader at Ogle's Dean Street Room series. He played a solo or concerto every night and provided some overtures and chamber works. Similarly prestigious were the many benefit concerts at which he led in 1752, some of these with the Dean Street performers. It is notable that already several concerts with which Giardini was connected charged a high half-guinea for tickets, the price which became standard for the best benefit concerts. In this year he first became involved with charitable concerns, playing for the Decayed Musicians' Fund and for the Lock Hospital, thus beginning a long association with the latter.

The following season saw the first of the minor disputes which occurred throughout Giardini's life and which give credence to reports of his quarrelsome character. Ogle having apparently died, two series took place at the Dean Street Room. One was organised by Giardini and Thomas Vincent, the oboist at the previous series, concerts taking place on Tuesdays. As a condition of their having the room, Mrs. Ogle engaged their orchestra to play gratis at her benefit on 14 April 1753. Giardini subsequently announced that he would not play; but Mrs. Ogle claimed that he could not refuse and she appealed to Vincent. Giardini then backed down, claiming a misunderstanding between Vincent and himself. Vincent, however, was not to be slandered, and he revealed that the whole incident was the result of pique on the part of Giardini, Mrs. Ogle not having let him change a concert date. Vincent had in fact forced Giardini's hand by reminding him of his obligation 'before several Persons of Quality'.[21]

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[20] See pp.357, 325.

[21] From announcements in PA 7.4.1753, 12.4.1753, 14.4.1753.

Meanwhile Giardini had a serious rival in Charles Chabran, who had recently arrived from Paris. He led the parallel series at the Dean Street Room on Saturdays and elsewhere. But the two violinists performed in some of the same concerts, and Giardini made his only known appearance as a soloist on the harpsichord at a benefit concert led by Chabran.[22]

Giardini led and directed the King's Arms Concert in 1752-3, probably in succession to Festing. He was however only connected with the society for one season, being replaced by Chabran.[23] Burney noted that he also led the Castle Concerts soon after his arrival, perhaps from the same season.[24] In 1753 he first played in Handel oratorio, leading *Acis and Galatea* for Frasi's benefit (PA Hay, 2.4.1753), although few such performances are recorded.

The next season was quieter so far as concerts were concerned, and it is perhaps not surprising that Giardini refrained from concert organisation. It is pleasant to note however that both Giardini and Chabran played at Mrs. Ogle's benefit (PA DSt, 4.4.1754).

At about this time Giardini seems to have married Maria Caterina Violante (Violantina) Vestris (c.1732-1791), an Italian singer and dancer from the famous family.[25] In Paris since 1748, she sang two Italian arias at the Concert Spirituel on 15 August 1752 and one on 8 September.[26]

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[22] For Colla (PA Hay, 5.5.1753). This was despite his vow never to touch the instrument again, after hearing Madame de S. Maur, a pupil of Rameau, in Paris (Burney/*History*, ii.895).

[23] GA 23.10.1752; PA 12.11.1753. Burney (*History*, ii.1012) relates that Giardini's success hastened Festing's death.

[24] *Burney(Rees)*, art. 'Giardini'.

[25] *Grove 5*, art. Vestris (2).

[26] Pierre/*Concert*, p.263.

Her name is still given as Mlle. Violantina de Vestris, which probably indicates that she did not marry Giardini 'peu de tems avant son voyage en Angleterre'.[27] She soon moved to London and apparently sang, as Signora Vestris, at the Giardini-Vincent concert series in 1753,[28] as well as at benefit concerts in which Giardini took part. In Vincent's announcement of 14 April, he refers to Giardini's grudging promise 'to stay untill Sig. Frasi and Sig. Vestris's Benefit was over'.[29] None of these references indicates that the marriage had already happened, and it is likely that this took place later in 1753 or early in 1754. On 6 February 1754 Signora De Giardino was advertised in *The Public Advertiser* as a singer and she took part at several concerts in the spring at which Giardini performed. The marriage appears to have been short-lived. She was singing again at the Concert Spirituel on 29 March 1755, as Mme. Vestris de Giardini, and she appeared there frequently until 1758.[30] There is no record of her performing in London after 1754, and Giardini was soon working with other singers.

In demand among the aristocracy as a teacher, Giardini was also called upon to play at their concerts. Burney observed that he

> soon got possession of all the posts of honour in this country. He was engaged and caressed at most of the private concerts of the principal nobility, gentry, and foreign ministers.[31]

Foremost among these were the select concerts of Mrs. Fox Lane, which particularly invited curiosity as 'Giardini was seldom to be heard in

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[27] Choron/*Dictionnaire*, art. Giardini (Violenta).

[28] Cf. the announcement in PA 24.3.1753 that by mistake her benefit had been advertised to clash with one of Giardini's concerts.

[29] PA 14.4.1753.

[30] Pierre/*Concert*, p.269 et seq.

[31] *Burney(Rees)*, art. 'Giardini'.

public after his first arrival'.[32] The violinist also organised his own concerts:

> After he had been here a few years, he formed a morning *academia*, or concert, at his house, composed chiefly of his scholars, vocal and instrumental, who bore a part in the performance.[33]

Both Mrs. Fox Lane's concerts and Giardini's Academy continued for many years.

The Middle Years : Opera and Oratorio

Some years after his arrival in London Giardini retired to a certain extent from public concerts, having sown seeds for later more enduring subscription series. The 1754-5 season saw his last series for many years, 'Signor Degiardino and Signora Frasi's Subscription Concert' at the Dean Street Room. In the spring of 1758 he must have announced a subscription for a 'Musical Entertainment'; an account at Drummond's Bank recorded 30 credits of five guineas, mostly from the nobility, but by February 1760 these had almost all been paid back.[34]

It seems that Giardini's Academy survived, though in what form it is impossible to discover. On 1 March 1763 the Duchess of Northumberland noted: 'In the Evening went to Giardini's. Only 30 people stay'd to Supper.'[35] Two years later A. Hummell published a second set of Richter overtures 'as they were perform'd at Mr. Giardini's Academy';[36] and in 1768 the Academy was postponed to allow Giardini to take a benefit concert.[37]

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[32] See p.45 for Burney's description and pp.167-8 for further details.

[33] Burney/*History*, ii.1012.

[34] Ledgers (1758-60) for 'Sig^{r} De Giardini's Musical Entertainm^{t}'.

[35] Northumberland/*Diaries*, p.54.

[36] PA 10.4.1765.

[37] See p.302; cf. p.178.

Giardini's name still occurred in a number of benefit concert advertisements each year. Among these were two for Abel, whom he would have known in Dresden (PA DSt, 5.4.1759 and DSt, 25.4.1760) and one for the cellist Carlo Graziani at which Mozart was to have performed (PA H, 22.5.1764). Giardini himself often took a benefit concert from 1755.[38] But he did not play again as prominent a part in London's public concerts until about 1770. An apparently cool relationship with J.C. Bach may have contributed to this; and other violinists certainly came to prominence in the 1760s, notably Barthelemon and Pugnani. A more important factor was his pre-occupation with vocal genres, especially opera and oratorio.

In the 1754-5 season Giardini was leader at the Italian Opera, which had opened again the previous year under the direction of Francesco Vaneschi. He reformed the orchestra:

> At this time Giardini led the band, in which he introduced new discipline, and a new style of playing, much superior in itself, and more congenial with the poetry and Music of Italy, than the languid manner of his predecessor Festing.[39]

The same season saw the arrival from Spain of the celebrated soprano Regina Mingotti. Previously a singer at the Dresden Opera, she had been associated, not altogether happily, with Hasse (whom Giardini had presumably met there also); and this no doubt inspired the renewed interest in Hasse's music in this and the following seasons.

Though Mingotti brought 'considerable splendor' to the Italian Opera, she also brought new troubles. The following season was rent by disputes

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[38] These concerts are listed in Appendix D.

[39] Burney/*History*, ii.853.

and faction, centring on a disagreement between Vaneschi and Mingotti, which eventually caused Vaneschi's bankruptcy, imprisonment and flight.[40] Mingotti and Giardini acquired the management for the 1756-7 season.

Giardini may have visited the continent during the summer of 1756 in search of performers and music for the forthcoming season. The corrected Op. 3 duet sonatas were probably published at this time by Giardini at a Paris address, and a set of solos may have been published under his supervision, as a note referring to his previous absence implies.[41] With the exception of Giardini's contributions, the music of the operas performed at the King's Theatre was largely from continental theatres.[42] The following operas, all serious, were heard:

Title	Composer*	First performance this season	Number of performances
Alessandro nell' Indie	Pasticcio (Giardini)	11.12.1756	10
Il Re Pastore	Hasse	18.1.1757	13
Antigono	Conforto	8.3.1757	11
Rosmira	Giardini	30.4.1757	9 (including three benefits)
Euristeo	Galuppi	31.5.1757	5

* Pasticcio contributors are included in parentheses.

[40] Ibid., ii.855. See also Mingotti's two published appeals to the public. Giardini was apparently also abused by Vaneschi, even though he had provided some successful arias (Mingotti/*Appeal*, p.12).

[41] See p.339. A French royal privilege for the publication of Giardini's music was issued in October 1756, but not to the composer. (For details of this and subsequent privileges, perhaps indicating visits to Paris in 1759 and 1766, see Appendix E.)

[42] Burney/*History*, ii.856.

A break was made with tradition, in that publication was no longer entrusted to Walsh with his 'easy terms' but was taken elsewhere.[43]

Mingotti felt obliged to apologise for the 'inferior' entertainments this season, blaming the disputes over the previous summer.[44] Burney, however, recalled 'great applause'. In any case, the profits were so meagre that Mingotti and Giardini, 'brought to the brink of ruin', were glad to resign.[45] The Opera was taken over by another singer, Colomba Mattei, with Cocchi as composer and Pinto as leader.

Mattei had some success with comic operas from 1760-1 and with J.C. Bach's first London operas in 1763, but she resigned after the 1762-3 season. Giardini returned to the management, with Mingotti again as the principal singer. By then her voice was in decline and the season was dull. The following operas, again serious, were performed:

Title	Composer*	First performance this season	Number of performances
Cleonice	Pasticcio (Bertoni, Galuppi, Giardini)	26.11.1763	5
Siroe	Pasticcio (Galuppi, Giardini)	13.12.1763	10
Leucippo	Vento	10.1.1764	10 (including one benefit)
Senocrita	Pasticcio (Giardini, Hasse, Perez, Piccini, Vento)	21.2.1764	6
Alessandro nell' Indie	Pasticcio (Cocchi)	13.3.1764	9 (including one benefit)
Enea e Lavinia	Giardini	5.5.1764	8

[43] Ibid., ii.854. Those collections that have survived were printed 'for the Proprietor'.

[44] PA 13.6.1757.

[45] Burney/*History*, ii.855.

Once more Giardini experimented with publication. Robert Bremner published the songs in *Cleonice* in half score, with instrumental parts for concerts.[46] As normally only vocal scores were available the plan seemed promising; it was followed in further publications, but it did not prove a popular success - perhaps in part due to the indifference of the season's operas.

Giardini was anxious to shift the blame for the season's failure, and he fixed upon his agent Gabriel Leone. In *The Public Advertiser* of 9 May 1764 he published a long exposé of the injuries he had received, accusing Leone of embezzlement, of bribery, and of failing to secure the best singers. Five days later a reply appeared in the same newspaper, written by Leone and others;[47] and subsequently Leone published a pamphlet refuting Giardini's 'scurrilous Advertisement'. In the following year was published anonymously 'A Defence of F. Giardini against Cacophron', but this was not by Giardini himself.[48] Apparently Giardini had called a meeting of his creditors, at which he announced a scheme for paying off his debts; but everyone not signing the agreement, he was almost confined to his house during the summer and autumm of 1764 - despite protestations from his friends that he could thereby not exercise his profession. There is no need to elaborate further on this unhappy dispute, in which there were faults on both sides, other than to say that it reached a law-suit. It was several years before Giardini had completely paid off an overdraft of £602-9s-11d.[49]

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[46] Ibid., ii.867.

[47] Including Vento, whom Giardini had invited to London in default of Piccini.

[48] According to this *Defence*, the previous pamphlet (Leone/*Reponse)* was not by Leone but by a vindictive 'Cacophron'. Giardini thanked the author for writing on his behalf (PA 26.3.1765).

[49] Drummond's Bank ledgers (1764-9) for 'M^{r} Felice De Giardini'.

Thus ended Giardini's management of the Italian Opera. He was no longer manager in 1764-5, as sometimes stated,[50] although for his friend the singer Giovanni Manzuoli (whom he had originally invited to London) he composed *Il Re Pastore* (KT, 7.3.1765). His music continued to be used in pasticcio operas. Indeed Burney observed that 'he had not sufficient force or variety' to sustain a whole evening's entertainment, yet when he 'threw in a single air or rondeau [such as 'Voi amante'] into the operas of other masters' it was often applauded more than the rest of the drama.[51] He possibly led again in 1772-3, and was certainly the leader in 1776-7 and 1782-3;[52] a final venture took place in 1790.

Giardini's unsuccessful dealings with the Italian Opera were lampooned in *The Remarkable Trial of the Queen of Quavers*, a satirical pamphlet published in 1777:

> It is then expedient to acquaint the public, that this Signor Jar was perpetually *jarring* in the harmonical mansion, and rebelliously encroaching on the royal prerogative. Actuated by the most unaccountable perverseness of temper, he usually makes a cruel sport of brewing dangerous mischiefs and perilous disorders ... Our scraping Hero, who though no less contemptible than an Urinal, yet fancies himself a Prince, and has the assurance of claiming veneration from his betters. There is besides a peculiar circumstance, which will ever prevent a judicious manager from having any connection with this whimsical chap call'd Jar-din. Whenever he meddles with operas, it is his practice to foist in a certain tune of his own composition, beginning by a capital WHEREAS: and notwithstanding that this disagreeable tune has been welcomed with hisses by every honest individual in the Moon, yet he has had the matchless impudence of publishing it several times in the Gazette.[53]

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[50] See *Malmesbury Letters*, i.111-6, for the uncertainty during autumn 1764.

[51] *Burney(Rees)*, art. 'Giardini'. Frasi is depicted in a mezzotint holding a copy of 'Voi amante' (*Grove 5*, art. 'Frasi').

[52] See Appendix F.

[53] *Trial*, pp.81-3.

Perhaps more fruitful was Giardini's connection with oratorio, which was strengthened by his contact with charities. Already in 1752 he played for the Decayed Musicians' Fund and on 1 June 1755 he joined the Society of Musicians, which administered the Fund (although he later withdrew his subscription).[54] While in management of the Opera in 1757 he again played for the Fund, this time organising the performance,[55] which as usual featured many of the opera singers. Giardini was not however concerned with any later concerts for the Fund.

Much longer-lasting was Giardini's connection with another charity - the Lock Hospital, founded in 1746 for those suffering from 'certain diseases' and situated near Hyde Park Corner. Fund-raising took many forms, including musical performances with which Giardini was involved from the beginning.[56] On 22 April 1752 a concert was given at the King's Theatre, with a programme very similar to that of the Fund concert some weeks earlier, at which Giardini also played. Handel promised an oratorio and in 1753 *Judas Maccabaeus* was performed, although on this one occasion there is no mention of Giardini. The following year saw a performance of Handel's *L'Allegro ed il Penseroso* and *Ode on St. Cecilia's Day*.

The next concert for the charity was not until 1756, when a 'Concerto spirituale' was given by Giardini and performers from the Opera. The programme included Pergolesi's *Stabat Mater*, and as on some later occasions Stanley played an organ concerto. An advertisement of thanks identified the charity as the Lock Hospital, mentioning that many of the

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[54] *Society Admissions*.

[55] See Frasi's announcement that she had not been asked to sing (PA 23.3.1757).

[56] See *Lock History*, which is not however totally reliable. It has proved impossible to locate the Hospital's minute books. The list of musical performances in Appendix D gives full details of dates and venues.

performers took no fee.[57] In 1757 the concert was replaced by Hasse's oratorio *I Pellegrini*, with some additions by Giardini. One commentator wrote that with such performers this 'could not fail of giving the Satisfaction it so deservedly met with'.[58] Nevertheless in 1758 and 1759 a return was made to the 'Concerto spirituale', including Pergolesi's *Stabat Mater* again, now 'with some of the Parts made into Choruses' by Giardini.[59]

Three years later performances began in the new Chapel at the Lock Hospital. On 18 May 1762 a concert of selections from sacred oratorios was held there, now in the morning. The work which became closely associated with the Hospital soon after began its chequered career. This was *Ruth*, an oratorio to a libretto by the assistant chaplain Thomas Haweis, on the appropriate biblical story of female fidelity and industry rewarded. The music was to be written by Avison, Giardini and Boyce, but Boyce pleaded illness and Avison set the third part in addition to the first.[60] The performance took place on 15 April 1763 and the new oratorio was approved by a large audience:

> The Composition did Honour to the Masters, one of which (who was also a Performer) proved his Talents in Composition, equal to his great Power in Execution.[61]

The governors of the Hospital expressed particular thanks to Avison and Giardini, and proposed an annual performance as 'a lasting Monument of their Benevolence'. Giardini was singled out further:

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[57] PA 7.4.1756.

[58] PA 26.3.1757.

[59] At his 1756 benefit this work had been performed with four additional choruses.

[60] PA 9.4.1763, 13.4.1763. There is a copy of the 1763 libretto in *GB* Lbl. Avison had known and admired Giardini for many years (see pp.194-5); some of his music had been played at the 1751-2 Dean Street Room series. For Boyce's scathing remarks on Giardini's composition see p.203.

[61] PA 19.4.1763.

> To express the Sense of the Obligation the Charity is under to Mr. Giardini in the Terms he particularly merits as a Composer, Performer and Conductor of the Music, would rather (from Experience) offend him, as he himself is a Governor of the Hospital.[62]

Despite its success, however, *Ruth* was not given an annual performance, and other works took its place - Arne's *Judith* in 1764 and John Worgan's *Manasseh* in 1766 and 1767.[63] But *Ruth* was performed again in 1765, with Avison's contribution limited to Act 1 and both the other acts by Giardini. Mrs. Harris found Avison's choruses 'very fine' and was even more pleased by Giardini's music.[64] On 25 May 1768 *Ruth* was given as a new oratorio, entirely composed by Giardini. In this form it became to the Lock what *Messiah* was to the Foundling Hospital, being performed most years from 1768 to 1780. In 1769 a brilliant and enthusiastic audience 'declared they never received so much Pleasure from a Musical Performance',[65] and the oratorio presumably brought a considerable income to the Hospital. After 1780 it however gave way to charitable sermons, for reasons discussed below.

Giardini's *Ruth* was heard on a number of other occasions.[66] The composer led a performance in Gloucester in 1775, as part of the Three Choirs Festival. The oratorio was lent to the Foundling Hospital for a performance on 25 April 1787, directed by Burney and led by Cramer.[67]

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62 PA 22.4.1763.

63 Also in 1764 Giardini led a performance of Jommelli's *La Passione* for 'a Public Charity' (KT 9.5.1764), but it is not clear whether this was the Lock Hospital. Sylas Neville went specially to hear Giardini in 1767 (Neville/*Diary*, p.7).

64 Letter of 16 February 1765 (*Malmesbury Letters*, i.121).

65 PA 8.4.1769.

66 See Appendix D for further details.

67 MH 12.4.1787; *Foundling Minutes*, C, xviii.279, 284-5, 291; *Lock History*, p.12. William Bromfeild, the founder of the Lock Hospital, who

It was heard at Ranelagh Gardens at Giardini's last London appearance in 1792, and was revived in 1799 at the Hanover Square Rooms by Charles Wesley, then organist of the Lock Hospital Chapel. A further performance was suggested in 1813, but this was rejected in favour of a play. The music, though kept in 'a strong box with four locks', has since disappeared.[68]

Samuel Wesley described *Ruth* in these terms:

> It is a very elegant and pleasing Composition, replete with tasteful Airs, and delectable Melody: the Choruses, although certainly not comparable to Handel's are nevertheless full of Spirit and lively Effect.[69]

He himself had set the same libretto at the age of eight in 1774.[70] *ABC Dario* regarded Giardini's oratorio as a 'pretty Italian lustring' by comparison with Handel's 'English brocade',[71] yet it was almost the only oratorio not by Handel to last more than a few years.

The Lock Hospital was founded against a background of methodism. In 1765 John Wesley himself heard *Ruth* in its second version; he found the sense admirable, the poetry 'not contemptible' and the music 'exquisite', concluding that it 'might possibly make an impression even upon rich and honourable sinners'. He was less pleased in 1764 with Arne's *Judith*, as the words could not be heard clearly.[72] In the spring of 1770,

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[67] had since disagreed with its Committee, lent the music. The Hospital expressed some concern that its rights were being violated, but eventually allowed this one performance. Parke (*Memoirs*, i.92) gives somewhat different details of this performance.

[68] *Lock History*, pp.12-13.

[69] SWesley/*Reminiscences*, f.136^{r}.

[70] *GB* Lbl, Add. 34997 is the autograph score.

[71] *ABC Dario*, p.23.

[72] Entry of 13 February 1765 (JWesley/*Journal*, v.106); entry of 29 February 1764 (Ibid., v.47).

Giardini was among the eminent musicians to whom the young Charles Wesley played on his second visit to London. But he was grudging in his praise and earned the wrath of Joseph Kelway, the organist and harpsichordist, for his 'cool approbation'.[73]

Appointed in 1758, the chaplain of the Hospital was Martin Madan, a lawyer who had been converted to methodism by John Wesley. He encouraged the musical performances and it is probably significant that they came to an end in 1780, the year in which Madan resigned in stormy circumstances. He himself wrote methodist hymns and tunes, and in 1769 he published 'A Collection of Psalm and Hymn Tunes' for the benefit of the Hospital. This contains settings by Arnold, Boyce, Burney, Vento, Worgan and others. Seven by Giardini include the well-known tunes 'Pelham' and 'Trinity' (now 'Moscow'). Perhaps these were the tunes he wrote for the Countess of Huntingdon, a prominent devotee of methodism.[74] Horace Walpole was sarcastic about the value of Giardini's contribution:

> Is it true that [Lady Rockingham] is turned Methodist? It will be a great acquisition to the sect to have their hymns set by Giardini.[75]

Giardini played in benefit performances of oratorios as early as 1753, although there is no indication that he ever played for Handel himself. He performed at a number of oratorio series after Handel's death, thus furthering his association with English musicians. From 1760 to 1762 he played solos at the series organised by Smith and Stanley (who had already played at some of the Lock Hospital performances); and he led Arnold's series in 1769 and 1770, again playing solos. In addition he

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[73] Routley/*Wesleys*, p.46.

[74] *Huntingdon*, i.230. A close acquaintance of Madan, she attended *Ruth* in 1765 (Ibid., i.364).

[75] Letter of 25 June 1768 (*Walpole Correspondence*, xxxv.323).

participated at some of Arne's promotions. In 1754, for example, he led Arne's *Alfred*, performed 'in the Manner of an Oratorio' (PA DL, 27.3.1754); and the following year he led Arne's short series of his own works. Before its performance at the Lock Hospital in 1764, Arne's *Judith* was initially advertised as by Arne and Giardini.[76]

Burney observed that on the collapse of the Opera in 1764 Giardini contented himself with teaching and the production of an annual benefit.[77] This is clearly not strictly accurate. In particular, he was soon involved in another undertaking. After 1755 he had apparently ceased to deal with the publisher John Cox, preferring to publish at his own expense. When in 1764 Robert Bremner bought some of Cox's plates and later began to advertise Giardini's music, he still did not publish any new works aside from opera songs. 1767 saw the first mention of 'Giardini and Siprutini's Musick Warehouse in the Haymarket, near Panton-street', where music and instruments were on sale.[78] A later advertisement for this 'Italian Musick Warehouse' noted that 'all Sorts of Instruments are carefully repaired and put into proper Order, under the Inspection of Mr. Giardini'.[79] However the partnership was short-lived, for in April 1769 Siprutini and the pantaleone-player Noel were advertising a different warehouse in the Strand.[80] In the same year Peter Welcker began to publish Giardini's works.

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[76] PA 23.1.1764.

[77] *Burney(Rees)*, art. 'Giardini'.

[78] Advertisement for Giardini's quintets, Op. 11, in PA 16.7.1767. Emanuel Siprutini was a cellist.

[79] PA 25.12.1767.

[80] PA 1.4.1769.

Giardini and London Society

It has become clear that Giardini was soon after his arrival accepted into the fashionable world of London society. At first he was presumably regarded as a performing celebrity, who could enliven an otherwise routine society evening. Mrs. Fox Lane no doubt saw musical patronage as a route to social standing. A 'letter' in *The Connoisseur* of 1756 apparently satirised her concerts, with Italian fiddlers and singers strutting around in lace or embroidery and the chief musician (Giardini?) looking like a foreign ambassador.[81]

Giardini became much more than an over-dressed virtuoso. Only outstanding performing artists, men such as David Garrick, could expect to mix socially with the *haut ton*. Giardini became familiar with many of the nobility in London. While there was always a musical connection, he nevertheless was regarded as a guest rather than as a servant. His charm and wit no doubt compensated for his occasional arrogance and ill temper.

Giardini's principal patron, from his early years in London, was Harriet Fox Lane (1705-1771). Daughter and sole heir to Baron Bingley (d.1731), she had a considerable fortune when later in 1731 she married George Fox (afterwards Fox Lane, and from 1762 Baron Bingley). Her concerts with Giardini and later Mingotti have already been described.[82] Entry to these was much sought after, even though the guests were treated 'like dogs' and often had to find five guineas for a benefit given by Giardini or Mingotti.[83] In 1755 Giardini dedicated a set of symphonies to Harriet Lane and the following year there was a suggestion that

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[81] *The Connoisseur*, No.128 (8 July 1756). A reply appeared in No. 130 (22 July 1756).

[82] See pp.44-5.

[83] Burney/*History*, ii.1014. Cf. ibid., ii.855.

Mingotti's operas might take place at her house in opposition to Vaneschi.[84] Under her patronage Giardini played during the 1765 race week at York, where she 'had great sway'.[85] She was still in command in 1770, for Mrs. Boscawen wrote: 'Lady Bingley summonses the world to Giardini's concert to-night [SSq, 30.4.1770]; some *free spirits* escape to Ranelagh.'[86] On her death she left an annuity of £200 to Giardini.[87]

It is likely that Mrs. Fox Lane introduced Giardini to many of the aristocracy. She herself played the harpsichord at her concerts, as did Lady Edgcumbe and Lady Milbanke. Other 'illustrious dilettanti' who performed there were Giardini's singing pupils Lady Rockingham, the Dowager Lady Carlisle and Miss Pelham.[88] The eccentric Frances Pelham, daughter of the statesman Henry Pelham, once attracted attention at Giardini's Academy; she was so enraged when the company sang catches after supper that she hurled abuse at Lord March and attacked Lady Stewart.[89] Later in 1763 Miss Pelham organised a small entertainment at Esher after a day in the country. Giardini and the cellist Lord Pembroke were among the performers, who accompanied the singing of Lady Rockingham, the Duchess of Grafton and the hostess.[90] Walpole, who described the day, was not an admirer of Giardini and he later wrote petulantly:

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[84] Mrs. Delany's letter of 6 April 1756 (Delany/*Correspondence*, iii.421).

[85] Wilkinson/*Memoirs*, iv.17. He had already played at York in 1751 and maintained the connection at least until 1778 (see p.194).

[86] Letter of 30 April 1770 (Delany/*Correspondence*, iv.260).

[87] PA 23.9.1784. Cf. Wilkinson/*Memoirs*, iv.17.

[88] Burney/*History*, ii.1014.

[89] Entry of 1 March 1763 (Northumberland/*Diaries*, p.54).

[90] Walpole's letter of 17-19 May 1763 (*Walpole Correspondence*, x.73).

> As for Giardini himself, I would not go cross the room to hear him play to eternity. I should think he could frighten nobody but Lady Bingley by a refusal.[91]

For an ambitious, somewhat vain musician like Giardini, it was socially necessary as well as lucrative to give lessons to the upper classes. Among his many violin pupils was William Hamilton, later knighted, whose friendship Giardini was subsequently to encourage. It was perhaps more agreeable to teach ladies singing, the harpsichord or the guitar.[92] Mortimer's *Directory* of 1763 lists Giardini only as a composer and teacher of singing and harpsichord.[93] Besides those mentioned above, he may have taught other ladies to whom he dedicated vocal music in his early London years, such as the Duchess of Marlborough and Penelope Pitt.

Giardini dedicated music to many other members of the nobility, some of them already mentioned.[94] Usually these were ladies in the case of songs, harpsichord and guitar music, gentlemen in the case of violin music. With the duets, Op. 13, a new connection emerges. The title-page, dated 1767, describes Giardini as 'Maestro di Musica delle loro Altezze Reali il Duca di Glocester e il Duca di Cumberland'. The musical interests of the King's brothers have already been described.[95] The appointment is mentioned on some other title-pages up to the trios, Op. 26 (1784), and when Giardini departed in that year the dukes allowed him an

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[91] Letter of 9 August 1763 (Ibid., xxxviii.208-9).

[92] I.e. the 'English guitar' or cittern.

[93] Mortimer/*Directory*, p.28.

[94] See Appendix E for a list of dedicatees.

[95] See p.40. The two small musical establishments are listed in *Court Register* from 1775.

annuity of £100.[96] But on his return to London some five years later he was no longer employed by them.[97] Cumberland was a particular admirer of Giardini, who dedicated the violin concertos, Op. 15, to him. On one occasion the duke invited Giardini to his lodge in Windsor Park, for a week of music parties; but when asked to dine at the pages' table, the violinist was so offended, unwarrantably in Parke's view, that he left for an inn in the town.[98]

Giardini was among the first nine 'privileg'd members' admitted to the Noblemen and Gentlemen's Catch Club in 1763.[99] However his foreign accent proved a limitation. Mis-pronunciation was one of the punishable errors, the penalty being a half-pint of wine, and Giardini 'seldom returned home sober'. To obviate the effects of this 'jovial persecution' he composed 'Beviamo tutti tre' in which the leader was to drink while singing the syllable *ba*, a remarkable feat only Giardini was capable of achieving.[100]

His connection with the Lock Hospital brought Giardini into very different company. He was 'a great favourite' of the ardent methodist, the Countess of Huntingdon. In addition he played to 'rapturous applause' at concerts of sacred music given by her friends Lady Hotham and Lady Chesterfield.[101]

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[96] PA 23.9.1784.

[97] His name is first omitted from *Court Register* in 1790. Cf. his dismissal by the Prince of Wales (see pp.190-1).

[98] Parke/*Memoirs*, i.241.

[99] Gladstone/*Catch Club*, p.9. He was re-admitted in 1780 (Ibid., p.69).

[100] *Quarterly-Horsley*, p.111.

[101] *Huntingdon*, i.229-30.

Giardini seems often to have spent part of the summer with nobility of the highest rank. His invitation to the Duke of Cumberland's Windsor lodge, presumably in the summer, has been mentioned. Parke records that for several years he went to B[lenhei]m to give musical instruction to the Duchess of M[arlboroug]h:

> [He] had been in the habit of passing two or three months of the summer for that purpose at the family seat, B——m, in O——e, where he had lived as one of the family.[102]

The arrangement came to an end after several years when the duke asked him no longer to dine at his table, an affront Giardini was again unable to take. He attended the duchess in London, as before, for one more winter, until she accused him of over-charging for her lessons. The story seems to refer to some time before 1784 - not to Elisabeth, the third Duchess of Marlborough mentioned above, who was widowed in 1758 and died three years later, but to Caroline, the fourth Duchess.

Giardini apparently led the Christmas week oratorios which the Earl of Sandwich organised at Hinchinbrook, probably during the 1770s. Both Giardini and the conductor Bates instructed the principal singer, Martha Ray, Sandwich's mistress from about 1763 until she was murdered in 1779.[103] In September 1774, when Bates opened a new organ at the Leicester Infirmary festival, Giardini led the excellent Hinchinbrook band in *Jephtha*, a performance which is reputed to have led eventually to the 1784 Handel Commemoration.[104] In view of this it is surprising that

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[102] Parke/*Memoirs*, i.51. No mention of Giardini's name has been found in records of the Marlborough family.

[103] Cradock/*Memoirs*, i.117, p.xxi; *DNB*, art. 'Hackman (James)'.

[104] Ibid., i.120-4, pp.xxiii-xxviii. Cf. Gardiner/*Music*, i.4-6.

Giardini was never involved in the Concert of Ancient Music.

Among Giardini's later patrons may be singled out the third Duke of Dorset, for whom Giardini wrote twelve duets which survive in manuscript with an autograph title-page.[105] The Gainsborough portrait of Giardini, which the duke bought in 1778, still hangs at Knole.[106] Giardini's appointment to the Prince of Wales in the 1780s is considered in detail below.

If Giardini's acquaintance extended as far as the royal family, he was known also to many members of London's artistic world. Among these were several of Johnson's friends. Even Johnson himself, who was notoriously insensible to music and scathing about fiddlers, acknowledged Giardini's pre-eminence:

> GOLDSMITH. 'The greatest musical performers have but small emoluments. Giardini, I am told, does not get above seven hundred a year.'
>
> JOHNSON. 'That is, indeed, but little for a man to get, who does best that which so many endeavour to do. There is nothing, I think, in which the power of art is shown so much as in playing on the fiddle. In all other things we can do something at first ...; but give [a man] a fiddle and a fiddle-stick, and he can do nothing.'[107]

Boswell refers to him occasionally. In 1763 he praised his good taste as a composer and his 'perfection surprenante' on the violin.[108] On 30 March 1768 Boswell called at Giardini's house in Queen Anne Street, apparently in search of Giuseppe Baretti, the translator; and again on 18 April 1779 he met Giardini at Lord Pembroke's house.[109] Baretti himself was a friend

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[105] See p.320.

[106] See pp.175, 301.

[107] Entry of 15 April 1773 (Boswell/*Johnson*, ii.225-6).

[108] *Boswell Notebook*, French theme, c. 25 October 1763.

[109] Boswell/*Wife*, p.170; Boswell/*Laird*, p.92. On the latter occasion he was evidently surprised to find Giardini and Pembroke '<all> proper, propriety itself'.

of Giardini, who found him employment for a time at the Italian Opera.[110]

Of Johnson's acquaintances the closest to Giardini was naturally Charles Burney. They collaborated professionally on several occasions, though never with conspicuous success, as Burney realised bitterly late in life.[111] In 1769 Burney applied to set the Ode for the Duke of Grafton's installation as Chancellor of Cambridge University. The offer was accepted, but an orchestra engaged with the help of Giardini proved too expensive, and Burney chose to resign from the task rather than reduce the expenses. Five years later Burney and Giardini collaborated in the unsuccessful attempt to establish a music school at the Foundling Hospital, while in 1776 Burney was apparently encouraged by Giardini to seek a managing role at the Pantheon concerts, an endeavour which only lessened his standing there.[112] These three failures, all stemming from extravagance and over-ambition, rankled considerably with Burney and no doubt account for his later castigation of Giardini's character. Meanwhile, the two men continued on the friendliest terms, Giardini repaying Burney's hospitality by assistance in other ways - for example, by writing letters of introduction for his European travels.

Turning outside the Johnson circle we find Giardini associating with other well-known figures of the time, including William Mason, for whose dramas Giardini wrote music, as will be seen; Richard Twiss, the traveller, and a pupil of Giardini;[113] and Joshua Reynolds, who made a sketch of Giardini and no doubt met him at the Royal Academy dinner in

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110 Hudson/*Reynolds*, p.112.

111 See the scathing 'Sketch of a Character' in *Burney Notebook*, c 97, pp.41, 57, on which this paragraph is based (with reference to Lonsdale/*Burney*, pp.77-8, 150-3, 227-8).

112 See pp.179-80 and 181-2.

113 FBurney/*Early Diary*, i.292. See also p.311.

1774, described below.[114]

Much the closest friend of Giardini in the world of painting was Thomas Gainsborough. The artist's musical talents have been a matter of dispute, ever since some curiously ridiculous remarks by William Jackson of Exeter. His paragraph on Giardini is characteristic:

> When I first knew [Gainsborough] he lived at Bath, where Giardini had been exhibiting his *then* unrivalled powers on the violin. His excellent performance made Gainsborough enamoured of that instrument; and conceiving, like the Servant-maid in the Spectator, that the music lay in the fiddle, he was frantic until he possessed the *very* instrument which had given him so much pleasure - but seemed much surprized that the music of it remained behind with Giardini![115]

He supposedly thought the same of Abel's viola da gamba and Fischer's oboe. Perhaps Jackson was piqued at some of Gainsborough's remarks on his paintings; but the allegations were swiftly refuted.[116]

It is clear, however, that Gainsborough had a genuine love for music, especially instrumental music, and that he was a close acquaintance of the four musicians above, as well as the Linley family. His own musical achievements were somewhat dubious. He attempted the harp, harpsichord and theorbo in addition to those already mentioned, but he himself once admitted: 'There never was a poor Devil so fond of Harmony, with so little knowledge of it.'[117] His favourite instrument was probably the viola da gamba but on Philip Thicknesse's evidence he was no mean violinist:

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[114] See p.301 for details of the sketch, which is reproduced on p.145.

[115] Jackson/*Four Ages*, p.148.

[116] See Wilson/*Gainsborough*.

[117] Letter of 4 June —— (Gainsborough/*Letters*, p.115).

> Before I got my fiddle home again, he had made such a proficiency in music, that I would as soon have painted *against him*, as to have attempted to fiddle *against him*.[118]

Parke too described him as 'an excellent violin player'.[119]

Giardini was certainly his inspiration in this direction. Gainsborough's letters often place Giardini at the peak of human achievement, and once when apologising to Garrick for not visiting him he wrote that 'not all the Giardini's on Earth should have prevented me'.[120] Gainsborough apparently first met Giardini in 1758 in Ipswich; he moved to Bath the following year and in a letter of 1765 he referred to Giardini having been there on some previous date.[121] In November 1767 he heard Giardini play in William Jackson's *Lycidas* in Bath.[122] Probably early in this decade he painted the portrait of Giardini which the Duke of Dorset bought for five guineas in 1778.[123]

A friendship evidently developed. In a revealing letter to Giovanni Battista Cipriani, dated Bath 14 February 1774, Gainsborough wrote:

> I have done nothing but fiddle since I came from London, so much was I unsettled by the continual run of Pleasure which my Friend Giardini and the rest of you engaged me in, and if it were not for

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[118] Thicknesse/*Gainsborough*, p.13.

[119] Parke/*Memoirs*, i.335. Cf. also his appreciation of the playing of Colonel Hamilton (Smith/*Nollekens*, i.184-5).

[120] Letter of 24 March 1774 (Gainsborough/*Letters*, p.175).

[121] Gainsborough's letter of 27 July 1768 (Ibid., p.71) and Whitley/*Gainsborough*, p.17; letter of 7 November 1765 (Gainsborough/*Letters*, p.165).

[122] Whitley/*Gainsborough*, p.55.

[123] *Gainsborough-musical*, No. 3. See p.301 for further information. The portrait is reproduced on p.211.

> for my Family,...I should be often with you, enjoying what I like *up to the Hilt*...
> I have wrote two Letters in the little time I have been at Home to Giardini, and the D——l a word can I draw from him, 'tho in my last I fudged up a pretence of wanting a tune which I left in his Parlour that Abel wrote for me, only to extract a word or two against his will.[124]

He explains that he had indulged in a favourite trick, namely to insinuate that a painting ('of the Cottage and ragged family') owned by Giardini was only a copy. He continues:

> I believe you can set him right about that, and he was cunning enough not to seem the least hurt. I repented as I generally do very soon after my folly, and the more so as he has always been the politest creature to me I ever was acquainted with.[125]

He begs Cipriani to restore contact and mentions another rustic painting he intends for Giardini.

These paintings have not been identified, although either might have been 'The Woodcutter's Return', which passed from Giardini to Richard Rigby before 1785.[126] Soon after this letter Giardini selected a Broadwood harpsichord for Gainsborough, and it was sent to Bath on 11 March 1774.[127] Only months later the painter took up residence in London; his correspondence diminished, so it is impossible to tell how the friendship continued.

Cipriani himself had musical interests;[128] he painted the portrait which Francesco Bartolozzi engraved as a frontispiece to Giardini's solos,

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[124] Gainsborough/*Letters*, p.45.

[125] Ibid., p.47.

[126] Waterhouse/*Gainsborough*, p.119, No.961. Cf. Whitley/*Gainsborough*, p.235.

[127] Whitley/*Gainsborough*, p.107.

[128] Angelo/*Reminiscences*, i.478.

Op. [10]. Dated 1765, the engraving was later sold separately for a half-crown.[129]

Giardini made a strong impact also on George Romney. The young man was so moved by the violinist's performance at Whitehaven in the early 1750s that he wavered between music and painting.[130] Although he decided in favour of the latter, he nevertheless made violins as a hobby.

The Later Years in London

It has been suggested that for some 15 years from 1754 Giardini was closely involved with opera and oratorio, although not to the exclusion of concerts, especially those in private. Towards 1770 he began to return to the public eye, and during the following decade he was increasingly heard as a concert performer.

Some association with Mrs. Cornelys seems to have begun around 1769, perhaps as a result of the desertion of Bach and Abel. Giardini led the concerts at several 'Grand Festivals' with which Mrs. Cornelys celebrated the official birthdays of the King and Queen.[131] In 1771 when Mrs. Cornelys organised her illicit opera performances or 'Harmonical Meetings', Giardini was apparently the organiser, for Mrs. Harris wrote on 12 January 1771: 'Giardini's opera at Mrs. Cornelly's really fills.'[132] Vento contributed music, later performed at his benefit under Giardini's direction (PA SSq, 10.4.1771). Mrs. Cornelys' 'splendid and charming' meetings were in direct opposition to the Opera House, under the management of Hobart. Though she claimed to be giving

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[129] Peter Welcker catalogues of the 1770s. It is reproduced on p.230.

[130] Ward/*Romney*, p.9.

[131] PA SSq , 6.6.1769, 22.1.1770, 5.6.1770, 21.1.1771.

[132] *Malmesbury Letters*, i.211.

the profits to charity, Hobart informed on her and on 20 February the magistrates found against her.[133] There can only have been three performances (beginning on 24 January) for the singer Guadagni was tried on 12 February and at the fourth meeting there was no music.[134] Further meetings included only concerts directed by Barthelemon.

Giardini had evidently restored relations with Vento. In 1770 and 1771 the two Italians advertised jointly a 'Musical Academy', beginning on a Monday night late in January. At least in 1770 the system of ladies' lists operated. Quite distinct from Mrs. Cornelys' 'Society' meetings, the Academy apparently took place at her Soho Square room. Subscribers were asked to come to 'the Front Door in the Square only',[135] and the deduction is strengthened by the fact that in both years Giardini gave benefit concerts at this room. It is not clear whether the organisation was a continuation of Giardini's Academy, whose history up to 1768 has been sketched above. On the one hand it did not take place at his house, and for the first time it received newspaper advertisement. Yet as in 1768 it took place on Monday and once again in 1771 a meeting was postponed so that Giardini could take his benefit concert.[136]

In 1769, presumably as a result of his success with *Ruth* and his appearances at Lenten oratorio series, Giardini was approached by the Foundling Hospital.[137] Audiences at the annual *Messiah* performances had

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133 Walpole's letter of 22 February 1771 (*Walpole Correspondence*, xxiii.270-2).

134 PA 24.1.1771; *Walpole Correspondence*, xxiii.272; Mrs. Harris' letter of 14 February 1771 (*Malmesbury Letters*, i.216).

135 E.g. PA 20.1.1770. See also Appendix B.

136 See p.302.

137 See Nichols/*Foundling*; Burrows/*Foundling*; also p.52.

declined since Handel's death, and when a new organ was to be opened Giardini was asked to arrange the performance, which took place on 29 November 1769. The organist was Thomas Dupuis, the harpsichordist was Arnold, and Stanley played an organ concerto. Giardini, who led and played a concerto, had engaged a distinguished orchestra at considerable expense (although several performers, including Giardini, gave their services);and attendance was somewhat higher than in previous years.[138] But an error of diplomacy marred the story. The Chapel's organist, J.C. Smith, who had previously directed the performances, was not consulted and he informed the General Committee that

> in regard to the appointment of several Persons to be Performers by Mr Giardini as well as past transactions between them it would by no means be agreable for him to mix in the said Performance.[139]

Smith subsequently resigned his post, and Giardini, who was elected a governor of the Hospital on 28 March 1770, organised further *Messiah* performances in 1770, 1771 and 1772. In the latter year profits were however so negligible that the Hospital secured, through Stanley, the services of the Linley family for the 1773 performance. Giardini returned in 1774, but thereafter the *Messiah* performances went into a rapid decline.

No doubt the principal reason for Giardini's withdrawal in 1774 was the demise of the scheme for establishing a music-school at the Hospital, on which he had collaborated with Burney.[140] The story needs no repetition. Suffice it to say that Burney, who had been inspired by Conservatorios in Italy, recommended a salary of £200 per annum for the two 'principal Masters', Giardini and himself. The school was apparently open by the

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138 PA 29.11.1769; *Foundling Minutes*, S, viii.147-8, 150.

139 *Foundling Minutes*, C, xii.182.

140 See especially Lonsdale/*Burney*, pp.149-53. Some correspondence between Giardini and Burney survives on this subject.

end of July 1774, but latent opposition roused itself on 3 August to order its closure.[141] Giardini seems to have severed connections with the Hospital after this. In 1777 he was asked to remove 'a Box with several Violins, Violin Strings & other appurtenances' left there in 1774.[142]

The year before this venture marks a turning-point in Giardini's London career. He was still in demand as a violinist, possibly leading at the Italian Opera in the 1772-3 season, and his music was published regularly by Peter Welcker. But 1773 brought a new threat to his supremacy among London's violinists:

> [Giardini] continued here, unrivalled, as a leader, a solo player, and a composer for his instrument, still augmenting the importance of his instrument and our national partiality for the taste of his country, till the admirable productions and great performers of Germany began to form a Teutonic interest and Germanic body here, which, before Giardini's departure from London, became very formidable rivals to him and his Roman legion.[143]

London had not as yet seen a German violinist to rival Giardini. But in 1772 Wilhelm Cramer arrived to lead at the Bach-Abel concerts, and he dominated the 1773 season. Whether or not out of professional jealousy, Giardini decided to leave the country. The Lock Hospital performance of *Ruth* was advertised as 'the last Time of his performing in public during his Stay in England', and his collection of instruments was put up for sale.[144]

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[141] It has been suggested that the fate of the school had already been decided before this meeting (Boyd/*Stanley*, p.76).

[142] *Foundling Minutes*, S, xiii.61.

[143] *Burney(Rees)*, art. 'Giardini', after Burney/*History*, ii.1012.

[144] PA 3.4.1773 for 7 April; PA 3.4.1773 for 12 April at Welcker's shop. Perhaps the lack of later references indicates that Giardini had already changed his mind.

But the determination was short-lived. Giardini was playing at the Oxford Festival in July and at the Three Choirs Festival in Worcester in September.[145] By the end of the year advertisements indicate that he was to lead the Pantheon concerts in 1774, with Italian and English music directed by Vento and Arnold.[146]

In 1774 Giardini also played at a celebration in Somerset House on 4 June with which the Royal Academy marked the King's birthday. Besides a dinner and a twenty-one gun salute, there was a concert organised by Bartolozzi and led by Giardini, who played several solos. The 'Excellence of the Music' made up for the irregularity of the salute.[147] He was involved in an even more elaborate event the following year - the Thames Regatta on 23 June.[148] It was marred by bad weather and poor organisation, but the evening concert in the rotunda at Ranelagh Gardens was highly successful, with 'one of the fullest and finest Bands of Music, vocal and instrumental, ever collected in these Kingdoms', numbering 240 performers. Giardini presumably led, perhaps by his connection with Mrs. Cornelys, who provided indifferent refreshments.[149]

It seems likely that Giardini was engaged in yet another dispute after the 1774-5 season, this time with the Pantheon, for after two seasons as leader of the concerts he did not play there in 1776 or 1777, although he returned as leader in 1778 and 1779.[150] It is possible that

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145 *Festival 2a*, p.17; Lysons/*Three Choirs*, pp.204-5.

146 PA 30.12.1773.

147 PA 9.6.1774. See also Whitley/*Artists*, i.304-5.

148 See Sheppard/*Regatta*.

149 PA 26.6.1775, 20.6.1775.

150 Cf. *Burney(Rees)*, art. 'Giardini'. He did not lead the Pantheon concerts from 1774 to 1780 as often stated (after Pohl/*London*, i.174).

this was connected with Burney, who lost not only the friendship of the proprietors but also a considerable salary as a foreign correspondent in abetting Giardini's 'insolence & tyrannical Governm^{t} at the Pantheon'.[151] Roger Lonsdale surmises that Giardini had been encouraging Burney to seek musical control of the concerts, an attempt which resulted only in complete severance.[152]

In 1776 instead Giardini became reconciled to the 'Teutonic interest'. He flattered Cramer, who

> judiciously permitted Giardini to change his strings and bow; a circumstance attended with such good sense and modesty on one side, and disinterestedness on the other, that we can't sufficiently commend it.[153]

He also began to play the viola in public. It is not known whether he ever performed at the Bach-Abel concerts, but from 1776 to 1779 he played viola at numerous benefits, some given by Bach-Abel players including Cramer. Often he played alongside Cramer and Crosdill in string trios, presumably of his own composition.[154] In 1776 also William Napier published a set of six quartets, three by Bach, two by Abel and one by Giardini.

Burney observed that Giardini remained hovering over the 'Lyric kingdom',[155] and he returned to musical direction of the Italian Opera

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[151] *Burney Notebook*, c 97, pp.41, 57.

[152] Lonsdale/*Burney*, p.228. The date of this episode is open to doubt: Lonsdale gives December 1776, but by this date Lamotte was already leading the concerts.

[153] *ABC Dario*, p.22.

[154] Other violinists who joined him in chamber music from 1774, mostly string trios and quartets, include Borghi, Bulkley, Hackwood, Napier, Vachon and Wilton. One cannot be certain who played violin and viola in these different groups.

[155] *Burney(Rees)*, art. 'Giardini'.

for the 1776-7 season. As usual he contributed some music, although Tommaso Traetta was the principal composer. Giardini is reported to have made considerable improvements to the orchestra.[156]

He was also connected with the English theatre. While his songs had been included in pasticcio productions such as *Love in a Village* (1762), *The Maid of the Mill* (1765) and *The Summer's Tale* (1765), there is no reason to think that any of these were specially written. Burney singled out these very works as an important Italianate influence on English composers and he mentions that several Italians, including Giardini, were employed [about 1765] to teach playhouse singers.[157] Giardini made a more notable contribution however in 1778. This was his music for William Mason's *Elfrida*, a 'Dramatic Poem Written on the Model of the Antient Greek Tragedy', originally published in 1752 and now adapted for stage performance.[158] The odes interspersed throughout were partially spoken and partially sung, mainly as airs and choruses; there was also some instrumental music. The first performance was intended for 14 February 1778, but due to the pregnancy of two principal actresses it was not given until the following year (CG, 23.2.1779 and four further performances, that on 6 March for Giardini's benefit).[159]

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[156] PA 13.7.1776.

[157] Burney/*History*, ii.1016-17.

[158] The adaptation was published in 1779. On 25 March 1756, Thomas Gray (*Correspondence*, pp.460-1) wrote that he would be at the 'Concerto spirituale' [for the Lock Hospital] with Mason, at which they would have heard Giardini play. A version of *Elfrida* had already been staged without Mason's consent (CG 21.11.1772), using music by 'that old fumbler Dr. Arne' (Mason's letter of 1 December 1772 in *Walpole Correspondence*, xxviii.54). Arne's music was revived more often, although on 24 November 1792 music by both composers was used.

[159] Walpole's letter of 12 February 1778 (*Walpole Correspondence*, xxviii.353); Mason's letter of 23 February 1778 (Ibid., xxviii.362).

Evidently Mason was pleased with the music, for he asked Giardini to set an opera or 'lyrical drama' entitled *Sappho*, and he went to considerable trouble to consult the composer.[160] Walpole was sceptical about the idea. Having seen the poetry of one act, he wrote to Mason:

> Yet if you can rival Dryden, Giardini cannot paragon Handel. I am, I know, a most poor judge of musical composition, yet may not I ask if Giardini possesses either force or simplicity? Your act is classic Athenian - shall it be subdi-di-di-vi-vi-vi-ded into modern Italian? - but it is too late to ask that question.[161]

To this Mason countered:

> As to Giardini, look you, if I did not think better of him than I do of Handel, my little shoemaker would not have had the benefit he will have (I hope) from this labour of my brain. Let Handel's music vibrate on the tough drum of royal ears; I am for none of it.[162]

Walpole softened and at Mason's request forwarded the act to Giardini, who intended to visit Mason in August 1778 to discuss the work.[163] What happened after this it is impossible to determine. The drama was completed and later published, but no performance with music is known.

Giardini's last years in London were quiet. He appeared at very few public concerts after 1779. When 'by particular Desire' he led at Parke's benefit concert in 1782 (PA TSt, 16.4.1782) this was evidently unusual for he received special publicity. However he had not retired and neither was he regarded as a mere viola-player. Probably at the

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[160] Mason's letter of 20 January 1778 (Ibid., xxviii.343-4).

[161] Letter of 24 January 1778 (Ibid., xxviii.345).

[162] Letter of 6 February 1778 (Ibid., xxviii.351).

[163] Letters in ibid., xxviii.354, 419, 429. Mason was hopeful that Giardini would be 'docile' (Ibid., xxviii.419).

opening of the Royal Academy's new rooms in Somerset House in spring 1780 he led a performance of an ode by Hook, which prompted an amusing anecdote.[164] He was musical director and leader at the Italian Opera again in the 1782-3 season, taking £400 for the engagement where Cramer had previously settled for £150.[165] His playing of a solo movement in the overture to *Medonte* (KT, 14.11.1782) and of an obbligato part in Anfossi's *I Vecchi Burlati* (KT, 27.3.1783) were repeatedly praised.[166] On the financial collapse of the Opera at the end of the season Giardini resigned and was replaced by Barthelemon.

Meanwhile Giardini had found a new patron. After his 18th birthday in 1780 the Prince of Wales began to assert his independence from his staid and frugal father.[167] He indulged in reckless gourmandising and gambling, but also gave liberal encouragement to the arts. His extravagance caused his father grave embarrassment, but he was by all accounts a discerning connoisseur. On coming of age on 12 August 1783 he was granted Carlton House, which he fitted and furnished in style. It is perhaps not surprising that a man of such character should have engaged a similarly restless spirit as one of his musicians.

The Prince was a perceptive judge of music, naturally favouring the modern school, and he was one of Haydn's keenest admirers. He regularly attended operas and concerts, and became a proficient performer himself. By December 1782 he could play the cello 'in Concert' after only

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[164] Turberville/*Johnson*, ii.54; *ABC Dario*, pp.27-8; see p.209. According to Highfill/*Dictionary*, art. 'Giardini', he directed some such performance on 11 May 1782. Since *ABC Dario* was published in 1780, this must either be in error or refer to a different event.

[165] PA 24.10.1782.

[166] E.g. PA 20.11.1782, 28.3.1783.

[167] See Hibbert/*George IV*.

a year's instruction from Crosdill. Giardini was already employed, 'not on the Violin, but to teach his Royal Highness to sing'.[168] A report in July 1783 indicates a more official standing:

> *Giardini* and *Crosdill* now no longer date "from their House if they had it." Carleton House and all its Glory are now in full View.[169]

The Prince's concerts, both chamber music and larger festivities, have already been described.[170] Giardini was 'for some time, leader of his ... private concerts', and Mrs. Papendiek noted that 'the Prince joined in the interesting quartett parties, of which Giardini was the conductor and leader, and adapted music for them'.[171] By January 1784 the Prince was playing the cello often 'in small Parties at Carleton House' with Giardini, Crosdill and Parke.[172] The violinist played also at the Prince's birthday festivities in 1782 and 1783.[173]

Giardini wrote a certain amount of music for the Prince. The quartets, Op. 23 [1782], are scored for different combinations of violin, viola, oboe and obbligato cello; they were dedicated to the Prince, and for the first time the title-page describes him as the Prince's 'Music Master'. The song 'Mon cher troupeau' in 'Giardini's miscell: works', also dedicated to him, has a cello introduction. Appendix E lists a number of manuscripts in the Royal Music library which

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168 PA 11.12.1782. *Court Register* does not include these appointments.

169 PA 18.7.1783.

170 See p.40.

171 *Harmonicon-Giardini*, p.216; Papendiek/*Court*, i.133. Mrs. Papendiek (Ibid., i.200) maintains that the Prince preferred the instruction of her husband, the flautist, to that of Giardini.

172 PA 26.1.1784. This was the oboist John Parke, not his brother William; [J.S.] Schroeter also played (letter of J. Parke, quoted in Highfill/*Dictionary*, art. 'Giardini').

173 PA 23.7.1783. In 1783 they were postponed to 21 August (PA 12.8.1783).

was evidently owned by the Prince. They include songs, string trios and quartets, and a volume of lessons (musical rudiments and keyboard exercises). Giardini's hand can be detected in places, and some of the works can be identified with his publications. It is also revealed that the trios, Op. 26, written or copied in London, Kew and Windsor, were intended for the Prince of Wales.

Unhappily this fruitful relationship came to an abrupt end. Having requested 'permission to visit his friends in Italy; which favour was graciously conceded to him by the prince',[174] Giardini left England in the summer of 1784. But he tried the Prince's gullibility too far, as will be seen, and he was not re-employed on his return.

Giardini did not apparently perform in public in 1784. His works were played by other performers, including an oboe quartet he had composed for Tonioli's benefit (PA HSq, 2.6.1784). He deliberately avoided the Handel Commemoration, as Dibdin recalled:

> I was expressing to [Giardini] some surprize that he did not lead the band. What use said he mid five hundred seventy three instrument and voice? No, no, I shall have very great pleasure to hear dat fine concert from Vestminster bridge.[175]

Giardini's reluctance was adversely noted by the press:

> It is to be wondered at, and for his own sake lamented, that *Giardini*, so far flouted at this solemnity, that he did not give in his name.[176]

During this last decade Giardini continued to publish music in London at a steady rate. Almost all of this was chamber music, including string

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[174] *Harmonicon-Giardini*, p.216.

[175] Dibdin/*Lectures*, f.67[r]. There is a similar story in Farington/*Diary*, i.238.

[176] MC 7.6.1784.

trios and quartets that he may have performed in public concerts. Following the death of Peter Welcker his music was sold by a series of different publishers, including William Napier, James Blyndell (successor to Welcker) and S.A. & P. Thompson.

The Final Years

By 1784, when he was nearly 70, Giardini was clearly past the peak of his fame. Cramer was London's principal violinist and Salomon was beginning to make his name. One might imagine that Giardini left England to pass his last years in his homeland, as so many Italians had done before him. It seems, however, that he intended to be away only for one or two years.[177] He had left by 16 July, when Longman and Broderip advertised his valuable collection of string instruments for sale.[178]

Giardini was invited to Naples by Sir William Hamilton,[179] British envoy to the Court of Naples since 1764. Hamilton had been one of Giardini's early violin pupils and was the dedicatee of the 'Gentlemens Solos', Op. 7, published in 1759. Burney found him 'a pretty good performer' in 1770,[180] and his first wife (d.1782) was well-known as a keyboard-player. Hamilton visited London in 1771-2 and provided Giardini with a piece by a Neapolitan nobleman for his 1772 benefit. He was in London again between August 1783 and September 1784, and he perhaps persuaded Giardini to return to Italy. The violinist went first to Paris 'under the auspices of the Duke of Dorset', and here he was to join

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177 MC 31.8.1784; PA 4.9.1784.

178 PA 16.7.1784.

179 *Burney(Rees)*, art. 'Giardini'. See *DNB*, art. 'Hamilton (Sir William), 1730-1803'; Deutsch/*Hamilton*.

180 Burney/*Italy*, p.177.

Hamilton's suite,[181] He was to receive an annuity of £200 from the late Lady Bingley, £100 from the Dukes of Gloucester and Cumberland, and as much again from the Prince of Wales.[182]

In Naples, where he was invited to the Court, his acceptance equalled 'his most sanguine expectations'.[183] News reached London in 1785 that he was so well satisfied with his situation that he was not likely to return early.[184] On 8 February 1786 the Duke of Cumberland, visiting Naples, wrote revealingly to the Prince of Wales:

> Giardini is still here, I hear talks of going in Spring to the Duke of Dorset at Paris; he has not vouchsafed to call upon me. I believe when he comes to England, if ever he goes, he will not find those friends there that he now expects. Here he abuses the people of this country very much indeed. Musick, I mean instrumental, are very bad indeed.[185]

It is unlikely that Giardini journeyed to Paris, for on 29 June 1786 he promoted a concert in Sienna in aid of the widow of the town's *maestro di cappella*.[186] Nothing is known of his other activities in Italy. Probably at this time he wrote works surviving in manuscript in Italian libraries, including the three very short instruction manuals for harpsichord, cello and violin. In 1788 he was in Madrid, for on 25 August he wrote from there a letter to Burney, recommending one Ascanio Bono as a teacher of languages.

Probably late in 1789 Giardini returned to England, with a pupil and protegé, the young soprano Marianna Laurenti, 'and her whole

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[181] MC 31.8.1784. Dorset was ambassador in Paris from 1783 to 1789.

[182] PA 23.9.1784.

[183] PA 4.9.1784, 9.3.1785.

[184] PA 1.7.1785.

[185] *Wales Correspondence*, i.218.

[186] Fabbri/*Duetti*, pp.260-1.

family'.[187] She was to be *prima donna* in Gallini's comic operas at the Haymarket Theatre (the King's Theatre having burnt down in June 1789). Giardini directed from the harpsichord and Cramer led, the first opera being Cimarosa's *Ninetta* (Hay, 7.1.1790), which was followed by Fabrizi's *I Due Castellani Burlati* (Hay, 2.2.1790).[188] But Laurenti's voice was found lacking in power, the operas were considered dull, and serious operas directed by Vincenzo Federici (with Mara) won the day.[189]

Giardini's gamble did not succeed. Burney thus accounted for its failure:

> During his absence the public had learned to do without him, and reconciled themselves to his loss; his health, hand and eyes were impaired; he was dropsical, his legs were of an enormous size, and little of his former superiority on his instrument remained, but his fine tone.[190]

He was unable to get public engagements:

> Giardini doubtless expected, on his return to this country, to have shared the public engagements with Cramer: but in that he was disappointed, for Cramer had got firm possession of nearly the whole of them. Giardini, a little chagrined, meeting Cramer, thus sarcastically saluted him: "How do you do, Mr. Harlequin Everywhere?" To which Cramer, with a smile of triumph, replied, "Pretty well, I thank you, Mr. Harlequin Nowhere!"[191]

His quartets (perhaps Op. 29) were well received, but he apparently only played the viola in concerts and his music was generally found old-fashioned by this time.[192] In addition he fell foul of the Prince of

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187 *Burney(Rees)*, art. 'Giardini'.

188 *LS*, Part 5, pp.1179 et seq.

189 Parke/*Memoirs*, i.124.

190 *Burney(Rees)*, art. 'Giardini'.

191 Parke/*Memoirs*, i.154.

192 *Burney(Rees)*, art. 'Giardini'. No mention of his name has been found in concert advertisements.

Wales. Before departing for Italy he had sold a supposedly fine Cremona violin to the Prince at a high price. While he was away, the name of of an English maker was discovered inside. When Giardini signified his readiness to return to England and resume his former post, the Prince offered him a second violin part at Carlton House, a hint that Giardini did not misunderstand.[193]

Pique at the success of Cramer and Salomon, combined with a perennial dislike of German music, no doubt caused his sourness towards Haydn. The story of Haydn's attempt to meet Giardini, and his rebuff ('I don't want to know that German dog') needs no retelling.[194] Giardini was almost certainly the author of *Deux trios en diferent stile compose par un amateur* [1791/2], which set out to lampoon the complexities of German music. The first trio burlesques Haydn's style, with obscure keys, intricate tempo indications and abundant dynamic markings; while the second, in Giardini's style, is a model of simplicity and melodiousness. The title-page itself is a vignette contrasting a wind-band in a gloomy Germanic forest with an angelic group, including a singer and a violinist, in an idyllic scene near Naples. Above, a balance shows a host of small notes and accidentals outweighed by a semibreve, a minim and a crotchet.[195] A newspaper correspondent enjoyed the satire, conjecturing that the author was 'that wicked wit Giardini'.[196]

Giardini resolved to leave England in 1792. His last London appearance was, appropriately, in *Ruth*, given at Ranelagh Gardens on 22 May. It was well attended and aroused great interest amongst both professional

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193 *Harmonicon-Giardini*, p.216.

194 See the quotations from Griesinger and Dies in Landon/*England*, pp.166-7.

195 See ibid., pp.127-8 for further details.

196 MC 31.1.1792 (not 1793).

and amateur musicians. Any fears that this might prove an embarrassing evening were dispelled. Giardini played a concerto,

> which, allowing for his age,... was in all respects worthy his high reputation. He did not aim to surprise; but he played with great expression: his tone and taste were exquisite, and the universal applause he received was truly valuable, coming from the best judges, among whom were his old patrons, the Dukes of Gloucester and Dorset, each of whom presented him with a hundred pounds for their ticket.[197]

Fanny Burney also found his tone unrivalled.[198] Even Haydn is reported to have been won over by his Adagio playing and to have forgiven his rudeness, although his true feelings may have been expressed in the blunt memorandum: 'Er spielte wie ein schwein.'[199]

Giardini's travels after he left England are shrouded in mystery. According to Burney,

> about the year 1793, he went to Petersburg with his burletta troop; which seems to have pleased as little there and at Moscow, as in London; and he is said to have died in this last city in great wretchedness and poverty![200]

Parke says further that he died 'of a dropsical complaint, in great indigence', on the same day (17 November 1796) and at the same hour as Catherine the Great.[201] R. - Aloys Mooser has exposed some errors in this legend. The opera company had in fact dispersed after the 1789-90 season,

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[197] Parke/*Memoirs*, i.154, after MH 24.5.1792.

[198] See p.196.

[199] Dies quoted in Landon/*England*, p.167; Haydn's First London Notebook in Haydn/*Briefe*, p.490.

[200] *Burney(Rees)*, art. 'Giardini'.

[201] Parke/*Memoirs*, i.243-4. All dates in this paragraph are according to the new Gregorian calendar, in use in Britain but not in Russia.

and Laurenti is known to have sung in Italy from 1792 to 1794. All that can be said with certainty is that he gave two concerts in Moscow in 1796, on 25 March and 18 May, at which he introduced Laurenti and a male soprano, Angelo-Maria-Villa Testore, as his pupils. Whether Giardini revisited Italy or ever went to St. Petersburg is not known.[202] He died on 8 June 1796, as revealed in a verse in the *Gazette de Moscou*.[203] Testore, to whom Giardini left some manuscript music, later gave the cause of death as a neglected erysipelas of the leg.[204]

Giardini during the Summer

Some idea of how Giardini spent the summer months during his years in England has already emerged. Like many of his successful contemporaries he was sometimes invited to the country seats of the aristocracy. He spent several summers shortly before 1784 with the Duke and Duchess of Marlborough at Blenheim and on at least one occasion he was invited to the Duke of Cumberland's lodge in Windsor Park; it is likely also that he attended the Prince of Wales at Kew and Windsor, and his other noble patrons may have engaged him similarly.[205] In the 1770s he probably spent some time around Christmas at Hinchinbrook, seat of the Earl of Sandwich.[206]

Giardini may have made occasional visits to Paris, the years 1756, 1759 and 1766 being the most likely.[207] He is known to have performed at summer or autumn festivals at Winchester (1760), Salisbury (1765),

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[202] Mooser/*Russie*, ii.657-8, ii.664, ii.679-80. A story that Giardini and Lolli played for the Empress at St. Petersburg is probably apocryphal, but it might contain an element of truth (see p.198).

[203] Mooser/*Russie*, ii.658.

[204] Choron/*Dictionnaire*, art. 'Giardini (Felice de)'.

[205] See pp.171, 170, 187.

[206] See p.171.

[207] See p.157.

Oxford (1773 and 1775), Birmingham (1774) and Manchester (1777).[208] In September 1774 he led a performance in aid of the Leicester Infirmary.[209] From 1770 to 1776 he was leader at the Three Choirs Festival, held at Worcester, Hereford and Gloucester in rotation; and *Ruth* was performed at the latter city in 1775.[210] He is known also to have played at the following towns:

Date	Place	Source	Notes
August 1751	York	Garrick/*Letters*, i.175	'y^{e} famous Geortini'
?1751 et seq.	Newcastle	Cf. Avison/*Essay*, p.103; Cudworth/*Avison*, p.480; Horsley/*Avison*, p.10	Played at one or more of Avison's subscription concerts
1753	Durham	Milner/*Avison*, p.74	
Early 1750s	Whitehaven	See p.177	
1758	Ipswich	See p.175	
1765 or earlier	Bath	See pp.174-5	
1765, ?May	York	See p.168	York race week
November 1767	Bath	See p.175	
?1776	Scarborough	Parke/*Memoirs*, ii.274	See also p.91
[August 1778]	York	Cf. Mason's letter of 14 August 1778 (*Walpole Correspondence*, xxviii.429)	York race week
October or November 1778	Cambridge	Rennert/*Crotch*, p.15	

In 1769 a proposal was made to invite Giardini, who had never visited Ireland, to play at the summer concerts in aid of Dublin's Hospital for

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208 *Festival 1c*, p.30; *Festival 1a*, p.56; *Festival 2a*, p.17; *Festival 4*, p.7; *Festival 3*, p.15. Perhaps it was in 1765 that he dined and played at James Harris' house in Salisbury (Eastcott/*Sketches*, p.78).

209 See p.171.

210 Lysons/*Three Choirs*, pp.201-8; Shaw/*Three Choirs*, pp.21, 114-15. See p.306.

Lying In Women. He was to receive 200 guineas, two benefits and travelling expenses, but the governors of the Hospital eventually vetoed the idea.[211]

Giardini's Reputation and Character

Burney wrote later in life that Giardini was 'in many respects the greatest performer on the violin during the last century'.[212] Burney's writings may have been partial towards Giardini while the violinist was alive, but the later assessment from which this is taken is remarkably candid. Giardini was certainly London's principal violinist until the arrival of Cramer in 1772.

His early impact in London has been described above. His playing put to shame popular players like Festing, and Burney was equally impressed by his 'tone; bow; execution; graceful carriage of himself and his instrument' and by his sight-reading and imaginative improvisation.[213] Writing in 1752, Avison discussed musical qualities in these terms:

> But if we would hear these various Qualities united in their full Perfection, we must repair to the admired GIARDINI. The Brilliancy and Fullness of his Tone, the Sweetness, Spirit, and Variety of his Expression, his amazing Rapidity of Execution, and Exuberance of Fancy, joined with the most perfect Ease and Gracefulness in the Performance, concur to set him, without a Rival, at the Head of his Profession.[214]

The 1756 satire, already mentioned, provides an example of less informed criticism of his playing:

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[211] Arnold/*Dublin*, p.171.

[212] *Burney(Rees)*, art. 'Giardini'.

[213] Burney/*History*, ii.896. See p.151.

[214] Avison/*Essay*, p.103.

> What energy, what delicacy, and what variety are in the inimitable compositions and execution of the charming *Signor di Giardino!* What an *arpeggio* he has, what a *staccato*, what an *andante!* In short, I may I am sure with truth assert, that ... he never had his equal.[215]

Burney wrote of his last years:

> If ... surpassed by a few in taste, expression, and execution, his tone and graceful manner of playing are still unrivalled, nor does any one, of all the admirable and great performers on the violin, surpass all others so much at present, as Giardini did, when at his best, all the violinists in Europe.[216]

Other writers singled out his tone. Parke heard him play a concerto at Worcester in 1776:

> At this meeting I first heard the popular violin-player Giardini execute a concerto, in which he displayed a fund of grace and expression, with a tone so sweet, and at the same time so powerful, that he appeared to me to be performing on strings so large, I really thought his fingers must have been blistered by the necessary pressure he gave them.[217]

Shield said that Giardini 'had the finest tone He ever heard, when the strength of it was considered'.[218] After his last London performance in 1792 Fanny Burney wrote this touching tribute:

> Giardini played sweetly and with a tone so meltingly melodious, so softly full, so smoothly pleasing, and so grandly commanding, that in these particulars not one of his many <critics>, & more modern Rivals, can, I think be named with him.[219]

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[215] *The Connoisseur*, No.130 (22 July 1756).

[216] *Burney(Rees)*, art. 'Giardini'.

[217] Parke/*Memoirs*, i.6.

[218] Reported in entry of 30 September 1798 (Farington/*Diary*, i.238).

[219] FBurney/*Journals*, i.159.

He was able to get a fine tone out of the most unlikely instruments,[220] and he used this talent to make handsome profits out of his own violins.[221] Giardini himself played on a favourite violin of Corelli, made in 1578 and the case painted by Annibale Carracci.[222] This had passed via an Englishman named Corbet to a gentleman of Newcastle, 'at whose decease it was purchased by the late Mr. Avison for Giardini'.[223] It subsequently went either to Salomon or to one 'M. Ciceri de Côme'.[224]

Burney also singled out the 'fancy in his cadences and solos'.[225] Giardini's extemporisation of variations soon after his arrival has been mentioned, and in 1769 Burney was astonished to hear at the oratorio a solo ending with

> variations, in which, by repeating each strain with different bowing, without changing a single note in the melody, he gave it all the effect and novelty of a new variation of the passages.[226]

If beauty of tone, elegance of phrasing and inventiveness in embellishment were Giardini's principal virtues as a violinist, it should not be thought that his technique was less than brilliant, as his compositions demonstrate. Rather 'he did not aim to surprise'.[227] Such a remark clearly refers to players like Lamotte or Lolli, whose violinistic tricks made English listeners laugh. One writer thought that Lolli was

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220 See Gainsborough's letter of 7 November 1765 (Gainsborough/*Letters*, p.165).

221 Cf. the anecdotes of Gainsborough and the Prince of Wales on pp.174 and 191; and of a nobleman in Busby/*Anecdotes*, ii.172-3.

222 Sandys/*Violin*, p.105.

223 Burney/*History*, ii.990.

224 Sandys/*Violin*, p.105; Choron/*Dictionnaire*, art. 'Giardini (Felice de)'.

225 *Burney(Rees)*, art. 'Giardini'.

226 Burney/*History*, ii.443.

227 Parke/*Memoirs*, i.154.

> as far outshone by Cramer and Giardini in the superior excellencies of the violin, *taste* and *pathos*, as he outdoes them in excentric oddity, trick, and voluble execution.[228]

Cramer and Giardini are so often linked as the two foremost violinists in London during the 1770s and 1780s, despite formidable competition, that we might offer a comparison between them. Both were renowned for taste and sensitivity, rather than for dazzling technical show, which did not appeal to English audiences. Cramer's surviving compositions however demand a more advanced technique than Giardini's, as will be seen in the next chapter. Both achieved a classical balance and gracefulness in performance. Giardini had the finer singing tone, and was able to advise Cramer in this respect;[229] while Cramer was famed for his fire and conviction.[230] The two violinists thus symbolise to some extent the dichotomy between Italian melodic lyricism and German emotional intensity.

It is harder to establish an international reputation for either of them, since they were little known outside England. Franz Benda heard Giardini on his early travels and told Burney in 1772 that

> he had not forgot his fine tone, so remarkably clear, full, and sweet; and added, that he should always retain a precise and pleasing idea of his graceful manner of playing, of his fancy in extempore cadences, and facility in executing whatever was possible to be performed on the violin.[231]

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228 PA 18.2.1785. A story was perpetrated that once in St. Petersburg Catherine the Great demanded that Lolli should play the outer movements of a piece, Giardini the Adagio, whereupon Lolli resigned his post (*AMZ-Lolli*, col.581). This was however refuted by Dittersdorf (*Autobiography*, p.232) and it is unlikely that the two violinists were ever in Russia at the same time.

229 See p.182.

230 See p.112.

231 Burney/*Tours*, ii.173. Giardini had however provided the letter of introduction.

When Kielmansegge attended the Covent Garden oratorio on 5 March 1762 he noted: 'The famous Gardini played a violin concerto ..., which, according to my ideas, he performed very well indeed.' [232]

A newspaper report in 1777 gave this impression:

> The Connoisseurs in Italy have dubbed Signor Lolli Prince of the Fiddlers; after him they place Nardini, Pugnani, and Crammer; but should they hear Mr. La Motte, they would undoubtedly judge him equal if not to Lolli, at least to the others. We do not forget the Merit of Signor Giardini, who among us is deemed a very eminent Fiddler; but we mean only to relate the Opinion of the Professors of Music all over Italy.[233]

The playing of Pugnani was probably the closest to that of Giardini. Another pupil of Somis, Pugnani became more celebrated through his tours and his pupil Viotti, but he does not seem to have made a lasting impression in London. In 1766 Samuel Sharp heard him at Turin, where the Italians thought him a superior violinist to Giardini; but Sharp himself felt that Pugnani sacrificed sweetness of tone for volume, especially in the upper register, and he diffidently proposed that for taste and elegance Giardini was 'a much more agreeable performer'.[234]

On his 1770 tour Burney made some comparisons. In Paris he found Pagin's tone less powerful than that of Traversa, which itself was 'many degrees short of Giardini's'.[235] In Naples he observed that if Barbella added to his taste and expression the 'brilliancy' and 'fulness of tone' of Giardini then his playing would be unexceptionable.[236] Even to compare Giardini with many other famous contemporaries - Nardini, Gaviniès,

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[232] Kielmansegge/*Diary*, p.272.

[233] PA 20.2.1777.

[234] Letter of 19 May 1766 (Sharp/*Italy*, pp.274-5).

[235] Burney/*Italy*, pp.19-20.

[236] Ibid., p.196.

Giornovichi - is almost impossible, but it seems reasonable to accept Burney's view that Giardini was one of the finest violinists of the century. It is intriguing to note that when Charles de Bériot, founder of the modern Franco-Belgian school, came to England (in 1826) his style of playing was found remarkably similar to Giardini's.[237]

As a leader Giardini made an early impact. His reform in 1754 of the Italian Opera orchestra, through a sense of discipline and musical understanding, has been noted above.[238] Jommelli's rebuke in Naples may have had surprisingly far-reaching effects. Giardini's intolerance of imprecision and extraneous ornamentation was thought worthy of comment in 1780:

> He is the only person who, to attain the *same kind of expression* in a passage, obliges *all* those who play from *one part* to *bow alike*; and these strong proofs of his feelings and judgment, he extends to the tenor and violoncello. His commands are so absolute, yet convincing, that it would be as criminal to neglect his motions, as for a Prussian soldier to step out of his rank.[239]

By 1783 however one critic at the Opera could find Cramer 'certainly a better Leader than Giardini'.[240]

Giardini's ventures as a manager met with mixed success. In the Italian Opera they were little short of disastrous, though it was hardly difficult to fail here, given the fees of leading singers. More important were his early subscription concerts which paved the way for more enduring series. He had an eternal optimism in financial matters, coupled with a tendency to quarrel with his collaborators; and he was a far more successful

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237 *Grove 1*, art. 'Giardini'.

238 See p.156.

239 *ABC Dario*, p.23. How he achieved unanimity of bowing is unclear.

240 PA 1.12.1783.

organiser when money was assured. Indeed he made a significant impression on the status of orchestral musicians:

> At the time Giardini first came to England ... music was in such an unsettled state, that when a nobleman or gentleman intended to treat his friends with a concert, he generally sent his steward or butler to engage the musicians, who haggled with them for price, as they would for meat at the butcher's shambles. This Giardini put an end to; and having the direction of the Italian opera and all other principal musical undertakings, he regulated the terms of performances according to the different grades of talent. In fact he reformed the profession greatly, by doing away that silly importance which pervaded the members of the old school.[241]

Samuel Wesley elaborated:

> The Late Giardini suffered no inferior Musician to draw a Bow in any Orchestra where he himself was the Leader, for less than a Guinea per Night, and all the Performers in his Band were sure to be rewarded in the most liberal and generous Manner, whenever he had the musical Management of any Performance whether public or private.[242]

This is strikingly born out by records of the *Messiah* performances at the Foundling Hospital. In 1767 most players received 10/6 or 10/-, some only 8/-, and the total orchestral bill amounted to £17-3s. When Giardini led in 1769, he himself took no fee, but all members of the orchestra received at least one guinea, to a total of £37-16s.[243]

It is difficult to assess Giardini's role as a violin teacher. Naturally most of his pupils were amateurs, but he is credited with more significant achievements:

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[241] Parke/*Memoirs*, i.239.

[242] SWesley/*Reminiscences*, f.133^{r}.

[243] *Foundling Minutes*, S, viii.146-7; Ibid., S, viii.147-8.

> [Giardini is] a name still interesting to us on account of his having reformed, or rather founded, a school for the violin in England.[244]

> He formed a School for the Violin in England of which the beating of 8^{ve} or 5th on an open string was one of the chief characteristics.[245]

Burney adds that Geminiani's *The Art of Playing on the Violin* was superior to any book 'or indeed oral instruction, which the nation could boast, till the arrival of Giardini'.[246]

It is hard to discover who were the members of a Giardini school. His most significant pupil was Lamotte, but the Belgian's particular qualities could hardly have been inherited from Giardini. Others reported to have studied with Giardini include G.C. Ashley, Dance, Noferi (also a personal friend) and Wilton.[247] Hay 'received his first impressions from Giardini', which outweighed subsequent training with Tartini.[248]

Giardini possibly inspired the concert given in 1760 by several prodigies, all aged between 10 and 13 and making their first appearance (PA Hay, 23.4.1760). This may have been in collaboration with Burney,

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[244] *Harmonicon-Giardini*, p.215.

[245] Callcott/*Dictionary*, f.50^{v}. The meaning of this is obscure. It may be derived from Burney (*Tours*, i.299):

> It is the same with the *Beat* upon the unison, octave, or any consonant sound to a note on the violin, which so well supplies the place of the old close-shake [vibrato]: for this beautiful effect, if not wholly unknown, is at least neglected by all the performers that I heard on the continent [in 1770], though so commonly and successfully practised in England by those of the Giardini school.

This appears to have little in common with the ornament, the beat or mordent; rather it refers to the rapid depression and release of a consonant note on a neighbouring string, which produces an ethereal effect not unlike vibrato.

[246] Burney/*History*, ii.992.

[247] See pp.80, 91, 87, 88-9.

[248] See p.97.

who had just returned from King's Lynn. The children were Giardini's violin pupil Barron (who played a solo by his teacher), Esther Burney (who played an accompanied sonata by Giardini, perhaps from Op. 3), the younger Cervetto (the cellist) and 'Miss Schmelling' (presumably playing the violin).[249]

Giardini is known to have encouraged other younger musicians, including opera singers and composers such as Vento. He persuaded Shield to leave Scarborough, probably in 1776, and found him a place in the Italian Opera orchestra.[250] He even offered assistance to his rival Cramer. On the other hand his reception of the twelve-year-old Charles Wesley was decidedly cool.[251]

While it is difficult to assess Giardini's standing as a violinist and impossible to judge his teaching abilities, it is comparatively straightforward to assess his position as a composer. The following are characteristic opinions:

> We know G———i is not esteemed the most able harmonist; but such talents as he possesses, ought, nay *do* amply cover, a *singular bass* which may sometimes occur in a solo, or a series of thin harmonies in a concerto.[252]
>
> Giardini was not remarkable for depth of musical erudition; in melody, he was always happy; in harmony, frequently defective and meagre.
>
> When it was told the late Dr. Boyce, (that Colossus of harmony,) that Giardini professed to teach composition in *twenty* lessons, the Doctor archly observed, "All that *he* knows of composition he might teach in *ten*."[253]

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249 See p.78; Lonsdale/*Burney*, p.54.

250 See p.91. Shield clearly remained a friend of Giardini for they once sang Giardini's glee 'Beviamo tutti tre' with the young Parke (Parke/*Memoirs*, i.50).

251 See p.165.

252 *ABC Dario*, pp.22-3.

253 *Harmonicon-Giardini*, p.217.

> His music, however, was pleasing and effective, and long very popular.[254]

An amusing chart in *The Gentleman's Magazine* for 1776 provides a quantative assessment:[255]

[Selected names out of 24]	Original melody 20	Imitated melody 4	Expression 20	Knowledge 20	Correctness 20	Performance 20	Quantity published or known 20
Abel	6	3	12	10	8	18	3
Arne	17	2	12	15	14		9
Bach, John	6	3	13	10	6	13	9
Corelli	18		8	17	18	14	4
Giardini	13	3	14	1	1	18	4
Handel	18	2	12	18	16	18	18
Piccini	6	3	10	12	14		9

Some views on *Ruth* and shorter vocal pieces have already been cited.[256] A number of his songs and glees were still in demand in the next century.

Many of his instrumental works - especially the early violin solos, the Op. 3 duet sonatas and the string trios - reached several editions in different countries; and numerous manuscript copies survive in European libraries. Burney observed in 1770, admittedly with a hint of flattery:

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[254] Hogarth/*History*, p.131.

[255] *The Gentleman's Magazine*, xlvi (1776), 544.

[256] See pp.164, 160.

> I find all over Italy that Giardini's solos and the overtures of Bach and Abel are in great request, and very justly so as I have heard nothing equal to them of the kind since I arrived on the continent.[257]

The young Samuel Wesley played and studied 'the Concertos of Cramer, Giardini and Giornovichi which were then in universal Estimation', and Crotch used a Giardini solo as an exercise.[258] A treatise of 1789 by John Gunn recommends the young cellist to practise the violin solos of Giardini, Chabran and the concertos of Borghi; and he regards Giardini's two sets of string trios (Opp. 17 and 20) and the quartets Opp. 22 and 23 as difficult works for the cellist.[259] His quartets were chosen in 1784 for a concert led by Borghi for the Piozzis.[260] Some books of the 19th century link his quartets with those of Cambini and Pugnani, contrasting them with those of Haydn and Mozart.[261]

However, Giardini's works will never achieve more than a very peripheral place in the modern repertoire, despite elegant melodies, effective string-writing and occasional piquancy. A correspondent observed of his 1792 satire on German music:

> We are not displeased to see this piece of humour; for it must be granted, that the Germans have seen riot in their *instrumentalities*. We wish, however, that the Italians, with all their sacred regard to simplicity, would, now and then, merely for the sake of their characters, indulge in a little novelty. Their melodies would not be worse for being original; and it would very much heighten the charm if their airs occasionally were made unlike one another.[262]

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257 Burney/*Italy*, p.194. However at the Concert Spirituel only one work by Giardini was performed after he left Paris - a sonata in 1761 (Pierre/*Concert*, p.280).

258 SWesley/*Reminiscences*, f.81^{v}; see p.348.

259 Gunn/*Violoncello*, pp.72, 69, 70.

260 Mrs. Piozzi's letter of 15 July 1784 (*Queeney Letters*, p.164).

261 E.g. Dubourg/*Violin*, p.79.

262 MC 31.1.1792.

The historical importance of Giardini as a composer rests mainly on his early London works, which are more modern in style than almost all instrumental music performed and published there in the 1750s. He was a crucial figure in the promotion of pre-classical Italian instrumental music in London. In particular he made known, by performance and publication, the music of G.B. Sammartini.[263] Burney regarded Giardini's arrival as the beginning of an era,[264] and he summarised the changing tastes:

> We went on in the tranquil enjoyment of the productions of Corelli, Geminiani, and Handel, at our national theatres, concerts and public gardens, till the arrival of Giardini, Bach, and Abel; who soon created schisms, and at length, with the assistance of Fischer, brought about a total revolution in our musical taste.[265]

The association of these four names is interesting, for Giardini was at the head of the Italian faction in opposition to the German threat from the 1760s onwards. There was a brief reconciliation in the late 1770s, and he was often in collaboration with Abel and Fischer (perhaps confirmed through the mutual friendship with Gainsborough).[266] But the un-Italianate music of Haydn regrettably aroused his wrath once again.

According to Dance, Giardini hated Handel's music as much as 'modern German compositions'.[267] It is true that he did not play at the

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263 Already at his London début he played a solo by the Milanese composer, whom he must have known personally, for he provided Burney with a letter of introduction (Burney/*Tours*, i.64). Burney (*History*, ii.1013) writes however that Sammartini's works found slow acceptance.

264 Burney/*History*, ii.405, ii.849, ii.1012.

265 Ibid., ii.1015.

266 Burney noted that Giardini, unable to praise a German but through abuse, admired Fischer's '*impudence* of tone' (*Burney(Rees)*, art. 'Fischer').

267 Reported in entry of 30 September 1798 (Farington/*Diary*, i.238).

1784 Commemoration, but this was a reflection on the organisation; and he frequently played Handel oratorios, regarding *Israel in Egypt* as a masterpiece.[268] He often joined forces with English composers, including Arne, Arnold, Avison, Smith and Stanley. The choice of Italian and English music for the Pantheon concerts was particularly pointed, and English songs sometimes appeared in Giardini's concertos. A composer of such songs, and another advocate of melodic charm and simplicity of expression, was Dibdin, who described Giardini as

> a good musician, and what's better a *strenuous* advocate for that quiescent pleasure in music which it is certainly best calculated to excite.[269]

Some further reflections may be made on Giardini's character, in the light of Burney's vitriolic attack later in his life. Appended to his article in Rees' *Cyclopædia* is a long diatribe, supposedly written before 1784 by an anonymous 'professor, who ... was constantly attached to him, and a sincere admirer of his talents, his wit, and even the ingenuity of his spleen and spite'.[270] This is in fact based on the 'Sketch of a Character' in one of Burney's manuscript notebooks, written much earlier in preparation for his *History*.[271] As already seen, this ended with several accusations against Giardini for his own failures in the musical world, which seem to have prompted the bitter attack. The following is only part of the *Cyclopædia* article:

> There exists a man who would rather gain half a crown by superior subtilty and cunning, than a

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[268] SWesley/*Reminiscences*, f.82^{r}.

[269] Dibdin/*Lectures*, ff.66^{v} - 67^{r}.

[270] *Burney(Rees)*, art. 'Giardini'. Written as early as January 1803, this came out of alphabetical order (Lonsdale/*Burney*, pp.417-18).

[271] *Burney Notebook*, c 97, pp.41, 57.

> guinea by usual and fair means; who is of so difficult a commerce, that the utmost circumspection, attention, and complaisance, can only prevent an open rupture...; so capricious and splenetic, that he has had disagreements and quarrels with all the first personages, as well as professors of the same art, in the nation, with whom he has had any intercourse; yet such are his talents, and entertaining qualities, that, in a short time, all else is forgotten, and those whom he had offended, are as ready to court his acquaintance as ever... He can bear no musician who does not solely depend on his favour ... [yet] seems, himself, to despise all favour from superiors or even equals ... He has constantly trifled with fortune as well as favour, and having, in the course of his life, acquired great sums, is indigent... [His] temper renders it so impossible for any enterprize to thrive under his direction, that the most favourable and auspicious beginnings constantly ended in enmity and misfortune. He is as inveterate and powerful an enemy to the opera, oratorio, pantheon, and public and private concerts, when they are not under his direction, as an ex-minister usually is to the government; and yet, notwithstanding the attractions of his performances, abilities as a composer, and experience as a manager, so much are his tricks and tyranny held in abhorrence by patentees and proprietors, that they would shut their shops, rather than open them by his assistance.

This picture of a 'disposition ... so truly diabolical', that he would always injure rather than serve, must be tempered somewhat. Giardini was indeed quarrelsome and jealous, as his management of concerts and opera indicates. He was arrogant with musicians and nobility alike;[272] he could be unnecessarily offensive and unreliable, but was easily offended himself; he was extravagant,[273] and even dishonest in his dealings in instruments. But he was, as Burney admitted, a man of charm and wit, who maintained an extensive acquaintance and whose friendship was greatly valued, even by the aristocracy. Gainsborough thought him the politest man he knew, and

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[272] Many instances of this have already been seen. He once tactlessly told the elder Duke of York: "Sir, you play like a *Prince*." (PA 15.11.1781).

[273] When asked by Madan why he never had any money, he confessed that he never owned five guineas but he "had a *fever* till they were gone" (*Harmonicon-Giardini*, pp.216-17).

Parke described him as 'a sensible and gentlemanly man, with a high and honourable spirit'.[274] He could, when he wished, encourage other musicians and he ensured that his orchestral players were generously paid. As a governor of the Lock Hospital and of the Foundling Hospital he organised charitable concerts, giving his own services.

His wit was celebrated but harmless. Fanny Burney wrote that he loved mischief 'better than any man alive',[275] and a number of anecdotes illustrate this side of his character. Once he persuaded Sacchini, at dinner with 'a person of distinction', that to ask the waiter for wine one says "*How do do?*" - to the eventual embarrassment of the composer and amusement of the company.[276] On another occasion, at the Opera, he posed as the debtor Giordani, and was arrested; only after obtaining a free supper from the bailiff did he reveal the mistake.[277] When asked his opinion of an ode by Hook, which he had directed,

> he asserted, with peculiar gravity, that it was the best music he had heard. "Why," says one, "It is *not all his own*." "True," replied the keen Signor, "*that is the reason it is so good*."[278]

We can perhaps sympathise with Fanny Burney, when she noted in January 1779: 'Giardini - not by invitation - came also. We did not, just then, wish for him, but he was very *comique*.'[279]

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[274] See p.176; Parke/*Memoirs*, i.51.

[275] Entry of 13 June 1773 (FBurney/*Early Diary*, i.213).

[276] Ibid., i.213-14.

[277] Parke/*Memoirs*, i.242-3.

[278] *ABC Dario*, pp.27-8.

[279] FBurney/*Diary*, i.156.

William Gardiner recalled seeing Giardini in Leicester in 1774:

> He was a fine-figured man, superbly dressed in green and gold; the breadth of the lace upon his coat, with the three large gold buttons on the sleeve, made a rich appearance, which still glitters on my imagination.[280]

Some idea of Giardini's imposing stature, together with a hint of his mischievous character, can be gathered from the portrait which follows, painted by his friend Gainsborough.

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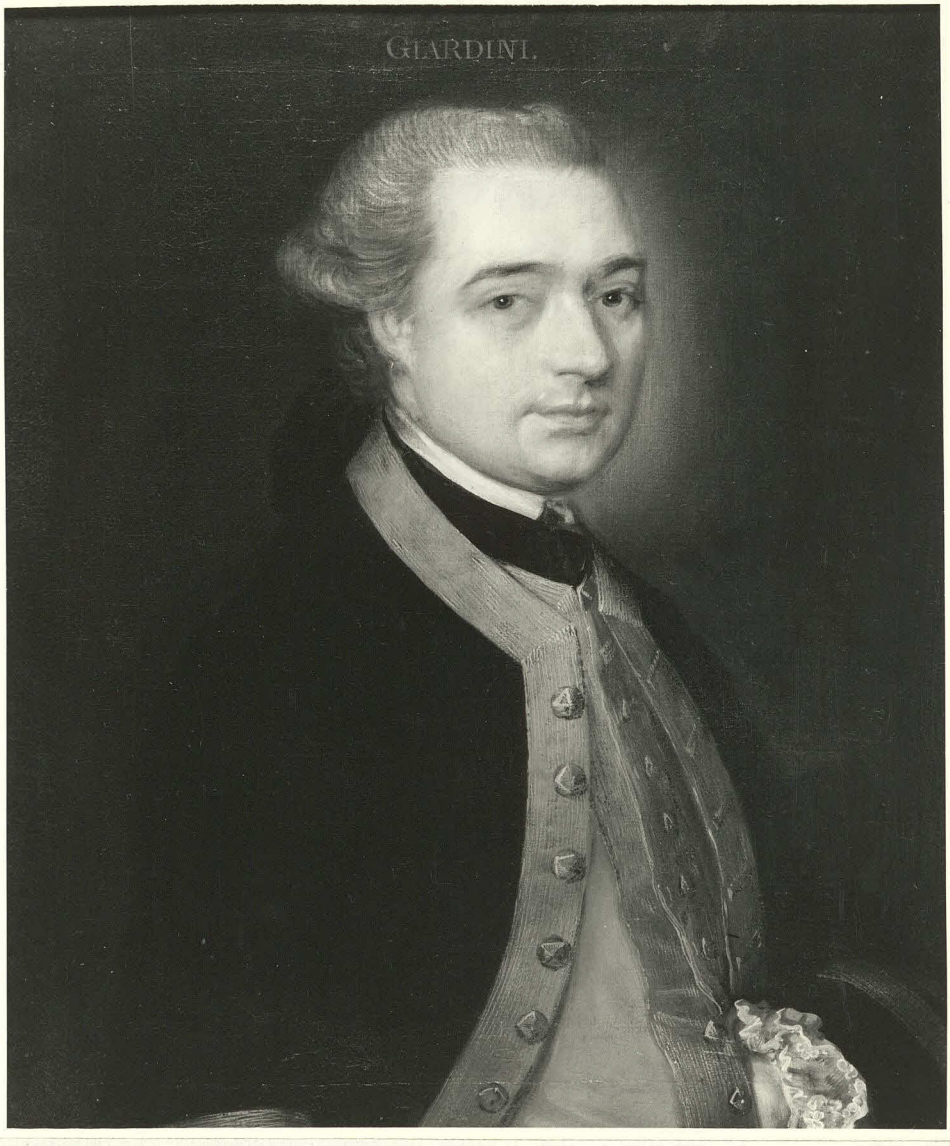
[280] Gardiner/*Music*, i.6.



Felice Giardini, by Gainsborough

CHAPTER FOUR

The Violin Music of Giardini and his Contemporaries

The repertoire of London's violinists has already been outlined in Chapter 2. The present chapter is concerned principally with solo violin music written by these performers - violin solos and concertos which they may have played in London's concerts. From this restricted viewpoint an attempt is made to assess how different genres adapted to stylistic changes and to account for their varying fortunes. It is focussed on the works of Giardini, who was not only London's most significant violinist during the period but was also a prolific composer. His music illustrates in an individual way many trends in the violin repertoire. Appendix E provides a list of Giardini's works, including a thematic catalogue of the solo violin music. Violin music by his contemporaries is catalogued in Appendix F, which contains a discussion of the limits of the survey. The small amount of surviving solo viola music has not been considered.

Unless otherwise indicated, all musical examples are taken unedited from the first editions listed in these Appendices. Dates of publication given represent an interpretation of the information there, although these should be treated with caution and do not in any case give indication of the dates of composition. Only the more important modern editions are noted. Movements are described throughout using the terminology S(low), F(ast) and M(oderate), the latter encompassing both Allegretto and Minuetto tempi.

Literature on the violin repertoire of this period is small. Passing reference is made in works dealing with particular genres, such as the sonata or concerto, and in histories of the violin. There are some isolated individual studies. But an indication of the comparative neglect of this area can be seen by examining a recently published volume on the period,[1] which almost ignores the violin solo and makes only brief reference to the violin concerto.

The Violin Solo and Chamber Music[2]

Burney singles out among violinists of the 1740s Festing, [Richard] Collet, Brown, Veracini, Carbonelli and Pasquali.[3] The following solos by these performers were published in London during this decade:

Composer	Short title	London publisher and date
Festing	*Six solos*, Op. 7	William Smith [1747]
	Six solos, Op. 8	John Johnson [c.1750]
Pasquali	[6] *Sonate*, Op. 1	I. Walsh [1744]
Veracini	[12] *Sonate accademiche*, Op. 2	Author [1744][4]

In addition Geminiani is known to have performed at a concert in 1750 the tenth of his sonatas, Op. 4:[5]

Geminiani	[12] *Sonate*, Op. 4	- , 1739

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[1] *Enlightenment*.

[2] For the violin solo in England see Newman/*Baroque*; Newman/*Classic*; Sadie/*Chamber*. Some of the composers under consideration are mentioned in La Laurencie/*École*; Studeny/*Violinsonate*.

[3] Burney/*History*, ii.1008.

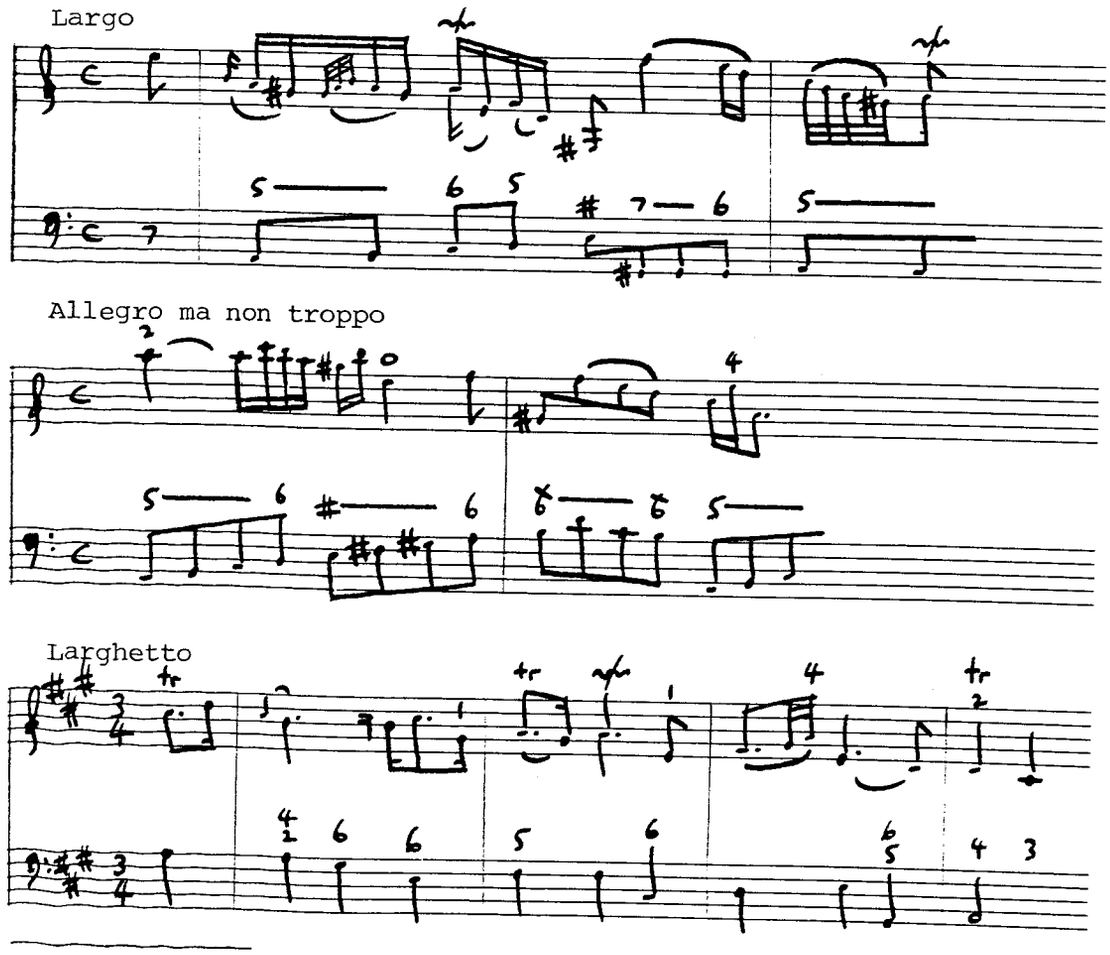
[4] Ed. W. Kolneder (Leipzig, 1961-71).

[5] Burney/*History*, ii.993. See p.67.

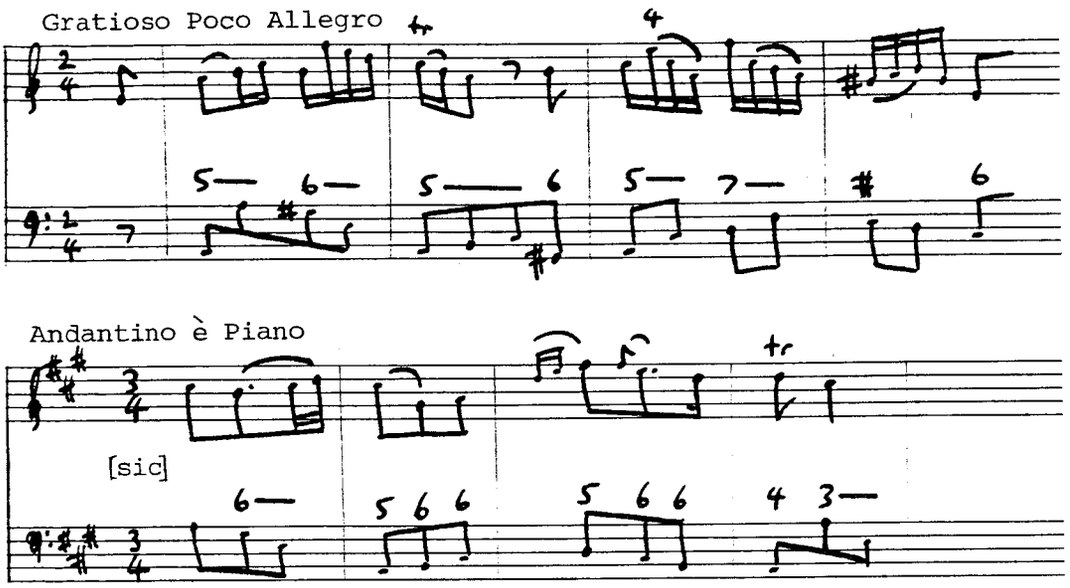
The five sets may be taken as representative of the repertoire of violinists active in London immediately before the arrival of Giardini.

Each of these four composers showed an individual approach to the late Baroque virtuoso sonata. The melodic line remains motivic in design and sequentially spun-out in construction. The bass line provides a firm but constantly mobile support, with frequent imitation of the violin part; and fugal writing is found in all but Geminiani's sonatas.

However within this idiom there is considerable flexibility, and it is inadequate simply to describe these works as derivative of Corelli or Handel. From the formal angle, the *sonata da chiesa* pattern is treated freely, both by the removal or addition of movements and by the introduction of new dance types. The five movements of Festing's sonata Op. 7/3, for example, begin as follows:[6]



[6] See also Beechey/*Festing*.



Ex.1. From Op. 7/3 by Festing

All these works show a certain tendency towards shorter phrase lengths and more variety of material than in Handel's sonatas.[7] Some, especially those of Festing, contain decorative lines (partly through the writing out of embellishments), pathetic touches of minor mode in major key pieces, and *affettuoso* movements with regular phrasing.[8]

These features indicate a less austere approach to the violin solo. Yet none of these composers was as progressive as many a continental violinist during this decade; there was no Tartini in London. Works by some non-violinists are more modern in style. The solos for flute or violin by Giuseppe Sammartini, Op. 2 [1745] and Op. 4 [c.1747], show the small-scale phrasing and triplet mannerisms, as well as the S-F-M and F-S-M structures, characteristic of this transitional period. Vocal and keyboard music known in London was also more advanced; but it seems that only with the arrival of Giardini were London audiences

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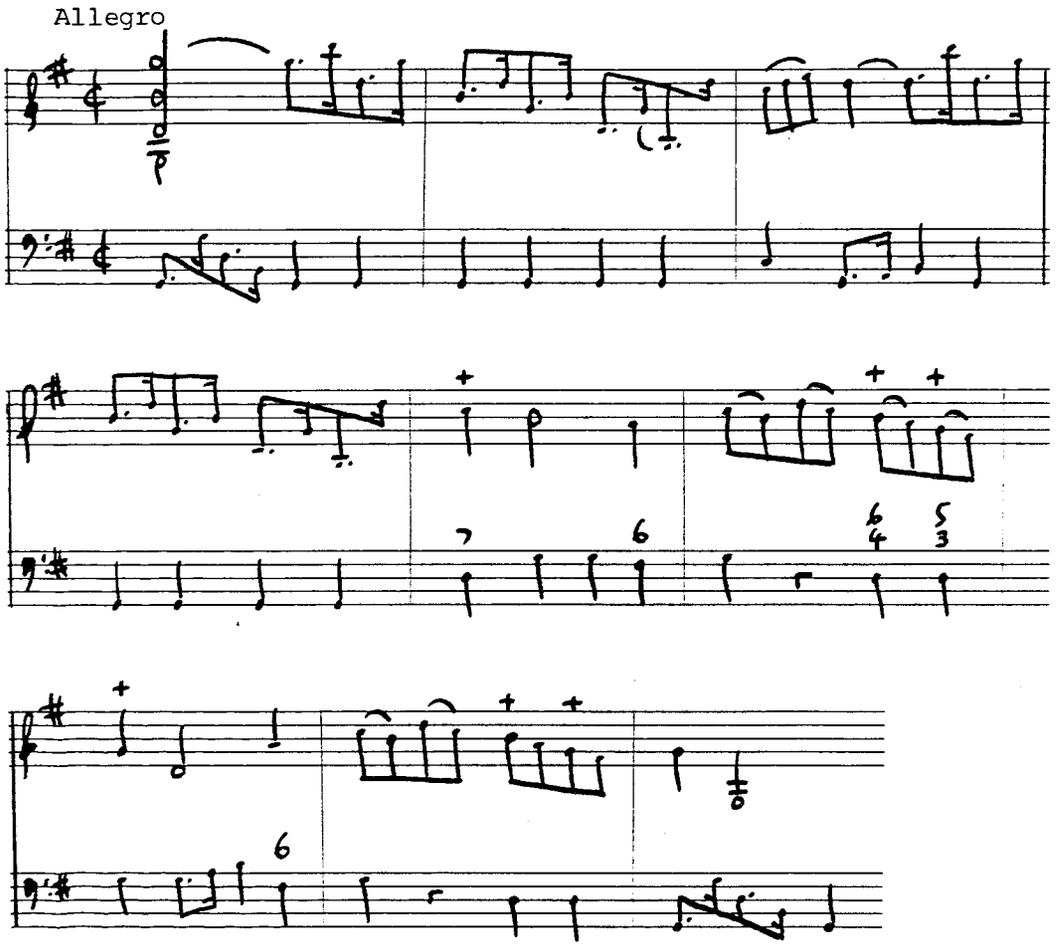
[7] Indeed Geminiani's sonatas give a disjointed effect with their succession of jagged and fragmentary ideas.

[8] Freake's Op. [1] solos [1747] are comparatively dull works in Festing's idiom.

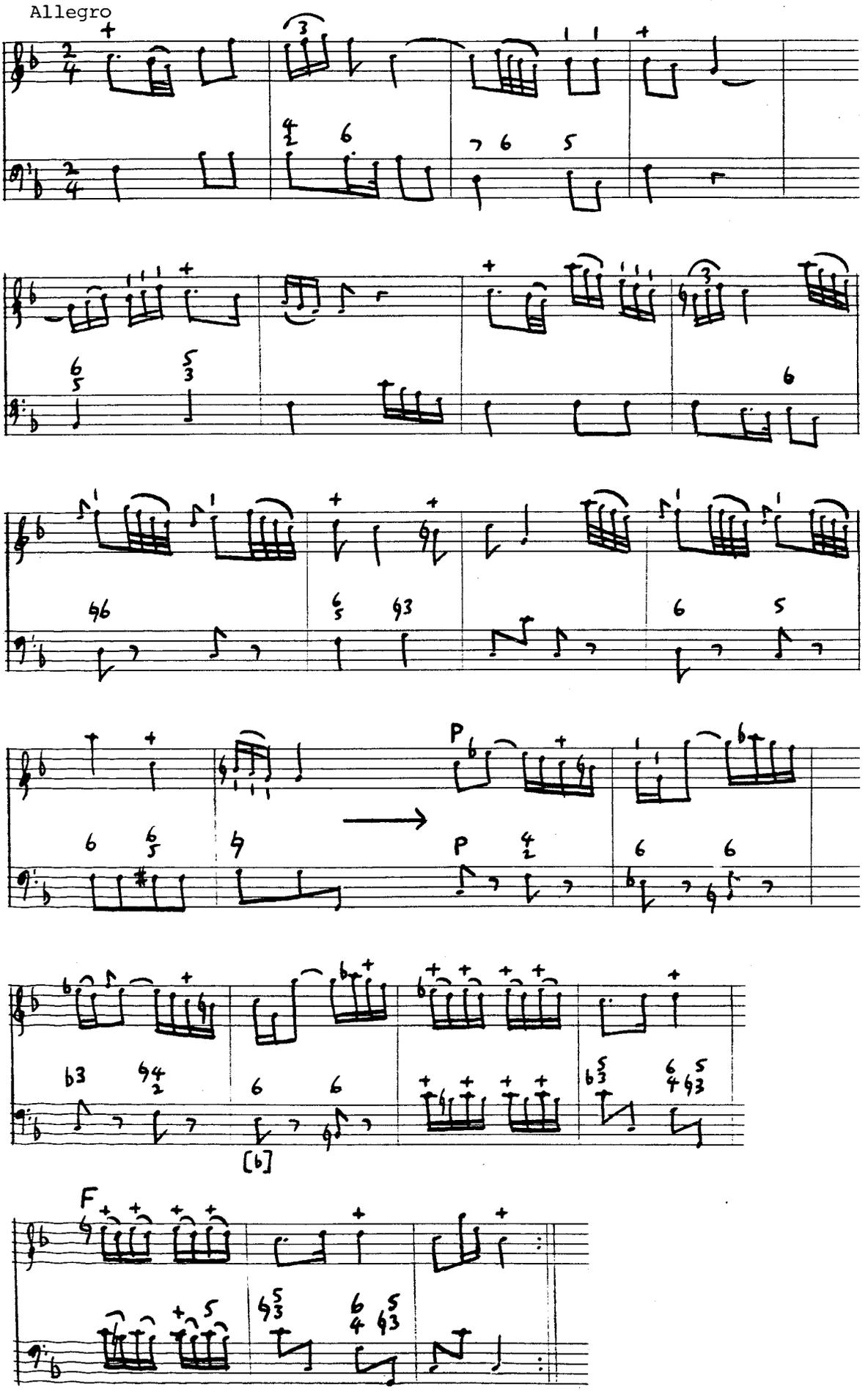
introduced to the newer style of virtuoso violin music.

Giardini's Op. 1 [1751] is quite unlike any of the music considered so far. The set begins as follows:



Ex.2. From Op. 1/1/I by Giardini

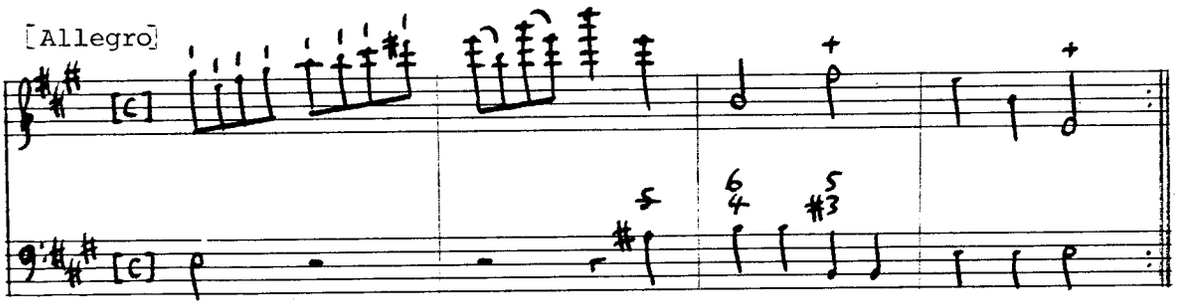
The solos are built from clearly defined and contrasted, if minimally short, phrases. These are often immediately repeated and then strung together in a patchwork construction, with comparatively little recourse to sequence but irritatingly frequent cadences. A particular type of melodic pattern is the somewhat undynamic ABB' structure. Any attempt to balance phrases is limited and the numerous cadences provide little sense of articulation on a large scale. The harmonic rhythm is for the most part slow, the bass line predominantly static and lacking in



Ex.3. From Op. 1/2/I by Giardini

melodic interest.[9]

Many other mannerisms typical of the time emerge in the second solo, including frequent triplets, 'sighing' figures and minor mode inflexions (Ex.3). Also to be found are certain characteristic cadences, which survived to the end of the period, among them the particular imperfect cadence seen at bars 13-14 in Ex. 3, the 'cadence galante',[10] and this perfect cadence normally associated with the concerto:



Ex.4. From Op. 1/4/I by Giardini

Occasionally the contemporary orchestral style is recalled in the contrast of bold unison with more lyrical melody. Neither texture nor harmonic language is ever complex in Giardini's music. The continuo in his solos provides a simple harmonic support. The chordal vocabulary in the Op. 1 set extends only as far as the occasional Diminished Seventh chord. (Later Neapolitan and Augmented Sixth chords are to be found.) Already there is however a telling use of the chromatic appoggiatura. The range of modulation is similarly limited and unusual tonal diversions are never exploited.

The Op. 1 solos call for expressive tone and graceful performance, the qualities that distinguished Giardini's own playing. The technical demands are not severe, though they slightly exceed the standard string-

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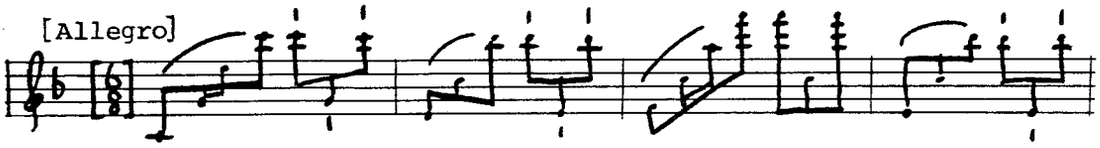
[9] It may also be observed that four of the six opening movements are written in fast C or ¢ time, rather than the old-fashioned slow C or $\frac{2}{4}$.

[10] For example No.1/III, bars 47-8. Cf. Cudworth/*Cadence*.

crossing patterns and double-stopping found in the late Baroque sonatas discussed above. There are rapid passages in thirds and sixths, high melodies up to b''' and figuration across two strings, series of trills on successive or alternate notes, melodies in natural harmonics, and complicated arpeggio patterns of which the following is the most spectacular:

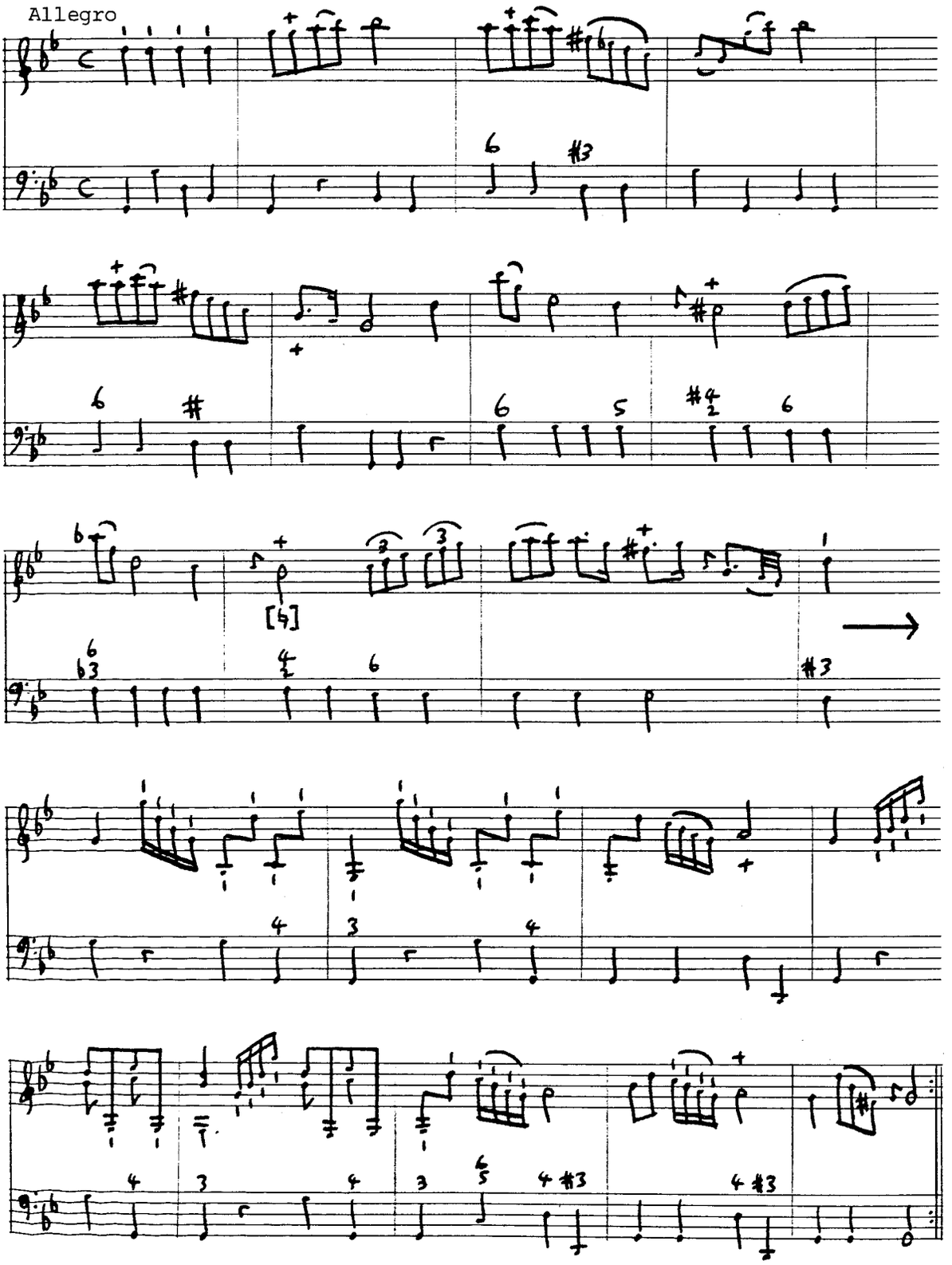


Ex.5. From Op. 1/2/III by Giardini

As is often the case, the final solo of the set is unusual in a number of respects. The first movement is an Allegro in G minor, a key Giardini favoured; the opening is cautious, but by the end some sense of power has been created (Ex.6). A major mode Musette with a drone includes a curiously hesitant *minore* section, while the finale is a lively Giga again in the major. The two last movements call for 'Sons Armoniques' - natural harmonics, not uncommon in French publications since Mondonville's sonatas, Op. 4 (c.1738), but never again written by Giardini. These features, as well as the use of the ornament + , probably indicate that these solos were originally intended for the French market.

Many formal characteristics of Giardini's Op. 1 solos remained constant throughout his output and they may therefore be discussed here in the context of his later works. Table 1 provides an analysis of the external forms of his solos. As will be seen, the modern symphony and concerto form F-S-F predominates in the Op. 1 set, although it later came under threat from a return of the S-F-M design.

The fast binary movements in Op. 1 resemble 'sonata form' no more nor less than others of the period. While other composers later brought to the solo something of the 'sonata form' approach, including thematic



Ex.6. From Op. 1/6/I by Giardini

Table 1. Form and Key Analysis of Giardini's Solos

Solos	Date	F-S-F	F-S-M	S-F-F	S-F-M	Finale: Rondo	Finale: Variations	Key: Major	Key: Minor
Op. 1	[1751]	5	1			3		4	2
Op. 4	[1755/6]	5	1				1	5	1
Op. 6	[1755-6?]	4	2		6		2	10	2
Op. 7	[1759]	3	1		2		1	5	1
Op. [10]	1765	5	2		5	8	1	10	2
Op. 16	[1772]	3	2	1		5		6	0
Op. 19	[1777]		1		5	4	1	6	0
Six favourite	[1783/4]	5			1	5		6	0
Miscell:	[1790]		1					1	0

Notes

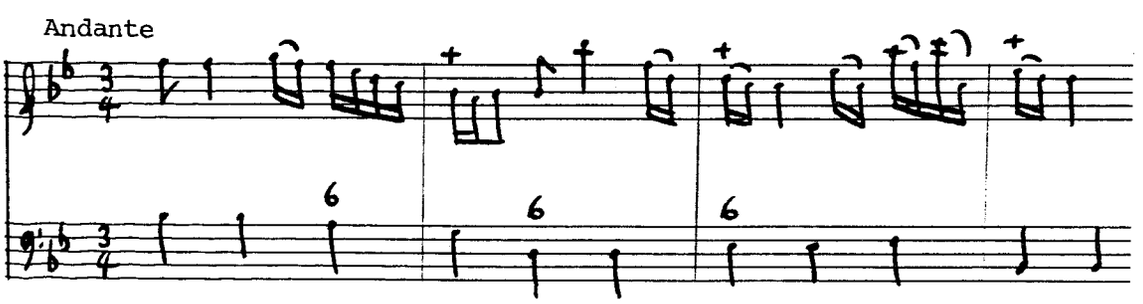
1. Op. 1/6/II is a rondo; Op. 4/3/I has a slow introduction.

2. The first movement marking Andante is included as F. The designation M encompasses a variety of markings such as Minuetto, Grazioso and Andante.

3. Unless otherwise indicated all movements are binary in form. Rondos may be in F or M tempo; variations are always M. Some movements in a ternary form have been included as rondos, since they are similar in character.

duality as well as development and recapitulation of themes, Giardini moved only tentatively in this direction. In general the opening tonic statement is balanced by transitional phrases moving to a chord of the dominant or of its dominant. Contrasting material in the dominant key follows - sometimes only passage work, seldom a regular melody - and short closing phrases end the first half. (Minor key movements dispense with the transition, moving straight to the relative major key.) The second half may begin with the opening motive in the new key. Stable thematic material always leads to modulatory passage work, usually reaching a cadence in the key of the relative minor or mediant minor (or, in minor key pieces, the dominant, though the cadence is here less common). A tonic return may include a reprise of the first theme, whether or not it appeared at the start of the second half. After the Op. 1 set some brief reference to the opening is normal at this point; it is commonly rewritten to touch on the subdominant key. Some bars later, distinctive material from the end of the first half, especially the closing phrases, returns in the tonic to end the movement.[11]

Slow movements present a sustained melody, falling into regular phrases:



Ex.7. From Op. 1/2/II by Giardini

The formal design follows the same binary outline, but on a small scale and with little thematic recurrence. Often a cadenza is indicated at the

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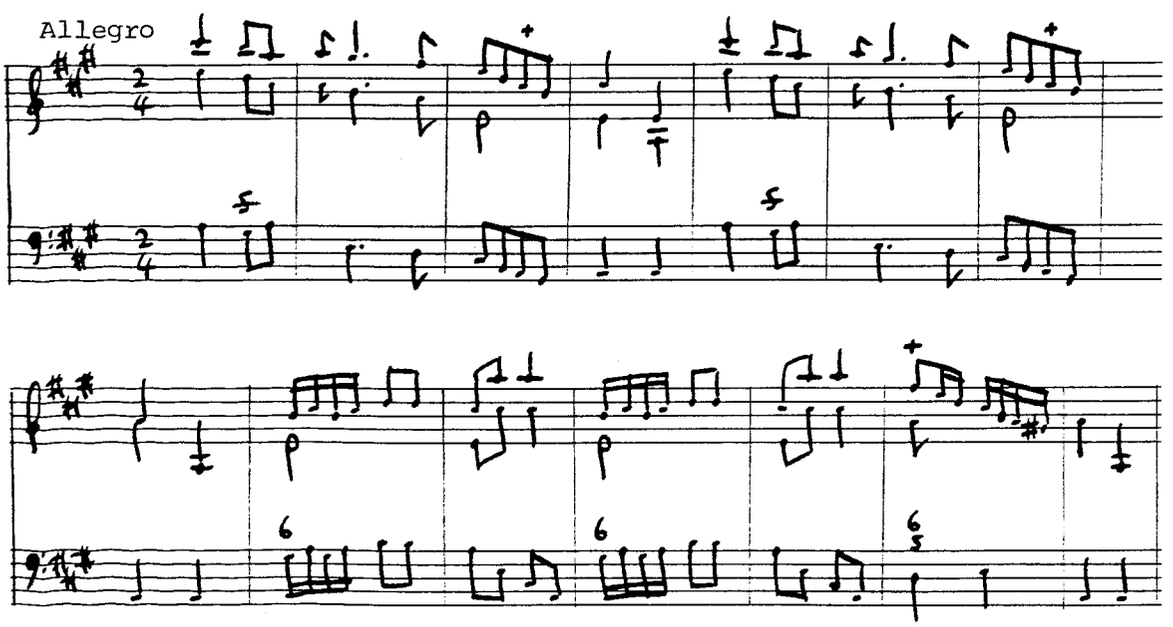
[11] This 'abbreviated recapitulation' is remarkably similar to that described by Galeazzi (Churgin/*Galeazzi*, pp.195-6).

final cadence, sometimes also at the end of the first half. In both the Op. 1 and Op. 7 sets some simple cadenzas are printed.

Three of the Op. 1 finales are in binary form, three in simple rondo form. The latter is found in many late Baroque French violin sonatas,[12] and even in Geminiani's so-called 'French' solos, Op. 4. It is therefore perhaps not surprising that the form should have made a fleeting appearance in this Giardini set, before its revival many years later. Ex. 8 illustrates a typically boisterous rondo theme, with a vigorous drive despite simple, even dubious harmony. There may be from one to three episodes, two or three later becoming standard. They may simply move towards the dominant key; or they may be of ternary design in the tonic minor key. The return of the rondo theme is only rarely decorated, usually being indicated merely by a sign.

The Op. 1 solos have been considered in some detail because they already illustrate many features of Giardini's style. Both *cantabile*



Ex.8. From Op. 1/4/III by Giardini

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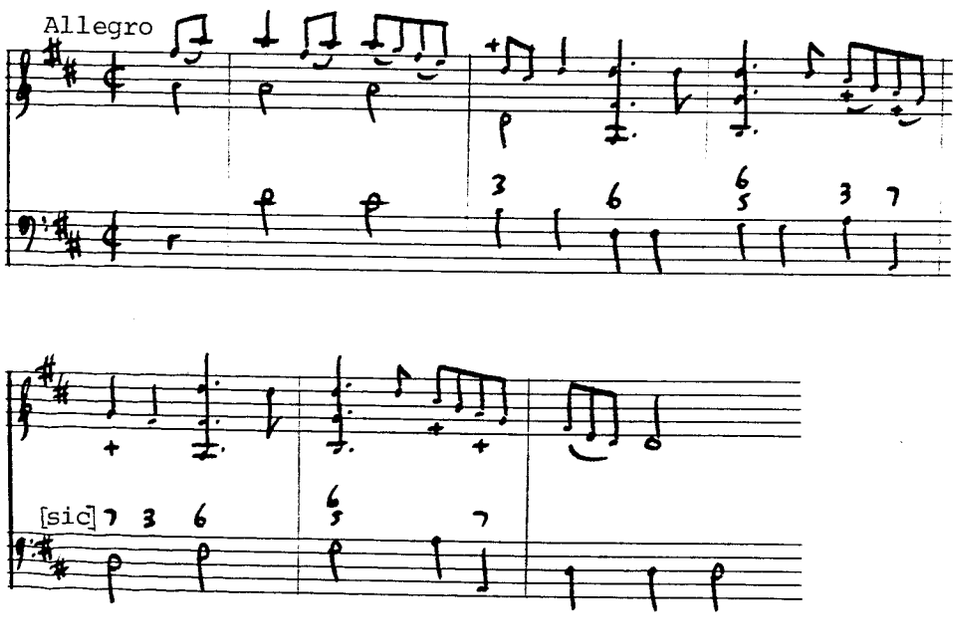
[12] Cole/*Rondo*, p.445.

and vigorous movements display an attractive melodic vein, which though never startling is sometimes highly distinctive. It is difficult to see who might have influenced Giardini in the more individual traits of his style, but his piquant melodies bear some similarity to those of his teacher G.B. Somis.[13] The music of the Piedmontese school is clearly distinguishable from the more suave music of the Paduan school of Tartini.

Giardini's next set, Op. 4 [1755/6], consolidates and develops the trends already noted. The melodic lines have expanded to somewhat larger phrases as the motivic type of melody begins to give way to a longer 'singing' line. But the process is by no means complete, as the following example in typical ABB' design makes clear:



Ex.9. From Op. 4/1/I by Giardini

The construction is also on a slightly larger scale, with some clearer articulation by well spaced cadences. Ex. 10 illustrates not only this broadening but also the unadventurous bass line mirroring the slow harmonic rhythm.

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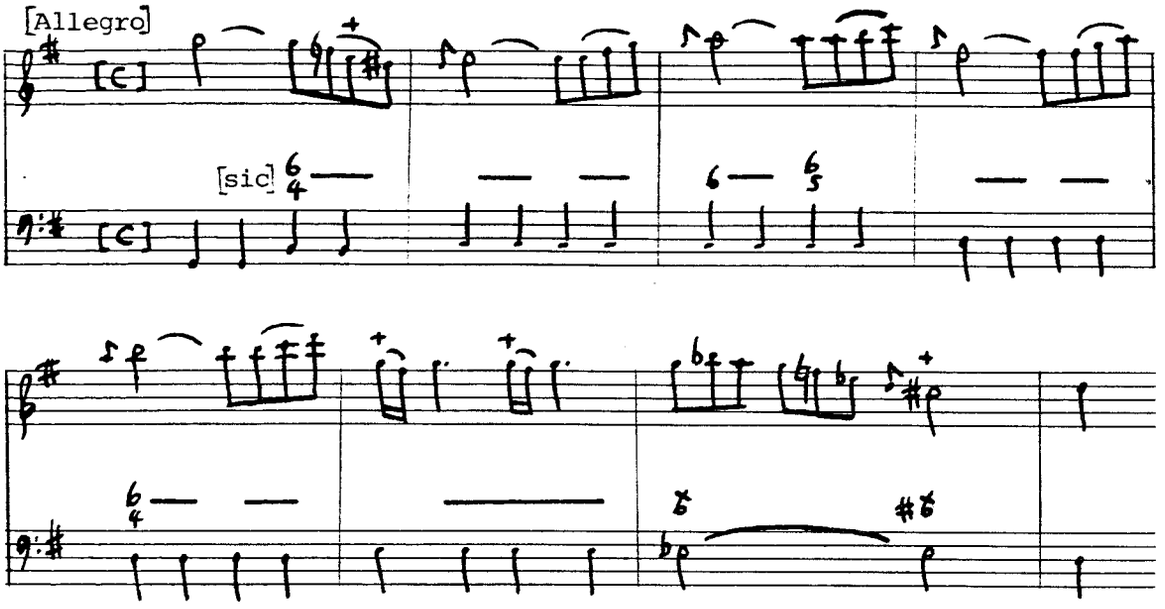
[13] See for example Somis' sonatas, Op. 2 (1723), ed. M. Abbado (Milan, 1976).



Ex.10. From Op. 4/4/I by Giardini

Two other features of this set may be mentioned. The last movement of No.6 is a set of variations,[14] a form to which Giardini returned frequently, although he hardly advanced on the variation technique used here. A graceful theme in minuet tempo is followed by seven stereo-typed variations of the harmonic framework, the bass line being printed only once:

i) triplet quaver arpeggios;
ii) based on a semiquaver arpeggio figure incorporating a trill;
iii) scales in sextuplet semiquavers;
iv) quavers slurred in pairs, providing contrast;
v) in sixths and thirds;
vi) the theme slightly decorated in the higher octave;
vii) three-note chords arpeggiated.

Secondly, a more advanced technique is demanded. *Moto perpetuo* finales exploiting rapid arpeggios over several strings can be brilliant, but sometimes the figuration is merely perfunctory. The fourth solo (entitled

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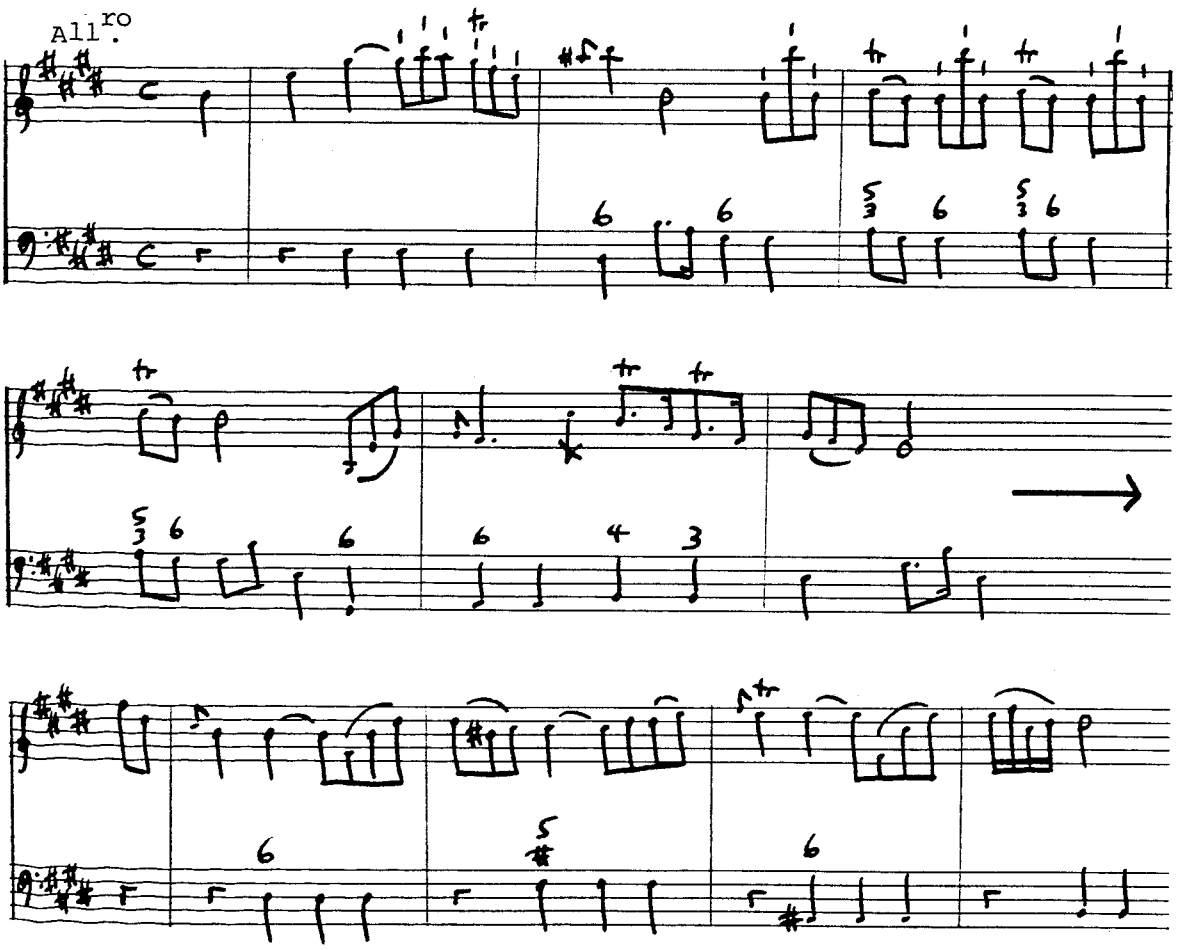
[14] Originally intended for Op. 6/6, in which some of the variations are omitted (see p.339). Giardini was admired for his extemporisation of variations (see p.197).

'La Poule' on account of bars 8-9) is particularly interesting in this respect, for it reappears as No.8 in the Op. 6 set published soon after. Here the slow movement is substantially the same, but the outer movements are rewritten. The entire purpose seems to be the removal of empty virtuoso material in favour of either more stimulating figuration or melodic writing - indeed in the last movement entirely new music, including a minor mode digression, ends each half.

This transformation gives a clue to the character of the later set. Possibly Giardini realised that the virtuoso writing in Op. 4 might herald the eventual downfall of the solo; or perhaps it appealed only to French taste.[15] At any rate the Op. 6 set [1755-6?] returns to a purely melodic interest. The trend towards 'singing' lines is furthered by the frequent appearance of the type of theme emphasising the second beat of each bar:



Ex.11. From Op. 6/7/I by Giardini

[15] Op. 4 was published in Paris without Giardini's consent, and it never appeared in London (see pp.334-5).

The construction remains however by patchwork, with the planning of cadences on no larger scale than in the previous set.

For the first time in his solos, Giardini uses in Op. 6 the S-F-M pattern, which frequently returns later when the finale is a rondo. This apparently harks back to one of the shortened *sonata da chiesa* forms of the late Baroque, but there is little in common other than the monotonality. Giardini presumably felt that a middle movement of the fast finale type would set off a movement in moderate (especially minuet) tempo to advantage.[16] Indeed unlike his contemporaries he preferred the format S-F-M to F-S-M in his solos.

The Op. 7 set [1759], referred to as 'Gentlemens Solos', need only be discussed briefly as it was clearly intended for amateur performance. It naturally makes very limited technical demands. Giardini does however attempt to vary the bass line. There are several unison passages, recalling an orchestral texture occasionally found earlier; and static harmony is enlivened by arpeggiating or oscillating notes of one chord in the bass. Already can be seen in this set an incipient feeling for long-range drive towards cadences and for regular phrasing, but neither is used consistently until Op. [10].

A comparison has been offered between solos that might have been performed by London's violinists during the 1740s and by Giardini in the 1750s. A survey of solos published between 1750 and 1764 by other London violinists reveals that Giardini's works were stylistically in advance of most. This period of transition, somewhat later than on the continent, was marked by a mixture of styles, a mixture that can often be felt within a set or even in a single work.

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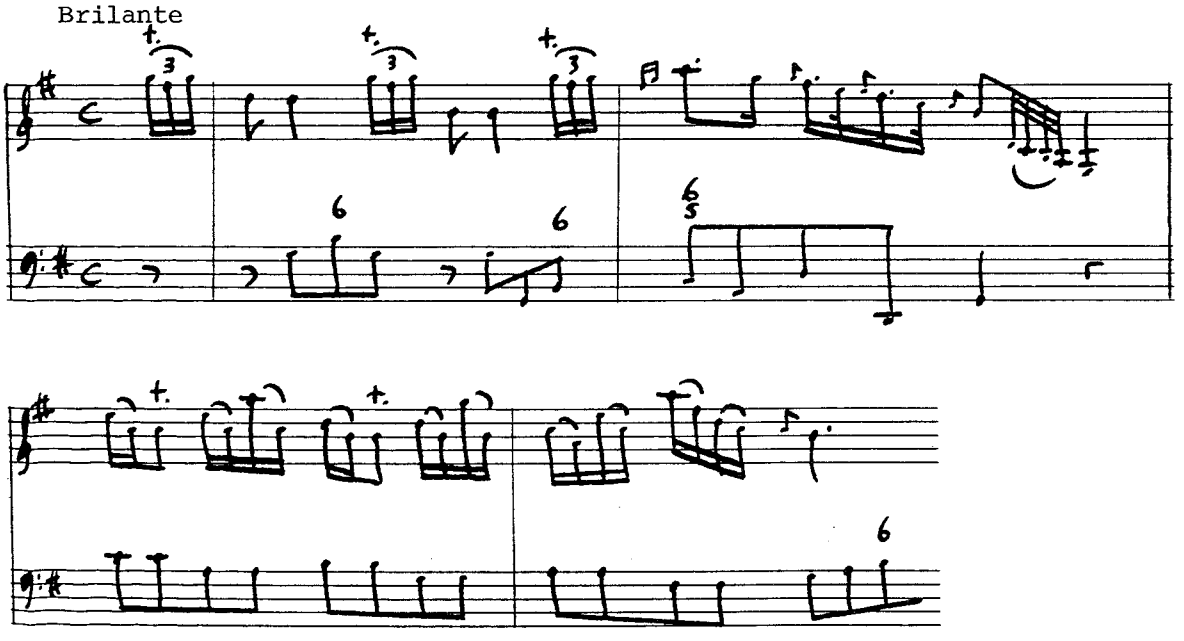
[16] It is notable that the central Presto of Op. [10]/12 (in S-F-M form) had been the finale of Op. 4/1.

Many sets have little in common with the music of Giardini - those by Agus (Op. 1 [1751]; Op. 2 [before 1757]), Falco [1763], Freake (Op. 4 [1753]), Hellendaal (Op. 2 [c.1750], Op. 4 [1762]), Marella (Op. 1, 1753; Op. 2, 1757), Mazzinghi [1763] and Morigi (Op. 2 [c.1754]). Some of these look back to a Corellian robustness or forward to later developments, but the predominant style is that characteristic of the mid-century, deriving perhaps from Tartini (the teacher of Hellendaal and Morigi). Short phrases are strung together as in Giardini's Op. 1, but the melodic line is entirely motivic and ornamental, sequences are numerous, and a steadily moving bass line remains:

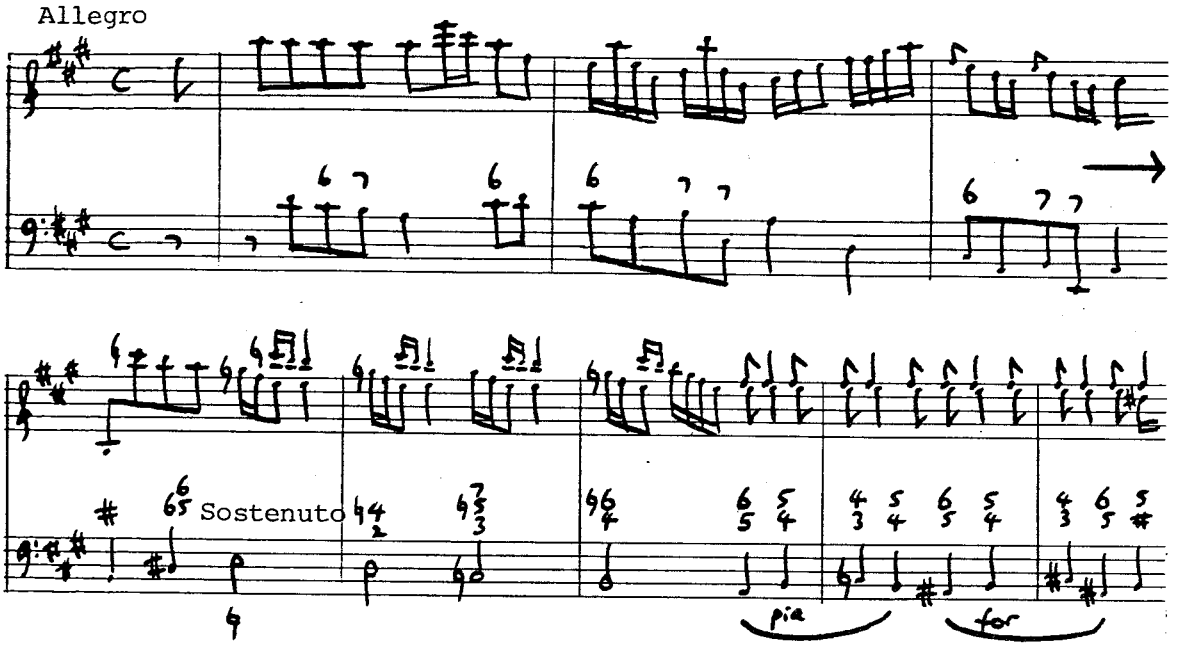


Ex.12. From Op. 2/1/II by Morigi

The usual forms are the equally characteristic S-F-Faster and S-F-M. A number of solos from these sets, especially by Agus and Hellendaal, are of musical interest.

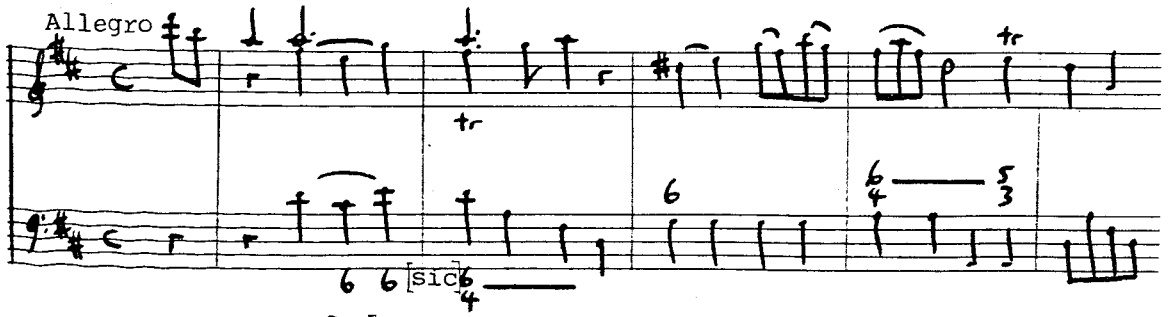
Other solos are as modern in style as those of Giardini, though their musical value is comparatively slight. The Op. 1 set [1751] by Chabran, another Somis pupil and Giardini's early rival, resembles Giardini's Op. 1 but is dull and repetitive. Noferi's first two sets, Op. [1] [1757] and Op. 2 [1760], the latter dedicated to Giardini, show his teacher's clear influence. On the other hand, the Op. 1 set [1758] by the British violinist

John Collett is surprisingly original, successfully mixing styles within a single movement:



Ex.13. From Op. 1/2/I by Collett

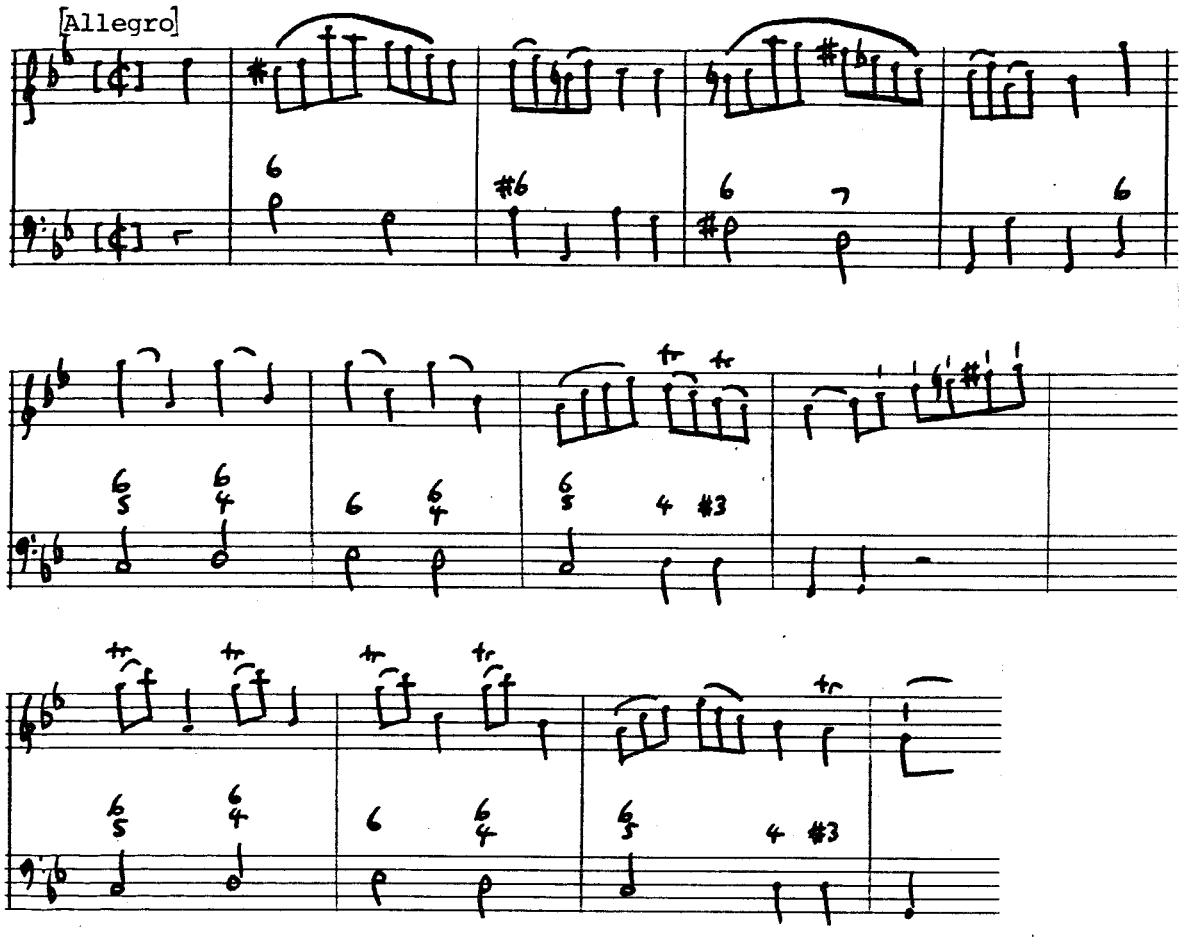
By 1765, when the early publications of J.C. Bach and Abel had already appeared in London, the violin solo had achieved some stylistic stability. Giardini's Op. [10] solos (1765)[17] demonstrate further the tendency towards large melodic phrases in a 'singing' Allegro. Though some of the mid-century uneasiness of phrase-length and repetitiveness remain, there is more awareness of regularity and balance of phrases. Both regular phrase structure and larger scale are allowed by the development of a harmonic framework based on tonic-dominant polarity and on the drive towards the cadence. This drive results from emphasis on the subdominant area before a cadence:



Ex.14. From Op. [10]/1/I by Giardini

[17] Nos.1-6, ed. R. Castagnone (Padua, 1970).

Title-page to Giardini's solos, Op. [10],
engraved by Bartolozzi after Cipriani



Ex.15. From Op. [10]/3/II by Giardini

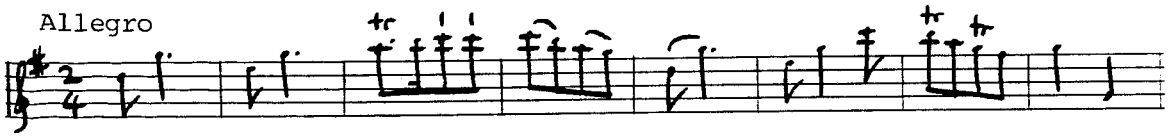
It is then possible to expand within this area, as illustrated in Ex. 15.

Such cadential drive has a significant effect on the overall structure. Firstly, it grants a new urgency to modulations, particularly the move to the dominant and the subsequent return to the tonic. Secondly, it affords a new formal clarity through firmer articulation by well-spaced cadences. Thirdly, it allows a new cogency as a result of the delineation of themes according to their structural function - expository, transitional, closing, and so on. (The concept of a second subject melody is, however, still not firmly established.) The bass line also shows signs of stylistic change. The simple figures already mentioned are still used to animate static harmony, but occasionally the bass

takes on a *cantabile* melodic quality.[18] This contrasts equally with the solid Baroque bass line and with the dull basses of Giardini's preceding solos.

New influences are to be felt in the violin solo at this time, as in keyboard sonatas by J.C. Bach and others. Mention has already been made of 'orchestral' unison passages and sharp contrasts. Further characteristics of the symphony now appear in the solo, most notably implied crescendos over several bars. It is hardly surprising that the solo sometimes takes on the sonority, though not the design, of the concerto.

At the same time the rondo finale returned. It has been suggested that the general popularity of the rondo, which reached a peak between 1773 and 1786, may have resulted from a preference shown by English audiences.[19] Whether or not this is tenable, the form is used in many solos by London's violinists from as early as 1765; and these rondo finales are often particularly distinctive. Those by Giardini are of two types - in moderate tempo, usually in the style of a minuet; or of lively character, such as the following:



Ex.16. From Op. [10]/6/III by Giardini

Giardini's Op. [10] solos are among his best, successfully blending melodic and virtuoso writing. The weaknesses of his music - especially unconvincing phrase and harmonic structure, which he never excised - are not yet obtrusive. The slow movements remain the least interesting, only the G minor Adagio, No.3/I, achieving more than innocuous charm. One should allow however for embellishment of the type surviving in contemporary

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[18] Cf. Siprutini's advertisement in 1769 for a set of cello solos 'with a thorough Bass in a Cantabile Stile' (PA 1.4.1769).

[19] Cf. Cole/*Rondo*, p.425.

manuscripts of Giardini's solos.[20]

The decade 1765-1775 saw a spate of publications of solos by London's violinists. In some ways the genre was ideally suited to the style observed in Giardini's Op. [10], a style which most composers embraced and which some developed further. Giardini's own Op. 16 set [1772] compares unfavourably both with his earlier solos and with some contemporary publications. The melodies often lapse into clichés normally associated with J.C. Bach and few touches of Giardini's former originality remain. Some reliance is put on violinistic tricks, especially banal arpeggios, although other technical demands do not warrant censure - the extension of range up to d'''' , broken octaves and the complex figuration in No.4/III involving all four strings in sixth position. Already there is uneasiness in the phraseology, as if the advanced melodic style is in conflict with older methods of construction.

Most contemporary sets aim principally at attractive melody. This appears but occasionally in solos by Baumgarten [1768], Celestino (Op. 2 [1774]), Fisher [1769/70], Noferi (Op. 8 [1765]; Op. 11 [c.1770]), Oliver y Astorga (Op. 1 [1767]), Pinto [1771] and Ximenez [1772]. Vachon's unusual Op. 3 set [1769] exhibits a Gallic delicacy of melody as well as an individual approach to texture, the bass line being often varied and violin melodies frequently double-stopped. The Op. 13 set [1774] by Kammell is tuneful and well constructed on a modest scale, especially by comparison with his strangely capricious Op. 10 [1772].[21]

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[20] For example in Op. 16 MS C. Robert Bremner (*Thoughts*, p.50) advised that a solo-player might, as he pleased, embellish or simplify the melody, or even (in a slow movement) reject it entirely, provided he took note of the bass. John Potter (*Observations*, p.80) however held that the melody should not be destroyed.

[21] Outside any category are the quasi-Handelian solos of Cattanei (Op. 1 [c.1765], Op. 2 [c.1770]).

Other sets, notably those published only in Paris or published there earlier than in London, emphasise virtuoso writing. The Op. 1 solos [1773/4] of Lahoussaye are dependent almost entirely on such devices as arpeggios and leaps spanning the entire range of the violin, harmonics, fast passages in thirds, sixths and octaves, and figuration demanding the span of a tenth. These features, which fail to redeem a lack of musical invention, are reminiscent of the music of Lolli, whose reception in London was equally unfavourable. The single solo, Op. 5 [1776/81], by Lamotte also exploits much double-stopping and the staccato bowing for which he was famed; but the paucity of melodic material is less marked than in Lahoussaye's works. The more valuable Op. 2 set [c.1770] by Cramer clearly illustrates national preferences. It appeared in Paris before his arrival in England, but only three solos (Nos.3-5) were subsequently published in London. These three fall conspicuously less often into virtuoso writing of the type just described than the remainder. It may be concluded that the London public was as loath to buy music exhibiting only technical dexterity as it was unwilling to hear it. In both directions the contrast with Paris was marked.[22]

The four remaining sets are worthy of more detailed discussion. Barthelemon's Op. 2 set [1765/6], though less advanced in style than many from the decade under consideration, is one of the most interesting. Among its unusual features is the F major Tempodi Polonese, No.1/III - a distinctive movement with two minor key episodes, one a fiery D minor, the other a plaintive F minor. But this provides no preparation for the exceptional solo No.5:

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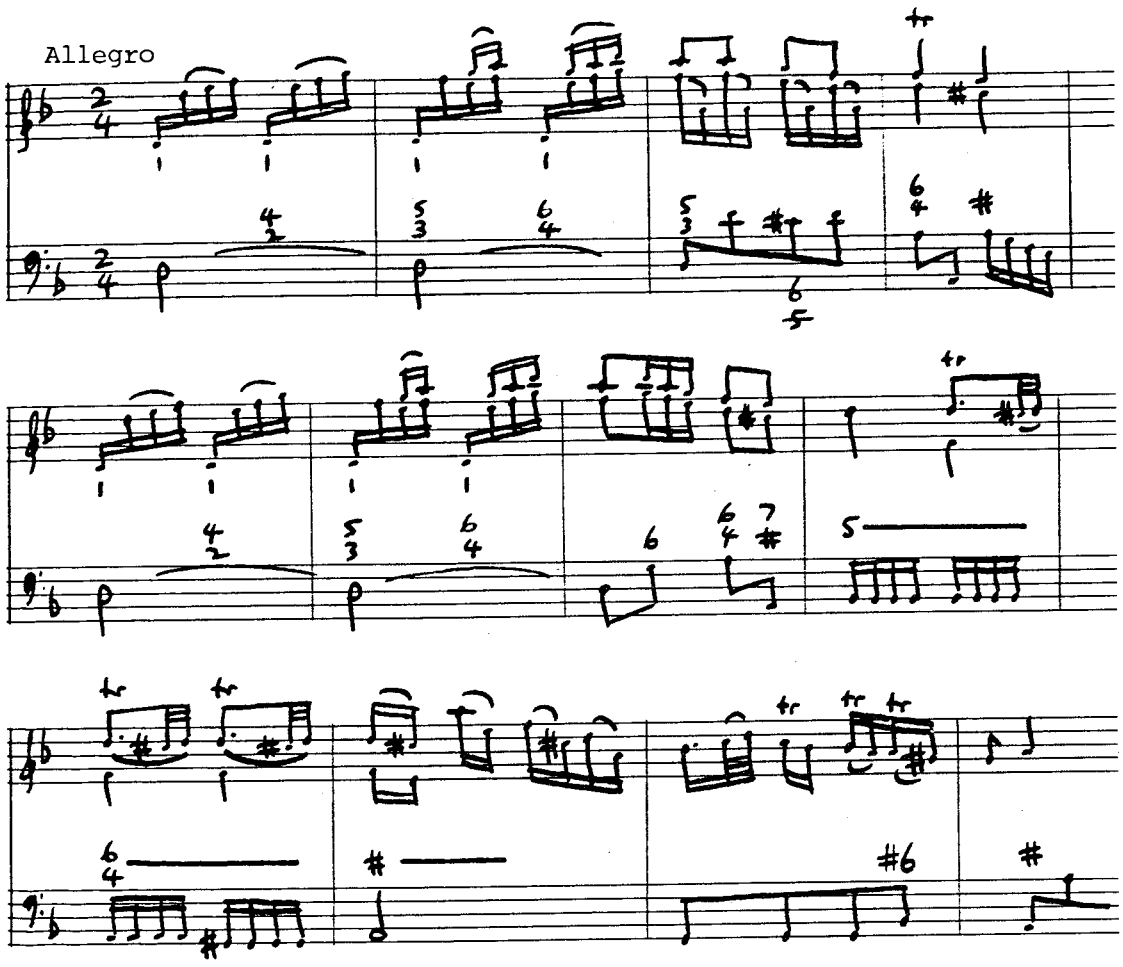
[22] It might be argued that the most technically demanding music was not published in London because amateurs there were unable to play it. But there is no evidence that Parisian amateur violinists were more competent.



Ex.17. From Op. 2/5/I by Barthelemon

A sonorous D major Adagio and tonic minor Arioso with stormy variations conclude the work, which illustrates Barthelemon's penchant for the minor mode in a period when it was at its lowest ebb.[23]

The Op. 1 set [1772] by Borghi was among the most popular of the time, and it was still being re-issued over 40 years later. Borghi achieves an ideal balance between attractive *cantabile* melodies and modestly virtuoso figuration. Torrefranca's assertion that Borghi's music was an active influence on Mozart need not be defended;[24] but there is an affinity between the two styles in soft codetta themes and

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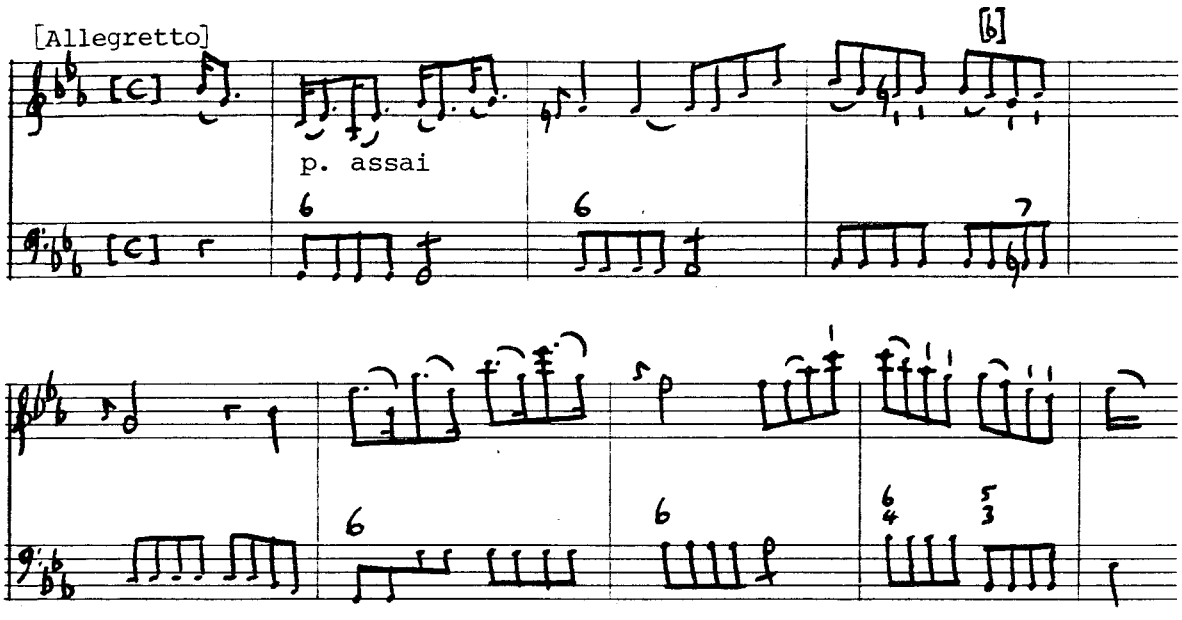
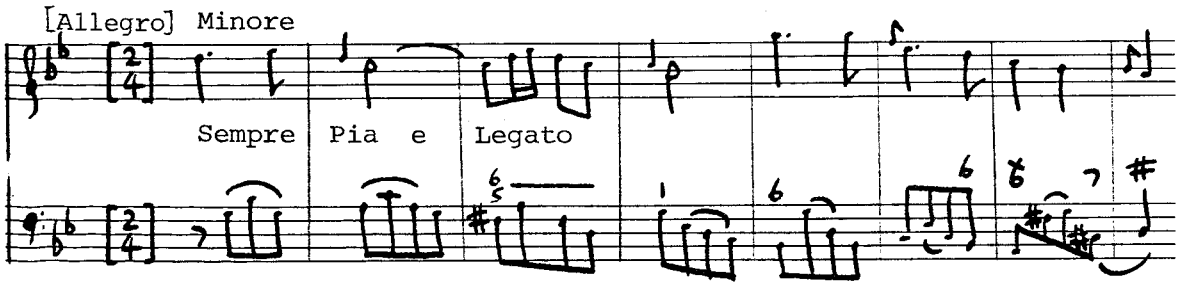
[23] Cf. Longyear/*Minor*, p.35.

[24] Torrefranca/*Origini*, pp.548-68.



Ex.18. From Op. 1/5/I by Borghi

second subject melodies such as Ex. 18. Borghi used this type of theme to distinguish a second subject more clearly than most contemporary violinists. He also achieves pathos in minor key sections, as in this rondo episode:



Ex.19. From Op. 1/2/III by Borghi

Borghi's Op. 1 is notable for two other reasons. It is established that some of these solos were performed publicly in London, one on a specific date.[25] Three also achieved the distinction of arrangement for keyboard with insignificant violin accompaniment, the only example of such a practice yet found.[26]

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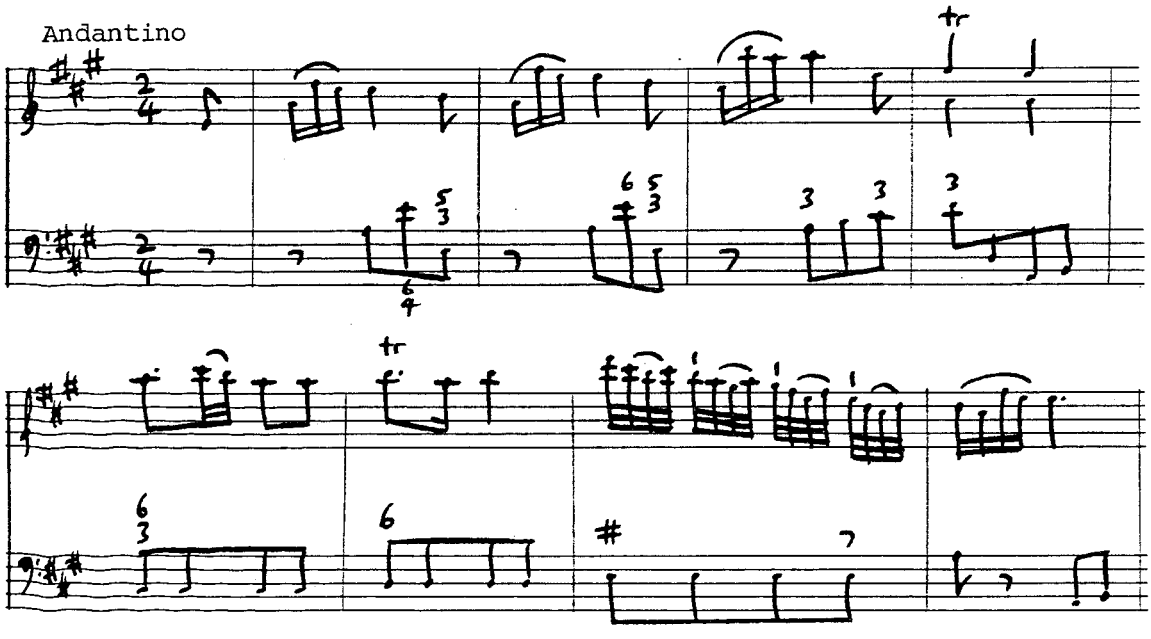
[25] See p.132.

[26] See p.387.

Equally long-lived were the solos of Pugnani. They were taught at the Paris Conservatoire in the early 19th century,[27] and new editions of all three sets were published there, Op. 7 (Paris Op. 6) being corrected by J.B. Cartier. Pugnani's two later sets, Op. 7 [1768] and Op. [8] [1773], were apparently first published in London, Op. 7 having been 'composed since his Arrival in this Kingdom'.[28] No doubt the Conservatoire admired the mellifluous melody and sound construction of Pugnani's solos rather than their technical requirements, which are exceeded even in contemporary publications. They have some claim to be considered 'classical' examples of the late violin solo. The Op. 7 set is perhaps old-fashioned for its date in its motivic construction and triplet patterns. But by arranging these small ideas with a certain cadential drive, Pugnani achieves a larger design and a more modern sound:



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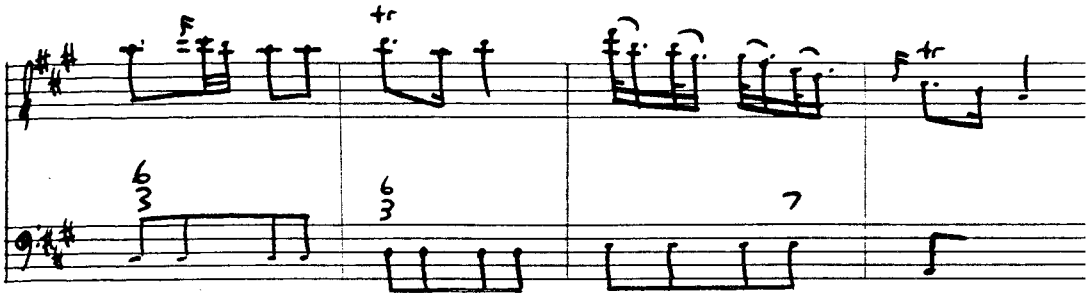
[27] Baillot/*L'Art*, p.273.

[28] See p.393. This information is not found in modern catalogues. See Zschinsky-Troxler/*Pugnani*, pp.94-7 for further bibliographical information and Müry/*Pugnani*, pp.17-24 for critical discussion.

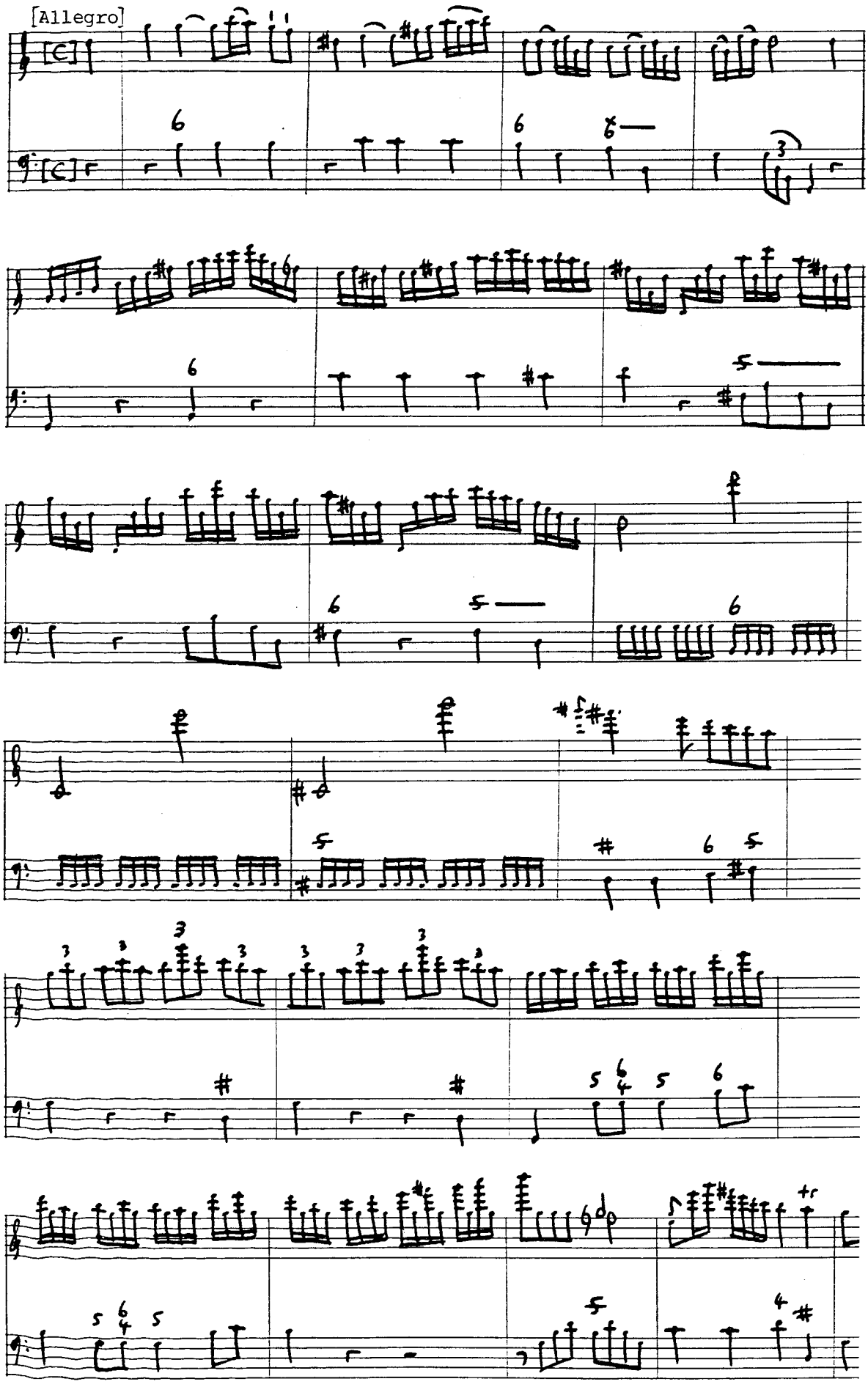


Ex.20. From Op. 7/2/I by Pugnani

The Op. [8] set represents a significant advance, with broad 'singing' themes and a uniformly slow harmonic rhythm expressed in some 'Alberti Bass' accompaniment (a figuration hardly encountered in the works already discussed). Pugnani's solos are not remarkable for melodic charm or vigour, in which respect they cannot compare with those of Borghi or Giardini, but they are well crafted and harmonically considerably more expressive.

It has been seen in Chapter 2 that the violin solo began to decline in popularity in London's concerts in 1774, the year in which chamber music started to assert itself. Solos were still performed and published for some years after this, but for a number of purely musical reasons the demise of the genre was inevitable.

The most immediately striking feature of the later solos is a marked emphasis on virtuoso writing of a vacuous nature, a tendency adversely received by the London public. Admittedly the technical advances demanded by Giardini's Op. 19 [1777] - wide leaps, very high melodies, rapid alternation of two strings (sometimes in broken octaves) - are not in themselves pernicious, but their constant exploitation can rapidly detract from musical content. The following is most of a 'second subject group':



Ex.21. From Op. 19/3/I by Giardini

One is reminded of Johnson's retort on being informed how difficult a violin piece was: "Difficult do you call it, Sir? I wish it were impossible."[29]

At the same time musical style was developing towards the mature classical idiom, marked by a broader scale, in which irregularity and short repetitions gave way to regular phrases, expandable by insertion as the harmonic vocabulary widened rather than by addition. Themes adopted clear functions within the structure, again allowing for varied treatment as the formal outlines were clarified. Many composers of successful solos before 1775 were unable to reconcile these larger melodic ideas with a convincing structure. Ex. 21 shows Giardini unable to sustain a *cantabile* theme to its due length, lapsing into disconnected passages of figuration, which when juxtaposed lack direction.

Other sets of violin solos reveal a similar uneasiness of structure, including those by Barthelemon (Op. 10 [1784]), Borghi (Op. 4 [1783]), Cramer (Op. 4 [1780/1]) and Pieltain [1782]. The solos of Barthelemon and Borghi again have moments of originality, though Barthelemon loses coherence by a tendency to delay cadences indefinitely and Borghi often mis-times the arrival of new themes. Manuscript solos by Linley (one only, perhaps dating from the mid 1770s[30]) and by Wesley (two only, both dated 1778) are similar in style to these later printed sets. Published for amateur performance were Fisher's *Six easy solos* [1777/81] and Giardini's *Six favourite solos* [1783/4]. Unable to rely on virtuoso

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[29] Seward/*Anecdotes*, Supplement, p.267. Many theorists objected to the sacrifice of expression and gracefulness for the sake of brilliance (for example Beattie/*Essays*, pp.156-7; Koch/*Lexicon*, art. 'Solo'; Sulzer/*Theorie*, art. 'Solo'). Rangoni (*Essai*, p.32) looked back with approval at the solos of Corelli and Tartini, of Pugnani and Giardini.

[30] Gwilym Beechey (*Linley 3*, p.669) claims that this solo was one of a set of six written in 1768, but this seems unlikely on stylstic grounds.

figuration both composers unsurely string together a series of bland themes. Lively rondos in the Giardini set partly compensate, and his slow movements (all in the tonic minor key) have moments of poignancy. The single solo in 'Giardini's miscell: works' [1790] is of uncertain date, but it resembles the *Six favourite solos* with a moderate increase in technical requirements.

One composer - Salomon - showed that it was possible to write a successful violin solo in a fully-developed classical style, both avoiding empty virtuosity and controlling the structure adequately. But a more fundamental problem was emerging - the question of texture. The bass line had been following two opposite but equally ill-fated trends. On the one hand it was becoming inessential. Some *moto perpetuo* movements in the later solos could stand without accompaniment as studies; and two slow movements in Barthelemon's Op. 10 even include the bass line in the violin part, a *pizzicato* cello merely doubling at the octave. On the other hand the bass was taking on a more *cantabile* character, a tendency already seen to stem from the 1760s. This heralded the decline of the continuo ideal itself, which, though it did not eschew melodic bass lines, yet regarded the bass as a constant harmonic support. Adequate to music written as late as 1775, with its repeated note patterns and only occasional *cantabile* moments, the continuo could not adapt to textures both more integrated and more varied, which arose out of the stylistic developments of the later 1770s. Ex. 22 from Salomon's Op. 1 set [1782][31] is thinly textured, even with a keyboard instrument (and the title-page and lack of figuring do not imply that this is necessary). The slow harmonic movement is expressed now in sustained bass notes, as Salomon sacrifices the mobile support for a *cantabile* character. The extract seems to demand both the animation and richness which a second violin and

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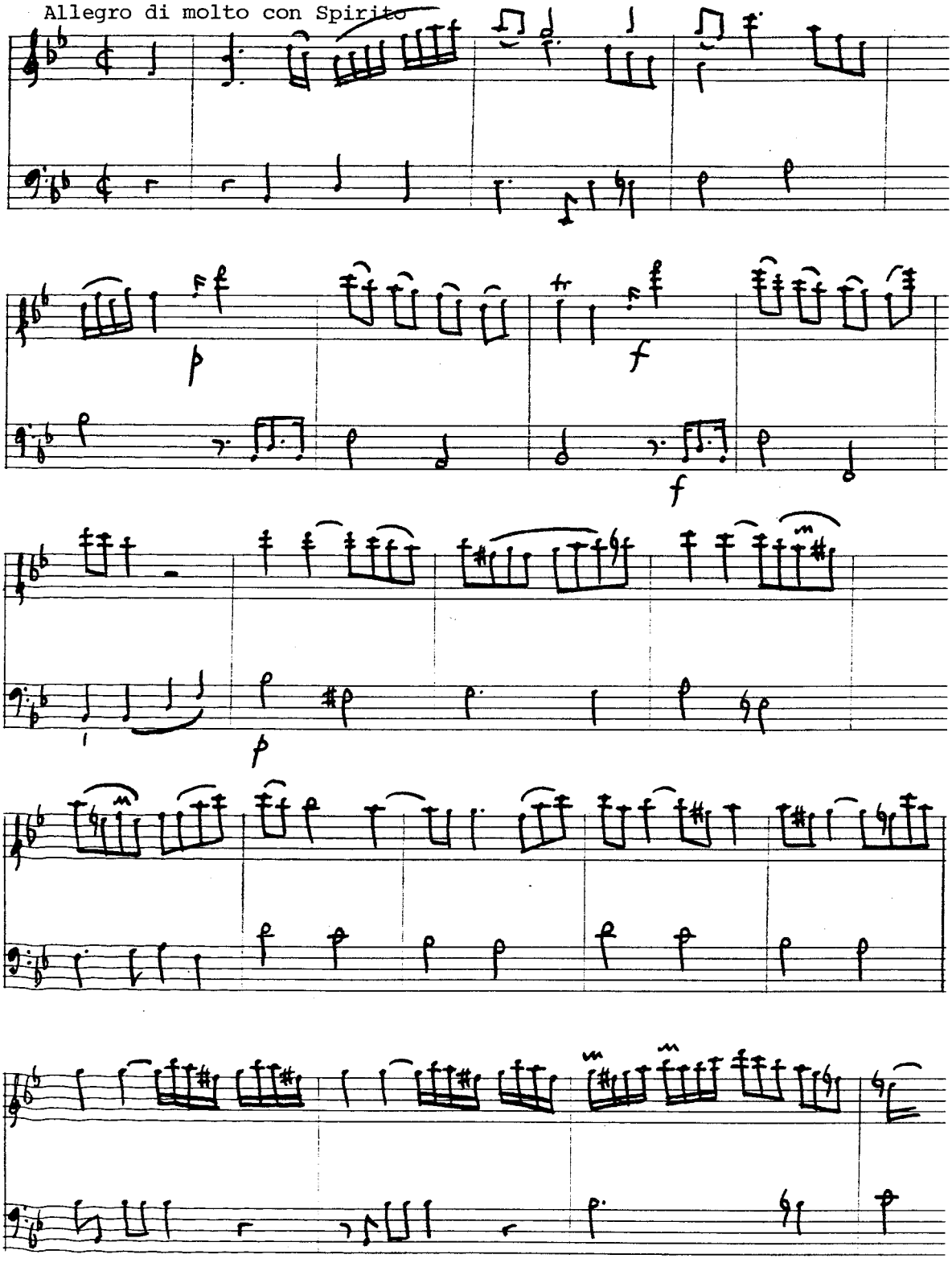
[31] Unverricht/*Salomon*, pp.38-9 discusses these solos briefly.



Ex.22. From Op. 1/4/I by Salomon

viola could provide, and illustrates why from a textural point of view the violin solo could not last long into the 1780s.[32]

The sonata for keyboard with violin accompaniment was not in competition with the violin solo, despite the English preference for essential violin parts. Giardini's Op. 3 sonatas [1751][33] are somewhat exceptional. They have been cited as early examples of the *concertante* duo,[34] since sections with continuo alternate with passages for obbligato harpsichord, the violin accompanying or in dialogue. The variety of texture in these works is wide, yet the musical scale is small. All except the last are in the two-movement form of the keyboard sonata and the violin part (playable also on the flute) is technically undemanding. There is no evidence that these sonatas were heard regularly as concert pieces. Two much later sonatas published in 'Giardini's miscell: works' [1790] are similar in texture if not in style; the two sonatas Op. 31 [1790/1] however have a purely subordinate violin part. A few other sets of 'accompanied sonatas' published by London composers during this period lean some way towards the duo ideal pioneered in Giardini's Op. 3 (generally excluding figured bass). Though by 1770 the *ad libitum* violin part had taken firm hold, some composers (for example, Sacchini)

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[32] No evidence has been found, either in contemporary concert reports or in treatises, as to which instruments were normally employed in the accompaniment of violin solos. Title-pages are ambiguous, probably deliberately, and there is reason to believe that both harpsichord and cello would have been used (cf. CPEBach/*Keyboard*, p.173). The cellist might simplify arpeggio patterns, and the harpsichordist omit repeated notes (cf. Heck/*Thorough Bass*, p.72). An alternative instrument of accompaniment, preferred by some violinists, was a second violin (cf. the report of Richards' accompaniment of Lolli in PA 26.2.1785).

[33] Ed. E. Polo (*I classici musicali italiani*, 3) (Milan, 1941).

[34] Kidd/*Emergence*, pp.124-9.

included within a set isolated works in a more *concertante* idiom.[35] But there is no consistent trend towards equality between the two instruments, and none of these sonatas achieves either the texture or the scale of a concert piece in the manner of Mozart's Sonata in Bb, K.454, of 1784.

The most important threat to the violin solo was the development of chamber music around 1770.[36] That performed in London's concerts was, it seems, mainly of the *concertante* type. Each instrument in turn takes solos while the others provide an accompaniment. Some textural variety is supplied by unison statements, passages where two instruments combine in parallel and brief exchanges between the instruments (which are often paired). There is little true contrapuntal interplay. The solo sections still give opportunity for virtuoso display, which sometimes resembles that found in violin solos. But the accompaniment can provide animation or richness of sonority impossible in the solo; while further variety results from the succession of different solo instruments and from the diversity of instrumental combinations in intervening sections.

Giardini's later chamber music is representative of this type. Mentioned in concert advertisements during the 1770s and early years of the next decade are string trios, string quartets and oboe quartets. Presumably his published works were of the type played:[37]

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[35] Ibid., p.143.

[36] See Unverricht/*Streichtrio*; Finscher/*Streichquartett*; Sadie/*Chamber*.

[37] Authenticated manuscript sources add little to the overall picture.

String trios	Op. 17 [1773]	
	Op. 20 [1778]	
	Op. 26 [1784][38]	
String quartets	No.6 of *Six quartettos* [1776]	
	Op. 22 [1779/80]	
	Op. 23 Nos.3, 4[39]	[1782]
	Op. 23 Nos.1, 2 (for v-2va-vc)	
	Op. 25 Nos.1, 4, 6 [1783]	
Oboe quartets	Op. 23 Nos.5, 6 [1782]	
	Op. 25 Nos.2, 3, 5 [1783][40]	

The first trio in the Op. 17 set, which achieved considerable popularity to judge from the number of re-issues, illustrates some characteristic textures (Ex.23). The use here of different instruments to point structural divisions is a common device; the prominent viola part was probably written for Giardini himself. The other sets of trios are equally soloistic in idiom, the lower instruments sometimes even leading a movement. Very exceptionally Op. 20/3/III is fugal in style, though binary in form.

The string quartets are similar in texture,[41] although the added violin or viola is inevitably not so evident in a soloistic capacity as the other instruments. The Op. 25 set is written in a less *concertante* idiom, the cello taking no solos at all. Naturally constructed differently are the oboe quartets, presumably composed for Fischer.[42] Though the oboe

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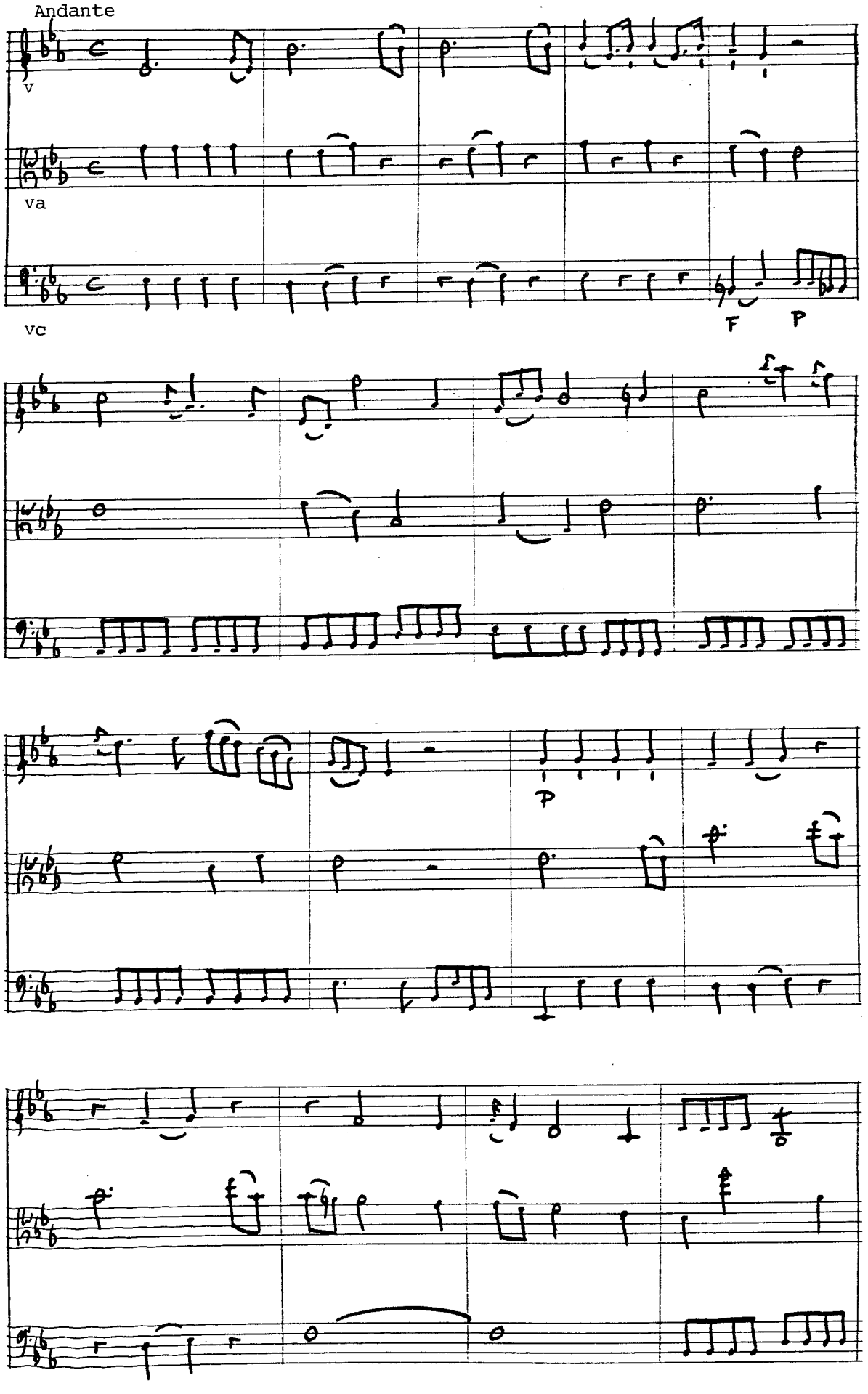
[38] This set is however on a smaller scale and may have been intended for the Prince of Wales (see p.319).

[39] Both ed. A. Poltronieri (*I classici musicali italiani*, 6) (Milan, 1941).

[40] The title-page but not the part gives a flute option. No.3 ed. H. Steinbeck (Wiesbaden, 1961).

[41] See Damerini/*Quartetti*; Salvetti/*Maestro*.

[42] An early quartet with bassoon [1755] does not treat the instrument in a soloistic manner; it was re-published as an overture.


Andante
v
va
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F
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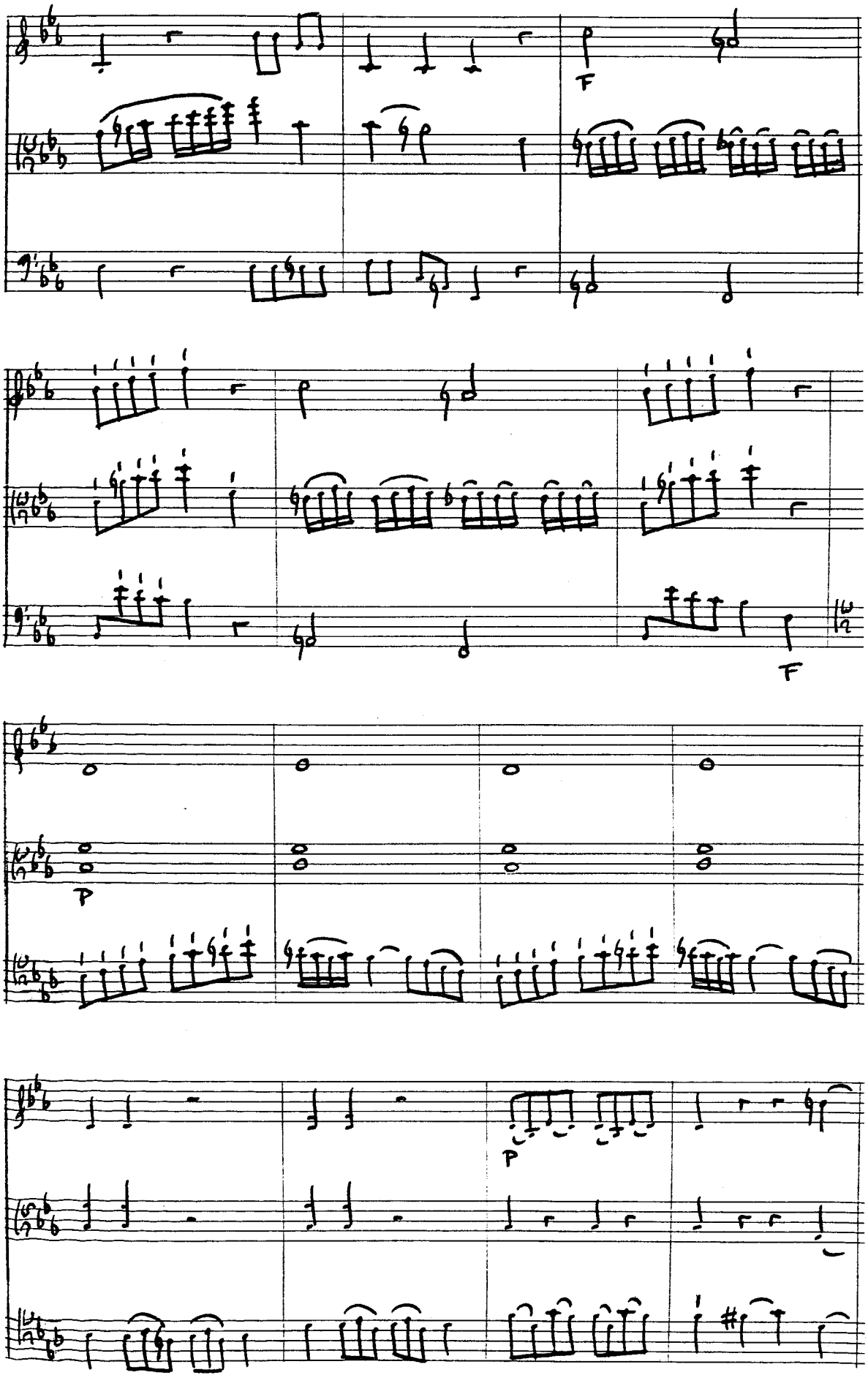
P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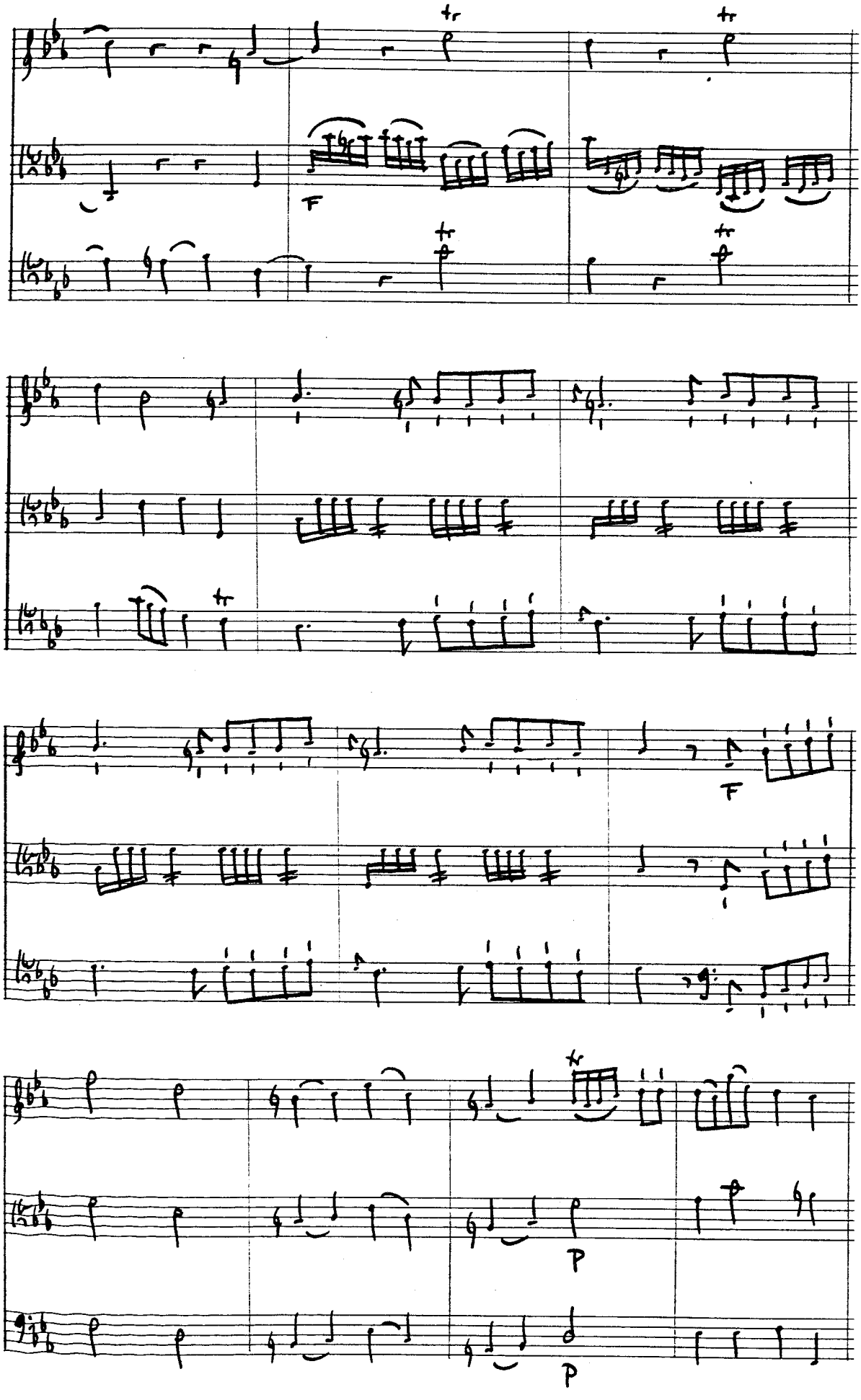
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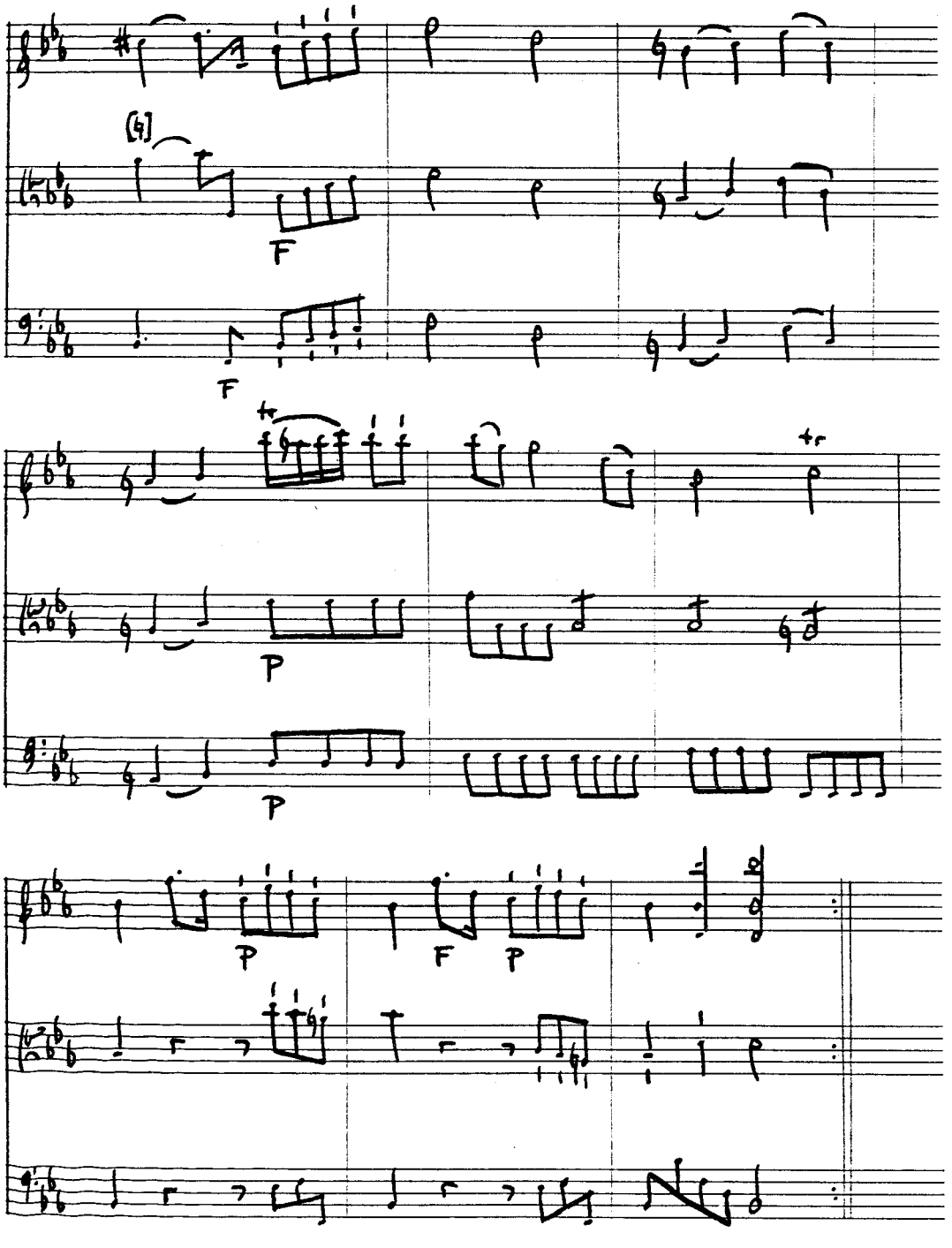
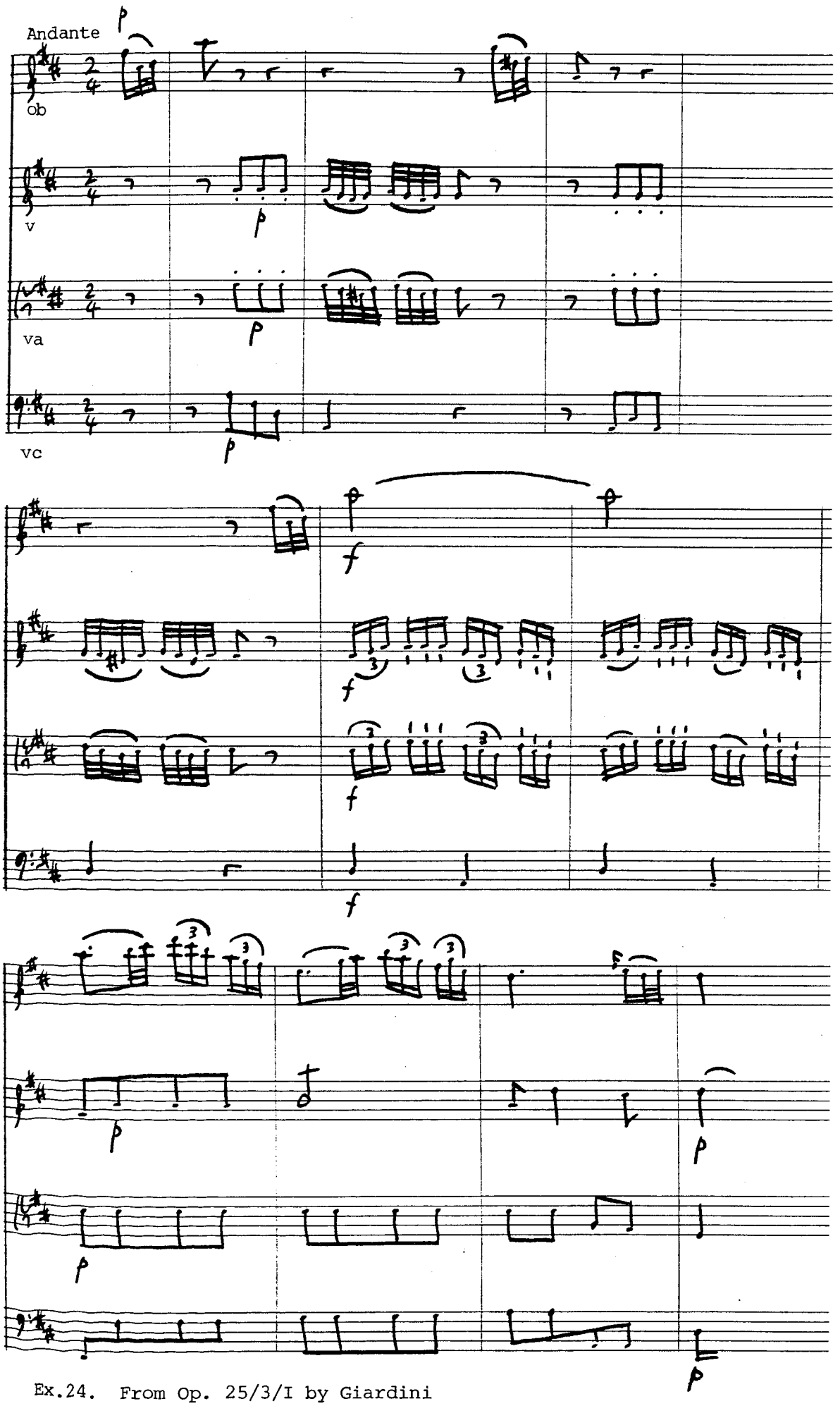


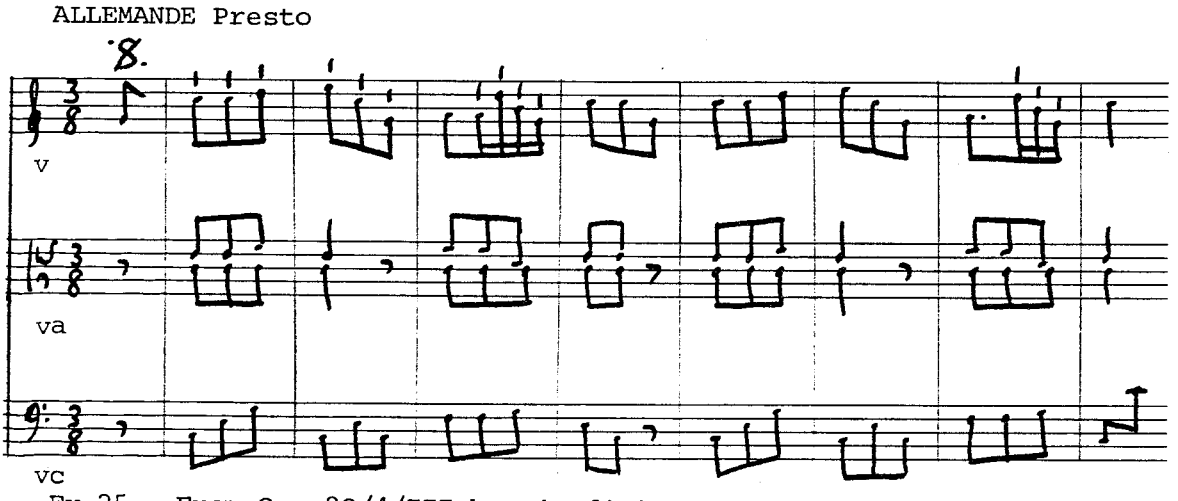
Ex.23. From Op. 17/1/I by Giardini



Ex.24. From Op. 25/3/I by Giardini

is sometimes required to join a rhythmic accompaniment or sustain an inverted pedal, it is principally treated as a soloist. The first violin and oboe share most of the melodic material, the latter taking long solos or engaging in dialogue, as in Ex. 24. Frequent rests are given to the oboist, the string trio then sustaining the argument.

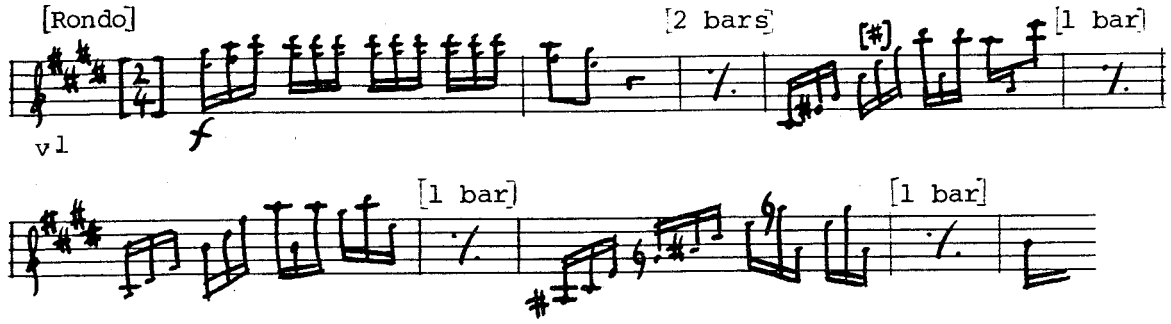
The most common form in Giardini's chamber music is F-S-F. The slow movement may be a comparatively expressive Adagio, sometimes in the minor key; while for finales Giardini evolved a particular type of folk-dance tune, such as the following, with its internal drone in the viola part:



Ex.25. From Op. 20/4/III by Giardini

The usual finale form is the rondo with two or three episodes, each featuring a different soloist.

The examples above have illustrated Giardini's later style, parallel to that seen in the violin solos from Op. 16 onwards. While the music is still not free of uncertainty of phraseology, the textural possibilities inspire Giardini to a melodic inventiveness which the later solos lacked and to an *opera buffa* wit which had no place there. It should not be thought, however, that his chamber music was written for amateurs with little technical proficiency. Passages such as this indicate that performance by virtuosi was intended:



Ex.26. From Op. 22/5/III by Giardini (editorial repeat marks)

It is unlikely that Giardini's many string duets (for two violins, violin and viola, violin and cello) were designed for concert performance, even if they do treat the two instruments equally in a soloistic manner.[43] The string chamber music which Giardini published on his return to London in 1789 is similar in style to the latest works discussed above, although in the 'trio sonatas', Op. 28 [1789/90] and Op. 30 [1790], Giardini gives the lower parts little but accompanimental material.

Concert advertisements indicate that Giardini's chamber music was performed at London's concerts throughout the latter part of the period. One may surmise that his music published in London, comparatively large in musical scale and soloistic in character, was of the type performed there and was probably itself included in concert programmes. But it is difficult to ascertain whether Giardini's music was typical of London's repertoire. In the first place, advertisements of performances of works by named composers are so isolated that it is impossible to correlate them confidently with extant sources - whether manuscripts, London editions or foreign editions (often of uncertain date). Secondly, published works that might be linked with performances by an approximately similar date are sometimes on a small scale, demanding limited technical skill. Though concert performance need not necessarily be precluded,

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[43] The article Fabbri/*Duetti* is based on the misconception that six manuscript duets for two cellos in *A* Wgm are by Giardini, rather than Giordani (see p.321).

such works were probably directed at the amateur market.

Nevertheless, it is possible to make some general observations, based on a survey of that chamber music listed in Chapter 2 and published in London within a few years of known performances of such works.[44] In respect of musical texture a complex picture emerges. It has already been observed that Giardini's chamber music, while principally of the *concertante* type, adopts other textures also. The contemporary repertoire exhibits a wide variety. A *concertante* texture is found in many works, whether string duets, string quartets or pieces for mixed ensembles. Some however retain a figured bass line moving constantly in repeated notes, while the upper parts are allowed a melodic freedom familiar from the trio sonata. Others move away from the continuo concept, yet still give little melodic independence to the cello, or indeed to the viola. Only with Haydn's quartets, from Op. 9 onwards, was a more integrated texture achieved, in which all instruments participated in the musical fabric - whether in sonorous chordal writing or in ever-changing interplay.[45] Thus was the dichotomy between the *concertante* and 'conversational' idioms established in London as it was elsewhere.[46]

It is clear that not all chamber music heard in London's concerts was of the *concertante* type, as might have been expected. Indeed as late as 1784 a quintet by [J.C.] Bach for flute, oboe, violin, viola and cello was performed (PA HSq, 21.4.1784). This was presumably one of the Op. 11 set published by Welcker some ten years earlier,[47] in which the bass is

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[44] See p.135. This method at least ensures that the music under consideration was at some time known in London.

[45] Haydn's quartets were almost all published in London, if slightly later than on the continent.

[46] See Finscher/*Streichquartett*, pp.13-14.

[47] Ed. R. Steglich (*Das Erbe deutscher Musik*, 3) (Hanover, 1935).

primarily a continuo part with only the briefest melodic opportunities. It may be noted however that even Haydn felt it necessary to adapt his quartet style for London concert performance.[48]

Larger chamber music involving a keyboard instrument should be mentioned here, although surviving sources are few. Giardini's harpsichord quintets, Op. 11 [1767], and quartets, Op. 21 [1778/9], are worthy of notice even if they are not known to have been performed in London's concerts. They present a somewhat curious amalgam of elements. Tutti sections of varying lengths alternate with solos in idiomatic keyboard style, in the concerto manner. However the Op. 11 quintets are cast in only two movements, like contemporary keyboard sonatas, and in both sets the first movement form is binary, complete with repeat marks. In addition instruments other than the first violin are also used soloistically, as in the string chamber music.[49] A number of works by J.C. Bach were advertised for performance. Among these was a piano quartet, perhaps identifiable with, or similar to, a surviving quartet in G.[50] This shows a more mature texture, probably typical of Bach's piano chamber music, in which there is varied interplay between the string trio and the piano - each may lead in soloistic manner (the strings sometimes in imitation, but not used individually for long solos) and there are brief exchanges between the two.

The Violin Concerto and the *Sinfonia Concertante*

The Baroque concerto grosso was still heard in London's concerts during the 1750s and it received a new impetus later from the Concert of

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[48] See Somfai/*London*.

[49] Little attention need be paid to the chamber works for guitar, clearly intended for amateurs.

[50] Ed. W. Bergmann (Mainz, 1951). This was however apparently written originally for the Queen.

Ancient Music. The genre employed a concertino group primarily for contrast of sonority, though there was a certain element of display in, for example, Geminiani's concerto Op. 3 No. 1 and some episodes in Handel's Op. 6 set. A few new works by Avison and others were published in London during this period,[51] but virtuoso violinists generally avoided the genre. The sole exception was Hellendaal, whose *Six grand concerto's*, Op. 3 [1758],[52] represent a careful attempt to recreate 'ancient' styles and forms, unlike his virtuoso solos; presumably the set was directed at conservative and technically limited amateurs.

This can hardly have been the case with solo concertos published by London's violinists, vehicles for virtuoso display, in some instances of a kind hardly surpassed. Though concertos were performed in London throughout the period, the number of publications is minimal until 1770. It is thus impossible to trace stylistic developments in the manner attempted with Giardini's solos. Instead the following survey concentrates on the one set by Giardini, Op. 15 [1771-2], published near the middle of the period at the beginning of the revival of concerto publication; and it offers a comparison with the other works listed in Appendix F.[53]

It is known that some late Baroque concertos, such as Vivaldi's 'Spring' Concerto (Op. 8 No.1), were performed in London during the 1750s. It is likely, however, that the prevailing style of virtuoso concertos was more modern. The sole surviving set published by a London violinist between 1750 and 1770 is that by Morigi, Op. 3 [1755].

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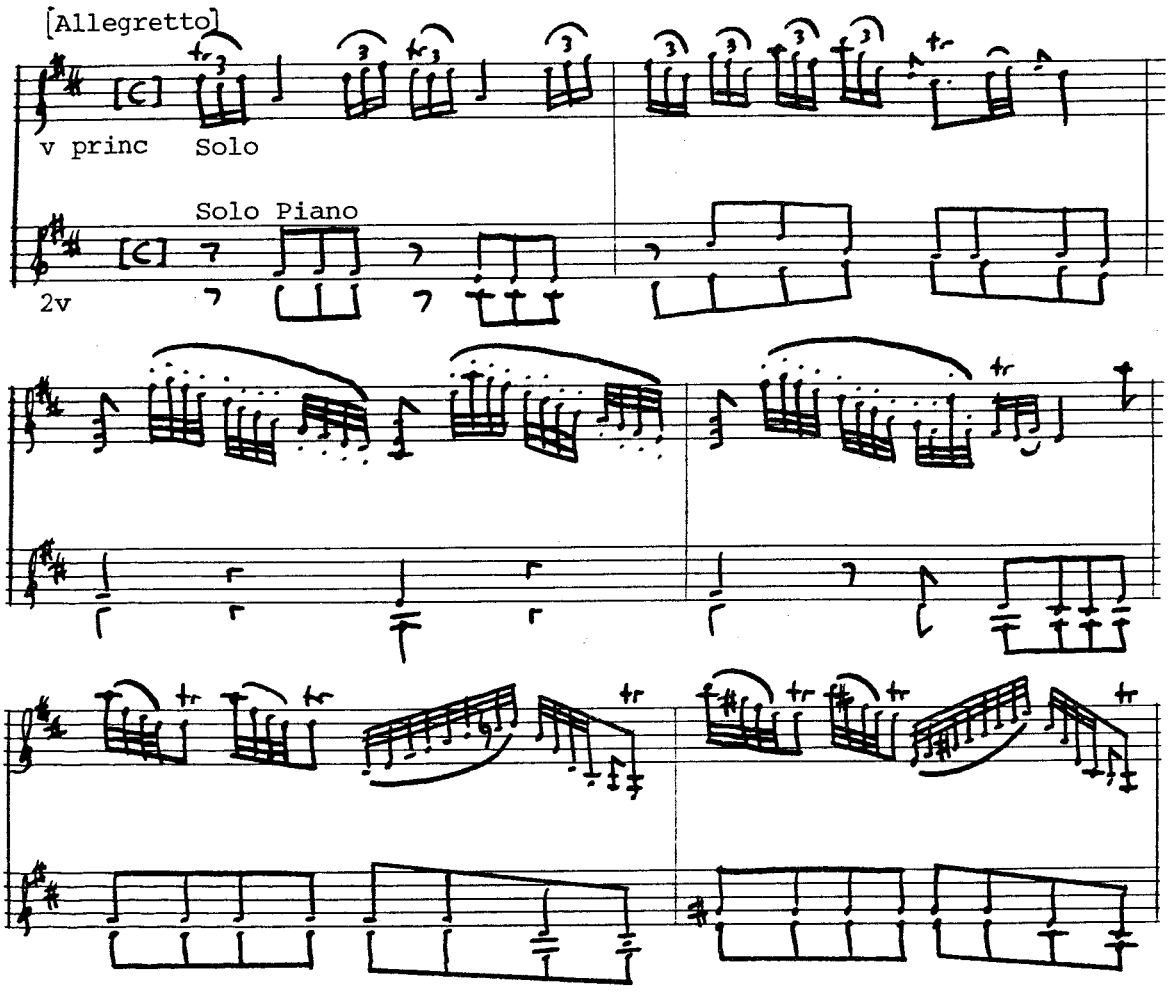
[51] See Edwards/*String*, pp.12-13.

[52] Ed. H.B. Buys (*Monumenta musica Neerlandica*, 1) (Amsterdam, 1959).

[53] On the history of the violin concerto see Schering/*Instrumentalkonzert*; Engel/*Instrumentalkonzert*. On considerations of form see Simon/*Exposition*; White/*Giornovichi*.

The concertos of Morigi are written in the same mid-century style as his solos, inspired perhaps by his teacher Tartini. The following example illustrates the small phrases, motivic and triplet-bound melodies, and sequential construction:



Ex.27. From Op. 3/2/I by Morigi

These concertos were evidently designed for solo display, though the technical requirements do not approach those found later in the period. The accompaniment of the solo sections is confined throughout to two violins in the simplest texture, a characteristically Italian feature. The standard format F-S-F is retained, the outer movements presenting the usual mid-century ritornello structure with four tutti sections:[54]

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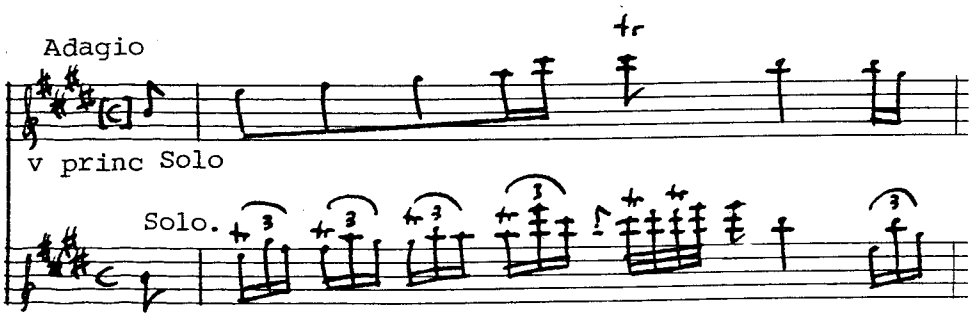
[54] T_1 = first tutti section; S_1 = first solo section, etc. I = tonic key (major), iii = mediant key (minor), etc. Not every movement conforms exactly to the pattern.

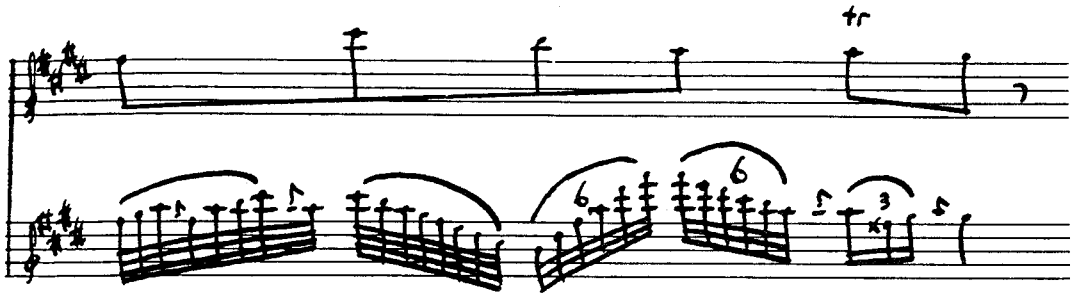
Section	Key	Material
T_1	I V I	No distinctive material in V
S_1	I V	Begins as T_1
T_2	V	Some of T_1 (the beginning and usually the end)
S_2	V → iii/vi	Begins as T_2
T_3	iii/vi → I(V)	May refer to T_1
S_3	I etc.	Mostly new, ending with a cadenza
T_4	I	End of T_1 (in some finales all of T_1)

Morigi thus retains the strong ritornello framework in which each tutti uses material from the opening. There is already however some reduction in the ritornello function, seen in the frequent condensing of the third tutti section and in the truncation of the fourth.[55] The modulation through the dominant in the opening tutti is regularly found throughout the whole period. As yet however the solo sections show little hint of sonata-like organisation.

The slow movements resemble the Adagio of a violin solo, now flanked by two similar tutti sections. The printed edition appends complex ornamentation for the solo part, of which the following is an example:



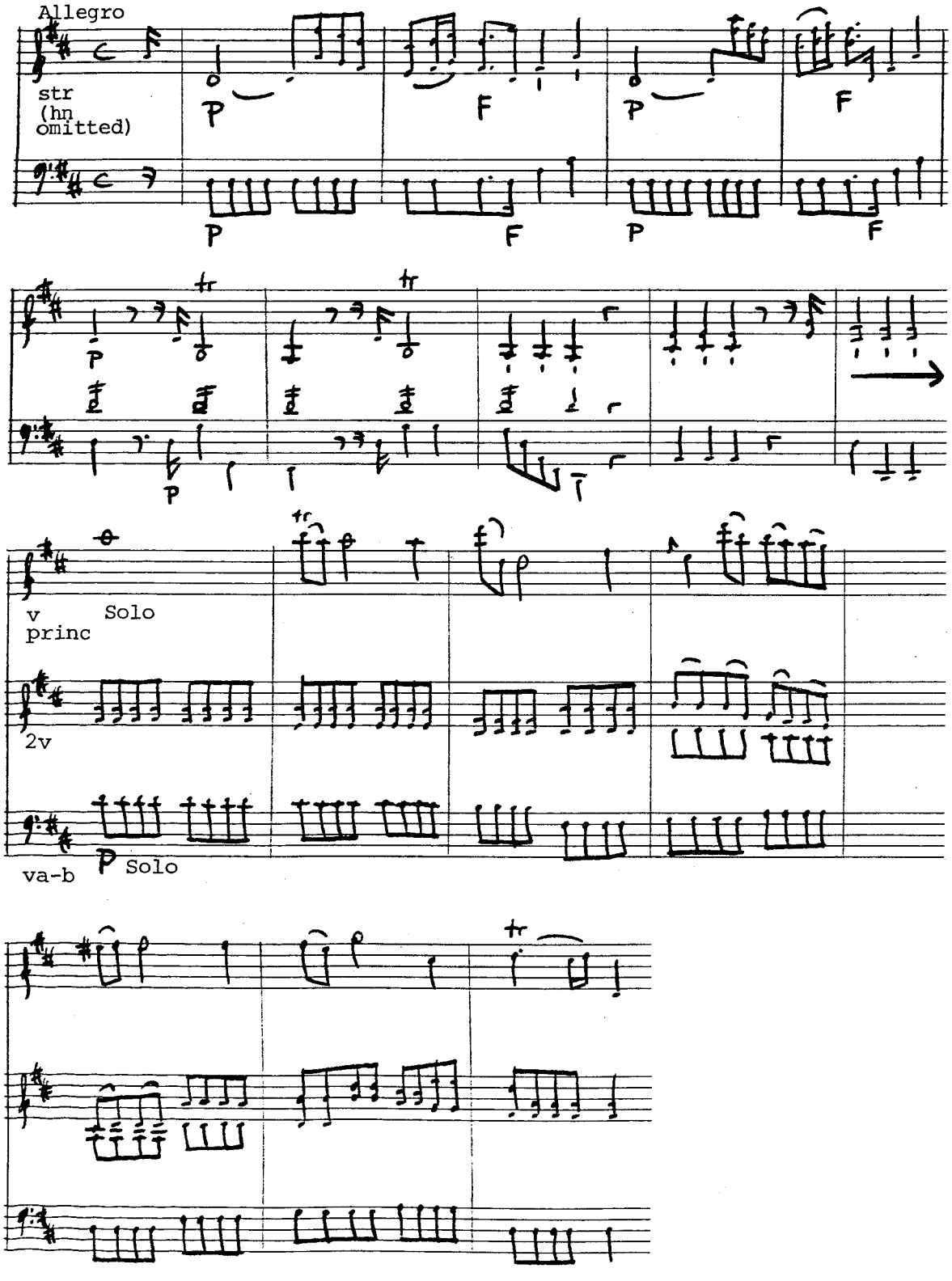
[55] Cf. the similar early keyboard concerto by J.C. Bach (c.1752), described by Edwin Simon (*Exposition*, pp.114-15), in which however each tutti begins with the opening material of T_1.



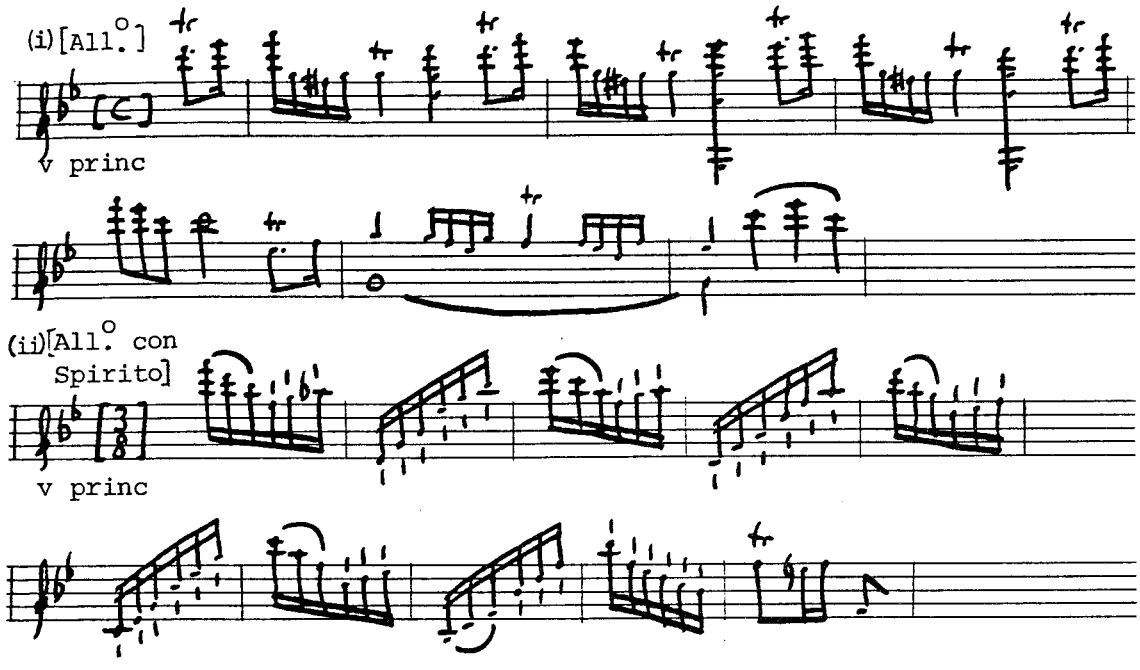
Ex.28. From Op. 3/1/II by Morigi

The manuscript concerto in Eb by Pugnani, written before 1766, offers a view of a slightly later concerto. The formal characteristics of this work are somewhat unusual, but more important is the development of style, which approaches the graceful manner of Pugnani's Op. 7 solos - short motives arranged in larger phrases, still with frequent triplet rhythms. The solo passages, now sometimes accompanied by full strings, demand increased virtuosity by comparison with those in Morigi's concertos, especially in some high melodic writing and in double-stopping of thematic ideas.

The six concertos, Op. 15 [1771-2], by Giardini are written in a more modern style, the tutti sections adumbrating the dynamic symphonic manner, the solo sections resembling the Op. 16 solos, as seen in Ex. 29. The set includes optional parts for two horns, but no oboe parts. The solo sections are accompanied now for the most part by two violins and bass, the violas sometimes doubling the bass line. Giardini's violin writing is in his usual graceful, *cantabile* style, melodic considerations being uppermost. The technical demands are not negligible, but purely virtuoso figuration is kept in check, even by comparison with the Op. 16 solos. The hardest passages occur in episodic sections, especially in No. 5 - as for example in the central solos of the outer movements:



Ex.29. From Op. 15/2/I by Giardini



Ex. 30. (i) From Op. 15/5/I by Giardini
(ii) From Op. 15/5/III by Giardini

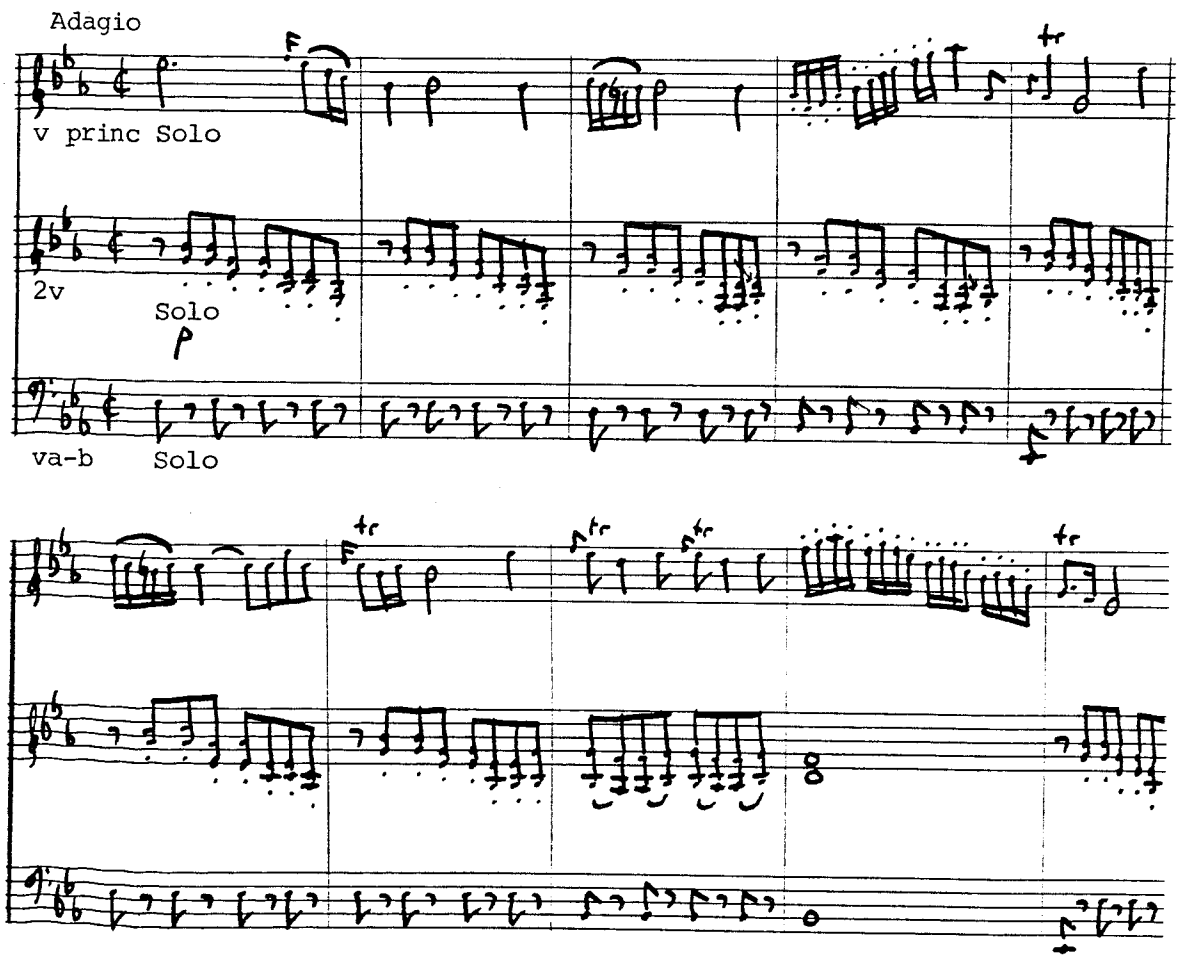
The formal scheme is F-S-F/M, the moderate tempo appearing in two of the four rondo finales. The structure of the first movements differs in some respects from that found in Morigi's concertos:

T_1	I V I	Usually of a form A B C A D I → V I I
S_1	I V	Occasionally begins as T_1
T_2	V → vi/iii	The beginning and sometimes the end of T_1
S_2	vi/iii→	
T_3	I	Begins as T_1 and may include other material from T_1
S_3	I	Ends with a cadenza, introduced by the orchestra
T_4	I	Principally the end of T_1

The tutti sections are equal in weight to those in Morigi's concertos, but especially notable are the modulation during the second tutti and the element of tonic recapitulation (partly as a result) in the third -

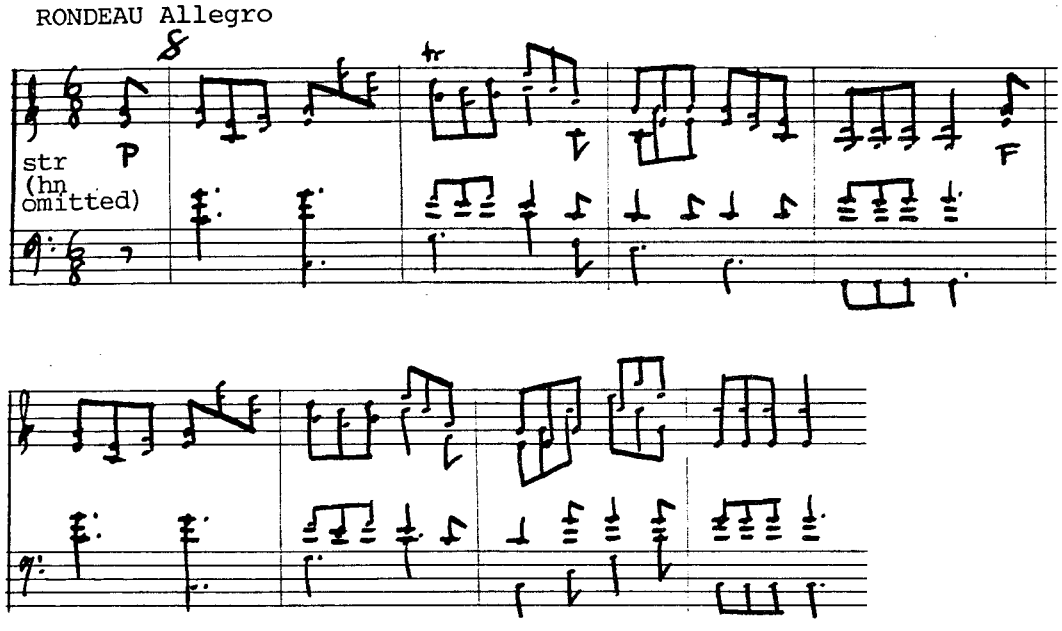
a shift of emphasis later often adopted by Mozart and Beethoven. The shape of the first tutti section seems to be unique to Giardini. The solo sections, largely thematically independent from the tuttis, still ignore the possibilities of thematic recurrence.

The slow movements are cast in various keys - subdominant, tonic, or tonic minor. In the latter two cases the movements end on a quiet dominant chord in preparation for the finale, a not uncommon device which Giardini also used in his chamber music. Again the format is that of a violin solo movement, usually with a central tutti section in addition to the two outer tuttis; there may be one or two cadenzas. Ex. 31 illustrates the style. For the finales Giardini adopts the ritornello-sonata structure in two of the concertos, but takes over the rondo form already used in his solos for the remaining four - apparently one of the first composers to do so. As yet however the rondo theme is introduced by the orchestra, the soloist taking over the three contrasting



Ex.31. From Op. 15/1/II by Giardini

episodes. The following is a characteristic rondo theme:

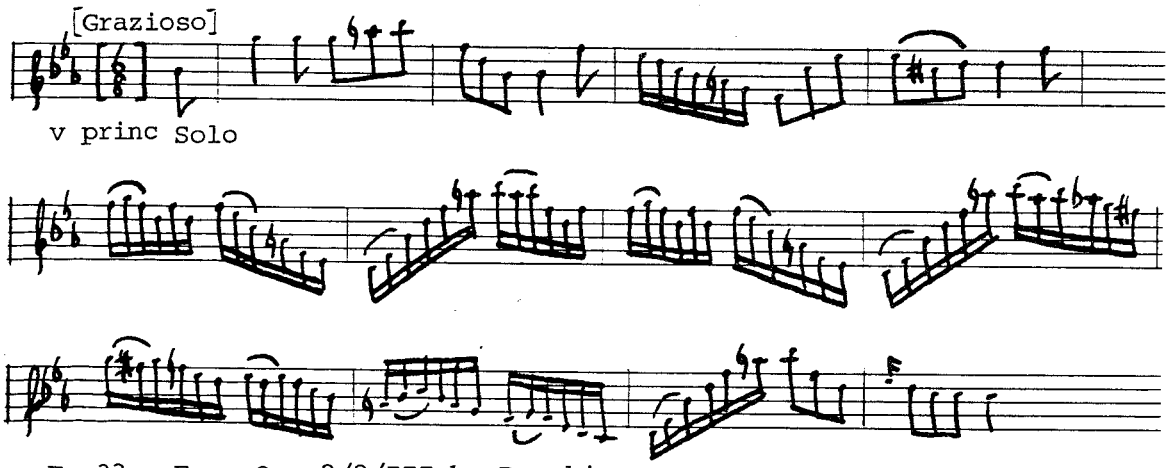


Ex.32. From Op. 15/3/III by Giardini

In some ways Giardini's concertos are typical of works written by London's violinists during the latter years of the period. Other features are individual or came to be superseded. Contemporary or later violin concertos include Barthelemon's Op. 3 [1771] and two concertos [1775], Borghi's Op. 2 [1775], Cramer's eight concertos [1774 to after 1788/9?], Fisher's Opp. 1-3 [1783/4], Kammell's Op. 7 [c.1770/2], Lamotte's four concertos [1775 to 1775/6], Linley's single concerto in manuscript (perhaps dating from the mid 1770s), Pieltain's first five concertos [c.1780 to c.1785], Shaw's single concerto [c.1780], Sirmen's Op. 3 [1772] and Wesley's seven complete concertos in manuscript (all except two dated between 1779 and 1785). Naturally this is a stylistically varied group. Some works have an antiquated character, especially Barthelemon's Op. 3 with its active bass line and fugal movements, the Wesley concertos with their contrapuntal accompaniments, and even Kammell's concerto whose orchestral writing recalls the mid century. But generally the style is as modern as that of Giardini, extending from the

polished elegance of Borghi through Cramer's bolder character to the arresting nature of the Pieltain concertos. As first movements become more brilliantly assertive and more varied, so do slow movements tend towards the profound or the sentimental and finales incline to lively wit rather than gracefulness. This trend away from mere charm and lyricism is more marked in later concertos than in solos, due to the interaction with the latest orchestral styles.

The technical requirements of these concertos also vary considerably. Some writers (including Barthelemon, Borghi, Kammell, Shaw and Sirmen) settle for straightforward passage-work in scales and arpeggios, in the manner of Giardini:[56]



Ex.33. From Op. 2/2/III by Borghi

The remaining composers demand a very advanced technique. Cramer and Pieltain regularly write passages in double-stopping, broken octaves, and fast scales and arpeggios into a high register. But such virtuosity is far exceeded by that displayed in the concertos of Fisher and Lamotte. Figuration is here more wide-ranging, often rapidly spanning the range of the violin; it may be of a complex nature, based on broken octaves

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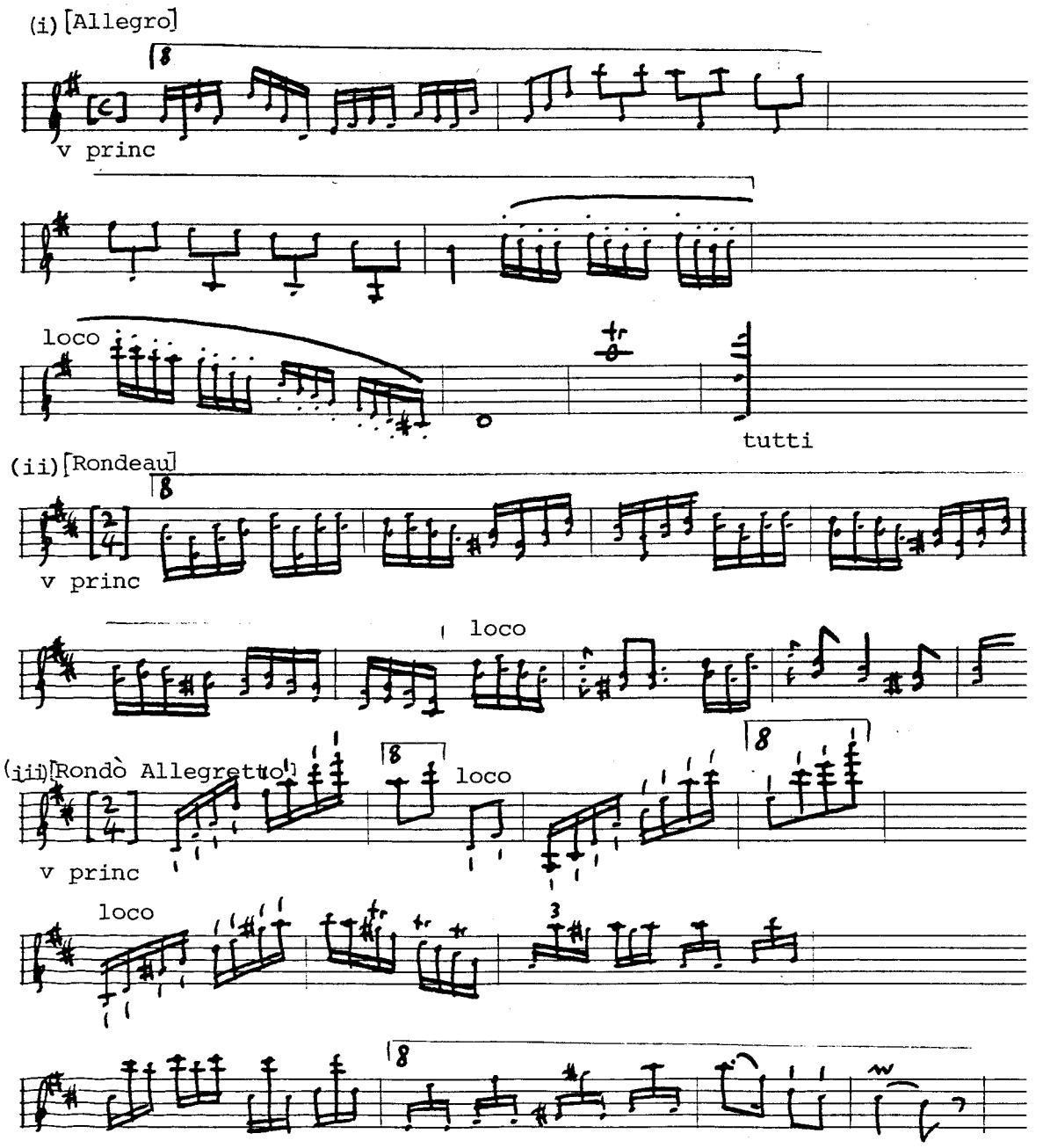
[56] Borghi's Mozartean style has been compared, unfavourably, with that of the pianist J.S. Schroeter, who arranged two of Borghi's violin concertos for piano (Wolff/*Schroeter*, pp.353-6).

or requiring the stretch of a tenth. Lamotte delights in melodies involving fast double-stopping. Intricate bowing patterns across several strings abound, while Lamotte again introduces staccato within one bow-stroke. Melodies are regularly written in a high register, and Fisher exploits passage-work reaching the upper extremes of the range, even as high as b"" in No.3/I. Ex. 34 illustrates some of these technical features.



Ex.34. (i) From Concerto No. 3/I by Lamotte
(ii) From Concerto No. 2/III by Lamotte
(iii) From Concerto No. 2/III by Fisher

While Giardini's Op. 15 employs only two optional horns in addition to the strings, most of these sets include two oboes (or flutes) as well as two horns, thus matching contemporary symphonies. However the wind instruments rarely play distinct thematic material, and they are hardly ever used outside tutti sections. The bass by this time normally contributes to the solo passages, but the violas remain here either insignificant or silent.

As with Giardini the favoured formal scheme is F-S-F/M, the moderate tempo being the more common in rondo finales until the last years of the period. The first movement form is variable and always differs in a number of respects from that used by Giardini:

T_1 The move to V, so natural in this period, is widespread, but Giardini's subsequent return to the opening material is not followed

S_1 Usually begins as T_1 (as sometimes in Giardini); often there is a clear 'second subject' theme in V, which in some cases (Cramer, Pieltain) may be the same as a contrasting idea in V in T_1

T_2 As with Giardini, usually begins and perhaps ends as T_1, but modulation away from V is rare

S_2 Occasionally begins as T_1 in V; not uncommonly ends in a settled vi (relative minor key)

T_3 Variable - some omit entirely, some modulate (e.g. vi $\longrightarrow$ I), some restate the opening of T_1 in I

S_3 Many restate the opening of S_1, and many recapitulate also a solo 'second subject' theme, or even the entire

section (especially Cramer); normally the orchestra leads briefly to a cadenza

T_4 As with Giardini, usually the end of T_1

Two principal trends may be noted here. Firstly, there is in some cases a further weakening of the ritornello structure. Thematic connection between the tutti sections may be reduced, and the tutti sections themselves are often comparatively short (for example in the concertos of Lamotte). Sometimes the third tutti is omitted entirely (for instance, in Sirmen's Op. 3); often it provides merely a modulating link, beginning in the relative minor key, thus recalling Baroque practice but without thematic recurrence. Either arrangement lacks the solidity of Giardini's plan. Such reduction in the strength of the ritornello framework is not however universal.

Secondly, there is by contrast a frequent tightening of the solo structure, by the inclusion of elements of 'sonata form'. This may or may not be independent of the orchestral ritornello. Some contrasting material is often included in the first solo, while the third may have an element of recapitulation to a greater or lesser extent. Such formal devices, though often absent from the violin solo, give the larger concerto movement more coherent design, especially when combined with a solid ritornello structure.[57]

As with Giardini, the central slow movement usually resembles a violin solo, with two or three tutti sections. Occasionally a ternary

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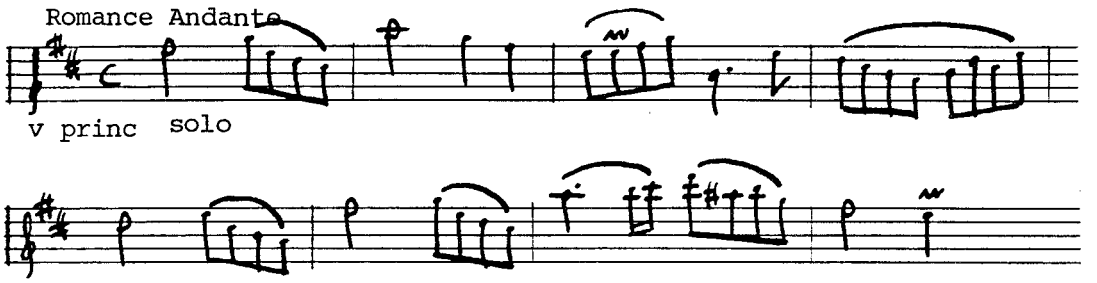
[57] Already in J.C. Bach's keyboard concerto, Op. 1/1 [1763], the soloist pursued a largely independent sonata form (Simon/*Exposition*, pp.115-17). Giornovichi in the 1770s regularly included sonata elements in his violin concertos (White/*Giornovichi*, pp.30-2). Not until this decade was recapitulation common in the third solo in the Mannheim concerto (Ward Jones/*Mannheim*, p.133).

form is used, especially for movements capturing the contrived innocence of the Parisian *romance*:



Ex.35. From Concerto No. 2/II by Pieltain

Such movements are frequently found in the later concertos, although they do not follow rigidly the form with a central *minore* section established by Giornovichi.[58] Some composers, such as Shaw, preferred the 'national' folk-song type of theme.

By the later 1770s the rondo had displaced the ritornello-sonata structure as the most popular concerto finale. While Giardini had employed the orchestra for the rondo theme, most composers now entrusted it to the soloist first. The number and nature of the episodes remains variable, virtuoso display being the principal aim. While minor key episodes provide contrast, the colourful type found in Mozart's violin concertos has no place here; and the curious alternation of Allegretto $\frac{6}{8}$ with Minuetto $\frac{3}{4}$ in Sirmen's Op. 3/4/III remains an exception. The second 'favourite' concerto by Barthelemon uses a folk-melody as its rondo theme, in this case 'Lango Lee' set over a drone, which is recalled in the middle of each episode.[59] More typical however is a graceful

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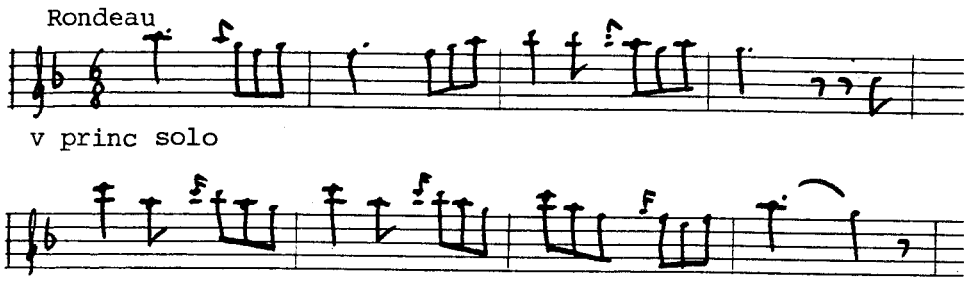
[58] White/*Giornovichi*, pp.32-5.

[59] The 'favourite Irish air' set for violin and harpsichord is a more modal tune (see p.387). The similarity of structure suggests that this may also have been a concerto movement.

minuet theme or a $\frac{6}{8}$ tune such as this:



Ex.36. From Concerto No. 5/III by Cramer

Koch observed that the emptiness of much virtuoso violin writing was less evident when it was surrounded by orchestral tutti sections than it was in the violin solo;[60] nevertheless the increased emphasis on virtuosity and the weakening of the ritornello framework in some of the concertos under consideration renders them unbalanced. More successful are those (for example, by Cramer and Pieltain) which subject virtuoso display to a thematic and carefully designed structure. Less ambitious, but no less attractive are the elegantly melodic concertos by Borghi and Giardini. These concertos are generally more musically satisfying than the later solos of the period.

Though at first slow to adapt, the violin concerto proved able to survive stylistic changes, as the violin solo did not. Virtuoso display was kept within bounds by the ritornello structure; a convincing form was achieved through the combination of symphonic ritornelli with lyrical solo writing; and the orchestral accompaniment was essentially more varied than that provided by the continuo. Thus as the solo declined in popularity, the position of the concerto as the principal vehicle for

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[60] Koch/*Lexicon*, art. 'Solo'.

virtuoso display became undisputed. Chamber music, one factor in the decline of the solo, also offered intermittent opportunity for technical exhibition.

As chamber music formed a natural counterpart to the violin solo, so was the *sinfonia concertante* related to the violin concerto. Concertos for several solo instruments were first performed regularly in London in 1775, soon after chamber music had become a common feature of London's concerts; but the *sinfonia concertante* never proved a real threat to the violin concerto as chamber music did to the solo. The genre successfully combined the variable texture of chamber music with the form of the concerto, allowing some limited chance for soloistic performance.

It is again difficult to identify particular works performed in London's concerts. It is not known that Giardini ever wrote any *sinfonie concertanti*, and works by other London violinists have not survived. However, *sinfonie concertanti* by Bach and Abel were certainly performed in London. Although advertisements have been found for performances of only four of these - three by Bach and one by Abel - it is reasonable to assume that any of their surviving works might have been played at their concerts.[61]

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[61] See p.138. Terry/*JCBach*, pp.284-91 and Knape/*AbelV*, pp.63-4 provide bibliographical information. Modern editions of works by Bach with solo violin parts include *sinfonie concertanti*

in A for violin and cello, ed. A. Einstein (London, 1934)

in Eb for two violins, ed. F. Stein (London, 1935; ^{2}/1970)

in C for flute, oboe, violin and cello, ed. R. Maunder (London, 1961)

in Eb for two violins, two violas, two oboes, two horns and cello; and

in G for two violins and cello, both ed. J.A. White (Tallhassee, 1963)

Literature on Bach's *sinfonie concertanti* includes Simon/*Royal*, a discussion of the manuscript *GB* Lbl, R.M. 21.a.5-7. The two Abel *sinfonie concertanti* for oboe, violin and cello, in Bb and D, have been edited by Walter Knape (*Abel Kompositionen*, Vol.8, Cuxhaven, 1967). The second of these was however probably not written until 1785 (Knape/*AbelV*, p.63).

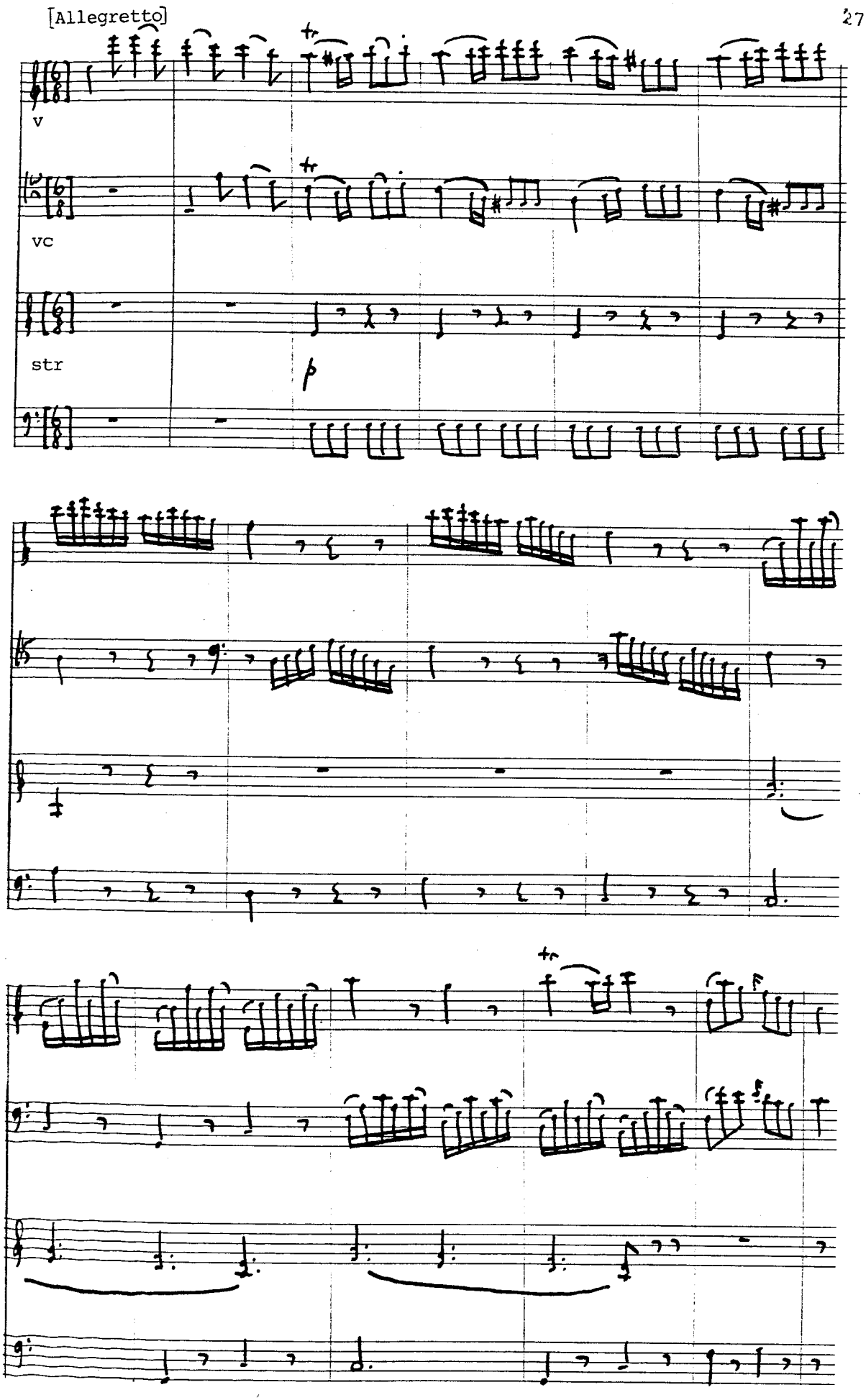
Some of these works are cast in the three-movement concerto form (usually F-S-M, the last a rondo), while others have only two movements (usually F-M), as was common practice in Paris. The internal formal structures resemble those of the concerto. As in *concertante* chamber music, each instrument is allotted solos, now accompanied by the strings of the orchestra, and the solo instruments may also combine in parallel or in brief stretches of imitation. The concerto for two instruments offers only limited scope for textural variety, subtlety arising principally from the timing of solo, parallel and imitative passages, and from the different possible spacings of the imitation. However works for larger solo ensembles exploit much more varied sonorities. An analysis of the opening 'solo exposition' of Bach's *sinfonia concertante* for flute, oboe, violin and cello reveals the following textures:

Bars	Texture (with orchestral accompaniment, unless otherwise stated)
69-76	Flute solo
76-84	Oboe solo
84-87	Orchestra ⎫
86-92	Violin solo ⎭ overlapping
92-95	Orchestra ⎫
94-100	Cello solo ⎭ overlapping
100-102	Imitation (flute-oboe-violin)
103-105	Pairing (flute and oboe in parallel, violin and cello in parallel)
106-110	Quasi-imitation by inversion, repeated in pairs (violin-flute-violin and cello-flute and oboe), leading to flute and oboe in parallel over a cello bass
110-114	Repeat of bars 106-110 with wind and strings interchanged, orchestral violas providing the bass in the last bars

114-116	Orchestra
116-119	Unaccompanied imitation (flute-oboe-violin-cello)
120-126	Soloists in four-part harmony, largely unaccompanied
127-130	Unaccompanied quasi-imitation (oboe-flute-violin-cello), leading to cadential trills

This gives some idea of the variety possible; and later in the work Bach exploits further combinations of wind and strings. It should be noted that some of the Bach *sinfonie concertanti* have solo parts for a large number of instruments, and that the composer does not necessarily use solo instruments consistently throughout a work - for example, the concerto in Eb, nominally for two violins, employs only a solo oboe in the central Andante.

In none of these works is the violin writing as technically demanding as that in the more difficult concertos discussed above. Indeed, while some attempt may be made to distinguish the music given to each instrument - at initial solo entries or in respective rondo episodes - the constant sharing of material limits this procedure. The most idiomatic string writing occurs in concertos for strings only or in passages omitting wind instruments. The following extract from the *sinfonia concertante* already considered, perhaps the best work of its kind known in London during this period and certainly one of the most frequently performed, illustrates some modest figuration, as well as Bach's characteristically mellifluous violin writing:



Ex.37. From *Sinfonia Concertante* in C for flute, oboe, violin and cello by J.C. Bach (ed. R. Maunder, London, 1961)

Conclusion

Though Bach seldom writes music of any genuine contrapuntal complexity, his music is exquisitely crafted and unerringly directed. Giardini rarely achieves Bach's sophistication of texture or his formal and harmonic control, and to regard the violinist as anything but a minor composer would be to overestimate his position. However his gift for melody, by turns charming and invigorating, gives his works a piquancy and originality lacking in so much bland music of this era. Giardini's style kept pace with musical progress almost to the end of his life, and he was at the forefront in the development of new genres. His violin music demands an advanced technique, but it does not rely solely on the display of virtuosity. Rather it was designed to show off his graceful manner of playing and his fine tone, 'so meltingly melodious', which set him amongst the great violinists of the eighteenth century.