

‘Curious sola’s’

The Solo Sonata in Restoration Britain



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Sir Sampson:

... and Musick, don't you love Musick, Scoundrel?

Jeremy:

Yes, I have a reasonable good Ear, Sir, as to Jiggs and Country Dances, and the like; I don't much matter your *Sola's* or *Sonata's*, they give me the Spleen.

Sir Sampson:

The Spleen, ha, ha, ha, a Pox confound you – *Sola's* and *Sonata's*? 'Oons, whose Son are you? how were you engendred, Muckworm?

Love for Love

William Congreve, 1695

Abstract

This dissertation explores the arrival and circulation of the solo sonata for a single melody instrument with basso continuo in Britain from the 1670s, when the tradition starts, until 1716, the publication date of Francesco Geminiani's *Sonate a Violino, Violone, e Cembalo*, Op. 1. It provides the first detailed survey of this repertoire which was disseminated in manuscripts and prints in England, Scotland and Ireland, particularly for the violin and recorder, but also for the bass viol, transverse flute and oboe.

A pivotal moment for the solo sonata in Britain was the publication of Arcangelo Corelli's *Sonate a Violino e Violone o Cimbalo*, Op. 5 in 1700. Accordingly, the discussion of the music is divided into works composed before and after this date in order to examine chronology, musical features and national style.

While Corelli's importance for the solo sonata is generally known, other key landmarks are presented in this dissertation, notably the influence of the Moravian viol player Gottfried Finger, who arrived in London during the 1680s. Another important factor was a surge in music printing with the opening of John Walsh and Estienne Roger's publishing houses in the 1690s. 'Solos or sonatas' rapidly became a novelty for virtuosic display, going hand in hand with the rise of a flourishing concert scene and the arrival of immigrant musicians.

Over eighty British-born and immigrant composers and performers (professional and amateur) are considered, as well as British composers working abroad. Little or unknown works and performers are brought to light, including British composers who began writing solo sonatas during the 1680s, such as Edward Finch and Thomas Farmer. Instrumentation and performance practice are addressed, as well as the musical, social and cultural roles and reception of the solo sonata. This social history is revealed through the works themselves, including their composers, patrons and publishers, as well as contemporaneous writings on music, newspaper advertisements, diaries and Restoration plays. It is hoped that the results of this research fill a notable gap in our understanding of musical life in Britain during this period, to complement already established areas such as church and theatre music.

Acknowledgements

Some of these little-known solo sonatas first sparked my curiosity when I bought a facsimile edition of *The Second Part of the Division Violin* in the pop-up music shop at Dartington Summer School during my undergraduate studies on the baroque violin. As I embarked on this research project several years later, many knowledgeable people kindly imparted their expertise along the way and I wish to acknowledge them here.

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Table of Contents

<i>Lists of Illustrations, Music Examples and Tables</i>	vii
<i>Library Sigla</i>	xii
<i>Note to the Reader</i>	xiv
Introduction	xvi
Chapter 1. ‘An elegant species of composition’: Definitions and Background	1
1.1 ‘Sonatas or Solos’: Broad Definitions	1
1.2 ‘The stamp of elder times’: Historical Background	9
1.3 ‘Entertainments of musick which they call <i>Sonnata</i> ’: Arrival of the Sonata	20
Chapter 2. ‘Composed After the Italian Way’: Solo Sonatas before Arcangelo Corelli’s Op. 5	26
2.1 Early Solo Sonatas Composed Abroad	26
2.2 ‘Admirable sonnatas <i>a solo</i> ’: Nicola Matteis	31
2.3 Bodleian Library Manuscripts	40
2.4 Miscellaneous Manuscripts	73
2.5 ‘An excellent Solo’: Printed Solo Sonatas before 1700	80
2.6 ‘Curious Sola’s’: Gottfried Finger’s Music Library	110
Chapter 3. ‘Solos innumerable, bred and borne here or brought from abroad’: 1700 to c. 1716	118
3.1 ‘Nothing will relish but Corelli’: Arrival of the Op. 5 Violin Sonatas	118
3.2 ‘To oblige the Lovers of Harmony’: Arrangements of Corelli’s Violin Sonatas	125
3.3 ‘Celebrated sonnata-men’: Immigrants and Visitors	133
3.4 ‘New Foreign Pieces, chose out from the greatest Authors’: Imported Collections	158
3.5 ‘Bred and borne here’: Collections by British Composers	163

3.6	‘Collected out of the choisest works’: John Walsh’s Solo Sonata Compilations	196
3.7	GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,466 and the Armstrong-Finch Manuscript	211
3.8	Some Amateur Collectors of Solo Sonatas	221
3.9	‘Contrived for the Improvement of the Hand’: Sonata Movements as ‘Preludes’	236
Chapter 4.	‘For the Entertainment of several Persons of Quality’: Performances and Reception	244
4.1	‘The master violin must have its solo’: Performances before 1700	248
4.2	‘Several new Italian Sonata’s, never yet perform’d here’: 1700 to c. 1716	252
4.3	‘The Best and Choisest Sonatas and Solo’s’: Amateur Music-making	263
4.4	‘The chiefest Instrumental Musick now in request’: Reception	267
Chapter 5.	‘Fine things neer [at] hand solo’: Instruments, Players and Performance Practice	284
5.1	‘Now arriv’d to that perfection of performance’: Melody Instruments	286
5.2	‘The basso continuo should not cease’: Bass Instruments	304
5.3	‘Gracing used by our best solo masters’: Ornamentation and Tempo	317
	Summary, Conclusions, Implications, Further Research	325
	Appendices	
A.	1. Solo Sonatas advertised by Estienne Roger, 1697–1700	330
	2. Solo sonatas advertised by Roger’s agents, 1700–c.1716	334
B.	Inventory of Solo Sonatas in the Armstrong-Finch Manuscript	339
C.	Advertisements for John Walsh’s 1704 Music Periodical	355
D.	‘Solo’ Performances advertised in British Newspapers, 1701–25	357
	Bibliography	377

List of Illustrations

1.1	Title page to <i>Six Sonatas or Solos</i> by G. Finger and D. Purcell ([1708])	7
1.2	Title page to <i>Courthy Masquing Ayres</i> , Treble (Playford, 1662)	18
2.1	Title page to <i>The Second Part of the Division Violin</i> (Henry Playford, 1693)	86
2.2	Table of contents to <i>The Second Part of the Division Violin</i> (Henry Playford, 1693)	87
2.3	Title page to Gottfried Finger, <i>VI SONATAS or SOLO'S</i> (Walsh, 1702)	95
2.4	Dedication to Gottfried Finger, <i>VI SONATAS or SOLO'S</i> (Walsh, 1702)	96
2.5	Title page to Daniel Purcell, <i>Six SONATA'S or Solos</i> (Walsh, 1698)	104
2.6	Title page to <i>Six SONATAS or Solos</i> [...] <i>M.^r W.^m Crofts & an Italian Master</i> (Young, 1699)	108
3.1	Nicola Cosimi, mezzotint by J. R. Smith after Godfrey Kneller (1706)	143
3.2	Johan Snep, Op. 1 (Roger, 1700), title page bearing Francis Vaillant's label	162
3.3	Recorder music advertised in <i>The Post Man</i> , 12–5 April 1707	167
3.4	Title page to <i>A Solo in Gb for a Violin and a Bass by Sign^r Torelli</i> (Walsh, 1704)	200
3.5	Title page to <i>Six Select Solos Collected out of the Choisest Works of Six Eminent Authors</i> (Walsh, 1706)	210
3.6	Title page to GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,466	212
3.7	Title page to <i>Select Preludes and Voluntarys for the Flute</i> (Walsh, 1708)	237
3.8	Table of contents to <i>Select Preludes or Voluntarys for y^e Violin</i> (Walsh, 1705)	238
3.9	<i>An Account of Printed Musick</i> (1724), pp. 10–12	242
4.1	Violin music advertised in <i>The British Apollo</i> , 4–6 August 1708	263
4.2	Unknown Man, formerly known as Daniel Purcell, c. 1700	277
4.3	‘Sonata Settima’, detail from Unknown Man	278
4.4	The Recorder Player, early 18th century	279
4.5	‘Corellis Solos for the Flute’, detail from The Recorder Player	281
5.1	‘A Sola by Mr. Tho. Farmer B.M.’, <i>The Second Part of the Division Violin</i> (Henry Playford: London, 1689)	285
5.2	Recorder music advertised in <i>The British Apollo</i> , 21–3 July 1708	294
5.3	‘Advertisement’ in <i>A Collection of Musick in Two Parts</i> (1691)	296

5.4	Title page to <i>The Compleat Flute-Master</i> (1695)	301
5.5	Title page to <i>The Self-Instructor on the Violin</i> (1695)	301
5.6	Title page to <i>The Second Part of the Division Violin</i> (London: Henry Playford, 1689)	307
5.7	Frontispiece to Nicola Cosimi's <i>Sonate da Camera a Violino e Violone, o Cembalo</i> , Op. 1 (1702)	309
5.8	Nicola Matteis, definitions of musical signs from <i>Ayres for the Violin: The Third and Fourth Parts</i> (1685)	323

List of Tables

2.1	Solo sonatas in GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. C.61	49
2.2	Corelli attributions in <i>Sonate a Violino Solo [...] e Altri Autory</i> (Roger, 1697)	61
2.3	Movement names in Marx Anh. 34	63
2.4	Imported solo sonatas in the Bodleian Library	81
3.1	Immigrants/visitors whose solo sonatas circulated in Britain, c. 1700 to c. 1720	134
3.2	Imported solo sonatas sold by Walsh, 1700–1716	158
3.3	Instrumental treatises containing solo sonatas, 1695–1712	189
3.4	Solo sonatas in Walsh's instrumental music periodical (1704)	198
3.5	Inventory of GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,466	214
3.6	Composers of solo sonatas in the Armstrong-Finch manuscript	219
3.7	Printed solo sonatas/suites in Durham Cathedral Library dated before 1716	223
3.8	Solo sonatas/suites purchased by Claver Morris, 1686–1718	231
3.9	Solo sonatas in Thomas Britton's sale catalogue (1714)	234
3.10	Movements from solos in <i>Select Preludes or Voluntarys for y^e Violin</i> (Walsh, 1705)	239
3.11	Preludes adapted from solos in the second part of <i>The Division Flute</i> (1708)	240
4.1	'Solo' performances advertised in British newspapers, 1685–1725	253
5.1	Violin bow lengths as given by Talbot (via Banister), Lenton and Hawkins	290
5.2	Transpositions in recorder arrangements of Corelli's Op. 5 sonatas (Walsh, 1702)	297
5.3	Definitions of Italian tempo markings given by Purcell (1683) and North (1728)	322

List of Music Examples

1.1	‘A Division on a Ground by Cornel van Shmelt’, p. 1 (<i>The Division Violin</i> , 1684)	19
2.1	Nicola Matteis senior, excerpt from sonata in C minor	36
2.2	Nicola Matteis, excerpt from ‘Sonata’, <i>Other Ayres and Pieces for the Violin: The Fourth Part</i> (1685), p. 22	38
2.3	Excerpt from an anonymous sonata, GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. C.71, p. 170	43
2.4	Chordal passage for violin from an anonymous sonata, GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. C.71, p. 171	44
2.5	Thomas Baltzar, opening to ‘Prelude’ in <i>The Second Part of the Division Violin</i> , fourth edition (Walsh, 1705)	45
2.6	Thomas Baltzar, opening to ‘A Prelude for the Violin’, <i>The Division Violin</i> (John Playford, 1684)	45
2.7	Excerpt from an anonymous sonata, GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. C.71, p. 172	46
2.8	Excerpt from Thomas Baltzar, ‘Prelude’, <i>The Second Part of the Division Violin</i> , fourth edition (Walsh, 1705)	46
2.9	GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. C.61, anonymous ‘Sola’, p. 23	50
2.10	GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. C.61, anonymous sonata, p. 24	52
2.11	Excerpt from anonymous ‘Sonata Sola’, US-U, Q. 783 P699c	54
2.12	Excerpt from sonata by ‘Se: Leliocolista’, GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. C.61, p. 32	56
2.13	Robert King, ‘Sola’, Adagio, GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. C.61, p. 34	58
2.14	Robert King, ‘Sola’, Vivace, GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. C.61, p. 37	59
2.15	Marx Anhang 34, excerpt from Canzona, GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. C.61, p. 42	64
2.16	Marx Anhang 34, excerpt from Vivace, GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. C.61, p. 43	66
2.17	Opening Adagio from an anonymous sonata, GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. C.61, p. 44	67
2.18	GB-Ckc, MS 243, ‘Sonata a Violino Solo’, Allegro	77

2.19	Thomas Farmer, 'Sola', <i>The Second Part of the Division Violin</i> (Henry Playford, 1689)	88
2.20	Excerpt from Thomas Farmer, 'Sola', first movement	88
2.21	Edward Finch, 'The Cuckoo', <i>The Second Part of the Division Violin</i> (Henry Playford, 1689)	92
2.22	Gottfried Finger, excerpt from 'Sonata Solo', <i>A Collection of Musick in Two Parts</i> (1691)	99
2.23	Raphael Courteville, 'Solo', <i>The Compleat Flute-Master</i> (Walsh and Hare, 1695)	102
2.24	Daniel Purcell, excerpt from 'Sonata Quinta', Grave, <i>Six SONATA'S or Solos</i> (Walsh, 1698)	106
2.25	'Sonata Quarta', Largo, <i>Six Sonatas or Solos</i> [...] <i>M^r W^m Crofts & an Italian M^r</i> (Walsh, 1699)	109
3.1	'Solo by Corelli with their Graces', Op. 5, No. 3 (Walsh, 1707)	123
3.2	Corelli, Op. 5, 'Follia' arranged for recorder, p. 13 (Walsh, 1702)	127
3.3	Corelli, Op. 5, 'Follia', for violin, p. 66 (Rome, 1700)	127
3.4	Corelli, Op. 5, No. 6, Allegro, p. 7 (Richard Meares, 1712)	131
3.5	<i>Violino Solo del Sig.^r Carlo Ambrogio Lonati</i> , (Walsh, 1704), p. 17	139
3.6	Nicola Cosimi, Op. 1, No. 5, 'Allemanda' (London, 1702), p. 15	145
3.7	Excerpt from Gasparo Visconti, 'Sonata VII', Op. 1 (Roger, 1703)	149
3.8	William Viner, Sonata V, Presto, p. 21 (Walsh, 1717)	166
3.9	'Prelude by M ^r Corbett' (Walsh, 1705)	168
3.10	Edward Finch, 'Sonata 9', GB-DRc, Bamburg M70, pp. 44–5 rev. (1719)	170
3.11	'Sonata by M ^r Edward Finch', first movement, Armstrong-Finch manuscript, p. 124	172
3.12	Luis Mercy, <i>Six Solos for a Flute</i> , Op. 1, 'Example' (Walsh, 1718)	174
3.13	William Williams, <i>A Sonata for a Single Flute</i> (1700), p. 1	179
3.14	Andrew Parcham, 'Solo' for recorder, excerpt from <i>40 Airs Anglois</i> (Roger, 1701), p. 37	180
3.15	Nicola Matteis junior, excerpt from sonata in C minor	185
3.16	'Prelude by Sign ^r . Nicola' (Walsh, 1705)	186

3.17	‘Allmand by M ^r . Dean’ (Walsh, 1705)	188
3.18	‘A Solo by M ^r Deane’ (Young, 1706)	193
3.19	Nicola Matteis junior, <i>A Solo in a# for a Violin</i> , Grave and Allegro (Walsh, 1704)	202
3.20	Martino Bitti, <i>A Solo in A# for a Violin</i> , Allegro (Walsh, 1704)	204
3.21	Thomas Dean, <i>A Solo in A# for a Violin and a Bass</i> , Allegro (Walsh, 1704), p. 6	208
3.22	GB-DRc, MS Mus. D4, <i>Sonata Solo</i> , p. 23	227
5.1	<i>Violino Solo by M^r Nicola Matteis</i> , (Walsh, 1704), pp. 5–6	291
5.2	Nicola Matteis, ‘Aria facile’ from <i>Other Ayres and Pieces for the Violin</i> : <i>The Fourth Part</i> (1685), p. 5	314
5.3	Nicola Matteis, excerpt from ‘Sonata’ in <i>Other Ayrs Preludes Allmands Sarabands</i> : <i>The Second Part</i> (1676)	320

Library Sigla

Belgium

B-Bc Brussels, Conservatoire Royal de Musique /
Koninklijk Conservatorium, Bibliotheek

France

F-Pn Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département de la Musique

Germany

D-F Frankfurt, Universitätsbibliothek Johann Christian Senckenberg

D-Dl Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek - Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek

D-WD Wiesentheid, Musiksammlung der Grafen von Schönborn-Wiesentheid

Great Britain

GB-Cfm Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum

GB-Ckc Cambridge, Rowe Music Library, King's College

GB-Cmc Cambridge, Magdalene College, The Pepys Library

GB-DRc Durham, Cathedral Library

GB-En Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland

GB-Enas Edinburgh, National Archives of Scotland

GB-Ge Glasgow, University Library, Euing Music Collection

GB-Lbl London, British Library

GB-Lcm London, Royal College of Music Library

GB-Ldc London, Dulwich College Library

GB-Ltc London, Trinity College of Music

GB-Ob Oxford, Bodleian Library
GB-Och Oxford, Christ Church Library

Italy

I-Af Assisi, Biblioteca e Centro di documentazione francescana del
Sacro Convento di San Francesco
I-Mc Milan, Biblioteca del Conservatorio Statale di Musica Giuseppe Verdi
I-PAc Parma, Sezione musicale della Biblioteca Palatina

Sweden

S-Uu Uppsala, Universitetsbibliotek, Carolina Rediviva

United States of America

US-CAh Harvard University, Houghton Library
US-Dp Detroit Public Library, Music and Performing Arts Department
US-NH Yale University, Music Library
US-NHHub Yale University, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library
US-NYp New York Public Library for the Performing Arts, Music Division
US-R Rochester, Sibley Music Library
US-U University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign
US-Wc Washington, D.C., The Library of Congress, Music Division

Note to the Reader

Britain and the Act of Union

The Act of Union was passed in 1707, when England and Scotland joined to form the United Kingdom of Great Britain. For consistency, 'Britain' is used in the modern sense to collectively describe England, Scotland, Wales and Ireland, even before 1707.

Dates

The 'Old Style' Julian calendar, introduced by Pope Gregory XIII, according to which the New Year began on 25 March (Lady Day) was largely still in use in Britain until the middle of the eighteenth century. The New Style Georgian calendar was adopted in Britain in 1752, when New Year's Day became 1 January. Until then, Britain was ten days behind the Continent before 1700, and eleven days thereafter. While not generally the norm, some late seventeenth-century calendars in Britain already implemented the new calendar. Only the months from January to March are affected, and some sources provide both dates. Some ambiguity remains as it is not always clear which calendar was being employed. This dissertation reproduces the date that is in the source.

Transcriptions

All quoted primary sources follow the original spelling and punctuation; italic and roman type in printed documents have not always been retained. Original sources have been quoted as far as was possible. Composers' names and dates are given as they appear in the *New Grove* (when known), except in cases where new research has come to light. Anglicised names of composers are indicated, but not necessarily used. For example, 'Gottfried Finger' is preferred to 'Godfrey Finger'. The only time square brackets are employed is when a word is defined, or editorial additions have been made.

Currency

The old currency system was as follows:

One pound = twenty shillings: £1 = 20(s.)

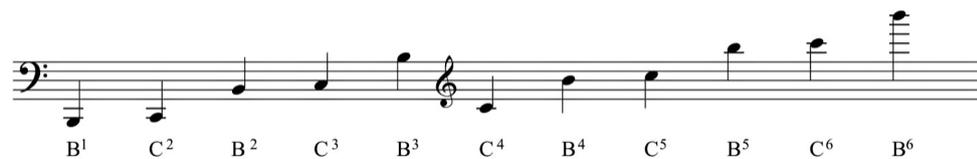
One shilling = twelve pennies: 1s = 12(d.)

One guinea (from 1717) = one pound one shilling (21 shillings): £1 1s

Before 1717 the value of the guinea fluctuated between 20s and 30s.

Musical pitches

Pitches are indicated using Scientific Pitch Notation/American Standard System:



Introduction

Defining the repertoire

Originating in early seventeenth-century Italy, the solo sonata for one melody instrument with basso continuo appears to have been introduced relatively late into British musical circles. Apart from a handful of exceptions, solo sonatas seem not to have been widespread or attracted British composers until the 1680s.¹

A comprehensive survey of solo sonatas in Britain and their social significance has been lacking until now, despite scholarship, modern performing editions and recordings focussing on several of the individual composers or solo sonata collections.

This dissertation takes a broad approach, examining the dissemination of solo sonatas for violin, recorder, bass viol, transverse flute and oboe by British and foreign composers from their origins until the publication of *Sonate a Violino, Violone, e Cembalo*, Op. 1 by Francesco Geminiani (1687–1762) in 1716. Solo sonatas by professional and amateur composers are considered within the context of manuscript and printed collections, national styles, public concerts and private music-making, patrons, reception, instruments and performance practice. This includes a study of the musical and social roles of the solo sonata, and a reappraisal of issues relating to the assimilation of foreign national styles in Britain. Lesser-known solo sonatas circulating amid works by key figures such as the Italian violinists Nicola Matteis senior (fl. c.1670–90) and Arcangelo Corelli (1653–1713) are covered in this research project.

A majority of the time period considered sits between two generally perceived key events in British music history: the death of Henry Purcell (1659–95) in 1695 and the arrival of George Frideric Handel (1685–1759) in 1710. With London as the musical centre, this fifteen-year interlude flourished with public concerts, theatrical plays and amateur music-making. Coincidentally, 1695 also marked the opening of the publishing houses of John Walsh (1665/6–1736), and the following year of Estienne Roger (1665/6–1722) in Amsterdam, who also had agents in London. Walsh and Roger were rivals, and the leading publishers in Europe in their day, selling music they imported as well as the latest pieces played at public concerts.

¹ By this date, the solo sonata was established in German-speaking countries but was adopted even later in France: Elisabeth Jacquet de la Guerre (1665–1729) was among the first French composers to write solo sonatas; Sébastien de Brossard (1655–1730) copied some of her works in 1695, which were published in Paris in 1707; see Catherine Cessac, 'Jacquet de la Guerre, Elisabeth', *Grove Music Online* <Oxford Music Online> [accessed 10 August 2016]; the first set of violin sonatas published in France was the *Premier Livre de Sonates et Autres Pieces Pour le Violon et la Basse*, Op. 1 (Paris, 1704) by François Duval (1672/3–1728).

Writings by Roger North (1651–1734), a lawyer and dedicated amateur musician, provide an especially valuable account of the musical changes which took place after the Restoration. North left Cambridge in 1669 to attend the Middle Temple and was a close eyewitness to musical life in London.²

Matteis's four books of *Ayres* (1676; 1685) for violin with basso continuo were a precursor to the wider circulation of solo sonatas in Britain from the 1690s onwards. During the 1680s, native composers such as Thomas Farmer (d. 1688) and Edward Finch (1663–1738) began writing solo sonatas. The first printed collection dedicated solely to solo sonatas appeared in 1690 as *VI Sonatas or Solo's Three for a Violin & Three for a Flute* by the Moravian viol player Gottfried Finger (c. 1660–1730). Finger played a key role in introducing the genre to British composers.

Another major turning point came with the publication of Corelli's *Sonate a Violino e Violone o Cimbalo*, Op. 5 in 1700, dedicated to Electress Sophie Charlotte of Brandenburg (1668–1705), which influenced a wider fashion for solo sonatas. By the time these works were first announced in *The London Gazette* on 13 April 1699, Corelli's music had already risen to great fame through his trio sonatas, as illustrated in the rival newspaper advertisements that ensued.³ Corelli's solo sonatas were frequently performed at public concerts and the theatre, becoming the hallmark repertoire of professional violinists. British gentlemen embarking on the Grand Tour brought back with them Italian music or even returned with singers or instrumentalists.

Before the arrival of Handel, among the most important immigrant musicians were Finger and the German composer Johann Christoph Pepusch (1667–1752). Their contribution to the solo sonata repertory was substantial and took place within a general enthusiasm for Italianate music, including trio sonatas, cantatas and opera. Outside of London, solo sonatas were also composed, circulated and performed in the English provinces, Scotland and Ireland. Regrettably, Henry Purcell is not known to have written any solo sonatas, unlike his brother (or cousin) Daniel Purcell (c. 1664–1717). The recently rediscovered 'violin sonata' in G minor (Z780) would have originally included an obbligato viola da gamba part, creating a trio sonata texture similar to works by German composers such as Dietrich Buxtehude (c.1637–1707); this genre was already familiar in Britain

² For Roger North, see the 'Biographical Note' in Mary Chan and Jamie C. Kassler, ed., *Roger North's The Musical Grammarian 1728* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), pp. xi–xvii.

³ Peter Allsop, 'The Italian Legacy', and 'Dissemination: England', in *Arcangelo Corelli: New Orpheus of Our Times* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), pp. 190–1.

before the solo sonata became widespread.⁴ Handel's solo sonatas were not published until c. 1730 in London and are therefore beyond the scope of this study.⁵

Research aims

The aim of this research project is to provide the first detailed history of the solo sonata repertory in Britain, originating in the 1670s, through its development until c. 1716. It is intended to contribute to an understanding of the role played by the solo sonata in British musical life among professionals and amateurs, bringing to light much neglected repertoire in manuscript and printed sources.

Methodology

The manuscripts and prints selected for this study are primarily of British provenance. Original exemplars have been examined in person where possible, otherwise facsimile editions, digital images and photocopies were referred to. In the case of imported music, the precise date of a work's arrival in Britain or its ownership is not always known. Where there is evidence that an item was in circulation, such as a Dutch print sold in London, it has been included. Due to the large number of solo sonatas available towards the end of the period, representative examples were chosen for illustrative purposes, while details of larger collections are summarised in tables.

1716 was chosen as the end date for the music, since it marks the publication of Francesco Geminiani's Op. 1 violin sonatas, and the genre was well established in Britain by this date. Occasionally the inclusion of works composed or published after 1716 have been allowed to provide a more complete narrative which might otherwise have been broken, but in general this study does not extend beyond 1720. References to lost works have been included to provide a fuller picture of the music in circulation. Each original newspaper advertisement listed in Michael

⁴ See Peter Holman, 'A Purcell manuscript lost and found', *Early Music*, 40/3 (2012), 469–87.

⁵ It is possible that Handel's oboe sonata HWV 366 in C minor, Op. 1, No. 8 (GB-Cfm MU MS 263, pp. 9–12), was composed in Britain, as it was written on paper imported and distributed in London (English paper, C10), perhaps by Walsh; it is the same paper used by Handel in his autographs between 1711 and 1713; the autograph, from which the fourth (and final) movement is missing, has been dated c. 1712 in Terence Best, ed., *Georg Friedrich Händel: Neun Sonaten für ein Soloinstrument und Basso continuo, Hallische Händel-Ausgabe, Serie IV: Instrumentalmusik, Band 18* (Basel and London: Bärenreiter, 1982), p. x; however, Handel was in Dusseldorf and Hanover from July 1711 to August 1712; Handel's oboe sonata HWV 363a in F major, Op. 1, No. 5, is also dated c. 1712–16; see *ibid*; Nicola Loten has pointed out to me that the last movements of HWV 366 and HWV 363a are titled 'Bourrée angloise/anglaise' in some sources; see Nicola Jayne Loten, 'The Solo Sonatas of George Frideric Handel' (PhD dissertation, Cardiff University, 2019), pp. 329–31, 339–40; for GB-Cfm MU MS 263, see Donald Burrows and Martha J. Ronish, *A Catalogue of Handel's Musical Autographs* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), pp. 253–8; see also Amanda-Louise Babington, 'Handel's solo sonatas', *Early Music Performer*, issue II (March 2003), 15–23.

Tilmouth's 'A Calendar of References to Music in Newspapers' has been additionally consulted, verified, and added to where relevant.⁶

Research definitions of 'solo sonata with basso continuo'

The following criteria were chosen for a work to be included:

- Music by British or foreign composers circulating in Britain until c. 1716
- Music by British composers living abroad
- Music for any single melody instrument (not only the violin) and basso continuo, which is titled 'solo' or 'sonata'
- Any work not titled 'solo' or 'sonata' which clearly demonstrates its main characteristics
- Unless the work is titled 'Solo' or 'Sonata', it must contain at least one non-dance movement such as an Allegro or Adagio in order to differentiate it from a suite
- All musical structures are considered: multi-section or multi-movement works, 'sonate da chiesa', 'sonate da camera', and single movements titled 'solo' or 'sonata'
- The main (but not always the only) function of the bass line (with or without figures) is a subsidiary one which does not participate in the thematic discourse

Works excluded

- 'Duet sonatas' for two equal instruments without basso continuo
- Single-movement works not titled 'solo' or 'sonata', such as divisions or dances
- Divisions over a ground bass titled 'solo' or 'sonata'

Dissertation outline

Chapter 1 sets the scene by exploring modern and historical definitions of the words 'sonata' and 'solo', particularly their meanings in Restoration Britain. A short background of two-part works before and around the arrival of the solo sonata is provided, especially virtuosic solo music by

⁶ Michael Tilmouth, 'A Calendar of References to Music in Newspapers published in London and the Provinces (1660–1719)', *RMA Research Chronicle*, 1 (1961), ii–vii, 1–107.

British and immigrant musicians. The final section considers how the sonata might have become established in Britain during the seventeenth century, beginning with the trio sonata.

Chapter 2 and Chapter 3 survey solo sonatas composed by professionals and amateurs before and after the publication of Corelli's *Sonate a Violino e Violone o Cimbalo*, Op. 5 (1700).⁷ Organising the study in this way allowed for solo sonatas in Britain to be considered already before the hugely influential model of Corelli's Op. 5 violin sonatas became available. Newly discovered and little-known solo sonatas are brought to light. Chapter 2 focusses more on manuscript sources since few prints were available before 1700, whereas a stronger emphasis is placed on publications in Chapter 3, but there is inevitably some overlap between these two chapters.

Chapter 4, 'Performances and Reception', considers the role of the solo sonata in public and private concerts and the theatre; concert advertisements in newspapers were individually examined and short biographies are provided for professional performers appearing in London. This is followed by an account of the sonata in amateur music-making. The chapter concludes with the first dedicated survey into the reception of the sonata in Britain through commentaries and references found in general literature, Restoration plays and religious writings.

Chapter 5, 'Instruments, Players and Performance Practice', examines the use of treble and bass instruments in solo sonatas in Restoration Britain, including those played by professionals and amateurs. Some observations on tempo and ornamentation in solo sonatas are also included.

Appendix A includes lists of solo sonatas advertised by Estienne Roger in Amsterdam between 1697 and 1700 and his agents Francis and Isaac Vaillant, and Henry Ribotteau from 1700 to c.1716.

Appendix B contains an inventory of solo sonatas found in the Armstrong-Finch manuscript, one of the most important sources for this repertoire.

Appendix C presents a full transcription of newspaper advertisements printed in *The Post Boy* for John Walsh's 1704 instrumental music periodical.

⁷ The influence of Corelli's music, particularly that of his solo sonatas, is well known: according to the *New Grove*, at least forty-two editions of Corelli's op. 5 had appeared by 1800 across several European countries; see Michael Talbot, 'Corelli, Arcangelo', *Grove Music Online* <Oxford Music Online> [accessed 12 August 2016]; see also Peter Allsop, 'The Italian Legacy', and 'Dissemination: England', in *Arcangelo Corelli: New Orpheus of Our Times* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 153–74, 188–99; Owain Edwards, 'The Response to Corelli's Music in Eighteenth-Century England', *Studia musicologica Norvegica*, 2 (1976), 51–96.

Appendix D provides details of professional ‘solo’ performances advertised in London newspapers between 1701 and 1725 and includes some biographical details on each musician.

Key literature and previous research

The relevant literature is discussed within each chapter according to the individual topics. The following section covers more general research undertaken across the period.

The Sonata (2011) by Thomas Schmidt-Beste is the most recent publication on the subject, encompassing music from the seventeenth century until modern times.⁸ It deals generally with the history of the sonata, definitions, forms, scoring and texture, with frequent references to Corelli. While solo sonatas by composers working in Britain are mentioned in passing, such as Gottfried Finger, Ernst Galliard (?1666–1747), Johann Christoph Pepusch and Francesco Geminiani, there is no specific discussion of music in Restoration Britain.

Schmidt-Beste begins by citing William S. Newman’s three-volume *History of the Sonata Idea* (1959–69),⁹ which is legitimately identified as still being ‘the standard study of the genre’, despite the first volume, *The Sonata in the Baroque Era* (1959) now being sixty years old.¹⁰ Newman summarised sonatas circulating in Restoration Britain in Chapter 13, ‘England from about 1660 to 1710’ and Chapter 14, ‘England from about 1710 to 1760’.¹¹ Solo sonatas referred to by Newman focus on published works by composers resident in Britain: Nicola Matteis, Gottfried Finger, William Williams (?1675–1701), William Croft (1678–1727), Gasparo Visconti (1683–1713), Johann Christoph Pepusch, Jean Baptiste Loeillet [‘John Loeillet of London’] (1680–1730), Robert Valentine (1674–1735–40), William Babell (c. 1690–1723), Pietro Castrucci (1679–1752), Francesco Geminiani and Johann Ernst Galliard. Only the trio sonatas of Raphael Courteville (fl. c. 1675–1735) and Nicola Francesco Haym (1678–1729), who also wrote solo sonatas, are pointed out; solo sonatas by many other composers working Britain have since been discovered.

Michael Tilmouth’s pioneering PhD dissertation, ‘Chamber Music in England, 1675–1720’ (1960) briefly addresses the topic of ‘Italian Solo Violin Music in Restoration England’.¹² Tilmouth

⁸ Thomas Schmidt-Beste, *The Sonata* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

⁹ William Newman, *The Sonata in the Baroque Era* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1959).

¹⁰ Schmidt-Beste, p. 1.

¹¹ Newman, *The Sonata in the Baroque Era*, pp. 301–16, 317–38.

¹² Michael Tilmouth, ‘Chamber Music in England’ (PhD dissertation, University of Cambridge, 1960), pp. 264–7.

discussed solo sonatas by the main native and foreign composers in Britain during this period with an emphasis on printed music. Many (but far from all) printed solo sonata collections and some manuscripts, not only of violin music, are found in Tilmouth's 'Checklist of Chamber Music printed between 1675 and 1720'.¹³

Michael Tilmouth and Christopher D. S. Field included a few paragraphs on the solo sonata for violin or recorder in England in *The Blackwell History of Music in Britain: The Seventeenth Century* (1992).¹⁴ The importance of Gottfried Finger in the establishment of the genre is highlighted and four British composers of solo sonatas are mentioned: Daniel Purcell, Robert King (c.1660–1726), William Williams, and William Croft. H. Diack Johnstone's chapter 'Music in the Home I' makes passing references to the solo sonatas of William Croft, Johann Christoph Pepusch, Robert Valentine and Daniel Purcell, while Nicola Matteis, Gasparo Visconti and Francesco Geminiani are simply mentioned.¹⁵ It is also suggested that only 'half a dozen' early-eighteenth century English violin sonatas exist, three each by Croft and Daniel Purcell.¹⁶

More recently, a number of PhD dissertations have specifically addressed solo violin music and/or the influence of immigrants in Britain during the eighteenth century. These include 'Sonatas for violin and basso continuo written by British composers in the first half of the eighteenth century' (2014) by Magdalena Kostka.¹⁷ William Croft and William Viner (d. 1716) are the only composers discussed at length who also form a part of the present study.¹⁸ Anne Marie Christensen's PhD dissertation 'The solo for a violin: a new perspective on the Italian violinists in London in the eighteenth century' (2018) focusses solely on the Italian tradition in London (mainly after 1716) with no mention of British composers.¹⁹ This subject is also discussed in Lynette Bowring's article "The coming over of the works of the great Corelli": The Influence of Italian Violin Repertoire

¹³ Ibid, pp. 357–87.

¹⁴ Michael Tilmouth and Christopher D. S. Field, 'Consort Music II: from 1660', in *The Blackwell History of Music in Britain. Volume 3: The Seventeenth Century*, ed. Ian Spink (Oxford: Blackwell, 1992), 245–81 (pp. 279–81).

¹⁵ H. Diack Johnstone, 'Music in the Home I', in *The Blackwell History of Music in Britain. Volume 4: The Eighteenth Century*, ed. H. Diack Johnstone and Roger Fiske (Oxford: Blackwell, 1990), 159–201 (pp. 174–5).

¹⁶ Ibid, p. 184.

¹⁷ Magdalena Kostka, 'Sonatas for violin and basso continuo written by British composers in the first half of the eighteenth century' (PhD dissertation, Cardiff University, 2014).

¹⁸ Robert Valentine is also included in the present dissertation, but only in the context of recorder sonatas, since the violin sonatas of 1728 were published outside of the period considered.

¹⁹ Anne Marie Christensen, 'The solo for a violin: a new perspective on the Italian violinists in London in the eighteenth century' (PhD dissertation, Royal College of Music, 2018).

in London 1675–1705’ (2014)²⁰, ‘The Great Influx of Italians and Their Instrumental Music into London, 1701–10’ (2007) by Lowell Lindgren,²¹ ‘Italian Violinists in Eighteenth-Century London’ (2001) by Simon McVeigh²² and ‘The Influence of the Italian Violin School in 17th-Century England’ (1990) by Peter Walls.²³

The trio sonata in Restoration Britain, an important parallel repertory, has attracted more attention in the form of a scholarly edition, *Restoration Trio Sonatas* (2012), edited by Peter Holman and John Cunningham.²⁴ The topic is also addressed in John Cunningham’s article “‘Faint copies’ and “‘excellent Originals’”: Composition and Consumption of Trio Sonatas in England, c. 1685–1714’ (2018).²⁵ To this can be added the PhD dissertation by Min-Jung Kang, ‘The Trio Sonata in Restoration England’ (2008).²⁶ A catalogue of printed trio sonatas in all countries has also been published as *Die Triosonate, Catalogue raisonné der gedruckten Quellen* (2016).²⁷

²⁰ Lynette Bowring, “‘The coming over of the works of the great Corelli’”: The Influence of Italian Violin Repertoire in London 1675–1705’, in *Reappraising the Seicento: Composition, Dissemination, Assimilation*, ed. Andrew J. Cheetham, Joseph Knowles and Jonathan P. Wainwright (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2014), 181–212.

²¹ Lindgren, Lowell, ‘The Great Influx of Italians and Their Instrumental Music into London, 1701–10’, in *Arcangelo Corelli: fra mito e realtà storica*, ed. Gregory Barnett, Antonella D’Ovidio, and Stefano La Via (Florence: Olschki, 2007), 419–84.

²² Simon McVeigh, ‘Italian Violinists in Eighteenth-Century London’, in *The Eighteenth-Century Diaspora of Italian Music and Musicians*, ed. Reinhardt Strohm (Turnhout: Brepols, 2001), 139–76.

²³ Peter Walls, ‘The Influence of the Italian Violin School in 17th-Century England’, *Early Music*, 18/4 (1990), 575–84, 587.

²⁴ Peter Holman and John Cunningham, ed., *Restoration Trio Sonatas, Purcell Society Companion Series Vol. 4* (London: Stainer & Bell, 2012).

²⁵ John Cunningham, “‘Faint copies’ and “‘excellent Originals’”: Composition and Consumption of Trio Sonatas in England, c. 1685–1714’, in *Eine Geographie der Triosonate: Beiträge zur Gattungsgeschichte im Europäischem Raum*, Publikationen der Schweizerischen Musikforschenden Gesellschaft, Serie II – Vol. 59, ed. Inga Mai Groote and Matteo Giuggioli (Bern: Peter Lang, 2018), 113–40.

²⁶ Min-Jung Kang, ‘The Trio Sonata in Restoration England (1660–1714)’ (PhD dissertation, University of Leeds, 2008).

²⁷ Ludwig Finscher, Laurenz Lütteken and Inga Mai Groote, ed., *Die Triosonate, Catalogue raisonné der gedruckten Quellen* (Munich: Henle, 2016).

CHAPTER 1

‘That elegant species of composition the Sonata’:

Definitions and Background

That elegant species of composition the Sonata, had its rise about the middle of the seventeenth century: who were the original inventors of it is not certainly known, but doubtless those that excelled most in it were Bassani and Corelli.¹

Sir John Hawkins (1719–89)

1.1 ‘Sonatas or Solos’: Broad Definitions

Sonata

The word ‘sonata’ derives from the Italian verb ‘sonare’, meaning ‘to sound’. While its precise meaning will always depend on the context in which it is used, ‘sonata’ is defined in the *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* as follows:

A term used to denote a piece of music usually but not necessarily consisting of several movements, almost invariably instrumental and designed to be performed by a soloist or a small ensemble.²

A ‘sonata’ therefore refers to a piece of music to be performed solely on instruments, as opposed to a ‘cantata’, which is intended to be sung.

The structure and characteristics of a sonata varied between countries and cities, but generally early seventeenth-century sonatas were through-composed, with an unstandardized number of contrasting movements or sections. In the 1660s and 70s, sonatas gradually began to be formed of distinct movements, and entire dances were incorporated. A distinction began to be made between a ‘sonata da camera’ (chamber sonata), comprising a prelude followed by a sequence of

¹ Sir John Hawkins, *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music: republication of the J. Alfred Novello edition, 1853*, vol. 2 (New York: Dover Publications, 1963), p. 706.

² Sandra Mangsen, et al., ‘Sonata’, *Grove Music Online* <Oxford Music Online> [accessed 1 October 2014].

(usually) two to four dances, and the freer, more contrapuntal ‘sonata da chiesa’ (church sonata).³ These terms were occasionally used on the title pages to solo and trio sonatas.⁴ As Thomas Schmidt-Beste points out, by the beginning of the eighteenth century the emergence of a standard sequence of dance movements also occurred in suites, making them virtually identical to the sonata da camera.⁵ In an advertisement for the twelve Op. 5 violin sonatas by Arcangelo Corelli (1653–1713), the music publisher John Walsh (?1665 or 1666–1736) described the first six (church sonatas) as ‘Solos’, but listed the movement names for the second six (chamber sonatas).⁶

Solo

Since ‘solo’ was a generic term, its definition from the *New Grove* is cited below:

A piece played by one performer, or a piece for one melody instrument with accompaniment. In 18th-century English terminology, ‘solo’ as the designation for a piece of music for a melody instrument with continuo accompaniment was virtually equivalent to ‘sonata’ and was often so used in titles. ‘Solo sonata’ may mean either a sonata for one melody instrument with accompaniment or a sonata for an unaccompanied melody instrument, like Bach’s sonatas for violin alone.⁷

‘Solo sonata’:

A term used in the late Baroque period (sometimes simply as ‘solo’) for a sonata for a single instrument, most commonly violin, and continuo.⁸

³ For a discussion on the use of the terms ‘da camera’ and ‘da chiesa’ in Italian sonatas, see Gregory Barnett, ‘*Da Chiesa and Da Camera*’, in *Bolognese Instrumental Music, 1660–1710* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2016), 163–194; see also Thomas Schmidt-Beste, *The Sonata* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp. 36–47; according to Sandra Mangsen, secular volumes usually contained only one bass part-book (for a chordal or melodic instrument), whereas sacred music contained separate melodic bass and basso continuo parts; see Sandra Mangsen, ‘The Dissemination of the Pre-Corellian Trio Sonatas in Manuscript and Printed Sources: A Preliminary Report’, in *The Dissemination of Music: Studies in the History of Music Publishing*, ed. Hans Lenneberg (Lausanne: Gordon and Breach, 1994), 71–105 (p. 72, n. 5; p. 98).

⁴ The forms of Corelli’s chamber and church sonatas are discussed in Schmidt-Beste, *The Sonata*, ‘Corelli and his legacy’, pp. 34–47; see also Peter Allsop, *The Italian Trio Sonata* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), pp. 47–62.

⁵ Schmidt-Beste, *The Sonata*, p. 11.

⁶ ‘Twelve New *Sonatas* or *Solos*, by *Arcangelo Corelli*. In two Parts; the 1st Part, *Solos* for a Violin, Bassviolin, Viol or Harpsicord, the second preludes, Almands, Corrants, Sarrabands, and Jiggs, with the *Spanish* folly Engraven in a Curious Character, p. 5 s. Both Printed for *J. Walsh* at the *Golden Harp*, and *Hautboy* in *Catherine-street*’; see *Bibliotheca Annua: OR, THE ANNUAL CATALOGUE FOR The Year 1700. BEING AN EXACT CATALOGUE OF ALL English and Latin Books, Printed in ENGLAND, From March 25, 1700, to March 25, 1701* (London: A. Roper and W. Turner, 1701), p. 31.

⁷ David Fuller, ‘Solo’, *Grove Music Online* <Oxford Music Online> [accessed 1 October 2014].

⁸ Mangsen, ‘Solo sonata’, *Grove Music Online*.

'Solo sonata' and 'duo sonata'

A distinction can be made between 'à 1' solo sonatas, where there is a lack of motivic dialogue between the melody and bass parts, and 'à 2' duo sonatas, also for two parts, where the bass is given a complementary melodic line. Peter Allsop explains that Corelli's Op. 5, labelled 'violino e violone o cimbalò' are technically 'duo sonatas' (rather than 'true solo sonatas') for which two players would suffice: the bass instrument takes on a melodic role as well as that of the basso continuo.⁹ 'À 2' could likewise (confusingly) refer to a work for two melody instruments with basso continuo. Often a 'solo sonata' will display both melodic interplay and harmonic support in the bass part.¹⁰ Sandra Mangsen points out that before 1670 the only collections of 'true solo sonatas' for one melodic instrument and chordal continuo were published by Gabriello Puliti (c. 1575–80–1642/3) in 1624, Marco Uccellini (c. 1603 or 1610–80) in 1649 and Giovanni Antonio Leoni (c. 1600–after 1651) in 1652, although individual works can be found in collections containing other instrumental or vocal music.¹¹

Historical and geographical definitions: Britain

Sonata

The meaning of the word 'sonata' has evolved over time in many countries, with variants such as 'sonnade' used to describe instrumental music from as early as the thirteenth century.¹² During the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, 'sonata' was used interchangeably with 'canzona', 'sinfonia' or 'capriccio', and many title pages to instrumental music collections contain the word 'sonata', although this was not denoted on any of the individual works.

⁹ Peter Allsop, 'The 'Solo' Sonatas', in *Arcangelo Corelli: New Orpheus of our Times* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), pp. 120–3.

¹⁰ For a further discussion, see Niels Martin Jensen, 'When is a solo sonata not a solo sonata? Corelli's Op. V considered in the light of the genre's tradition', in *Arcangelo Corelli: fra mito e realtà storica*, ed. Gregory Barnett, Antonella D'Ovidio, and Stefano La Via (Florence: Olschki, 2007), 211–30; Sandra Mangsen, 'The Trio Sonata in Pre-Corellian Prints: When Does 3 = 4?', *Performance Practice Review*, 3 (1990), 138–64; Gregory Barnett, 'Form and gesture: canzona, sonata and concerto', in *The Cambridge History of Seventeenth-Century Music*, vol. 1, ed. Tim Carter and John Butt (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 479–532; Niels Martin Jensen, 'Solo Sonata, Duo Sonata and Trio Sonata: Some Problems of Terminology and Genre in 17th-century Italian Instrumental Music', in *Festskrift Jens Peter Larsen*, ed. Nils Schiørring, Henrik Glahn and Carsten E. Hatting (Copenhagen: Hansen, 1972), 73–101.

¹¹ Mangsen, 'The Dissemination of the Pre-Corellian Trio Sonatas in Manuscript and Printed Sources', p. 83.

¹² Mangsen, 'Solo sonata', *Grove Music Online*.

Research by Graham Strahle published in *An Early Music Dictionary: Musical terms from British sources 1500–1740* (1995) has provided a basis for this survey.¹³ Definitions of the word ‘sonata’ began appearing in Britain from the late sixteenth century, although their meaning related to musical sounds as opposed to the style of music which had yet to develop in Italy.

According to Strahle, the earliest definition of ‘sonata’ was given in the Italian-to-English dictionary, *A Worlde of Wordes* (1598) by John Florio (1553–1625), as ‘a sounding or fit of mirth’, while ‘sonatore’ referred to ‘a sounder, a minstrell, a fidler, a musition, a player upon instruments’.¹⁴ The 1611 edition added that ‘suonata’ could mean ‘any sound of Musicke’.¹⁵ In 1659, the Torriano-Florio Italian to English dictionary described ‘sonata’ as ‘a ringing, a sounding noise, a fit of mirth upon instruments’.¹⁶ As recorded by Strahle, the next definition of ‘sonata’ in a British source is not found until 1721 in the *Treatise of Musicke* by Alexander Malcolm (1685–1763), which illustrates how its meaning had evolved by the eighteenth century:

We have also a Variety of such Pieces united in one principal *Key*, and such an Agreement of Air as is consistent with the different *Modes of Time*; and such Composition of different Airs is called, in a large Sense, one Piece of *Melody*, under the general Name of *Sonata* if ‘tis designed only for Instruments, or *Cantata* if for the Voice; and these several lesser Pieces have also different Names, such as *Allemanda*, *Gavotta* &c. (which are always *common Time*) *Minuet*, *Sarabanda*, *Giga*, *Corrante*, *Siciliana*, &c. which are *triple Time*.¹⁷

Three years later, ‘sonata’ was included in *A Short Explication Of Such Foreign Words, As are made Use of in Music Books* (1724), in which the anonymous author distinguished between church and chamber sonatas:

Suonata, or *Sonata*, is the Name of certain Pieces of Instrumental Musick, which being very common, and well known, needs no particular Description. Of these there are Two Sorts, One intended for the

¹³ Graham Strahle, *An Early Music Dictionary: Musical terms from British sources 1500–1740* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

¹⁴ John Florio, *A Worlde of Wordes, Or Most copious, and exact Dictionarie in Italian and English* (London: Edw. Blount, 1598), p. 375; cited in Strahle, *An Early Music Dictionary*, p. 338.

¹⁵ John Florio, *Queen Anna’s New World of Words, or Dictionarie of the Italian and English tongues* (London: Edw. Blount and William Barrett, 1611), p. 547; cited in Strahle, *An Early Music Dictionary*, p. 338.

¹⁶ Giovanni Torriano, *Vocabolario Italiano & Inglese, A dictionary Italian & English. Formerly Compiled by John Florio* (London: Jo. Martin, Ja. Allestry, and Tho. Dicas, 1659); cited Strahle, *An Early Music Dictionary*, p. 338.

¹⁷ Alexander Malcolm, *A Treatise of Musicke, Speculative, Practical, and Historical* (Edinburgh: Printed for the author, 1721), p. 406; cited in Strahle, *An Early Music Dictionary*, p. 339.

Churches or Chapels, and therefore called *Sonata di Chiesa*, or Church Sonatas; the others intended for Chambers or Private Consorts, and therefore called *Sonata da Camera*, or Chamber Sonatas.¹⁸

The definition of ‘sonata’ found in *Dictionaire de musique* (Paris, 1703) by Sébastien de Brossard (1655–1730) was later paraphrased in *Cyclopædia: Or, An Universal Dictionary of Arts and Sciences* (1728):

There are a Thousand different Species of *Sonata*’s; but the *Italians* usually reduce them to three [i.e. two] Kinds: *Suonata de Chiesa*; that is, *Sonata*’s proper for Church-Music, which usually begin with a grave, solemn Motion, suitable to the Dignity and Sanctity of the Place and the Service; after which they strike into a brisker, gayer and richer Manner. These are what they properly call *Sonata*’s. The second Kind comprehends the *Suonate de Camera*, or *Sonata*’s proper for the Chamber, &c. These are properly Series’s of several little Pieces, proper for Dancing; only composed to the same Tune. They usually begin with a Prelude or little *Sonata*, serving as an Introduction to the rest: Afterwards come the *Alleman*, *Pavan*, *Courant*, and other serious Dances; then *Gigues*, *Gavots*, *Minuets*, *Chacons*, *Passacailles* and other gayer Airs: The whole composed in the same Tone or Mode. [Strahle notes: ‘no third category follows’].¹⁹

Although the term was used flexibly, in Britain ‘sonata’ on its own usually indicated a trio or larger scale sonata, while ‘solo’ meant a work for one melody instrument with basso continuo. Trio sonatas were by their nature less virtuosic, and the term ‘solo’ implied an opportunity for technical or musical display. In *The Musical Grammarian* (1728), Roger North (1651–1734) described a ‘sonata’ as comprising several instrumental parts:

The instrumentall musick of late hath bin listed mostly under the title of sonnatas which being consorts of 3 and rarely of 4 parts, and more hands requiring to be imployed, some parts have bin doubled²⁰

Different spellings of ‘sonata’ were common in Britain during this period, with variants such as ‘sonnata’, ‘sonnato’, ‘sonato’, ‘sonita’, ‘sonatina’, ‘sonatino’, ‘sanato’ ‘sonetta’ and ‘sonnetta’ in use.

¹⁸ [Johann Christopher Pepusch], *A Short Explication Of Such Foreign Words, As are made Use of in Music Books* (London: Printed for J. Brotherton, 1724); cited in Strahle, *An Early Music Dictionary*, pp. 338–9; Peter Holman has remarked that Nicola Francesco Haym (1678–1729) (rather than Johann Christoph Pepusch (1667–1752)) was probably the author (personal communication, May 2015); a similar definition is found in Nathan Bailey, *An Universal Etymological English Dictionary*, 3rd edition (London, 1726).

¹⁹ Ephraim Chambers, *Cyclopædia: Or, An Universal Dictionary of Arts and Sciences*, vol. 2 (London, 1728), p. 96; cited in Strahle, *An Early Music Dictionary*, p. 339.

²⁰ Mary Chan and Jamie C. Kessler, ed., *Roger North’s The Musical Grammarian 1728* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), p. 199.

Solo

In Britain, the term ‘solo’ or ‘sola’ typically referred to a work for one melody instrument with basso continuo. ‘Solo’ was also used literally to mean a piece for a single unaccompanied instrument. For example, in *A Collection of Musick in Two Parts* (1691), the two pieces on page 9 in the ‘Second Treble’ book are marked ‘For the Flute alone’ and ‘Flute Solo’. ‘Solo’ could also refer to the solo passages in a concerto grosso or trio sonata. Incidentally, the British composer John Lenton (d. 1719) preferred the English word ‘Alone’ when describing the solo passages in *A Three Part Consort of New Musick* (1697). A ‘solo’ could also signify divisions over a ground bass, such as ‘M^r Fingers Solo for ye flute’, found in John Channing’s commonplace book (1694–7), GB-Lbl Add. MS 35,043, fols. 123v–124r.²¹ Songbooks occasionally used ‘solo’ to designate works for a single voice with basso continuo, and examples can be found in the second volume of Henry Purcell’s *Orpheus Britannicus* (1702). ‘Sola’ was also used as a stage direction for a single female character appearing or speaking in Restoration plays.²² Particularly in newspaper advertisements, solo sonatas were occasionally denoted by other terms such as ‘symphonies’. Keyboard works were usually called ‘lessons’ instead of ‘sonatas’ or ‘solos’.

Strahle attributes the earliest British definitions of the word ‘solo’ to *A Short Explication Of Such Foreign Words, As are made Use of in Musick Books* (1724):

Solo, Singly, or Alone; or by Way of Abbreviation the Letter *S*. This Word or Letter is often met with in Pieces of Musick of several Parts, when one Part is to perform alone: Thus, *Violino Solo*, is the Violin alone. *Fiauto Solo*, the Flute alone. *Organo Solo*, the Organ alone. This Word is also used to distinguish those Sonatas for One Violin and a Bass, or One Flute and a Bass, from those with Two Violins and a Bass, or Two Flutes and a Bass. Thus the Fifth Opera of *Corelli’s* Sonatas, which are composed for One Violin and a Bass, are commonly called Solo’s, to distinguish them from the First, Second, Third, and Fourth Opera’s, which are composed for Two Violins and a Bass.²³

A survey of British music collections from the 1690s onwards shows that within a volume of ‘Solos’, or more commonly ‘Sonatas or Solos’, the individual pieces are labelled ‘Sonata’,

²¹ Rawson RI92; similarly, ‘Sonata X’ in *DIX SONATES à 1 Flute & 1 Basse Continue*, Op. 3 (Roger, 1701) by Gottfried Finger (c. 1660–1730), Rawson RI110, is a one-movement ‘Ciacona’ (Allegro).

²² The word ‘sola’, meaning ‘alone’ in Italian, was used on title pages such as *Sonate di Violino a Voce Sola*, Op. 3 (1652) by Giovanni Antonio Leoni (d. after 1651); ‘sola’ also indicated the feminine gender, and the instruction ‘Tiorba Sola’ can be found in *Capricci a Due Stromenti cioe Tiorba e Tiorbino* (Modena, 1622) by Bellerofonte Castaldi (1580–1649).

²³ [Johann Christoph Pepusch], *A Short Explication Of Such Foreign Words, As are made Use of in Musick Books*, (London: J. Brotherton, 1724), pp. 70–1; cited in Strahle, *An Early Music Dictionary*, p. 337.

demonstrating that in practice these terms were interchangeable (see Fig. 1.1). Newspaper advertisements sometimes used the word ‘sonata’ rather than ‘solo’ when a soloist performed; for example, the *Daily Courant* of 24 May 1703 announced that ‘Signior Gasperini will perform several Italian Sonatas’.²⁴

Six
SONATAS
or
SOLOS
for the
VIOLIN
with
a *THROUGH BASS* for the
HARPSICORD
or
BASS VIOLIN
Compos'd
by
M^r. G. Finger and M^r. D. Purcell

London Printed for J. Walsh, Servant in Ordinary to her Majesty. and P. Randall at the Harp and Ho - boy in Katherine Street near Somerset House in y^e Strand and J. Hare at y^e Viol and Flute in Cornhill near y^e Royall Exchange

Fig. 1.1 Title page to *Six Sonatas or Solos* by G. Finger and D. Purcell ([1708])

²⁴ *The Daily Courant*, 24 May 1703, issue 343.

In Amsterdam, the music publisher Estienne Roger (1665/6–1722) generally used the term ‘Sonates’ on title pages to solo sonatas. In turn, a Roger edition of *Ayres* (titled ‘Airs & sonates, préludes, allemandes [etc.]’) by Nicola Matteis (fl. c. 1670–90) was advertised as ‘Les Solos de Nicolas Mathys’ in 1702.²⁵

North remarked on the solo sonata in his ‘Essay on Musical Ayre’ in c. 1715–20:

In the next place the superior parts are to be considered, and first that w^{ch} they Call a Solo with a Basso Continuo attending;²⁶

Numerous other references to the term ‘solo’ are found in North (although not always in relation to sonatas), such as the following remarks on the skill required to compose a work in two parts:

Therefore whoever attempts to compose so much as a solo to a base, must be prepossessed with a compleat idea of all musically harmony.²⁷

[...] and now it is reasonable to rise a little higher, and enter upon matter of invention, for which there is scope enough in the work of composing a solo, or the small consort of 2 parts onely, for as that may be very plaine and low, so also it may rise to the culmen of musical skill.²⁸

No further English definitions of ‘sonata’ or ‘solo’ have been identified within the period in question.²⁹ Dictionaries were not yet widespread, and an absence of these musical terms is therefore to be expected. The use of the terms ‘sonata’ and ‘solo’ was standardised through music publishers, and these words are also found in the general literature, as discussed in Chapter 4.

²⁵ Rudolf Rasch, *The Music Publishing House of Estienne Roger: Maasman-Musicien* (<https://roger.sites.uu.nl/catalogue>, pp. 27–8).

²⁶ GB-Lbl Add. MS 32,536, fol. 35; cited in Strahle, *An Early Music Dictionary*, p. 338.

²⁷ John Wilson, ed., *Roger North on Music: Being a Selection from his Essays Written During the Years c. 1695–1728* (London: Novello and Company, 1959), p. 163.

²⁸ Chan and Kassler, *Roger North’s The Musical Grammarian*, p. 174.

²⁹ *The Diary of Samuel Pepys* (1660–9) does not contain any references to sonatas; Robert Latham and William Matthews, ed., *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, 11 vols. (London: Bell & Hyman, 1985); the only sonatas in the library of Samuel Pepys are *Sonnata’s of III Parts* (1683) by Henry Purcell (1659–95); the unique copy in Pepys’s library of Gottfried Finger’s *A collection of choise ayres for two and three treble flutes* ([London]: Tho[mas] Jones & John May, [1691]) does not contain any solo sonatas and is not to be confused with *A Collection of Musick in Two Parts* (London, 1691); see Robert Latham, ed., *Catalogue of the Pepys Library at Magdalene College*, vol. 4, Music, Maps and Calligraphy (Cambridge: Brewer, 1989).

1.2 ‘The stamp of elder times’: Historical Background

Early solo sonatas: Italy

With reference to the sonata in general, William Newman attributed the earliest ‘solo sonata’ to the Italian organist Giovanni Paolo Cima (c. 1570–1630).³⁰ This piece was published in *Concerti Ecclesiastici* (Milan, 1610) as ‘Sonata per Cornetto & Trombone, overo Violino ò Violone’. It contains separate parts for treble (violin or cornett) and melodic bass (violone or trombone) instruments, in addition to a two-part unfigured score for basso continuo. The three parts suggest a ‘trio sonata’, but since the basso continuo always doubles the (optional) melodic bass (trombone/violone), the work can also be played with only the treble and continuo parts.

Two years later the same scoring was employed in the ‘Canzone Basso, e Soprano, overo alla quarta, Flautino, & Basso’ for descant recorder by the Venetian composer Giovanni Battista Riccio (fl. 1589–1621); some independent solo writing is found in the treble part.³¹ *Affetti Musicali*, Op. 1 (1617) by Biagio Marini (1594–1663) subsequently contained the earliest sinfonias and a solo sonata for violin or cornett (‘La Orlandina’), in which (unlike in Cima’s work) the bass line serves mainly an accompanying role.³² In 1624, *Fantasia, Scherzi, et Capricci da Sonarsi in Forma di Canzone* for violin or cornett and continuo by Gabriello Puliti (c. 1575–80–1642/3) was published in Venice. Newman noted that the earliest use of the adjective ‘solo’ in reference to a solo sonata was in a letter from Giovanni Battista Buonamente (c. 1595–1642) in 1627.³³ Solo sonatas for trumpet by Girolamo Fantini (1600–75) were published in his treatise *Modo per imparare a sonare di tromba* (1638).

The first dedicated publication of solo sonatas was *Compositioni Musicali Fatte Per Sonare col Fagotto solo* (1645) by Giovanni Antonio Bertoli (1598–?1645) for bassoon (or alternative instrument) and basso continuo.³⁴ Melody instruments were generally interchangeable in the earliest solo sonatas and canzonas; the first collections specifically for violin appeared as *Sonate over canzoni*, Op. 5 (1649) by Marco Uccellini, and thereafter *Sonate di Violino A Voce sola*, Op. 3 (1652) by Giovanni Antonio Leoni. The earliest published collection of violin sonatas by a German-speaking composer was

³⁰ William Newman, *The Sonata in the Baroque Era* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1959), p. 118; modern edition: Bernard Thomas, ed., *Giovanni Paolo Cima: Two Sonatas for Soprano Instrument, Bass Instrument and Continuo* (Brighton: London Pro Musica, 1990).

³¹ Giovanni Battista Riccio, *Il Primo Libro Delle Divine Lodi* (Venice: Ricciardo Amadino, 1612).

³² Thomas D. Dunn, ‘Marini, Biagio’, *Grove Music Online* <Oxford Music Online> [accessed 20 September 2016].

³³ Newman, *The Sonata in the Baroque Era*, p. 65.

³⁴ Gabriele Bonomo, ‘Bertoli, Giovanni Antonio’, *Grove Music Online* <Oxford Music Online> [accessed 20 September 2016].

Sonatae Unarum Fidium (1664) by the Austrian violinist Johann Heinrich Schmelzer (c. 1620–3–1680).³⁵ None of the above solo sonatas appear to have reached Britain imminently following their publication.

Italian connections with Britain before the Restoration

This section briefly examines some of the influences which led from the sonata's invention in Italy in the early seventeenth century to its assimilation in Britain.³⁶ It should be noted that at this time Italy was not one single country as it is today, but consisted of several city states, each of which acted independently. Significantly, travel and trade with Rome and other southern states was highly restricted until the late 1630s due to a rift with the Roman Catholic Church since 1534.³⁷ Long-standing musical connections between Britain and Italy can however be traced back to at least the 1540s when Venetian instrumentalists were employed at the court of Henry VIII.³⁸ During the reign of Elizabeth I, a vogue for Italian vocal music began with the madrigal tradition: Nicholas Yonge (d. 1619) published *Musica Transalpina* (1588), a collection of Italian madrigals with the words translated into English, which provided an inspiration for British composers such as Thomas Morley (1557 or 1558–1602) to compose Italianate vocal music. North reflected on the impact of the madrigal tradition on instrumental music:

Then from the Italians came over vocall musick printed, out of which they took the notes, and used to sing them, ut, re, etc. many of which I have seen, with the beginning of the Italian words and no more. Out of this mixture the more polite masters begun to derive their fantasies, for violls, and cast into parts to which instruments were adapted in chests. This manner in Coperario's time came to its perfection.³⁹

Meanwhile in Italy, operas such as *Euridice* (1600) by Jacopo Peri (1561–1633) first made way for the expressive recitative style of the early baroque. The concept of a solo voice with basso continuo was transmitted into instrumental music and the sonata. Britain was slow to adopt these musical

³⁵ Rudolf Schnitzler, 'Schmelzer, Johann Heinrich', *Grove Music Online* <Oxford Music Online> [accessed 25 September 2016].

³⁶ For a more detailed discussion, see Ester Lebedinski, 'The Magnificence of the Sublime': Carissimi's Music in Restoration England', in *Reappraising the Seicento: Composition, Dissemination, Assimilation*, ed. Andrew J. Cheetham, Joseph Knowles and Jonathan P. Wainwright (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2014), 151–80.

³⁷ See especially *ibid.*, pp. 152–3.

³⁸ Peter Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers: The Violin at the English Court 1540–1690* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2002), 78–9.

³⁹ Mary Chan and Jamie Croy Kassler, ed., *Roger North's Cursory Notes of Musicke: (c. 1698–c. 1703): a physical, psychological and critical theory* (Kensington, New South Wales: Unisearch, 1986), p. 212.

changes, where polyphonic writing for viol consorts remained fashionable until around the Restoration. Notable composers of consort music included the English-born Italian Alfonso Ferraboso (c. 1575–1628) and Giovanni Coprario (c. 1570–1626), who ‘by the way was plain [John] Cooper but affected an Itallian termination’, according to North.⁴⁰

Angelo Notari (1566–1663)

Among the earliest contributors to new-style Italian vocal music in Britain was the lutenist and composer Angelo Notari, a member of the Accademia degli Sprovisti in Venice who arrived in London in 1610 or 1611 under the patronage of Prince Henry; he remained in Britain in the service of king Charles II until his death at age 97.

Notari’s *Prime Musiche Nuove* (1613) is a selection of vocal music in one to three parts, ‘per Cantare con la Tiorba, et altri Strumenti’. As well as being one of the first engraved publications in Britain, it contains examples of early Italian monody, i.e. a florid vocal part with basso continuo, presented in score; engraving made this music much easier to print than the standard moveable type of the time. In his preface, Notari explained that the highly virtuosic song ‘Ben qui si mostra il ciel’, ‘may as well be sunge upon the same Bassus, as played upon the Violl’.⁴¹ Whether or not this is an indication of common performance practice at the time, the wide range of the work lends itself well to the bass viol.

Notari compiled the music in GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,440, an autograph manuscript dating shortly after 1643.⁴² Alongside Italian vocal music, it contains anonymous pieces for violin and continuo which may also have been composed by Notari.⁴³ As Peter Holman points out, ‘La medesima canzone passaggiata’ on fols. 34v–37r shows similarities in form with the early sonatas and canzonas of Cima in 1610, Giulio Belli (c. 1560–after 1620) in 1613 and Giovanni Battista Riccio

⁴⁰ Wilson, *Roger North on Music*, p. 288.

⁴¹ Angelo Notari, *Prime Musiche Nuove* (London: William Hole, 1613), preface; the songs for solo voice and basso continuo in *Prime Musiche Nuove* (1613) are ‘Ahi, che s’accresce in me l’usato ardore’, ‘Che farai, Meliseo?’, ‘Anima eletta’, and ‘Ben qui si mostra il ciel’; the earliest engraved music in Britain was *Parthenia or The Maydenhead of the First Musicke that ever was Printed for the Virginalls* (London: engraved by William Hole for Dorothy Evans, printed by G. Lowe, c. 1612–3).

⁴² Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers*, pp. 201–11.

⁴³ Included are variations for violin on the Italian ‘Ruggiero’, ‘Romanesca’ and ‘Monica’ ground basses, fols. 21v–28r.

(fl. 1589–1621) in 1620.⁴⁴ It appears first in a simple version entitled ‘Violino’, followed by a repeat with florid embellishments.⁴⁵

Matthew Henson’s PhD dissertation ‘Foreign songs for foreign kings: The manuscript scorebook of Angelo Notari’ (2012) is the most recent study to discuss GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,440.⁴⁶ Henson includes stylistic comparisons between Notari’s canzona and the music of Biagio Marini and Dario Castello (fl. first half of seventeenth century), as well as a transcription of the canzona. The interchangeable nature of the terms ‘canzona’ and ‘sonata’ at the time would allow it to be named the earliest solo sonata-type piece in a British source, comprising contrasting sections, ‘affetto’ passages and virtuosic writing for the violin.

In addition to the music notated by Notari, GB-Ob, MSS Mus. Sch. D.245–247, a set of early seventeenth-century manuscripts copied by the Gloucester musician John Merro (d. 1636), also contain virtuosic solo pieces (including divisions) almost certainly intended for the violin.⁴⁷

The new florid Italian style influenced the vocal music of British composers: already before Notari’s publication, in 1610 Robert Dowland (c. 1591–1641) included the Italian monodies ‘Amarilli mia bella’ and ‘Dovrò dunque morire?’ from Caccini’s *Le Nuove Musiche* (1602) in his *Musicall Banquet*. Walter Porter (c. 1587/c. 1595–1659), believed to have been a pupil of Claudio Monteverdi (1567–1643), wrote his *Madrigales and Ayres* (1632) in the Italian concertato style, and these pieces contain ‘toccatos, sinfonias and ritornellos’ for two violins and a bass. William Child (1606/7–1697) composed the *First set of Psalmes [...] with a continuall Base either for the Organ or Theorbo newly composed after the Italian way* (1639), which is among the earliest Italianate sacred music by a British composer.⁴⁸ Notably, *Mottects or Graue Chamber Musique* (1630) by Martin Peerson (c. 1571–1573–1651) contain the first use of figured bass in a British printed collection, found in the organ part.⁴⁹ After the Restoration, John Playford (1623–86) included the preface to *Le Nuove Musiche* (1602) by Giulio Caccini (1551–1618) translated into English in the fourth edition of *An Introduction*

⁴⁴ Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers*, p. 205.

⁴⁵ Modern edition: Peter Holman, ed., *Angelo Notari: Canzona Passaggiata for Violin and Basso Continuo* (London: Nova Music, 1981).

⁴⁶ Martin Henson, ‘Foreign songs for foreign kings: The manuscript scorebook of Angelo Notari’ (PhD dissertation, Florida State University, 2012); for GB-Lbl Add. MS 31,440 see also Pamela J. Willetts, ‘Autographs of Angelo Notari’, *Music & Letters*, 50/1 (1969), 124–6; Pamela J. Willetts, ‘A Neglected Source of Monody and Madrigal’, *Music & Letters*, 43/3 (1962), 329–39.

⁴⁷ See Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers*, pp. 205–1; Andrew Ashbee, ‘John Merro’s Manuscripts Revisited’, *The Viola da Gamba Society Journal*, 7 (2013), 1–19.

⁴⁸ Modern edition: Jonathan P. Wainwright, ed., *William Child: The First Set of Psalmes of .III. Voyces* (1639) (York: York Early Music Press, 2015).

⁴⁹ Richard Rastall, ‘Peerson, Martin’, *Grove Music Online* <www.oxfordmusiconline.com> [accessed 23 September 2016].

to the Skill of Musick (1664). In 1679, A. Godbid and J. Playford published a collection of Italian vocal music entitled *Scelta di canzonette italiane de più autori* edited by the castrato Girolamo Pignani, which included two Italian songs by Nicola Matteis, whose violin *Ayres* had been published three years earlier.⁵⁰ Hawkins wrote that Pignani was ‘then resident in London’ and ‘after which the English composers, following the example of other countries, became the imitators of the Italians’.⁵¹

Early music printing in Britain

All commercial activity in Britain was affected by the unsettled political state in the first half of the seventeenth century, including music printing and imports of music from Italy.⁵² Turbulent events included the Civil War in 1642, the execution of Charles I in 1649, and the Interregnum under Oliver Cromwell (1649–60). There was a particular lull in printing in general, and especially music printing between the years 1620–50, a time marked by the reign of Charles I and eventually the outbreak of the Civil War; the majority of music books printed during this time were monophonic psalm books for the Company of Stationers. Prior to being executed, Charles I placed heavy censorship on what was allowed to be printed to prevent the dissemination of anti-royalist publications. This resulted in the Star Chamber Decree of 1637, a strict censorship act, which was dissolved by the puritans in 1641, but was reinstated in 1643; after Charles I’s execution, royalist publications began appearing, and the even stricter Act of 1649 was put in place.⁵³ All of these political events had a hugely negative impact on music printing in Britain; little was printed before the publishing house of John Playford, which operated from 1651 to 1684, and was subsequently taken over by his son Henry Playford (1657–1709) until his death.

⁵⁰ Anne Godbid, widow of William Godbid (d. 1679), collaborated with John Playford the younger (c. 1655–1685), the nephew of John Playford (1623–c.1687), after her husband’s death; this publication, which contains music by Catholic composers, also includes songs by Giovanni Battista Draghi (c.1640–1708), who composed a trio sonata, and Giacomo Carissimi (1605–74), to whom a solo sonata is (perhaps falsely) attributed in US-R, M1490.B113 (Charles Babel’s manuscript, 1698).

⁵¹ Hawkins, *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music*, vol. 2, p. 584; for Pignani, see Jack A. Westrup, ‘Foreign Musicians in Stuart England’, *The Musical Quarterly*, 27/1 (1941), 70–89 (p. 85).

⁵² For an account of the printing trade in general, and music printed in Britain before the publishing house of John Playford, see Peter Alan Munstedt, ‘John Playford, Music Publisher: A Bibliographical Catalogue’ (PhD dissertation, University of Kentucky, 1983), pp. 1–36.

⁵³ See *ibid.*, pp. 10–12.

Solo sonatas in Britain before the Restoration?

Meanwhile, the first solo sonatas were published abroad; an attempt to introduce to Britain the latest Italian music in the early seventeenth century can be gleaned with some caution from the five catalogues produced between 1633 and 1650 by the London bookseller Robert Martin.⁵⁴ Martin imported foreign books including music, most of it printed by the Venetian music publisher Gardano.⁵⁵ During the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, music publishing flourished in the Republic of Venice more than elsewhere in Europe, and was a sought-after destination for British travellers.⁵⁶ In his essay, ‘Venetian Music in a London Bookshop’, Donald W. Krummel suggests that Martin ‘was instrumental in placing in English libraries a good deal of Italian music which would otherwise have been lost, and so perhaps influencing English musical taste in favour of an Italianate repertory’.⁵⁷ Although Krummel provides details of British libraries that hold copies, this does not provide sufficient evidence to suggest the books were obtained through Martin, or how much of his music was ever sold.

There are 232 editions of music recorded by Martin, of which 172 are still extant.⁵⁸ The majority of the catalogues list Italian madrigals and other vocal music by composers such as Claudio Monteverdi (1567–1643), Tarquinio Merula (1594–5–1665), and Giovanni Gabrieli (c. 1554–7–1612).⁵⁹ Copies of *Sonate Concertate in Stil Moderno, Libro Primo* (1621) by Dario Castello were advertised for sale, but these only contain sonatas à 2 or à 3, i.e. for two or three melody instruments with basso continuo.⁶⁰ Castello’s *Libro Secondo* (1629) does contain solo sonatas, but this collection was not included in Martin’s catalogues.

The only item advertised by Martin that contains solo sonatas was *Sonate, Symphonie, Canzoni, Pass’emmezzi, Baletti, Corenti, Gagliarde, & Retornelli, A 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. & 6. Voci, per ogni sorte d’Instrumenti* Op. 8 (Venice: Magni, 1626 or 1629) by the violinist Biagio Marini; it was listed in the 1633, 1635 and 1639 catalogues.⁶¹ Marini’s Op. 8 includes a variety of instrumental works exploring double

⁵⁴ Donald W. Krummel, ‘Venetian Baroque Music in a London Bookshop: The Robert Martin Catalogues, 1633–50’, in *Music and Bibliography: Essays in Honour of Alec Hyatt King*, ed. Oliver Neighbour (New York: Clive Bingley, 1980), 1–27.

⁵⁵ On the death of Angelo Gardano (c. 1540–1611) the business was taken over by his son-in-law Bartolomeo Magni (fl. 1611–1645).

⁵⁶ For Italian music publishers of instrumental music in the seventeenth century, see Mangsen, ‘The Dissemination of the Pre-Corellian Trio Sonatas in Manuscript and Printed Sources’.

⁵⁷ Krummel, ‘Venetian Baroque Music in a London Bookshop’, pp. 1–2.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

⁵⁹ For a complete list of musical editions in Martin’s catalogues, see *ibid.*, pp. 9–27.

⁶⁰ Other sonatas advertised include works by Giovanni Gabrieli (c. 1554–7–1612), Giuseppe Scarani (fl. 1628–42) and Francesco Turini (c. 1589–1656); see *ibid.*

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 18.

and triple stops and scordatura, and these solo violin sonatas have a particular importance within the genre. Until further evidence comes to light however, it is difficult to ascertain if Martin did indeed sell any copies of Marini's Op. 8 and how widely this collection circulated in Britain in the years following its publication. Christopher, first Baron Hatton (1605–70), is known to have been one of Martin's customers, purchasing twenty-four items in November 1638, although none of these were of instrumental music.⁶² Hatton's collection, now held in the music library at Christ Church, Oxford, contains Italian printed and manuscript music, including seventy-four prints listed in Martin's catalogues.

Denis Stevens suggested that the first Professor of Music in Oxford, Richard Nicholson (d. 1639) may have obtained two books of Italian sonatas for the Musick School: *SONATE, ET CANZONI A DUE, TRE, QUARTRO, CINQUE, ET A SEI VOCI* [...] *LIBRO SESTO* (Venice: Alessandro Vicenti, 1636) by Giovanni Battista Buonamente (c. 1595–1642) and the 1638 edition of *IL TERZO LIBRO DE VARIE SONATE* (1623) by Salamone Rossi (1570–c. 1630);⁶³ neither collection contains solo sonatas. Out of the handful of musical items listed in John Leon Lievsay's *The Englishman's Italian Books 1550–1700* (1969), none are sonatas, although Robert Martin's catalogues are mentioned.⁶⁴

This leads to the question of whether any solo sonatas could have been composed in Britain around the time of the Restoration. There is some meagre evidence relating to the Lübeck-born virtuoso violinist Thomas Baltzar (1631–63), who joined the King's Private Music in 1661. The sale catalogue (1814) of Charles Burney (1726–1814), Lot 644, lists "solos' for a violin and a bass 'supposed' by Baltzer, Ms. 2 do [two part-books]", which according to *The New Grove* are no longer extant.⁶⁵ Similarly, 'Baltzer's Violin Solos' are listed in the sale catalogue of the composer and pianist Johann Baptist Cramer (1771–1858) sold in 1816, Lot 21, but these works are also lost.⁶⁶ It is not clear whether these 'solos' were solo sonatas as titles may have been added later, or some might have been unaccompanied works. There is also little way of knowing whether these pieces were indeed written by Baltzar or had been wrongly attributed to him. In any case, Baltzar's short

⁶² See Jonathan Wainwright, *Musical Patronage in Seventeenth-Century England: Christopher, First Baron Hatton (1605–1670)* (Aldershot: Scholar Press, 1997), p. 29.

⁶³ Denis Stevens, 'Seventeenth-Century Italian Instrumental Music in the Bodleian Library', *Acta Musicologica*, 26 3/4 (1954), 67–74 (p. 68, n. 5).

⁶⁴ John Leon Lievsay, *The Englishman's Italian Books, 1550–1700* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1969).

⁶⁵ Peter Holman, 'Baltzar, Thomas', *Grove Music Online* <www.oxfordmusiconline.com> [accessed 21 January 2014]; GB-Lbl, C.61.h.1. (12), 26 [A collection of miscellaneous sale catalogues from the years 1814–1865. With a few MS. notes by Sir George Smart]; see also A. Hyatt King, *Some British Collectors of Music c. 1600–1960* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1963), p. 133.

⁶⁶ GB-Lbl, C.61.h.1. (13); see also King, *Some British Collectors of Music*, p. 133.

stay in Britain from 1655 until his death in 1663 was significant owing to his contribution of virtuosic violin repertoire in the form of divisions and unaccompanied pieces; Baltzar's music is characterized by his use of chordal writing and high positions on the violin.⁶⁷ Patrick Wood Uribe argues that Baltzar's unaccompanied works show the influence of his own consort music and not necessarily that of English lyra viol music.⁶⁸

Two-part instrumental music in Britain before the solo sonata

If the solo sonata was indeed elusive in Britain before the Restoration, one might instead briefly consider what other two-part music or solo works with accompaniment (such as suites) were in circulation, but not labelled 'solos'.

Fantasias and fantasia-suites

Instrumental music in Britain largely comprised viol fantasias in equal parts; fantasias for two instrumental voices were composed for example by Orlando Gibbons (1583–1625) and John Coprario (c. 1570–1626). North compared the older fantasia style with sonatas:

And it was from the Italian model that wee framed those setts of musick, which were called Fancys, and in imitation of them inscribed *Fantazia*. These were much of the same nature with our modern Sonnata, but had the stamp of elder times, which are enough to distinguish them.⁶⁹

'Fantasia-suites' are contrapuntal pieces composed between about 1620 and 1660 for one or two violins (interchangeable with treble viols) and bass viol, together with a separate part that is described as being 'to the organ', arranged in the sequence 'fantasia-almaine-galliard'. Among the composers of fantasia-suites were John Coprario, William Lawes (1602–45), John Jenkins (1592–

⁶⁷ Pieces by Baltzar were printed in *The Division Violin* (1684), and as late as 1705 in the fourth edition of *The Second Part of the Division Violin*; others were copied into GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. F.573, a manuscript containing fifty-five works for unaccompanied violin by various composers; for Baltzar, see Peter Holman, 'Thomas Baltzar (?1631–1663), the 'Incomparable Lubicer on the Violin'', *Cheyls* 13 (1984), 3–38.

⁶⁸ Patrick Wood Uribe, "On that single Instrument a full Consort?: Thomas Baltzar's Works for Solo Violin and 'the grand metamorfosis of musick'", *Journal of Seventeenth-Century Music*, 15/1 (2009).

⁶⁹ Wilson, *Roger North on Music*, p. 289.

1678), John Hingeston (c. 1606–83) and Christopher Gibbons (1615–76).⁷⁰ Coprario's fantasia-suites, written in the 1620s for the household of Prince Charles of Wales (the future king Charles I (1600–49)) are the first examples, and include suites for one violin for which Coprario supplied written-out organ parts; they are among the earliest English pieces outside of dance music specifying the violin.⁷¹

Ayres

'Ayres' were usually simple one-movement pieces based on dances and arranged into suites; the bass part provides harmonic support for the melody instrument. Two-part 'ayres' or dances for treble and bass viols were composed for example by John Jenkins and Christopher Gibbons (1615–1676). *Courty Masquing Ayres* (1621) by John Adson (1587–1640) 'for violins, consorts and cornets' were printed in five and six parts; two-part versions exist in GB-Lbl, Add. MS 10,444, a manuscript containing Jacobean masque dances. As Peter Holman points out, some two-part music may originally have contained inner parts, or 'parties de remplissage' to fill in the harmony, which were often written by the composer's assistant.⁷²

Compositions by British violinists such as Davis Mell (1604–62) and John Banister senior (1624/5–1679) also provide clues as to what soloists were performing before the arrival of the solo sonata. Suites for unaccompanied violin by Mell are found in GB-Och, Mus. 433, comprising a prelude followed by three or four dance movements; GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. E.451 contains further works and all make use of double stopping, challenging string crossings and scordatura.

Another example of seventeenth-century music with a two-part texture is the lyra consort known as the *Little Consort*, for treble viol (or violin), lyra viol, bass viol and continuo by Christopher Simpson (c. 1602–6–1669). The treble and bass parts are independent, while the lyra viol provides the harmony; the continuo doubles the bass part.⁷³

⁷⁰ For the fantasia suite, see John Patrick Cunningham, 'The Fantasia-Suites' in *The Consort Music of William Lawes, 1602–1645* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2010), 177–212; Jane Troy Johnson, 'The English Fantasia-Suite, ca. 1620–1660' (PhD dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1971).

⁷¹ Christopher D.S. Field, 'Fantasia-suite', *Grove Music Online* <www.oxfordmusiconline.com> [accessed 30 September 2016].

⁷² See Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers*, pp. 186–194.

⁷³ GB-Ob, MS Mus.Sch.e.430, copied by Francis Withy in c. 1670, although the pieces were written earlier; John Cunningham, 'A Meeting of Amateur and Professional: Playford's 'Compendious Collection' of Two-Part Airs, *Court-Ayres* (Playford, London, 1655)' in *Concepts of Creativity in Seventeenth-Century England*, ed. Rebecca Herissone and Alan Howard (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2013), 201–32 (p. 230).

John Playford published various collections of two-part music, of which the first was a set of thirty-one pieces contained in *A Musicall Banquet* (1651) under the section titled ‘Musica Harmonia’.⁷⁴ Playford’s collection was reissued and vastly expanded as *Court-Ayres* (1655) and *Courtly Masquing Ayres* (1662), Fig. 1.2.⁷⁵ *Court-Ayres* was published around the time the violin was being adopted by amateurs and the instrumentation was flexible, designated for ‘Treble & Bass, for Viols or Violins’.⁷⁶

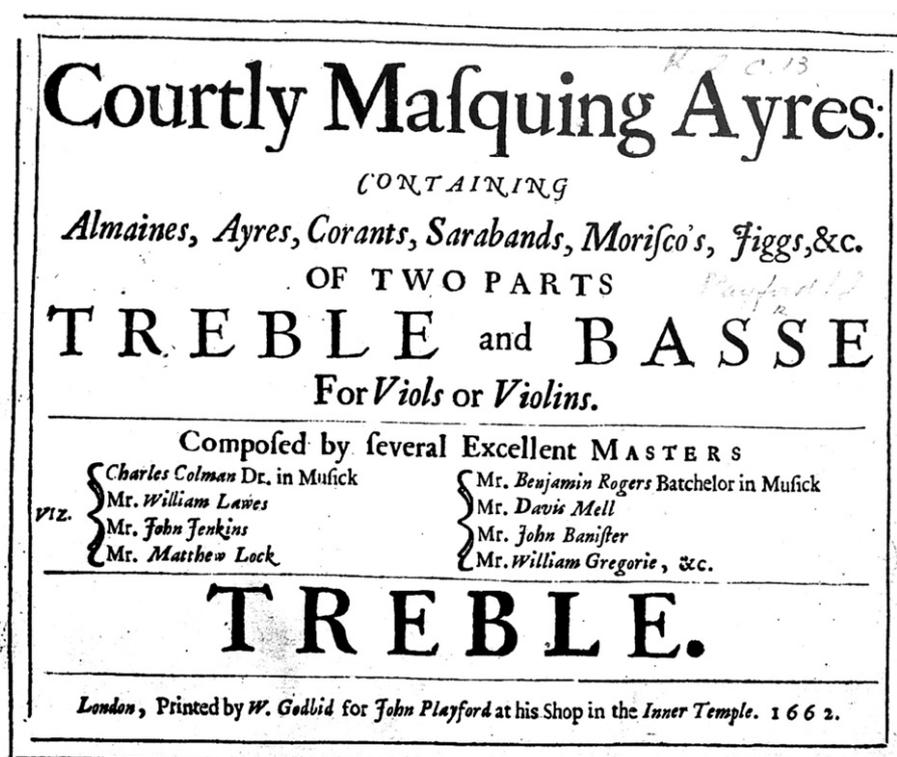


Fig. 1.2 Title page to *Courtly Masquing Ayres*, Treble (Playford, 1662)
By permission of the British Library, Music Collections, K.2.c.13

⁷⁴ *A Musicall Banquet*, *Set forth in Three Choice Varieties of Musick* (London: John Playford, 1651); the composers named are ‘Mr. William Lawes’, ‘Mr. Jenkins’, ‘Mr. Richard Cooke’, ‘Mr. Sympson’ and ‘Mr. Charles Colman’; the works are titled ‘Allmaine’, ‘Saraband’, ‘Elizium’, ‘Pavan’, ‘Coranto’, ‘Symphony’ and ‘Ayre’.

⁷⁵ *Court-Ayres* contained 245 pieces and *Courtly Masquing Ayres* 292 pieces; for a further discussion, see Cunningham, ‘A Meeting of Amateur and Professional: Playford’s ‘Compendious Collection’ of Two-Part Airs’, 201–32.

⁷⁶ *Court-Ayres, or, Pavins, Almaines, Corant's and Sarabands of Two Parts, Treble & Basse, for Viols or Violins: which may be performed in Consort to the Theorbo Lute or Virginalls* (London: John Playford, 1655); a variety of other titles such as ‘galliard’, ‘symphony’, ‘jigge’, ‘preludium’ and ‘ayre’ are included within the collection.

Divisions

In addition to ‘ayres’, divisions over a ground bass represent the most widespread accompanied solo music in Britain before the solo sonata. Divisions involved the breaking of longer notes into shorter rhythms, often over well-established ground basses, such as the ‘Passamezzo antico’, ‘Bergamasca’, ‘Ruggiero’ and ‘Romanesca’. Although traditionally divisions were improvised, examples for various instruments including viols, violin and recorder were written down. William Brade (1560–1630), a string player employed in Germany and Denmark, was probably the first British composer to write an accompanied solo violin piece, a set of divisions over a ground bass.⁷⁷ Brade’s divisions in G minor were partially published by John Playford in *The Division Violin* (1684), attributed to a ‘Cornel[i]o van Smelt’.⁷⁸ The work remains in first position but includes technical challenges such as frequent string crossings and rapid demisemiquaver runs (see Ex. 1.1).

A Division on a Ground by Cornel Van Smelt . (16).

The Ground

Ex. 1.1 ‘A Division on a Ground by Cornel van Smelt’, p. 1 (*The Division Violin*, 1684)

⁷⁷ See Calvin Raymond Huber, ‘The Life and Music of William Brade’ (PhD dissertation, University of North Carolina, 1965).

⁷⁸ Kurt Stephenson and Peter Holman, ‘Brade, William’, *Grove Music Online* <www.oxfordmusiconline.com> [accessed 20 November 2015].

Christopher Simpson's *The Division-Violist* (1659) was the foremost tutor book for that instrument, containing instructions on composition and extemporising over a ground bass.⁷⁹ Simpson explained why divisions were not only improvised but also written down:

True it is, that Invention is a gift of Nature: but much improved by Exercise, and Practice. He, that hath it not, in so high a Measure, as to Play Ex tempore to a Ground; may, notwithstanding, give both himself, and hearers sufficient satisfaction, in Playing such Divisions, as Himself, or Others, have made for that purpose. In the performance whereof, he may deserve the Name of an Excellent Artist.⁸⁰

Some divisions for the violin were initially adapted from viol works; for example, the 'Division: C. S.' in *The Division Violin* (1684) is an arrangement from 'Divisions for the practice of Learners' in *The Division-Viol*. Such works continued to be written well after the Restoration; examples for recorder include the 'Italian Ground' printed in *The Delightful Companion* (Playford and Carr, 1686) and *The Division Flute* (Walsh, 1706).

1.3 'Entertainments of musick which they call *Sonnata's*': Arrival of the Sonata

Changes in instrumental styles

After the Restoration of the monarchy in 1660, the court of Charles II (1660–85) embraced the French instrumental style, which the king had grown to love in exile at his cousin Louis XIV's palace in Versailles during the Civil War. In parallel to the *Vingt-quatre Violons du Roi* at the French court, a similar band, the *Twenty-four Violins*, was set up by Charles II to play for dancing and dining, although it should be noted that a violin band had already been in place before the Restoration from 1540.⁸¹ The king's dislike for viol fantasias and preference for sprightly violin music was famously described by North:

King Charles II was professed lover of musick [...] and had an utter detestation of Fancys, and the less for a successless entertainment of that kind given him by Secretary Williamson, after which the Secretary had no peace, for the King (as his way was) could not forbear whetting his witt upon the

⁷⁹ Published in 1665 as *The Division-Viol*, divisions are also found in numerous British manuscripts, such as US-NYP, Drexel 3551, containing eighty-four pages of divisions for bass viol, bound together with Simpson's *The Division Violist* (1659).

⁸⁰ Christopher Simpson, *The Division-Violist: OR, AN INTRODUCTION To the PLAYING upon a GROUND* (London: printed by William Godbid, and sold by John Playford, 1659), p. 21.

⁸¹ See especially Holman, 'The Fidededies': Charles II and the 'Twenty-four Violins' and 'Waiters upon the Violin' in *Four and Twenty Fiddlers*, 282–330.

subject of the Fancy-musick, and its patron the Secretary. And he would not allow the matter to be disputed upon the point of meliority, but run all downe by saying, Have not I ears? He could not bear any musick to which he could not keep the time, which he constantly did to all that was presented to him, and for the most part heard it standing.⁸²

A gradual decline in viol consorts took place after the Restoration, with Henry Purcell writing the last examples in the early 1680s. By this date, the bass viol, lyra viol and their solo repertoire had eclipsed the treble and tenor viols, which were mostly used in consort music.

As Margaret Mabbett explains, Italians continued to be employed at court after the Restoration, including musicians descended from the Bassano, Ferrabosco and Lupo families, who had been employed by previous monarchs; in addition, Italian musicians in the service of Queen Christina of Sweden (1626–89) joined the English court during the 1660s after her abdication in 1654.⁸³ Charles II's Portuguese consort, Catherine of Braganza (1638–1705), had initially employed Portuguese musicians who were gradually replaced by Italians. In March 1673 there was a Commons resolution leading to the discharge of Charles II's and the Duke of York's Catholic servants; some were permitted to remain in the queen's service, while others stayed unofficially.⁸⁴ The fabricated Popish Plot (1678–81) also frightened some Italian musicians into making preparations for leaving the country, although many remained and others eventually returned.

Trio sonatas

Although music at court was shaped by Charles II's taste for the French style, Italian music (particularly vocal) was also performed, as documented in the diaries of Samuel Pepys and John Evelyn (1620–1706).⁸⁵ Trio sonatas began to be composed and distributed in other circles from the Restoration onwards, apparently earlier than the solo sonata. North wrote around 1695 that he had belonged to a weekly music meeting in London which began playing sonatas during the 1670s:

And it was my fortune to be in that company which introduc't the Itallian composed entertainements of musick which they call *Sonnata's*, and in old time imitated by our masters in what they called Fancys.

⁸² Wilson, *Roger North on Music*, p. 350.

⁸³ See Margaret Mabbett, 'Italian Musicians in Restoration England (1660–90)', *Music & Letters*, 67/3 (1986), 237–47.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 240.

⁸⁵ *Loc. cit.*

The Court, about this time, entertained onely the theatricall musick and French air in song, but that somewhat softened and variegated; so also was the instrumentall, more vague, and with a mixture of caprice or Scottish way, than was used by the French; but the Italian had no sort of relish. But wee found most satisfaction in the Italian, for their measures were just and quick, set off with wonderfull solemne *Grave's*, and full of variety. The old English Fancys were in imitation of an elder Italian sort of *sonnata*, but fell from the sprightlyness and variety they had even in those times, into a perpetuall grave course of fuge [...] At length the towne came off the French way, and fell in with the Italian, and now that holds the ear.⁸⁶

Based on its style, the trio sonata in G minor for two violins by Giovanni Battista Draghi (c.1640–1708) is possibly the earliest such work to have been composed in Britain. It dates from some time after Draghi arrived from Italy, which may have been as early as 1664, and certainly by 1667.⁸⁷

Early trio sonatas included particularly the German model for violin, bass viol and continuo as indicated by their presence in British manuscripts from the 1670s and 80s.⁸⁸ The adoption of these sonatas may have been a natural transition from fantasias and fantasia-suites (for violin, bass viol and organ), which were performed in domestic settings. Around a century later, Sir John Hawkins and Charles Burney attributed some of the earliest trio sonatas composed in Britain to John Jenkins, although these are now believed to have been dance suites.⁸⁹ Manuscripts containing fantasias by Jenkins are titled ‘sonata’ in manuscripts at Durham Cathedral Library, but named ‘fantasia’ in other sources.⁹⁰ Hawkins gave the following account of Jenkins:

⁸⁶ Wilson, *Roger North on Music*, p. 25.

⁸⁷ GB-Lbl, Add. MS 33,236, ff. 61–62, dated c. 1680–3, although the sonata may have been composed a decade earlier; see Peter Holman and John Cunningham, ed., *Restoration Trio Sonatas, Purcell Society Companion Series*, Vol. 4 (London: Stainer & Bell, 2012), p. xv.

⁸⁸ See especially Marc Caudle, ‘The English Repertory for Violin, Bass viol, and Continuo’, *Cheyls*, vol. 6 (1975–6), 69–75; manuscript and printed collections of trio sonatas in British collections are found in the North collection in the British Library and the Music School Collection in the Bodleian Library; see preface to Holman and Cunningham, *Restoration Trio Sonatas*, Min-Jung Kang, ‘The Trio Sonata in Restoration England (1660–1714)’ (PhD dissertation, University of Leeds, 2008) and Stevens, ‘Seventeenth-Century Italian Instrumental Music in the Bodleian Library’; according to Peter Holman, much of this repertoire is found in GB-DRc, MS Mus. D2, GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,423, Set 6, and GB-HAdolmetsch, MS II.c.25; see Peter Holman, *Life After Death: The Viola da Gamba in Britain from Purcell to Dolmetsch* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2010), pp. 18–9.

⁸⁹ These works have not been identified with certainty, but may have been adapted from dance suites found in Playford’s *Courty Masquing Ayres* (1662); see Rudolf Rasch, ‘Seventeenth-Century Dutch Editions of English Instrumental Music’, *Music & Letters*, 53/3 (1972), 270–3; fantasia-suites by Jenkins scored for two trebles, bass viol and organ also potentially match this scoring; see Andrew Ashbee, ed., *John Jenkins: Fantasia-Suites: I* (London: Stainer & Bell, 2001), p. lxxviii.

⁹⁰ Kang, ‘The Trio Sonata in Restoration England (1660–1714)’, p. 90.

In compliance therefore with this general prepossession in favour of the Italian style, Jenkins composed twelve Sonatas for two violins and a bass, with a thorough-bass for the organ, printed at London about the year 1660, and at Amsterdam in 1664; and these were the first compositions of the kind by an Englishman.⁹¹

Trio sonatas for violins were also widespread and Purcell's *Sonnata's of III Parts* (1683), dedicated to Charles II, was the first printed collection by a British composer. Purcell had 'faithfully endeavour'd a just imitation of the most fam'd Italian Masters', and the frequently cited preface reveals the growing taste for Italian-style music by the 1680s:

He [the author] is not ashamed to own his unskilfulness in the Italian Language; but that's the unhappiness of his Education, which cannot justly be accounted his fault, however he thinks he may warrantably affirm, that he is not mistaken in the power of the Italian Notes, or elegancy of their Compositions, which he would recommend to the English Artists.⁹²

Peter Holman has rightly argued that North's description of the arrival of 'solos' meant trio sonatas for violin and bass viol, rather than solo sonatas:⁹³

But however whilst divers country familys and citty societys still used the old musick, noveltys continually dropt in upon them. Here came over many Germans, chiefly violists, as Scheiffare [? Jakob Scheiffelhut (1647–1709)], Voglesang [Wilhelm Ludwig Vogelsang (d. 1707)], and of other names to fright one. These introduced many solos for the viol and violin, being rough and unaiery devisions, but for the active part they were coveted. The best printed consorts that went about were of one Becker a Sweed, which doe not deserve to be, as they are, layd aside. And severall litle printed consorts came over from Italy, as Cazzati, Vitali, and other lesser scrapps which were made use of in corners.⁹⁴

Chapter summary and conclusions

The broad definition of 'sonata' meant that it could be used conveniently to describe instrumental music in different contexts. 'Sonata' and 'solo' were used interchangeably in Restoration Britain,

⁹¹ Hawkins, *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music*, p. 584; see also Charles Burney, *A General History of Music From the Earliest Ages to the Present Period (1789) Volume the Second with Critical and Historical Notes by Frank Mercer* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1935), p. 322.

⁹² Henry Purcell, *SONNATA'S OF III PARTS: TWO VIOLLINS And BASSE: To the Organ or Harpsecord* (London: printed for the author and sold by J. Playford and J. Carr, 1683), preface.

⁹³ Holman, *Life After Death*, p. 13.

⁹⁴ Wilson, *Roger North on Music*, p. 302.

although generally ‘sonata’ referred to trio sonatas and ‘solo’ to solo sonatas. Furthermore, this flexibility meant that terms such as ‘entertainments’ or ‘simfonies’ could refer to solo sonatas, making it sometimes difficult to identify the music in question.

There is some evidence that solo sonatas arrived in Britain through Robert Martin’s sale of Marini’s Op. 8 violin sonatas before the Restoration, as well as lost ‘solos’ by Baltzar. Jonathan Wainwright emphasises that since the court was a model for musical fashions, the Civil War and Commonwealth periods slowed down the integration of Italianate music.⁹⁵ Given that Italian vocal music was known and remained in circulation from the early seventeenth century onwards, it is surprising that sonatas can apparently only be found in British sources after the Restoration.⁹⁶ But as Sandra Mangsen points out, in Italy ‘Between 1600 and 1675 instrumental music was much less frequently printed than was either sacred or secular vocal music’, so was generally less available.⁹⁷

Virtuosic solo-bass music copied by Notari otherwise exists alongside more traditional British two-part compositions such as ayres and divisions. During the second half of the seventeenth century there was a steady decline in fantasias, and consort music eventually became obsolete, while dance tunes and divisions continued to circulate until well after the arrival of the sonata. Roger North commented:

I must observe that the use of chests of violls, which supplied all instrumentall consorts, kept back the English from falling soon into the modes of forreйн countrys, where the violin and not the treble viol was in use.⁹⁸

Although French-style instrumental music was prevalent at the court of Charles II and a model for theatre music, the trio sonata was instituted outside the court and initially favoured over the solo sonata, probably owing to its similarities with the fantasia suite. This trend also reflects the general predominance of sonatas for multiple parts throughout the era.

Despite much political upheaval, a fashion for Italianate and other foreign styles was well-established by the 1680s, seemingly to the dismay of John Playford, writing in the preface to the third book of *CHOICE AYRES and SONGS* (1681):

⁹⁵ Jonathan Wainwright, ‘Introduction: From ‘Renaissance’ to ‘Baroque’?’, in *From Renaissance to Baroque: Change in Instruments and Instrumental Music in the Seventeenth Century*, ed. Jonathan Wainwright and Peter Holman (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing Limited; Burlington, V.T.: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2005), 1–21 (p. 14).

⁹⁶ For a further discussion, see preface to Holman and Cunningham, *Restoration Trio Sonatas*.

⁹⁷ Sandra Mangsen, ‘The Dissemination of the Pre-Corellian Trio Sonatas in Manuscript and Printed Sources’, p. 73.

⁹⁸ Wilson, *Roger North on Music*, p. 222.

I am sorry it is (in this Age) so much the Vanity of some of our *English* Gentry to admire that in a Foreigner, which they either slight, or take little notice of in one of their own Nation; for I am sure that our *English* Masters in Musick (either Vocal or Instrumental Musick) are not in Skill and Judgment inferiour to any Foreigners whatsoever, the same Rules in this Science being generally used all over *Europe*.⁹⁹

North wrote that it was the Italian violinist Nicola Matteis who became the catalyst for a new type of solo repertoire during the 1670s. His influence will be explored in the following chapter.

Divers virtuosi [...] sought somewhat of more value than pure French, and procured from abroad divers setts of musick in print, as of Cazzati and Vitali from Italy, and of one Becker a Swede; and so a shift was made, till the coming over of Sig^r Nicola Mateis, who gave a new taste and made a revolution, as I shall shew.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁹ From my House in Arundel-Street, near the Thames side, Novemb. 2. 1680^r; *CHOICE AYRES and SONGS TO SING TO THE Theorbo=Lute; or Bass=Viol: BEING Most of the Newest Ayres and Songs sung at COURT, And at the Publick THEATRES* (London: John Playford, 1681), preface.

¹⁰⁰ Wilson, *Roger North on Music*, p. 302, n. 47.

CHAPTER 2

‘Composed after the Italian way’:

Solo Sonatas before Corelli’s Op. 5 (1700)

This chapter considers solo sonatas circulating in Britain from the publication of *Ayrs For the Violin* (London, 1676, 1685) by Nicola Matteis (fl. c. 1670–90) to the arrival of *Sonate a violino e violone o cimbalò*, Op. 5 (Rome, 1700) by Arcangelo Corelli (1653–1713). While some of these works and their sources are known to scholars, others have been virtually neglected; no one study which collates this material (particularly before 1700) has yet been attempted, and this chapter aims to contribute to an enhanced understanding of the chronology and development of this repertoire in Britain.

The first solo sonatas in British sources are found in manuscripts from the 1670s and 80s; some manuscripts dating from the beginning of the eighteenth century also contain music belonging to an earlier period. Except for Matteis’s *Ayrs*, solo sonatas were not printed in Britain until the 1680s, and for that reason, published works are addressed after the manuscripts.

2.1 Early Solo Sonatas Composed Abroad

Before the Restoration, the earliest solo sonatas by British-born composers were written abroad by the exiled Catholic viol players Henry Butler (d. 1652) and Anthony Poole (c. 1629–92). William Young (d. 1662), also an exiled Catholic, was the first British composer to use the title ‘sonata’ in his 1653 collection published in Innsbruck, although none of these works are solo sonatas.¹

Henry Butler (d. 1652)

The first Englishman to compose a solo sonata was almost certainly the exiled Catholic viol player Henry Butler (d. 1652). Butler was born in Sussex, but from 1623 until his death was employed as ‘musico violon’ or ‘musico de bihuela de arco’, or viol player, at the court of Philip IV of Spain (1605–65). The work is an untitled, undated sonata-like work for bass viol and basso continuo, which is eighty-eight bars long and in E minor. Elizabeth Phillips argues that with its prelude, fast division section and fugal writing, Butler’s composition is a strong contender for the earliest solo

¹ William Young, *SONATE à 3. 4. e 5. Con alcune Allemand, Correnti e Balletti à 3* (Innsbruck: Michael Wagner, 1653), dedicated to Archduke Ferdinand Karl of Innsbruck; a copy of Young’s sonatas was included in the library of Thomas Britton (1644–1714) and works from it are found in GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. E. 447–9.

sonata by a British composer.² Phillips proposes that some of the influences on Butler's music may have been a visit to Rome in the 1640s and Italian musicians working at the Capilla Real in Spain.³ No instruments are specified, but the music (particularly the chordal writing) lends itself idiomatically to the bass viol; Butler's work may therefore also be the earliest surviving solo sonata for this instrument.⁴

GB-DRc, MS Mus. D10

While Butler's sonata dates from sometime before his death in 1652, the only known source is GB-DRc, MS Mus. D10, where it is copied onto pp. 160–1. According to *The Viola da Gamba Society Index of Manuscripts*, GB-DRc, MS Mus. D10 probably dates from the 1670s.⁵ This foreign manuscript is in oblong score and forms part of the collection previously owned by the clergyman Philip Falle (1656–1742) at Durham Cathedral Library.⁶ It has been dated 'late seventeenth-century' by Brian Crosby in his catalogue of Durham Cathedral Music Manuscripts.⁷

Butler's work is in five contrasting sections, which is typical of early seventeenth-century sonatas by Italian composers such as Dario Castello (fl. first half of seventeenth century), Giovanni Battista Fontana (1589–1630) and Biagio Marini (1594–1663). It is signed only with the initials 'H.B.'; the name 'Heinrich Botler' and other Germanic spellings elsewhere in the manuscript imply that the work did not reach Britain directly.⁸ Andrew Fowler suggests that D.10 was copied in the

² See Elizabeth Phillips, 'Henry Butler and the Early Viol Sonata', *Journal of the Viola da Gamba Society of America*, 21 (1984), 45–52; a facsimile of the sonata is printed in the preface to a modern edition of Butler's works: Elizabeth V. Phillips, ed., with Basso Continuo Realizations and Commentary by Jack Ashworth, *Henry Butler: Collected Works, Recent Researches in the Music of the Baroque Era*, vol. 66 (Madison, Wis: A-R Editions, 1991); p. 161 of Butler's sonata is also reproduced in Andrew Ashbee, Robert Thompson, and Jonathan Wainwright, comp., *The Viola da Gamba Society Index of Manuscripts Containing Consort Music*, vol. 2 (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Limited; Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2008), p. 403.

³ See Elizabeth Phillips, 'The Divisions and Sonatas of Henry Butler' (PhD dissertation, Washington University in St. Louis, 1982).

⁴ For Butler, see also Elizabeth V. Phillips and Patxi del Amo, 'Butler, Henry', *Grove Music Online* <Oxford Music Online> [accessed 12 June 2017].

⁵ For GB-DRc, MS Mus. D10, see Ashbee, Thompson, and Wainwright, *The Viola da Gamba Society Index of Manuscripts*, vol. 2, pp. 64–9; see also Andrew Fowler, 'Englishmen Abroad – The Contents of Durham Cathedral Library Music MS D10', *The Viol*, 23 (Summer 2011), 19–26.

⁶ D10 also contains mid-seventeenth century divisions, sonatas and suites for one to three bass viols and continuo, as well as the combination of violin, bass viol and continuo, composed in the mid-seventeenth century; among the other composers represented are Daniel Norcombe (?1576–1653), Theodore Steffkin (d. 1673), Maurice Webster (c. 1600–1635), William Young (d. 1662), and Johann Michael Nicolai (1629–1685).

⁷ Brian Crosby, *A catalogue of Durham Cathedral music manuscripts* (Oxford: Oxford University Press for the Dean and Chapter of Durham, 1986), p. 54.

⁸ For example, 'Maarit Webster' for 'Maurice Webster', 'Will Joung' for 'William Young', and 'Ditrich Stoeffken' for 'Theodore Steffkin'.

Netherlands, probably by an amateur and that the manuscript's small size (115 x 230mm) would have made it impractical for performances.⁹ Peter Holman also puts forward the idea that Falle obtained the manuscript in the Netherlands, or, since works by native British composers are included, from immigrants.¹⁰

It is not known whether Butler's sonata-like composition circulated in Britain in earlier sources than D.10 and influenced composers here. It is nonetheless noteworthy that the viol player Christopher Simpson (c. 1602–06–1669) knew Butler's music, instructing in *The Division-Violist* (1659) that he 'would have you peruse the *Divisions* which other men have made upon *Grounds*; as those of Mr. *Henry Butler* [...] and divers other Excellent Men of this our Nation'.¹¹

I would further like to point out that D.10 also contains an anonymous 'Sonatino' for bass viol and continuo in D major, copied onto pp. 90–3. Written in an early-mid seventeenth-century Italian or German style, it comprises a mixture of eleven titled and untitled sections/changes in time signature, of which the final three are an 'Allemandt', 'Courant' and a 'Sarab.' with variations.

Anthony Poole (c. 1629–92)

The next British composer to write a solo sonata may have been the Jesuit Anthony Poole, another exiled Catholic viol player. Poole was born in Spinkhill, Derbyshire, and received his education at the English Jesuit College of Saint-Omer in Spanish Flanders (c.1641–6) and at the English College in Rome (1646–8). He returned to Saint-Omer intermittently between 1659 and 1678 and spent time at the Jesuit College in Liège in 1672 and from 1679 to 1692.¹² Patxi del Amo proposes that Poole may have met Butler in Rome in the 1640s and known his solo sonata, or perhaps encountered it during his time in the Netherlands.¹³

F-Pn, Vm⁷ 137323/137317

Poole's sonata-like work survives in its original scoring for viol and basso continuo in three movements in F-Pn, Vm⁷ 137323/137317, a manuscript comprising two oblong part-books

⁹ Fowler, 'Englishmen Abroad – The Contents of Durham Cathedral Library Music MS D10', p. 26.

¹⁰ Peter Holman, *Life After Death: The Viola da Gamba in Britain from Purcell to Dolmetsch* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2010), p. 63.

¹¹ Christopher Simpson, *The Division-Violist* (London: John Playford, 1659), pp. 47–8.

¹² For Poole, see especially Patxi Xabier del Amo Iribarren, 'Anthony Poole (c.1629–1692), the Viol and Exiled English Catholics' (PhD dissertation, University of Leeds, 2011).

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 278.

containing mostly division music. It is closely connected to Poole and Jesuit circles, bearing the arms of James II and his exiled court at Saint-Germain-en-Laye, which was established after the Glorious Revolution of 1688. The manuscript was possibly bound there after Poole's death, and owned by Secretary of State John Caryll (1626–1711).¹⁴ Poole's music in F-Pn, Vm⁷ 137323/137317 is thought to date from the 1660s and 1670s, with the same ten anonymous pieces found ascribed to Poole in GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. C.71.¹⁵ While Poole's works in C.71 are divisions and dance movements as opposed to solo sonatas, they show a transmission of his music to Oxford.

Research by Patxi del Amo has shown that Poole's music was known in Oxford by 1673, with most of it arriving later, around 1678. It is proposed that this was achieved via a possible visit to England by Poole himself around 1670–1671 and in 1678, or through viol players with Catholic connections such as Francis Withy (c. 1645–1727), William Noble (1649/50–1681) or Edward Lowe (c. 1610–82).¹⁶ In the second edition of *The Division Violin* (1685), John Playford (1623–86) stated that he had 'made several new Additions, especially two excellent Divisions upon a Ground, composed by that famous Master of Musick Mr. Anthony Poole'.¹⁷

D-F Mus HS 337

D-F Mus HS 337, a manuscript in the Universitätsbibliothek Johann Christian Senckenberg in Frankfurt am Main, contains as its first item the same Poole solo sonata found in F-Pn, Vm⁷ 137323/137317. It is a large volume of English division-violin music dating from c. 1650–75, believed to have been copied by a British scribe in the last quarter of the seventeenth century, probably from an unknown source of viol music.¹⁸ As with the works by Poole and Simpson printed in *The Division Violin*, the divisions found in D-F Mus HS 337 were 'transposed an eighth higher for the violin', as indicated by the titles found in the manuscript.

Poole's sonata-like work was copied into D-F Mus HS 337 in an incomplete violin arrangement comprising only the first and third movements (without continuo) entitled 'Battle and Triumph composed for the Bass-Viol before the year 1600 by Mr Anthony Poole. Part thereof transposed

¹⁴ For a detailed description of F-Pn, Vm⁷ 137323/137317, see Patxi del Amo, 'Anthony Poole (c.1629–1692)', pp. 154–81.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 197.

¹⁶ Different possibilities for transmission are explored in *Ibid.*, p. 134, 199.

¹⁷ *The Division Violin*, second edition (London: John Playford, 1685), preface.

¹⁸ Patxi del Amo, 'Anthony Poole (c.1629–1692)', p. 223; Andrew Ashbee, 'The mystery of Polewheel and his Ground', *The Viola da Gamba Society Journal*, 5 (2011), 1–13 (p. 5).

for the Violin'.¹⁹ The date '1600' appears to be a copying error, perhaps intended to be 1660 or 1680.²⁰ The programmatic title corresponds to the numerous 'battle' pieces composed in the seventeenth century, notably *Battalia* (1673) by Heinrich Ignaz Franz von Biber (1644–1704). This arrangement of *Battle and Triumph* presents the violinist with technical challenges including seventh position (A₆), chordal writing and rapid passagework. In fact, the violin arrangements of divisions in D-F Mus HS 337 are unusual in that they frequently employ sixth and seventh positions, unlike the music printed in *The Division Violin*, which largely utilises first, or occasionally third position. This indicates that the music in D-F Mus HS 337 was copied for or by a particularly skilled player and further highlights the greater complexity of viol repertoire compared to violin music in Britain at this time. In fact, the violin arrangement of *Battle and Triumph* in D-F Mus HS 337 is stylistically more akin to the advanced technical idiom of German seventeenth-century violin music (such as the music of Biber) than the comparatively modest early solo sonatas by British composers.

In addition to *Battle and Triumph*, three further 'sonatas' for bass viol and basso continuo have recently been attributed by Patxi del Amo to Poole in F-Pn, Vm⁷ 137323/137317 based on similarities in style. These works include *Euphrasia* (PW3), *Cantabrese* (PW8) and *Bethleem* (PW17), all composed in five movements.²¹ They are all English in style, but show an Italianate influence with movement names such as 'Grave' and 'Canzona'; these works could possibly also have been composed by a British musician closely associated with Poole, although unfortunately there are no further sources to verify this.²²

Neither Butler nor Poole gave their works titles such as 'sonata' or 'solo' and therefore any modern headings are attributed based on style. Considering the importance of the violin in Italianate sonatas, it is worth noting that Butler and Poole were both viola da gamba players writing for their own instrument. The strong tradition of viol playing in Britain at the time was closely connected with Catholic circles, while the violin was still gaining acceptance among amateurs. It is unclear whether Butler's solo sonata had any direct influence on British composers, except through a speculative connection to Poole. While Simpson's reference to Butler suggests that his divisions were known in Britain, and perhaps even composed here, the same cannot be said for his sonata-

¹⁹ PW18b in Patxi del Amo's catalogue of Poole's works; the viol version in F-Pn, Vm⁷ 137323/137317 is catalogued as PW18a.

²⁰ Patxi del Amo, 'Anthony Poole (c.1629–1692)', pp. 221–2.

²¹ See the catalogue of Poole's works in *ibid.*, pp. 324, 326–7, 330–1.

²² I would like to thank Patxi del Amo for providing me with additional information about this manuscript (personal communication, 5 February 2018).

like piece. Conversely, since Poole's multi-movement works are found in seventeenth-century British sources for both the viol and violin, they are of significance to the arrival and development of the solo sonata.

2.2 'Admirable sonnatas a solo': Nicola Matteis

The Italian violinist and guitarist Nicola Matteis arrived in Britain in the late 1660s or early 1670s and was described 'of Naples' on the title page to his third book of *Ajrs* (1685). While Matteis never achieved a position at the English court, he was instrumental in promoting a new style of solo violin repertoire as well as introducing new and more advanced techniques for the instrument in Britain; he thereby provided a crucial stepping-stone for the wider reception of the violin among amateurs. The first account of Matteis dates from 17 November 1674, recorded in the diary of John Evelyn (1620–1706), who heard him perform at the home of his friend Henry Slingsby (1619/20–1690), Master of the Mint;²³ it is however likely that Matteis was already in Britain several years prior to this.²⁴

By far the most informative contemporaneous source on Matteis is Roger North (1651–1734), according to whom 'it was say'd that he [Matteis] travelled thro' Germany on foot with his violin under a full coat at his back'.²⁵ North attributed Matteis's influence, along with gentlemen undertaking the Grand Tour, to the increased interest in Italian instrumental music in Britain:

There was 2 circumstances which concurred to convert the English Musick intirely over from the French to the Italian taste. One was the coming over of old Nicholai Matteis; he was a sort of precursor who made way for what was to follow.²⁶ [...] The other circumstance I hinted, was the numerous traine of yong travellers of the best quality and estates, that about this time went over into Italy and resided at Rome and Venice, where they heard the best musick and learnt of the best masters'.²⁷

North explained that initially Matteis's arrogance prevented him from being well-received:

²³ Esmond Samuel de Beer, ed., *The Diary of John Evelyn*, vol. 4 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955), p. 4.

²⁴ For a detailed biography of Matteis, see Simon Jones, 'The "Stupendious" Nicola Matteis: An Exploration of his Life, his Works for the Violin and his Performing Style', 3 vols. (PhD dissertation, University of York, 2003).

²⁵ John Wilson, ed., *Roger North on Music: Being a Selection from his Essays Written During the Years c. 1695–1728* (London: Novello and Company, 1959), p. 308, n. 60.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 307.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 310.

He was heard play at Court but his manner did not take, and he behaved himself fastously [arrogantly]; no person must whisper while he played, which sort of attention had not bin the fashion at Court.²⁸

Moreover, Matteis ‘was so outrageous in his demands, especially for his high peices solos, that very few would come up to him, and he continued low and obscure a long time’.²⁹ It is difficult to know exactly what is meant by this phrase, but perhaps these ‘high peices solos’ were highly-regarded, unpublished violin pieces designed for Matteis’s own performances, and North was not necessarily referring to high positions on the violin.³⁰ In fact, like so much of the violin music during this period in England, ‘virtuosity’ in Matteis’s printed works cannot be defined in terms of position work. As Peter Walls points out, the venture to G₆ by Matteis in the ‘Aria burlesca con molte bizzarrie’, in Book 2, p. 52 is highly unusual.³¹ Matteis’s printed *Ayres* favour first position, with occasional extensions to C₆ in second position. This was similarly the case for Corelli, whose music was so revered in Britain: there are only three instances of E₆ in Corelli’s Op. 5 violin sonatas, which do not otherwise extend beyond D₆ in third position. Conversely, North was in fact commenting on high positions, which he wrote about in relation to the violin in c. 1726, considering the technique to be a novelty:

Another practise upon the violin is much courted and admired, which is dealing with the hyper-superior octave which they call high notes, and with which is commonly joynd the *arpeggio*. All this may be called humour, any thing rather than musick. For the naturalists say that musically sounds are confined within limits: too low ceaseth to be sound, and too high looseth all effective force, and is rather squeak than tone, and at a distance is no better than a whistle [...] certainly the best use that can be made of any instrument is drawne from the compass of its native force, where the tone is free, lowd, and well conditioned; and that for the most part proves to be about the midle of the instrument.³²

²⁸ Ibid, p. 355.

²⁹ Loc. cit.

³⁰ I would like to thank my supervisor Professor David Wyn Jones for this insight; apart from a fourth-finger extension to C₆, high positions are not mentioned in British violin treatises during the period in question; Francesco Geminiani (1687–1762) later detailed seven positions called ‘orders’ in *The Art of Playing on the Violin* (1751); North made a similarly ambiguous remark about the flageolet playing of John Banister senior (1624/5–1679) in the latter’s early public concerts: ‘and divers musically curiosities were presented, as, for instance, Banister himself, upon a flageolet in consort, which was never heard before nor since, unless imitated by the high manner upon the violin’; see Wilson, *Roger North on Music*, p. 303.

³¹ Peter Walls, ‘The Influence of the Italian Violin School in 17th-Century England’, *Early Music*, 18/4 (1990), 575–584+587 (p. 581).

³² Ibid, p. 234–5.

Indeed, North disclosed that Matteis's performance style could not entirely be deduced from his prints, and it is therefore reasonable to assume that he made use of the violin's full compass:

He published some books of lessons for his scollars that shew much of his air, and skill, but nothing of his manner of playing, which made them much richer than the prints shew, and now it is impossible either to find out or describe the musick he made of them.³³

Besides the *Ayres*, which were published as pedagogical material, it is not known what Matteis performed other than the music being 'out of his books'.³⁴ North explained that Matteis's 'full consorts and solos were not printed, and I think are very scarce if at all to be mett with'.³⁵ Elsewhere he wrote that Matteis 'left divers solos and some full consorts, which tended to aggrandize the harmony, but what is become of the latter I know not'.³⁶

Sir William Waldegrave, a lutenist, Sir Roger L'Estrange (1616–1704), a viol player, and William Bridgman, a harpsichordist (all proficient amateurs) together advised Matteis that 'the temper of the English who if they were humoured would be liberall, but if not humoured would doe nothing at all'.³⁷ Thereafter Matteis rose to prominence as a violin teacher, leading him to self-publish his four books of *Ayres*. North wrote that 'for seeing his lessons, (which were all *duos*), take with his scollars, and that most gentlemen desired them, he was at some charge to have them graven in copper, and printed in oblong octavos'.³⁸

Books 1 and 2 of Matteis's *Ayrs* for violin and bass were first advertised in London in 1676, and Books 3 and 4 in 1685; a separate fifth collection dates from 1680/1, but remained in manuscript apart from a publication by Roger in 1702.³⁹ According to the general preference for music in multiple parts rather than solo music in the 1670s and 80s, optional second violin parts were issued for the first four books (these only circulated in manuscript for the first two books until Walsh published them in 1703), and tenor (i.e. viola) parts for the first two. The large number of extant manuscript and printed sources are testimony to the wide distribution of Matteis's music during

³³ Ibid, p. 310.

³⁴ Ibid, p. 357.

³⁵ Loc. cit.

³⁶ Ibid, p. 310.

³⁷ Ibid, p. 355.

³⁸ Ibid, p. 356.

³⁹ *Les solos de Nicolas Mathys, livre premier, second, troisieme, quatrieme, cinquieme* (Amsterdam: Estienne Roger, 1702); see Jones, 'The "Stupendious" Nicola Matteis', p. 49.

his lifetime; Simon Jones has identified at least thirty-seven extant manuscripts and thirty-eight extant prints.⁴⁰

Matteis's music was also known in Scotland in the seventeenth century: 'Ane Catollogue of Books left at Edr Agustt 1685' compiled by the Jacobite army officer and scholar Harry Maule (1659–1734) included 'Nicolla Mateis firistt book in two pairts', 'Nicolla Mateis second book in two peartts' as well as 'a booke of violin lessons by nicollas matteis' in manuscript.⁴¹

To some degree Matteis attempted to conform to British musical fashions: the title page to Book 1, *Ayrs For the Violin Preludes Allmands Sarabands Courantes Gigue Divisions and double Compositions fitted to all hands and Capacities* is similar to titles such as Playford's *Courtly Masquing Ayres Containing Almanes, Ayres, Corants, Sarabands, Morisco's, Jiggs* (1662). This is further evident from Matteis's preface to the Italian-language publication of Book 1, which Jones argues was published around the same time as its English counterpart in 1676, and not in 1688 as has often been suggested:⁴²

It is an honourable and proper thing to conform to the customs of those persons with whom one lives. Seeing that for some years I have lived under the northern skies I have sought to adopt the musical tastes of the inhabitants of this country without distancing myself too far from the Italian style.⁴³

More inventive and descriptive Italian movement titles are also found within the *Ayres*, such as 'Diverse bizzarrie' (variations over a ground bass) 'Sopra la Vecchia Sarabanda ò pur Ciaccona', 'In Genio Inglese' (a French overture-style movement characterised by dotted rhythms, as adopted in British music such as theatre suites), and 'Andamento malinconico'.

'Old Nicola' in GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,466

While each movement stands alone in the printed *Ayres*, in c. 1726 North described how Matteis had combined them to create multi-movement solo sonatas:

⁴⁰ A list of manuscript and printed sources for Matteis's music is given in *ibid*, pp. 286–95.

⁴¹ GB-En Panmure MS. 9464 (*Ayres*, Book 5: Violin 1 without bass); see Calum McCart, 'The Kers and the Maules: Music in the Lives of Two Seventeenth Century Scottish Aristocratic Families' (B.A. (Hons) Dissertation, Colchester Institute School of Music, 1988).

⁴² Jones, 'The "Stupendious" Nicola Matteis', pp. 56–7.

⁴³ 'E cosa onorevole e guista d'uniformarsi a l'umore di quelle Persone con qui si vive, essendo io vissuto alcuni anni sotto il cielo settentrionale'; see Nicola Matteis, *Arie diverse per il violino; Preludy Alemande Sarabande Correnti Gigue Fantasie sminuite ed altre Toccate a due Corde Compositione di Nicola Matteis Napolitano Libro Primo* ([London, 1676]), preface; translated in *ibid*, p. 57.

He contrived to make mony of his musick [...] by having his lessons made for his scollars – short aires, *toccatinos*, *recercatos*, and the like *pur far la mano* – to be finely engraven and printed off [...] in long octavo, with bases annent [...] And out of those books he used, by taking here and there, [to] make out admirable sonnatas *a solo*.⁴⁴

A ‘solo sonata’ constructed from four individual *Ayres* is GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,466, No. 61, fols. 69v–70r, labelled ‘Old Nichola’ (Ex. 2.1).⁴⁵ The work comprises four *Ayres* from Book 3, none of which are dance movements.

⁴⁴ Wilson, *Roger North on Music*, p. 310, n. 64.

⁴⁵ Matteis the elder is named ‘Old Nicola’, to differentiate him from ‘Young Nicola’, his son of the same name, whose solo sonatas are also found in Add. MS 31,466.

Old Nicola

The image displays a page of handwritten musical notation for a piece titled "Old Nicola". The score is arranged in ten systems, each consisting of two staves. The notation is dense and characteristic of the Baroque period, featuring a variety of note values, rests, and ornaments. The manuscript is written in dark ink on aged paper. The title "Old Nicola" is written in a cursive hand at the top left of the page. The music appears to be a single melodic line with a figured bass accompaniment, as indicated by the two-staff format. The notation includes many sixteenth and thirty-second notes, as well as complex rhythmic patterns and ornaments. The page is numbered 56v at the bottom right.

Ex. 2.1 Nicola Matteis senior, excerpt from sonata in C minor
By permission of the British Library, Music Collections, Add. MS 31,466, No. 56, fol. 56v

The *Ayres* are organised roughly in a slow-fast-slow-fast pattern, and have been identified by Simon Jones as follows:⁴⁶

- ‘Malinconico’, Book 3, No. 44 (adagio)⁴⁷
- ‘Aria con divisione’, Book 3, No. 46 (presto)
- ‘Aria For the Flute’, Book 3, No. 122
- ‘Fuga’, Book 3, No. 116 (presto)

All movement names and tempo markings are omitted in Add. MS 31,466, but the biggest difference is in the final ‘Fuga’: although the ‘slashed 3’ time signature is retained in both sources, the note values have been halved in Add. MS 31,466, implying that it was not necessarily copied from the print.⁴⁸

‘Sonatas’ in the printed Ayres

In addition to dance movements and divisions, Matteis composed two single movements labelled ‘Sonata’, one included in Book 2 (pp. 58–9) and the other in Book 4 (pp. 22–3). These short pieces are written in a freer improvisatory style, similar to Matteis’s other slow or preparatory movements. They display expressive writing more closely associated with the early seventeenth century, including florid, written-out embellishments which are supported by slow-moving bass lines. In Book 2, the E major ‘Sonata’ is in separate parts, followed by the movements Aria–Variata–Corrente–Adagio in the same key.

The C major ‘Sonata’ in Book 4 is printed in score, a layout found in Matteis’s other pieces where it is particularly necessary for the bass player to follow the melody line closely (Ex. 2.2). It includes a free Adagio section, followed by another short Adagio in triple time, before the final three bars return to the initial common time. This ‘Sonata’ movement is immediately followed by a Fuga in which the violinist is presented with the option of double stopping depending on their skill; the discretionary notes are printed as ‘pointed notes’ (Matteis’s term).

⁴⁶ Jones, ‘The “Stupendious” Nicola Matteis’, pp. 134, 137.

⁴⁷ This movement is also found as ‘Preludio’, No. 114 in Book 5.

⁴⁸ Matteis defined the ‘slashed 3’ time signature as ‘swift’ in the preface to Book 3; this, coupled with the Presto marking made the tempo very clear to the performer; in the manuscript, the lack of a tempo markings seems to have been compensated for by the shorter note values, although the reason for this choice of notation is unclear.



Ex. 2.2 Nicola Matteis, excerpt from 'Sonata',
Other Ayres and Pieces for the Violin: The Fourth Part (1685), p. 22

A structure comprising a slow movement followed by a fugue is notably found in the da chiesa sonatas of Corelli's Op. 5 (Nos. 1–6). Accordingly, Burney wrote that 'the compositions and performance of Nicola Mateis had polished and refined our ears, and made them fit and eager for the sonatas of Corelli'.⁴⁹ Like Corelli's works, Matteis's fugal movements display a great variety of slurs, bowings and ornamental flourishes.

Instruments other than the violin

Modern scholarship has rightly placed an emphasis on the violin, given the considerable changes in repertoire and playing styles that Matteis introduced to Britain. It is nevertheless worth pointing out that Matteis also added to the solo repertoire for other instruments, albeit in the form of arrangements of the violin versions. Towards the end of the seventeenth century, the recorder was second only to the violin within the solo sonata repertoire and widely played by amateurs. In Books 3 and 4 Matteis included 'A Table of the most Easy Ayres in y^e Book that may be play'd with the Flute, as well as the Violin'.⁵⁰ This interchangeability is a trend seen also in early British solo sonatas and other instrumental music, which publishers could thereby promote to a wider audience. Matteis similarly stated that the continuo part could be used for 'the Emproving of the Hand upon the Base Viol or Harpsechord'.⁵¹ Matteis's two 'trumpet tunes' in Books 2 and 4, originally for the violin in imitation of the trumpet, were disseminated in arrangements for recorder and for the

⁴⁹ Charles Burney, *A General History of Music: From the Earliest Ages to the Present Period*, vol. 4 (London, 1789; repr. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), p. 640.

⁵⁰ Nicola Matteis, *Ayres for the Violin: The Third and Fourth Parts* ([London, 1685]).

⁵¹ *Ibid*, title page.

harpsichord.⁵² Bass viol arrangements of Matteis's *Ayres* also circulated, and examples are found in the collection belonging to the Huntingdon attorney Edward Ferrar (1671–1730).⁵³

Matteis: summary

Matteis's contribution to the development of the solo sonata in Britain was a stylistically new solo violin repertoire which was technically more advanced compared to much of the music already in circulation during the 1670s. His music is generally more challenging than the earliest solo sonatas which began to be printed in Britain in the 1680s, revealing much about Matteis's own performing style. Although the *Ayres* were not printed in formal sonata structures but rather as 'suites' organised by key, there is evidence that Matteis created his own 'solo sonatas' from them. Nonetheless, Matteis's later addition of 'inner' second violin and tenor (viola) parts to the *Ayres* (which also applies to the two free-standing 'Sonata' movements) was a response to the higher demand for sonatas in several parts in Britain, particularly among amateurs. Matteis wrote in the Italian edition of his first and second books (1676) that 'I have with me in manuscript a second treble part and also a tenor part where I employ one; these can be used by gentlemen who would like to enjoy superior harmony and those who wish to have a full consort'.⁵⁴ In the words of North, 'to oblige himself and conforme to the English he [Matteis] made books of inner parts to those he had published, which brought in fresh ginnys'.⁵⁵ Inner parts were not generally added once 'true' solo sonatas began circulating. Matteis presented his audience with a new variety of repertoire, complete with Italian titles and tempo markings, while appealing to the British tradition of consort music, dances and divisions, thereby incorporating a mixture of national styles into his *Ayres*. The fact that on at least three separate occasions North mentioned unidentified 'solos' in relation to Matteis raises the question whether he also composed more formally structured solo sonatas in addition to the *Ayres*, and indeed North made a distinction between the two:

These books of his [the published Ayres] were of grounds and short peices or lessons onely; his full consorts and solos were not printed, and I think are very scarce if at all to be mett with'.⁵⁶

⁵² *Violino solo ad imitatione della Trombetta* Book 2, No. 66 and *Arie e Passaggi ad immitatione* [sic] *della Trombetta*, Book 4, No. 76; see Appendix 1 in Jones, 'The "Stupendious" Nicola Matteis', pp. 286–95.

⁵³ GB-Cfm, MU. MS 647; these arrangements are discussed in Peter Holman, 'Continuity and Change in English Bass Viol Music: The Case of Fitzwilliam MU. MS 647', *The Viola da Gamba Society Journal*, 1 (2007), 20–50 (pp. 27–8).

⁵⁴ Translated and cited in Michael Tilmouth, 'Nicola Matteis', *The Musical Quarterly*, 46/1 (January 1960), 22–40 (p. 24).

⁵⁵ Wilson, *Roger North on Music*, p. 356, n. 124.

⁵⁶ *Ibid*, p. 357.

Among these ‘solos’ could be the two anonymous sets of stylistically similar virtuosic violin divisions on the ‘La Folia’ ground in GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. C.61, which are probably by Matteis since the second bears the initials ‘N. M.’.⁵⁷

2.3 Bodleian Library Manuscripts

Among the earliest solo sonatas in Britain are works found in manuscript collections in the Bodleian Library dating from the 1670s to the 1690s, owned and copied by two Oxford amateur musicians: GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. C.71, belonging to William Noble, and GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. C.61, belonging to Francis Withy. The instrumental works within these manuscripts are significant as they display the variety of national styles in circulation, including British, Italian and German/Austro-Bohemian.

Musical life in seventeenth-century Oxford

Music-making thrived in Oxford during the seventeenth century and the city was at the forefront of new musical developments in Britain. Before the Restoration, regular informal music meetings in the city brought together professional and amateur musicians, as is evident from the extant music collections now held at the Bodleian Library.

During and after the Commonwealth, music meetings were held from about 1642 to 1661 by John Wilson (1595–1674), professor of music at Oxford. Other meetings included those ran by the former organist of St John’s College, William Ellis (d. 1679), from 1655 until at least 1669 (and probably until his death) and Narcissus Marsh (1638–1713) from about 1666 to 1678.⁵⁸

According to the antiquary Anthony Wood (1632–1695), the main music meetings in Oxford after the Restoration were those held by Narcissus Marsh. Marsh was an amateur viol player and a Fellow of Exeter College and Principal of St Alban’s Hall from 1673 to 1678, later to become archbishop of Dublin and Armagh.⁵⁹ Wood recorded several violinists who performed at Ellis’s

⁵⁷ GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. C.61, anonymous, pp. 16–7; ‘N. M.’, pp. 18–9; for a transcription of these works, see Jones, ‘The “Stupendious” Nicola Matteis’, pp. 470–7; see also *ibid.*, pp. 275–80.

⁵⁸ Anthony Wood attended Ellis’s music meetings until 1669, when he began losing his hearing; for details of early Oxford music meetings, see Penelope Gouk, ‘Music in Seventeenth-Century Oxford’, in *The History of the University of Oxford*, vol. 4, *Seventeenth-century Oxford*, ed. Nicholas Tyacke (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), 621–40, and Bruce Bellingham, ‘The Musical Circle of Anthony Wood in Oxford During the Commonwealth and Restoration’, *Journal of the Viola da Gamba Society of America*, 19 (1982), 6–70.

⁵⁹ For Marsh, see Andrew Hyatt King, *Some British Collectors of Music c. 1600–1960* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1963), pp. 14–5.

meetings, among them notably the German virtuoso Thomas Baltzar (?1631–1663). Performances by Baltzar and his English rival, the violinist and clockmaker Davis Mell (1604–1662) at Ellis’s music meetings in 1658 raised the violin’s status above its lowly ‘fiddler’ associations, crucial for the adoption of continental instrumental music calling for violins, including the solo and trio sonata.⁶⁰

Meanwhile, Wood decided to teach himself the violin, tuning it in fourths like a viol (until seeking instruction), despite commenting that the other gentlemen ‘could not indure that it [the violin] should come among them for feare of making their meetings seem to be vaine and fiddling’.⁶¹ Writing in 1656, Wood was hardly impressed by the violin tuition he received, explaining that ‘to say the truth, there was yet no compleat master in Oxon for that instrument, because it had not been hitherto used in consort among gentlemen, only by common musitians, who played but two parts’.⁶² While it is difficult to know what is meant by Wood’s belittling remark, ‘but two parts’, it could be relevant to the contemporaneous reception of the solo sonata. It appears that there was little interest in two-part music as ‘the gentlemen in privat meetings [...] play’d three, four, and five parts all with viols [...] with either an organ or virginal or harpsicon joyn’d with them’.⁶³

Although music meetings declined in number shortly after the Restoration when the professional musicians returned to their posts in London, performances in the Oxford Music School (originally established under William Heyther (or Heather) (c. 1563–1627) in 1626), continued to take place. During this time, the composer, organist and music copyist Edward Lowe succeeded John Wilson as professor of music at Oxford in 1661 and was in charge of organising weekly meetings in the Music School.⁶⁴

On his death, Lowe was succeeded by Richard Goodson (c. 1655–1718), who recorded ‘A Catalogue of All the Books w^{ch} belong now to y^e Musick Schoole 1682’. The contents of the collection (found in GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. C.204) are discussed by Margaret Crum in her article

⁶⁰ This is demonstrated by the well-known example of what appears to have been a document of a musical contest between Baltzar and Mell, and their respective divisions on the popular tune ‘John, come kiss me now’, printed by John Playford in *The Division Violin* (1684).

⁶¹ Wood lists his violin teachers as Charles Griffith, John Parker, and the dancing master William James; see Andrew Clark, ed., *The Life and Times of Anthony Wood, Antiquary of Oxford, 1632–1695, described by Himself: Collected from his Diaries and Other Papers*, vol. 1 (Oxford: Oxford Historical Society, 1891–5), p. 212.

⁶² *Ibid.*

⁶³ *Loc. cit.*

⁶⁴ Robert Thompson, ‘Lowe, Edward’, *Grove Music Online* <Oxford Music Online> [accessed 10 August 2017].

‘Early Lists of the Oxford Music School Collection’.⁶⁵ Items from the inventory are found particularly in the Bodleian and Christ Church Libraries, revealing the continental music Lowe had collected. GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. C.71 is the only item in this inventory to contain a solo sonata.

GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. C.71

GB-Ob MS Mus. Sch. C.71 (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Music School Manuscript) dates from the 1670s and is of notable value as it contains an anonymous, untitled, multi-movement work for violin in D major, which may well be the earliest (dated) extant solo sonata in a British source; the work was copied onto pp. 170–2 and dated 19 May 1677.⁶⁶

The pieces in C.71 were copied by the Oxford clergyman and amateur viol player William Noble as manuscript additions bound with a copy of Christopher Simpson’s treatise *Cheyls, or The Division-Viol* (second edition, 1667).⁶⁷ Noble was a student at Merton College, Oxford from 1667 (where he received an MA in 1673) and a chaplain at Christ Church College from 1677.⁶⁸ An inscription on the front flyleaf reads ‘Will Noble 1671 [£1?] 9s 00’, probably indicating the date when Noble first bought his copy of *The Division Viol*.⁶⁹

Apart from the violin sonata, Noble copied mostly contemporaneous and earlier seventeenth-century music for one or two bass viols into C.71.⁷⁰ Patxi del Amo Iribarren proposes that the manuscript was copied at three different times: 1671–3, 1677, and 1678, with the violin sonata

⁶⁵ Margaret Crum, ‘Early Lists of the Oxford Music School Collection’, *Music & Letters*, 48/1 (1967), 23–34.

⁶⁶ Original pagination; the anonymous solo sonata in C.71 is followed by a manuscript copy of a plate found opposite p. 66 from *An Essay to the Advancement of Music* (London, 1672) by Thomas Salmon (1648–1706): ‘The situation of y^e Gamut on y^e Lute, where y^e notes are expressed by Letters & y^e Tuning by Octaves vid Mr Salmon’s Essay to y^e advancement of Musick’; the plate is found on pp. 174–5 and is the final item in the manuscript; page 173 is blank.

⁶⁷ C.71 is an upright folio bound in blind-tooled calf, measuring 309 x 199 mm. There are fifteen or sixteen staves per page for the sonata, with ten or eleven for the remainder of the manuscript; for C.71, see also Ashbee, Thompson, and Wainwright, *The Viola da Gamba Society Index of Manuscripts*, vol. 2, pp. 155–8 and 315–6, where Simpson’s *A Compendium of Practical Music* is erroneously listed as the source; the physical layout and copying of the manuscript are also discussed in Patxi del Amo, ‘Anthony Poole (c.1629–1692)’, pp. 181–99; the only item in the manuscript not copied by Noble is an inserted folio on pp. 137–8 containing a set of divisions in D minor by Christopher Simpson in the hand of Francis Withy.

⁶⁸ For Noble, see Joseph Foster, ed., *Alumni Oxonienses 1500-1714* (Oxford: University of Oxford, 1891) [accessed via British History Online <<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/alumni-oxon/1500-1714>>, 8 September 2017]; as pointed out by Holman in *Life After Death*, p. 66, William Noble was not a singing-man at Christ Church, as erroneously stated in *The Viola da Gamba Society Index of Manuscripts*, vol. 2, pp. 155–8.

⁶⁹ Ashbee, Thompson, and Wainwright, *The Viola da Gamba Society Index of Manuscripts*, vol. 2, p. 155.

⁷⁰ Among the main composers included are John Jenkins (1592–1678), Henry Butler (d. 1652), Christopher Simpson (c. 1602–6–1669), Daniel Norcombe (?1576–1653) and notably Anthony Poole (c. 1629–1692), as well as anonymous works; for a complete inventory of C.71, see Ashbee, Thompson, and Wainwright, *The Viola da Gamba Society Index of Manuscripts*, vol. 2, pp. 156–8.

possibly copied around the same time as the Thomas Salmon plate on pp. 174–5; dates within the manuscript do not however appear in order, and it is not clear whether they indicate when a work was composed, copied or acquired.⁷¹

Noble wrote a ground bass at the top of p. 170, but instead of writing divisions he copied the solo sonata. The work is composed in an early to mid-seventeenth century style comprising eight sections separated by double bar lines over which fermatas have been placed. Musically, the third, fourth and final two sections belong together. The only tempo marking, *Allegro*, is found in the middle of the opening section, and again at the beginning of the second. The sonata opens with exploratory, prelude-like passages over a more static bass line, the type of ‘stylus phantasticus’ writing particularly associated with virtuosic, improvisatory seventeenth-century German violin music. A brief solo passage for the basso continuo concludes the first ‘*Allegro*’ (see Ex. 2.3).

The image shows a page of handwritten musical notation on eight staves. The top staff is a ground bass, consisting of a single melodic line with a few notes. The subsequent staves contain a solo sonata. The notation is in a historical style, with a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a common time signature (C). The tempo marking 'Allegro.' is written in the middle of the fourth staff. The music features intricate, virtuosic passages in the upper staves and a more static bass line in the lower staves. The piece is divided into sections by double bar lines with fermatas above them.

Ex. 2.3 Excerpt from an anonymous sonata, GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. C.71, p. 170
By permission of the Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford

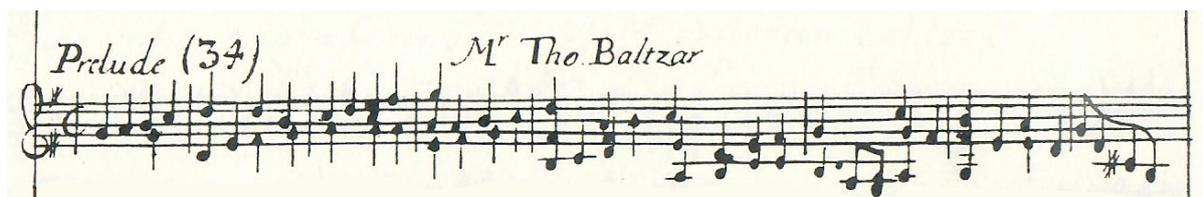
⁷¹ Patxi del Amo, ‘Anthony Poole (c.1629–1692)’, pp. 190–1.

This feature, used as a structural marker, is often found in later solo sonatas in Britain, notably those by the Moravian viol player Gottfried (or Godfrey) Finger (c. 1660–1730), and thereafter Daniel Purcell (c. 1664–1717). Further melodic interest in the bass can be found in the opening of the third section, followed by expressive chromaticism in the violin part; for the remainder of the work the bass plays a supporting harmonic role.

The use of G₃ (the lowest note on the violin) and double stopping clearly indicate the violin. Although the violin remains in first position, much of the writing is virtuosic with rapid string-crossing passages, particularly in the penultimate section, marked with the typically British time signature 3/1. The fifth section is harmonically exploratory, consisting entirely of double stopping, creating a homophonic three-part texture with the bass line, with only one brief excursion into second position on the violin (Ex. 2.4).

Ex. 2.4 Chordal passage for violin from an anonymous sonata, GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. C.71, p. 171
By permission of the Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford

The aforementioned features point to a proficient violinist and possibly a continental composer. I wish to point out that similarities can for example be observed in the violin music of Thomas Baltzar who was active in Oxford from the mid-1650s until the Restoration. The chordal section (Ex. 2.4) is reminiscent of the opening to a 'Prelude' by Baltzar for unaccompanied violin in G major, printed in the fourth edition of *The Second Part of the Division Violin* (1705), Ex. 2.5.



Ex. 2.5 Thomas Baltzar, opening to 'Prelude', *The Second Part of the Division Violin*, fourth edition (Walsh, 1705)

In C.71, the two-part violin texture is complemented by the bass line, whereas the three-part texture in Baltzar's 'Prelude' is achieved through some triple stopping. Accordingly, John Evelyn recounted that Baltzar 'plaid on that single Instrument a full Consort so as the rest, flung-downe their Instruments, as acknowledging a victory' at the home of Sir Roger L'Estrange on 4 March 1656.⁷² The ascending 'ut-re-mi-fa-sol' motif was also used by Baltzar in the opening of another 'Prelude' in G major, printed in the first edition of *The Division Violin* (1684), Ex. 2.6:⁷³



Ex. 2.6 Thomas Baltzar, opening to 'A Prelude for the Violin', *The Division Violin* (John Playford, 1684)

⁷² Cited in Peter Holman, 'Baltzar, Thomas', *Grove Music Online* <Oxford Music Online> [accessed 5 September 2017]; for Evelyn's account of Baltzar's playing style, see de Beer, *The Diary of John Evelyn*, pp. 333–4.

⁷³ *The Division Violin* (1684), p. 13.

Semi-quaver passage work with frequent, rapid and challenging string-crossings is another defining feature of Baltzar's solo violin music, also made use of in the C.71 sonata (see Ex. 2.7 and 2.8):



Ex. 2.7 Excerpt from an anonymous sonata, GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. C.71, p. 172
By permission of the Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford



Ex. 2.8 Excerpt from Thomas Baltzar, 'Prelude', *The Second Part of the Division Violin*, fourth edition (Walsh, 1705)

While it is not possible to make a certain attribution in the absence of further evidence, it is intriguing to note that lost 'Solos for Violin with Bass, *supposed by Baltzar*, MS' are listed in Burney's sale catalogue (1814).⁷⁴ In any case, the solo sonata in C.71 stands out as the only work for violin among the other pieces in the manuscript, which are primarily divisions for one to two bass viols by native composers, particularly Anthony Poole.

⁷⁴ *Catalogue of the Music Library of Charles Burney, sold in London, 8 August 1814. With an introduction by A. Hyatt King* (Amsterdam: Frits Knuf, 1973), p. 26; Holman, 'Baltzar, Thomas', *Grove Music Online*.

GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. C.61

Among the earliest British manuscripts to contain solo sonatas is GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. C.61 (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Music School Manuscript), a manuscript labelled ‘Divisions for y^e Bass Violl / Decemb. 3d. Anno Domini / 1687’. C.61 is an upright folio containing seven solo sonatas for various instruments and one incomplete virtuosic piece for unaccompanied viol, most of which have not received much attention from scholars or performers.⁷⁵ The manuscript was owned and copied by Francis Withy, a ‘singing-man’ at Christ Church, Oxford, from 1670 until his death.⁷⁶ His father was John Withy (c. 1600–1685), a cathedral singer and lyra viol player, described by Anthony Wood as ‘a Roman Catholic and sometime a teacher of music in the citie of Worcester’.⁷⁷ Francis Withy worked as a violinist, bass viol player, composer and music copyist;⁷⁸ manuscripts in his hand reveal that Withy assisted Edward Lowe, professor of music at Oxford, and his successors.⁷⁹

The inscription on the front cover of C.61 states that it was ‘The gift of his loving Scoller / Hen: Knight A: B: è Coll Wadh[am]’, signifying Henry Knight (b. 1662), a student at Wadham College from 1682 to 1689.⁸⁰ Based on the repertoire it contains, and the dates annotated by Withy, C.61 was copied between 1688 and c. 1701.⁸¹

The seven solo sonatas are ascribed to anonymous composers, ‘R. K.’, i.e. Robert King (c.1660–1726), Gottfried Finger (c. 1660–1730), Lelio Colista (1629–1680) and Corelli, although the latter two attributions are difficult to verify. The music is presented in score on two staves and no instruments are specified in the manuscript itself. Robert Shay and Robert Thompson point out the strong representation of Catholic composers in C.61, as well as Withy’s connection to past

⁷⁵ For C.61, see Ashbee, Thompson, and Wainwright, *The Viola da Gamba Society Index of Manuscripts*, vol. 2, pp. 138–43; Holman, *Life After Death*, p. 66.

⁷⁶ The *Oxford English Dictionary* defines a ‘singing-man’ as ‘a man engaged to sing in an ecclesiastical choir’; it was described by the English composer Thomas Busby (1754–1838) as ‘The appellation formerly given by the common people to the gentlemen of cathedral choirs’; see Thomas Busby, *A Complete Dictionary of Music* (London: R. Phillips, 1786), n.p.

⁷⁷ GB-Ob, MS Wood D.19 [4], fol. 136; cited in Robert Thompson, “‘Francis Withie of Oxon’ and his Commonplace Book, Christ Church, Oxford, MS 337”, *Ceblys* 20 (1991), 3–27 (p. 3), where more details of Francis Withy are given.

⁷⁸ Robert Thompson, ‘Withy (3): Francis Withy’, *Grove Music Online* <Oxford Music Online> [accessed 9 August 2017]. For Withy, see also Ashbee, Thompson, and Wainwright, *The Viola da Gamba Society Index of Manuscripts*, vol. 2, pp. 10–12.

⁷⁹ Lowe was succeeded by Richard Goodson (c. 1655–1718) in 1682.

⁸⁰ For Knight, see Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses 1500-1714*.

⁸¹ In addition to the solo sonatas, C.61 includes works by Withy himself, Henry and Daniel Purcell, Matteis, John Blow (1648/9–1708), John Jenkins (1592–1678) and anonymous pieces.

members of James II's Catholic Chapel Royal and other Catholic composers. These include Finger, John Withy (Francis Withy's father), Christopher Simpson, Polewheel (Paul Wheeler), 'Mr Arnald' (a gentleman of James II's Catholic chapel), Nicola Matteis, the trumpeter 'Mr Shore' (trumpeter in ordinary from 1685 and serjeant-trumpeter from 1687), 'Monseur La Rich' (probably the bassoonist and oboist François le Riche (?1662–1733), a member of the Private Music from 1685) and 'Monse: Diseb' (Desabaye, a gentleman of James II's chapel).⁸² Robert King was also employed as an instrumentalist at the court of James II. The solo sonatas in C.61 are summarised in Table 2.1 after which each work is discussed in turn.

⁸² Robert Shay and Robert Thompson, *Purcell Manuscripts: The Principal Musical Sources* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 155, 157.

Page no.	Composer	Title	Key	Instrument(s)	Catalogue ref.	Concordances
23	Anonymous	Sola / Slow	G major	[b.vl, bc] ⁸³	VdGS Anon 301	-
24	Anonymous	Adagio / vivace	G minor	[b.vl]	VdGS Anon 303/ RT439	-
32–3	Se: Leliocolista 'G[eorge] Ll[jewellyn]'	-	F major	[vln, bc]	Not listed in Wessely- Kropik ⁸⁴	-
34–7	R[obert] K[ing]	Sola	F major	[vln, bc]	-	Armstrong- Finch MS, no. XIII, pp. 53–7; US-Wc, M219 C79 S6, No. 2 (attributed to 'Arcangelo Corelli')
40–3	Sign Corelli	-	D major	[vln, bc]	Marx Anh. 34 / RISM C3855	For concordances, see Marx ⁸⁵
44–7	Anonymous [Gottfried Finger?]	-	D major	[vln, bc]	Not listed in Rawson ⁸⁶	-
48–9	G[ottfried] F[inger]	Sonata Solo	B-flat major	[vln, bc] or [rec, bc]	Rawson RI96	<i>A Collection of Musick in Two Parts</i> (London, 1691), [no. 14]
50–3	[Gottfried Finger]	For y ^e Flu: in F key / 1 st Set in F	D major	[vln, bc]	RISM F850, No. 8 Rawson RI109 (in F Major) Rawson R1130a (in D major)	Finger, <i>Six Sonates à 1 Flute & 1 Basse Continue</i> , Op. 3 (Amsterdam, c. 1700 or 1701), No. 8 (in F major) ⁸⁷

Table 2.1 Solo sonatas in GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. C.61

⁸³ Instruments given as two bass viols in VdGS, p. 141, but could also be performed by bass viol and a chordal continuo instrument.

⁸⁴ Helene Wessely-Kropik, *Lelio Colista, ein römischer Meister vor Corelli: Leben und Umwelt* (Vienna: Hermann Böhlau, 1961).

⁸⁵ Hans Joachim Marx, *Die Überlieferung der Werke Arcangelo Corellis: catalogue raisonné* (Cologne: Arno Volk Verlag, 1980), pp. 251–3, Anh. 34; see also Hans Joachim Marx, *Historisch-kritische Gesamtausgabe der musikalischen Werke*, 5, *Werke ohne Opuszahl* (Cologne: Arno Volk Verlag, 1976), pp. 90–5, 120–1.

C.61, p. 23: anonymous

The anonymous two-movement ‘Sola’ on p. 23 may have been part of a longer solo sonata for bass viol and continuo in G major, with both parts written in bass clef. The ‘Slow’ in cut time is followed by an untitled section in 3/4. As well as the choral writing in the melody part, a noticeable feature is the frequent doubling of the lower bass viol notes in the continuo, suggesting the possibility of performance without an accompanying instrument (see Ex. 2.9).

Ex. 2.9 GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. C.61, anonymous ‘Sola’, p. 23
By permission of the Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford

⁸⁶ ‘Thematic Inventory of the Music of Gottfried Finger (c. 1655–1730)’ in Robert Rawson, ‘From Olomouc to London: the Early Music of Gottfried Finger (c. 1655–1730)’ (PhD dissertation, Royal Holloway, University of London, 2002).

⁸⁷ Other concordances: Armstrong-Finch MS, pp. 116–9, ‘Sonata / by M^r Raphael Courtivill’ (in F major); US-Dp, RM788.1191 S698 (Detroit Recorder Manuscript), no. 2, ‘Sonata / Mr Courteville / Solo / Flutto’ (in F major); US-NYp, MS JOG 72–50, fols. 17v–19r (in D major); the attributions to Raphael Courteville (fl. c. 1675–1735) are probably false.

Assuming that C.61 was copied chronologically from 1688 onwards (the date given for the ground in D major on pp. 2–3), the ‘Sola’ may have been added to the manuscript by the early 1690s. It is suggested in *The Viola da Gamba Society Index of Manuscripts* that the ‘Sola’ could be the work of a continental composer.⁸⁸ This brings to mind the earliest publication of solo viol sonatas, the fifteen-piece collection *Tyd en konst-oeffeningen* (‘Time and Art Exercises’) Op. 2 (Amsterdam, 1688) by Johann Schenck (or Schenk) (1660–after 1710), a Dutch viol player of German ancestry.⁸⁹ Three years earlier in 1685, solo sonatas by the visiting German viol player August Kühnel (1645–c.1700) were advertised in *The London Gazette* dated 19–23 November as available for purchase via subscription. Kühnel’s publication is no longer extant so it is not possible to say whether it contained the same works printed as *Sonate ô Partite ad una ô due Viole da Gamba con il Basso Continuo* (Kassel, 1698).⁹⁰ The Moravian viol player Gottfried Finger may have arrived in Britain at the same time as Kühnel; a set of divisions for the bass viol by Finger were copied on to pp. 57–6 on the reverse side of C.61 as the first piece in the sequence.⁹¹

While the anonymous ‘Sola’ in C.61 currently has no concordances, another possibility is that Withy composed the work himself, having contributed other viol pieces, particularly divisions, to the manuscript. Withy’s interest in solo sonatas is evident from the music he chose to copy, while the ‘slow’ tempo marking (in English) and Purcellian dotted rhythms in the 3/4 section also hint at a composer working in Britain.

C.61, p. 24: anonymous

Next in the manuscript is an anonymous, untitled and technically adventurous two-movement work for unaccompanied bass viol in G minor. The Italian tempo markings ‘Adagio’ and ‘Vivace’ (and ‘Adag’ in the final two bars) at the beginning of each movement suggest a solo sonata, perhaps with the basso continuo part missing. It is conjectured in *The Viola da Gamba Society Index of Manuscripts* that it may be the work of the same composer who wrote the ‘Sola’ on p. 23.⁹² There are indeed similarities in the lyrical slow movements, particularly the opening minim octave leap. The second movement of p. 24 is however far more complex, frequently alternating between alto and bass clefs, thereby making wider use of the instrument’s range. The fast passagework and scalic

⁸⁸ Ashbee, Thompson, and Wainwright, *The Viola da Gamba Society Index of Manuscripts*, vol. 2, p. 141.

⁸⁹ Piet Stryckers points out that only four works in the collection are strictly ‘sonatas’, while the remainder are dance suites; see introduction to the facsimile edition: Joan Schenk, *Tyd en konst-oeffeningen* (Peer: Alamire, 1997).

⁹⁰ Holman, *Life After Death*, p. 14.

⁹¹ In his unpublished inventory of C.61, Peter Holman suggests that the reversed sequence could have been started earlier than 1687, possibly for teaching Knight.

⁹² Ashbee, Thompson, and Wainwright, *The Viola da Gamba Society Index of Manuscripts*, vol. 2, p. 141, n. 6.

runs are reminiscent of the virtuosity found for example in the viol pieces of Schenk and Kühnel (see Ex. 2.10).

Ex. 2.10 GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. C.61, anonymous sonata, p. 24
By permission of the Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford

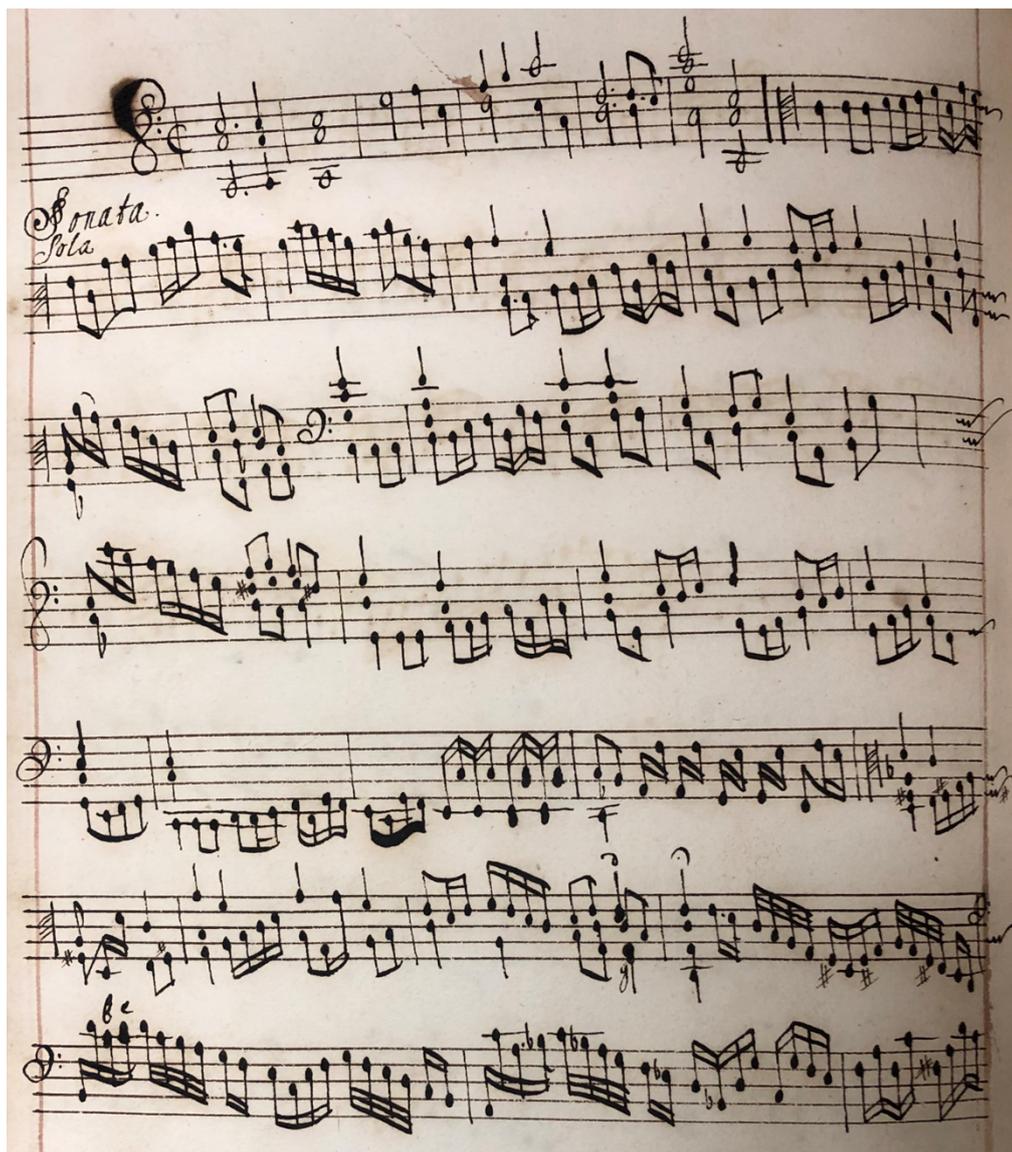
US-U, Q. 783 P699c.

I would like to draw attention to another similar, undated, anonymous Italianate ‘Sonata Sola’ in C major for solo bass viol copied by Withy, found as manuscript additions bound to the back of John Playford’s *Cantica Sacra* (1674), US-U, Q. 783 P699c.⁹³ While other pieces in this manuscript have attracted some interest, the ‘Sonata Sola’ has received almost no scholarly attention.⁹⁴ Similar to the piece in C.61, it is a soloistic work which alternates between alto and bass clefs throughout; it may be missing a basso continuo part, although both works appear musically complete.

There are no tempo markings, but three distinct sections can be identified: the first section comprises a six-bar opening written in longer note values, which is separated by a slightly thicker bar line from the second section, a ‘contrapuntal’ passage based on a typical canzona rhythm (Ex. 2.11).

⁹³ Not all of the manuscript additions were copied by Withy; I would like to thank Adam Doskey and Kathryn Funderburg of the The Rare Book & Manuscript Library at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign for supplying me with information about this manuscript, which I have not been able to examine in person; Funderburg describes the other manuscript additions (which are undated) as follows; none of the other works are apparently sonatas (personal communication, 7 April 2018): ‘Vol. 1: A pastorall Dialogue, Strephon & Coridon; A. 2. v. Mr. Lock; A Dialogue between Pluto and Apollo upon the death of Apollo. Edward Earl of Sandwich.; untitled piece by Peter Young; Vol 2: A Pastorall Dialogue between a Shepherd & Shepherdess; Celadon and Delia singing a Pastorall; several pages of untitled music; Vol. 3: A.2 voc.; O God thou art my God for a Tenor Alone; For two Bases, Mr. John Jenkins’; in addition, Withy copied ‘Polewheele’s Ground’ into the manuscript; see Ashbee, Thompson, and Wainwright, *The Viola da Gamba Society Index of Manuscripts*, vol. 2, p. 12.

⁹⁴ A passing mention is made in Phillips, ‘Henry Butler and the Early Viol Sonata’, p. 52, where the shelfmark is mistakenly given as US-U, q763 p699c.



Ex. 2.11 Excerpt from anonymous 'Sonata Sola', US-U, Q. 783 P699c
 By permission of The Rare Book & Manuscript Library, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

The finale, which begins after a fermata on the final note of the previous section, is a continuous display of semiquavers and demisemiquavers. The two works copied by Wither in C.61 and US-U, Q. 783 P699c. highlight the fact that virtuosic solo sonatas for the bass viol, a widely played amateur instrument, were disseminated in Britain around the same time as technically simpler violin and recorder sonatas.

C.61, p. 32–3: Se: Leliocolista

This untitled solo sonata is attributed to ‘Se: Leliocolista’, i.e. the Roman lutenist and guitarist Lelio Colista. It is not included in the catalogue of Colista’s music by Helene Wessely-Kropik, and C.61 appears to be the unique source for this work.⁹⁵

Except for some examples printed in *Musurgia Universalis* by Athanasius Kircher (1601–1680), Colista’s music circulated only in manuscript during his lifetime. Colista achieved a fame similar to that of Corelli in Britain, and his sonatas were copied into manuscripts of the North family, probably during the 1680s.⁹⁶ As Peter Allsop points out, the attribution of some instrumental works in British manuscripts to Colista is uncertain, with ascriptions to Carlo Ambrogio Lonati (c. 1645–c. 1710–15) found in other sources.⁹⁷ A familiar example is a sonata by ‘the famous *Lelio Calista*, an *Italian*’, cited by Henry Purcell (1659–95) in the 1694 edition of Playford’s *Introduction to the Skill of Musick*, which is attributed to Lonati in Italian manuscripts.⁹⁸ The sonata in C.61 cannot therefore be assigned to Colista with certainty at present, and might even have been written by a composer working in Britain. Wessely-Kropik’s catalogue includes ‘Sonate a due’ by Colista in GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,435,⁹⁹ but no other solo sonatas have been attributed to Colista.

The initials ‘G: Ll’ at the top of the page allude to George Llewellyn (1668–1739) who may have supplied Withy with the work or arranged or performed it (Ex. 2.12). Son of Buckinghamshire physician Martin Llewellyn/Lluellyn/Llywellyn (1616–1682), George studied at Merton College and received his MA from Christ Church in 1693,¹⁰⁰ he was a Chaplain at Christ Church from 1693 to 1703 and rector of Pulverbatch in Shropshire from 1705.¹⁰¹ Burney described Llewellyn as a ‘page of the back stairs’ at the court of Charles II, where he befriended Henry Purcell. Llewellyn is not known to have composed any music himself, but he supplied songs (by Purcell) to the second edition of *Orpheus Britannicus* (1702). Part of Burney’s account of Llewellyn was as follows:

This gentleman, who was a lively Welshman, and a man of wit and taste in the arts, was so much attached to the Stuart family, so fond of Music, and so active in all his pursuits, that he was often called

⁹⁵ Wessely-Kropik, *Lelio Colista, ein römischer Meister vor Corelli*.

⁹⁶ Holman, *Life After Death*, pp. 59–60.

⁹⁷ See Peter Allsop, ‘Colista, Lelio’, *Grove Music Online* <Oxford Music Online> [accessed 17 October 2017].

⁹⁸ *An Introduction to the Skill of Musick*, 12th edn, corrected and amended by Henry Purcell (London: Henry Playford, 1694), p. 124.

⁹⁹ Wessely-Kropik, *Lelio Colista, ein römischer Meister vor Corelli*, p. 117.

¹⁰⁰ For George Llewellyn, see Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses 1500-1714*.

¹⁰¹ Margaret Crum, ‘An Oxford Music Club, 1690–1719’, *Bodleian Library Record*, 9 (1974), 83–99 (p. 88).

by the Whigs, ‘a Jacobitical, musical, mad, Welsh Parson.’ [...] and in a flower bed, just under his parlour window, King David playing on the harp, was cut in box.¹⁰²

During his time in Oxford, Llewellyn was listed among the members of the Musick Meetings at Anthony Hall’s Mermaid tavern, where a rich variety of music was on offer.¹⁰³ Llewellyn’s direct connection with Withy is evident from an inscription in C.61 (on the side of p. 90, volume reversed), where Withy recorded: ‘Mr Shore July, 22^d Anna: 1693 / Monseur La Rish / - I was at M^r G Luellen Chamb / at Ch: Ch. [i.e. Christ Church] / Mons Diseb plais on y^e / Base violin Ex:[cellently]’.¹⁰⁴ It is possible that Withy obtained the Colista sonata from Llywellyn during this visit. The ‘Se: Lelicologista’ sonata is in F major, composed in three untitled movements. The lowest note is middle C, signifying the violin as the most suitable instrument, since the lowest note on the treble recorder is F. In the lyrical opening section, the bass assumes a true accompanying role midway, with expressive writing and chromaticism in the melody part in the third and fifth bars from the end. This is contrasted with a lilting largo-style binary form middle movement in 3/2. The lively final section in cut time contains some simple scalic passagework.



Ex. 2.12 Excerpt from sonata by ‘Se: Lelicologista’, GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. C.61, p. 32
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¹⁰² Burney, *A General History of Music*, vol. 3, p. 495, n. (u).

¹⁰³ See Crum, ‘An Oxford Music Club, 1690–1719’, p. 88.

¹⁰⁴ Mr Shore must have belonged to the family of trumpeters, and a drawing of a trumpet mouthpiece is found among Withy’s annotations in C.61; La Rish was presumably François le Riche, a member of James II’s Private Musick from 1685; Mons Diseb could refer to Desabaye, who is listed among the gentlemen of James II’s Catholic Chapel Royal; see Shay and Thompson, *Purcell Manuscripts*, pp. 155, 157.

No significant technical challenges stand out and the bass line assumes an accompanying role throughout. The work may therefore arguably be termed a ‘true’ solo sonata (i.e. melody and accompaniment), in contrast to Corelli’s Op. 5 violin sonatas in which the bass often adopts a more active melodic role.

C.61, pp. 34–7: R[obert] K[ing]

This ‘Sola’, bears the initials R: K. in the top righthand corner of the first page, denoting the English violinist, recorder player and harpsichordist Robert King.¹⁰⁵ Little is known of King before the 1680s when he joined the violin band of Charles II, but fourteen of his airs were printed in *Tripla Concordia* (1677) for ‘Treble and Basse-Violins’ in three parts. On 6 February 1679/80, King replaced John Banister senior (1624/5–1679) as a violinist in the Private Musick, a post he held jointly with Thomas Farmer (d. 1688). King was appointed court composer in 1689, receiving a licence the same year to run public concerts, collaborating with the German composer Johann Wolfgang Franck (1644–c. 1710) who arrived in London in 1690.¹⁰⁶ In 1698, King began his collaboration with John Banister junior (1662–1736), with whom he ran a concert series in York Buildings. Together with Banister, King also sold some of the latest Italian music, including Corelli’s Op. 5 (1700) and the Op. 1 solo violin sonatas (1702) by Nicola Cosimi (1667–1717).¹⁰⁷ In the preface to his *Songs for One Two and Three Voices Composed to a Through Basse* (?1692), King wrote of his admiration for the Italian style:

In some of these Compositions I have imitated the Italians in their manner of Ariettas; who for there [sic] Excellence in Vocal Musick are (in my Judgment) the best Paterns;¹⁰⁸

King’s interest in Italianate music had already begun earlier when he composed a ‘Sonetta after the Italian Way’. This trio sonata in A major for two violins and continuo is found in GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. E.443–6 (Bodleian Library, Oxford Music School Manuscript).¹⁰⁹ The title of the work

¹⁰⁵ Armstrong-Finch MS, no. XIII, pp. 53–7, ‘Sonata / by M^r Robert King’; US-Wc, M219 C79 S6 (Case), no. 2, where it is wrongly attributed to Corelli (Marx Anh. 106).

¹⁰⁶ *The Post Man* dated 15–8 August 1702, issue 1005, advertised Roger’s edition of ‘6 New Sonatas for 2 Violins and 2 Bases by Mr J. Franck’, lost; no solo sonatas by Franck are known.

¹⁰⁷ For King, see Andrew Ashbee, David Lasocki *et al.*, *A Biographical Dictionary of English Court Musicians, 1485–1714*, vol. 2 (Abingdon: Routledge, 2017), pp. 649–50; Peter Holman and Andrew Woolley, ‘King, Robert (i)’, *Grove Music Online* <Oxford Music Online> [accessed 12 August 2017]; an unaccompanied violin piece in A major by King is found in Walsh’s *Select Preludes or Volentarys for y^e Violin* (London, 1704).

¹⁰⁸ Robert King, *Songs for One Two and Three Voices Composed to a Through Basse For Y^e Organ or Harpsicord* (London?, 1692?), preface.

¹⁰⁹ Modern edition: Peter Holman and John Cunningham, ed., *Restoration Trio Sonatas*, Purcell Society Companion Series, vol. 2 (London: Stainer & Bell, 2012).

may have been added later by the manuscript's copyist, Edward Lowe.¹¹⁰ The 'Sonetta' is thought to have been written around 1680 and may therefore be contemporaneous with Purcell's trio sonatas.¹¹¹ It has been suggested that King's trio sonata was influenced by the works of Maurizio Cazzati (1616–1678) and Giovanni Battista Vivaldi (1632–1692), which are found in English manuscripts.¹¹²

C.61 is the earliest source for King's 'Sola', which is also found in the Armstrong-Finch manuscript and US-Wc, M219 C79 S6 (Case); the work was apparently never printed. If C.61 was copied chronologically, it would imply that Withy had copied the piece by the mid-1690s. The work is in six movements, of which five have Italian tempo markings: Adagio–Allegro–Adagio–Vivace ('Allegro' is written below the staff)–Vivace–[untitled in 6/8].¹¹³ It is composed in an Anglo-Italian style, comparable to Purcell's trio sonatas; the opening 'Adagio' contains typically Purcellian dotted rhythms (Ex. 2.13).



Ex. 2.13 Robert King, 'Sola', Adagio, GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. C.61, p. 34
By permission of the Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford

¹¹⁰ Personal communication (8 September 2017) from Peter Holman to Martin Holmes of the Bodleian Library based on a comparison with an anonymous 'Sonetta for one violin to y^e Organ' in GB-Ob, MS. Mus. Sch. E.450, fols. 37–40r; here too, the title 'Sonetta' was applied by Lowe, which looks different to the main hand.

¹¹¹ Holman and Cunningham, *Restoration Trio Sonatas*, p. xx.

¹¹² Ibid.

¹¹³ Six-movement solo sonatas were common, and examples are also found among the output of Gottfried Finger.

In the first and more harmonically exploratory third Adagio movements, the treble melody moves in a descending scalic pattern creating a series of 7–6 and 4–3 suspensions over the bass part. Similar passages are found for example in Sonatas No. 7 and No. 8 of Henry Purcell's *Ten Sonatas in Four Parts* (1697), which were probably composed in the late 1670s and early 1680s. William Croft (1678–1727) was another British composer to make use of a similar sequence in his 'Sonata Quarta' printed in *Six Sonatas or Solos [...] Compos'd By M^r W^m Crofts & an Italian M^r* (London, 1699).

Elsewhere in King's 'Sola' the bass line moves beyond a supporting role: the second movement (Allegro) is reminiscent of Purcell's Canzona movements, with imitative musical dialogue between the treble and the bass parts, also found in the two Vivace movements. In the fifth movement (Vivace), King makes use of many imitative semiquaver passages. These are akin to the sequences found for example in Corelli's trio sonatas (although notably not in his Op. 5 collection), as well as Croft's 'Sonata Quarta' (Ex. 2.14).¹¹⁴



Ex. 2.14 Robert King, 'Sola', Vivace, GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. C.61, p. 37
By permission of the Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford

¹¹⁴ This type of musical texture is also briefly found in the 'Canzona' of Sonata No. 2 in Purcell's *Ten Sonatas in Four Parts* (1697), with the bowed bass part playing a tenth below the second violin, creating a two-part texture.

King's 'Sola' ends with a giga-style movement in 6/8, typically found at the end of solo sonatas by British composers such as Croft and Daniel Purcell. In other respects, such works are reminiscent of 'sonate da chiesa', owing to the absence of other dance movements.

King's 'Sola' is best suited to the violin, reaching D₆ in third position, as was standard in Corelli's Op. 5 violin sonatas and some early solos by British composers such as Croft. In C.61, the opening Adagio and Allegro movements make use of what is sometimes termed 'bow vibrato' (i.e. 'tremolo') by modern period instrument players (marked by slurs), in imitation of the tremulant stop of the organ; the slurring was not included in the later Armstrong-Finch concordance. North commented on the use of tremolo in Italianate sonatas:

There is another mode of the *Grave* that frequently occurs in our Itallianezed sonnatas, which I have known intituled *Tremolo*, and is now comonly performed with a tempered *stoccata*. And that I take to be an abuse, and contrary to the genius of that mode, which is to hold out long notes inriched with the flowers of harmony and with a trembling hand, which of all parts together resembles the shaking stop of an organ.¹¹⁵

The scarcity of foreign solo sonatas in British manuscripts and the difficulty of ascertaining the arrival of continental printed music before the 1690s makes it challenging to attribute influences on early works such as King's 'Sola' with certainty. The models for Henry Purcell's trio sonatas are thought to have been the older generation of Maurizio Cazzati (1616–1678), Lelio Colista, Giovanni Legrenzi (1626–1690), and Giovanni Battista Vitali (1632–1692) whose works circulated in Britain, rather than the later works of Corelli and Giovanni Battista Bassani (c. 1650–1716).¹¹⁶ In a similar way, King may have been influenced by these composers, or directly by Purcell's writing. The 'Sola' was likely performed at public concerts King organised during the early 1690s.

¹¹⁵ Wilson, *Roger North on Music*, p. 186.

¹¹⁶ For Purcell's trio sonatas, see for example Peter Holman, 'Consort Music', in *The Purcell Companion*, ed. Michael Burden (London: Faber and Faber Limited, 1995), 281–8; Michael Tilmouth, 'The Technique and Forms of Purcell's Sonatas', *Music & Letters*, 40/2 (1959), 109–21; Peter Holman, *Henry Purcell* (Oxford: Oxford University, 1994), pp. 85–93; Gregory Barnett points out that Purcell's trio sonatas show a Roman as opposed to north Italian influence in their use of the term 'canzona' as well as dance-like binary-form movements within sonatas not generally containing dances; see Gregory Barnett, 'Form and gesture: canzona, sonata and concerto', in *The Cambridge History of Seventeenth-Century Music*, ed. Tim Carter and John Butt (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 479–532 (p. 523).

C.61, pp. 40–3: Sign Corelli

The work attributed to ‘Sign Corelli’ in D major is concordant with ‘Sonata IV’ in *SONATE A VIOLINO SOLO COL BASSO CONTINUO COMPOSTA DA ARCANGELO CORRELLI e Altri Autory* (Amsterdam, 1697), a set of ten solo sonatas published by Estienne Roger.¹¹⁷ This print was also falsely advertised as Corelli’s Op. 5 three years prior to its actual publication in Rome in 1700.¹¹⁸ None of the composers including the ‘Altri Autory’ are named, but the sonatas attributed to Corelli can be identified as detailed in Table 2.2. The ‘Sign Corelli’ sonata in C.61 is concordant with seven other manuscript sources such as GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,466, No. I, ‘Corelli’.¹¹⁹

Sonata No. in Roger (1697)	‘Corelli’ Concordances
I	Marx Anh. 37
IV	Marx Anh. 34
V	Marx Anh. 35
VI	Marx Anh. 36
X	Marx Anh. 110 (GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,466, No. 52: ‘Finger’)

Table 2.2 Corelli attributions in *Sonate a Violino Solo [...] e Altri Autory* (Roger, 1697)

Most solo sonatas ascribed to Corelli other than the Op. 5 collection have been considered doubtful by musicologists such as Hans Joachim Marx based on their style and provenance.¹²⁰ More recently, Agnese Pavanello and Guido Olivieri have debated whether such ‘imitations’ in English sources could, in fact, be authentic early compositions.¹²¹ Some works without an opus

¹¹⁷ François Lesure, *Bibliographie des éditions musicales publiées par Estienne Roger et Michel-Charles Le Cène, Amsterdam, 1696–1743* (Paris: Société Française de Musicologie, 1969), p. 36; *SONATE A VIOLINO SOLO COL BASSO CONTINUO COMPOSTA DA ARCANGELO CORRELLI e Altri Autory et Dediés a Mons. DAVID RUTGERS COURTIER a Amsterdam par ESTIENNE ROGER se vendono in Amsterdam apresso Estienne Roger in Utrecht apresso Estienne Tabuteau*; exemplars can be found in GB-Lcm, S-Uu, and US-Wc; for further information on this publication, see Rudolf Rasch, *The Music Publishing House of Estienne Roger: Saint-Hélèn -Swaen* <https://roger.sites.uu.nl/catalogue/>, pp. 69–70.

¹¹⁸ The collection was erroneously advertised in *Recueil d’airs sérieux et à boire [...] Livre quatrième* (1697) as ‘Corelli opera quinta a violino solo col basso’; I wish to thank Rudolf Rasch for clarification on this point.

¹¹⁹ See Marx, *Die Überlieferung der Werke Arcangelo Corellis*, pp. 251–3, Anh. 34; Marx’s catalogue does not include a concordance in the Armstrong-Finch manuscript (pp. 40–5); a version of Anh. 34 in F major for recorder is found in I-PAc CF-V-23, fols. 57–60 as ‘Sonata a Flauto Solo, e Basso Del Sig.re Arcangelo Corelli’.

¹²⁰ See Hans Joachim Marx and Laurence Wallach, ‘Some Corelli Attributions Assessed’, *The Musical Quarterly*, 56/1 (1970), 88–98.

¹²¹ Arcangelo Corelli (?), *Le Sonate da camera di Assisi. Dal Ms. 177 della Biblioteca del Sacro Convento*, Edizione critica a cura di Enrico Gatti. Saggio introduttivo di Guido Olivieri (Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 2015); Guido Olivieri, ‘Le sonate da camera di Assisi: Una nuova fonte corelliana?’, in *Arcomelo 2013: Studi nel terzo centenario della morte di Arcangelo Corelli*, ed. Guido Olivieri and Marc Vanscheeuwijck (Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 2015), 31–54.

number have already been unanimously accepted as authentic, such as the Corelli Trumpet Sonata.¹²² The solo sonatas attributed to Corelli in British sources are catalogued by Marx as Anh. 33–37, 62–66 and 106–111, of which the first group were also printed in the 1697 Roger publication.¹²³ Among the main sources containing Corelli attributions are GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,466, the Armstrong-Finch manuscript, and US-Wc, M219 C79 S6 (Case), all dating from the first or second decade of the eighteenth century. ‘The Other Corelli: Violin Sonatas in English Sources’ by Agnese Pavanello is the most recent article to discuss unauthenticated solo and trio sonatas attributed to Corelli in British manuscripts.¹²⁴ Pavanello argues that the existence of both authentic and ‘spurious’ Corelli compositions in the same manuscripts is evidence for a connection between Rome and Britain. A link is suggested between the Catholic court of James II and Mary of Modena, who may have requested such music.¹²⁵ Another argument presented is that Corelli, Colista and Lonati (whose music was copied into British manuscripts) were in one way or another employed by Queen Christina of Sweden in Rome, a Catholic supporter connected to the court of James II.

Pavanello presents a case for the authenticity of the ‘Sign Corelli’ sonata in C.61 (from here on referred to as Anh. 34) along with Anh. 33 and Anh. 35, based on a re-examination of issues such as transmission, provenance and musical handwriting.¹²⁶ The attribution to Corelli in Anh. 33–35 is consistent across all British sources and the Roger print.¹²⁷ Marx advocates that only Anh. 34 could possibly be regarded as authentic since it was presumably copied into C.61 before it was printed by Roger in 1697.¹²⁸ Differences in movement names, slurring and bass figures between C.61 and the 1697 print indeed cast doubt on whether Wither had direct access to the publication (see Table 2.3).

¹²² See ‘Other works’ in Michael Tilmouth, ‘Corelli, Arcangelo’, *Grove Music Online* <Oxford Music Online> [accessed 19 December 2017].

¹²³ Marx, *Die Überlieferung der Werke Arcangelo Corellis*, pp. 224–57, 266–8, 277–80.

¹²⁴ Agnese Pavanello, ‘The Other Corelli: Violin Sonatas in English Sources’, *Ad Parnassum: A Journal of Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century Instrumental Music*, 13/26 (2015), 15–44.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 16–20.

¹²⁶ Agnese Pavanello, ‘Corelli “inedito”’: composizioni dubbie o senza numero d’opera. Percorsi tra fonti, attribuzioni e fortuna della trasmissione’, in *Arcomelo 2013: Studi nel terzo centenario della morte di Arcangelo Corelli*, ed. Guido Olivieri and Marc Vanscheeuwijck (Lucca: Libreria musicale italiana, 2015), 393–422.

¹²⁷ Pavanello, ‘The Other Corelli: Violin Sonatas in English Sources’, pp. 29–30.

¹²⁸ Marx, *Historisch-kritische Gesamtausgabe der musikalischen Werke*, 5, *Werke ohne Opuszahl*, pp. 21–2.

Movement No.	C.61	Roger (1697)
I	[untitled]	[untitled]
II	Allegro	Allegro
III	[untitled]	Grave
IV	Canzona	Allegro
V	Adagio	Adagio
VI	Vivace	[untitled]

Table 2.3 Movement names in Marx Anh. 34

Assuming a chronological copying order, Withy may have written down the piece anytime from 1693, the date of the music by Purcell for *The Richmond Heiress* found on p. 25.¹²⁹ This is similarly true if the acquisition of the Colista sonata found earlier in the manuscript on pp. 34–7 coincided with Withy’s visit to George Llywellyn in 1693.

A comparison between the sources reveals that sonatas by other composers were also falsely circulating under Corelli’s name, which is arguably evidence that some of the Anhang sonatas were not composed by him. A particularly unreliable source is US-Wc, M219 C79 S6 (Case), dated c. 1725 on the front cover and containing twelve sonatas attributed to Corelli.¹³⁰ Because the works in Anh. 106–111 have concordances with composers such as Robert King, Raphael Courteville (fl. c. 1675–1735), and particularly Gottfried Finger, the attributions to Corelli should be considered false.¹³¹ It is however noteworthy that C.61 contains the earliest known British source for Anh. 34, a strong contender for an authentic, unpublished solo sonata by Corelli, and shares many stylistic features with the composer’s published works.

¹²⁹ Pavanello refers to the date 1687 in relation to Anh. 34 in C.61, while pointing out that Marx dates the manuscript as 1688–1693; see ‘The Other Corelli: Violin Sonatas in English Sources’, p. 31, n. 43; 1687 is however the date that C.61 was acquired by Withy from Henry Knight, and is highly unlikely to be the copying date for Anh. 34, particularly considering the later composition dates of other works in the manuscript.

¹³⁰ The sonatas in US-Wc, M219 C79 S6 (Case) are identified by Marx as follows: I: Anh. 34, II: Anh. 106, III: Anh. 33, IV: Anh. 63, V: Anh. 108, VI: Anh. 109, VII: Anh. 111, VIII: Anh. 37, IX: Anh. 107, X: Anh. 110, XI: Anh. 64, XII: Anh. 35.

¹³¹ A table comparing Corelli attributions in English sources, including those printed by Roger in 1697 is produced in Pavanello, ‘The Other Corelli: Violin Sonatas in English Sources’, p. 30.

The term ‘Canzona’, found in the fourth movement of Anh. 61, was used by Henry Purcell in his contrapuntal trio sonata movements.¹³² The same movement is simply called ‘Allegro’ in the Roger print and the later British sources GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,466 and the Armstrong-Finch manuscript. None of Corelli’s published works use the term ‘Canzona’, but it is found in the music of composers based around Rome from the 1660s to the 1680s, including Carlo Mannelli (1640–1697), Colista, Lonati and Angelo Berardi (c. 1636–1694). In C.61, the use of the ‘walking’ bass in the ‘Canzona’ is a feature particularly associated with Corelli’s music (Ex. 2.15).

The image shows a handwritten musical score for a piece titled 'Canzona'. The score is arranged in six staves, with the first two staves on the top and the remaining four below. The notation includes treble and bass clefs, a key signature of one sharp (F#), and a common time signature (C). The music features a complex contrapuntal texture with various rhythmic patterns and ornaments. There are several annotations and fingerings throughout the score, including the word 'Canzona' written in the first staff, and numbers like '76', '7', '6', '43', and '766' indicating specific measures or techniques. The handwriting is in dark ink on aged paper.

Ex. 2.15 Marx Anhang 34, excerpt from Canzona, GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. C.61, p. 42
By permission of the Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford

¹³² Henry Purcell described ‘canzonas’ when discussing three-part counterpoint in Playford’s *Introduction to the Skill of Musick* as ‘used in *Sonata*’s, the chiefest Instrumental Musick now in request, where you will find *Double* and *Treble Fugues* also reverted and augmented in their *Canzona*’s; see *An Introduction to the Skill of Musick*, 12th edn, p. 125; by 1724 the author of *A Short Explication Of Such Foreign Words, As are made Use of in Music Books* explained a canzona as follows: ‘When this Word is found fixed to any Part of a Sonata, it signifies much the same as the word *Allegro*; for it only denotes that the Movement of the Part to which it is fixed, ought to be after a gay, brisk, or lively Manner.’; cited in Graham Strahle, *An Early Music Dictionary: Musical terms from British sources 1500–1740* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. 51.

Other similarities with Corelli's style are the imitative semiquaver passages, expressive slow movements, and the frequent use of sequences and suspensions. As in Corelli's Op. 5 sonatas, in Anh. 34 the two parts are often equal, particularly in the faster movements, with busy dialogue between the treble and bass.¹³³ The final movement ends with a giga-style 'Vivace' movement in 6/8, characterised by dotted rhythms. Conversely, none of Corelli's published sonatas contain dotted rhythms, unlike the works of his contemporaries.¹³⁴ Anh. 34 does however contain syncopated quaver-crotchet rhythms and suspensions over descending sequences, another feature found in the works of Corelli (Ex. 2.16).¹³⁵

¹³³ Of the five unpublished 'solo' sonatas considered by Marx to probably be authentic, only in Anh. 33 and Anh. 35 does the bass line provide a true accompaniment rather than creating a dialogue with the treble part as in Anh. 34.

¹³⁴ Peter Allsop, *Arcangelo Corelli: New Orpheus of our Times* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), p. 113.

¹³⁵ Another example of this device is found in I-Af, MS 177, Sonata No. 7, 'Corrente'; this manuscript in the library of the Sacro Convento di San Francesco in Assisi contains twelve *Sonate da camera à violino e violoncello solo* attributed to Corelli; facsimile edition: Arcangelo Corelli (?), *Le Sonate da camera di Assisi. Dal Ms. 177 della Biblioteca del Sacro Convento*.

Ex. 2.16 Marx Anhang 34, excerpt from Vivace, GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. C.61, p. 43
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The writing in Anh. 34 is idiomatic for the violin, the highest note being the conventional D_6 in third position. As with the other Anhang solo sonatas, the work lacks a fugal second movement and elaborate chordal passages for the violin, differentiating it from Corelli's Op. 5 collection.

C.61, pp. 44–7: anonymous

RISM assigns this untitled, anonymous violin sonata in C.61 to Corelli, which seems to be a printing error as the work immediately follows Anh. 34 (which is attributed to Corelli). It is not

contained in Marx's catalogue of spurious and unpublished sonatas attributed to Corelli, and I have so far been unable to identify any concordances, making it apparently the only extant source for this work.¹³⁶ A more likely attribution could be the Moravian viol player Gottfried Finger, who was among the most prolific composers of solo and multi-part sonatas during his stay in Britain;¹³⁷ the subsequent two items in C.61 are by Finger. It is however not included in Robert Rawson's thematic catalogue of Finger's output.¹³⁸

The opening 'Adagio' exemplifies the Austro-Bohemian style, which Finger combined with Italianate features in his sonatas. The piece opens with an improvisatory prelude over a repeated tonic pedal in D major, a device found particularly in the *Sonatae Violino Solo* (1681) by Heinrich Ignaz Franz von Biber, whose music was an influence on Finger (Ex. 2.17).¹³⁹ During his early years, Finger appears to have been employed by Prince-Bishop Karl Liechtenstein-Kastelcorn of Olmütz. Finger may have been taught by Biber, who was in service at the bishop's summer residence in Kremsier (Kroměříž).¹⁴⁰



Ex. 2.17 Opening Adagio from an anonymous sonata, GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. C.61, p. 44
By permission of the Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford

¹³⁶ Marx, *Die Überlieferung der Werke Arcangelo Corellis*.

¹³⁷ Also suggested by Peter Holman in his unpublished inventory of C.61.

¹³⁸ 'Thematic Inventory of the Music of Gottfried Finger (c. 1655–1730)' in Rawson, 'From Olomouc to London: the Early Music of Gottfried Finger (c. 1655–1730)'.

¹³⁹ Characteristics of Finger's compositional style are discussed by Rawson in 'Chapter 3: Moravian Traits', in 'From Olomouc to London: the Early Music of Gottfried Finger (c. 1655–1730)', pp. 50–60.

¹⁴⁰ Peter Holman, 'The Sale Catalogue of Gottfried Finger's Music Library: New Light on London Concert Life in the 1690s', *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle*, 43/1 (2010), 23–38 (p. 25).

Examples of Finger's solo sonatas which begin with repeated bass notes include GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,466, No. 7, fols. 9v–11r,¹⁴¹ *VI SONATAS or SOLO'S Three for a VIOLIN & Three for a FLUTE nth. a Thorough Bass for y^e Harpsychord* (1690), 'Sonata terza',¹⁴² and 'Sonatina / Mr. Finger', for scordatura bass viol and continuo in GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. D.249, fols. 153–6.¹⁴³

Finger's sonatas incorporate attributes of seventeenth-century multi-sectional works: sometimes the perfect cadence at the end of a section leads directly into a new tempo or time signature. An example is Sonata IX 'del Sig G. Finger' on pp. 36–9 of the Armstrong-Finch Manuscript, where the final three sections flow together, marked only by time signature changes.¹⁴⁴ The sonata in C.61, pp. 44–7, comprises nine sections, some of which are similarly linked together: Ada[gio]–Allegro–Volti–Adagio–Presto–[untitled]–Adagio–Allegro–[untitled]. While movements in Finger's sonatas often end with only the continuo playing the final cadence, this device is not found in C.61, pp. 44–7.

The first Adagio and untitled cut-time sections contain idiomatic double stopping, unlike Finger's only three printed sonatas for violin and continuo in *VI SONATAS or SOLO'S* that omit them, thereby appealing to a wider amateur market.¹⁴⁵ Double stopping is scarce also in Finger's manuscript violin sonatas, although some double and triple stopping is found in another unique work, GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,466, No. 7, 'Finger', fols. 9v–11r.¹⁴⁶ The anonymous sonata in C.61, pp. 44–7, is musically varied with lively passagework for the violin and a spirited final 3/8 movement; it can probably be attributed to Finger based on its style and the presence of other solo sonatas by him in this manuscript.

¹⁴¹ Rawson RI119.

¹⁴² Concordant with GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,466, No. 53, fols. 66v–67r; Rawson RI132.

¹⁴³ Concordant with GB-Ob, Mus. Sch. D.228, 'Sonata Quinta', 103v–104r; Rawson RI144.

¹⁴⁴ Concordant with GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,466, No. 22 (untitled), fols. 31v–33r; Rawson RI126.

¹⁴⁵ The exceptions are one double stop in 'Sonata Seconda' and a triple stop at the end of the third and final movements of 'Sonata Terza'; the first three of these sonatas were reprinted in *SIX SONATAS OR SOLOS FOR THE VIOLIN with a THROUGH BASS for the HARPSICORD or BASS VIOLIN Compos'd by Mr. G. Finger and Mr. D. Purcell* (London: Walsh, Randall and Hare, [1708]), which was also issued 'for the flute'.

¹⁴⁶ Rawson RI119.

C.61, pp. 48–9: G[ottfried] F[inger]

This ‘Sonata Solo’ by ‘G:F’ in B-Flat major is concordant with the solo sonata printed in *A Collection of Musick in Two Parts* (1691), [no. 14] on pp. 9–13, and is the only solo sonata in this publication.¹⁴⁷ Differences between the two sources are marginal, with some slurs and bass figures omitted or changed in the manuscript, suggesting that Withy was copying from the print or a closely related manuscript source.

C.61, pp. 50–3: [Gottfried Finger]

This work contains the heading ‘For ye Flu: in F key / 1st set in F’, but is actually a violin arrangement in D major of *DIX SONATES à 1 Flute & 1 Basse Continue*, Op. 3 (1700 or 1701), No. 8, originally composed in F major for the recorder.¹⁴⁸ Finger’s ‘Solo’ is in three movements (time signatures: C–C–3) and tempo markings vary between all sources for this work. In C.61, an echo effect with ‘for:’ and ‘pia:’ is added in the final two bars of the second movement. As pointed out by David Lasocki, Finger also incorporated a ground bass into the final triple-time movement, based on two descending tetrachords.¹⁴⁹

Other manuscripts in the Bodleian Library

GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. C.44

This manuscript contains a variety of material intended for practical use by the Oxford Music School, some of it copied or annotated by Francis Withy.¹⁵⁰ Most of the music was collected by Edward Lowe during his time as professor between 1661 and 1682, and includes works (such as

¹⁴⁷ The sonata is catalogued as Rawson RI96; *A Collection of MUSICK In TWO PARTS. Consisting of Ayres, Chacones, Divisions, and Sonata’s FOR VIOLINS or FLUTES. By Mr. G. FINGER. To which is Added A Sett of Ayres in four parts, By Mr. JOHN BANISTER. The FIRST BOOK.* (London: Printed by J. Heptinstall, for Mr. John Banister, 1691); ‘The SECOND BOOK’ was ‘Printed by Tho. Moore, for Mr. John Banister’; a unique exemplar is in GB-Drc; this publication is not to be confused with *A Collection of Choice Ayres for two & three Treble Flutes* (London: Thomas Jones and John May, 1691) containing suites by Finger, but no solo sonatas; the unique surviving exemplar of *A Collection of Choice Ayres* was owned by Samuel Pepys (1633–1703) and is found in GB-Cmc, F 4–35 PL 994–6; see Rawson, ‘Thematic Inventory of the Music of Gottfried Finger (c. 1655–1730)’, pp. 326–7.

¹⁴⁸ The recorder and basso continuo parts are printed separately; the sonata is almost certainly falsely attributed to Raphael Courteville in the Armstrong-Finch MS and Detroit Recorder MS; Rawson RI109 (F major) and RI130a (D major).

¹⁴⁹ David Lasocki, ‘The Detroit Recorder Manuscript (England, c. 1700)’, *American Recorder*, 23 (1982), 95–102 (p. 100).

¹⁵⁰ See Thompson, ‘Francis Withie of Oxon’ and his commonplace book’, p. 18.

trio and large scale sonatas) for violin and bass viol by British and continental composers.¹⁵¹ Fols. 37r–38v contain the only solo sonata in this source, a ‘Solo Violoncello e Baso Continuo / By Sig.^r Benniditti’ in B-flat major, in two-part score with a figured bass part.¹⁵² The work, which looks to be in a late seventeenth-century or early eighteenth-century style is highly atypical among the remainder of the manuscript. Benniditti’s solo was not included among the list compiled by Lowe in 1682 of the ‘Loose papers in this Cubberd [...] Instrumentall’, later bound as C.44.¹⁵³ Since C.44 was made up of odd folios belonging to the Music School, this piece may have simply been bound together at a later date with Lowe’s material. The original Bodleian Library typescript catalogue description of this manuscript states that C.44 was ‘Bound ca. 1885, in the order in which the paper were formerly kept’.

Benniditti’s solo is in four movements, each with Italian tempo markings: ‘adagio–allegro–adagio–allegro’. The solo part alternates between bass, tenor and treble clefs using a wide range of the instrument, but the piece does not contain any double stopping. To put solo violoncello music into context, among the earliest music of this kind are the *Ricercari p il Violoncello* and two solo sonatas by the Bolognese composer Domenico Gabrielli (1659–1690). Nicola Francesco Haym (1678–1729) is thought to have been the earliest violoncello player in Britain.

Gottfried Finger’s viol sonatas

Combined, GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. d.249 and GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. d.228 contain seven solo viol sonatas by Finger (one of which turns out to be by Ignazio Albertini (c. 1644–85)), some in Sherard’s hand and others copied by Finger; four of these works are missing the basso continuo part.¹⁵⁴ Some are written in scordatura tunings, making Finger the only composer in Britain to use

¹⁵¹ The composers in C. 44 include Matthew Locke (1621–3–1677), John Blundeville (? d. 1721), Johann Heinrich Schmelzer (c. 1620–23–1680), Adam-Nicolas Gascon (1623–1668), Lambert Pietkin (1613–1696), J. J. Mitternacht, ‘Sig.^r Benniditti’, Giuseppe Torelli (1658–1709), Richard Cobb (1604–1658), Gottfried Keller (d. 1704), William King (c. 1624–1680), Valentine Oldis (1620–1684), John Birchensha (early 17th century–1681), William Hall (d. 1700), Jean-Baptiste Lully (1632–1687), William Croft (1678–1727), Arthur Phillips (1605–1695), Richard Goodson (c. 1655–1718), ‘Graby’ [Louis Grabu] (fl. 1665–94), Christopher Gibbons (1615–1676), John Banister (1624/5–1679), Benjamin Rogers (1614–1698), William King (c. 1624–1680) and anonymous.

¹⁵² The Florentine composer Piero Benedetti (c. 1585–1649) is suggested in *Music Manuscripts: Series 1: Part 1: Bodleian Library, Oxford: Unpublished Manuscripts of the 16th and 17th Centuries*, but judging from the music, the piece looks to be in a later style.

¹⁵³ Crum, ‘Early Lists of the Oxford Music School Collection’, p. 32.

¹⁵⁴ Rawson RI141–RI148; see Crum, ‘Early Lists of the Oxford Music School Collection’, pp. 10–11; for a modern edition of Finger’s viol sonatas, see Robert Rawson and Petr Wagner, ed., *Gottfried Finger: The Music for Solo Viol* (London: Fretwork Editions, 2009).

this device in his viol music.¹⁵⁵ Finger's early viol sonatas use elements of 'stylus phantasticus' writing similar to the style of Biber, for example incorporating virtuosic scalic passages over a pedal, and slurred staccato notes; Finger's later works tend to be grouped into separate movements rather than sections. The viol sonatas are far more virtuosic than Finger's works for violin and recorder and were undoubtedly intended for his own performances.¹⁵⁶ Peter Holman suggests that Finger may have taught Sherard during the 1690s and a great deal of the viol music in Sherard's collection may have been provided by Finger.¹⁵⁷

GB-Ob, Mus. Sch. D.249

This manuscript volume in the Oxford Music School collection comprises over four hundred loose pages which were bound together in c. 1890. It contains almost exclusively music owned by the apothecary and botanist James Sherard (1666–1738), some of it in his hand.¹⁵⁸ Sherard played the violin, but his music library (now part of the Oxford Music School collection) contains a considerable amount of viol music, suggesting that he also played that instrument.¹⁵⁹ Among the seven solo viol sonatas attributed to Finger in GB-Ob, Mus. Sch. D.249, RI147 in D minor (copied by Sherard) is in fact a shortened version of a violin sonata by the Italian violinist Ignazio Albertini, No. 1 in *Sonatinae XII Violino Solo* (Vienna and Frankfurt, 1692), which Peter Holman suggests may have been obtained through Finger.¹⁶⁰

Items 18–23 in GB-Ob, Mus. Sch. D.249 are a set of six sonatas from Lübeck for bass viol and continuo; they are copied in score as Margaret Crum points out in a German hand, all titled 'Violadagamba Solo' and 'Sonata'.¹⁶¹ The solo sonatas are attributed to 'Giovanni Schenck',¹⁶²

¹⁵⁵ In GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. d.249, RI142 in A major and RI144 in B-flat major are titled 'Sonatina' and RI148 'Viola di gamba sola', rather than the usual 'Sonata'.

¹⁵⁶ These works are discussed in further detail in Holman, *Life After Death*, pp. 20–31.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 15, 80.

¹⁵⁸ For Sherard, see Michael Tilmouth, 'James Sherard: an English Amateur Composer', *Music & Letters*, 47/4 (1966), 313–22.

¹⁵⁹ Holman, *Life After Death*, pp. 78–9.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 24.

¹⁶¹ Margaret Crum, 'James Sherard and the Oxford Music School Collection', unpublished lecture for Oxford Bibliographical Society, c. 1980, p. 11; for GB-Ob, Mus. Sch. D.249, see also preface to Günter and Leonore von Zadow, *Lübecker Violadagamba Solo: Sonate D-Moll für Viola da Gamba und Basso continuo*, G100 (Heidelberg: Edition Güntersberg, 2006).

¹⁶² A version of sonata in A minor from *Tyd en konst-oeffeningen* (1688), Op. 2, No. 2 in A minor and No. 4 in A minor by the Dutch viol player Johann Schenck (1660–after 1710).

‘Martino Radack’,¹⁶³ ‘Davidt Adam Baudringer’,¹⁶⁴ ‘Diederich Buxtehude’¹⁶⁵ and there is also an anonymous sonata in D minor in a similar style to Buxtehude; Sherard annotated fol. 119v with ‘Viola de gamba Soli’, confirming his ownership of the manuscript.¹⁶⁶

GB-Ob, Mus. Sch. D.288

In addition to the viol sonatas by Finger, this manuscript also contains solo sonatas attributed to ‘Giovannino del Violone’, i.e. the Roman cellist and trombonist Giovanni Lorenzo Lulier (c. 1662–1700), who was employed by Cardinal Pamphili from 1681 and Cardinal Ottoboni from 1690.

GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. C.79

GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. C.79, a manuscript copied for the Oxford Music School by Edward Lowe (d. 1682) contains four anonymous ‘Italian Sonatas for 3: two Trebles & a Base with a Through Base’. The final allegro of the second sonata contains ‘solo’ passages (with basso continuo) for each instrument, with some virtuosic semiquaver passages reaching fourth position for the first violin.

GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. E.450

This manuscript contains an anonymous ‘Sonetta for one violin to ye Organ’ on fols. 37r–40r in separate parts, with the organ part unfigured. This multi-section sonata is written in a flamboyant mid-seventeenth century German or Italian style. The violin part is virtuosic with extensive semiquaver and demisemiquaver passages, double stopping as well as ‘f.’ and ‘p.’ dynamic markings.¹⁶⁷

Bodleian Library manuscripts: summary

Bodleian Library manuscripts C.71 and C.61 are among the earliest British sources to contain solo sonatas. Notably, these works display a variety of national styles including Italian, German/Austro-Bohemian and British. The inclusion of music attributed to Colista and Corelli in C.61 shows that Francis Withy was keen to follow the new fashion for Italian instrumental music. This is also

¹⁶³ Sonata in B-flat major by the Danish organist of German origin, Martin Radeck (1623–1684).

¹⁶⁴ Sonata in B-flat major; the Lübeck organist David Arnold Baudringer is suggested in preface to Von Zadow, *Lübecker Violadagamba Solo*.

¹⁶⁵ Sonata in D major by the Lübeck organist Dieterich Buxtehude (c. 1637–1707), BuxVW 268.

¹⁶⁶ Holman, *Life After Death*, pp. 79–80.

¹⁶⁷ This work is said to be ‘probably by King’ in the *New Grove*, but this has since been discredited since it is in an earlier and different style to Robert King’s music.

evident from the use of Italianate titles such as ‘Sola’, even when the music itself was (as in King’s sonata) ‘clog’d with somewhat of an English vein’, to quote North’s critique of Purcell’s trio sonatas.¹⁶⁸ The inclusion of violin and recorder music indicates that Withy may have played these instruments or, as Peter Holman suggests, perhaps performed some the works an octave higher on the bass viol.¹⁶⁹

In the case of C.61, while these musical changes were recorded in Oxford (as opposed to London), the manuscript hints at a possible link between Francis Withy and the Catholic Chapel Royal of James II and Mary of Modena. Notably, Withy’s inscription ‘Monse. Diseb plais on ye Base Violin Ex[cellently]’ in C.61 connects Withy to a ‘M^r Desabaye’ who was listed among the instrumentalists in James II’s chapel.¹⁷⁰

If authentic, the piece attributed to Corelli (and more doubtfully that by Colista) could have found their way from Rome via a connection between James II and Queen Christina of Sweden, although direct evidence has not survived. Regardless of whether some of the unpublished solo sonatas attributed to Corelli (such as Anh. 34) are indeed genuine or simply anonymous imitations, they clearly signify a demand for a solo repertoire by this composer before the arrival of the Op. 5 collection. There was also a motivation for adding Corelli’s name to printed music, using the composer’s fame to increase sales.

2.4 Miscellaneous Manuscripts

This section provides a brief overview of solo sonatas in some further manuscripts of British provenance as well as foreign manuscripts in British collections dating from before or around 1700; this list further supplements our understanding of how the genre was disseminated before printed sources became widespread in Britain.

GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,435

Among other British manuscripts to contain music attributed to Colista is GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,435, dated c. 1675–85. Forming part of the North collection, this partbook was copied by an

¹⁶⁸ Wilson, *Roger North on Music*, p. 48.

¹⁶⁹ GB-Cfm, MU MS 647; these arrangements are discussed in Peter Holman, ‘Continuity and Change in English Bass Viol Music: The Case of Fitzwilliam MU. MS 647’, *The Viola da Gamba Society Journal*, 1 (2007), 20–50 (p. 26).

¹⁷⁰ For Desabaye, see Ashbee, Lasocki *et al.*, *A Biographical Dictionary of English Court Musicians, 1485–1714*, vol. 1, pp. 345–6.

unidentified scribe, which Rebecca Herissone has labelled ‘Anon C’.¹⁷¹ In addition to consort music by Matthew Locke (c. 1621–3–77), Christopher Gibbons (1615–1676) and Henry Purcell, it contains the melodic bass part to sonatas, found on fols. 111r–122r.¹⁷² The pieces are missing their treble parts, and a harmonic continuo part was arguably originally also part of the set.¹⁷³ While all the works in this sequence have recently been categorised as trio sonatas,¹⁷⁴ the first piece, ‘A2. Violino e Leuto. del Sig^r Lelio Colista.’ in C major on fols. 111v–112r, could possibly be a solo sonata. The original instrumentation of the ‘A2’ Colista piece is difficult to identify and there are considerable discrepancies in how GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,435 is described in modern literature.¹⁷⁵ Although ‘A2’ usually designates a sonata for two melody instruments with continuo (usually one, but sometimes two instruments), the music on fols. 111v–112v is the only piece in this sequence in Add. MS 31,435 with bass figures and could therefore conceivably be the basso continuo part. Figures were of course included or omitted in both melodic and continuo bass parts during the seventeenth century, and it is not clear if in this instance ‘A2’ could simply mean ‘for two parts’, i.e. violin with lute basso continuo.¹⁷⁶ It is equally possible that the work is a trio sonata, particularly when compared to other pieces with the same instrumentation. For example, the anonymous no. CXIV in the seventeenth-century ‘Rost Codex’, headed ‘à due. Violino è Leuto’ contains separate lute and continuo parts, both of which are figured.¹⁷⁷

¹⁷¹ Rebecca Herissone, *Musical Creativity in Restoration England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), pp. 87, 275.

¹⁷² The copyist of the sonatas in GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,435 is presumably misidentified as John Jenkins (1592–1678) in the British Library manuscript catalogue and in Wessely-Kropik, *Lelio Colista, ein römischer Meister vor Corelli*, p. 113. The date ‘before 1678’ in RISM therefore refers to the date of Jenkins’s death. Some of the works in GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,435 are ascribed to Maurizio Cazzati (1616–1678) in RISM and the British Library catalogue, apparently referring to the inscription ‘Cazz[at] Base’ on f. 69r earlier in the manuscript.

¹⁷³ For further information on GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,435 see Ashbee, Thompson, and Wainwright, *The Viola da Gamba Society Index of Manuscripts Containing Consort Music*, vol. 2, pp. 112–6.

¹⁷⁴ Kang, ‘The Trio Sonata in Restoration England (1660–1714)’, p. 47.

¹⁷⁵ RISM, Ashbee, Thompson, and Wainwright, *The Viola da Gamba Society Index of Manuscripts*, vol. 2, Wessely-Kropik, *Lelio Colista, ein römischer Meister vor Corelli*, Kang, ‘The Trio Sonata in Restoration England (1660–1714)’.

¹⁷⁶ The basso continuo part is normally added to the number of parts already indicated. For a more comprehensive explanation and examples of the number of instruments in works ‘a2’ and ‘a3’, both of which come under the modern term ‘trio sonata’, see Gregory Barnett, ‘Form and gesture: canzona, sonata and concerto’, in *The Cambridge History of Seventeenth-Century Music*, ed. Tim Carter and John Butt (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 479–532 (pp. 499–500), where the size of the performing space is also argued to be a factor in the number of continuo instruments to be used.

¹⁷⁷ Manuscript copied by Franz Rost (c. 1640–88), now at the Bibliothèque Nationale, Rés. Vm⁷653. Trio sonatas therefrom are also found in English sources; for concordances, see Min-Jung Kang, ‘The Trio Sonata in Restoration England (1660–1714)’ (PhD dissertation, University of Leeds, 2008).

GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,500

Also known as the ‘GPD manuscript’, GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,500 is erroneously catalogued by the British Library as ‘organ music’, containing scordatura violin music, including works by the Austrian violinist Johann Heinrich Schmelzer (c. 1620–23–1680) and dated 1677 on the binding; this has been identified by Pauline Nobes as probably being by the German violinist Gerhardt Diessener (c. 1640–after 1683), who was in England by 1673 until his death in c. 1684.¹⁷⁸

GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,436

GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,436 is a manuscript previously owned by Julian Marshall (1836–1903), copied onto paper probably made in Holland during the early 1690s.¹⁷⁹ It contains parts of the *Broken Consort* by Matthew Locke (1621–3–1677), ‘The Months’ and ‘The Seasons’ by Christopher Simpson, fantasias by John Hingeston, eighteenth-century string parts for operatic arias (the composer is not named), as well as trio sonatas from Op. 9 (Venice, 1684) by Giovanni Battista Vivaldi (1632–1692) and *Scielta della Suonate* (Bologna, 1680) by Marino Silvani (d. 1711). Included are also two sonatas for a treble instrument and bass: ‘Sonata del Sig. Romano’¹⁸⁰ and ‘Sonata del Sig. Giovanni Francalanza’.¹⁸¹

GB-Ckc Rowe MS 122

This manuscript dated c. 1695 in the Rowe Music Library catalogue comprises two part-books of theatre music, as well as six solo recorder sonatas by Finger and Paisible copied onto fols. 9v–14r (treble) and 8v–11v, numbered 41–6.¹⁸² Nos. 42, 43 and 44 can be identified as Nos. 4–6 from Finger’s *VI Sonatas or Solo’s* (1690); Nos. 41 and 46 are concordant with Paisible’s sonatas in the Detroit Recorder manuscript and the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Rés. Vma. Ms. 700, while No. 45 is in the Paris manuscript only.

¹⁷⁸ Pauline Nobes, ‘The GPD Manuscript’ (unpublished dissertation, Manchester, 1985); Pauline Nobes, ‘Neglected Sources of the Solo Violin Repertory before ca. 1750: with special reference to unaccompanied performance, scordatura and other aspects of violin technique’ (PhD dissertation, University of Exeter, 2000); see also Tassilo Erhardt, ‘Review: The South German Violin’, *Early Music*, 33/3 (August 2005), 511–3.

¹⁷⁹ For GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,436, see Ashbee, Thompson, and Wainwright, *The Viola da Gamba Society Index of Manuscripts*, vol. 2, pp. 117–124.

¹⁸⁰ Treble: fol. 151r; bass: fol. 190r.

¹⁸¹ Treble: fols. 151v–152r; bass: 190v–191r.

¹⁸² Rowe Music Library, unpublished catalogue record, MS 122.

GB-Ckc, MS 226

This early eighteenth-century manuscript is titled 'D^r. Pepusch. Sonatas Flute & Bass' and contains seven solo sonatas for the recorder, some of which can be identified as follows:

1. 'Dr Pepusch / Sonata Flauto Solo' in D minor (Cook no. 1:126)
2. 'Flauto Solo' in G major; anonymous (Pepusch, Cook no. 1:114)
3. 'Flauto Solo' C major; anonymous
4. 'Flauto Solo' (at the end 'Courtivil') in C major (*The Compleat Flute Master* (1695))
5. 'Flauto Solo' A minor; anonymous
6. 'Flauto Solo / M^r. Fingar' G major (*VI SONATAS or SOLO'S* (1690), No. 4; Rawson RI112)
7. 'Flauto Solo' C major; anonymous (I have identified this as the first two movements of Robert Valentine's *Sonate di flauto solo col basso per il cimbalo o violone* (Rome, 1708; Roger, 1710; Walsh, c. 1714), Op. 2 No. 11, originally in B-flat major; the final two movements are different)

GB-Ckc, MS 243

This manuscript contains an anonymous 'Sonata a Violino Solo' for violin and organ continuo in G major copied onto separate parts. The virtuosic violin part is in a mid-seventeenth-century style and looks to possibly be by a German composer; the manuscript is unbound and according to the Rowe music library catalogue was copied onto Dutch paper dating from c. 1680.¹⁸³ The movements are marked Alla Breve–Allegro–[untitled in 3/4]–Gige–Adagio. The first and thirds movement consists of continuous double stopping for the violin, while the Allegro and Adagio movements feature virtuosic demisemi-quaver passagework (see Ex. 2.18).

¹⁸³ Rowe Music Library, unpublished catalogue record, MS 243.

Ex. 2.18 GB-Ckc, MS 243, 'Sonata a Violino Solo', Allegro
By permission of the Provost and Scholars of King's College, Cambridge

GB-Cfm, MU. MS 636

This seventeenth-century manuscript in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge is an oblong score containing a ‘Sonata a Flaûto Solo’ in F major for recorder and continuo; Peter Holman suggests it was written by an Italian composer based on the style of the music and the handwriting.¹⁸⁴

US-Dp, RM788.1191 S698

In his article, ‘The Detroit Recorder Manuscript’, David Lasocki describes the contents of US-Dp, RM788.1191 S698, a manuscript of British provenance in the Library of Congress dating from c. 1700, and all the works would have been available before the turn of the century.¹⁸⁵ It contains seventeen solo sonatas for recorder and basso continuo alongside divisions, all of which are anonymous except for Sonata No. 3, attributed to Courteville, which is in fact by Finger (Rawson RI114). The pieces are all extant in other sources, but as Lasocki points out, differ significantly in terms of bass figures, slurs, rhythms, ornaments, time signatures, tempo markings, with movements occasionally left out or replaced; this suggests the Detroit Recorder Manuscript was copied from other sources which are now lost.¹⁸⁶ Apart from Edward Finch (an amateur), and the works attributed to ‘Corelli’, the composers represented, Gottfried Finger, James Paisible (c. 1656–1721) and William Williams (?1675–1701), were all involved in the London concert scene until around 1701.

James Paisible (c. 1656–1721)

The French-born recorder and oboe player James Paisible is singled out here owing to his significant contribution to a virtuoso solo repertoire for the instrument.¹⁸⁷ Paisible arrived in London already in 1673 together with the composer Robert Cambert (c. 1628–1677) to join the court of Charles II. After the coronation of William and Mary in 1688, Paisible joined the exiled Catholic court of James II in Saint-Germain-en-Laye in France. He returned to London in 1693, obtaining the post of court composer to James II’s daughter Princess Anne (later to become Queen) and her consort Prince George of Denmark.

¹⁸⁴ Holman, ‘Continuity and Change in English Bass Viol Music: The Case of Fitzwilliam MU. MS 647’, p. 33; in addition, there is an anonymous sonata for keyboard in G Major in Fitzwilliam MU. MS 635.

¹⁸⁵ Lasocki, ‘The Detroit Recorder Manuscript (England, c. 1700)’, where concordances for each work are listed.

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 100.

¹⁸⁷ For Paisible, see David Lasocki, ‘The French Hautboy in England, 1673–1730’, *Early Music*, 16/3 (August 1988), 339–57.

Paisible's thirteen solo recorder sonatas show virtuosity beyond anything available in print at the time, which is presumably why they were never published. Seven of these sonatas are found in the Detroit Recorder Manuscript; all the sonatas are found in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Rés. Vma. Ms. 700, titled 'Solo's By Mr. Paisible'. As David Lasocki indicates, the pieces were probably used in France since the manuscript survives there and Paisible's sonatas are mostly notated in the French violin clef.¹⁸⁸ Paisible's solo sonatas could have already been written in the 1690s and been influenced by Finger. Advertisements for performances by Paisible in York Buildings, the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane and Richmond Wells between 1689 and 1717 always include him in conjunction with other musicians; although no 'solo' by him is mentioned in the newspapers, Paisible's recorder sonatas could have been included in these public performances.

US-NYp, JOG 72-50

The contents of this upright score in the New York Public Library suggests it was copied in the late seventeenth-century. It contains five solo sonatas by Finger, but also a 'Sonata, Violino Solo' attributed to 'A Corelli', an anonymous 'Sinfonia a Solo' for violin and continuo, as well as a 'Sonata by Bassoni' for solo violin, perhaps an attribution to Giovanni Battista Bassani (c. 1650–1716). Much of the remaining music comprises solo bass viol music attributed to 'F.W. Withie' and 'Ed. Withie'.

US-R, M1490.B113

This manuscript in the Sibley Music Library, Eastman School of Music at the University of Rochester, is in the hand of the French bassoonist and oboist Charles Babel (c. 1636?–1716), the father of William Babel; Charles was among the musicians for William III in The Hague in 1697–8, after which he moved to England and became a British citizen in April 1699.¹⁸⁹

Babel's manuscript, titled 'Recueil de pieces choisies à une et deux fleutes' is dated 1698 and is a valuable source of solo sonatas for the recorder circulating in Britain during the 1690s. Notably, a

¹⁸⁸ David Lasocki, 'The Recorder and its Music at the Jacobite Courts in England and France, 1685–1712', *American Recorder*, 55 (2014), 15–30 (p. 25).

¹⁸⁹ For Charles Babel and his manuscripts, see David Lasocki, 'Charles Babel's Manuscripts for the Recorder: Light on Repertoire and the Art of Preluding (c.1700)', *Early Music Performer*, 38 (Spring 2016), 4–21; A further manuscript previously owned by Christopher Hogwood (Babel Hogwood 1091) and prior to this by Franklin B. Zimmerman, also contains recorder music copied by Charles Babel and a second anonymous hand in c. 1700; GB-Lbl, to date not yet catalogued.

section headed ‘Flûte seule avec Basse continuë’, among which are twenty-five solo sonatas for treble recorder by (or attributed to) Giacomo Carissimi (1605–1674) (1), Gottfried Finger (7), Pietro Antonio Fiocco (1653–1714) (1), James Paisible (c. 1656–1721) (5), Carl Rosier (1640–1725) (8), Agostino Steffani (1654–1728) (1), Pietro Torri (1654–1728) (1), and William Williams (1).¹⁹⁰ In addition, there is an oboe sonata by Johann Christoph Pepusch, an early example of the genre before any such works had been published in Britain. As David Lasocki has shown, Babel would have been familiar with music by the continental musicians Fiocco, Rosier, Steffani and Torri while working as a wind player in Hanover in 1688–90, and their works are unique to this manuscript; furthermore, it appears to have been Babel who inserted songs by Henry Purcell’s songs in place of some of the movements in the Steffani and Rosier sonatas.¹⁹¹ Finger, Paisible and Williams were based in London, while the attribution in No. 20 to ‘Mr. Carissimi’ is likely to be spurious since only vocal music by the composer are known, and was probably written by a north European composer.¹⁹² The sonatas by Fiocco and Torri contain florid written-out Italian ornamentation.

2.5 ‘An excellent Solo’: Printed Solo Sonatas before 1700

The number of solo sonatas printed in Britain before 1700 was significantly less compared to the years thereafter until 1716. Walsh opened his publishing house in 1695, before which other British music publishers took little interest in the solo sonata.¹⁹³ By 1700, solo sonatas by Thomas Farmer, Edward Finch, ‘Corelli’, Gottfried Finger, Raphael Courteville, William Croft and Daniel Purcell had been printed in Britain; imported solo sonatas found their way into the collections of the Oxford Music School and amateur musicians.

Bodleian Library

In his 1954 article, ‘Seventeenth-Century Italian Instrumental Music in the Bodleian Library’, Denis Stevens provided a list of printed Italian works supposedly once forming part of the Oxford Music School collection.¹⁹⁴ Since then, Peter Holman has pointed out that some of this music seems to have been brought later to Oxford by James Sherard via his brother, the botanist William

¹⁹⁰ David Lasocki (Instant Harmony) has produced modern editions of several of the solo sonatas in this manuscript.

¹⁹¹ Ibid, pp. 5–6.

¹⁹² Ibid, p. 6.

¹⁹³ For more information on British music publishers, see Charles Humphries and William C. Smith, *Music Publishing in the British Isles from the Beginning until the Middle of the Nineteenth Century*, 2nd edn (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1970).

¹⁹⁴ Denis Stevens, ‘Seventeenth-Century Italian Instrumental Music in the Bodleian Library’, *Acta Musicologica*, 26 (1954), 67–74.

Sherard (1659–1728), who may have obtained the prints during his grand tour between 1697 and 1699.¹⁹⁵ The following publications containing solo sonatas (or works scored for one melody instrument and continuo) were listed by Stevens, many of which date from the late seventeenth century (see Table 2.4).¹⁹⁶

Title	Composer	Publication date as given in Stevens
<i>Balletti, Correnti, Sarabande e Gighe, Op. 1</i>	Pirro Albergati (1663–1735)	1685
<i>Balletti, Correnti, Gighe e Sarabande da camera, Op. 3</i>	Giovanni Battista Degli Antoni (1660–after 1696)	1688
<i>Ricercate a Violino, e Violoncello, o Clavicembalo, Op. 5</i>	Giovanni Battista Degli Antoni	1690
<i>Sonate a Violino Solo, Op. 4</i>	Pietro Degli Antoni (1639–1720)	1676
<i>Suonate a Violino Solo, Op. 5</i>	Pietro Degli Antoni	1686
<i>Sonate Concertate in stil Moderno, Libro Secondo</i>	Dario Castello (fl. first half of seventeenth century)	1644
<i>Il Secondo Libro delle Sonate a una, doi, tre, e quattro</i>	Maurizio Cazzati (1616–1678)	1648
<i>Sonate a 1. 2. 3. Per il Violino, o cornetto, fagotto, chitarone, violoncino o simile altro istromento</i>	Giovanni Battista Fontana (1589–1630)	1641
<i>Balletti, gighe, correnti, allemande, e sarabande, Op. 1</i>	Domenico Gabrielli (1659–1690)	1684
<i>Sonate di Violino a 1, 2, 3, 4. Per Chiesa, & anco Aggiunta per Camera, Op. 1</i>	Agostino Guerrieri (fl. mid-seventeenth century)	1673

¹⁹⁵ Jonathan Wainwright, ‘On Plans for Cataloguing the Oxford University Music School Collection. Links with the Christ Church Collection’, *Christ Church Library Newsletter*, 8/1–3 (2011–2), 10–12 (p. 11); Walls, ‘The Influence of the Italian Violin School in 17th-Century England’, p. 587, n. 7.

¹⁹⁶ Some publication dates vary between Stevens and the *New Grove*, indicating different editions.

<i>Suonate per camera a violin e violoncello, Op. 1</i>	Bartolomeo Laurenti (1644–1726)	1691
<i>Armonici Concerti, a suono unico acuto, e suo continuo grave, Op. 1</i>	Francesco Maria Lelli (fl. late seventeenth century)	1693
<i>Ayrs for the Violin</i>	Nicola Matteis (fl. c. 1670–90)	1685 [i.e. 1676]
<i>Ayres for the Violin</i>	Matteis	1685
<i>Correnti, gagliarde, balletti, et arie, Op.1</i>	Francesco Todeschini (fl. 1650)	1650
<i>Sonate over Canzoni da farsi a Violino Solo, Op. 5</i>	Marco Uccellini (c. 1603 or 1610–1680)	1649
<i>Sonate da Camera a Violino Solo, Op. 2</i>	Antonio Veracini (1659–1733)	1696
<i>Sonate a Violino Solo Capricci Armonici, da Chiesa, e da Camera, Op. 4</i>	Giovanni Viviani (1638–1692)	1678

Table 2.4 Imported solo sonatas in the Bodleian Library

August Kühnel (1645–c.1700)

The earliest British advertisement for printed solo sonatas appeared in *The London Gazette* dated 19 to 23 November 1685, for ‘Severall Sonata’s, composed after the Italian way, for one and two Bass-Viols, with a Thorough-Basse, being, upon the Request of several Lovers of Musick (who have already subscribed)’.¹⁹⁷ The sonatas were composed by the German viol player August Kühnel (1645–c.1700), who was promoted as performing on the bass viol and baryton. As with Matteis’s *Ayres*, the music was ‘to be Engraven upon Copper Plates’. After his employment at the court of Moritz, Duke of Saxony-Zeitz, Kühnel announced that he would travel to Britain towards the end of 1682 to study, leaving in 1686 to join the court in Darmstadt. No copies of the sonatas advertised in London seem to have survived, but virtuosic works with the same scoring were printed later for the author as *Sonate ó Partite ad una ó due Viole da Gamba con il Basso Continuo* (Kassel,

¹⁹⁷ ‘Severall Sonata’s, composed after the Italian way, for one and two Bass-Viols, with a Thorough-Basse, being, upon the Request of several Lovers of Musick (who have already subscribed) to be Engraven upon Copper-Plates are to be perform’d on Thursday next, and every Thursday following, at six of the clock in the Evening, at the Dancing-School in Walbrook, next door to the Bell Inn; and on Saturday next, and every Saturday following at the Dancing-school in York-Buildings. At which places will be also some performance upon the Barrantone, by Mr. August Keenell, the Author of this Musick. Such who do not subscribe, are to pay their Half Crown, towards the discharge of performing it’; *The London Gazette*, 19–23 November 1685, issue 2088.

1698).¹⁹⁸ The *London Gazette* advertisement also seems to be the earliest mention of a performance of solo sonatas, demonstrating a fundamental connection between the solo sonata and newly established public concerts.

Early solo sonatas in The Second Part of the Division Violin

The bookseller John Playford (1623–c.1687) was at the forefront of the music publishing trade in Britain from 1651 to 1684. He published Henry Purcell's *Sonnata's of III Parts* (London, 1683), the earliest printed set of trio sonatas for violins in Britain. John Playford did not publish any solo sonatas, focussing predominantly on instrumental treatises, songbooks and dance tunes aimed at the amateur market.¹⁹⁹ The shift to a more modern style of repertoire took place under John's son Henry Playford (1657–1709), who succeeded his father's business. In the meantime, the first sonatas for recorders (by Raphael Courteville) were published by John Carr (fl. 1672–95) and John Banister junior as six *Sonatas of two Parts, compos'd and purposely contrived for two Flutes* (1686).²⁰⁰ These pieces are unaccompanied duets for two recorders, as opposed to solo sonatas for one recorder with basso continuo. The first collection dedicated entirely to solo sonatas printed in Britain was Gottfried Finger's *VI Sonatas or Solo's. Three for a Violin & Three for a Flute wth. A Thorough Bass for y^e Harpsychord*, printed for the author in 1690. This collection also contains the earliest printed solo sonatas for recorder in Britain.

While Finger's *VI Sonatas or Solo's* was the first *set* of solo sonatas to be published in Britain, single solo sonatas for the violin had already been printed: I was surprised to discover a completely overlooked exemplar of what is presumably a reissue of the first edition of Henry Playford's *The Second Part of the Division Violin*, dated 1689 on the title page (see Chapter 5, Fig. 5.6); it is held at the Folger Shakespeare Library in Washington D.C., call number D1742.²⁰¹ Modern scholars will

¹⁹⁸ Holman, *Life After Death*, p. 14; facsimile edition: August Kühnel, *Sonate ô Partite ad una ô due Viola da Gamba con il basso continuo: Kassel, 1698*; Présentation par Marie-Françoise Bloch (Courlay: Éditions J.M. Fuzeau, 1998).

¹⁹⁹ For music published by John Playford, see Peter Alan Munstedt, 'John Playford, Music Publisher: A Bibliographical Catalogue' (PhD dissertation, University of Kentucky, 1983); see also Stephanie Louise Carter, 'Music Publishing and Compositional Activity in England, 1650–1700' (PhD dissertation, University of Manchester, 2010).

²⁰⁰ *The London Gazette*, 11–5 March 1686, issue 2120.

²⁰¹ See 'Bibliography of Works Published by Henry Playford' in Douglas Ross Harvey, 'Henry Playford: a bibliographical study' (PhD dissertation, Victoria University of Wellington, 1985), p. 498, where the publication is listed (with a reference to Thomas Farmer on the title page) but the solo sonatas are not discussed, and there is no mention of the Corelli and Finch sonatas; the 1689 edition was advertised in Edward Arber, ed., *The Term Catalogues, 1668–1709 A.D.; with a Number for Easter Term, 1711 A.D. A Contemporary Bibliography of English Literature in the reigns of Charles II, James II, William and Mary, and Anne* (London: Professor Edward Arber, 1905), II.274 (Trin[ity]. 1689).

already be familiar with the second edition of *The Second Part of the Division Violin*, dated 1693 on the title page.²⁰²

The 1689 exemplar is bound together with a 1685 edition of the first part of *The Division Violin*, in late nineteenth-century gold-tooled brown morocco binding.²⁰³ An inscription on the original flyleaf of the *first* part states ‘Arnoldus Russell me jure tenet. 1692’ (‘Arnold Russell holds me by right’, i.e. ‘is my rightful owner’).²⁰⁴ *The Second Part of the Division Violin* (1689) moves straight into the music without an index, unlike the second edition (1693), to which ‘A TABLE of the Grounds and Lessons contained in this Second Part’ was added.

The first edition of *The Second Part of the Division Violin* is lost but was advertised in the *Term Catalogues* for 1688.²⁰⁵ No mention of any solo sonatas in *The Second Part of the Division Violin* is made in the *Term Catalogue* advertisements for either the first edition in 1688 or the 1689 reissue. However, the lost 1688 edition would have contained the first violin solo sonata published in Britain, composed by the English violinist Thomas Farmer (d. 1688), and this can be explained by the way in which the 1689 reissue was printed.²⁰⁶ Firstly, the ‘Solo by Mr. Thomas Farmer. B. M.’ is only the second piece in all extant editions of *The Second Part of the Division Violin* (1689, 1693, 1705), printed on pp. 2–3. It was announced on the title page of the 1689 reissue as follows:

The SECOND PART of The Division=Violin: CONTAINING The Newest Divisions to a Ground, with Scotch Tunes of Two Parts, for the Treble-Violin; and a Solo by Mr. Thomas Farmer. LONDON, Printed on Copper-Plates, and sold by Henry Playford near the Temple Church, 1689.

Furthermore, the word ‘Finis’ at the bottom of p. 12 clearly signals what was the final page of the 1688 (first) edition. The following page (p. 13) of the 1689 reissue begins with the heading ‘A New additional sheet to the 2.^d part of the Division Violin’, opening with ‘A Division on a Ground by Mr. John Eckles’, which ends on p. 14 in a different style of engraving.²⁰⁷

²⁰² GB-DRC, Mus. C.74 appears to be a unique exemplar.

²⁰³ The first part of *The Division Violin* was published by John Playford in 1684.

²⁰⁴ The book also includes the bookplates of Alfred Cortot (the Swiss pianist, 1877–1962) and The Collectors Club of the Folger Shakespeare Library in honour of Dorothy E. Mason. A stamp on the inside front cover reads ‘Bound by Riviere & Sons’. Riviere was one of main bookbinders in nineteenth-century England and the mention of ‘& Sons’ indicates a date after 1880.

²⁰⁵ Arber, ed., *The Term Catalogues, 1668–1709 A.D.*, II.231 (Trin[ity]. 1688).

²⁰⁶ Farmer is not mentioned until the 1690 *Term Catalogues*. ‘THE Division Violin, the Second Part; containing several Divisions and Grounds, etc. By Mr. Tho. Farmer.’; see *ibid*, II.321 (Trin[ity]. 1690).

²⁰⁷ Pages 12 and 20, both marked ‘Finis’, are signed ‘Tho Cross Junior Sculp’, and ‘Tho Cross sculp’ respectively.

The contents of the 1689 exemplar are unexpected as it contains two further solo sonatas, the first of which begins on p. 14, after the Eckles divisions. These same pieces were also printed in the later (1693 and 1705) editions:

- 'A Solo by Sign^r. Arcangelo Corelli.' (pp. 14–5)
- 'A Solo by M^r. Finch called the Cuckoo.' (pp. 16–9)

The inclusion of these two pieces in the 1689 edition is significant, firstly because it would make them (in addition to Farmer's Solo) the earliest solo sonatas to have been printed in Britain, apparently even before Finger's 1690 collection. Furthermore, the 'Corelli' sonata can be identified as Marx Anh. 62, for which the earliest source known to date is the second edition of *The Second Part of the Division Violin* (1693). An advertisement under the heading 'Books lately printed with large Additions and sold by Hen. Playford' in *A Curious COLLECTION OF Musick-Books* (1690) includes 'The second part of the Division-Violin', evidence that the Finch and 'Corelli' sonatas had been included under the 'large Additions' already by this date.²⁰⁸

Although the title page clearly states the date 1689, other advertisements for *The Second Part of the Division Violin* are either misleading or shed doubt on this matter, since there is no mention of the 'Corelli' and Finch sonatas until later: only in the 1692 *Term Catalogues* do we learn of 'the Addition of several new Grounds and two Solo's'.²⁰⁹ An anonymous *CATALOGUE Of Ancient and Modern Musick Books, BOTH Vocal and Instrumental* dated 1691 mentions 'The 1st and 2d Part of the Division-Violin, containing Divisions upon Grounds and Solo's'.²¹⁰ However, omitting a description of the contents may not have been unusual: Farmer's name is not given in the *Term Catalogues* until 1690, despite his work being undoubtedly included in the (lost) 1688 first edition.²¹¹

²⁰⁸ *A Curious COLLECTION OF Musick-Books, Both VOCAL and INSTRUMENTAL* (London: Henry Playford, [1690]).

²⁰⁹ 'The Division Violin, the Second Part newly printed; with the Addition of several new Grounds and two Solo's: printed on Copper plates.' Arber, *The Term Catalogues, 1668–1709 A.D.*, II.410 (Trin[ity]. 1692).

²¹⁰ *A CATALOGUE Of Ancient and Modern Musick Books, BOTH Vocal and Instrumental, WITH Divers Treatises about the same, and Several Musical Instruments. AS ALSO, Of a small Collection of Books, in History, Divinity, and Physick, which will be sold at Dewing's Coffee-House in Popes-Head Alley near the Royal Exchange, on Thursday, December the 17th, 1691* (London, 1691).

²¹¹ Advertisements printed in the fourth book of *The Banquet of MUSICK* (London: licenced Rob. Midgley, 19 October 1689; Henry Playford, 1690) as well as the fifth book (1691) were as follows: 'The second Part of the *Division Violin*, containing the newest Grounds; with a *Solo* set by Mr. *Thomas Farmer*, all fairly Engraven on Copper Plates. Price 1 s.'

Moreover, if the additions were not made until 1692, this does not explain why the title page or date from the 1689 edition would have been retained.

The 1690 and 1692 editions have not survived, but by the time the second edition was printed in 1693, Farmer's name had been replaced by Corelli, and a table of contents and a list of advertisements were added. The title page to the 1693 print also describes it as 'The Second Edition Corrected, with large Additions' (see Fig. 2.1 and 2.2).²¹² Despite their different title pages, the musical content of the 1689 and 1693 editions is identical.

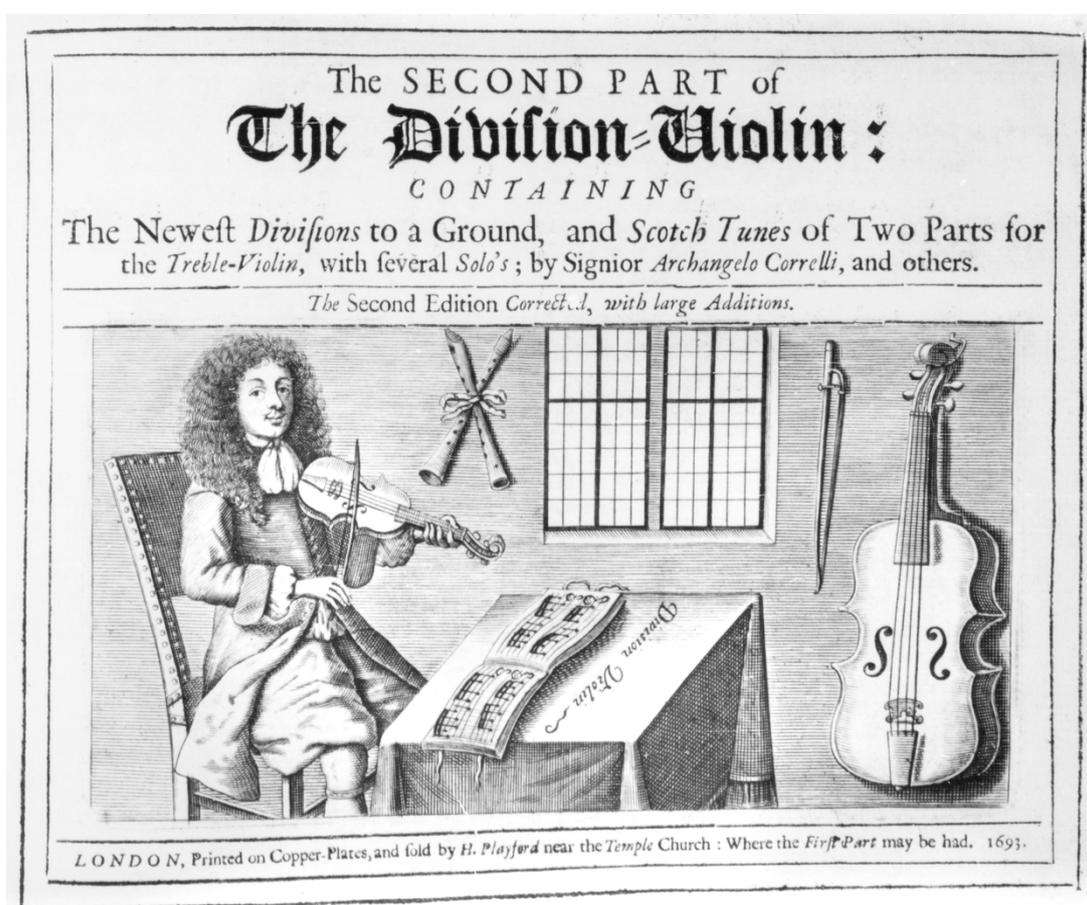


Fig. 2.1 Title page to *The Second Part of the Division Violin* (Henry Playford, 1693)
Reproduced by kind permission of the Chapter of Durham Cathedral

²¹² *The SECOND PART of The Division=Violin: CONTAINING The Newest Divisions to a Ground, and Scotch Tunes of Two Parts for the Treble-Violin, with several Solo's; by Signior Archangelo Correlli, and others. The Second Edition Corrected, with large Additions* (London: Henry Playford, 1693).

A TABLE of the Grounds and Lessons contained in this Second Part.		
	Number.	Number.
A N <i>Almain</i> , by Mr. Tho. Baltzar.	1	<i>A Ground called Faggots</i> , by Mr. Sal. Eckles. 11
<i>A Solo</i> , by Mr. Tho. Farmer.	2	<i>A new Division on a Ground</i> , by Mr. John Eckles. 13
<i>A Scotch Tune</i> , by Mr. Salomon Eckles.	4	<i>A Solo</i> , by Signior Archangelo Correlli. 14
<i>A Horn-pipe</i> , by Mr. Salomon Eckles.	6	<i>A Solo</i> , by Mr. Finch, called the Cuckoo. 16
<i>A Prelude, and Minuet</i> , by Mr. Bullimore.	8	<i>A new Lesson for the Treble-Violin</i> . 20
<i>A Division on a Ground</i> , by Mr. Sal. Eckles.	9	

Fig. 2.2 Table of contents to *The Second Part of the Division Violin* (Henry Playford, 1693)
Reproduced by kind permission of the Chapter of Durham Cathedral

Thomas Farmer (d. 1688)

The English violinist Thomas Farmer held the unpaid post of violin ‘extraordinary’ at the Court of Charles II from 1671 to 1675. On the death of John Banister senior, Farmer was appointed as a violinist in the King’s Private Music in 1679, a position he shared with Robert King from 6 February 1679/80. During the reign of James II, Farmer was reappointed in the Private Music and the Catholic Chapel Royal at Whitehall, after its opening on Christmas Day 1686. He was awarded a BMus degree from Cambridge in 1684, after which the letters ‘B. M.’ are often found following his name in publications. Outside of the court, Farmer wrote theatre suites and songs, and he was one of the main composers for the Dorset Garden theatre.²¹³

Farmer death was recorded in December 1688, which meant he could have supplied Henry Playford with his ‘Sola’ in the first edition of *The Second Part of the Division Violin* the same year. Farmer’s ‘Sola’ is among the very earliest solo sonatas, if not *the* earliest, by a British composer and is probably the only solo sonata that he wrote. The work is in A major in six contrasting untitled movements or sections, which set it apart from dance suites: C–3/2–Cut time–C–3/8–Cut time (see Ex. 2.19).

²¹³ For Farmer, see Ashbee, Lasocki *et al.*, *A Biographical Dictionary of English Court Musicians, 1485–1714*, vol. 1, pp. 395–8.

A handwritten musical score for a piece titled 'Sola' by Thomas Farmer. The score is written on two staves, with the upper staff in treble clef and the lower staff in bass clef. The key signature is two sharps (F# and C#), and the time signature is 2/2. The music is highly rhythmic, featuring many sixteenth and thirty-second notes. There are several measures with a '2' above the staff, indicating a second ending or a specific tempo marking. The piece concludes with a double bar line and the text 'A Sola by M^r Tho Farmer B M' written below the staves.

Ex. 2.19 Thomas Farmer, 'Sola', *The Second Part of the Division Violin* (Henry Playford, 1689)

During the late seventeenth century, it was still common for the time signature to indicate the speed of a movement in the absence of tempo markings, as described in instrumental treatises such as Lenton's *The Gentleman's Diversion* (1693/4). Unlike the sonatas by Finch and Corelli, there are no figures in Farmer's bass part, while the slurs in the final movement (also in the violin part) suggest a string bass accompaniment. The two parts are largely equal, with imitative dialogue between the bass and treble parts, such as the descending semiquaver sequence in the first movement, Ex. 2.20.

An excerpt from the first movement of 'Sola' by Thomas Farmer. It shows a descending semiquaver sequence in both the treble and bass staves. The key signature is two sharps (F# and C#), and the time signature is 2/2. The music is written in a simple, rhythmic style, with the two parts moving in parallel motion.

Ex. 2.20 Excerpt from Thomas Farmer, 'Sola', first movement

Robert King, Farmer's colleague in the Catholic Chapel Royal was another early composer to include a similar passage in his 'Sola' (see Oxford Bodleian Library manuscript, C.61). This device is familiar from Corelli's trio sonatas, such as the second movement of Op. 1, no. 1, 'Allegro' and Farmer must have been familiar with Italianate trio sonatas of the time; Purcell also used similar passages in his *Ten Sonata's in Four Parts* (1697). Other descending sequences are found in the third and sixth movements of Farmer's sonata, although overall, the writing is in a tuneful English style, with Purcellian dotted rhythms and a lively triple-time second movement. Finger, another of Farmer's associates in the Chapel Royal, quite possibly influenced Farmer to write his 'Sola', although in Finger's sonatas the treble and bass parts are generally less equal. Farmer's third movement ends like many of Finger's sonatas, with only the bass playing the final cadence.

Farmer's 'Sola' is concordant with 'III / Sonata / by M^r Tho. Farmer', pp. 12–5 in the Armstrong-Finch manuscript, in the hand of William Armstrong (d. 1717). Here, the fourth movement in *The Second Part of the Division Violin* was replaced by an 'Adagio' in 3/4. The final movement was omitted, giving the sonata a more up-to-date ending in 3/8. The Armstrong-Finch source includes the addition of figured bass in the first movement, and 4–2 suspensions marked in the second and third movements. The Italian tempo markings Adagio and Allegro were added to the second half of the first movement and third movements respectively. Another concordance is GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,466, No. 64, fols. 78v–79r, which is more consistent with the print, from which it may have been copied. The original movement structure was retained with some sparse addition of figures mainly to indicate suspensions.

'Sign^f. Arcangelo Corelli'

'A Solo by Sign^f. Arcangelo Corelli' was catalogued by Hans Joachim Marx as Anhang 62.²¹⁴ Its discovery in the 1689 print of *The Second Part of the Division Violin*, previously not thought to have been published until 1693 or copied into any earlier manuscripts, contributes to the debate surrounding the origins and authenticity of this work.²¹⁵

Anh. 62 is a three-movement work in G minor; the suspensions, imitative sequences with rhythms moving across the bar and half bar, the corrente-style movement and giga-style ending and use of D₆ in third position are all associated with Corelli's style. The triple and quadruple-stopping on the

²¹⁴ Marx, *Die Überlieferung der Werke Arcangelo Corellis*, p. 268.

²¹⁵ For example, Peter Allsop points out that the second edition of 'Henry Playford's *The Division Violin* (1693) mentions 'Signior Archangelo Corelli' on the title page; Allsop, *Arcangelo Corelli*, p. 190.

chords of D major and G minor make use of the resonance of the violin's open strings and foreshadow the multiple-stopping of the Op. 5 sonatas; a fugal movement is however lacking.

The bass part is figured and there are no tempo markings or movement names in *The Second Part of the Division Violin*. The sonata opens with a measured cantabile movement in common time, followed by movements in 3 and 6/8, in the style of a corrente and giga, all of which are in binary form. In GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,466, an early eighteenth-century source for Anh. 62, the bass is unfigured, but Italian tempo markings have added: Adagio – Allegro – Giga ~~Allegro~~ Presto. It is otherwise virtually identical to the print and was almost certainly copied from this or a closely related manuscript source.

Marx described only two early eighteenth-century sources for Anh. 62: GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,466, No. 3, fols. 4v–5r, 'Corelli', and the fourth edition of *THE SECOND PART of The Division Violin* (London: Walsh and Hare, 1705). Anh. 62 was considered doubtful by Marx as Corelli's name had (evidently later) been added in pencil to Add. MS 31,466, while the 1705 Walsh print is labelled as unreliable.²¹⁶

Agnese Pavanello also discusses Anh. 62 only in the context of the 1705 Walsh print and Add. MS 31,466.²¹⁷ Guido Olivieri (also in reference to the 1705 print) makes a comparison between Anh. 62 and the twelve three-movement violin sonatas attributed to 'A. Corelli' in I-Af, MS. 177, fols. 1r–16v, housed at the library of the Sacro Covento di San Francesco in Assisi, copied in 1748.²¹⁸ Olivieri observes that both Anh. 62 and the Assisi sonatas contain binary form dances and chordal writing for the violin; there are thematic similarities between the 6/8 movement of Anh. 62, which could arguably be an extended version of the Giga in Assisi sonata No. 10.²¹⁹ While Marx did not consider the Assisi sonatas to be authentic, Olivieri argues that if they are, they may date from the early 1670s when Corelli was apprenticed in Bologna, or his early years in Rome from around 1675.²²⁰ The Assisi sonatas all open with a short single-section 'Preludio', and although a similar movement is found in Anh. 62 (printed without a title in *The Second Part of the Division Violin*), it is extended into two sections.

²¹⁶ Marx, *Die Überlieferung der Werke Arcangelo Corellis*, p. 48.

²¹⁷ Pavanello, 'The Other Corelli: Violin Sonatas in English Sources', pp. 25, 29.

²¹⁸ Corelli (?), *Le Sonate da camera di Assisi*, pp. 15–6.

²¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 20.

²²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 21.

The 1689 print of *The Second Part of the Division Violin* is now the earliest source for Anh. 62. Whether this contributes towards a case for its authenticity or not, it may be significant that it was printed the year after James II's reign came to an end, around the same time that British composers began writing solo sonatas. Anh. 62 also continued to be reissued by Henry Playford and subsequently by Walsh until at least 1705. Perhaps the absence of Corelli's name on the title page, or the lack of an inclusion of a table of contents until the 1693 second edition, as well as the wide availability of a facsimile edition of the 1705 fourth edition has led to this early source being overlooked.²²¹

Edward Finch (1663–1738)

The ecclesiastic Edward Finch, fifth son of Hineage Finch (first Earl of Nottingham), was a keen amateur composer, wind player, violinist and music copyist. He was particularly influential within his own circle in York, as well as being among the first British amateurs to play the transverse flute.²²² Finch studied at Christ's College, Cambridge from 1677, and obtained an MA in 1679. Finch held several posts after being ordained in 1695: he became a prebendary of York Minster in 1704, rector of Kirkby-in-Cleveland in 1705, rector of Wigan from 1707 to 1713 and prebendary of Canterbury in 1710. Among his output are eleven Italianate solo sonatas, a treatise on figured bass, catches and sacred vocal music. The unique exemplar of Purcell's 'violin sonata' in G minor (Z780) is found in Finch's hand in the Armstrong-Finch manuscript. Finch kept up to date with the latest musical developments while visiting or residing in London and the Armstrong-Finch manuscript reveals Finch's connections with professional musicians such as Henry Purcell, Gottfried Finger, William Armstrong, John Locillet (d. 1730), Thomas Roseingrave (1690/91–1766), John Baptist Grano (fl. c. 1710–29), George Frederic Handel (1685–1759) and Francesco Geminiani (1687–1762). Peter Holman suggest that Finger may have taught Finch, whose influence is evident in his early works, including 'the Cuckoo'.²²³ Finch entered the Middle Temple in 1683 to study law and could have met Finger or become familiar with his music during their time in London.

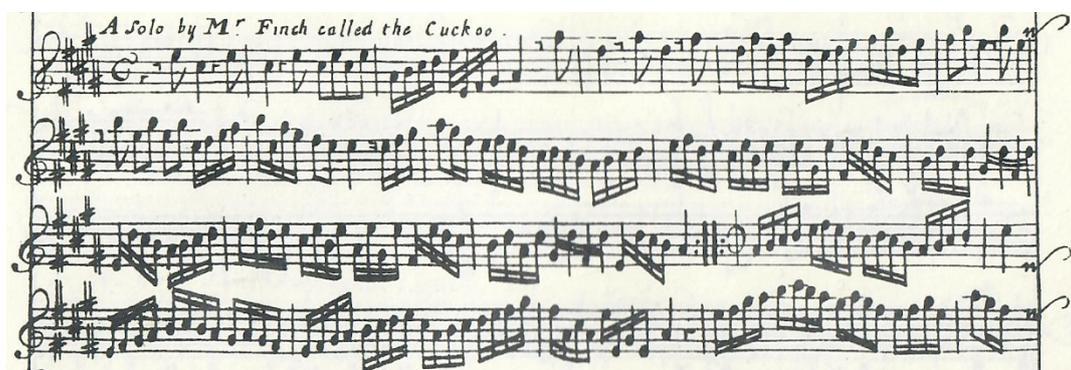
²²¹ *The Second Part of The Division Violin Containing the Newest Divisions upon Grounds for the Violin. The fourth edition, Corrected and enlarged* (London, [1705]), Performers' Facsimiles, 116 (New York: Performers' Facsimiles, [1995]).

²²² For Finch, see Peter Holman, 'A Purcell manuscript lost and found', *Early Music*, 40/3 (2012), 469–87; Christopher Simon Roberts, 'Music and Society in Eighteenth-Century Yorkshire' (PhD dissertation, University of Leeds, 2014).

²²³ Peter Holman, 'Finch, Edward', *Grove Music Online* <Oxford Music Online> [accessed 28 May 2018]; Holman, 'A Purcell manuscript lost and found', p. 478; Finch copied music by Finger, whose C minor sonata (Op. 3, No. 2) is found in Armstrong's hand on pp. 132–5 of the Armstrong-Finch manuscript, under the title 'by M^r Edward Finch and M^r Finger'; GB-Drc, M197, an autograph manuscript by Finger, was also owned by Finch.

‘The Cuckoo’ was printed in the *The Second Part of the Division Violin* (1689) shortly after Finch had composed it: the autograph manuscript (GB-DRc, Bamburgh MS. M70) contains ‘The Cuckoo’ with the annotation ‘made In King James the 2^d Reign’ (i.e. 1685–88), followed by Finch’s monogram.²²⁴ This makes Finch one of the earliest British composers to write a solo sonata, and the first amateur to have done so.

Finch’s sonata is in five movements, with variation in tempo markings between different sources: C–Cut time–3/2–12/8–3/4. In the autograph manuscript (GB-DRc, Bamburgh MS. M70), Finch labelled the first three movements Spiritoso–Allegro–Largo.²²⁵ The falling minor third ‘cuckoo call’ which opens the sonata is not developed beyond the seventh bar and is followed instead by an extended passage of semiquavers (Ex. 2.21). The playful second movement is a continuation in double time of scales, runs and sequences of arpeggios requiring rapid string-crossing for the violin. Next follows a tuneful movement in 3/2, with frequent 7-6 suspensions and some unexpected chromaticism in the bass line.



Ex. 2.21 Edward Finch, ‘The Cuckoo’, *The Second Part of the Division Violin* (Henry Playford, 1689)

The lively 12/8, which briefly returns to 3/2, is found in sources such as GB-DRc, Bamburgh MS. M70 and the Armstrong-Finch manuscript, but is missing from *The Second Part of the Division Violin*. The last movement in 3/4 is based on sprightly dotted rhythms, reminiscent of the sixth and final movement of Finger’s ‘Sonata Prima’ in *VI SONATAS or SOLO’S* (1690). Finch was particularly

²²⁴ Two other pieces in GB-DRc, Bamburgh MS. M70 date from the same period: an *Arria* in 6/8 for two trebles and continuo, composed ‘A year before the Revolution’, and a set of divisions over a ground bass for one treble, marked ‘In King James’s Reign’.

²²⁵ The only tempo marking in *The Second Part of the Division Violin* is *Alegro* in the bass part of the second movement.

interested in the solo sonata, copying further solos by himself (dated between 1716 and 1720), and other composers into GB-DRc, Bamburgh MS. M70 and the Armstrong-Finch manuscript. ‘The Cuckoo’ is a varied and imaginative piece and was the only solo sonata by Finch that was printed. It circulated until at least the second decade of the eighteenth century in versions for violin (in A major and G major) and for the recorder (in C major).²²⁶

Gottfried Finger’s VI Sonatas or Solo’s (1690)

Born in Olmütz (Olomouc), the viol virtuoso Gottfried Finger arrived in London during the 1680s and was appointed among the instrumentalists in the Catholic chapel of James II in 1687 and 1688.²²⁷ After the Glorious Revolution in 1688, Finger was no longer employed at court, turning instead to teaching and promoting public concerts, including a ‘weekly consort’ in York Buildings from at least 1693 until 1697. From 1695 he composed music for the Lincoln’s Inn Fields Theatre, and from 1699 for Drury Lane. Finger may have been in France or Italy from 1697 to 1699, returning to a benefit concert for himself at York Buildings at which a ‘Consort of Vocal and Instrumental Musick, after the Italian manner’ was performed.²²⁸ Of this ‘musicall adventure’, North recounted that ‘having lost the cause’, Finger ‘declared he was mistaken in his musick, for he thought he was to be judged by men, and not by boys, and thereupon left England and has not bin seen since’.²²⁹

The first set of solo sonatas printed in Britain was Finger’s *VI SONATAS or SOLO’S Three for a VIOLIN & Three for a FLUTE*, published privately in 1690 without an imprint or opus number.²³⁰ No date was printed on the title page, but this information is found in Edward F. Rimbault’s

²²⁶ See Appendix B, ‘Solo Sonatas in the Armstrong-Finch Manuscript’; modern edition: David Lasocki, ed., basso continuo realized by Bernard Gordillo, *Cuckoo Sonata in C Major for Alto Recorder and Basso Continuo By Edward Finch*, Instant Harmony no. IH0019 (Portland: Instant Harmony, 2012).

²²⁷ For Gottfried Finger, see Ashbee, Lasocki *et al.*, *A Biographical Dictionary of English Court Musicians, 1485–1714*, vol. 1, pp. 418–21; Finger’s output has to a large extent been discussed in Rawson, ‘From Olomouc to London: the Early Music of Gottfried Finger (c.1655–1730)’, as well as in Holman, *Life After Death*.

²²⁸ Peter Holman and Robert Rawson, ‘Finger, Gottfried’, *Grove Music Online* <Oxford Music Online> [accessed 11 December 2017].

²²⁹ Wilson, *Roger North on Music*, p. 312.

²³⁰ *VI SONATAS or SOLO’S Three for a VIOLIN & Three for a FLUTE nth a Thorough Bass for y^e Harpsychord Most humbly Dedicated TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE CHARLES EARL of MANCHESTER Viscount Mandevil Baron Kimbolton and LORD LIEUTENANT of the county of HUNTINGTON by y^e Author Godfry Finger* (London, [1690]).

edition of *Memoirs of Musick* by Roger North (1846).²³¹ James II's reign had come to an end, which necessitated Finger to look outside the court for patrons: the *VI SONATAS or SOLO'S* were 'most humbly dedicated to The Right Honourable Charles Earl of Manchester', whose arms were placed inside the medallion of the illustrated title page (Fig. 2.3).

²³¹ 'In 1690 he [i.e. Finger] printed *VI. Sonatas or Solo's*. [...] No printer or publisher's name is attached to this work, from which we may conjecture it to have been a private publication'; see Edward Rimbault, ed., *Memoirs of Musick by the Honourable Roger North* (London: George Bell, 1846; repr. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), p. 119, n.; no advertisements for the first edition have been located.



Fig. 2.3 Title page to Gottfried Finger, *VI SONATAS or SOLO'S* (Walsh, 1702)
By permission of the British Library, Music Collections, g.271.tt.

The sonatas were reissued by Walsh in c. 1702 and Smith suggested that Walsh obtained the plates and dedication directly from Finger before his departure from London.²³² Walsh used the same title page for other publications by employing the passe-partout technique of printing, whereby a

²³² William C. Smith, *A Bibliography of the Musical Works Published by John Walsh during the Years 1695–1720*, 2nd edn (Oxford: Bibliographical Society, 1968), p. 26, no. 82a; Richard L. Hardie gives an earlier date of c. 1698 for Walsh's edition; see Richard L. Hardie, "'Curiously Fitted and Contriv'd': Production Strategies Employed by John Walsh, from 1695 to 1712, with a Descriptive Catalogue of his Instrumental Publications' (PhD dissertation, University of Western Ontario, 2000), p. 241.

small area was left blank for changes in the title. The original illustration was intended for Finger's collection as the music in the book displayed is identified in Smith's Walsh catalogue as 'Sonata Seconda', bar one (page 7).²³³ Estienne Roger advertised his (lost) edition as Finger's Op. 2 in 1700.²³⁴ Finger's six sonatas were all subsequently copied into GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,466, with the recorder sonatas transposed a third lower for the violin.²³⁵ In his preface, Finger claimed to have made use of the Italian 'Humour' (Fig. 2.4).

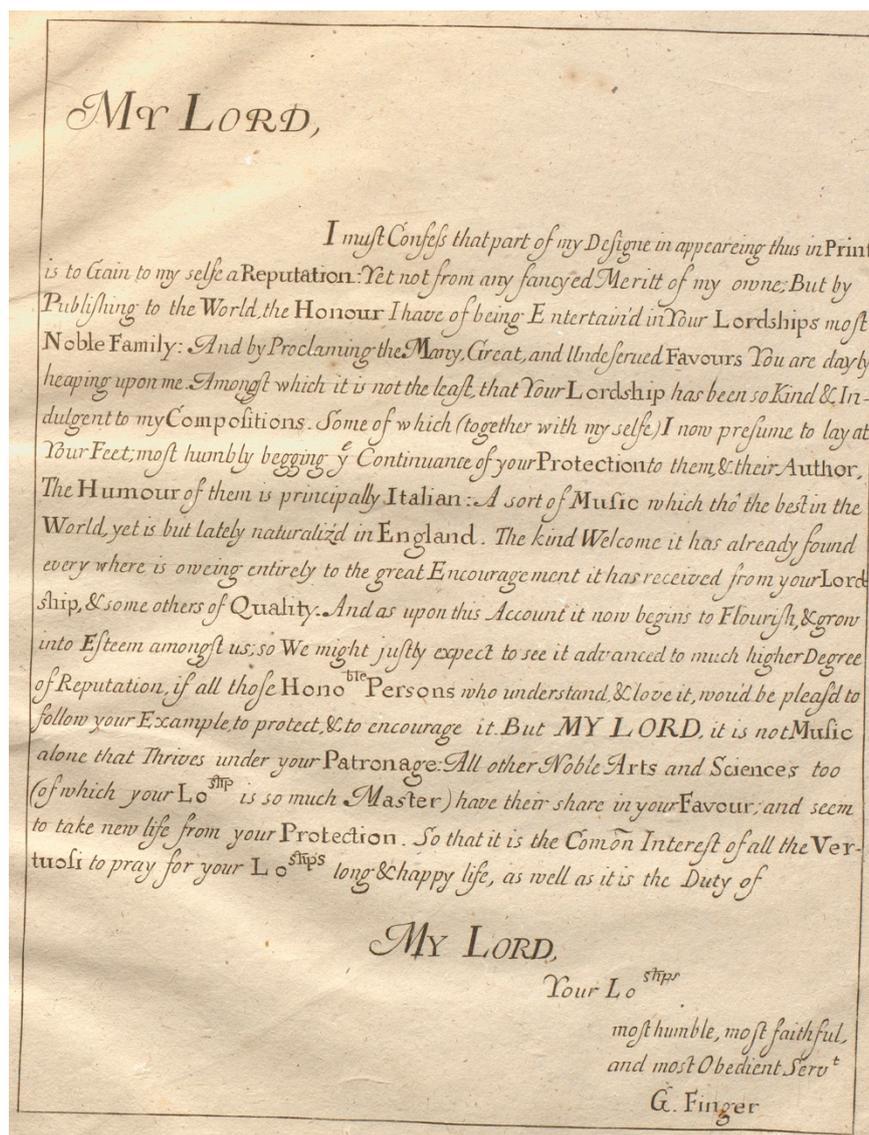


Fig. 2.4 Dedication to Gottfried Finger, *VI SONATAS or SOLO'S* (Walsh, 1702)
By permission of the British Library, Music Collections, g.271.tt.

²³³ Smith, *Bibliography*, p. 26, no. 82a.

²³⁴ Rudolf Rasch, *The Music Publishing House of Estienne Roger: Facco-Fux* <https://roger.sites.uu.nl/catalogue/>, pp. 11–12.

²³⁵ For concordances see Rawson's 'Thematic Inventory of the Music of Gottfried Finger (c. 1655–1730)': 'Sonata Prima': RI124, 'Sonata Seconda': RI136, 'Sonata Terza': RI132, 'Sonata Quarta': RI112, 'Sonata Quinta': RI104, 'Sonata Sesta': RI106.

In fact, the sonatas exhibit a greater influence of the Austro-Bohemian style of central Europe combined with tuneful movements typical of English music, although from a commercial point of view there were advantages to associating Finger with the highly fashionable Italian style.

The violin sonatas in Finger's *VI Sonatas or Solos* are in six movements or sections (B-flat, F major and E major), and those for recorder in four sections (G major, D minor and F major). In all the sonatas the melody is predominantly found in the treble part, and the basso continuo plays a true accompanying role while avoiding counterpoint. In 'Sonata Sesta', the first and final movements begin with the bass alone, imitated by the treble part two or three bars later; this feature, more characteristic of 'duet' sonatas for two instruments of the same type without basso continuo, is found later in the solo sonatas of Croft and Daniel Purcell, as well as Finger's *DIX SONATES à 1 Flute & 1 Basse Continue*, Op. 3 (Amsterdam: Roger, 1701).

Significantly, Finger's *VI Sonatas or Solos*'s provided a model for the earliest solo sonata collections by British composers, printed in the same six-sonata format. The first of these was Daniel Purcell's *Six SONATA's or Solos* (1698), followed by *Six Sonatas or Solos [...] Compos'd by M^r W^m Crofts & an Italian M^r* (1699), and subsequently *Six SONATA'S or Solos for the FLUTE*, Op. 1 (1701) and Op. 2 (1706) by William Topham (1701–9); all but Topham's collections were also printed in upright score.

Finger's contribution to the solo sonata repertoire in Britain was extensive, and Robert Rawson has identified or attributed nineteen solo sonatas (including transpositions) for recorder, twenty-two for violin, and eight for viola da gamba (one is by Albertini).²³⁶ Others have since been discovered in the Armstrong-Finch manuscript, and anonymous works such as the sonata in GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. C.61, pp. 44–7, may well be Finger's work.

²³⁶ See thematic inventory in Rawson, 'From Olomouc to London: the Early Music of Gottfried Finger (c.1655–1730)'.

A Collection of Musick in Two Parts (1691)

After Finger's 1690 collection, the subsequent publication in Britain to contain a solo sonata was *A Collection of Musick in Two Parts* (1691), printed for the violinist and recorder player John Banister junior; the sonata is by Finger in B-Flat major.²³⁷

An 'Advertisement' at the beginning of the book refers to the 'Solo for a Flute or Violin', for which no transposition was needed to perform it on either instrument (see Chapter 5, Fig. 5.3).²³⁸ As well as music by Finger, this collection contains 'A Sett of Ayres in Four Parts' by Banister.²³⁹ Finger and Banister may have organised public concerts together in London during the 1690s.²⁴⁰

In this publication, Finger's 'Sonata Solo' is the only piece found in score, and consequently the treble and continuo players were expected to share a part. The work is in four movements, with Italian tempo markings: Grave–Largo–Allegro–Adagio. Finger's trademark of continuing only the basso line for the final bar provides at times a practical solution to page-turns, as demonstrated in the first movement, Grave. Michael Tilmouth suggested that this device may be connected to its use in contemporaneous songs for solo voice with basso continuo.²⁴¹ Taking Tilmouth's suggestion, I have found the following examples: 'If I live to be old' (1685)²⁴² and 'O love, that stronger art than wine' (1687)²⁴³ by John Blow (1648/9–1708), 'With him he brings the partner of his throne' from *Ye Tuneful Muses* (1686) by Henry Purcell, as well as 'In a dark and lonely den' (1696),²⁴⁴ a later instance by Finger himself.

²³⁷ *The London Gazette*, 5–9 November 1691, issue 2712; in addition to music shops, *A Collection of Musick in Two Parts* could be bought at Banister's House in Brownlow-Street (now Betterton Street).

²³⁸ Gottfried Finger and John Banister, *A Collection of Musick in Two Parts* (London: Printed by Tho. Moore, for Mr. John Banister, 1691), [p. 1]; this publication also contains a sonata for two equal treble instruments by Finger.

²³⁹ John Banister junior is not known to have composed any sonatas.

²⁴⁰ Holman and Rawson, 'Finger, Gottfried', *Grove Music Online*.

²⁴¹ Michael Tilmouth, 'Chamber Music in England, 1675–1720' (PhD dissertation, University of Cambridge, 1959), pp. 291–2.

²⁴² *THE Theater of MUSIC: OR, A Choice COLLECTION of the newest and best Songs Sung at the COURT, and Public THEATERS [...] THE FIRST BOOK* (London: Printed by J. Playford, for Henry Playford and R. C., 1685), pp. 50–1.

²⁴³ *THE Theater of MUSIC: OR, A Choice COLLECTION of the newest and best SONGS Sung at the COURT, and Public THEATERS [...] The FOURTH and LAST BOOK* (London: Printed by B. Motte, for Henry Playford, 1687), pp. 84–5.

²⁴⁴ *THESAURUS MUSICUS: BEING, A COLLECTION of the Newest SONGS PERFORMED At His Majesties Theatres; and at the Consort in Viller-street in York-buildings [...] THE FIFTH BOOK* (London: Printed by J. Heptinstall, for John Hudgebutt, 1696), pp. 19–20.

The B-flat major sonata is based on the Romanesca ground bass pattern, which is varied according to each movement. Finger was not only paying tribute to much earlier Italian models, but also bridging the well-established genre of divisions over a ground bass within the novelty of a solo sonata (see Ex. 2.22).

12 **First Treble.**

Adagio.

Ex. 2.22 Gottfried Finger, excerpt from 'Sonata Solo', *A Collection of Musick in Two Parts* (1691)

John Walsh (1665/6–1736)

John Walsh, who was probably of Irish origin, was appointed as instrument maker for William III in 1692. He began his music printing and publishing business in 1695 and with little competition soon found himself at the forefront of the trade in Britain.²⁴⁵ Walsh's prints included the latest music heard at public concerts and the theatre, and works imported from abroad, often pirated from his competitor Estienne Roger (1665/6–1722) in Amsterdam. It was therefore Walsh who predominantly published solo sonatas in Britain during the period in question. Walsh worked either by himself or together with John Hare (d. 1725), collaborating from 1706 to 1711 with Peter Randall, and from time to time with other publishers.

Notably, Walsh's very first publication contained a solo sonata, included in the violin treatise titled *The Self-Instructor on the Violin* (1695). In keeping with the unaccompanied tunes aimed at self-taught amateurs, it was printed without its bass line. *The Self-Instructor* was first advertised in *London Gazette* dated 15 to 18 July 1695 with the addition of 'an excellent Solo of Mr. Courtiville's', i.e. Raphael Courteville, alongside the 'newest Tunes and Ayres'.²⁴⁶ The solo was announced both in the

²⁴⁵ For Walsh, see Smith, *Bibliography*; Hardie, "'Curiously Fitted and Contriv'd': Production Strategies Employed by John Walsh, from 1695 to 1712'.

²⁴⁶ *THE SELF=INSTRUCTOR on the VIOLIN or The Art of playing on that Instrument improv'd & made easy to y^e meanest capacity by plain rules and directions together with a choice Collection of y^e newest Tunes & Airs compos'd by y^e most able Masters to which is added an excellent Solo of Mr. Courtiville, fairly Engraven on Copper Plattes* (London: Printed for J. Miller, J. Walsh and J. Hare, 1695); Smith, *Bibliography*, p. 1, no. 1.

newspaper advertisement and on the title page, although the preface only mentions the inclusion of ‘such Airs as are most proper for the practice of Learners, who perhaps may not have leisure or opportunity to consult y^e Masters of this Art’.²⁴⁷ The composers represented were all involved on the London concert scene, including Finger, Purcell, ‘Mr Morgan’, ‘Mr Forster’ and ‘Mr Keen’.²⁴⁸

Walsh and Hare’s second publication followed shortly thereafter: a recorder treatise titled *The Compleat Flute Master* (1695) was advertised in *The London Gazette* dated 19 to 22 August.²⁴⁹ It contained the same solo sonata by Courteville, this time announced on the title page as an ‘admirable solo’ and transposed from A major (keeping the violin in first position) to C major for recorder, but still printed without the bass.²⁵⁰ Apart from the instructional fingering charts, *The Compleat Flute Master* is significant for being the first recorder treatise to use notation instead of tablature; of key importance are its instructions for ornamentation which were copied in almost all other recorder tutors until as late as c. 1780.²⁵¹ Several pieces are identical to those in *The Self-Instructor on the Violin*, with some printed from the same plates.

Raphael Courteville (fl. 1675–c. 1735)

The English organist Raphael Courteville was the son of Raphael Courteville (d. 1675), a Gentleman of the Chapel Royal who was probably of French heritage.²⁵² Courteville may have been a chorister in the Chapel Royal and was appointed as organist at St James’s Piccadilly on 7 September 1691, a position which was taken over by his son of the same name (d. 1772) at an

²⁴⁷ *The Self-Instructor on the Violin*, preface.

²⁴⁸ Gerald Gifford suggests that ‘Mr Morgan’ was probably Thomas Morgan (fl. 1691–9), and ‘Mr Forcer’ possibly Francis Forcer (c. 1650–1704); see introduction and critical commentary to *THE COMPLEAT FLUTE-MASTER OR The whole Art of playing on y^e Rechorder. A facsimile of the 1695 first edition* (Mytholmroyd: Ruxbury Publications Ltd., 2004), pp. ix–x; I propose that ‘Mr Keen’ could be the same person who appeared in concert advertisements in the early eighteenth century, and the ‘Edward Keen’ whose solo sonata was printed by Walsh in 1707.

²⁴⁹ *THE COMPLEAT Flute=Master OR The whole Art of Playing on y^e Rechorder, layd open in such easy & play [sic] instructions, that by them y^e meanest capacity may arrive to a perfection on that Instrument, with a Collection of y^e newest & best Tunes composed by the most able Masters, to which is added an admirable Solo fairly engraven on Copper Plattes* (London: Printed & sold by J. Hare and J. Walsh, 1695); Smith, *Bibliography*, p. 1, no. 2; for further information on *The Compleat Flute-Master*, see David Lasocki, ‘The Compleat Flute-Master Reincarnated’, *American Recorder* 11/3 (Summer 1970), 83–5.

²⁵⁰ For later sources which include a bass line, see inventory of solo sonatas in the Armstrong-Finch manuscript in Appendix B.

²⁵¹ *THE COMPLEAT FLUTE-MASTER* [...] *A facsimile of the 1695 first edition*, p. xix.

²⁵² For Courteville, see Ian Spink, ‘Courteville, Raphael (i)’, *Grove Music Online* <Oxford Music Online> [accessed 10 July 2018].

unknown date. His secular songs were printed in seventeenth-century collections, and some were performed in plays such as a *Duke and No Duke* (1684) by Nahum Tate (1652–1715), and *Oroonoko* (1695) by Thomas Southerne (1660–1746). Courteville also composed instrumental music for violin, recorder and keyboard; his six *Sonatas of two Parts, compos'd and purposely contrived for two Flutes* (1686) were the first recorder sonatas published in Britain, advertised by Banister and Carr as ‘Several Overtures or Sonnatta’s [...] recommended by Mr Banister as more proper for those instruments than any yet extant’.²⁵³

Courteville’s ‘Solo’ is the first published solo sonata for recorder by a British composer.²⁵⁴ While Finch’s ‘Cuckoo’ sonata may have originally been intended for the recorder, its first publication was a violin version. Courteville’s ‘Solo’ is also the first in an emerging trend for the inclusion of a solo sonata in instrumental treatises, almost exclusively for the recorder; Walsh thereby signified that he was informed of the latest musical fashions from the onset.²⁵⁵

In the preface to *The Compleat Flute-Master*, John Hare took a further opportunity to promote the inclusion of the ‘Solo’ and stated its usefulness for improving technical facility. Significantly, he drew attention to the early connection between solo sonatas and professional performances:

We have taken care likewise that all y^e tunes in this Book are such, as were purposely contrived for y^e Flute, & that not only y^e learners shall be better for it, but even they who are arrived to a perfection in playing, for at y^e end we have fixt a Solo of M^r. Courtivill’s which y^e finest hand may be improv’d by & y^e best Masters be proud to perform. [...] Y^r humble Servant’s I[ohn] H[are].²⁵⁶

Hare seemed to imply that the ‘tunes’ were intended for ‘learners’, while the ‘Solo’, was to be aspired to, being aimed at the more advanced player and which even a ‘Master’ or professional would be ‘proud to perform’. As was usual in instrumental treatises of the time, the pieces in *The Compleat Flute-Master* were not placed in order of difficulty, and the main difference between the ‘tunes’ and the ‘Solo’ is the style and novelty of the music rather than its technical challenges.

²⁵³ *The London Gazette*, 11–15 March 1685/6, issue 2120; among other recorder duets by Courteville are three Italianate movements, Grave–Allegro–Adagio, found as No. 3 in the first collection of *A COLLECTION OF New AYRES; COMPOSED For Two FLUTES, with SONATA’S* (1695) published by John Hudgebut (fl. 1679–99).

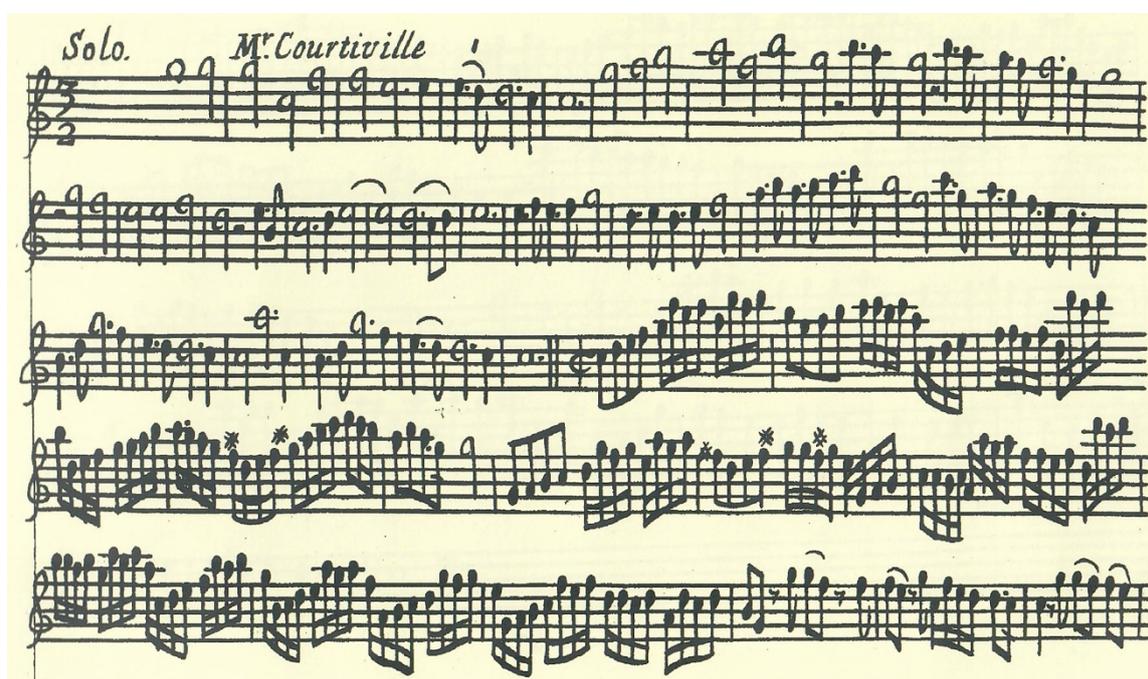
²⁵⁴ Modern edition: David Lasocki, ed., *R. Courteville: Sonata in C Major for Alto Recorder and Basso Continuo* (Tokyo: Zen-On Music, 1978).

²⁵⁵ This topic is discussed further in Chapter 3.

²⁵⁶ *The Compleat Flute Master*, preface, p. 1.

The sonata is in four movements, indicated in the two 1695 prints as follows: 3/2–[Cut time]–C–3/4. Tempo markings vary across all sources, including other prints and manuscripts; for example, in *The Self-Instructor on the Violin*, the final Largo is marked Slow in *The Compleat Flute-Master*.²⁵⁷ The opening movement (labelled Adagio in the violin version) is a blank canvass for florid Italianate ornamentation, although the instructions for ornaments given in both treatises are English, as derived from the French style. The preface to the *The Self-Instructor on the Violin* gives instructions for the ‘shake’, ‘beat’ and ‘slur’, while *The Compleat Flute-Master* is more comprehensive, adding for example the ‘double shake’, ‘sigh’ and ‘double rellish’. Only one ornament was printed in the first movement in *The Compleat Flute-Master* and is a ‘close shake’, i.e. a trill beginning on the upper note.

Courteville’s work displays the melodic writing, sprightly dotted rhythms and lively semiquaver passages characteristic of British solo sonatas of the time (Ex. 2.23). In sources where the bass part is present, the treble line is simply supported by the basso continuo in the first three movements, similarly to Finger’s solo sonatas, whereas the final movement includes a more active ‘walking bass’.



Ex. 2.23 Raphael Courteville, ‘Solo’, *The Compleat Flute-Master* (Walsh and Hare, 1695)

²⁵⁷ Henry Purcell defined ‘Largo’ in his *Sonnata’s of III Parts* as follows: ‘Presto Largo, Poco Largo, or Largo by it self, a middle movement’; for later definitions, see Strahle, *An Early Music Dictionary*, p. 200.

Daniel Purcell (c. 1664 or later–1717)

Daniel Purcell was probably the son of Thomas Purcell (d. 1682), a member of the Chapel Royal, and the brother (or cousin) of Henry Purcell.²⁵⁸ Between 1678 and 1682 Daniel was a chorister in the Chapel Royal and obtained the post of organist at Magdalen College Oxford around 1689. After the death of Henry Purcell, Daniel returned to London, composing music for at least forty plays before 1707 for Christopher Rich's company at the Drury Lane Theatre. In 1701 he received third prize in the competition to set Congreve's masque *The Judgement of Paris* to music in 1701 (in which Finger famously came last), and like Finger was involved with the concerts in York Buildings. According to Hawkins, Daniel was 'at this day better known by his puns, with which the jest-books abound, than by his musical compositions'.²⁵⁹

Daniel's output demonstrates an interest in the Italian style, and in 1713 he was among the first British composers to publish English settings of six Italianate cantatas. The earliest set of solo sonatas by a British composer (as opposed to the non-British collection by Finger) was Daniel Purcell's *Six SONATA's or Solos, three for a Violin, And three for the FLUTE* (1698), undoubtedly modelled on Finger's *VI Sonatas or Solo's* (1690).²⁶⁰ Furthermore, it was Daniel's earliest instrumental music publication, and Walsh's first use of the Collins title-page, ornately decorated with a plethora of instruments (Fig. 2.5).²⁶¹

²⁵⁸ For Daniel Purcell, see Mark Humphreys, 'Daniel Purcell: A Biography and Thematic Catalogue' (PhD dissertation, University of Oxford, 2005); Mark Humphreys, revised by Robert Thompson, 'Purcell, Daniel', *Grove Music Online* <Oxford Music Online> [accessed 6 July 2018].

²⁵⁹ Sir John Hawkins, *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music: republication of the J. Alfred Novello edition, 1853*, vol. 2 (New York: Dover Publications, 1963), p. 760.

²⁶⁰ *Six SONATA'S or Solos, three for a Violin, And three for the FLUTE, with a Through Bass for the Harpsicord, COMPOS'D BY M^r. D. Purcell* (London: printed for and sold by J. Walsh and J. Hare, 1698); Smith, *Bibliography*, pp. 5–6, no. 15; facsimile edition: Daniel Purcell, *Six Sonata's or Solos, three for a Violin, And three for the Flute, with a Through Bass for the Harpsicord* (London, [1698]), Performers' Facsimiles, 71 (New York: Performers' Facsimiles, [1989]); modern edition: Paul Everett, ed., *Daniel Purcell: Six Sonatas (1698)*, 2 vols. (London: European Music Archive, 1980).

²⁶¹ A Roger edition (lost), presumably pirated, was advertised in Amsterdam the same year (1698); see Rudolf Rasch, *The Music Publishing House of Estienne Roger: Paghetti-Purcell* <https://roger.sites.uu.nl/catalogue/>, p. 20.



Fig. 2.5 Title page to Daniel Purcell, *Six SONATA'S or Solos* (Walsh, 1698)

Daniel's *Six SONATA's or Solos* were dedicated to the amateur musician and composer Francis Roberts (1650–1718),²⁶² but as Paul Everett points out, there is no evidence that Roberts became Daniel's patron.²⁶³ In his dedication, the composer claimed that the works were 'the fruits of my Juvenile Yeares'. Given Finger's influence, perhaps they were composed during the late 1680s, or during Daniel's years in Oxford in the early 1690s.

To the Hono.^{ble} Francis Roberts Esq.^r

S^r

The regard you have been Pleas'd to show to the memory of my Brother Henry Purcell (whose least perfection I shou'd esteem my self happy to possess) and the favourable Countenance you have Upon all occasions afforded my weak Endeavours, embolden me to Present these trifles to you, the fruits of my Juvenile Yeares, if they meet with your Approbation, I shall be most Happy for such a Patronage will fix a Value Upon them & me, which shall allwayes be Acknowledged with the Greatest respect by

S^r

Your most obliged humble Serv.^t

Daniel Purcell²⁶⁴

Three different recorder solos by Daniel were later published in the same author's *SIX SONATAS three For two FLUTES & a Bass, and three SOLOS for a FLUTE and a BASS* (c. 1710).²⁶⁵

Daniel's solo sonatas were written within the range considered suitable for the violin and recorder at the time, with only brief excursions into second and third positions on the violin in the Allegro movement of 'Sonata Sesta'. With its adventurous key choice of F minor, 'Sonata Sesta' has an

²⁶² Francis Roberts was a younger son of the 1st Earl of Radnor, who was M.P. for several constituencies in Cornwall from 1673, Commissioner of revenue for Ireland, and Vice-President of the Royal Society.

²⁶³ Everett, *Daniel Purcell: Six Sonatas* (1698), vol. 2, pp. III–IV.

²⁶⁴ Daniel Purcell, *Six Sonata's or Solos* (London: Walsh and Hare, 1698), preface.

²⁶⁵ Smith, *Bibliography*, p. 114, no. 377; Daniel's other sonata output includes a work for two recorders published in *A Choice Collection of Aires of Ariett's for Two Flutes* (1707), and sonatas scored for trumpet and strings intended for performance during theatrical works including *The Judgment of Paris* (1701).

angular quality with unexpected chromaticism.²⁶⁶ Daniel's sonatas are characterised by cheerful passagework in the faster sections, and languid, vocal slow movements. The Grave in 'Sonata Quinta' is particularly expressive, with a recitative-like quality (Ex. 2.24). 'Sonata Tarza' and 'Sonata Quarta' conclude with movements based on dotted rhythms in 3/4 (as in Finch's 'Cuckoo' sonata), with the other four sonatas ending with the more common 6/8. The solo basso continuo passages at the beginnings and ends of movements are clearly influenced by Finger, after which the bass mainly serves to support the solo part.



Ex. 2.24 Daniel Purcell, excerpt from 'Sonata Quinta', Grave, *Six SONATA'S or Solos* (Walsh, 1698)

William Croft (1678–1727)

Born in Nether Ettington, Warwickshire, the organist William Croft was educated as a chorister in the Chapel Royal under John Blow. After being discharged from the Chapel Royal in 1699, Croft returned as Extraordinary Gentleman 1700 and together with Jeremiah Clarke (c. 1674–1707) held the position of organist. Croft was also Master of the Children and a composer in the Chapel Royal and organist at Westminster Abbey.²⁶⁷

Six Sonatas or Solos Three for A VIOLIN AND Three for the FLUTE Compos'd by M^r W^m Crofts & an Italian M^r (1699) was the last collection of solo sonatas to be published in Britain shortly before

²⁶⁶ The keys in *Six SONATA'S or Solos* (1698) are F major (Sonata Prima), D minor (Sonata Seconda) and C major (Sonata Tarza) for recorder, and D major (Sonata Quarto), A major (Sonata Quinta) and F minor (Sonata Sesta) for violin.

²⁶⁷ For Croft, see for example John Fussell Harrison, 'The Secular Works of William Croft' (PhD dissertation, Bryn Mawr College, Pennsylvania, 1977).

the arrival of Corelli's Op. 5 collection in 1700. It follows the layout set out by Finger's *VI Sonatas or Solo's* (1690).²⁶⁸ Peter Holman has identified the 'Italian M^r' (the author of the first three sonatas for recorder) as Finger, owing to a concordance at the Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel, as well as their style.²⁶⁹

The publication was initially advertised by John Young (c. 1672–c. 1732) in *The London Gazette* between 5 and 9 October 1699 for 3 shillings (Fig. 2.6).²⁷⁰ Walsh and Hare issued a rival edition priced more competitively at 2 shillings, advertised shortly afterwards in *The Flying Post*, dated 10–12 October 1699, with the option to purchase 'either 3 sold single';²⁷¹ both editions are dated 1700 on the title page.²⁷²

The widespread practice of publishers pirating printed music and the narrow timeframe between the two advertisements makes it difficult to determine which was the original edition.²⁷³ Roger also issued the collection in 1700 as 'Six sonates, trois à une flûte & trois à un violon & une basse continue de mrs Crofts & un maitre Italien'.²⁷⁴ Roger furthermore advertised what must have been

²⁶⁸ *SIX SONATAS or Solos Three for A VIOLIN AND Three for the FLUTE WITH A Thorough Bass for y^e Harpsicord Theorboe or Bass=Viol COMPOS'D BY M^r W^m Crofts & an Italian M^r* (London: Printed for and sold by John Walsh and John Hare, 1700); Smith, *Bibliography*, p. 12, no. 28; facsimile edition: William Croft, *Six Sonatas or Solos Three for a Violin and Three for the Flute compos'd by Mr William Crofts & an Italian Master* (Alston: JPH Publications, 1999); modern edition: H. Diack Johnstone, ed., *William Croft: Complete Chamber Music*, Musica Britannica, 88 (London: Stainer & Bell, 2009); Ian Payne, ed., *William Croft: Six Sonatas or Solos, Three for a Violin, Three for the Flute*, (Hereford: Severinus Early Music Edition, 1998); the bass parts to Croft's sonatas were copied without attribution into GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,993 which also contains the recorder sonatas from Finger's *VI SONATAS or SOLO'S* (1690).

²⁶⁹ See Peter Holman's preface to Croft, *Six Sonatas or Solos* (Alston: JPH Publications, 1999).

²⁷⁰ *The Post Boy*, 5–9 October 1699, issue 3538; 'Six Sonata's or Solo's, 3 for the Violin, and 3 for the Flute, with a Thorow-Bass for the Harpsichord, Theorbo or Bass-Viol: Composed by Mr. Wm. Crofts, and an Italian Master. Sold by J. Young, Musical Instrument-seller, at the Dolphin and Crown at the Westend of St. Paul's Church, and at most Musick-shops. Price 3 s.'; Tilmouth gives the earliest advertisement in *The Post Boy* as 3 October 1699; Michael Tilmouth, 'A Calendar of References to Music in Newspapers published in London and the Provinces (1660–1719)', *RMA Research Chronicle*, 1 (1961), p. 29; original advertisement not located.

²⁷¹ *The Flying Post*, 10–12 October 1699, issue 690; 'SIX Sonatas or Solos, three for a Violin and three for the Flute. With a thorough Bass for the Harpsicord, Theorboe or Bass-Viol. Compos'd by Mr. William Crofts and an Italian Master. Sold by John Walsh, Musical Instrument-maker in Ordinary to His Majesty, at the Golden-Harp and Hautboy in Katherine-street near Somerset-House in the Strange; and John Hare, Musical Instrument-maker at the Golden-Viol in St. Paul's Church-yard, and at his Shop in Freeman's-Court, Cornhill, near the Royal-Exchange. Price 2s. Or either 3 sold single. Where is also sold the weekly Song, publish'd every Thursday.'

²⁷² An exemplar of the Young edition containing only the 'Italian M^r' sonatas is held at the Rowe Music Library in Cambridge.

²⁷³ Harrison, 'The Secular Works of William Croft', p. 179.

²⁷⁴ Rudolf Rasch, *The Music Publishing House of Estienne Roger: Caix-Croft* <<https://roger.sites.uu.nl/catalog>>, pp. 78–9.

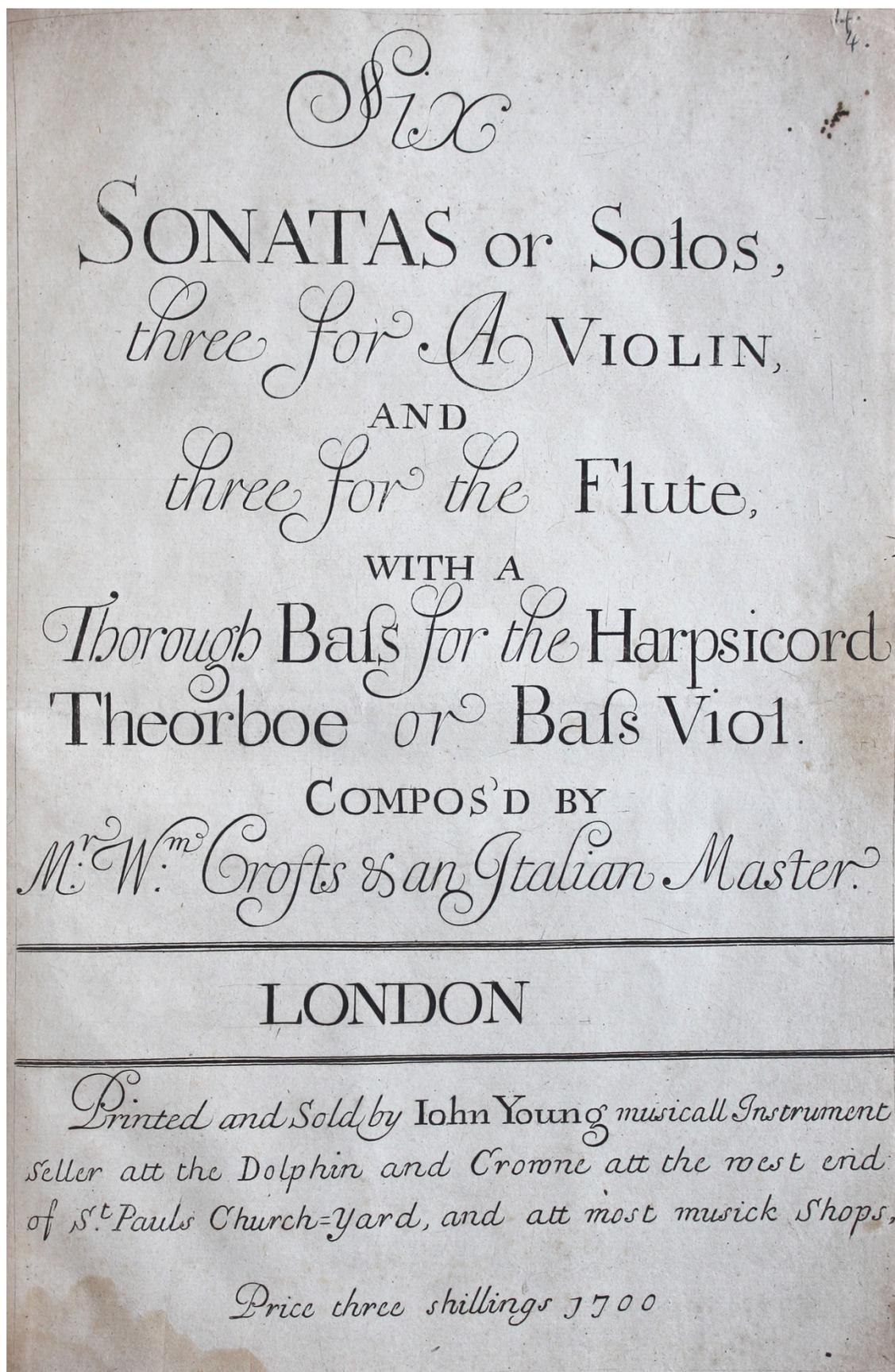


Fig. 2.6 Title page to *Six SONATAS or Solos* [...] *M^r. W^m. Crofts & an Italian Master* (Young, 1699)
By permission of the Provost and Scholars of King's College, Cambridge

violin arrangements of this publication (lost), with Finger's name put in place of the 'maitre Italien', thereby identifying the composer.²⁷⁵ The three violin sonatas are Croft's first instrumental publication and the only solo sonatas written by him, probably for public concerts during the early part of his career. According to Hawkins, Croft 'also composed and published six Sonatas for two flutes, and six Solos for a flute and a bass'.²⁷⁶ Of these latter six works, the recorder solos are not known, unless Hawkins was referring to arrangements of the violin sonatas advertised by Roger.

Croft's three violin sonatas in *Six Sonatas or Solos [...] Compos'd by Mr W^m Crofts & an Italian Mr* (1699) are in A major (Sonata Quarta), B minor (Sonata Quinta) and G minor (Sonata Sesta). As with other British composers of this period, Croft omits any double stopping, making them more easily adapted for the recorder, although he does not entirely avoid second and third position on the violin. An English feature is the construction of the Largo (fourth) movement in 'Sonata Quarta' over a ground bass (see Ex. 2.25).

The image shows a page of handwritten musical notation for a violin and basso continuo. The score is in A major, 3/4 time, and is marked 'Largo'. It consists of four systems of staves. The first system shows the beginning of the piece with a treble clef for the violin and a bass clef for the basso continuo. The second system has a 'Largo' marking. The third and fourth systems continue the piece, showing the violin's melodic line and the basso continuo's accompaniment. The notation includes various note values, rests, and ornaments.

Ex. 2.25 'Sonata Quarta', Largo, *Six Sonatas or Solos [...] Mr W^m Crofts & an Italian Mr* (Walsh, 1699)

The echo effects in 'Sonata Quinta' are marked with 'Loud' and 'Soft' instead of Italian terms, with only one 'Piano' found in the first movement of 'Sonata Sesta'; all three violin sonatas have the usual giga-style ending. As in Finger and Daniel Purcell's sonatas, Croft begins some of his movements with the basso continuo only, imitated in the violin entry a couple of bars later. However, Croft's solo sonatas differ from those by Finger in their use of elaborate counterpoint

²⁷⁵ Ibid, p. 79.

²⁷⁶ Hawkins, *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music*, vol. 2, p. 797.

and imitation between the violin and bass parts, albeit interspersed with more clear-cut solo writing. While Croft's works are too early to have been influenced by Corelli's Op. 5 violin sonatas, they show a clear understanding of the Italian style.²⁷⁷

Solo sonatas sold by Estienne Roger (1665/6–1722)

The French publisher Estienne Roger (1665/6–1722) began printing music in Amsterdam in 1696. As Walsh's main rival, Smith suggested that Roger's publications were probably available in London already from the end of the seventeenth century.²⁷⁸ Advertisements for Roger's editions sold via his first London agent, Francis Vaillant, do not however appear earlier than 1700. As the date of arrival of music imported from abroad can be difficult to establish, Roger's publications provide clues as to which foreign prints could have theoretically circulated in Britain, even if they were not advertised until later.

The table in Appendix A presents the solo sonatas (and virtuosic two-part suites) that were advertised by Roger in Amsterdam before 1700. Roger was offering a far greater variety of foreign prints compared to Walsh, including the technically challenging solo violin collections *Hortulus Chelicus* (Mainz, 1688) by Johann Jakob Walther (c. 1650–1717), and *Speelstukken* (Amsterdam, 1683) by David Petersen (c. 1650–1737). Roger also began printing (and therefore probably pirating) the solo sonatas already available in Britain, including works by Finger, Daniel Purcell and Croft.

2.7 'Curious sola's': Gottfried Finger's Music Library

Peter Holman's discovery in 2008 of the sale catalogue of Finger's music library significantly contributes to our comprehension of music performed at public concerts in London during the 1690s, particularly in York Buildings where Finger's own weekly concert series was advertised from 23 November 1693.²⁷⁹ After Finger's departure for Vienna in 1701, a series of advertisements appeared in *The Diverting Post* between November 1704 and April 1705 and 'A CATALOGUE OF Vocal and Instrumental MUSICK, Printed and Written' was announced in *The Post Man* dated 17–

²⁷⁷ The structure, themes and harmony in Croft's violin sonatas are discussed in Harrison, 'The Secular Works of William Croft', pp. 179–188.

²⁷⁸ Smith, *Bibliography*, p. xvi.

²⁷⁹ The contents of the catalogue are described in detail and transcribed in Peter Holman, 'The Sale Catalogue of Gottfried Finger's Music Library: New Light on London Concert Life in the 1690s', *RMA Research Chronicle*, 43/1 (2013), 23–38.

20 February 1705. Initially advertised by auction, Finger's music collection was finally sold by Henry Playford and John Banister junior from the printed catalogue. The music had originally been bought by Banister and the German harpsichordist Johann Gottfried Keller (d. 1704), perhaps to assist Finger to fund his travels abroad. Keller and Banister were evidently closely connected with Finger, jointly publishing music with him. The catalogue was described as 'a Choice Collection of the greatest *Italian Masters*; brought over from *Italy*, by *Mr. FINGER*. As also several Excellent Pieces of his own Composition'. Finger's visit to Italy (when he acquired some of this music) probably took place during the two years between 8 April 1697 and 17 February 1699, when there are no records of his activities in Britain.

Henry Playford divided the catalogue into five categories, with an emphasis on the music being Italian, although British, French, and Dutch composers are also represented. The music is divided into prints and manuscripts and the information given is unusually detailed, stating the number of parts, opus number, place of publication and price. Peter Holman points out that at least fifty of the eighty or so instrumental pieces advertised were sonatas. Most of these were trio and larger-scale sonatas combining wind, strings, brass and timpani, particularly by Italian composers or composed by Finger himself. A further examination reveals that only three of the entries refer to solo sonatas, with an additional three collections of 'Airs' or suites in two parts.

The first category comprises vocal music; the second category is titled 'Italian *Opera's* for *Instruments, Printed most of them, neatly Stitch'd*: No. 21 includes '10 *Sonata's* for 1 Violin to a Thorough Bass *Anton. Veracini Florence*', which can be identified as Op. 2 by Antonio Veracini (1659–1733), published in Modena in c. 1694.²⁸⁰ The Florentine composer Antonio Veracini was the uncle and teacher of the violinist Francesco Maria Veracini (1690–1768), who performed as a soloist in London in 1714.

The third category, 'Italian *Instrumental-Musick, Written*' [i.e. manuscript] contains the following solo sonatas: No. 7: '21 sola's *Corelli. & oth. Great Mast.*' Given the wording of the title, perhaps it

²⁸⁰ Two collections of two-part suites were also advertised under the same heading: No. 24: 'several setts of Airs for 1 Violin and a Bass Bernardo Tonini Ditto [i.e. Venice]', Op. 3 by Bernardo Tonini (c. 1666–1727); No. 25: '2 Books for a Viol da Gambo, and a Thorough-Bass, bound [...] Hague' is identifiable as Chelys, Op. 3 by Carolus Hacquart (c. 1640–1701); the only extant copy of these suites is in Philip Falle's collection at Durham Cathedral library is lacking the bass part, although it was included in pieces copied from Chelys into manuscripts such as GB-DRc, Mus. A.27; Peter Holman points out that Finger may have worked together with Hacquart in London, since the latter's name is given in anglicised form (Mr. Charles Hacquart) in the catalogue; see *ibid* and Holman, *Life After Death*, p. 17.

included some of the works published by Roger in *Sonate a Violino Solo col Basso Continuo Composta da Arcangelo Correlli e Altri Autory* (1697). No. 21: '4 Curious sola's *Arcangelo Corelli* Rome' by Corelli must have been a manuscript copy of some of Corelli's Op. 5 violin sonatas.

The fourth category is titled '*Mr. Finger's Great Pieces for his Consort in York-Buildings, most of the Parts being Prick'd 3 times over, with several particular Pieces for a single Instrument to a Through Bass*'. Only large-scale sonatas are listed here, and the 'particular Pieces' presumably refer to no. 28, '2 setts of Ayrs in score for a violin and bass'. These cannot be identified, although various *Airs* and theatre music by Finger were printed for example in *50 Airs Anglois* (Amsterdam, c. 1701–2).

The sale catalogue of Finger's music library provides a fascinating insight into some of the repertoire performed at London concerts during the 1690s, when newspaper advertisements were still infrequent and lacking in detail. It verifies Finger's importance in the dissemination of the sonata in Britain, particularly larger-scale works. Adding up the ten works by Veracini, four by Corelli and the unidentified '21 sola's', a total of thirty-five solo sonatas were advertised for sale.

Henry Playford's catalogues

Henry Playford's catalogue, *A Curious COLLECTION OF Musick-Books, Both VOCAL and INSTRUMENTAL*, appeared in 1690.²⁸¹ Although two-part music collections and trio sonatas were advertised (for example 'Divisions for 1 Treble-Violin, with a Thorow-Bass, also several Symphonies done by Mr. Baptist and Senior Nicola' and 'Several Tunes of Mr. Banister's Treble and Bass'), the only print to include solo sonatas was *The Second Part of the Division Violin*.

A later catalogue, *A General Catalogue of all the Choicest Musick-Books* (1697) lists Italian and continental trio sonatas, and in addition, Henry Playford advertised Finger and Banister's *A Collection of Musick in Two Parts* (1691) which contains one solo sonata in B-flat major by Finger.²⁸² Playford also included 'The 1st and 2d Part of the *Division-Violin*, containing Divisions upon

²⁸¹ *A Curious COLLECTION OF Musick-Books, Both VOCAL and INSTRUMENTAL* (London: Henry Playford, [1690]).

²⁸² 'Ayres, Chacones, Divisions, and Sonata's for Violins and Flutes, by Mr. Finger; with a Sett of Ayres, in Four Parts, by Mr. Banister. Price 00 03 6'; *A General Catalogue of all the Choicest Musick-Books in English, Latin, Italian and French, both Vocal and Instrumental. Compos'd by the Best MASTERS in Europe, that have been from these Thirty Years past, to this present Time: With all the plainest and easiest Instructions for Beginners on each particular Instrument. Sold for HENRY PLAYFORD, at his Shop in the Temple-Change, Fleetstreet; and are to be had here, and in most of the Cities and Publick Places in England, Ireland, and Scotland* (London: Henry Playford, 1697).

Grounds and Solo's: Price of both – 00 04 6'. No other solo sonatas were listed, although the first two books of Matteis's *Ayres* (1676) were described as 'Seignior *Nichola Matteis*, 1st and 2d Books, containing choice Ayres, Solo's and Grounds. Price bound – 01 00 0'. By this date, Matteis's earliest publication had been in print for twenty-one years, and perhaps including 'Solo's' in the description was Playford's way of ensuring it was still considered up to date. Henry Playford did not print any solo sonatas after the third edition of *The Second Part of the Division Violin* (1701, lost).²⁸³

Innocenzo Fede (?1660–?1732)

It is worth briefly mentioning the Roman composer Innocenzo Fede, who was employed as master of the music in the Catholic chapel of James II from its opening in December 1686.²⁸⁴ After James II was exiled to France, residing at the Château de Saint-Germain-en-Laye, Fede joined the court in the employment of James II's wife Mary of Modena in 1689, where he was sworn in as Master of His Majesty's Private Musick and master of the chapel from 18 October 1699. Fede composed four solo sonatas, of which two are for the recorder (in G minor and D minor), found in manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (Rés. H.659, copied under the direction of the royal copyist, André Danican Philidor (c. 1703–5): Sonata in G minor 'per il flauto solo', Sonata in D minor 'per il flauto', Sonata in F minor, Sonata in D minor 'di Camera'. David Lasocki proposes that the two the recorder sonatas were composed during Fede's time in France, perhaps for James Paisible.²⁸⁵ A further lost collection was published by Roger in c. 1703 as *Six sonates à une flute, & une basse continue de Mrs Greber & Fede*, so that least one solo sonata by Fede may have been known in Britain.²⁸⁶ The Paris manuscript also contains sonatas from Finger's *VI Sonatas or Solo's* (1690) and a recorder sonata by James Paisible.

²⁸³ Harvey, 'Henry Playford: a bibliographical study', pp. 716–7.

²⁸⁴ For Fede, see Nicholas Ezra Field, 'Outlandish Authors: Innocenzo Fede and Musical Patronage at the Stuart Court in London and in Exile' (PhD dissertation, University of Michigan, 2013); Edward Corp, *A Court in Exile: The Stuarts in France, 1689–1718* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

²⁸⁵ David Lasocki, ed., basso continuo realised by Bernard Gordillo, *Innocenzo Fede: Two Sonatas in D minor and G minor for Alto Recorder and Basso Continuo*, IH0023 (Portland, Oregon: Instant Harmony, 2013), preface; see also David Lasocki, 'The Recorder and its Music at the Jacobite Courts in England and France, 1685–1712', *American Recorder* (Fall 2014), 15–30.

²⁸⁶ See Rudolf Rasch, *The Music Publishing House of Estienne Roger: Gabrielli-Guillon* <<https://roger.sites.uu.nl/catalogue/>>, p. 18.

Chapter summary and conclusions

Solo sonatas for the violin, bass viol and recorder were copied into British manuscripts from the 1670s until 1700, particularly works by continental composers who had adopted the style earlier than their British contemporaries. British music publishers were slow to print solo sonatas before 1700, and therefore it is the manuscripts which provide the fullest understanding of how solo sonatas circulated in Britain before the arrival of Corelli's Op. 5 collection. Furthermore, with the exception of Matteis, the most virtuosic pieces (for example by Paisible, Finger and anonymous composers) were not printed, and, for that reason, often survive in unique manuscripts. Imported solo sonatas are found in collections belonging to James Sherard and Gottfried Finger, and from 1696 such works were sold by Estienne Roger in Amsterdam.

In the ten years between the advertisement for Kühnel's bass viol sonatas in 1685 and the opening of Walsh's publishing house in 1695, only three titles containing solo sonatas were printed in Britain: *The Second Part of the Division Violin* (1688 and later editions), Finger's *VI Sonatas or Solo's* (1690) and Finger and Banister's *A Collection of Musick in Two Parts* (1691). These were followed by violin and recorder versions of a solo sonata by Courteville, printed in *The Self-Instructor on the Violin* (1695) and *The Compleat Flute Master* (1695). The final two solo sonata publications to appear in Britain before Corelli's Op. 5 were Daniel Purcell's *Six SONATA's or Solos* (1698) and Croft and Finger's *Six Sonatas or Solos [...] Compos'd by M^r W^m Crofts & an Italian M^r* (1699). Henry Playford modernised *The Second Part of the Division Violin* through the inclusion of solo sonatas, which are comparable to D-F Mus HS 337, a manuscript in which a solo sonata by Poole is found amongst divisions over a ground bass.

Aside from Matteis's *Ayres*, no solo sonatas by Italian composers were printed by British music publishers before Corelli's Op. 5 violin sonatas, with the exception of Corelli Anh. 62 (if authentic) in *The Second Part of the Division Violin*. Excluding works by Finger and Kühnel (lost), solo sonatas published in Britain before 1700 were all by native composers. Before 1700, the number of solo sonatas published for the violin and recorder in Britain was essentially equal, in order to cater for the amateur market, and the practice of transposing works to fit either instrument was common.

Farmer's solo sonata was the earliest printed in Britain, published in 1688; with its strong interplay between the treble and bass parts the work is more akin to the 'duet' sonata genre for two equal instruments than the more clear-cut melody and accompaniment writing of Finger. Finch's 'Cuckoo' was also composed during the reign of James II and is therefore also among the earliest

solo sonatas by a British composer. It is more difficult to date the composition of King's 'Sola' since the earliest source is GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. C.61 which was copied in the 1690s, although the music itself is more reminiscent of Purcell's trio sonatas and may have been written earlier. King and Farmer's works both differ from Finch's in their use of frequent counterpoint and dialogue between the two parts. A comparison may also be drawn between bass introductions or interludes in songs for solo voice and basso continuo of the time. What the earliest British solo sonatas have in common is a comparative lack of dance movements, although giga-style endings are frequently found. Most of the earliest British composers who wrote solo sonatas were actively involved on the London concert scene and wrote songs and instrumental music for the theatre, as well as trio sonatas.

This research has shown a link between the beginnings of the solo sonata in Britain and the Catholic court of James II (1685–88). On 31 August 1685, Thomas Farmer, James Paisible and Robert King, all early composers of solo sonatas, were members of James II's Private Musick.²⁸⁷ The Catholic chapel at Whitehall (designed by Christopher Wren), which opened on Christmas Day 1686 included in addition to the Master of the Musick Innocenzo Fede, organists and singers, twelve instrumentalists from several countries, among them Thomas Farmer. Gottfried Finger also obtained a post in the Catholic chapel, for which he obtained a warrant dated 5 July 1687 (backdated to 25 March).²⁸⁸ Finger's *VI SONATAS or SOLO'S* (1690) must have been composed some time before this and exerted an influence on British composers within and outside of the court. The dedication in the first violin part to Finger's *Sonata XII pro diversis instrumentis*, Op. 1 (1688) states that the works were intended for the Chapel Royal ('Quocirca profiteor id me solium contendere ut haec Musica CAPELLAE REGIAE inserviat'), although this collection does not contain solo sonatas. While there are no records of the solo sonatas by Finger, Farmer (and perhaps King) being performed in the Chapel Royal, this may have similarly been the case.²⁸⁹

Finger was the leading composer of solo sonatas until his departure in 1701. Even after this, his music continued to circulate in Britain through Walsh's publications and in later manuscripts such

²⁸⁷ Andrew Ashbee, ed., *Records of English Court Music Volume II (1685–1714)* (Snodland: Andrew Ashbee, 1987), p. 2.

²⁸⁸ Holman and Rawson, 'Finger, Gottfried', *Grove Music Online*

²⁸⁹ For the use of sonatas during the Catholic liturgy see for example Gregory Barnett, 'Da Chiesa and Da Camera' and 'Sacred Music, Musical Topoi, and the Sonata in Church' in *Bolognese Instrumental Music, 1660–1710* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2016), 163–244; Stephen Bonta, 'The Uses of the "Sonata da Chiesa"', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 22/1 (1969), 54–84.

as the Armstrong-Finch manuscript and GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,466. Works such as Finger's Op. 3 recorder sonatas were also issued by Roger in Amsterdam after 1700.

Current evidence suggests that British composers did not begin writing solo sonatas until the 1680s, except for Poole and Butler who were working abroad. This comparatively late date can be put in context when one considers that in 1683 Purcell's trio sonatas were the first set of string sonatas to be published in Britain and were likely composed only shortly beforehand.²⁹⁰ Purcell pointed to a change in fashion from the French to the Italian style:

[...] for its Author, he has faithfully endeavour'd a just imitation of the most fam'd Italian Masters; principally, to bring the seriousness and gravity of that sort of Musick into vogue, and reputation among our Country-men, whose humor, 'tis time now, should begin to loath the levity, and balladry of our neighbours.²⁹¹

A transition to the Italian style did not happen overnight, and the French style remained strong, particularly in incidental music for the theatre. In his dedicatory epistle to *Dioclesian* (1691), Purcell explained that music now drew its influences from Italy as well as France:

Musick is yet in its Nonage, a forward Child, which gives hope of what it may be hereafter in *England*, when the Masters of it shall find more Encouragement. 'Tis now learning *Italian*, which is its best Master, and studying a little of the *French* Air, to give it somewhat more of Gayety and Fashion. Thus being farther from the Sun, we are of later Growth than our Neighbouring Countries, and must be content to shake off our Barbarity by degrees.²⁹²

Shortly before Finger's departure, Corelli's Op. 5 violin sonatas arrived in Britain in 1700. North credited Corelli's music as being among the main influences in the adoption of the Italian style after Matteis, as will be discussed in Chapter 3:

After this wee cannot wonder, that among the courters of musick, an Itallian taste should prevaile; but there were other incidents that contributed to establish it. One of the cheif was the coming over of the works of the great Corelli. Those became the onely musick relished for a long time, and there seemed

²⁹⁰ Peter Holman and Robert Thompson, 'Purcell, Henry (ii)', *Grove Music Online* <Oxford Music Online> [accessed 19 July 2018].

²⁹¹ Henry Purcell, *Sonatas of III Parts: Two Viollins and a Basse: to the Organ or Harpsicord* (London: 1683), preface.

²⁹² Cited in Martin Adams, *Henry Purcell: The Origins and Development of His Musical Style* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. 62.

to be no satiety of them, nor is the vertue of them yet exhaled, and it is a question whether it will ever be spent, for if musick can be immortall, Corelli's consorts will be so. Add to this, that most of the yong Nobillity and Gentry that have travelled into Italy affected to learne of Corelli, and brought home with them such favour for the Itallian music, as hath given it possession of our Pernassus.²⁹³

²⁹³ Wilson, *Roger North on Music*, pp. 358–9.

CHAPTER 3

‘... Solos innumerable, bred and borne here or brought from abroad’:

Solo Sonatas from 1700 to c. 1716

Of solos for the violin, an elegant species of composition, as is evident in those most excellent ones of Corelli and Geminiani [...] in general, the sole end of them is to display the powers of execution in prejudice to those talents which are an artist’s greatest praise.¹

Sir John Hawkins (1719–89)

3.1 ‘Nothing will relish but Corelli’: Arrival of the Op. 5 Violin Sonatas

To better contextualise the solo sonatas which circulated in Britain after 1700, the circumstances surrounding the arrival of Corelli’s hugely influential Op. 5 violin sonatas (used as a reference point) are summarised here. In 1710, Roger North (1651–1734) famously described the status Arcangelo Corelli (1653–1713) had achieved in Britain:²

It [is] wonderfull to observe what a skatching of Correlli there is every where – nothing will relish but Corelli; just as if in study no book [were] tollerable to be read but Horace, and no reading good but of his Odes, Satires and Epistles; just as they are wedded to the solos, aires and sonnatas of Corelly. That his are transcendent wee grant; but that no style or compositions but his are valuable, is from a defect of *copia* in musick.³

Corelli’s *Sonate a Violino e Violone o Cimbalo*, Op. 5 (Rome: Gasparo Pietra Santa, 1700) set a new benchmark in the development of the solo sonata in Britain, after which the genre became truly widespread.⁴ In 1700, publications of Corelli’s Op. 5 appeared not only in London, but also in Amsterdam, Rome and Bologna, and by 1800, at least forty-two editions had been published throughout Europe.⁵ Neal Zaslaw points out that the sonatas were probably written considerably earlier: according to Charles Burney (1726–1814), Corelli had spent three years editing the sonatas

¹ Sir John Hawkins, *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music: republication of the J. Alfred Novello edition, 1853*, vol. 1 (New York: Dover Publications, 1963), p. xli, n.

² For an account of Corelli’s reception in Britain, see Owain Edwards, ‘The Response to Corelli’s Music in Eighteenth-Century England’, *Studia musicologica norvegica*, 2 (1976), 51–96.

³ John Wilson, ed., *Roger North on Music: Being a Selection from his Essays Written During the Years c. 1695–1728* (London: Novello and Company, 1959), p. xx.

⁴ For a detailed discussion on Corelli’s Op. 5 violin sonatas, see Peter Allsop, ‘The ‘Solo’ Sonatas’, in *Arcangelo Corelli: New Orpheus of our Times* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 120–38.

⁵ Michael Talbot, ‘Corelli, Arcangelo’, *Grove Music Online* <Oxford Music Online> [accessed 3 July 2018].

before their publication, suggesting the works were written in the 1690s, or even as early as the 1680s.⁶ Corelli's Op. 5 comprises twelve violin sonatas divided into six sonate da chiesa and six sonate da camera.⁷ The fugal writing that characterises the second movements of the first six sonatas (including la 'Follia'), is not found in any solo sonatas by British composers during the period in question. In this respect there had been seemingly no attempt to imitate Nicola Matteis (fl. c. 1670–90), who had introduced similar chordal movements in his violin *Ayres* (Books 1 & 2, 1676; Books 3 & 4, 1685). Apart from assuming that complex double stopping was not within the technical capabilities of some amateurs (for which Matteis's 'pointed notes' are evidence), omitting double stops also made transpositions for the recorder easier.

Corelli's Op. 5 formed a model for other composers and were valued as study material for violinists; Burney commented that it was these works on which 'all good schools for the violin have since been founded'.⁸ Newspaper advertisements for public performances frequently mentioned Corelli's works during the first two decades of the eighteenth century.⁹ Although Corelli never visited Britain, his fame as a violinist attracted grand tourists to hear him play and in some instances to receive tuition, including the Scottish politician Sir John Clerk of Penicuik (1676–1755) and Colonel John Blathwayt (1690–1754).¹⁰ Some of Corelli's pupils visited Britain and they will be considered in this chapter.

Before 1700, Corelli's trio sonatas were published in Rome as Op. 1 (1681), Op. 2 (1685), Op. 3 (1689), and Op. 4 (1694), but it was not until the 1690s that Opp. 1–3, as well as Op. 4 were

⁶ Corelli sent a sonata for violin and lute or violone to Count Laderchi on 3 June 1679; see Neal Zaslaw, 'Ornaments for Corelli's Violin Sonatas, op. 5', *Early Music*, 24/1, Music in Purcell's London II (February 1996), 95–116 (pp. 1, 112, n. 2–4).

⁷ For a discussion on the musical forms used by Corelli, see Thomas Schmidt-Beste, *The Sonata* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp. 34–47.

⁸ Charles Burney, *A General History of Music From the Earliest Ages to the Present Period (1789) Volume the Second with Critical and Historical Notes by Frank Mervet* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1935), p. 442.

⁹ See Chapter 4 for a more detailed account of solo performances.

¹⁰ See Michael Tilmouth, 'Music and British Travellers Abroad, 1600–1730', in *Source Materials and the Interpretation of Music: A Memorial Volume to Thurston Dart*, ed. Ian Bent (London: Stainer & Bell Ltd, 1981), 357–82.

advertised for sale in Britain;¹¹ there is nonetheless evidence that Corelli's trio sonatas were already known in Britain shortly after their Italian publication.¹² These works thereby led to an enthusiasm for Corelli's style before 1700, further driven by the circulation of what were either early works or anonymous imitations, including solo sonatas. These two aspects are apparent for example in Marx Anh. 62, printed in *The Second Part of the Division Violin* (Henry Playford, 1689); similarly, works attributed to Corelli were published in *SONATE A VIOLINO SOLO COL BASSO CONTINUO COMPOSTA DA ARCANGELO CORRELLI e Altri Autory* (Roger, 1697).¹³

Already on 13 April 1699 the music publisher John Crouch declared in *The London Gazette* that he was making the Roman edition of Corelli's Op. 5 available by subscription:

There will be Published against the Year 1700, Twelve Solo's of Signior Archangelo Corelli, curiously Engraven at Rome on Copper-Plates, it being the most Correct and Last Work that he will Publish. Such Persons as are desirous of them, upon Payment of 15 Shillings to Mr. John Crouch [...] shall have a Book delivered them by the 10th of December next, or their Money return'd. No Payment will be accepted after the first of July next, nor more Books brought over than are thus paid for.¹⁴

The following year, John Banister junior (1662–1736) and Robert King (c. 1660–1726) jointly announced in *The London Gazette* dated 8–11 July 1700 that the collection was available imminently:

The New Sonata's of the famous Signior Archangelo Corelli, curiously engraven on 70 Copper-Plates, and printed on large Imperial-paper, being now brought from Rome, will be ready to be delivered to Subscribers on Monday next at Mr. Banister's in Brownlow-street in Drury-lane, or at Mr. King's in

¹¹ 'Twelve Sonata's, (newly come over from Rome) in 3 Parts: composed by Signeur Archangelo Correlli, and dedicated to His Highness the Elector of Bavaria [...] fairly prick'd from the true Original' were advertised by the music instrument maker Ralph Agutter in the *London Gazette* dated between 19 and 23 September 1695, but the works are thought to be spurious; see Bryan White, 'A pretty knot of Musical Friends': The Ferrar Brothers and a Stamford Music Club in the 1690s' in *Music in the British Provinces, 1690–1914*, ed. Rachel Cowgill and Peter Holman (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2007), 9–44 (p. 17), where it is also pointed out that the Stamford music club had obtained a copy of Corelli's Op. 3 by 1693/4; Corelli's Op. 1–4 trio sonatas were first advertised in the catalogue of Henry Playford (1657–1709) (*A General Catalogue of the Choicest Musick-Books* (1697), GB-Lbl, Harl. MS 5936, 422–8); see Allsop, *Arcangelo Corelli*, p. 190.

¹² For Italian trio sonatas in British manuscripts before Purcell's 1683 collection, see Robert Thompson, 'English music manuscripts and the fine paper trade, 1648–1688', 2 vols. (PhD dissertation, King's College London (University of London), 1988), pp. 431–61; for Corelli's trio sonatas in early British manuscripts, see Min-Jung Kang, 'The Trio Sonata in Restoration England (1660–1714)' (PhD dissertation, University of Leeds, 2008), pp. 131–3; Francis Withy's Commonplace Book, GB-Och MS 337, also contains extracts of Corelli's Op. 1; see Robert Thompson, "'Francis Withie of Oxon'" and his Commonplace Book, Christ Church, Oxford, MS 337', *Chelys* 20 (1991), 3–27.

¹³ Rudolf Rasch, *The Music Publishing House of Estienne Roger and Michel-Charles Le Cène: Part Two: Catalogues: Catalogues Roger 1696-1700* <<https://roger.sites.uu.nl>>, p. 7.

¹⁴ *The London Gazette*, 13 April 1699, issue 3487.

York-buildings. And there remaining a few Books more than were subscribed for, those who desire to have them may send to either of the Places abovesaid.¹⁵

Rivalry between music publishers was common in London and was occasionally made public in newspapers: a conflict developed between John Walsh (?1665 or 1666–1736) and Francis Vaillant (agent to Estienne Roger (1665/6–1722)), both eager to profit from their own engraved editions of Corelli's Op. 5. Vaillant's advertisement appeared first, in *The Post Boy* dated 24–7 August 1700, stating that the sonatas were to be printed in score as well as separate parts.¹⁶ Walsh's edition was advertised in *The London Gazette* dated 26–9 August 1700, which he boldly asserted to be 'much fairer, and more correct in the Musick, than that of Amsterdam'.¹⁷ Vaillant gave his answer to Walsh's claims in *The Post Boy* between 31 August and 3 September 1700, and furthermore offered his edition as a 'free gift' to anyone who spent 30 shillings in his shop'.¹⁸

Whereas it has been published in some News Papers, that 12 Sonata's or Solo's composed by Archangelo Corelli, being his fifth and last Opera are to be sold at the sign of the Harp and Hautboy in Catherine Street, being fairer and more correct in the Musick, than that of Amsterdam, this is to give notice to all Lovers of Harmony, that the said Advertisement cannot be true, seeing the Amsterdam Edition is not yet published, and if any one will be at the pains to consider the only Specimen in England at Francis Vaillants Bookseller in the Strand, he will be convinced, that the reflection past upon the Amsterdam Edition is but unjust and groundless. The two parts of the said Solo's will be published by the latter end of this Month, and sold at the place aforesaid for 5 s. or shall be given gratis to whomever will buy for 30 s. of other Musick at once.¹⁹

¹⁵ *The London Gazette*, 8–11 July 1700, issue 3617.

¹⁶ *The Post Man*, 24–7 August 1700, issue 795.

¹⁷ 'Twelve Sonnata's, in Two Parts: The First Part, Solo's for a Violin, a Bass-Violin, Viol, and Harpsichord. The Second, Preludes, Almands, Corants, Sarabands, and Jigs, with the Spanish Folly. Dedicated to the Electoress of Brandenburg by Archangelo Correlli, being his Fifth and Last Opera. Engraven in a curious Character, being much fairer, and more correct in the Musick, than that of Amsterdam. Printed for, and sold by John Walsh (Servant to His Majesty) at the Harp and Hautboy in Katherine-street in the Strand. Price 8 s. or each Part single 5 s.?'; *The London Gazette*, 26–9 August 1700, issue 3631.

¹⁸ For Roger's editions of Corelli's Op. 5 (first published in 1701), see Rudolf Rasch, *The Music Publishing House of Estienne Roger: Caix-Croft* <<https://roger.sites.uu.nl/catalogue/>>, pp. 55–9.

¹⁹ *The Post Man*, 31 August–3 September 1700, issue 798.

Subsequent editions

Details of all subsequent advertisements for Walsh's editions of Corelli's Op. 5 are given in William C. Smith's *Bibliography* (1968).²⁰ As the rivalry between Walsh and Roger continued, both publishers decided to enlist the assistance of Italian immigrant virtuosos to endorse their editions. Walsh produced a complete edition of Corelli's works, which according to an advertisement in *The Post Man* dated 22–5 September 1705 was corrected by the Italian cellist Nicola Francesco Haym (1678–1729), who had arrived in London in 1701;²¹ to Walsh's disappointment, Haym decided to assist Roger instead, as announced in *The Post Man* of 25–7 September 1705:

Whereas in the last Post Man there was an Advertisement publish'd by Mr John Walsh, that I Nicolini Haym, have corrected his Edition of Correllis Works: I do hereby give notice for my own credit, that I did not correct the same directly nor indirectly. I do acknowledge to have revis'd and corrected the Amsterdam Edition, by Stephen Roger, which will be speedily published, and will excel in Beauty and Exactness any Edition of Corellis Works hitherto printed.²²

A response was printed in *The Daily Courant* dated 1 October 1705 with a claim there was a witness to prove that 'the abovesaid Edition of Corelli's Works, Printed by Mr. J. Walsh, were 3 Months under the said Nicolini Haym's correction'.²³ Walsh's edition was instead corrected by the Italian violinist Gasparo Visconti (1683–1713), who was in London from 1702–6; Visconti asserted that 'for a further satisfaction to the World of the Exactness of Mr Walsh's Edition of Corelli's Works, I do declare to have corrected each Opera of the said Edition, who am well acquainted with the Author and his Works, having been 5 years Corelli's Scholar'.²⁴ Peter Allsop points out that Vaillant had apparently gone as far as to eventually receive the endorsement of Corelli himself and in 1708 published 'The last Edition of Corelli's Works, Corrected by Mr. Haym and Revis'd by the Author Engraven at Amsterdam by Stephen Roger'.²⁵

²⁰ William C. Smith, *A Bibliography of the Musical Works Published by John Walsh during the Years 1695–1720*, 2nd edn (Oxford: Bibliographical Society, 1968), pp. 13–4.

²¹ *The Post Man*, 22–5 September 1705, issue 1448; for a discussion on Haym's editions of Corelli's Opp. 1–5, see Lowell Lindgren, 'The Great Influx of Italians and Their Instrumental Music into London, 1701–10', in *Arcangelo Corelli: fra mito e realtà storica*, ed. Gregory Barnett, Antonella D'Ovidio, and Stefano La Via (Florence: Olschki, 2007), 419–84 (pp. 441–5).

²² *The Post Man*, 25–7 September 1705, issue 1449.

²³ *The Daily Courant*, 1 October 1705, issue 1081; the edition was finally advertised in *The Post Man*, 1–3 August 1706, issue 1654.

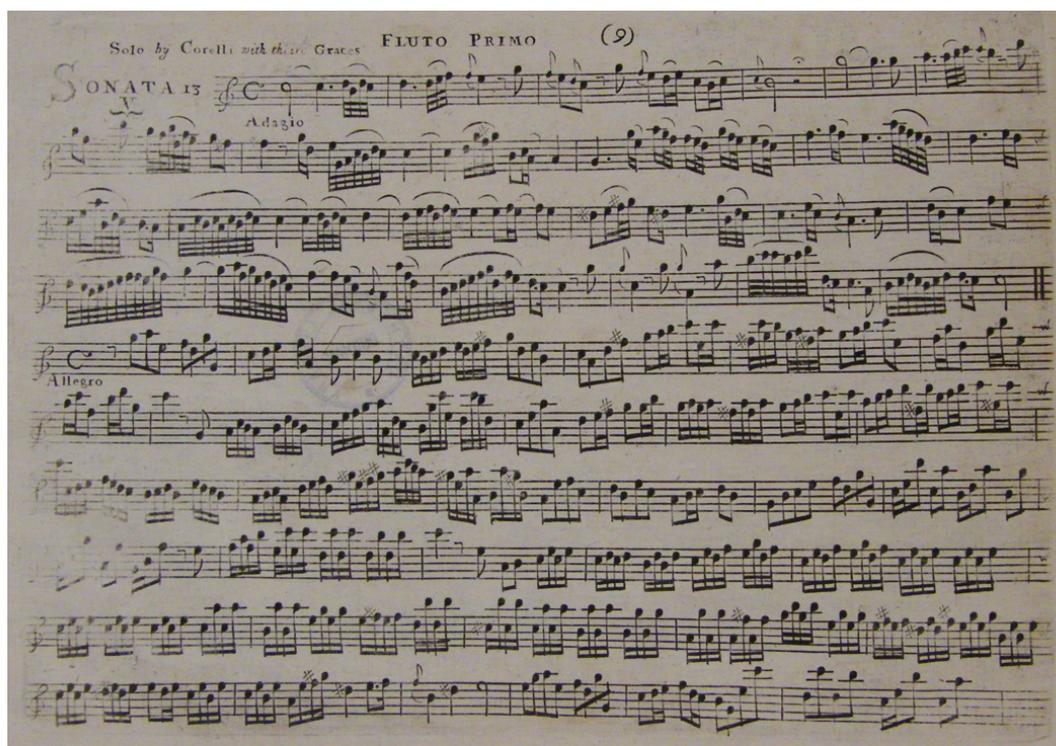
²⁴ *The Daily Courant*, 1 October 1705.

²⁵ *The Daily Courant*, 16 October 1708, issue 2078; cited in Allsop, *Arcangelo Corelli*, p. 192.

Ornamented editions

Written-out florid ornamentation added to slow movements of Corelli's Op. 5 sonatas has been the subject of several articles.²⁶ The following sets of ornaments relevant to the period in question have been identified by Neil Zaslaw: Pez Anon (1707), Roger (1710), GB-Lbl, Add. MS 17,853 (before 1720?), Dubourg (before 1721?), Roman (c. 1715–21) and Walsh Anon (c. 1720).²⁷

The earliest of these ornaments (Pez Anon, 1707) were arranged for the recorder and added to sonatas No. 3 and No. 4, included in *A Second collection of SONATAS for two FLUTES and a BASS, by Signr Christopher Pez* (see Ex. 3.1).²⁸ An advertisement in *The Post Man* dated 12–5 April 1707 states that the sonatas were 'illustrated throughout with proper Graces, by an eminent Master'; Neil Zaslaw suggests the elaborate flourishes were composed by either James Paisible (c. 1656–1721) or John Loeillet (1680–1730), both distinguished recorder players in London at the time.²⁹



Ex. 3.1 'Solo by Corelli with their Graces', Op. 5, No. 3 (Walsh, 1707)
Reproduced by kind permission of the Chapter of Durham Cathedral

²⁶ See especially Zaslaw, 'Ornaments for Corelli's Violin Sonatas, op. 5'; H. Diack Johnstone, 'Yet more ornaments for Corelli's Violin Sonatas, op. 5', *Early Music*, 24/4 (November 1996), 623–4, 626–33; Allsop, *Arcangelo Corelli*, pp. 135–7.

²⁷ Zaslaw, 'Ornaments for Corelli's Violin Sonatas, op. 5', p. 99.

²⁸ *A Second collection of SONATAS for two FLUTES and a BASS, by Signr Christopher Pez to which is added Some Excellent SOLO'S out of the First Part of Corelli's Fifth OPERA; Artfully transpos'd and fitted to a FLUTE and a BASS, yet Continu'd in the same Key they were Compos'd in* (London: Walsh, Hare and Randall, 1707).

²⁹ Zaslaw, 'Ornaments for Corelli's Violin Sonatas, op. 5', p. 114, n. 29.

In 1710, Roger published the first six of Corelli's Op. 5 sonatas as the 'Troisieme Edition ou l'on a joint les agréemens des Adagio de cet ouvrage, composez par M^r. A. Corelli comme il les joue'.³⁰ It was reissued by Walsh with 'y^e advantage of having y^e Graces to all y^e Adagio's and other places where the Author thought proper'.³¹ It has long been debated whether the ornaments are genuinely by Corelli or taken from examples of the time; either way, they represent one of many written-down sets of embellishments for the Op. 5 sonatas. They contribute to our understanding of improvised performance practice and are therefore useful models for ornamenting other contemporaneous solo sonatas, including those by British composers. North's scepticism is well known from the following passage in the second *Musical Grammarian* (1728):³²

Some presumer hath published a continuall course of this sort of stuff in score with Corelly's solos, and is thereby intituled onely to a tolle [fee] for his reward. Upon the bare view of the print any one would wonder how so much vermin could creep into the works of such a master. And nothing can resolve it but the ignorant ambition of learners, and the knavish invention of the musick sellers to profit thereby. Judicious architects abominate any thing of imbroidery upon a structure that is to appear great, and trifling about an harmonious composition is no less absurd.³³

Since the publication of Zaslav's article in 1996, other ornaments for Corelli's Op. 5, copied by Edward Finch (1663–1738) into the Armstrong-Finch manuscript, have come to light. They include ornamented versions of the 'Saraband of Corelli's 5th Work', i.e. Op. 5 No. 7, the first transposed from D minor to A minor for the transverse flute on p. 2/86 inv., with the caption 'Graced by Luly', i.e. John Locillet (1680–1730). A second version in E minor, with the same ornaments, but with the addition of 'three Variations after Geminiani's Maner' is found on p. 2/28 inv. and continued on p. 2/44 inv, dated 13 April 1719 by Finch, suggesting they were his own compositions.³⁴ The ascription of these florid ornaments to 'Luly' raises the possibility that those found in 'Pez Anon' (1707) are also his work.

³⁰ SONATE a Violino e Violone o Cimbalo DI ARCANGELO CORELLI. *Opera Quinta. Troisieme Edition on l'on a joint les agréemens des Adagio de cet ouvrage, composez par M^r. A. Corelli comme il les joue* (Amsterdam: Estienne Roger, [1710]).

³¹ XII Sonata's or Solo's for a Violin a Bass Violin or Harpsicord Compos'd by Arcangelo Corelli. His fifth OPERA. *This Edition has y^e advantage of haveing y^e Graces to all y^e adagio's and other places where the Author thought proper.* by Arcangelo Corelli (London: Walsh and Hare, [1711]); Walsh's edition also included a portrait of Corelli engraved by William Sherwin (c.1645–?1709) after Hugh Howard (1675–1737), the origins of which are discussed in Peter Walls, 'Reconstructing the Archangel: Corelli 'ad Vivum Pinxit'', *Early Music*, 35/4 (November 2007), 525–38.

³² For North's discussion on ornamentation, see 'The Art of Gracing' in Wilson, *Roger North on Music*, pp. 147–73.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 161.

³⁴ Peter Holman, 'A Purcell manuscript lost and found', *Early Music*, 40/3 (2012), 469–87 (pp. 482–3); another ornamented version of the Corelli 'Sarabanda', Op. 5, No. 7 in Finch's hand can be found in GB-Ge Ms. Euing R.d.39, fol. 17 inv. in D minor.

3.2 ‘To oblige the Lovers of Harmony’: Arrangements of Corelli’s Violin Sonatas

Following what Walsh termed the ‘universall Admiration of Correlli’s Works’,³⁵ the Op. 5 collection was arranged and transposed for other instruments, a practice which was already established within the sonata repertoire in Britain by the 1690s; Corelli’s violin sonatas were adapted for the recorder, harpsichord, bass viol, and transverse flute to fit in with established traditions in Britain.

Recorder

In 1702, Walsh and Hare issued anonymous recorder arrangements of Corelli’s Op. 5, Nos. 7–12.³⁶ A particularly attractive publication for the amateur gentleman, the collection was advertised in *The Post Boy* dated 28–30 May 1702 as ‘Six Solos for a Flute and a Bass: By Archangelo Corelli [...] made fit for A Flute and A Bass’.³⁷ Walsh wrote that he was prompted to publish the arrangements owing to ‘that Instrument’s defect of good Musick, which has been so much of late Complain’d of’ as well as the great demand for Corelli’s music:

Although the universall Admiration of Correlli’s Works, have allmost equaliz’d his meritt, yet there are many Gentlemen Lovers of Musick who want a true Tast of his perfections, his Compositions being for the Violin only, if so agreeable an Instrument as the Flute could be accommodated with the same benefitt, it would add to the Honour of the Composer, the Pleasure of the performer, and supply that Instrument’s defect of good Musick, which has been so much of late Complain’d of. This thought was the only motive of the following Transposition, which has been Correctly done with the care and aprobatation of several Eminent Masters, and carry with them y^e true and Aire and Design of the Author, tho’ some of them run high, yet may be perform’d without Difficulty on a good Flute; it is hoped they will Answer the Expectation of the Publisher who Desires nothing more then to oblige the Lovers of Harmony, and after this maner Convince them, that he is Industrious in being their most humble Serv.^t I. Walsh.³⁸

³⁵ *SIX Solos for A FLUTE and A BASS By ARCHANGELO CORELLI Being The second part of his Fifth OPERA Containing PRELUDES ALLMANDS CORRANTS JIGGS SARABANDS GAVOTTS with the SPANISH FOLLY The whole exactly Transpos’d and made fitt for A FLUTE and A BASS with the aprobatation of severall Eminent Masters* (London: Walsh and Hare, 1702), preface.

³⁶ Facsimile edition: *Corelli: 6 SONATEN für Altblockflöte und Basso continuo*, EM 2021 (Münster: Microprint, 1998).

³⁷ *The Post Boy*, 28–30 May 1702, issue 1098; Smith, *Bibliography*, p. 27, no. 85; Isaac Vaillant advertised an edition by Roger in *The Post Man*, 13 April 1706, issue 1599; see Rudolf Rasch, *The Music Publishing House of Estienne Roger*: <Caix-Croft <https://roger.sites.uu.nl/catalogue/>>, pp. 73–4.

³⁸ *SIX Solos for A FLUTE and A BASS By ARCHANGELO CORELLI*, preface.

Unlike the original violin sonatas, the recorder arrangements were printed in separate parts, labelled 'FLUTO PRIMO' and 'FLUTO BASSO', suggesting the use of the bass recorder, with bass figures also added for a chordal instrument.³⁹ Alternatively, Walsh's use of the term 'fluto basso' in this and other publications may simply have denoted that it was the bass part belonging to the recorder part. The identity of the 'several Eminent Masters' is unknown, but among the contenders are Banister junior, and the French-born recorder player James Paisible.⁴⁰ The recorder arrangements were transposed a second, third or fourth higher, with certain wide leaps written an octave higher to fit the tessitura of the instrument. Walsh advised that 'tho some of them run high, yet may be perform'd without Difficulty on a good Flute'. A lack of multiple stopping in the violin part made the final six 'da camera' sonatas in the Op. 5 set otherwise easily adaptable for the recorder; in the virtuosic arrangement of 'Follia', Op. 5, No. 12, the double stops in the violin version are arpeggiated to allow the recorder to fill in the harmonies (see Ex. 3.2 and the violin version to compare in Ex. 3.3).

³⁹ For the bass recorder, see David Lasocki, 'Basset and Bass Recorders, 1660–1740', unpublished article: <http://www.instantharmony.net/Music/basset-recorder.longversion.pdf> [accessed 5 February 2019].

⁴⁰ Paisible is suggested in *Corelli: 6 SONATEN für Altblockflöte und Basso continuo*, preface; Banister junior is suggested in David Lasocki, 'The London Publisher John Walsh (1665 or 1666–1736) and the Recorder', in *Sine musica nulla vita: Festschrift Hermann Moeck zum 75. Geburtstag am 16. September 1997*, ed. Nicholas Delius (Celle: Moeck, 1997), 343–74 (p. 348).

13

FLUTO PRIMO

Ex. 3.2 Corelli, Op. 5, 'Follia' arranged for recorder, p. 13 (Walsh, 1702)

Ex. 3.3 Corelli, Op. 5, 'Follia', for violin, p. 66 (Rome, 1700)

In terms of the first six ‘da chiesa’ sonatas, anonymous recorder arrangements of No. 3 and No. 4 were added to the already abovementioned *A Second collection of SONATAS for two FLUTES and a BASS, by Signr Christopher Pez* (1707). The title page described the sonatas as ‘artfully transpos’d and fitted to a Flute and a Bass’ and unlike Walsh’s 1702 set were ‘yet continu’d in the same Key they were compos’d in’, retaining the original keys of C and F major. Similarly to Walsh’s ‘Follia’ arrangement, the chordal violin writing was substituted with arpeggiated semiquaver passages outlining the harmony.

Sandra Mangsen points out the existence of bass parts to all but Sonata No. 12 and part of Sonata No. 9 of Corelli’s Op. 5 in GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. E.405, with four of the sonatas transposed down a second or a fourth (not listed in Marx). While Mangsen suggests the transpositions were probably made to better suit the recorder, it is difficult to see how the new keys would work on the treble recorder without much octave transposition;⁴¹ recorder arrangements of violin music were generally transposed higher.

Keyboard instruments

Walsh and Hare’s advertisement for ‘the 2d part of Corellis fifth Opera, proper for the Harpsicord, consisting of Preludes, Allemonds, Sarabrands, Gavots and Jiggs, price 3 s.’ was announced in *The Post Man* dated 23–5 September 1703 and was presumably intended for a solo harpichord.⁴² As with his recorder arrangements, Walsh chose to only print Corelli’s ‘da camera’ sonatas, but no copy is known to be extant.

The practice of performing solo sonatas on a single keyboard instrument in Britain is particularly evident from the frequent inclusion of Corelli’s Op. 5 sonatas in keyboard manuscripts: GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,403, fols. 33v–36, contains Marx Anh. 35 titled ‘Son: by Archangelo Corelli’, which according to Andrew Woolley was copied by an unidentified hand around 1700 or slightly earlier,

⁴¹ I wish thank Nicola Loten for advising on the suitability of these arrangements for the recorder; the manuscript contains Corelli’s Op. 5 No. 1 transposed from D major to C major, No. 2 from B flat major to D minor [Major], No. 6 from A major to G major and No. 11 from E major to D major; see Sandra Mangsen, ‘The Dissemination of the Pre-Corellian Trio Sonatas in Manuscript and Printed Sources: A Preliminary Report’, in *The Dissemination of Music: Studies in the History of Music Publishing*, ed. Hans Lenneberg (Lausanne: Gordon and Breach, 1994), 71–105 (p. 96, n. 78; p. 105).

⁴² *The Post Man*, 23–5 September 1703, issue 1187; Smith, *Bibliography*, p. 40, no. 135.

without the middle Adagio movement.⁴³ The Grave and Gigue from Corelli's Op. 5 No. 6 were included in the keyboard manuscript GB-Lbl, Add. MS 22,099 dating from c. 1705.

GB-Lbl, Add. MS 71,209, connected to the English keyboard player and violinist William Babel (c. 1690–1723) contains keyboard arrangements of movements from Corelli's Op. 5, which date from no earlier than 1713, with the addition of French-style ornaments and some realised chords in the left hand.⁴⁴ Corelli's solo sonatas continued to be arranged for keyboard and copied into later manuscripts, some of which include written out ornamentation and ornament symbols, such as the arrangement of Op. 5 No. 7 by John Reading (?1685–1764) and the 'Walsh Anon' manuscript, dated c. 1720, bound into a Walsh edition of Corelli's Op. 5 (c. 1711).⁴⁵

Bass viol

The bass viol, or viola da gamba, continued to be played by professionals and amateurs as a solo and continuo instrument in Britain long after the days of viol consorts had ceased.⁴⁶ The demand for Corelli's Op. 5 sonatas led to bass viol arrangements also being made available. It is noteworthy that three extant copies of the third edition of *Chehys* or *The Division-Viol* (1712) were bound together with anonymous viol transcriptions of sonatas 6 and 11, bearing the engraved signature of Thomas Cross, 'T. Cross Sculp'.⁴⁷ The advertisement in *The Post Man* dated 19–21 February

⁴³ Andrew Woolley, 'English Keyboard Sources and their Contexts, c. 1660–1720' (PhD dissertation, University of Leeds, 2008), p. 145.

⁴⁴ Woolley, 'English Keyboard Sources and their Contexts', pp. 80, 246–7: 'Giga' from No. 5, fols. 2v–3r (anonymous scribe); No. 9, fols. 61v–67r (copied by Babel); 'Preludio' and 'Corrente' from No. 7, fols. 70v–73v (copied by Babel); for GB-Lbl, Add. MS 71,209, see Johnstone, 'Yet more ornaments for Corelli's Violin Sonatas, op. 5', p. 633, n. 22–3; Graham Pont, 'An Early Eighteenth-century Manuscript of Harpsichord music: William Babel and Handel's "Vo' far Guerra"', *British Library Journal*, 21 (1995), 176–83; inventory by Anthony Hicks in the British Library catalogue.

⁴⁵ Examples of keyboard arrangements of Corelli's Op. 5 in British sources: Op. 5, No. 7, US-Lauc P613 M4 1725 (1720s); Op. 5 No. 7, 'The 7th. Solo of Corelli, Compos'd into a Lesson, By / (John Reading)', GB-Ldc MS 92b (c. 1730); Op. 5 No. 9, GB-DRc, MS E32 (1717); 'Sarabanda by Corelly' and 'jigg by Corelly', GB-Lbl, Add. MS 17,853 (before 1720); 'Gavotta', GB-Lbl, Add. MS 41,205 (after 1710); 'Walsh Anon' (c. 1720), bound into a Walsh's edition of Corelli's Op. 5 (c. 1711), RISM C3816; for other keyboard arrangements, see Woolley, 'English Keyboard Sources and their Contexts', pp. 81–2.

⁴⁶ See especially Peter Holman, *Life After Death: The Viola da Gamba in Britain from Purcell to Dolmetsch* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2010).

⁴⁷ Christopher Simpson, *Chehys / The Division-Viol*, 3rd edn (London: printed by William Pearson for Richard Mears and Allexander Livingston, 1712); the sources are given by Holman in *Life After Death*, p. 107, n. 64, as GB-Lam, Spencer Collection, A/2/Simpson; GB-Lbl, Hirsch.I.536; GB-Lbl, g.299; GB-Lbl, K.1.i.11.(2.), bound with *The Division-Violist* (1659); an unbound copy previously in Robert Spencer's collection is reprinted in Gordon Dodd, ed., *Arcangelo Corelli, Sonatas Op. 5 Nos. 11 and 6 Transcribed and Adapted c. 1713 for Solo Bass Viol and Continuo*, Viola da Gamba Society Edition Supplementary Publication No. 136 (London: Viola da Gamba Society of Great Britain, 1980).

1712 was given in both Latin and English, corresponding to the instructions in *The Division-Viol*, while announcing ‘the Addition of Corelli solos in 2 parts’.⁴⁸ Written by Christopher Simpson (c. 1602–6–1669) and originally published as *The Division-Violist* (1659), the inclusion of Corelli’s sonatas modernised this, by now, fifty-three year old treatise and collection of divisions; Peter Holman suggests that the publisher Richard Meares junior (?1671–?1743) had the engraving commissioned to offer more up-to-date repertoire for the viol.⁴⁹ One of the extant copies was bound together with the first edition, i.e. *The Division-Violist* (1659), although it is unclear whether the arrangements were in circulation already before the 1712 third edition.⁵⁰ Their provenance is not entirely certain, and virtually the same arrangements of sonatas No. 6 and No. 11 found in F-Pn, Vm⁷ 6308, together with the remaining Op. 5 collection arranged for the viol.⁵¹ Holman suggests that the sonatas were arranged in London by the Italian viola da gamba and transverse flute player Pietro Chaboud (fl. 1707–1725) or another Italian musician.⁵² The two sonatas engraved by Cross were transposed down an octave and a tone, No. 6 from A to G major, and No. 11 from E to D major, making them more idiomatic to the technical possibilities and natural resonance of the open strings of the six-string viol used in Britain; the violin chords were also adapted to suit the technical possibilities of the viol (see Ex. 3.4).⁵³ These arrangements provide evidence that solo sonatas were idiomatically transcribed for the bass viol, in the same way that viol music was arranged for the violin.

⁴⁸ *The Post Man*, 19–21 February 1712, issue 2100.

⁴⁹ Holman, *Life After Death*, p. 107.

⁵⁰ The two solos in GB-Lbl, K.1.i.11.(2.) were bound together with *The Division-Violist* (1659), GB-Lbl, K.1.i.11.(1.).

⁵¹ Facsimile edition: Arcangelo Corelli, *Sonatas for Viol and Basso Continuo*, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. VM⁷ 6308, introduction by Hazelle Miloradovitch (Peer: Musica-Alamire, 1989).

⁵² Holman, *Life After Death*, p. 108.

⁵³ For further information on these arrangements, see Hazelle Miloradovitch, ‘Eighteenth-Century Manuscript Transcriptions for Viols of Music by Corelli and Marais in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris: Sonatas and Pièces de Viole’, *Chelys*, 12 (1983), 47–57.

7

Allegro.

43 4*3 4|3 * 5 6 5 * 4 6 4 2 6 7

43 56 56

56 56 5 6 6 5 3 6 5

6 5 * 6 6 4 4 3

Ex. 3.4 Corelli, Op. 5, No. 6, Allegro, p. 7 (Richard Meares, 1712)
 By permission of the British Library, Music Collections, K.1.i.11.(2.)

Transverse flute

Some little-known transverse flute arrangements of Corelli's Op. 5 sonatas were written down by Edward Finch during the second decade of the eighteenth century. Among Finch's arrangements is Op. 5, No. 9, 'Corelli's set a third Higher For the German Flute', copied into GB-DRc, Bamburgh MS. M70, fols. 52–5 reversed (c. 1719), transposed from the original key of A major to C major.⁵⁴

The Armstrong-Finch manuscript also contains on pp. 76–[81] (in Finch's hand) 'Corelli's IV Solo of his Opera Quinta set for the German Flute by Transposing it & putting it from F. to D[#]', i.e. down from F major to D major. Unusually, some of the chordal writing from the violin original was retained or made even more complex with two-note chords changed to four-note chords, and presumably these were intended to be played arpeggiated on the flute; other chordal passages were rewritten with single notes or different rhythms that follow the harmony. Finch also copied Geminiani's Op. 1 violin sonatas into the Armstrong-Finch manuscript, retaining the chordal writing for some of them, but also provided simpler versions for No. 1 and No. 5. Incidentally, in Amsterdam, Roger advertised for sale manuscript copies of 'La seconde partie de solo de Corelli accomodé pour la flûte traversière', arranged by Johann Christian Schickhardt (c. 1682–1762).⁵⁵

Corelli's influence

After 1700, additional solo sonatas attributed to Corelli, but of uncertain authenticity, continued to circulate in British sources. An important manuscript of British provenance dating from c. 1705 is GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,466, containing solo sonatas ascribed to Corelli, none of which is from the Op. 5 collection.⁵⁶ The arrival of Corelli's Op. 5 violin sonatas sparked an even stronger demand

⁵⁴ The same arrangement for transverse flute is found in the Armstrong-Finch Manuscript, pp. 2/115–9.

⁵⁵ Rudolf Rasch, *The Music Publishing House of Estienne Roger: Caix-Croft* <<https://roger.sites.uu.nl/catalogue/>>, p. 73.

⁵⁶ GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,466; 'Corelli' is written in pencil at the top of the page of all sonatas, except No. 17 (Anh. 33), which is untitled; No. 1 (Anh. 34), No. 2 (Anh. 35), No. 3 (Anh. 62), No. 4 (Anh. 63), No. 5 (Marx Anh. deest; concordant with No. 8 in *SONATE A VIOLINO SOLO COL BASSO CONTINUO COMPOSTA DA ARCANGELO CORRELLI e Altri Autory* (Roger, 1697), also in US-NYp, JOG 72–50 and Armstrong-Finch manuscript, pp. 20–3; I have identified that the second movement in the Armstrong-Finch manuscript has been replaced with the second movement of Anh. 64, thereby avoiding the fiendish demisemiquaver passages found in the Roger print and Add. MS 31,466), No. 8 (Anh. 64), No. 9 (Anh. 65), No. 17 (Anh. 33) No. 24 (Anh. 36), No. 57 (Anh. 66); Marx lists Anh. 108–111 in GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,466, but these sonatas are attributed to Finger and Courteville, also in other sources.

for Italianate music, and as the output of Walsh and other music publishers shows, imports of foreign music continued to increase.

Corelli's idiom was not immediately or always adopted by native or foreign composers, although some did so unashamedly. Native composers who wrote trio (but not solo) sonatas in Corelli's style include John Ravenscroft (d. before 1709), James Sherard (1666–1738), William Corbett (1680–1748) and Matthew Novell (fl. early eighteenth century), as well as the resident German composer Johann Gottfried Keller (d. 1704), as recounted by Hawkins:

The natural and familiar style of Corelli's music, and that simplicity which is one of its characteristics, betrayed many into an opinion that it was easily to be imitated; [...] but the experiment has been made, and has failed. Ravenscroft professed to imitate Corelli in those Sonatas which Roger published and hoped to make the world believe were some of the earliest of his works. [...] but an Englishman, named James Sherard, an apothecary by profession, composed two operas of Sonatas, which an ordinary judge, not knowing that they were the work of another, might mistake for compositions of this great master.⁵⁷

The English apothecary and botanist James Sherard was an amateur composer and violinist who wrote two sets of Italianate trio sonatas for violins, published by Roger in Amsterdam as Op. 1 (1701), dedicated to Wriothesley Russel (1680–1711), Lord Tavistock and later 2nd Duke of Bedford, and Op. 2 (c. 1715–6). While James Sherard did not travel to Italy, his brother, the botanist William Sherard (1659–1728), had been employed as a tutor during a part of Russel's Grand Tour between 1697 and 1699, and supposedly acquired Italian trio sonatas and ensemble music which was then passed on to James; in his dedication to Russel, James wrote that 'by my Brother's attendance on your Grace abroad, I was furnish'd with Books, and other Materialls, which gave me the first taste and acquaintance with Italian Musick'.⁵⁸ Russel was an avid supporter of Italian music in the first decade of the eighteenth century, becoming a patron to Nicola Cosimi (1667–1717) and Nicola Francesco Haym, both of whom dedicated sonatas to him.

3.3 'Celebrated sonnata-men': Immigrants and Visitors

The publication of Corelli's Op. 5 violin sonatas coincided roughly with the death of Matteis senior in the 1690s, the departure of his son Matteis junior (c. 1667–1737) in 1700, and the departure of Gottfried Finger (c. 1660–1730) in 1701. From around 1700, the most notable immigrants and visitors were Johann Christoph Pepusch (1667–1752), Gasparo Visconti (1683–1713), Nicola

⁵⁷ Hawkins, *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music*, vol. 2, p. 678.

⁵⁸ James Sherard, *Sonate à Tre, doi Violini, e Violone col Basso per l'Organo*, Op. 1 (Amsterdam: Roger, 1701), preface.

Cosimi and Nicola Francesco Haym (1678–1729); Lowell Lindgren’s article, ‘The Great Influx of Italians and Their Instrumental Music into London, 1701–10’ (2007), provides an overview of Italian music in circulation with a focus on Cosimi, Haym and Visconti, and their solo sonatas.⁵⁹

The second decade of the eighteenth century also marked the arrival of several important Italian violin soloists: Francesco Geminiani (1687–1762) and Francesco Maria Veracini (1690–1768) came to London in 1714, while Pietro Castrucci (1679–1752) and his younger brother Prospero (d. 1760) arrived the following year in 1715 in the company of the violoncellist Filippo Amadei (c. 1665–c. 1725).

London offered foreign virtuosi opportunities for private and public performances, alongside the possibility of having their works published, usually under the sponsorship of a patron. Soon after their arrival, it was common for a virtuoso to publish a collection of solo sonatas, undoubtedly performed either for a private patron or as a means of introducing themselves and achieving recognition with the concert-going public. Some musicians who visited or settled in Britain between 1700 and 1716 did not publish solo sonatas until after this date (although some works could have been written earlier) and are therefore mentioned separately at the end. The composers in Table 3.1 are organised according to their date of arrival in Britain, followed by biographical details and summary of their solo output; the composers whose solo sonatas were published after 1716 are discussed last.

Composer	Nationality	Year of arrival	Year of departure	Date of first British solo publication
Daniel De Moivre (Demoivre) (fl. 1687–1731)	French	1687	-	1704?
Carlo Ambrogio Lonati (c. 1645–c. 1710–15)	Italian	1687?	1687?	1704
Johann Christoph Pepusch (1667– 1752)	German	1697	-	1704

⁵⁹ Lindgren, ‘The Great Influx of Italians and Their Instrumental Music into London, 1701–10’, 419–84.

Nicola Cosimi (c. 1660–1717)	Italian	1701	1705	1702
Nicola Francesco Haym (1678– 1729)	Italian	1701	-	- [Roger, 1710]
Gasparo Visconti (1683–d. after 1713)	Italian	1702	1706	1703
Martino Bitti (1655/6–1743)	Italian	1702?	1703?	1704
Charles Dieupart (b. after 1667–c. 1740)	French	1703	-	1717
Jean Baptiste Loeillet (1680– 1730) [‘John Loeillet of London’]	Flemish	1705	-	1729
Johann Ernst Galliard (?1666– 1747)	German	1706	-	1710/11
Francesco Geminiani (1687– 1762)	Italian	1714	-	1716
Pietro Castrucci (1679–1752)	Italian	1715	-	1719
Lorenzo Bocchi	Italian	1720	-	-

Table 3.1 Immigrants/visitors whose solo sonatas circulated in Britain, c. 1700 to c. 1720

Daniel De Moivre (Demoivre) (fl. 1687–1731)

The French recorder player Daniel De Moivre was the son of a surgeon at Vitry-Le-François in Champagne and younger brother of the mathematician Abraham De Moivre (1667–1754).⁶⁰

⁶⁰ For De Moivre, see David Lasocki, ‘The Life of Daniel De Moivre (fl. 1687–1731)’, *The Consort*, 45 (1989), 15–7.

Originating from a Huguenot family, the brothers were in Britain by December 1687, adding the preposition ‘De’ to their surname Moivre. Both brothers primarily earned their living from private teaching, while Daniel was listed among the recorder teachers alongside James Paisible and John Banister junior for the failed attempt to set up Royal Academies in 1695 to provide lessons to the public.⁶¹ *The Post Man* dated 2–4 March 1704 advertised ‘Aires for a Flute and a Bass As Preludes, Almands, Sarabands, Corants, Minuets, and Jiggs, made Purposely for a Flute and a Bass by Mr. Daniel Demoivre y^e 2^d Collection’, published by Walsh; it is implied there was once a first collection of these two-part suites for recorder, unless these referred to the ‘Lessons for a single Flute’ (Walsh, 1701).⁶² Although not strictly ‘sonatas’, they were listed in the same category under ‘SOLOS and AIRES for a FLUTE and a BASS’ in a 1706 catalogue by Walsh.⁶³

Carlo Ambrogio Lonati (c. 1645–c. 1710–15)

The Milanese violinist, impresario and singer Carlo Ambrogio Lonati was leading the orchestra of Queen Christina of Sweden in Rome by 1673, where he earned the nickname ‘Il gobbo della regina’, or ‘the queen’s hunchback’. Lonati was in Rome at the same time as Corelli and is thought to have been Geminiani’s violin teacher. As a singer he often appeared in comic roles in operas, while his compositional output includes operas, cantatas, solo and trio sonatas.⁶⁴

The anonymous English translation, probably by Nicola Francesco Haym (1678–1729) (as suggested by Charles Gildon) of *Parallèle des Italiens et des François en ce qui regarde la Musique et les Opera* (Paris, 1702) by François Ragueneau (1660–1722), titled *A COMPARISON Between the French and Italian MUSICK AND OPERA’S* (London, 1709), remarked on ‘the famous Carlo Ambrogio Lonati at Milan, called il Gobbo-della Regina, who was here in England with Siface, in the Reign of King James II’.⁶⁵ This statement was later paraphrased by Hawkins, although there have

⁶¹ Ibid, p. 15.

⁶² *The Post Man*, 2–4 March 1704, issue not known; Smith, *Bibliography*, pp. 47–8, no. 148; see also Michael Tilmouth, ‘Chamber Music in England’ (PhD dissertation, University of Cambridge, 1960), p. 361.

⁶³ ‘A Catalogue of English and Italian Musick for Violins and Flutes Printed for J Walsh and Randal’, printed in William Topham, *SIX SONATA’S Five in Four & a Sixth in 7 Parts Compos’d in Imitation of Archangelo Corelli*, Op. 3 (Walsh, Randall and Hare, 1709).

⁶⁴ For Lonati, see Norbert Dubowy, ‘Lonati, Carlo Ambrogio’, *Grove Music Online* <Oxford Music Online> [accessed 1 March 2019].

⁶⁵ François Ragueneau, *A COMPARISON Between the French and Italian MUSICK AND OPERA’S. Translated from the French; With some REMARKS. To which is added a CRITICAL DISCOURSE upon Opera’s in England, and a Means proposed for their IMPROVEMENT* (London: William Lewis, 1709), p. 51; Charles Gildon wrote that ‘I confess, I was a little surpriz’d, to hear of and see this Book with Notes by Seignior H— or some Creature of his’, i.e. H[aym]; Charles Gildon, *THE LIFE OF Mr. Thomas Betterton* (London: printed for Robert Gosling, 1710), p. 166.

seemingly been no attempts to authenticate it.⁶⁶ The translator made numerous additional notes to Ragueneau's version and therefore Lonati was not mentioned in the French edition.⁶⁷

There is no reference to Lonati in the diary of John Evelyn (1620–1706), who nevertheless gave accounts of the castrato Giovanni Francesco Grossi (Siface) (1653–1697) singing at Samuel Pepys's house and James II's private chapel in 1687;⁶⁸ Siface left London on 19 June 1687. During the reign of James II numerous foreign musicians were drawn to the Catholic court,⁶⁹ and it therefore cannot be ruled out that Lonati may have visited Britain. While more evidence to confirm Lonati's visit is still needed, his trio sonatas, or 'simphonie' were copied into British manuscripts during the late seventeenth century;⁷⁰ 'sonatas' by Lonati were also advertised in Henry Playford's *A General Catalogue of the Choicest Musick-Books* (1697).

According to Francesco Maria Veracini, Lonati did not publish any of his works, 'not wishing to subject my music to the scrutiny of those who cannot even tell the time of day'.⁷¹ Until now it has only been mentioned in passing in the literature that during first decade of the eighteenth century, solo violin music ascribed to Lonati also found its way into prints and manuscripts in Britain, although its authenticity is yet to be verified.⁷²

The following works are newly brought to light: 'A SOLO in Gb for a VIOLIN by Carlo Ambrogio' was printed by Walsh in his instrumental music periodical for May 1704, paired with a trio sonata by Tomaso Albinoni (1671–1750/51). The following year a 'Prelude by Signr Ambrogio Lonati' in D minor was printed in Walsh's *Select Preludes or Voluntarys for y^e Violin* (1705) and transposed to G minor for the recorder in *Select Preludes & Voluntarys for the Flute* (1708).⁷³

⁶⁶ Hawkins, *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music*, vol. 2, p. 808.

⁶⁷ François Ragueneau, *PARALELE DES ITALIENS ET DES FRANÇOIS, EN CE QUI REGARDE LA MUSIQUE ET LES OPÉRA* (Paris: Jean Moreau, 1702).

⁶⁸ Guy de la Bédoyère, ed., *The Diary of John Evelyn* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell, 2004), pp. 304, 306.

⁶⁹ See Peter Leech, 'Music and musicians in the Catholic chapel of James II at Whitehall, 1686–1688: In memory of Jean Lionnet', *Early Music*, 39/3 (August 2011), 379–400.

⁷⁰ See Peter Allsop, 'Problems of ascription in the Roman *Simfonia* of the late seventeenth century: Colista and Lonati', *Music Review*, 50/1 (1989), 34–44.

⁷¹ Mario Fabbri, 'Le acute censure di Francesco M. Veracini a "L'Arte della Fuga" di Francesco Geminiani?', *Accademia Musicale Chigiana*, 20 (1963), 155–94 (p. 187); cited in Peter Allsop, 'Il Gobbo della Regina, "Primo lume dei violinisti": Lonati's Sonatas of 1701', *Analecta musicologica*, 32 (2002), 71–93 (p. 73).

⁷² Peter Allsop writes that 'No works of Carlo Ambrogio Lonati were published during his lifetime, and those manuscripts of Roman provenance which presumably predate his hasty departure from the city in 1677 are all *Simphonie a tre*'; see Peter Allsop, 'Violinistic Virtuosity in the Seventeenth Century: Italian Supremacy or Austro-German Hegemony?', *Il Saggiatore musicale*, 3 (1996), 233–58 (p. 252).

⁷³ Listed in Dubowy, 'Lonati, Carlo Ambrogio', *Grove Music Online*.

GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,993, an early eighteenth-century manuscript of British provenance containing solo sonata fragments by Croft and Finger also includes on fol. 83v rev. the bass part to a ‘Sonata Solo’ by Carolo Ambrosio (or Ambrogio) in A major.

In addition, William Armstrong (d. 1717) copied two solo violin sonatas ascribed to Lonati into the Armstrong-Finch manuscript:

- No. XI, ‘Sonata del Sig^f Carlo Ambrosio Lonati’ in D major, pp. 46–9, concordant with No. 19 in GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,466, ff. 26v-27r.
- No. XII, ‘Sonata del Sigr. Carlo Ambrosio’ in F major, pp. 50–2, concordant with *SONATE A VIOLINO SOLO COL BASSO CONTINUO COMPOSTA DA ARCANGELO CORRELLI e Altri Autory* (Roger, 1697), No. 9, pp. 25–8; the Roger source contains an additional movement in 3/4, consisting almost entirely of double stopping.

Incidentally, both sonatas were written out by Armstrong with ‘optional’ double stopping, notated as white ‘pointed notes’ such as those found in Matteis’s *Ayres*, thereby making them easier for the violin as well as suitable to be played on the recorder or transverse flute.⁷⁴

The three solo sonatas in British sources are not concordant with any of Lonati’s twelve violin sonatas dated ‘Milan, 1701’ and dedicated to Emperor Leopold I of Vienna.⁷⁵ The 1701 set employs advanced violin techniques as scordatura, seventh position, multiple stopping and rapid passagework. The works in the British sources are technically more modest, although incorporate some simple multiple stopping, written-out ornamentation (see Ex. 3.5) and use of third position. Improvisatory openings over a tonic pedal are also found in No. XI, ‘Sonata del Sig^f Carlo Ambrosio Lonati’ in D major, pp. 46–9 in the Armstrong-Finch manuscript, and several sonatas in the 1701 set.

⁷⁴ Finch on the other hand made no attempts to avoid multiple stopping when writing out transverse flute arrangements.

⁷⁵ A copy once belonged to the Sächsische Landesbibliothek - Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Dresden, but was lost after the Allied evacuation in 1945; a photocopy belonging to Bernhard Paumgartner survived; modern edition: Franz Giegling, ed., *Carl’Ambrogio Lonati, The Violin Sonatas: Milan 1701* (Winterthur: Amadeus, 1981); facsimile: Carlo Ambrogio Lonati, *XII sonate a violino solo e basso. Ms. Salzburg, Milano 1701*, preface by Christopher Timpe (Florence: SPES, 2005); see also Peter Allsop, ‘Il Gobbo della Regina, “Primo lume dei violinisti”’, 71–93.

del Sig.^r Carlo Ambrogio Lonati 17

VIOLINO
SOLO Adagio

Ex. 3.5 *Violino Solo del Sig.^r Carlo Ambrogio Lonati*, (Walsh, 1704), p. 17
Reproduced by kind permission of the Chapter of Durham Cathedral

An intriguing later reference to Lonati is found in a concert advertised in *The Daily Courant* on 20 April 1724, ‘For the Benefit of Mr. Baptiste, lately arrived from Paris’, featuring ‘A Sonata in Three Parts, compos’d by C. A. Lunati, Inventor of Double Stops’, performed by ‘Mr Baptiste’ (Loeillet of London?) on the ‘German Flute’ and violin by ‘Sig. Claudio’ (Claudio Rogier).⁷⁶ The violinist William Corbett owned Lonati’s violin, advertising it for sale in 1724.⁷⁷

Johann Christoph Pepusch (1667–1752)

The German composer and theorist Johann Christoph Pepusch (1667–1752) settled in London after September 1697. Although today his name is synonymous with *The Beggar’s Opera* (1728), a ballad opera with the libretto written by John Gay (1685–1732), Pepusch was among the main composers of solo sonatas in Britain after 1700, bearing in mind that Finger, who had previously held this status, left in 1701.

Donald Cook’s PhD dissertation, ‘The Life and Works of Johann Christoph Pepusch (1667–1752)’ already provides an in-depth account and thematic catalogue of Pepusch’s solo sonatas and therefore only a summary is presented here.⁷⁸ Most of these works were written before 1714 and made an important contribution to London concert life.

While the earliest documentary evidence relating to Pepusch is not until 1706, he was already employed at the Drury Lane Theatre as a viola player and harpsichordist from 1704.⁷⁹ The same year, Pepusch’s earliest printed work, a solo sonata, was published. *The Post Man* dated 22–5 January 1704 contains an advertisement for Walsh’s publication of six trio sonatas by William Croft (1678–1727), with the addition of a recorder solo by Pepusch, which had evidently already been received well in performance: ‘next week will be publish’d, Mr Wm Crofts 6 Sonatas for 2 Flutes to which will be added an excellent Solo for a Flute and a Bass, Composed by Signior Papus, performed

⁷⁶ *The Daily Courant*, 20 April 1724, issue 7019.

⁷⁷ Dubowy, ‘Lonati, Carlo Ambrogio’, *Grove Music Online*.

⁷⁸ Donald Frederick Cook, ‘The life and works of Johann Christoph Pepusch (1667–1752), with special reference to his dramatic works and cantatas’, 2 vols. (PhD dissertation, King’s College London (University of London), 1982).

⁷⁹ Malcolm Boyd, Graydon Beeks and Donald Frederick Cook, ‘Pepusch, Johann Christoph’, *Grove Music Online* <Oxford Music Online> [accessed 12 September 2018].

before the Nobility and Gentry with great applause', printed in separate parts.⁸⁰ Cook points out that performances of Pepusch's music by his brother Heinrich Gottfried (d. 1750) and visiting musicians from the Prussian court in 1704 helped raise Pepusch's status as a composer.⁸¹

Around a year later, Pepusch's first collection of instrumental music, a set of solo sonatas for recorder, was published by Roger in c. 1705–6, thereafter issued by Walsh as *Six SONATAS or SOLOS for the FLUTE with a Through BASS for the HARPSICORD Compos'd by Mr. Pepusch* (1707);⁸² this collection contains a Pepusch solo sonata published in Walsh's instrumental music periodical for June 1704, but transposed from D major for violin to F major for recorder.

In total, Cook identifies 167 manuscript and printed solo sonatas for violin, recorder and transverse flute by Pepusch. Of these, 112 works in manuscript were arranged into seven sets, each containing sixteen solo violin sonatas, which all unusually follow the same identical sequence of sixteen different keys. At least five (and possibly all seven) of the sets were dedicated to different individuals, named as 'Madam Greggs of Durham', 'Mr John Hamilton', 'Mrs Litton', 'Mr Slater', 'Mr Butler' and 'Monsieur Munier'; the last set was also printed by Roger as *Sonates à un Violin Seul* (1706–7), with the dedication written by the publisher and not by Pepusch.⁸³ Cook suggests that the manuscript sets, which were all carefully copied, were intended for a single collection, or even for Pepusch's own library.⁸⁴

Pepusch's six printed solo sonata collections for violin and recorder were published between c. 1705 and c. 1712 while he worked for various theatre companies in London.⁸⁵ from January 1708 he was employed as a violinist, harpsichordist and agent for the soprano Margherita de l'Epine (c. 1680–1746) by the opera company at the Queen's Theatre in the Haymarket; from 1714 until the

⁸⁰ *The Post Man*, 22–5 January 1704, issue 1231; Walsh corrected 'Papus' to 'Pepusch' in the following edition; another edition issued by John Young (c. 1672–c. 1732) was advertised in *The London Gazette*, 3–7 February 1704, issue 3990; reprinted in *DIX SONATES Pour Les flûtes* (Roger, 1706); *Six SONATAS of two Parts Purposely made and Contrived for Two FLUTES Compos'd by M^r William Croft To which is added an Excellent SOLO for a FLUTE and a BASS by Sign.^r Papus* (London: Walsh, 1704); Peter Holman has pointed out that at least three of the 'Croft' sonatas were likely composed by Finger; see Cook, 'The life and works of Johann Christoph Pepusch (1667–1752)', vol. 1, p. 54, n. 21.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 54.

⁸² *The Post Man*, 25–8 January 1707, issue 1730.

⁸³ For Pepusch's manuscript solo sonatas, see Cook, 'The life and works of Johann Christoph Pepusch (1667–1752)', vol. 1, pp. 35–50; Pepusch's printed solo sonatas are discussed in *ibid.*, pp. 53–9 and listed in the thematic catalogue, vol. 2, pp. 16–86.

⁸⁴ *Loc. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 42.

⁸⁵ Pepusch's Op. 4 sonatas for violin and continuo (printed by Roger) is lost, but was advertised by Vaillant in *The Post Man*, 16 October 1711, issue 2056.

autumn of 1716 he became musical director at the Drury Lane theatre before moving to the Lincoln's Inn Fields theatre. Solo sonatas by Pepusch were performed in public concerts, including one played by Luis Mercy (fl. 1708–51) in 1708,⁸⁶ and one composed for and performed by William Viner (d. 1716) in 1710.⁸⁷ Almost all of Pepusch's Italian-style solo sonatas follow a standard four-movement pattern; while these works are modest in their technical requirements, they made a sizable contribution to the entertainments heard on the London stage as well as to the repertoire accessible for amateurs. Pepusch's sonatas were praised in the anonymous poem, *THE SESSION OF MUSICIANS* (1724):

FIRST P—p—ch enter'd with majestic Gate,
 Preceded by a Cart in solemn State;
 With Pride he view'd the Off-spring of his Art,
 Songs, Solo's, and Sonata's load the Cart;
 Whose Wheels and Axle-tree with Care dispos'd,
 Did prelude to the Musick he compos'd.⁸⁸

Nicola Cosimi (c. 1660–1717)

A student of Carlo Mannelli (1640–1697), the Roman violinist Nicola Cosimi (c. 1660–1717) travelled to London from Rome on 21 October 1700 together with his 'comrade', the cellist Nicola Francesco Haym (1678–1729), arriving on 22 March 1701 (Fig. 3.1). Cosimi was provided a salary of £100 in addition to food and lodging at Southampton House by his patron Wriothesley Russel (1680–1711), 2nd Duke of Bedford, whom Cosimi had met during Russel's visit to Rome in 1698–9. Cosimi remained in London until the end of April 1705, teaching and performing in private homes, public concerts and the theatre before his return to Rome.

⁸⁶ *The Daily Courant*, 26 July 1708, issue 2008.

⁸⁷ *The Tatler*, 28 March 1710, issue 152.

⁸⁸ *THE SESSION OF MUSICIANS*. In *IMITATION of the Session of Poets*. (London: printed for M. Smith, 1724), p. 6.



Fig. 3.1 Nicola Cosimi, mezzotint by J. R. Smith after Godfrey Kneller (1706)
 © Victoria and Albert Museum, London

Cosimi's twelve *Sonate da Camera a Violino e Violone o Cembalo*, Op. 1, printed for the author, was his only publication and helped increase the number of Cosimi's pupils from two to twenty.⁸⁹ From 9 November 1702, Cosimi's solo sonatas were available for sale from Banister junior 'in Brownlow-street in Drury Lane' and Robert King 'in Villiers-street in York-Buildings, at a Guinea a Book', both of whom had also sold early editions of Corelli's Op. 5 violin sonatas.⁹⁰ Information surrounding the printing of these works survives in the Bedford Settled Estates archives and provides a fascinating insight into the publication process for solo sonatas.⁹¹ Thomas Cross junior engraved Cosimi's solo sonatas between 1 November 1701 and 14 March 1702, although according to the Italian dedication, the works were already composed in Rome in the late 1690s and were commended by the Duke of Bedford (during his stay in c. 1698–9), around the same time that Corelli's Op. 5 was being finalised.⁹²

Cosimi's sonatas were printed in oblong score, and all twelve follow the 'da camera' structure found in the latter six of Corelli's collection. Each work begins with a 'Preludio' (untitled in No. 12), typically followed by three dance movements in binary form, such as 'Allemande', 'Corrente', 'Sarabanda', 'Tempo di Gavotta' and 'Giga'. In some sonatas the dances were replaced or supplemented with titles such as Adagio, Largo, Presto and Vivace. Unlike Corelli's 'da camera' sonatas, Cosimi makes use of extensive multiple stopping, namely in sonatas No. 4, No. 5 and No. 10 (see Ex. 3.6). The highest note for the violin is E-flat₆ in fourth position, used in Sonata 1, 'Corrente'. As in Corelli's Op. 5 sonatas, the bass line frequently takes part in the musical dialogue throughout the collection. Burney wrote that Cosimi 'was of Corelli's school, and had seen his opera quinta published in 1700' and that 'the solos have considerable merit, for the time'.⁹³ One

⁸⁹ *Sonate da Camera a Violino, e Violone, o Cembalo* CONSECRATE All: Ecc.^{mo} Sig.^r Duca Di Bedford &c. DA Nicola Cosimi Romano opera prima In Londra L'Anno 1702 (London, 1702); facsimile edition: *SONATE DA CAMERA A VIOLINO e VIOLONE e CEMBALO NICOLA COSIMI ROMANO OPERA PRIMA DA LONDRA 1702* (Alston, Cumbria: JPH Publications, 2000); only one copy is extant, found in GB-Lcm, XXIX.A.10(3), but is missing its title page engraved by John Smith; Roger re-engraved the edition, which he sold in 1704; see Rudolf Rasch, *The Music Publishing House of Estienne Roger: Caix-Croft* <<https://roger.sites.uu.nl/catalogue/>>, p. 77; Another work by Cosimi, a 'Sinfonia' in E minor for violin and continuo in GB-Lcm MS 1199 was copied by a Roman scribe on Roman paper and has therefore not been considered here; see Lowell Lindgren, 'Cosimi, Nicola', *Grove Music Online* <Oxford Music Online> [accessed 27 November 2018].

⁹⁰ *The London Gazette*, 2–5 November 1702, issue 3859.

⁹¹ See David Hunter, 'A Note on the Cost of Music Printing in London in 1702' Revisited', *Brio*, 26 (1989), 71–2; Lowell Lindgren, 'Nicola Cosimi in London, 1701–1705', *Studi Musicali*, 11 (1982), 229–48.

⁹² *SONATE DA CAMERA A VIOLINO e VIOLONE e CEMBALO NICOLA COSIMI*, preface by Peter Holman; I would like to thank Alessandra Palidda for providing me with an English translation of the dedication.

⁹³ Burney, *A General History of Music*, p. 444.

of Cosimi's patrons, Sir Henry Tichborne (1663–1731), wrote that the sonatas were 'perles jetté aux porceaux' (pearls cast before swine).⁹⁴

Ex. 3.6 Nicola Cosimi, Op. 1, No. 5, 'Allemanda' (London, 1702), p. 15

Nicola Francesco Haym (1678–1729)

Arriving on 22 March 1701, the Italian violoncellist, librettist and theatre manager Nicola Francesco Haym (1678–1729) travelled from Rome to London together with the violinist Nicola Cosimi, where both subsequently worked for Wriothlesley Russel, 2nd Duke of Bedford. Along with the violinist and harpsichordist Charles Dieupart (b. after 1667–c. 1740), Haym was involved in the promotion of the first Italian opera in Britain, *Arsinoe, Queen of Cyprus* (1705) by Thomas

⁹⁴ Cited in Lowell Lindgren, 'Cosimi, Nicola', Grove Music Online <Oxford Music Online> [accessed 27 November 2018]; a letter dated 1702 in which Tichborne thanks Cosimi for his sonatas is transcribed in Lindgren, 'The Great Influx of Italians and Their Instrumental Music into London, 1701–10', pp. 461–2.

Clayton (1673–1725), originally performed at the Drury Lane theatre on 16 January 1705. Haym also worked as a continuo cellist and went on to produce his own adaptations of the Italian operas *Camilla* (1706) and *Pyrrhus and Demetrius* (1708).⁹⁵

In 1705, Haym was involved in the editing of Corelli's Op. 5 violin sonatas for his publisher, Estienne Roger.⁹⁶ He composed four solo sonatas published in *VI SONATE DA CAMERA a Flauto Traversa, Haubois, o Violino Solo di NICOLA FRANCESCO HAIM ROMANO e M. BITTI* (Amsterdam: Roger, 1710); despite the title 'da camera', the works follow a 'da chiesa' form without any designated dance movements, apart from giga-style endings to No. 1 and No. 2. Lowell Lindgren suggests that it is likely Haym's solo sonatas were composed for the Duke of Bedford's private concerts.⁹⁷ It is not known whether one of these works was the 'new Sola never yet perform'd, compos'd by Signior Haym's, and perform'd on the Stage by him and Signior Gasperini' at the Drury Lane Theatre on 3 April 1706, the only mention of a solo by Haym performed during a play.⁹⁸

Gasparo Visconti (1683–d. after 1713)

Two years following the publication of Corelli's Op. 5 violin sonatas in 1700, and the arrival of Cosimi and Haym in 1701, advertisements for public solo performances began appearing regularly in connection with the Italian violin virtuoso Gasparo Visconti (1683–1713). *The London Gazette* dated 29 October to 2 November 1702 announced a 'Consort of Musick' in York Buildings, which included a performance by 'Signior Gasparino, the famous Musician that plays upon the violin, newly come from Rome'.⁹⁹ Known affectionately to London audiences as 'Signior Gasperini', Visconti had the good fortune of arriving at a time when there was an obvious demand for an Italian violinist to publicly perform Corelli's Op. 5 violin sonatas, particularly one who claimed to

⁹⁵ For Haym, see especially Lowell E. Lindgren, ed., *Nicola Francesco Haym: Complete Sonatas*, Part I (Middleton, Winsconsin: A-R Editions, 2002), 'Introduction', pp. vii–xxvi; Lowell Lindgren, 'The Accomplishments of the Learned and Ingenious Nicola Francesco Haym (1678-1729)', *Studi Musicali*, 16 (1987), 247–380; see also Appendix D.

⁹⁶ Haym's instrumental output includes two sets of trio sonatas in the style of Corelli, printed by Roger: Op. 1 (1703), dedicated to the Duke of Bedford, and Op. 2 (1704), dedicated to Richard Edgecumbe, 1st Baron Edgecumbe (1680–1758); a sonata for two recorders by Haym was printed in *Choice Italian and English Music for Two Flutes* (London, 1709).

⁹⁷ Lindgren, ed., *Nicola Francesco Haym: Complete Sonatas*, Part I (Middleton, Winsconsin: A-R Editions, 2002), 'Introduction'.

⁹⁸ *The Daily Courant*, 3 April 1706, issue 1238.

⁹⁹ *The London Gazette*, 29 October–2 November 1702, issue 3858.

have studied with the composer for five years.¹⁰⁰ Visconti was born into a noble family in Cremona and apparently pursued a career as a virtuoso violinist for his own pleasure as a young man.¹⁰¹ He was the principal performer of solo sonatas in London concert rooms and the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane, where he also led the band of musicians until departing in 1706.¹⁰²

Visconti's arrival in 1702 coincided with the beginning of London's first daily newspaper, *The Daily Courant*, in which his performances were regularly advertised. 'Simphonies by Signior Gasperine' (probably his Op. 1 violin sonatas, strongly influenced by Corelli's style) were first performed in York Buildings on 3 December 1702, successfully launching his short career in London.¹⁰³ On 23 and 27 April 1703, the evening's entertainment at the Drury Lane theatre was to include 'several Italian Sonata's on the Violin by Signior *Gasperini*?¹⁰⁴ On this occasion Visconti was almost certainly performing one of the six sonatas in *Gasperini's Solos for a Violin*, Op. 1, to promote their sale the same week.¹⁰⁵ The works were initially published by Roger, and Vaillant's announcement was printed in *The Post Man* dated 24–7 April 1703:

Sonate a Violino e Violone, Oembalodi Sigr Gasparini, Opera Prime, Consecrate all Illustrissimo et [??mo] signore Duca di Devonshire, &c.. That is to say, 6 Solos by Signore Gasparini, &c. Ingraven on Copper Plates, and Printed on Royal Paper. Sold by Francis Vaillant near Catherine-street in the Strand, where you may be furnished with all sorts of Itallian Musick Books.¹⁰⁶

Walsh published his own edition of Visconti's Op. 1 sonatas within a month, resulting in a newspaper rivalry between Vaillant and Walsh similar to that surrounding the publication of Corelli's Op. 5 sonatas three years prior.¹⁰⁷ *The Post Man* advertisements dated 25–7 May 1703 for

¹⁰⁰ *The Daily Courant*, 1 October 1705, issue 1081.

¹⁰¹ John Walter Hill and Michael Talbot, 'Visconti, Gasparo', *Grove Music Online* <Oxford Music Online> [accessed 21 September 2018].

¹⁰² A detailed biography of Visconti and a general account of his appearances on the London stage is documented in the preface to Raffaello Monterosso, ed., *Gasparo Visconti: Sonate a violino e violone o cembalo: opera prima* (Cremona: Fondazione Claudio Monteverdi, 2004); I am grateful to Simone Laghi for his assistance with translating the text into English.

¹⁰³ *The Post Man*, 1–3 December 1702, issue 1056.

¹⁰⁴ *The Daily Courant*, 23 April 1703, issue 317.

¹⁰⁵ *SONATE À VIOLINO, É VIOLONE, Ò CEMBALO, Di GASPARO VISCONTI CREMONESE Opera Prima*; Visconti dated his dedication in Italian to the Duke of Devonshire 'London, 3 March 1703'.

¹⁰⁶ *The Post Man*, 24–7 April 1703, issue 1120; partially cited under 29 April 1703 in Michael Tilmouth, 'A Calendar of References to Music in Newspapers published in London and the Provinces (1660–1719)', *RMA Research Chronicle*, 1 (1961), ii–vii, 1–107 (p. 49).

¹⁰⁷ *Gasperini's Solos for a Violin with a Thorough Bass for the Harpsicord or Bass Violin*, Op. 1 (London: Walsh, 1703).

Visconti's Op. 1 were as follows; Vaillant maintained that his was the 'Original Edition' while Walsh asserted that his was 'carefully Corrected by the Author'.¹⁰⁸

Vaillant:

To all Lovers of Simphony. The Original Edition of Sig. Gasparinis Solo Book for a Violin and a Base, Engraven at Amsterdam, by Stephen Rogers, and Printed on Royal Paper, is sold by Francis Vaillant 3 doors from the West-corner of Catherine-street, by Mr Collin near Temple-bar, by Mr Hare in Pauls Church-yard and at his Shop in Freemans yard near the Royal Exchange.¹⁰⁹

Walsh:

There is now published, Gaspirinis [sic] Solos for a Violin, with a through Bass for the Harpsicord, or Bass Violin. Dedicated to his Grace the Duke of Devonshire. The whole engraven in a very fair Character and carefully Corrected by the Author. Printed on Royal Paper, long Quarto.¹¹⁰

To gain the upper hand, Vaillant quickly announced in *The Post Man* dated 27–9 May that 'There is a 7th Solo Printing, which will be given Gratis to those that buy this Edition, Printed by the Authors consent', available at 'most Musick-shops in Town'.¹¹¹ The '7th Solo' is technically more challenging in terms of high positions on the violin than the remainder of Visconti's Op. 1 sonatas, making use of G₆, still unusual in Britain at this time (see Ex. 3.7). Resembling a concerto grosso, the work was labelled 'SONATA VII à 3 con Ripieni quando suone il Secondo Violino', with the inclusion of an optional second violin part to fill out some of the harmonies.¹¹² It is unclear whether Visconti's loyalties lay with Walsh or Roger, or if he was profiting from both music publishers.

¹⁰⁸ *The Post Man*, 25–7 May 1703, issue 1132; Tilmouth deest.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid.

¹¹⁰ Loc. cit.

¹¹¹ *The Post Man*, 27–9 May 1703, issue 1132.

¹¹² Copies of the seventh sonata are found in D-WD and F-Pn; see Lindgren, 'The Great Influx of Italians and Their Instrumental Music into London, 1701–10', p. 437.

32

SONATA VII
à 3 con Ripieni
quando suone il
Secondo Violino

Grave Piano Presto Piano

Forte

Piano Forte

Ex. 3.7 Excerpt from Gasparo Visconti, 'Sonata VII', Op. 1 (Roger, 1703)

On 13 May 1703, before the publication of Walsh's edition, *The Daily Courant* publicised a benefit performance for Visconti, who apparently had plans to leave London. Visconti's true intentions are unknown, and it may simply have been a ploy to draw in a bigger audience:

And on Saturday next will be acted a Play call'd *The Relapse*, or, *Vertue in Danger*. With several new *Italian Sonata's*, never yet perform'd here, by the Famous Signior *Gasperini*, being for his own Benefit, he having but a short time to stay in *England*.¹¹³

Visconti remained in London after all, and his performances were regularly advertised until 1706. Thereafter, Visconti's whereabouts are not certain until the birth of his daughter in Cremona in

¹¹³ *The Daily Courant*, 13 May 1703, issue 334; this claim was reiterated in a playbill dated 18 May 1703 for a performance at Drury Lane in which Visconti performed 'several sonata's on the violin, one between Mr. Paisible and him, and another between him and a scholar of his, being the last time of his performance'; US-CAh Theatre Collection, playbill in TS 934. 5, II, p. 336; cited in Lindgren, 'The Great Influx of Italians and Their Instrumental Music into London, 1701–10', pp. 463–4; Visconti's departure was also mentioned in *The Daily Courant*, 24 May 1703, issue 343: 'Signior Gasperini will perform several Italian Sonatas, and the Famous Du-Ruell will perform several Dances, which two last persons make but a short stay in England'.

1713.¹¹⁴ Some flourishes by Visconti were published in the Third Book of the violin treatise *Nolens Volens* during his stay in c. 1705, further capitalising on his success. Visconti also taught the violin, and performances by his (unidentified) pupils were announced in newspapers.¹¹⁵

Not discussed in the literature to date are a further five violin solo sonatas attributed to Visconti held in manuscripts at the Sächsische Landesbibliothek - Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek in Dresden, Schrank II, originally belonging to the Saxon Hofkapelle.¹¹⁶ The sonatas were copied by the German violinist Johann Georg Pisendel (1687–1755) who visited Italy in 1716–7, where he obtained music from some of the leading composers and performers of the day, although it has not been ascertained whether Visconti was still alive at this date.¹¹⁷ It is at present unknown whether Visconti had already composed the Dresden sonatas during or before his visit to Britain; either way they generally excel the technical demands of the Op. 1 collection particularly in terms of high positions and passagework. They may be more indicative of Visconti's performing style and are therefore further evidence that some published collections of sonatas may have been simplified to suit the demands of amateurs.

Martino Bitti (1655/6–1743)

The Italian violinist and composer Martino Bitti may have been a pupil of the Roman violinist Carlo Mannelli (1640–97). Originating from Genoa, Bitti became the leading violinist in Florence, where he was employed as concertmaster for the Tuscan court orchestra as well as teaching various Grand Tourists. Michael Talbot has recently undertaken a detailed and comprehensive study of Bitti, which includes a thematic catalogue of his instrumental music and critical editions of his violin sonatas, thereby highlighting the importance of this little-known composer;¹¹⁸ a summary of Talbot's findings is presented here.

¹¹⁴ John Walter Hill and Michael Talbot, 'Visconti, Gasparo', *Grove Music Online* <Oxford Music Online> [accessed 21 September 2018]; Visconti married the singer Cristina Steffkin in London in 1704.

¹¹⁵ See Chapter 4.

¹¹⁶ The sonatas are in A major, C minor (2), E-Flat major and F major.

¹¹⁷ For Pisendel's visit to Italy, see Kai Köpp, *Johann Georg Pisendel (1687–1755) und die Anfänge der neuzeitlichen Orchesterleitung* (Tutzing: Hans Schneider Verlag, 2005); Pisendel also collected music by Martino Bitti, held in the Dresden collection (see following footnote).

¹¹⁸ Michael Talbot, 'A Thematic Catalogue of the Instrumental Music of Martino Bitti (1655/6–1743)', *RMA Research Chronicle*, 46/1 (2015), 46–94; Michael Talbot, 'Martino Bitti's Twenty-Four Sonatas for Violin and Basso Continuo: An Introduction' (2/2014), hosted on the Edition HH website at www.editionhh.co.uk/ab_MartinoBitti.htm; Michael Talbot, 'Martino Bitti's Violin Sonatas', *The Consort*, 68 (2012), 26–52; for Bitti, see also Warren Kirkendale, *The court musicians in Florence during the principate of the Medici: with a reconstruction of the artistic establishment* (Florence: Olschki, 1993), pp. 432–7.

In addition to operas, oratorios and other vocal music, Bitti's output comprises twenty-seven solo sonatas for violin, as well as nine solo sonatas for wind instruments. By 1711, Walsh had printed ten of his works, Roger had printed one, and seven (one of which was also printed by Walsh) were copied into GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,466 under the name 'Martino'.¹¹⁹ Notably, Talbot suggests for the first time that Bitti may have embarked on a short visit to London in 1703, perhaps arriving in the company of Gasparo Visconti in 1702.¹²⁰ Among the evidence presented is an advertisement in *The Daily Courant* dated 27 January 1703 for 'a Consort of New Vocal and Instrumental Musick, by the Best Masters. Wherein the Famous Gasperini and Signior Petto, will Play several Italian Sonata's' at York-Buildings.¹²¹ Furthermore, Visconti performed a solo sonata by Bitti before its publication for January in Walsh's 1704 instrumental music periodical, and at least eight solo sonatas by Bitti are unique to British sources.

Although the earliest known solo sonatas by Bitti were not published until 1704, Talbot points out that a letter dated 6 April 1698 sent from the Scottish priest Fr Alexander Clerk in Livorno (also known as 'Cosimo') to Sir John Clerk of Penicuik (1676–1755), who was visiting Rome at the time, reveals that he was going to send 'the violin with the musike off martino I left att florence'.¹²² Martino's brother Alessandro Bitti (d. after 1755) later visited Britain, first performing at Hickford's Room on 6 April 1715.¹²³

Among Bitti's solo sonatas which circulated in Britain before 1716 are two works for violin printed as a part of Walsh's instrumental music periodical for January and April 1704, and the seven sonatas which were copied consecutively into GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,466.¹²⁴ Talbot suggests that these seven sonatas were probably copied from one source and perhaps once intended for publication as a set of eight, with the addition of the January 1704 sonata.¹²⁵ Furthermore, a connection between Bitti and Haym is pointed out:¹²⁶ *VI SONATE DA CAMERA a Flauto Traversa, Haubois, o Violino Solo di NICOLA FRANCESCO HAIM ROMANO e M. BITTI* (Roger, 1710) contains four solo

¹¹⁹ Solo sonatas by Bitti circulating in Britain by 1711 include Talbot catalogue nos. SF1, SR1–SR8, SV1–SV8.

¹²⁰ Talbot, 'A Thematic Catalogue of the Instrumental Music of Martino Bitti', pp. 50–1.

¹²¹ *The Daily Courant*, 27 January 1703, issue 243.

¹²² Edinburgh, National Records of Scotland, GD18/5202 202/21.

¹²³ *The Daily Courant*, 4 April 1715, issue 4194; for Alessandro Bitti, see Talbot, 'A Thematic Catalogue of the Instrumental Music of Martino Bitti', pp. 51–2, and Appendix D.

¹²⁴ Talbot SV4: GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,466, No. XXXI fols. 43v–44r is concordant with Walsh's solo sonata for January 1704.

¹²⁵ Talbot, 'A Thematic Catalogue of the Instrumental Music of Martino Bitti', pp. 53, 58–9.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 59–60.

sonatas by Haym, and one sonata ascribed to Bitti, No. V in C minor, probably for the oboe; the sixth has no attribution.¹²⁷

Walsh eventually published a complete set of eight solo sonatas by Bitti in 1711, with an Italian title page: *Sonate a Due Violino, e Basso Per Suonarsi con Flauto o'vero Violino del Signor Martino Bitti Sonator di Violino Del Sereniss.^{mo} Gran Principe di Toscana.*¹²⁸ The solo sonatas are in a four-movement 'da camera' form, which begin with a 'Preludio' followed by a sequence of three dances. Talbot suggests the works were composed during Bitti's visit to London, and Walsh could have obtained them through a connection with Haym, or perhaps Bitti had sent the music from Florence.¹²⁹ Either way, the collection is representative of the type of solo recorder publication still in demand in Britain at the time.

Johann Ernst Galliard (?1666–1747)

The German composer and oboist Johann Ernst Galliard (known in Britain as John Ernest), was a son of Jean Galliard, a French wig-maker in Celle, Germany. He joined the Celle court orchestra in 1698 and received composition lessons in Hanover from Agostino Steffani (1654–1728) and Jean-Baptiste Farinel (1655–c. 1725). On the disbanding of the Celle orchestra in 1706, Galliard travelled to London to be appointed court musician to Queen Anne's consort, Prince George of Denmark (1653–1708), and by 1713 had joined the band at the Queen's Theatre as a composer and oboist; he was made a citizen of Great Britain in 1710.¹³⁰ As was common for immigrant musicians in London, Galliard's first publication was a set of Italianate solo sonatas: *VI SONATAS FOR a Flute & a Through Bass Compos'd by M^r. Galliard. by the Authors Direction Correctly Engrav'd by Tho: Cross*, Op. 1, which he self-published in 1710/11.¹³¹

Galliard's sonatas were pirated by Jeanne Roger in 1717 as the first six works in *XII SONATES à une Flute & une Basse Continue*, together with a further six by Ignazio Sieber (c. 1680–c. 1757). Walsh

¹²⁷ Rudolf Rasch, *The Music Publishing House of Estienne Roger: Hacquart-Hotteterre* <<https://roger.sites.uu.nl/catalogue/>>, p. 13.

¹²⁸ *The Post Man*, 11–3 December 1711, 2081; Smith, *Bibliography*, p. 119, no. 396; the omission of the comma after the word 'Due' has caused the works to be confused with trio sonatas; this collection was reissued in February 1712 as *Solo's for a Flute, with a through Bass for the Harpsicord or Bass Violin*; see Smith, *Bibliography*, p. 120–1, no. 401.

¹²⁹ Talbot, 'A Thematic Catalogue of the Instrumental Music of Martino Bitti', pp. 61–2.

¹³⁰ For Galliard, see Roger Fiske and Richard G. King, 'Galliard, John Ernest', *Grove Music Online* <Oxford Music Online> [accessed 30 January 2019].

¹³¹ *The Post Man*, 8–10 March 1711, issue 1984: 'Six Sonata's for a Flute and a Through Bass, composed by Mr G[?]llard. Sold by Peter Dunoyer, Book-seller, at the Sign of Erasmus's Head near the Fountain Tavern in the Strand, pr. 5 s'; a lost 'oboe sonata' dated 1704 is listed in the *New Grove* article; Galliard's later solo sonatas include six works for bassoon or cello (1733), and six sonatas for violoncello (1746).

in turn pirated this edition as *Sonata a flauto solo e basso continuo* (c. 1717–8), described in the imprint as ‘Opera prima, sur l’Édition d’Amsterdam par Étienne Roger’ and containing only the works by Galliard.¹³²

Francesco Geminiani (1687–1762)

In 1714, the Italian violinist and composer Francesco Geminiani arrived in London in the company of his friend Francesco Barsanti (1690–1772), achieving recognition as one of the most accomplished virtuosos of his time. Born in Lucca, Geminiani is thought to have been a pupil of Corelli in Rome sometime around 1704–7, although he is not mentioned in any documents during this period.¹³³ Unlike Visconti (another alleged pupil of Corelli who had a prominent, if short career as a violin soloist in London from 1702 to 1706), Burney commented that Geminiani ‘was seldom heard in public during his long residence in England. His compositions, scholars, and the presents he received from the great, whenever he could be prevailed upon to play at their houses, were his chief support’.¹³⁴ The amateur musician Claver Morris (1659–1727) described Geminiani as ‘the best Player on a Violin in Urope [sic]’.¹³⁵

Geminiani published solo sonatas for violin (Op. 1, 1716; Op. 4, 1739) and violoncello (Op. 5, 1746), but Hawkins asserted that ‘of his Solos the Opera prima is esteemed the best’.¹³⁶ The Op. 1 sonatas were engraved in oblong score by Thomas Cross and published for the author as *SONATE A VIOLINO, VIOLONE, E CEMBALO* (1716); they were dedicated to Geminiani’s first patron in London, Baron Johann Adolf Kielmansegg (1668–1717), who was in the employment of king George I. Geminiani later sold the plates of his sonatas to the music publisher Richard Meares.

Hawkins wrote that Geminiani performed his Op. 1 solo sonatas in front of king George I, accompanied by ‘Mr. Handel’.¹³⁷ Using Corelli’s Op. 5 as a model, the works were probably already

¹³² Rudolf Rasch, *The Music Publishing House of Estienne Roger: Gabrielli-Guillon*

<<https://roger.sites.uu.nl/catalogue/>>, pp. 2–3; see also Rudolf Rasch, *Music Publishing in Europe 1600–1900: Concepts and Issues, Bibliography* (Berlin: BWV Verlag, 2005), pp. 206–7.

¹³³ For Geminiani, see Enrico Careri, *Francesco Geminiani (1687–1762)* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993); Christopher Hogwood, ed., *Geminiani Studies*, Ad Parnassum Studies 6 (Bologna: Ut Orpheus Edizioni, 2013).

¹³⁴ Burney, *A General History of Music*, p. 992.

¹³⁵ Cited in H. Diack Johnstone, ‘Claver Morris, an Early Eighteenth-Century English Physician and Amateur Musician Extraordinaire’, *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, 133/1 (2008), 93–127 (p. 108).

¹³⁶ Hawkins, *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music*, p. 917.

¹³⁷ Hawkins, *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music*, vol. 2, p. 847.

composed in Italy. They are divided into six ‘da chiesa’ and six ‘da camera’ sonatas, using more complex harmonies and less regular rhythms and melodies than Corelli’s solos; the first six sonatas in particular present challenging chordal writing and passagework reaching A_6 .

Walsh published his edition of Geminiani’s Op. 1 in 1719, as well as a separate edition of arrangements for the recorder together with works by Pietro Castrucci (1679–1752);¹³⁸ a revised edition was printed in 1739 with the addition of written-out ornaments and violin fingerings. The works were furthermore adapted into trio sonatas (also playable as concertos) and transcribed for the harpsichord and for the transverse flute.¹³⁹ Edward Finch copied ‘The Whole XII of Francesco Geminiani’s Sonatas for the Violin & Base Violin & Harpsichord Transposed & fitted in more com[m]odious Keys to the German Flute’ into the Armstrong-Finch manuscript, with most of the pieces transposed down a tone.¹⁴⁰

Regarding the reception of Geminiani’s Op. 1, Hawkins wrote that the ‘publication of this work had such an effect, that men were at a loss to determine which was the greatest excellence of Geminiani, his performance or his skill and fine style in composition’.¹⁴¹ According to Burney the sonatas were ones ‘which though few could play, yet all the professors allowed them to be still more masterly and elaborate than those of Corelli’.¹⁴²

¹³⁸ *Six Sonatas or Solos contriv’d and fitted for a Flute and a Bass. Collected out of the last new solos compos’d by Mr Geminiani and Castrucci* (Walsh, 1719); see Tilmouth, ‘Chamber Music in England’, p. 365.

¹³⁹ For Geminiani’s Op. 1, see especially Rudolf Rasch, ‘The Four Lives of Francesco Geminiani’s Violin Sonatas Opus 1 (1716–1762)’, *Ad Parnassum: A Journal of Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century Instrumental Music*, 10/20 (October 2012), 37–137; see also Rudolf Rasch, ed., *Francesco Geminiani: 12 Sonatas for Violin and Figured Bass*, Opera Omnia – Vol. 1A, Critical Edition (Bologna: Ut Orpheus Edizioni, 2013).

¹⁴⁰ Holman, ‘A Purcell manuscript lost and found’, p. 482.

¹⁴¹ Hawkins, *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music*, vol. 2, p. 847.

¹⁴² Burney, *A General History of Music*, p. 991.

Solo sonatas by immigrants published after 1716

Geminiani's Op. 1 violin sonatas are the final works considered during the period 1700–1716. It is necessary to include some slightly later publications since their composers had arrived in Britain by 1716 and had conceivably already composed and performed their solo sonatas before this date.

Charles Dieupart (b. after 1667–c. 1740)

The French harpsichordist and violinist Charles Dieupart was in London by 11 February 1703, when he accompanied Visconti in a performance of Corelli's violin sonatas at the Theatre Royal in Drury Lane.¹⁴³ Dieupart was closely associated with the Drury Lane theatre, where with Thomas Clayton and Nicola Francesco Haym he contributed music to the first Italian-style opera in Britain, *Arsinoe, Queen of Cyprus* (1705), as well as playing the harpsichord in its performance. From 1707 to 1710 Dieupart was involved with opera productions at the Queen's Theatre in the Haymarket and ran a concert series with Clayton and Haym from 1711 to 1712 in York Buildings. Dieupart appears to have been the first Frenchman to compose solo recorder sonatas and orchestral concertos.¹⁴⁴ Hawkins wrote of Dieupart's later years:

In the latter part of his life he grew negligent, and frequented concerts performed at ale-houses, in obscure parts of the town, and distinguished himself not more there, than he would have done in an assembly of the best judges, by his neat and elegant manner of playing the solos of Corelli.¹⁴⁵

In 1701, Roger published Dieupart's *SIX SUITES DE CLAVESSIN*, dedicated to Elisabeth Wilmot (1674–1757), the Countess of Sandwich; the works were reprinted in separate parts as arrangements for violin or recorder with continuo.¹⁴⁶ Walsh and Hare also published a set of solo sonatas, *Six Sonatas for a Flute and a Through Bass Compos'd by M^r. Dieupart* (1717), dedicated to Lady Essex Finch (d. 1721), which Lasocki suggests were written earlier as they were composed in sections rather than movements.¹⁴⁷

¹⁴³ *The Daily Courant*, 10 February 1703, issue 255.

¹⁴⁴ David Fuller and Peter Holman, 'Dieupart, Charles', *Grove Music Online* <Oxford Music Online> [accessed 29 January 2019].

¹⁴⁵ Hawkins, *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music*, vol. 2, p. 822.

¹⁴⁶ Rudolf Rasch, The Music Publishing House of Estienne Roger: Abeille-Antoniotti <<https://roger.sites.uu.nl/catalogue/>>, pp. 25–7.

¹⁴⁷ *Evening Post*, 18–20 April 1717, issue 1203; Lasocki, 'The London Publisher John Walsh (1665 or 1666–1736) and the Recorder', p. 351.

Jean Baptiste Loeillet (1680–1730) [‘John Loeillet of London’]

The Flemish composer Jean Baptiste Loeillet ‘of London’ had settled in Britain by 10 April 1705, where he anglicized his first name to ‘John’; Loeillet’s surname frequently appeared as ‘Lullie’ or ‘Lully’. ‘Loeillet of London’ is not to be confused with his first cousin of the same name, ‘Loeillet de Gant’ (1688–c. 1720), who did not visit Britain, or the Italian-born French composer Jean Baptiste Lully (1632–1687).

Loeillet was an oboist and harpsichordist in the Italian opera orchestra at Drury Lane in London and performed with the opera band at the Queen’s Theatre, Haymarket,¹⁴⁸ he was also one of the first transverse flute players in Britain.¹⁴⁹ Loeillet composed trio and larger scale sonatas published in the 1720s. His *XII SOLOS, SIX FOR A COMMON FLUTE AND SIX FOR A GERMAN FLUTE*, Op. 3, dedicated to ‘Charles Edwin, Esq.’ are his only solo sonatas and were not published until 1729 by Walsh.

Pietro Castrucci (1679–1752)

The Italian violinist Pietro Castrucci was a pupil of Corelli in Rome and among the most renowned virtuosos of his time, following in the footsteps of other immigrants such as Visconti and Geminiani. In 1715, Castrucci and his younger brother Prospero (d. 1760), also believed to have studied with Corelli, became known to Richard Boyle, Third Earl of Burlington (1694–1753), patron of George Frideric Handel (1685–1759), who was in Rome at the time.¹⁵⁰ By May the same year, Pietro and Prospero had travelled to London with Burlington in whose employment they remained until at least 1721; the brothers continued to work in London for most of their lives, with Pietro’s career overshadowing that of his brother.¹⁵¹ By 1718, Pietro was appointed the leader of Handel’s opera orchestra, a post he held for over twenty years, until in 1737 Handel decided to

¹⁴⁸ For ‘John Loeillet of London’, see Alec Skempton and Lucy Robinson, ‘Loeillet family’, *Grove Music Online* <Oxford Music Online> [accessed 20 January 2019]; David Lasocki, ‘A New Look at the Life of John Loeillet (1680–1730)’, in *Concerning the Flute*, ed. Rien de Reede [Festschrift for Frans Vester] (Amsterdam: Broekmans & Van Poppel, 1984), 65–73.

¹⁴⁹ Corelli’s Op. 6 concerti grossi were first performed in England at Loeillet’s house in Hart Street, Covent Garden, in December 1714, where he held weekly concerts from 1710, although apart from Henry Needler (?1685–1760), it is otherwise unknown who the performers were and what was played.

¹⁵⁰ Owain Edwards and Simon McVeigh, ‘Castrucci, Pietro’, *Grove Music Online* <Oxford Music Online> [accessed 12 February 2019].

¹⁵¹ Prospero’s *SONATE a Violino solo e Basso* were published in London in 1739.

replace him with John Clegg (1714–c. 1746). Burney wrote of Castrucci that ‘This violinist, who was more than half mad, is represented in one of Hogarth’s prints as the *enraged musician*’.¹⁵²

Castrucci’s virtuosic *SONATE a Violino e Violone o Cembalo*, Op. 1, advertised on 15 February 1718 must have been a Roger edition being sold by Richard Meares and the woodwind maker Peter Bressan (1663–1731), since Walsh’s edition was not published until 1725.¹⁵³ Hawkins recalled Castrucci’s final performance:

Oppressed with years, he immediately sank into oblivion, and at the age of eighty, upon the merit of his past services, became a supplicant to the public for a benefit, at which he performed a solo, and soon after died.¹⁵⁴

Lorenzo Bocchi

The Italian cellist Lorenzo Bocchi (who arrived in Britain after 1716) is mentioned here owing to his connection to Edward Finch, an important amateur collector and composer of solo sonatas. Bocchi seems to have taught Finch in York in October 1720 and made revisions to some of the latter’s solo sonatas, copied into the Armstrong-Finch manuscript and GB-DRc, Bamburgh M70, in Finch’s hand. Bocchi had travelled to Edinburgh by July 1720 together with the Scottish tenor Alexander Gordon (c. 1692–1754/5) with an aim to perform in public concerts; he was in Dublin by 1723 or 1724.¹⁵⁵ Out of the thirteen solo sonatas composed by Bocchi, two virtuosic viola da gamba solo sonatas by can be found in *A MUSICAL ENTERTAINMENT For a Chamber. Sonatas, For Violin, Flute, Violoncello. And SIX STRING BASS* (Dublin, 1724; Edinburgh 2/1726), No. 11 in D minor, and No. 12 in F major; this publication also contains two violoncello sonatas, No. 9 in C major and No. 10 in D minor.¹⁵⁶ A technically more modest solo sonata in G major for a treble instrument was copied by Finch into GB-DRc, Bamburgh M70, rev., pp. 62–5; perhaps Bocchi composed it for Finch to play on the recorder or transverse flute.

¹⁵² Burney, *A General History of Music*, p. 698.

¹⁵³ *The Post Boy*, 13–5 February 1718, issue 4455; Rudolf Rasch, The Music Publishing House of Estienne Roger: Caix-Croft <https://roger.sites.uu.nl/catalogue/> pp. 17–8; on the title page he is described as ‘PIETRO CASTRUCCI ROMANO, Virtuoso di Violino’.

¹⁵⁴ Hawkins, *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music*, vol. 2, p. 891.

¹⁵⁵ For Bocchi, see Peter Holman, ‘A Little Light on Lorenzo Bocchi: an Italian in Edinburgh and Dublin’, in *Music in the British Provinces, 1690-1914*, ed. Rachel Cowgill and Peter Holman (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), 61–86; Holman, *Life After Death*, pp. 115–6.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 115.

3.4 ‘New Foreign Pieces, chose out from the greatest Authors’: Imported Collections

Walsh

Being at the forefront of music publishing in Britain, Walsh’s output provides a starting point for exploring which solo sonatas were imported from abroad. The table below presents all the collections of solo sonatas by foreign composers who are *not* known or believed to have visited or settled in Britain, printed by Walsh and his associates from 1700 to 1716.¹⁵⁷

Walsh publication	Details
<i>Parte Prima Sonate a Violino e Violone o Cimbalo [...]</i> <i>da Archangelo Corelli da Fusignano Opera Quinta</i> <i>Parte Secunda [...]</i> <i>da Archangelo Corelli [...]</i>	Archangelo Corelli (1653–1713), Op. 5 (Rome, 1700) ¹⁵⁸
<i>Bomporti’s solos for a Violin with a through bass for ye harpsicord or bassviolin [...]</i> <i>Opera settima</i> [1708] ¹⁵⁹	Francesco Antonio Bonporti (1672–1749), Op. 7 (Venice and Amsterdam, 1707) ¹⁶⁰
<i>Sonate da Chiesa a Violino Solo e Violoncello o Basso Conti: da Tomasso Albinoni</i> [1710] ¹⁶¹	Tomaso Giovanni Albinoni (1671–1750/51); published by Roger in 1707–8 to which ‘Opera Quarta’ was added shortly afterwards ¹⁶²
<i>Sonatas or Solos for a Flute with a Thorough Bass for the Harpsicord or Bass Violin. Compos’d by Jean Lully</i> [i.e. J. B. Loeillet] <i>of Gant. Parte Prima</i> [c. 1712] ¹⁶³	Jean Baptiste Loeillet (‘Loeillet de Gant’) (1688–c. 1720), Op. 1; published by Roger in 1709–12 ¹⁶⁴
<i>Solos for a Violin With a Thorough Bass for the Harpsicord or Bass Violin Compos’d by Michele Mascitti Opera Prima</i> [c. 1712] ¹⁶⁵	Michele Mascitti (1663/4–1760), Op. 1; (Paris: Foucault, 1704; Roger, 1706);

¹⁵⁷ For reprints and reissues, see Smith, *Bibliography*.

¹⁵⁸ Smith, *Bibliography*, pp. 13–4, no. 31.

¹⁵⁹ Smith, *Bibliography*, p. 87, no. 277d.

¹⁶⁰ Rudolf Rasch, The Music Publishing House of Estienne Roger: Babel-Bustijn <https://roger.sites.uu.nl/catalogue/>, pp. 38–9.

¹⁶¹ Smith, *Bibliography*, p. 111, no. 366.

¹⁶² Rudolf Rasch, The Music Publishing House of Estienne Roger: Abeille-Antoniotti <https://roger.sites.uu.nl/catalogue/>, pp. 27–8.

¹⁶³ Smith, *Bibliography*, p. 128, no. 429.

¹⁶⁴ Rudolf Rasch, The Music Publishing House of Estienne Roger: La Barre-Lully <https://roger.sites.uu.nl/catalogue/>, pp. 30–1.

¹⁶⁵ Smith, *Bibliography*, p. 128, no. 430.

	advertised by Henri Ribotteau in <i>The Post Man</i> , 16 October 1711 ¹⁶⁶
<i>Solos for a Violin With a Thorough Bass for the Harpsicord or Bass Violin Compos'd by Michele Mascitti Opera 2^{da}</i> [c. 1712] ¹⁶⁷	Mascitti, Op. 2; (Paris: 1706; Amsterdam: Roger, 1707–8; Mortier, 1709) ¹⁶⁸
<i>Solos for a Violin With a Thorough Bass for the Harpsicord or Bass Violin Compos'd by Michele Mascitti Opera Terza</i> [c. 1712] ¹⁶⁹	Mascitti, Op. 3 (Paris: 1707; Amsterdam: Roger, 1709); advertised by Isaac Vaillant in <i>The Daily Courant</i> , 26 May 1709, and Henri Ribotteau in <i>The Post Man</i> , 16 October 1711 ¹⁷⁰
<i>Solos for a Violin With a Thorough Bass for the Harpsicord or Bass Violin Compos'd by Michele Mascitti Opera Quarta</i> [c. 1712] ¹⁷¹	Mascitti, Op. 4 (Paris: Foucaut, Hurel, 1711; Amsterdam: Roger, 1712) ¹⁷²
<i>XII Sonatas or Solos for a Flute with a Thorough Bass for the Harpsicord or Bass Violin Compos'd by Iean Baptiste Loeillet de Gant Opera 2^{da}</i> . 1715 ¹⁷³	'Loeillet de Gant', Op. 2 (Amsterdam: Roger, 1715); advertised by Henry Ribotteau in <i>The Post Man</i> , 26 March 1715 ¹⁷⁴
<i>Solos for a Violin With a Thorough Bass for the Harpsicord or Bass Violin Compos'd by Michele Mascitti Opera Sexta [=Opera quinta]</i> [c. 1715] ¹⁷⁵	Mascitti, Op. 5 (Paris: Foucaut, 1714; Amsterdam: Roger, [1715]); advertised by Henri Ribotteau in <i>The Post Man</i> , 1 October 1715 ¹⁷⁶

Table 3.2 Imported solo sonatas sold by Walsh, 1700–1716

¹⁶⁶ Rudolf Rasch, *The Music Publishing House of Estienne Roger: Maasman-Musicien* <https://roger.sites.uu.nl/catalogue/>, pp. 17–8.

¹⁶⁷ Smith, *Bibliography*, pp. 128–9, no. 431.

¹⁶⁸ Rudolf Rasch, *The Music Publishing House of Estienne Roger: Maasman-Musicien* <https://roger.sites.uu.nl/catalogue/>, pp. 18–20.

¹⁶⁹ Smith, *Bibliography*, p. 129, no. 432.

¹⁷⁰ Rudolf Rasch, *The Music Publishing House of Estienne Roger: Maasman-Musicien* <https://roger.sites.uu.nl/catalogue/>, pp. 20–1.

¹⁷¹ Smith, *Bibliography*, p. 129, no. 433.

¹⁷² Rudolf Rasch, *The Music Publishing House of Estienne Roger: Maasman-Musicien* <https://roger.sites.uu.nl/catalogue/>, pp. 21–3.

¹⁷³ Smith, pp. 138–9, no. 476.

¹⁷⁴ Rudolf Rasch, *The Music Publishing House of Estienne Roger: La Barre-Lully* <https://roger.sites.uu.nl/catalogue/>, pp. 31–2.

¹⁷⁵ Smith, *Bibliography*, p. 140, no. 479.

¹⁷⁶ Rudolf Rasch, *The Music Publishing House of Estienne Roger: Maasman-Musicien* <https://roger.sites.uu.nl/catalogue/>, pp. 23–4.

The Italian violinist Michele Mascitti's output was particularly prolific, with 100 solo sonatas divided into nine sets published in Paris between 1706 and 1738; their imitation of Corelli's style made them particularly admired in Britain, although the music also shows some influences of Mascitti's residency in France from 1704.¹⁷⁷

In addition to the above collections by composers living abroad, *The Post Man* dated 25–8 January 1707 advertised *SONATE da CAMERA or CHAMBER MUSICK Consisting of several Suites of OVERTURES and AIRES for two FLUTES and a BASS [...] Parté Prima* by Johann Christoph Pez (1664–1716), who did not visit Britain.¹⁷⁸ Although not strictly a solo sonata, No. 16 is titled 'Solo' and scored for one recorder and basso continuo, printed in separate parts, consisting of a through-composed piece in 3/4 in two linked sections, Adagio and Presto.

In summary, after Corelli's Op. 5 (1700) Walsh apparently did not publish any *collections* of imported solo sonatas until Bonporti's Op. 7 in c. 1708. Of the solo sonatas published during the period 1700–1716, all seem to have been issued first by Roger; furthermore, Roger's output of imported solo sonatas was greater than that of Walsh, capitalising successfully on the demand for solo sonatas in the wake of Corelli's Op. 5 sonatas. Instead, Walsh promoted British musical life by sponsoring the more easily available collections of solo sonatas by composers living in or visiting Britain; Walsh did however publish individual solo sonatas by composers living abroad for his 1704 instrumental music periodical.

Solo sonatas sold by Roger's agents in London

In parallel to Walsh's output, solo sonatas sold by Roger's agents in London must also be taken into consideration. The rivalry between these two big publishing houses resulted in frequent pirating of each others works, with resident composers occasionally choosing Roger over Walsh as their publisher.¹⁷⁹ With their book-selling business set up in the Strand, Roger's agents Francis and Isaac Vaillant advertised Dutch editions in British newspapers from 1700 to 1709. Clearly

¹⁷⁷ For Mascitti, see Michael Talbot, 'Mascitti, Michele', *Grove Music Online* <Oxford Music Online> [accessed 15 February 2019]; Robert Henry Dean Jr., 'The Music of Michele Mascitti (ca. 1664–1760): a Neapolitan Violinist in Paris' (PhD dissertation, University of Iowa, 1970).

¹⁷⁸ Smith, *Bibliography*, pp. 72–3, no. 231.

¹⁷⁹ The rivalry between Walsh and Roger is discussed in Rudolf Rasch, 'Estienne Roger and John Walsh: Patterns of Competition between Early-18th-Century Dutch and English Music Publishing', in *The North Sea and Culture (1550–1800): Proceedings of the International Conference Held at Leiden 21–2 April 1995*, ed. Juliette Roding and Lex Heerma van Voss (Leiden, 1996), 396–407; Rudolf Rasch, 'Publishers and Publishers', in *Music Publishing in Europe 1600–1900: Concepts and Issues, Bibliography*, ed. Rudolf Rasch (Berlin: BWV Verlag, 2005), 183–208 (p. 200).

these do not represent all the works they sold, since there are extant prints bearing the London agents' labels for which no advertisements have been located. An example of this is *SONATES* [...] *A 1 Viole de Gambe & i Basse Continue*, Op. 1 (1700) by Johan Snep (1659–1719), of which the exemplar at Durham Cathedral Library (C.91) contains Francis Vaillant's label (see Fig. 3.2).¹⁸⁰

It should be noted that, in theory, Roger's entire output was available in London.¹⁸¹ A table summarising London newspaper advertisements for Roger's prints of solo sonatas (and some treble-bass suites) is found in Appendix A, revealing the significant contribution Roger's publishing house made to the dissemination of the solo sonata in Britain after 1700.

On 4 October 1711, an advertisement in *The Post Man* stated that 'all the Musick which was formerly Sold by Messieurs Vaillant Booksellers, is now to be Sold by Henry Riboteau Bookseller, at the Crown over against Exeter Exchange in the Strand. N. B. Care is taken by the said H. Ribotteau to have all the New pieces of Musick that shall hereafter come out beyond the Sea'.¹⁸² Henry (or Henri) Ribotteau continued his business until c. 1718.¹⁸³

¹⁸⁰ An annotation by Philip Falle (1656–1742) opposite the title page reads 'acheté a Londres chez M^r. Le Vaillant. 10 Shelins.'

¹⁸¹ Solo sonatas printed by other Dutch publishers sold in Britain such as Pierre Mortier (1661–1711) remain to be explored.

¹⁸² *The Post Man*, 2–4 October 1711, issue 2051.

¹⁸³ In 1719 it was announced that 'Henry Ribotteau, Bookseller [...] who formerly dealt in Musick, gives Notice, That he has a Parcel left of some of the best Authors, and is willing to dispose of it at a Reasonable Rate; and those that shall buy a Quantity, shall have a Reasonable Abatement'; *The Daily Courant*, 9 July 1719, issue 5527.

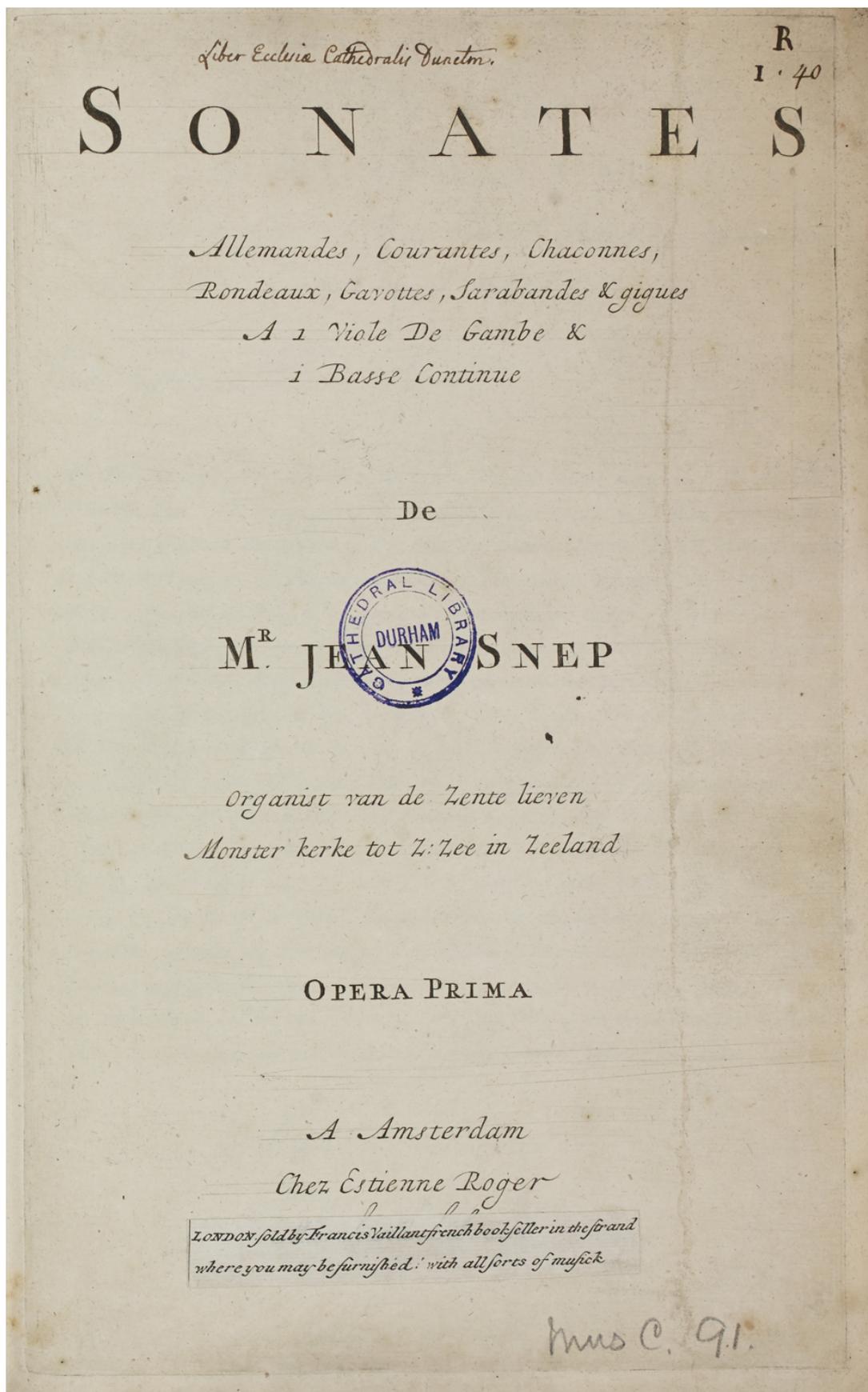


Fig. 3.2 Johan Snep, Op. 1 (Roger, 1700), title page bearing Francis Vaillant's label
Reproduced by kind permission of the Chapter of Durham Cathedral

3.5 ‘Bred and borne here’: Collections by British Composers

Between 1700 and 1717, Walsh published collections of solo sonatas for violin or recorder by the following British composers: William Topham (fl. 1701–9), Robert Valentine (1674–1735–40), Daniel Purcell (c. 1664–1717) and William Viner (d. 1716); the only composer to reside abroad was Robert Valentine in Italy.

William Topham (fl. 1701–9)

Little is known about the life of William Topham, whose *Six SONATA'S or Solos for the FLUTE*, Op. 1 (1701) was the first collection of solo sonatas by a single composer published by Walsh after Corelli's Op. 5, printed in separate parts in oblong format.¹⁸⁴ The engraving on the title page by Peter Paul Bouché (b. c. 1646), based on the design by Antonio Meloni, had previously been used in Walsh's second imprint of the Corelli solos.¹⁸⁵

Except for the three solo sonatas by Daniel Purcell published in *SIX SONATAS three For two FLUTES & a Bass, and three SOLOS for a FLUTE and a BASS* (c. 1710), Topham's Op. 1 (1701) and Op. 2 (1706) were the only *collections* of solo sonatas by a native composer resident in Britain published between 1701 and 1717, the year William Viner's violin sonatas were printed. Their scoring made Italianate solo sonatas available for the recorder already before Walsh's arrangements of Corelli's Op. 5 were published in 1702.

Topham's *Six SONATAS or SOLOS for the FLUTE with a Through BASS for the HARPSICORD Compos'd by W.^m Topham. A.M.*, Op. 2, were advertised in *The Daily Courant* on 11 December 1706.¹⁸⁶ Both Op. 1 and Op. 2 were subsequently published in Amsterdam by Roger's rival Pierre Mortier (1661–1711) as *XII SONATE a Flauto Solo Col Basso Continuo Del Signore WILLIAM TOPHAM OPERA PRIMA & SECONDA* (n. d.), and Roger also produced his own editions in 1707–8.¹⁸⁷ Topham favoured the sonata da chiesa, and all his solo sonatas follow a simple four-movement structure, alternating slow and fast non-dance movements with frequent use of sequences and

¹⁸⁴ *The London Gazette*, 4–8 September 1701, issue 3738; *Six SONATA'S or Solos for the FLUTE with a Through Bass for the Harpsicord Compos'd by W.^m Topham. A. M.* (London: Walsh and Hare, 1701); Smith, *Bibliography*, p. 21, no. 60.

¹⁸⁵ Smith, *Bibliography*, p. xxiii; see also Plate 6 for a reproduction of Topham's title page.

¹⁸⁶ *The Daily Courant*, 11 December 1706, issue 1454; *Six SONATAS or SOLOS for the FLUTE with a Through BASS for the HARPSICORD Compos'd by W.^m Topham. A.M.* (London: Walsh, Hare and Randall, 1706); Smith, *Bibliography*, p. 72, no. 227; the title page to Op. 1 and Op. 2 gives Topham's name followed by the letters 'A. M.', corrected to 'M. A.' in Op. 3.

¹⁸⁷ Rudolf Rasch, *The Music Publishing House of Estienne Roger: Taglietti-Trios* <<https://roger.sites.uu.nl/catalogue/>>, pp. 27–9.

dialogue between the treble and bass parts; the figuring in the continuo is particularly detailed and some of the movements begin with the bass or recorder part alone as in Finger's sonatas. The title page to Topham's *SIX SONATA'S Five in Four & a Sixth in 7 Parts* (Walsh, 1709), Op. 3, unashamedly states that the pieces were 'Compos'd In Imitation of Archangelo Corelli', evident also in his solo sonatas.¹⁸⁸

Robert Valentine (1674–1735–40)

The oboist, recorder player and violinist Robert Valentine emigrated to Italy towards the end of the seventeenth century.¹⁸⁹ Known there as Roberto Valentino or Valentini, he spent his working life in Rome and Naples. Valentine's prolific output of Corellian solo sonatas found its way into publications by Walsh and Roger, and before 1720, his three sets of solo sonatas for recorder were published, contributing to the repertoire for this instrument by native composers.¹⁹⁰ The twelve *SONATE DI FLAUTO A SOLO. Col Basso per il Cimbalo, ò Violone*, Op. 2 (Rome: Vitali Mascardi, Francesco Caifabri, 1708) were dedicated to Valentine's patron Sir Thomas Samwell (1687–1757). The twelve Op. 3 sonatas (Rome: Mascardi, 1710) were dedicated to John Fleetwood (?1698–1725), British consul at Naples; the Roman editions of Op. 2 and Op. 3 were still produced with woodblock printing rather than the engraving used by Walsh and Roger. Outside of Italy, Valentine's Op. 2 was initially published in Amsterdam (Roger, 1710; Mortier, 1710–11),¹⁹¹ before the Walsh edition appeared in c. 1714 as *XII Sonatas or Solos for a Flute with a Through=bass for the Harpsicord or Bass Violin. Compos'd by M^r: Valentine. at Rome*.¹⁹² The same is true for Op. 3, which was first published by Roger in c. 1713,¹⁹³ followed by Walsh in c. 1714.¹⁹⁴ Valentine's Op. 6 was first

¹⁸⁸ Topham's Op. 3 contains five sonatas in four parts, and one in seven parts for violins, with the addition of two trumpets in the latter piece; this publication contains an early Walsh catalogue advertising 'SOLOS and AIRES for a FLUTE and a BASS' and 'SOLOS for a VIOLIN and a BASS'; Topham's Op. 3 was also published separately by Luke Pippard and John Young, with a heated disagreement between the publishers recorded in various issues of *The Post Man* during November and December 1709.

¹⁸⁹ For Valentine, see Martin Medforth, 'Valentine, Robert', *Grove Music Online* <Oxford Music Online> [accessed 1 March 2019].

¹⁹⁰ Later solo sonatas by Valentine include Op. 11 (London, 1727) for recorder, Op. 12 (London, 1728) for violin and Op. 13 (London, 1725) for recorder, all with basso continuo; for further details on Valentine's solo sonatas, see J. Bradford Young, *A Thematic Catalog of the Works of Robert Valentine* (Canton, Massachusetts: Music Library Association, 1994).

¹⁹¹ Rudolf Rasch, *The Music Publishing House of Estienne Roger: Valdaurheni-Vivaldi* <https://roger.sites.uu.nl/catalogue/>, pp. 3–4.

¹⁹² Smith, *Bibliography*, p. 131, no. 443.

¹⁹³ Rudolf Rasch, *The Music Publishing House of Estienne Roger: Valdaurheni-Vivaldi* <https://roger.sites.uu.nl/catalogue/>, p. 5.

¹⁹⁴ Smith, *Bibliography*, p. 134, no. 458.

published by Walsh in 1718 as *XII Sonatas or solos for a flute with a thorough-bass for the harpsichord or bass violin opera quinta*,¹⁹⁵ Roger's edition appeared in Amsterdam in c. 1719.¹⁹⁶

Daniel Purcell (c. 1664–1717)

In addition to *Six SONATA's or Solos, three for a Violin, And three for the FLUTE* (1698), three different recorder sonatas by Daniel Purcell were published in *SIX SONATAS three For two FLUTES & a Bass, and three SOLOS for a FLUTE and a BASS* (c. 1710).¹⁹⁷ As Peter Holman points out, despite being in a more modern style than Purcell's earlier set, these works do not appear to have been influenced by Corelli's Op. 5 sonatas.¹⁹⁸ All three solos contain a Largo 'middle movement' reminiscent of those found in Henry Purcell's trio sonatas.

William Viner (d. 1716)

Nothing is known of the early life and education of the violinist William Viner who held the post of Master of the State Music for the vice-regal court at Dublin Castle from 1703 until his death in 1716;¹⁹⁹ for the last three years of his life, he received the appointment of 'Master of the Queen's Musick'.²⁰⁰ The German violinist Johan Sigismund Kusser or Cousser (1660–1727) owned a manuscript copy of Viner's ornaments to Corelli's Op. 5 sonatas, which are lost.²⁰¹

Viner's six Italianate *SOLOS for a VIOLIN with a THOROUGH BASS for the HARPSICORD or BASS VIOLIN* were published posthumously by Walsh in 1717, described on the title page as 'composed by the late Mr Viner of Dublin'.²⁰² It is the next complete collection of solo sonatas by a native composer (living in Britain) published after Topham's Op. 2 recorder sonatas (1706); individual solo sonatas by British composers circulated in the meantime. Significantly, Viner's set displays virtuosity and idiomatic writing for the violin beyond other works by British composers

¹⁹⁵ *The Post Boy*, 6–9 December 1718, issue 4582; Smith, *Bibliography*, p. 158, no. 554.

¹⁹⁶ Rudolf Rasch, *The Music Publishing House of Estienne Roger: Valdaurheni-Vivaldi* <https://roger.sites.uu.nl/catalogue/>, pp. 6–7.

¹⁹⁷ Smith, *Bibliography*, p. 114, no. 377.

¹⁹⁸ Peter Holman, liner notes to *The Unknown Purcell: Sonatas by Daniel Purcell*, CD, CHAN 0795 (2013), p. 14.

¹⁹⁹ Brian Boydell, 'Viner, William', *Grove Music Online* <Oxford Music Online> [accessed 10 September 2018].

²⁰⁰ Brian Boydell, *A Dublin Musical Calendar 1700–1760* (Blackrock: Irish Academic Press, 1988), p. 35.

²⁰¹ Neal Zaslaw, 'Ornaments for Corelli's Violin Sonatas, op. 5', *Early Music*, 24/1, Music in Purcell's London II (February 1996), 95–116 (pp. 96, 100).

²⁰² *The Post Man*, 10–2 December 1717, issue 16542; the only extant copy of Viner's sonatas is GB-Lbl, g. 1084.

before this date, including multiple-stopping, fiendish passagework, and some use of high positions, such as fourth position in Ex. 3.8,²⁰³ they are surely the works of a professional intended for his own performances, and provided novelty among Walsh's publications, which were otherwise aimed at the amateur.

Ex. 3.8 William Viner, Sonata V, Presto, p. 21 (Walsh, 1717)

By permission of the British Library, Music Collections, g.1084.

²⁰³ For Viner's solo sonatas, see Magdalena Kostka, 'Sonatas for violin and basso continuo written by British composers in the first half of the eighteenth century' (PhD dissertation, Cardiff University, 2014).

Viner's works exhibit the influence of the Italian style in Ireland at the beginning of the eighteenth century, although compared to Corelli's works they place a far greater emphasis on technical display rather than musical expression. Hawkins commented on such developments in the solo sonata:

The first essays of this kind were solos for the violin, the design whereof was to affect the hearer by the tone of the instrument, and those graces of expression which are its known characteristic; but it was no sooner found that the merit of these compositions was estimated by the difficulty of performing them, that the plaudits of the auditory became an irresistible temptation to every kind of extravagance.²⁰⁴

William Corbett (1680–1748)

It is worth briefly mentioning William Corbett, who was a prominent violin soloist on the London stage; Corbett performed at benefit concerts between 1699 and 1734 for himself and his wife, the singer Anna Lodi (née Signoni), whom he married in 1703. No solo sonatas by Corbett are known, although instead his trio and larger scale sonatas were published.²⁰⁵ Since solo sonatas were almost invariably called 'solos' in newspapers, the advertisement in *The Post Man* dated 12–5 April 1707 for 'Six Sonata's for a Flute and a Bass, by Wm Corbet' probably referred to Corbett's six trio sonatas for two recorders, Op. 2 (Roger, 1701; Walsh, 1705) (see Fig. 3.3).²⁰⁶

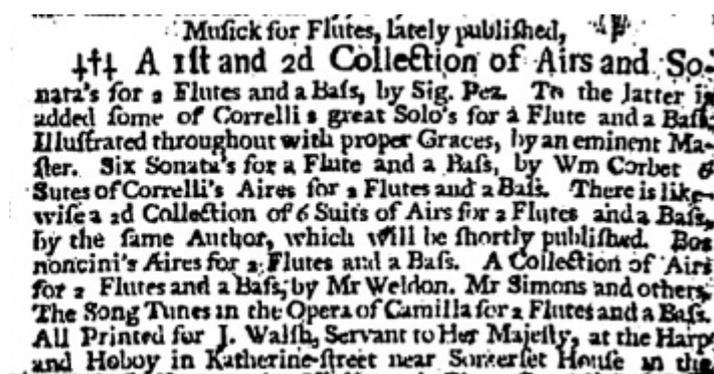


Fig. 3.3 Recorder music advertised in *The Post Man*, 12–5 April 1707

²⁰⁴ Sir John Hawkins, *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music: republication of the J. Alfred Novello edition, 1853*, vol. 2 (New York: Dover Publications, 1963), p. xli.

²⁰⁵ See Owain Edwards, 'William Corbett's instrumental music', *Svensk tidskrift för musikforskning*, 64 (1982), 9–17.

²⁰⁶ *The Post Man*, 12–5 April 1707, issue 1767; Smith, *Bibliography*, p. 76, no. 244.

Similarly, it is unclear whether the concert on 18 May 1704 in York Buildings ‘with variety of other Sonatas for the Violin, compos’d by Mr. Corbett’ referred to solo sonatas, or the *XII SONATE à Tre Due Violini e Violoncello col Basso per l’Organo*, Op. 1 (Roger, 1702), which could have been performed by Visconti and Banister who were named in the advertisement.²⁰⁷ In any case, several ‘solo’ movements and passages with basso continuo are found in Corbett’s Op. 1 trio sonatas, dedicated to William Lord Byron (Baron of Rochdale in Lancashire).²⁰⁸ A more soloistic violin piece attributed to the composer is the unaccompanied ‘Prelude by M^r Corbett’ in Walsh’s *Select Preludes or Voluntarys for y^e Violin* (1705), which contains a dotted slur and passagework reaching E₆ in fourth position, Ex. 3.9:

Ex. 3.9 ‘Prelude by M^r Corbett’ (Walsh, 1705)

²⁰⁷ *The Daily Courant*, 18 May 1704, issue 652; an unknown ‘12 – [Corbett] & Barret, Solo’ was also advertised by Roger; see Rudolf Rasch, *The Music Publishing House of Estienne Roger: Caix-Croft* <<https://roger.sites.uu.nl/catalogue/>>, p. 33.

²⁰⁸ Examples include Sonata 1, Solo Adagio (violino primo), Sonata 10, Solo Allegro (violino primo), No. 12 Solo Largo (violino secondo).

Corbett's music and violin collection was auctioned in 1724, containing 'the celebrated Violins of the Gobo, Torelli, Corelli, N. Cosimi and Leonardo of Bologna, which those deaceas'd Virtuoso's generally play'd on. Several hundred of original Manuscripts of Latin Psalms, Opera's, Cantata's, Solo's, and Concerto's, never heard or seen in England, all composed by the most eminent Masters'.²⁰⁹

Solo sonatas by British composers published after 1716

Other collections of solo sonatas by British composers circulated soon after 1716: works by Edward Finch are found in manuscript, while those by Luis Mercy (fl. 1708–51), William Turner (fl. early 18th century) and William Babell (c. 1690–1723) were published. Finch's sonatas were probably written for the transverse flute, while Mercy and Turner's are for the recorder; the works by Babell give the violin, oboe and transverse flute as alternatives.

Edward Finch

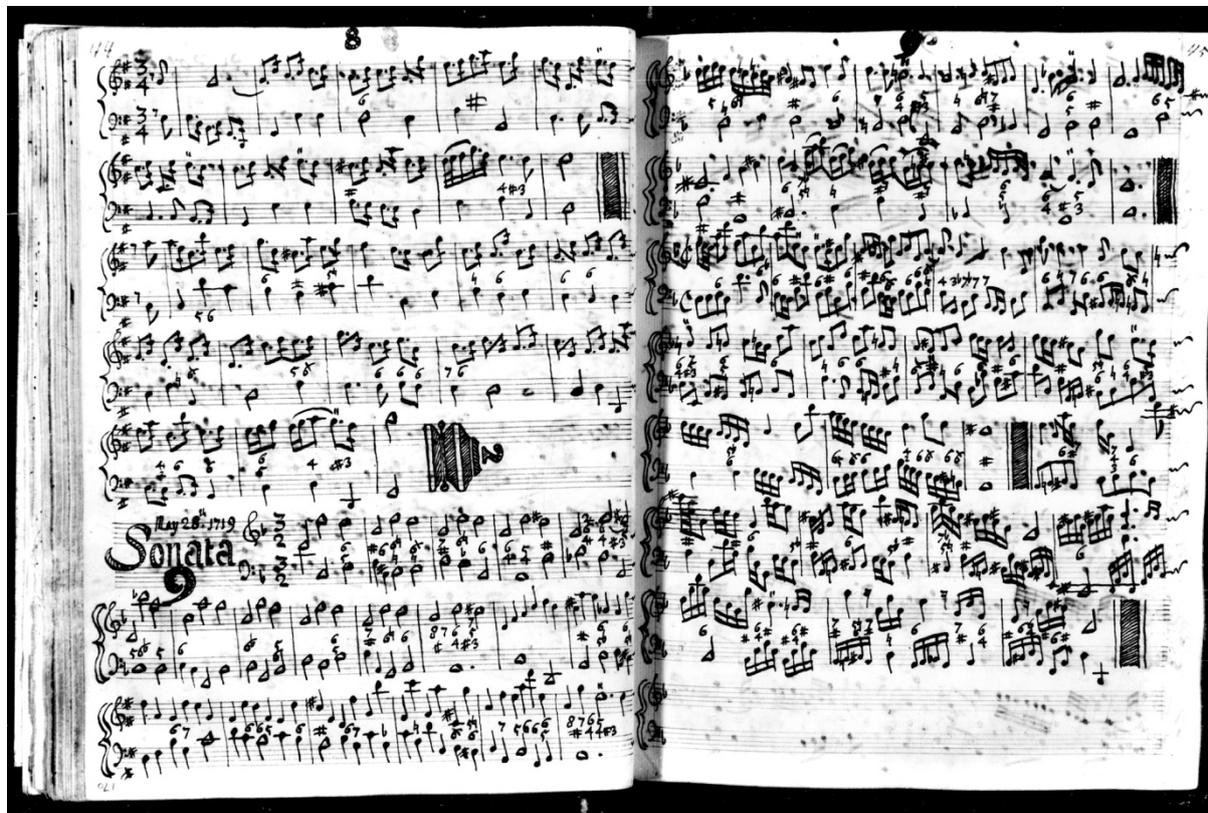
In addition to 'The Cuckoo' (see Chapter 2), the amateur musician Edward Finch composed a sequence of eleven Italianate solo sonatas, copied in his own hand into GB-DRc, Bamburgh M70 and the Armstrong-Finch manuscript.²¹⁰ Finch annotated dates next to his sonatas, and while it is not entirely clear whether these refer to the time of composition or copying, the word 'finished' next to some of the dates in GB-DRc, Bamburgh M70 and the Armstrong-Finch manuscript would suggest the former. 'The Cuckoo' (in C major for recorder) is the only work dating from 'King James the 2d Reign' (1685–8) with the remaining ten solo sonatas labelled between 'Christmas 1717' and '18 February 1720'. Peter Holman mentions that since most of the sonatas are in sharp keys and the treble parts do not go below D₄, Finch must have played the transverse flute.²¹¹ This would further support them being composed in the eighteenth century; an exception is Sonata No. 9, which reaches C₄ (middle C), implying the violin instead (see Ex. 3.10). On two

²⁰⁹ *The Daily Journal*, 16 May 1724, issue 1036.

²¹⁰ A list of Finch's solo sonatas is provided in Christopher Simon Roberts, 'Music and Society in Eighteenth-Century Yorkshire' (PhD dissertation, University of Leeds, 2014), p. 53; for folio/page numbers, see the inventory in *ibid* of GB-DRc, Bamburgh M70 on pp. 253–8, and the inventory of the Armstrong-Finch manuscript on pp. 259–68.

²¹¹ Holman, 'A Little Light on Lorenzo Bocchi', p. 79.

occasions, movements by Thomas Benson, Master of the Chorister at York Minster from 1698 to 1742, were added to Finch's solo sonatas.²¹²



Ex. 3.10 Edward Finch, 'Sonata 9', GB-DRc, Bamburgh M70, pp. 44–5 rev. (1719)
Reproduced by kind permission of the Chapter of Durham Cathedral

Finch liked to add a programmatic element and give descriptive titles to some of his pieces: as well as 'The Cuckow' (No. 8), three of his later solo sonatas were called 'The Groans & Sighs' (No. 3, 30 August 1718), 'Eccho' (No. 6, 2 February 1719) and 'On The Bells & Hempdresser' (No. 11, 18 February 1720). Three of Finch's solo sonatas were also revised and updated by the cellist Lorenzo Bocchi, who taught Finch in October 1720; the revisions are found in Nos. 1, 2 and 4 in GB-DRc, Bamburgh M70.²¹³ Finch also made use of the popular tunes 'Turn again, Whittingon' and 'The Hemp-dresser, or The London Gentlewoman' in Sonata No. 11 in D major, dated 18 February 1720 in GB-DRc, Bamburgh M70, rev., pp. 56–9.²¹⁴

²¹² Armstrong-Finch manuscript, Sonata No. 5, Presto (Christmas 1718); Sonata No. 6, Gigha (2 February 1719).

²¹³ For Bocchi's revisions, see Roberts, 'Music and Society in Eighteenth-Century Yorkshire', pp. 56–66.

²¹⁴ Holman, 'A Purcell manuscript lost and found', pp. 479–80.

As with Finch's transverse flute transcriptions of Corelli and Geminiani's sonatas in the Armstrong-Finch manuscript, the Adagio of his Sonata No. 1 on pp. 82–7 consists almost entirely of chordal writing, to be arpeggiated on the flute. Finch included a note directing the player to an alternative movement: 'If this be hard to play Turne over leafe forwards & Play the 3/2 strain instead of this 3/4 Adagio'.

In addition to the abovementioned sequence of eleven solo sonatas, the Armstrong-Finch manuscript is the unique source for a twelfth undated 'Sonata by M^r Edward Finch' in G major, copied onto pp. 124–7, and discussed here for the first time. It is included among a sequence of nine solo sonatas on pp. 100–135 composed during the 1680s or 90s and copied in Armstrong's hand together with works by Finger, Finch's 'Cuckoo', and the 'Sonata by M^r Edward Finch and M^r Finger' in C minor for recorder.²¹⁵ This simple but tuneful 'Sonata by M^r Edward Finch' is stylistically close to the music of Finger and may therefore have been composed around the same time as 'The Cuckoo', or perhaps during the 1690s. The work follows a four-movement pattern ending in 12/8 and its range suggests it was probably composed for the recorder. There is some alternation of busy semiquaver passages between the treble and bass parts, but the written-out ornamentation characteristic of Finch's later sonatas is not included (see Ex. 3.11).

Other solo sonatas in manuscripts belonging to Finch are as follows: GB-DRc, Bamburgh MS. M208 contains an anonymous four-movement 'Solo' in C minor in oblong score: Adagio–Allegro–Adagiosissimo–[untitled in 12/8]; it may have been composed by Finch, since the two rounds that follow, 'When Gammar Gurton first I knew' and 'Observe with care and judgment' are his.

The 'Cantabile di Sign^r Carlo Quarlesi' is a sonata for treble and bass instruments by Charles Quarles, organist of York Minster from 1722, found in Finch's hand in GB-DRc, Bamburgh M70, rev. fols. 76–81.²¹⁶ It is followed by an anonymous 'Solo' on rev. fols. 81–3, which may also be Quarles's work.

²¹⁵ *Dix Sonates à 1 Flute & 1 Basse Continue Composez par M^r Godfry Finger*, Op. 3 (Amsterdam: Roger, 1701), No. 2.

²¹⁶ David Griffiths, 'Music in the Minster Close: Edward Finch, Valentine Nalson, and William Knight in Early Eighteenth-century York', in *Music in the British Provinces, 1690–1914*, ed. Rachel Cowgill and Peter Holman (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2007), 45–60 (p. 51).

Measures 1-4 of the first movement. The music is in G major and common time. The treble clef part features a melodic line with eighth and sixteenth notes, while the bass clef part provides a steady accompaniment of eighth notes.

Measures 5-7. The treble clef part continues the melodic development with some grace notes. The bass clef part maintains the eighth-note accompaniment.

Measures 8-10. The treble clef part shows a change in texture with more sixteenth-note passages. The bass clef part continues with eighth notes, including some chromatic movement.

Measures 11-13. The treble clef part features a more complex melodic line with many sixteenth notes. The bass clef part continues with eighth-note accompaniment.

Measures 14-16. The treble clef part concludes with a melodic phrase. The bass clef part continues with eighth notes. The piece ends with a double bar line and a 3/4 time signature.

Ex. 3.11 'Sonata by Mr Edward Finch', first movement, Armstrong-Finch manuscript, p. 124

Luis Mercy (fl. 1708–51)

The English recorder player Luis or Lewis Mercy appears to have been of French birth, and had presumably not been in Britain long when on 26 July 1708 *The Daily Courant* advertised a concert at the Great Room at Epsom, to include ‘A Solo on the Flute, Compos’d by Mr Pepusch, perform’d by Mr Massey [sic], being the Second Time of his Performance in Publick, since his Arrival in England’.²¹⁷ Hawkins wrote that Mercy was ‘an Englishman by birth, though his name imports him to have been of French extraction’ as well as having been ‘a celebrated performer on the flute abec, and an excellent composer for that instrument’.²¹⁸ On the preface to his Op. 3 sonatas for basson or violoncello (London, c. 1735), Mercy styled himself ‘Luidgi Merci di natione Inglesa’.

Mercy’s Italianate *SIX SOLOS for a FLUTE With a THOROUGH BASS for the HARPSICORD or VIOLONCELLO*, Op. 1 (Walsh, 1718) were dedicated to James Brydges, Earl of Caernarvon (1673–1744) ‘under whose roof they were composed’ and who remained Mercy’s patron until 1719, the same year that he became the Duke of Chandos;²¹⁹ Mercy’s Op. 2 recorder sonatas followed in c. 1720. An advertisement in *The Post Boy* for Mercy’s Op. 1 described the works as ‘Six Solos for a Flute and a Thorough-Bass, in which are variety of double Stops, with Directions how to perform the same upon the Flute, compos’d by Mr. Luis Mercy, never before made publick’.²²⁰ In the preface, Mercy explained his way of notating long passagework as ‘double stops’ for easier legibility (see Ex. 3.12), while defending the merits of the recorder, which he felt was being superseded by the violin:

[...] I prove that Instrument as capable of doing hard things as the Violin. and although it be not so loud, yet it is commonly used in Consort, and wou’d be more, were not most of those things that are composed for the Flute so trifling [...] there are some very good Pieces, but, then, they are never given to the Publick. [...] and never grating on the high notes, that is by being stop’d out of Tune, as they often are on the Violin, although play’d by good masters for there are few that stop clean. [...] It is certain, that we are on a Level with the Violins already since they confess that they cannot do some of our Passages, any more than we can do their Double Stops, tho we may imitate them.²²¹

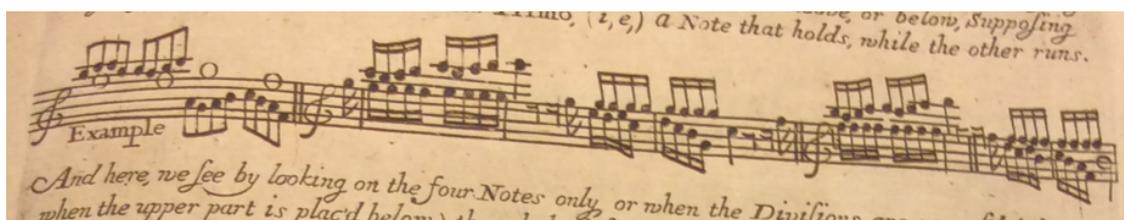
²¹⁷ *The Daily Courant*, 26 July 1708, issue 2008; for Mercy, see David Lasocki, ‘Mercy, Luis’, *Grove Music Online* <Oxford Music Online> [accessed 8 March 2019].

²¹⁸ Hawkins, *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music*, vol. 2, p. 893.

²¹⁹ Lasocki, ‘Mercy, Luis’, *Grove Music Online*.

²²⁰ *The Post Boy*, 6–9 December 1718, issue 4582.

²²¹ Luis Mercy, *SIX SOLOS for a FLUTE*, Op. 1 (London: Walsh, 1718), preface.



Ex. 3.12 Luis Mercy, *Six Solos for a Flute*, Op. 1, 'Example' (Walsh, 1718)

Lasocki highlights that the transverse flute might have been a more obvious threat to the recorder,²²² although when Mercy's Op. 1 was published in 1718, amateurs were still mostly playing the recorder or violin. Hawkins commented that 'Mercy lived at the time when the flute was becoming an unfashionable recreation for gentlemen, and the German flute was growing into favour'.²²³ He further added that in c. 1735 Mercy published 'twelve Solos, the first six whereof are said to be for the Traverse-flute, Violin, or English Flute, according to Mr. Stanesby's new system'. These works are lost, but are apparently evidence of his collaboration with the younger Thomas Stanesby (1692–1754), a woodwind maker, in the unsuccessful attempt to change the standard size of recorder from the treble to the tenor.²²⁴ Hawkins considered that Mercy's 'solos for the flute may be ranked among the best compositions for that instrument extant'; elaborate written-out ornamentation is found in some of the slow movements.

William Turner (fl. early 18th century)

There was more than one musician with the name William Turner working in Britain around 1700, leading to confusion over their biographies and repertoire. One William Turner (fl. London, early 18th century) composed songs and instrumental music for the theatres and may have authored the theoretical work *Sound Anatomiz'd in A Philosophical Essay on Musick* (London: William Pearson, 1724).²²⁵ He composed the music to *Presumptuous LOVE* by William Taverner (d. 1731), which was

²²² Lasocki, 'Mercy, Luis', *Grove Music Online*.

²²³ Hawkins, *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music*, vol. 2, p. 893.

²²⁴ Lasocki, 'Mercy, Luis', *Grove Music Online*.

²²⁵ Michael Tilmouth and Robert Ford, 'Turner, William(iii)', *Grove Music Online* <Oxford Music Online> [accessed 2 March 2019].

performed at the Lincoln's Inn Fields theatre in 1716.²²⁶ The benefit concert for 'Mr Turner who sets the Musick for the British Apollo' in 1709 may have related to the same person.²²⁷ Turner's *SIX SONATAS or SOLOS for a FLUTE with a THROUGH BASS for the HARPSICHORD or BASS VIOLIN* (London: Daniel Wright, c. 1720) are scarcely known.²²⁸

A different musician, the English singer William Turner (1651–1740), was a Gentleman of the Chapel Royal from 1669 and a member of the King's Private Musick from 1672, in addition to composing sacred and theatre music.²²⁹ A benefit concert for a 'Dr Turner' advertised in 1698 presumably referred to this person, who in 1696 obtained a MusD degree from Cambridge University.²³⁰ Andrew Woolley has identified music by Turner for an unspecified treble instrument and continuo in Filmer MS 17 and Filmer MS 19, held at the Irving S. Gilmore Music Library, New Haven, and once belonging to the Filmer family of East Sutton, Kent. US-NH, Filmer MS 19 contains three anonymous pieces for treble and bass instruments, copied by Turner.²³¹

Filmer MS 18 contains another untitled work in Turner's hand for treble and bass instruments in D major, which Woolley has attributed to the composer.²³² The three movements, [untitled] – Air – Round O, are in the style of incidental music written for theatrical plays during the 1690s and early 1700s, rather than Italianate sonatas.

William Babel (1688–1723)

William Babel was an English keyboard player, violinist and composer of German birth, educated initially by his father Charles Babel (c. 1636?–1716) and subsequently by Pepusch and possibly

²²⁶ The preface to this masque describes 'Mr. William Turner, who hath a happy Genius in Naturalizing Italian Musick into a true English Manner, without losing the Spirit and Force of the Original in the Imitation, or the Masterly Touches of the Art in the Composition'; William Taverner, *Presumptuous LOVE: A Dramatick MASQUE: As it is PERFORMED AT THE NEW THEATRE IN Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, 1716* (London: Edw. Nutt, n. d.).

²²⁷ *The Tatler*, 26–9 November 1709, issue 100.

²²⁸ Turner's F major sonata is included in the following modern edition: Hugo Ruf, ed., *Turner. Topham. Valentine. 3 Sonatas of the English Baroque for Treble Recorder (Flute) and Basso continuo* (Mainz: Schott, 2000); in addition, not listed in *The New Grove* are William Turner's *Six sonatas or duets neatly contriv'd & fitted for two flutes* (London: Daniel Wright, 171[?]).

²²⁹ Don Franklin, 'Turner, William(ii)', *Grove Music Online* <Oxford Music Online> [accessed 2 March 2019].

²³⁰ *The London Gazette*, 28 April 1698, issue 3388.

²³¹ Woolley, 'English Keyboard Sources and their Contexts', pp. 48–9.

²³² Modern edition: Andrew Woolley, ed., *William Turner (1651–1740): Sonata in D major for Violin and Continuo* (Thesaurus Musicus, 2010).

Handel.²³³ Babell was a violinist in the private band of George I and organist of All Hallows Bread Street from 1718 until his death. He performed the harpsichord in public concerts from around 1711, accompanying the violinist Matthew Dubourg (1703–1767) and performing solos on the harpsichord. His twenty-four solo sonatas were published posthumously in two separate books as *XII SOLOS for a VIOLIN HOBOY or GERMAN FLUTE with a BASS figur'd for the HARPSICORD With proper Graces adapted to each Adagio by y^e Author [...] PART the FIRST [SECOND]* (Walsh, 1725). Of particular note is the highly elaborate written-out ornamentation added to several of the slow movements.²³⁴

Single solo sonatas by native composers

Before 1700, Thomas Farmer (d. 1688), Robert King and Raphael Courteville (fl. c. 1675–1735) experimented with writing a single solo sonata, but do not appear to have composed a complete set. Other British-born composers such as William Williams (?1675–1701), Andrew Parcham (fl. early 18th century) and Nicola Matteis junior carried on this trend shortly after the publication of Corelli's Op. 5; some of these works may have already been composed during the 1690s.

William Williams (?1675–1701)

William Williams became an extraordinary member of the royal band on 30 March 1695, receiving a paid post in the Private Musick on 6 November 1697. His early death in January 1700/01 was recorded by the playwright William Congreve (1670–1729) who wrote in a letter to his friend Joseph Keally that 'poor Williams the musician is dead'; a benefit concert for his wife and three young children was held in York Buildings on 28 April 1701, which included 'all new music, part

²³³ For Babell, see Andrew Woolley, 'William Babell as a Performer-Composer and Music Copyist', *Eighteenth Century Music*, 17/1 (March 2020), 87–99; Andrew Ashbee, David Lasocki *et al.*, *A Biographical Dictionary of English Court Musicians, 1485–1714*, vol. 1 (Abingdon: Routledge, 2017), pp. 44–6; Andrew Woolley, 'New light on William Babell's development as a keyboard composer', *Early Music*, 46/2 (2018), 251–70; Gerald Gifford and Terence Best, 'Babell, William', *Grove Music Online* <Oxford Music Online> [accessed 8 February 2019].

²³⁴ See Charles Gower Price, 'Free Ornamentation in the Solo Sonatas of William Babell: Defining a Personal Style of Improvised Embellishment', *Early Music*, 29/1 (2001), 29–48, 50, 52, 54.

of it being his own'.²³⁵ An earlier benefit for 'Mrs Hudson' and Williams took place in York Buildings on 20 March 1700, to include 'an extraordinary Entertainment of Vocal and Instrumental Musick'; it is feasible that the composer's trio sonatas and solo may have been performed on this occasion.²³⁶

Williams's interest in Italian-style music was already evident five years earlier, when his self-published *Six Sonata's in Three Parts* for violins or recorders and continuo were first advertised by subscription in 1696 and eventually published in 1700, the same year as his solo sonata,²³⁷ both his trios and the single solo were engraved by Thomas Cross. In the dedication to his patron James Annesley, 3rd Earl of Anglesey (1670–1702), Williams, while clearly an admirer of the Italian style, wrote of the threat of native composers being overshadowed by foreign musicians. Williams's name and his patron suggest a connection with Wales:

To the Right Honourable James Earl of Anglesey, Viscount Valentia in the Kingdom of Ireland &c. [...] The Judgment and Genius which your Lordship has shewn in Musick, by making one of the best Collections in the World, in your Travels thro Italy, had very much over-aw'd me in this Undertaking, if I had not at the same time Consider'd your Lordship as a Nobleman of England Patriot and an Ornament of your Country; and consequently, as: one who will encourage the Endeavours, and look favourably on the Labours Of an English Man. Musick has of late met with Improvement, and a more favourable Reception than ordinary in England; and I make no Question but it will yet receive much farther Advancement: And without derogating from the Names of foreign Masters, I hope I may say, it is evident from many Pieces every day performed in our Churches and Theaters, That a Genius is not wanting to our Climate, and were there a few more such Noble Patrons of Arts as your Lordship, our Country-men might hope to be more esteemed abroad, and less undervalued at home.²³⁸

The Second Book of The New Flute Master (Walsh and Hare, 1700) contained the only solo sonata composed by Williams, advertised in *The London Gazette* dated 25–8 November 1700, although this

²³⁵ For Williams, his trio sonatas and patron James Annesley, see also John Cunningham, "Faint copies" and "excellent Originals": Composition and Consumption of Trio Sonatas in England, c. 1685–1714, in *Eine Geographie der Triosonate: Beiträge zur Gattungsgeschichte im Europäischen Raum*, Publikationen der Schweizerischen Musikforschenden Gesellschaft, Serie II – Vol. 59, ed. Inga Mai Groote and Matteo Giuggioli (Bern: Peter Lang, 2018), 113–40 (pp. 114–6); Andrew Ashbee, David Lasocki *et al.*, *A Biographical Dictionary of English Court Musicians, 1485–1714*, vol. 2 (Abingdon: Routledge, 2017), p. 1156; Peter Holman, 'Williams, William', *Grove Music Online* <Oxford Music Online> [accessed 7 July 2018].

²³⁶ *The Post Boy*, 16–9 March 1700, issue 771.

²³⁷ William Williams, *Six Sonata's in Three Parts. Three for Two Violins And Three for Two Flutes. With a Part for the Base-Violin or Viol, And a Figur'd Base for the Organ Harpsicord or Arch-lute* (London: Printed by Tho: Cross, for the Author, 1700).

²³⁸ William Williams, *Six Sonata's in Three Parts* (London: Printed by Tho: Cross, for the Author, 1700), preface.

tutor book does not seem to be extant.²³⁹ Williams's solo circulated in various other manuscript and printed sources, listed here for the first time.²⁴⁰

The 2d Book of the new Flute-Master, Containing variety of the newest Ayres for the Flute, together with the Song-Tunes, Scotch-Tunes, and other Musick, made by the best Masters: Likewise a Solo by Mr. Wm. Williams, and a new Sebell [cibell, a dance] by Mr. Jer. Clark. To which is added, Plain and easie Directions for Learners on the Flute. Sold by J. Walsh [...] and J. Hare [...] Price 1s. 6d. or 1s without Instructions.²⁴¹

Williams's sonata in D minor follows a standard four-movement pattern, beginning with a seven-bar introduction in the bass part; the bass takes part in the musical dialogue throughout the piece (Ex. 3.13).

²³⁹ *The London Gazette*, 25–8 November 1700; Smith, *Bibliography*, p. 15, no. 33; see also *Bibliotheca Annua: OR, THE ANNUAL CATALOGUE FOR The Year 1700. BEING AN EXACT CATALOGUE OF ALL English and Latin Books, Printed in ENGLAND, From March 25, 1700, to March 25, 1701* (London: A. Roper and W. Turner, 1701), p. 31.

²⁴⁰ Concordances: 'Sonata solo by Mr. William Williams', GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. C.72, pp. 40–1, 148–9; 'Sonata par une flute et un Basson Mr. Williams', US-R, M1490.B113 (Charles Babel's manuscript, 1698), fols. 39r–40v; 'Sonata Solo – Flutto', US-Dp, RM788.1191 S698 (Detroit Recorder Manuscript), No. 1, pp. 1–4; the third movement differs from from the printed edition; 'A Sonata for a Single Flute Compos'd by Mr. W.^m Williams & engrav'd by Tho: Cross', appended to GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,466, fols. 62v–63r; 'A SOLO for a Flute & a Bass by Mr. Wm. Williams' in *Six SONATAS Three for Two FLUTES and Three for a FLUTE & a BASS Compos'd by Several Eminent Masters* (Walsh and Hare, (c. 1705)), with separate 'FLUTO PRIMO' and figured 'FLUTO BASSO' parts (Smith deest).

²⁴¹ *The London Gazette*, 25–8 November 1700, issue 3657.

A Sonata for a Single Flute, Compos'd by M^r W^m Williams & engrav'd by Tho: Crofts.

Sonata Solo Adagio

Sonata Solo Adagio

Largo

Largo

Ex. 3.13 William Williams, *A Sonata for a Single Flute* (1700), p. 1
By permission of the British Library, Music Collections, Add. MS 31,466, fol. 62v

Andrew Parcham (fl. early 18th century)

Andrew Parcham is an obscure figure who appears to be known only by his solo sonata for recorder in G major. Parcham's 'Solo' was printed in separate parts, published by Roger and Le Cène in the second book of *40 Airs Anglois* (1701).²⁴² His name is given in the Italianised form 'Seig.^r Andrea Parcham' at the end of the piece. It is not known whether the work may once have been part of a larger collection of twelve solo sonatas by Parcham, published in Amsterdam, but now lost: *XII Suonate a flauto o violino solo col basso continuo*, Op. 1 (Roger, 1701).²⁴³

The piece contains ten contrasting movements or tempo changes: the opening Poco Allegro is based on dotted rhythms in a lively Purcellian style; the second section features descending sequences and imitation between the treble and bass parts reminiscent of Corelli. The ensuing Adagio is made up of short declamatory phrases, although of particular note is the middle section with its frequent tempo changes and quick flourishes over a static bass line, implying a freer style of performance. The 'Spicato' marking accompanying a three-bar passage of dotted rhythms in the treble part was perhaps marked to avoid the dotted rhythms from being slurred (Ex. 3.14).

Ex. 3.14 Andrew Parcham, 'Solo' for recorder, excerpt from *40 Airs Anglois* (Roger, 1701), p. 37

²⁴² 40 AIRS ANGLOIS à un Dessus & une Basse & TROIS SONATES [...] choisis & mis en ordre par GEORGE BINGHAM Livre Second (Amsterdam: Roger, 1701); modern edition: Thurston Dart, ed., *Andrew Parcham: Solo in G major for treble recorder (or flute or oboe) and continuo* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1960; repr. Peacock Press, 2003).

²⁴³ Rudolf Rasch, The Music Publishing House of Estienne Roger: Paghetti-Purcell <<https://roger.sites.uu.nl/catalogue/>>, p. 3; also advertised as '12 Sonates a une flûte et 1 basse et deux caprices a deux flûtes et 1 basse composées par M. Andreas Parcham opera prima – f. 3'.

The inclusion of an 'Aria' in common time as the final movement provides an alternative ending to the usual giga-style movements found in solo sonatas.

Sir John Clerk of Penicuik (1676–1755)

Sir John Clerk of Penicuik was a Scottish politician, lawyer and judge, music patron and amateur composer. Alongside his varied career, Clerk was also an amateur architect, poet and landscape gardener and one of the signatories for the Treaty and Act of Union with England in 1707. After studying law at Leiden University between 1694 and 1697, Clerk completed the Grand Tour by 1700, and was fortunate to study composition under Corelli and Bernardo Pasquini (1637–1710) during his 15 months visit to Rome between 1697 and 1698.²⁴⁴ While in Rome, Clerk also 'fell into great friendship and intimacy with Wrotesly Russel, duke of Bedford', who became Cosimi and Haym's patron and was an avid supporter of Italian instrumental music.²⁴⁵

According to Clerk, Corelli 'seldom teaches any body; yet, because he was pleased to observe me so much taken with him, he allowed me 3 lessons a week during all the time I stay'd at Rome'.²⁴⁶ Clerk gave the following account of his musical activities:

My two great diversions at Rome were Musick and Antiquities. I excelled to a fault in the first, but the practise of musick gave me easier access to the best company in Rome than other strangers had. My masters were Bernardo Pasquini, a most skilful composer and performer on the Organ and Harpse, and Archangelo Correlli, whom I believe no man ever equaled for the violin. However, as I bestowed most of my time on the Harpsecord and the knowledge of musical compositions, I profited but little on the violin.²⁴⁷

Despite Clerk concentrating his efforts on the harpsichord and composition rather than the violin, it was surely Corelli's influence which inspired him to write a 'Sonata a violino solo' in G major on his return to Scotland in c. 1702.²⁴⁸ It is a draft with several corrections written on both sides of a

²⁴⁴ For Clerk, see Kenneth Elliott, ed., *Five cantatas by Sir John Clerk of Penicuik* (Glasgow : Musica Scotica Trust, [2005]), pp. viii-li; David Johnson, 'Clerk, Sir John', *Grove Music Online* <Oxford Music Online> [accessed 2 October 2018]; Iain Gordon Brown, 'Sir John Clerk of Penicuik (1676–1755): aspects of a virtuoso life' (PhD dissertation, University of Cambridge, 1980).

²⁴⁵ Cited in Lindgren, 'The Great Influx of Italians and Their Instrumental Music into London, 1701–10', p. 455.

²⁴⁶ John Miller Gray, ed., *Memoirs of the Life of Sir John Clerk of Penicuik extracted by himself from his own Journals 1676–1755* (Edinburgh: Scottish History Society, 1892), p. 28, n. 3.

²⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 28.

²⁴⁸ The date '1702' is given in *The New Grove*; the date 1705 is given in the following modern edition: David Johnson and Edna Arthur, ed., *Sir John Clerk of Penicuik: Sonata in G for violin with keyboard and optional cello continuo* (Edinburgh: David Johnson, 1990).

single sheet of foolscap paper, now held in the Scottish Record Office, Edinburgh.²⁴⁹ The four untitled movements constitute a sonata da camera which begins with a short six-bar prelude over a tonic pedal. The work is technically modest, with only fourth-finger extensions for C₆ required in the violin part. Clerk also appears to have begun work on a different ‘Solo’, but this survives only as a fragmentary sketch with several bars crossed out.²⁵⁰

Notably, Andrew Woolley’s research on the Clerk Papers at the National Archives of Scotland, Edinburgh, has uncovered some of Clerk’s musical correspondence written in Latin during his time abroad. The letters to and from his Dutch friends Hugh (Hugo) du Bois and Lotharius Zumbach von Koesfeld in Leiden reveal that Clerk already had access to Corelli’s Op. 5 violin sonatas before their publication in 1700. In a letter dated 28 February 1698, Du Bois wrote: ‘I have wondered about the delicacy of Mister Corelli, whose Op. 5 you mentioned and which you would send to Mister Zumbach and, as you promised, also to me’.²⁵¹ On 23 May 1698, Zumbach wrote to Clerk to say he would regrettably not be an agent for Corelli’s Op. 5 because Roger would rapidly begin producing cheaper editions:

I lament that I will not be able to render my service to you or to Mister Corelli by selling copies of his Opus 5. For there is a music printer in Holland that is the bane of all composers (both Italian and local ones). He is called Estienne Roger and lives in Amsterdam, and he started to thrive from the time you left. This man, then, takes care to have all the music sent to him from Italy and Germany as quick as possible and still wet from the press by post, and reprints it so quickly that before any copies can arrive here from Italy he just sells his own copies in the whole of Holland and Germany.²⁵²

While it is intriguing to conjecture the possibility that Clerk may have returned to Scotland with a pre-publication copy of Corelli’s Op. 5 violin sonatas, the list of music books belonging to Clerk in c. 1750 simply describes them as ‘Corelli Opera Quinta’.²⁵³

²⁴⁹ GB-Enas, (Scottish Record Office), Clerk Papers, GD 18/4538/5/2.

²⁵⁰ GB-Enas, (Scottish Record Office), Clerk Papers, GD 18/4538/5/14.

²⁵¹ Rudolf Rasch, *The Music Publishing House of Estienne Roger: Documents 1698*

<https://roger.sites.uu.nl/documents/>, p. 8; translated by Rudolf Rasch and Andrew Woolley.

²⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 14; translated by Rudolf Rasch and Andrew Woolley.

²⁵³ GB-Enas, (Scottish Record Office), Clerk Papers, GD 18/4553; transcribed in David Johnson, *Music and Society in Lowland Scotland in the Eighteenth Century* (London: Oxford University Press, 1972), Appendix II; the provenance of this list, which is in the hand of James Clerk, is discussed in Helen Goodwill, ‘The Musical Involvement of the Landed Classes in Eastern Scotland, 1685–1760’ (PhD dissertation, University of Edinburgh, 2000), p. 155.

Sonatas in other Scottish collections

The music collections of Scottish landowners have been discussed by Helen Goodwill in her PhD dissertation, ‘The Musical Involvement of the Landed Classes in Eastern Scotland, 1685–1760’, which shows the wide dissemination of Italianate instrumental music in Scotland.²⁵⁴ While solo sonatas composed until c. 1716 often formed a part of these collections, in many cases they also contained music composed later in the eighteenth century, making it difficult to ascertain when families had acquired the sonatas.

There are a particularly large number of early eighteenth-century solo sonatas in the collection belonging to Lord Colville of Ochiltree (d. 1728).²⁵⁵ Robert, 3rd Lord Colville, was a member of the Scottish parliament in 1700 and a non-Jurant in the British parliament in 1713.²⁵⁶ The music belonging to his collection is printed in sale catalogues held in a library in Pretoria, South Africa.²⁵⁷ Among his collection are prints and manuscripts of solo sonatas, many of which were available through Roger in Amsterdam.²⁵⁸ One particular item (no longer extant) even gives some insight into the length of time it took to write a solo sonata, being ‘The original copy of a solo by Pepush, composed in an Hour and six Minutes’.

Goodwill gives items, including solo sonatas, omitted from her list of music belonging to the Colville of Ochiltree collection as they could not be identified.²⁵⁹ On further inspection the present author has recognised some as follows: ‘Six Select Solos by Six Masters’ was *Six Select SOLOS Collected out of the Choisest Works of Six Eminent Authors* (Walsh, 1706), ‘MS Solos for the Fiddle by Correlli’ were either taken from the Op. 5 or Anhang sonatas, ‘Petro Deghli Antonio’ was probably *Ricercate*, Op. 5 (Roger, 1698) by Pietro Degli Antonii (1639–1720), ‘Six Sonatas for Two Flutes by Croft and a Solo by Pepush’ were *Six SONATAS of two Parts Purposeely made and Contrived for Two FLUTES*

²⁵⁴ Ibid.

²⁵⁵ Ibid, pp. 305–21.

²⁵⁶ For the Colvilles, see *ibid*, pp. 34–5.

²⁵⁷ Catalogue of Musick. being the complete and curious Collection of the late Lord Colvil. Pretoria State Library, South Africa. shelf mark FB6652; see *ibid*, p. 153.

²⁵⁸ The composers of solo sonatas include Evaristo Felice Dall’Abaco (1675–1742), Henricus Albicastro (c. 1660–c. 1730), Tomaso Albinoni (1671–1750/51), Carlo Ambrogio Lonati (c. 1645–c. 1710–15), Bartolomeo Bernardi (c. 1660–1732), Angelo Michele Besseghi (1670–1744), Martino Bitti (1655/6–1743), ‘Biller’s Solo’s for the Violin’ (in manuscript), Lorenzo Bocchi, Corelli’s Op. 5 (1710 Roger edition and Pez 1707 edition), Pietro Degli Antonii (1639–1720), ‘Gasparini [i.e. Gasparo Visconti] Three Sonatas’ (in manuscript), Francesco Geminiani (1687–1762), Jean Baptiste Loeillet (‘Loeillet de Gant’) (1688–c. 1720), Carolo Marini (1670–71–c. 1717), Johann Mattheson (1681–1764), Michele Mascitti (1663/4–1760), Nicola Matteis (fl. c. 1670–90), Johann Christoph Pepusch (1667–1752), Giovanni (Johannes) Schenck (1660–c. 1710), Johann Christian Schickhardt (c. 1682–1762), Giuseppe Torelli (1658–1707), Robert Valentine (1674–1735–40), Johann Jakob Walther (c. 1650–1717), Gasparo Visconti (1683–1713) and Antonio Vivaldi (1678–1741).

²⁵⁹ *Ibid*, p. 326.

Compos'd by M^r William Croft To which is added an Excellent SOLO for a FLUTE and a BASS by Sign^r Pappus (London: Walsh, 1704), and 'MS solos by Correlli and other famous authors' may have been a manuscript copy of *SONATE A VIOLINO SOLO COL BASSO CONTINUO COMPOSTA DA ARCANGELO CORRELLI e Altri Autory* (Roger, 1697).

Nicola Matteis junior (c. 1667–1737)

Nicola Matteis junior was the son of the violinist of the same name.²⁶⁰ North wrote that 'He grew up and was a celebrated master upon the violin in London for divers years'.²⁶¹ Simon Jones suggests that the elder Matteis died in the late 1690s and the published songs and other references to him thereafter relate to the younger man, who was born around 1667.²⁶² North made several comparisons between the playing styles of father and son, writing that 'on which to pick, however convic't, I will not stay to dispute, but alledge onely their different manners. The father's was virile and the son's effeminat'.²⁶³

In 1698, it was publicised in *The London Gazette* that 'This present Monday being the 30th May, Mr. NICHOLA's Consort of Vocal and Instrumental Musick, will be performed in York-Buildings',²⁶⁴ perhaps Matteis junior performed his solo sonatas on this occasion. His skills as a violinist were praised in the dedication to 'M^r Nicola' in *A Collection of new Songs set by Mr Nicola [...] The second Booke* (Walsh, 1699), where Walsh wrote of 'that Instrument on which you Excell and then only when you are pleased to touch it'.²⁶⁵

Matteis junior is referred to as 'Young Nicola' in the two idiomatic violin sonatas copied into GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,466: No. 18, fols. 24v–26r in C minor (see Ex. 3.15) and No. 21 in A major, fols 29v–31r. They are yet more examples of isolated solo sonatas by British-born composers not

²⁶⁰ For Matteis junior, see Andrew D. McCredie, 'Nicola Matteis, the younger: Caldara's collaborator and ballet composer in the service of the Emperor Charles VI', in *Antonio Caldara: Essays on his Life and Times*, ed. Brian W. Pritchard (Aldershot, 1987), 153–82; Andrew D. McCredie, 'Nicholas Matteis - English Composer at the Habsburg court', *Music and Letters*, 48 (1967), 127–37; Peter Keuschnig, 'Nicola Matteis junior als Balletkomponist' (PhD dissertation, University of Vienna, 1968).

²⁶¹ Wilson, *Roger North on Music*, p. 358.

²⁶² For example *When e're I Gaze on Sylvia's face*, printed in *The Gentleman's Journal* (1691/2) and *Assist, Assist you Mighty Sons of Art* for the St Cecilia's celebrations (1696); see Simon Jones, 'The Legacy of the 'Stupendious' Nicola Matteis', *Early Music*, 29/4 (November 2001), 553–560, 563–4, 567–8 (pp. 557–9).

²⁶³ Wilson, *Roger North on Music*, p. 358, n. 128.

²⁶⁴ *The London Gazette*, 26 May 1698, issue 3396.

²⁶⁵ *A Collection of new Songs Set by M^r Nicola, with A Through Bass to each Song For the Harpsicord, Theorbo, or Bass Viol, being all teaching songs, made for his Scholars most of them Transpos'd for the FLUTE. The second Booke* (London: Walsh, 1699).

known to have formed part of any collection. The A major sonata was printed for the February instalment of Walsh's 1704 instrumental music periodical.

The image shows a page of handwritten musical notation for a sonata in C minor by Nicola Matteis junior. The page is titled "Young Nicola" at the top left. The movement is labeled "VIII. Adagio" in the first system. The score is written in two staves, with the right hand on the upper staff and the left hand on the lower staff. The notation includes various musical symbols such as clefs, time signatures, notes, rests, and ornaments. The piece concludes with the tempo marking "Allegro" in the fourth system. The handwriting is in a cursive style typical of the early 18th century.

Ex. 3.15 Nicola Matteis junior, excerpt from sonata in C minor
By permission of the British Library, Music Collections, Add. MS 31,466, No. 18, fol. 24v

In addition to the two solo sonatas, *A COLLECTION of NEW SONGS Set by Mr. Nicola Matteis made purposely for the use of his Scholers* (Walsh, 1696) contains two ‘Almand’s by M^r. Nicola Matteis’ in C minor for violin and basso continuo, printed in score. As with the songs, they were probably used by Matteis as teaching material. The present author has identified the second piece, ‘Almaine’, to be concordant with the ‘Prelude by Sign^r. Nicola’ on p. 33 of Walsh’s *Select PRELUDES or VOLUNTARYS for y^e VIOLIN* (1705) (see Ex. 3.16).

Prelude by Sign^r. Nicola (33)

FINIS .

Ex. 3.16 ‘Prelude by Sign^r. Nicola’ (Walsh, 1705)

The idiomatic C minor violin ‘Prelud No. 28’ by ‘M^r. Nicola’ in *The Gentleman’s Diversion* (1693/4) by John Lenton (d. 1719) is similar in style to the aforementioned ‘Almaine’; while it has previously been attributed to the elder Matteis,²⁶⁶ given the date of the publication and the circle of other

²⁶⁶ Malcolm Boyd and John Rayson, ‘The Gentleman’s Diversion: John Lenton and the First Violin Tutor’, *Early Music*, 10/3 (1982), 329–32 (p. 331); the work is reproduced in Simon Jones, ‘The “Stupendious” Nicola Matteis:

composers represented in Lenton's publication (who were all active on the London concert and theatre scene), perhaps the possibility of the work belonging to the younger man cannot be entirely ruled out.

Matteis junior had travelled to Vienna by 1 July 1700 to begin his career at the Habsburg court, so the works published by Walsh were almost certainly written prior to his departure. He briefly returned to London to collect his children in the autumn of 1701.²⁶⁷

Matteis junior's reputation lasted far beyond his years in Britain. The German flautist Johann Joachim Quantz (1697–1773) owned a copy of Matteis junior's ornaments for Corelli's Op. 5 violin sonatas, which are now lost.²⁶⁸ Quantz wrote that 'the celebrated violinist *Nicola Mattei*, formerly in the service of the Austrian court, composed still other graces for the same twelve adagios. The latter has indeed done somewhat more than *Corelli* himself, since he has concluded them with a kind of short embellishment'.²⁶⁹

Other instrumental works attributed to Matteis junior include a trio sonata and violin concerto, found in manuscripts at the Sächsische Landesbibliothek - Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Dresden. Of particular interest are two 'Fantasias' for solo violin in C minor and A minor, which stylistically date from later in the eighteenth century.²⁷⁰ With extended written out embellishments and fugal writing, they display virtuosity far beyond the solo sonatas in GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,466 or any extant works by Matteis senior, providing a fascinating insight into Matteis junior's skills as a violinist.²⁷¹

Thomas Dean (or Deane) senior (fl. 1701–1711)

Thomas Dean senior was among the foremost British violinists during the first decade of the eighteenth century. Although a few biographical details are given in *The New Grove* and *A Biographical Dictionary of Actors, Actresses, Musicians* [etc.], his small output for the violin is yet to be

An Exploration of his Life, his Works for the Violin and his Performing Style', vol. 1 (PhD dissertation, University of York, 2003), p. 242.

²⁶⁷ Herwig Knaus, *Die Musiker im Archivbestand des kaiserlichen Obersthofmesteramtes* (Vienna: Böhlau, 1969), vol. 3, p. 97; I am grateful to Professor David Wyn Jones for drawing my attention to this fact.

²⁶⁸ Zaslav, 'Ornaments for Corelli's Violin Sonatas, op. 5', p. 96.

²⁶⁹ Johann Joachim Quantz, *On Playing the Flute, second edition translated with notes and an introduction by Edward R. Reilly* (London: Faber and Faber Limited, 1966), p. 180.

²⁷⁰ D-DI, Mus 2045-R-1, 'FANTASIA. Del Sigr.^e Matteis' and 'Alia Fantasia'.

²⁷¹ For a brief comparison between Matteis junior's fantasias and J.S. Bach's unaccompanied violin works, see Jones, 'The "Stupendous" Nicola Matteis', pp. 162–3.

considered in detail.²⁷² Dean performed at the Lincoln's Inn Fields theatre during 1703/4 and was a member of the opera orchestra at the Queen's Theatre in the Haymarket between 1707 and 1712. He featured as a soloist in York Buildings, Hampstead Wells and at the 'New Theatre', i.e. the Lincoln's Inn Fields theatre, performing Corelli's Op. 5 sonatas. In 1707 and 1708 he appeared in concerts together with his son, the arch-lute player Thomas Dean junior (fl. 1707–8).²⁷³

Two solo sonatas by Dean are extant, discussed in this chapter under 'instrumental treatises' and 'Walsh's instrumental music periodical'. Dean's output also includes a 'Prelude' in A major printed in Walsh's *Select Preludes or Voluntarys for y^e Violin* (1705), p. 9, which includes some double-stopped quavers among the semiquaver passagework. The same year, an 'Allmand by M^r. Dean' in G minor was added to the fourth edition of *The Second Part of the Division Violin* (Walsh, 1705), p. 43. Unusually for this publication, which contains almost exclusively unaccompanied music, the 'Allmand' was printed with its bass line in score (Ex. 3.17); perhaps this piece was one of the 'Aires' which Dean performed together with his son on the archlute

Ex. 3.17 'Allmand by M^r. Dean' (Walsh, 1705)

²⁷² H. Diack Johnstone, 'Deane, Thomas', *Grove Music Online* <Oxford Music Online> [accessed 7 January 2019].

²⁷³ *The Daily Courant*, 4 February 1708, issue 1863; see also Chapter 4.

The music publisher John Young capitalised on Dean's rising success as a violinist by including a set of his preludes in *The Compleat Tutor to the Violin* (1701).²⁷⁴ It was advertised again on 11 May 1702 in *The Daily Courant*: 'The Compleat Tutor to the Violin. The Third Book [...] To which is Added, a Sett of Preludes in all the Keys after a new manner, Compos'd by Mr. Tho. Dean'.²⁷⁵ This publication is no longer extant, but Dean's flourishes, intended as improvisatory warm-up exercises, were reprinted by Young and Rawlins in the Fourth Book (1707).

'As also an excellent Solo': instrumental treatises

Until now, musicologists have not highlighted the fact that several recorder treatises (and one violin treatise) were printed with the addition of a solo sonata, as detailed in Table 3.3.²⁷⁶ They demonstrate the demand for a newer style of solo music in already established instruction books.

Publication	Composer
<i>The Self-Instructor on the Violin [...] to which is added an excellent Solo of M^r. Courtiville</i> (London: Miller, Walsh and Hare, 1695)	Raphael Courteville (fl. c. 1675–1735)
<i>The Compleat Flute Master [...] to which is added an admirable Solo</i> (London: Walsh and Hare, 1695)	Courteville
<i>The 2d Book of the new Flute-Master; Containing variety of the newest Ayres for the Flute [...] Likewise a Solo by Mr. W^m. Williams</i> (London: Walsh and Hare, 1700) ²⁷⁷	William Williams (1675–1701)

²⁷⁴ *Bibliotheca Annuæ: OR, THE ANNUAL CATALOGUE FOR The Year 1701. BEING AN EXACT CATALOGUE OF ALL English and Latin Books, Printed in ENGLAND, From March 25, 1701, to March 25, 1702* (London: J. Nutt, 1701), p. 69; the publisher John Young is not mentioned in this advertisement.

²⁷⁵ *The Daily Courant*, 11 May 1702; issue 19.

²⁷⁶ A complete list of recorder treatises, including those no longer extant, is given in Mary Vinquist, 'Recorder Tutors of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries: Technique and Performance Practice' (PhD dissertation, The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1974); see also David Lasocki, 'Instruction books and methods for the recorder from around 1500 to the present day', in *The Cambridge Companion to the Recorder*, ed. John Mansfield Thomson and Anthony Rowland-Jones (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 119–36.

²⁷⁷ *The London Gazette*, 25–8 November 1700, issue 3657; Smith, *Bibliography*, p. 15, no. 33; not extant.

<i>The Compleat Instructor to the Flute. The Third Book</i> (London: John Young, 1701) ²⁷⁸	William Croft (1678–1727)
<i>The FLUTE-MASTER Compleat Improv'd or the Gentlemans Diversion [...] Book the FIRST [...] To which is Added, An Excellent Solo by M^r. Tho: Deane of y^e Queen's Theatre [...] Price one Shilling & Six Pence</i> (London: John Young, 1706) ²⁷⁹	Thomas Dean senior (fl. 1701–11)
<i>The 4th Book of the Compleat Flute Master: Or, the whole Art of Playing on the Flute [...] To which is added, a plain Scale for the transposing of any Tune from the Violin or Voice to the Flute; as also an excellent Solo, by Mr Edw. Keen, never before published</i> (London: Walsh, Hare and Randall, 1707) ²⁸⁰	Edward Keen (fl. 1699–?1735)
<i>The 4th Book of the Gentleman's Companion, being a choice Collection of the newest Tunes for the Flute [...] To which is added, an excellent Solo, by Mr Edw. Keen, never before published</i> (London: Walsh and Hare, 1707) ²⁸¹	Keen
<i>The Book of the Flute Master Improv'd [...] also a new Sonata for a Flute by Arcangelo Corelli</i> (London: L. Pippard, 1710) ²⁸²	Corelli
<i>The Fifth Book of the Compleat Flute-Master: Or the whole Art of Playing on the Flute [...] to which is added a Plain Scale for the transposing of any Tune from the Violin or Voice to the Flute; as also an</i>	Johann Christoph Pepusch (1667–1752)

²⁷⁸ *Bibliotheca Annua* [...] FOR *The Year 1701*, p. 69: 'The Compleat Instructor to the Flute. The Third Book. Containing Plain and Easy Directions for young Beginners, with variety of the newest and best Tunes, Composed and Contrived on purpose for that Instrument, by these Masters, Mr. *Jer. Clark*, Mr. *Dan. Purcell*, Mr. *Will. Croft*, Mr. *Hen. Simmon*, and several other Eminent Masters. To which is added, An Excellent Chaconne by Mr. *Clark*, and a Solo by Mr. *Croft*. Also a Scale shewing how to Transpose Tunes out of any Keys for the Flute. The whole Carefully Corrected, and fairly Engraven on Copper Plates, price 1 s. 6 d. [...] printed for *John Young*, Musical Instrument-Seller at the *Dolphin* and *Crown* at the West-End of *St. Paul's Church-Yard*.'; *The Post Boy*, 17–9 April 1701, issue 923; advertisement partially cited but without reference to the solo sonata in Tilmouth, 'A Calendar of References to Music in Newspapers', p. 37; not extant.

²⁷⁹ *The Post Man*, 7–9 May 1706, issue 1610; The First Book of *The Flute-Master* was already advertised earlier without mention of the solo by Dean: *Bibliotheca Annua: OR, THE ANNUAL CATALOGUE FOR The Years, 1702, and 1703. BEING AN EXACT CATALOGUE OF ALL English and Latin Books, Printed in ENGLAND, From March 25, 1702, to March 25, 1704* (London: J. Nutt, 1704), p. 40.

²⁸⁰ *The Post Man*, 15–8 February 1707, issue 1738; Smith, *Bibliography*, p. 74, no. 236; not extant.

²⁸¹ *The Post Man*, 29 March–1 April 1707, issue 1763; Smith, *Bibliography*, p. 75, no. 240; according to Smith this may have been a separate edition of part of no. 236; not extant.

²⁸² *The Post Man*, 20–3 May 1710, issue 1887; advertisement partially cited in Tilmouth, 'A Calendar of References to Music in Newspapers', p. 76; not extant.

<p><i>excellent Solo, by Sign. Pepush for a Flute and a Bass, never before Published</i> (London: Walsh and Hare, 1712)²⁸³</p>	
<p><i>The 5th Book of the Gentlemans Companion, Being a choice Collection of the newest Tunes for the Flute [...] To which is added an excellent Solo, by Sig Pepush for a Flute and a Base never before Published</i> (London: Walsh and Hare, 1712)²⁸⁴</p>	<p>Pepusch</p>

Table 3.3 Instrumental treatises containing solo sonatas, 1695–1712

Walsh and Hare and their associates John Miller and Peter Randall were not the only issuers of these works, and the smaller publishers John Young and Luke Pippard also printed solo sonatas in their recorder treatises. The inclusion of a solo sonata provided a selling point owing to the novelty, variety, challenge and educational value that it offered; this is reflected in the mention of the solos clearly visible on the title pages, which were often promoted as ‘excellent’, and on separate occasions as ‘new’ or ‘admirable’, with a clear sense of being different in nature and musically superior to the dance tunes (see Chapter 5, Fig. 5.4).²⁸⁵

Apart from *The Self-Instructor on the Violin*, none of the title pages to violin instruction books, including advertisements for lost works, mentions the inclusion of a solo; the majority of extant treatises have also been examined for their contents.²⁸⁶ A case in point is *NOLENS VOLENS The Third Book* (1705), which advertised ‘a Choice Collection of ITALIAN and ENGLISH AYERS by the best Masters as also a Florish or PRELUDE in Every KEY for the VIOLIN by Seignr Gasperini’, which does not contain any solo sonatas.

It could be argued that publishers felt it was only necessary to include solos in recorder treatises, since ample sonatas were already available for the violin. In the preface to his recorder arrangements of Corelli’s Op. 5, Nos. 6–12 (1702), Walsh wrote of ‘that Instrument’s defect of good Musick, which has been so much of late Complain’d of’.²⁸⁷ In spite of this, David Lasocki points out that about one sixth of Walsh’s output between 1695 and 1720 was for the recorder,

²⁸³ *The Post Man*, 10–2 April 1712, issue 2319; Smith, *Bibliography*, p. 120, no. 421; not extant.

²⁸⁴ *The Post Man*, 13–5 May 1712, issue 2332; Smith, *Bibliography*, pp. 126–7, no. 423; according to Smith this may have been a separate edition of part of no. 421; not extant.

²⁸⁵ The addition of single solo sonatas to other publications was not unique to recorder treatises: a solo sonata was added to *A Collection of Musick in Two Parts* (1691) by Finger, and to *SIX SONATAS of two Parts Purposeely made and Contrived for Two FLUTES Compos’d by M.^r William Croft To which is added an Excellent SOLO for a FLUTE and a BASS by Seign.^r Pappus* (1704).

²⁸⁶ A complete list of violin treatises, including those no longer extant, is given in Claire Sharpe, ‘An Annotated Bibliography of Early English Violin Tutors Published 1658–1731 Including Reissues and Subsequent Editions of Single Works’, *A Handbook for Studies in 18th-Century English Music*, X (1999), 1–50.

²⁸⁷ *SIX Solos for A FLUTE and A BASS By ARCHANGELO CORELLI*, preface.

with at least 130 editions of recorder music published between 1695 and 1733.²⁸⁸ Furthermore, before 1712 (the last date in Table 3.3), collections of recorder sonatas by Daniel Purcell, Finger, Parcham, Galliard, Topham, Pepusch, Bitti and Schickhardt were advertised in Britain, and others were undoubtedly easily available via Roger in Amsterdam.

Five of the seven composers whose solo sonatas were added to recorder treatises were British, the other two being Corelli and Pepusch. The solo sonatas in the extant treatises were printed without their bass lines, intended to be played unaccompanied, similar to the ayres and dance tunes.²⁸⁹ The individual solo sonatas are briefly considered below:

Raphael Courteville

See Chapter 2, pp. 100–2.

William Williams

The solo by Williams in *The 2d Book of the new Flute-Master* (1700), no longer extant, was likely the same as ‘A Sonata for a Single Flute Compos’d by M^r. W.^m Williams & engrav’d by Tho: Cross’, appended to GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,466, fols. 62v–63r; no other solo sonatas by Williams are known.

William Croft

The solo sonata by Croft in *The Compleat Instructor to the Flute. The Third Book* (1701) must have been one of his violin sonatas transposed for the recorder.²⁹⁰ A later catalogue printed by Walsh in *The Monthly Masks of Vocal Musick* advertised ‘Mr. Crofts six Solos for Violins and Fluts with a through Bass. 3s. 0d.’, suggesting Croft’s solo sonatas had been arranged for the recorder, although

²⁸⁸ David Lasocki, ‘The London Publisher John Walsh (1665 or 1666–1736) and the Recorder’, in *Sine musica nulla vita: Festschrift Hermann Moock zum 75. Geburtstag am 16. September 1997*, ed. Nicholaus Delius (Celle: Moock, 1997), 343–74 (p. 353).

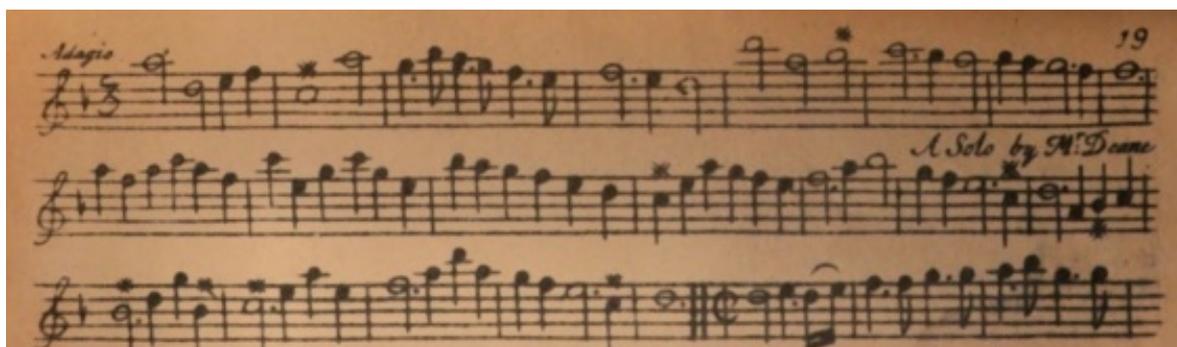
²⁸⁹ Sonatas for two recorders without basso continuo were also advertised in recorder treatises on at least two occasions: *The Second Book of the Compleat Flute Master* (Walsh, Hare and Miller, 1697) contained ‘a Sonata for two Flutes by Mr. Morgan’, and an anonymous ‘Sonata composed on purpose for two Flutes’ was included in *The Second Part of the Gentleman’s Tutor to the Flute* (John Banister, c. 1699); see Vinquist, ‘Recorder Tutors of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries’, pp. 169, 171.

²⁹⁰ *Six Sonatas or Solos [...] Compos’d By M^r W^m Crofts & an Italian M^r* (London, 1699).

according to Smith, this publication was *Six Sonatas or Solos [...] Compos'd By M^r W^m Crofts & an Italian M^r* (London, 1699).²⁹¹

Thomas Dean senior (fl. 1701–11)

Previously unremarked on in the literature is the final piece in John Young's *The FLUTE-MASTER Compleat Improv'd or the Gentlemans Diversion* (1706): 'A Solo by M^r Deane' in D minor, printed on pp. 19–20. This three-movement sonata was printed without a bass line; perhaps it was originally intended for the violin and for Dean's own performances, as it lies idiomatically on this instrument, with frequent use of third position (see Ex. 3.18).



Ex. 3.18 'A Solo by M^r Deane' (Young, 1706)

Edward Keen

The solo sonata by Edward Keen is lost but was likely performed at a benefit concert for the composer.²⁹² According to information given in *A Biographical Dictionary of Actors, Actresses, Musicians* [etc.], benefits for Keen took place in York Buildings between 1699 and 1707, with only one concert advertised thereafter, in 1729.²⁹³

²⁹¹ Smith, *Bibliography*, pp. 41–2, no. 140.

²⁹² Only one part is extant for the 'Overture and Sonata' by Keen in GB-Lbl, Harl. MS 4899, originally for two recorders; in addition to composing songs, some tunes by Keen for recorder or violin are found at the end of the songbook *VINCULUM SOCIETATIS, OR THE Tie of good Company [...] The Third Book* (London: Printed by T Moore and J Heptinstall, for John Carr, 1691).

²⁹³ For further information on Keen, see Philip H. Highfill, JR., Kalman A. Burnim and Edward A. Langhans, *A Biographical Dictionary of Actors, Actresses, Musicians, Dancers, Managers and other Stage Personnel in London, 1660–1800*,

Corelli

The ‘new Sonata for a Flute by Arcangelo Corelli’ is not listed in Vinquist’s ‘Recorder Tutors of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries’. As Luke Pippard’s *The Book of the Flute Master Improv’d* (1710) is no longer extant, it is not known whether the work by ‘Corelli’ was a recorder arrangement from the Op. 5 collection or one of the Marx Anhang sonatas.

The music publisher Luke Pippard had been an apprentice of the elder John Walsh and ran his own music printing and publishing firm between 1709 and 1713.²⁹⁴ In the imprint to *A Hundred and Twenty Country Dances for the Flute* (London: Pippard, 1711), he advertised ‘new books of tunes with instructions for learning on all instruments, with new Sonatas and Solos, and new Songs of all sorts’, undoubtedly referring to *The Book of the Flute Master Improv’d* (1710).²⁹⁵ No other solos published by Pippard have been identified, although several of the trio and larger scale sonatas are known.²⁹⁶

Pepusch

As *The Fifth Book of the Compleat Flute-Master* (1712) is no longer extant, the the ‘*excellent Solo, by Sign. Pepusch for a Flute and a Bass, never before Published*’ cannot be identified.

In addition to the above tutor books, an advertisement for ‘Books sold by J. Young [...] and J. Cullen’ in *The First and Second BOOKS OF THE Division VIOLIN* (?1707) also included single solo sonatas in both violin and recorder versions:²⁹⁷

Volume 8: Hough to Keyse (Carbondale and Edwardsville: Southern Illinois University Press, 1982), p. 281; I have identified an advertisement for a further concert in *The Spectator*, which took place on 11 April 1712 in York Buildings ‘for the Benefit of Mr. Edward Keen, the Father of Twenty Children’; *The Spectator*, 7 April 1712; issue CCCXLVI.

²⁹⁴ David Hunter, ‘Handel as Victim: Composer-Publisher Relations and the Discourse of Musicology’, in *Encomium Musicae: Essays in Honor of Robert J. Snow*, Festschrift Series No. 17, ed. David Crawford and George Grayson Wagstaff (Hillsdale, NY: Pendragon Press, 2002), 663–92 (p. 682, n. 74).

²⁹⁵ Frank Kidson, *British Music Publishers, Printers and Engravers* (London: W. E. Hill & Sons, 1900), pp. 91–2.

²⁹⁶ Pippard published Topham’s *Six Sonatas, five in four and a sixth in seven Parts. Compos’d in imitation of Archangelo Corelli*, Op. 3 (London: Pippard and Young, [1709]), Pepusch’s *Twelve Sonata’s in Parts for Violins or Hautbois’s [...] carefully corrected by Mr Wm Corbet* (London: Pippard, [1710]) and Corbett’s *Six Sonata’s a 3 for Two Flutes or German Flutes and a Bass*, Op. 4 (London: Pippard, for the author, [1712]).

²⁹⁷ *The First and Second BOOKS OF THE Division VIOLIN, With an Addition of several New GROUNDS AND DIVISIONS, Never before Published. Compos’d by the best Masters* (London: printed for W. P. and sold by John Young, John Cullen, and E. Miller, 1707).

A *Solo* for a *Violin* and a *Bass*, by Seignior *Pepusch*, in *Dsolre* Sharp, Price 6 *d.*

The same for a *Flute*, Price 6 *d.*

A *Solo* call'd the *Cuckoo*, for a *Violin*, and a *Bass*, Price 4 *d.*

The same for the *Flute*, Price 4 *d.*

A *Solo* for a *Violin* and a *Bass*, by Mr. *Courtiville*, Price 4 *d.*

The same for a *Flute*, Price 4 *d.*

Lost solo sonatas in the Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg

A manuscript containing a 'Flutta sola' with basso continuo by 'M^r Orme' was once held in the music collection of the Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg but was lost or destroyed in World War II and is otherwise unknown. It is listed in Arrey von Dommer's manuscript catalogue compiled in the 1870s under ND VI 3194, No. 5.²⁹⁸

'M^r Orme' was surely Robert Orme (d. ?1711), an amateur recorder player in London around 1700. Orme composed a trio sonata for recorders titled 'The Imitation of several Birds', similar in style and name to the work by William Williams.²⁹⁹ Orme's trio sonata was published as No. 4 in 8 *SONATES A 3 Pties* (Roger, 1699), with the seven remaining pieces written by the German composer Gottfried Keller (d. 1704).³⁰⁰ Roger included a dedicatory preface to Orme where he is referred to as 'Monsieur Robert Orme Ecuyer', i.e. Esquire. Orme's lost solo sonata must have been written in the 1690s or the first decade of the eighteenth century. It provides yet another

²⁹⁸ Transcribed as 'Mr Orme. Flutta sola [c. BC.] 3 foll. Handschrift / '; Richard Charteris, 'The music collection of the Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Hamburg: a Survey of its British holdings prior to the Second World War', *RMA Research Chronicle*, 30/1 (1997), 1–138 (p. 102).

²⁹⁹ 'Sonata in imitation of Birds', No. 6 in *Six Sonatas in Three Parts* (1700).

³⁰⁰ Rudolf Rasch, *The Music Publishing House of Estienne Roger: Orme-Ouvertures* <https://roger.sites.uu.nl/catalogue/>, p. 2.

example of a single solo sonata for recorder by a British composer, in this case an amateur who associated with professional musicians on the London concert scene.³⁰¹

There are eight items listed under catalogue number ND VI 3194, which include the following solo sonatas in manuscript and print:³⁰²

No. 2: ‘*VI Sonatas or Solos for Violin and Flute by W. Crofts & an Italian Master / London, J. Young 1700 /*’

No. 3: ‘*Dan. Purcell, Sonata [Viol. or Flute and Bass] Handschrift /*’

No. 4: ‘*Nicola Matteis Solo in a # for a Violin and B. s. l. s. a. /*’

No. 6: ‘*Sonata 1 voc. c. BC. ohne Namen. Handschrift /*’

The Daniel Purcell item must have been one of the *Six SONATA's or Solos* (1698), while the ‘Solo’ by Nicola Matteis can be identified as that published for February 1704 in Walsh’s instrumental music periodical.

3.6 ‘Collected out of the choisest works’: Walsh’s Solo Sonata Compilations

After the arrival of Corelli’s Op. 5, Walsh began publishing compilations of sonatas which allowed customers to purchase works by a variety of different composers: an advertisement in *Bibliotheca Annua* [...] FOR THE YEAR *The Year 1700* contains an advertisement for the first multi-composer solo sonata compilation by Walsh, listed as ‘A Collection of choice Sonatas or Solos, for a Violin and a Bass, by Basani, Corelli, Mr. Courtiville, Sen. Nicola, &c.’; this collection is now lost.³⁰³

The ‘Mr. Courtiville’ sonata was probably that published in *The Self-Instructor on the Violin* (1695). The works by ‘Correlli’ and ‘Sen. Nicola’ may have been the same which Walsh published three

³⁰¹ An auction for ‘The famous Collection of Musical-Instruments, and Books, the best in their several kinds, purchased at a great Expence [...] by Robert Orme Esq’ was first mentioned in *The Spectator*, 27 November 1711, issue 233; the collection was advertised in *The Daily Courant* on 7 and 19 December as taking place on 20 December 1711; Orme’s collection included ‘Cremona-Violins, Ross, and Jay-Viols, Flutes, Hautbois, Guitars, Lutes and Harpsichords, made by the best-Hands: Together with an excellent Collection of BOOKS of MUSICK, containing the choicest Sonatas, Motetts, Aires, &c. purchased at great Expence, and with the Advice of the most judicious Masters, by ROBERT ORME, Esq; (lately deceased)’; *The Daily Courant*, 19 December 1711, issue 3178; see also Alec Hyatt King, *Some British Collectors of Music, c. 1600–1960* (Cambridge, University Press, 1963), p. 131.

³⁰² Richard Charteris, ‘The music collection of the Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Hamburg: a Survey of its British holdings prior to the Second World War’, *RMA Research Chronicle*, 30/1 (1997), 1–138 (p. 102).

³⁰³ *Bibliotheca Annua: OR, THE ANNUAL CATALOGUE FOR The Year 1700*, p. 31; also advertised in *The Post Boy*, 12–5 April 1701, issue 921; Smith, *Bibliography*, p. 19, no. 50.

years later in his 1704 instrumental music periodical. More difficult to identify is the work attributed to ‘Basani’, i.e. Giovanni Battista Bassani (c. 1650–1716), but it might have been a trio sonata: in ‘A Catalogue of English and Itallian Musick for all sorts of Instruments’, added to a copy of *The Monthly Masks of Vocal Musicke* (1703), Walsh listed the same print as ‘Sonatas and Solos for a violin and a Bass by Basana Corelli and Nicola’.³⁰⁴ The change from the word ‘or’ to ‘and’ suggests that the publication contained both trio and solo sonatas.

‘The Greatest Masters in Europe for the year 1704’: Walsh’s instrumental music periodical

Performances of Italianate string music began reaching their height at the concert rooms and theatres in the years following 1700, creating a significant point of arrival for the solo sonata in Britain. Although Walsh and Hare only published *collections* of solo sonatas by individual resident composers until 1708, single imported solos were part of a different venture: Walsh and Hare began publishing a monthly periodical of instrumental music, to include ‘the best and choicest Sonata’s and Solo’s by the Greatest Masters in Europe for the year 1704’.

Walsh’s periodical was aimed at the music-loving public who could purchase pieces they had recently heard performed at concerts or the theatre. During the first half of the year, every month the music included a trio sonata and a solo sonata, each by a different composer, whereas in the latter half of the year the solo sonatas were combined with larger-scale instrumental works.³⁰⁵

Concerning the solo sonatas, the ‘Greatest Masters’ comprised the resident composers Pepusch, Williams, Courteville, Dean, as well as Matteis junior, who had left in 1700. The imported music included works by Bitti (who may have visited Britain around 1703) Lonati (who also possibly visited Britain), Pez, Torelli, and ‘Corelli’. Walsh made a point that his collection represented Europe, not just Britain or Italy: out of the ten composers of solo sonatas, five were Italian, three were British and two were German.

All of the advertisements for Walsh’s periodical appeared in *The Post Man*.³⁰⁶ In January it was announced that the periodical would be ‘continued monthly, with the best and choicest Sonata’s and Solo’s by the Greatest Masters in Europe for the year 1704’.³⁰⁷ Eight of the eleven solo sonatas

³⁰⁴ Smith, *Bibliography*, pp. 41–2, no. 140.

³⁰⁵ The trio or larger-scale sonatas and concerti grossi paired with the solos were composed by Torelli, Henry Purcell (‘Golden Sonata’), Bassani, Corelli (‘Trumpet Sonata’), Albinoni, Pez, Albinoni, Caldara, Corelli, Pepusch, Albinoni, Caldara & Gabrieli.

³⁰⁶ A full transcription of *The Post Man* advertisements can be found in Appendix C.

³⁰⁷ *The Post Man*, 22–5 January 1704, issue 1231.

are now found at Durham Cathedral Library, shelfmark C30, printed in score, each taking up four pages.³⁰⁸ Details for each work are given in Table 3.4

Month	Newspaper advertisement	Composer	Instrument	Key	Page nos.
January	A new Solo, by Signior Martino for a Violin and a Bass, perform'd by Signior Gasperini ³⁰⁹	Martino Bitti (1655/6–1743)	Violin/ harpsichord/ spinet	A major	1–4
February	A Favourite Solo for a Violin and a Bass by Mr Nicholas [illegible], the Solo proper for the Harpsicord ³¹⁰	Nicola Matteis junior (c. 1667–1737)	Violin/ harpsichord	A major	5–8
March	A Solo in A# for a Violin by Arcangelo Corelli. The Solo Proper for the Harpsichord or Spinet ³¹¹	Corelli?	Violin/ harpsichord/ spinet	A major	9–12
April	A new Solo for a Violin and a Bass, by Martino Beity ³¹²	Bitti	Violin	A major	13–6
May	A Solo for a Violin, by Carlo Ambrogio Conati [sic], the Solo proper for the Harpsicord or Spinnett ³¹³	Carlo Ambrogio Lonati (c. 1645– c. 1710–15)	Violin/ harpsichord/ spinet	G minor	17–20
June	A Solo for a Violin by Signior Pepusch. The Solo	Johann Christoph	Violin/ harpsichord/	D major	21–4

³⁰⁸ See R. Alec Harman, *A Catalogue of the Printed Music and Books on Music in Durham Cathedral Library* (London: Oxford University Press, 1968).

³⁰⁹ *The Post Man*, 22–5 January 1704, issue 1231; Smith, *Bibliography*, p. 46, no. 143.

³¹⁰ *The Post Man*, 2–4 March 1704, issue not known; Smith, p. 48, no. 149.

³¹¹ Title as given in publication; Smith, *Bibliography*, pp. 48–9, no. 150*b*; no advertisement given in Smith.

³¹² *The Post Man*, 27–9 April 1704, issue 1261; Smith, *Bibliography*, p. 48, no. 150.

³¹³ *The Post Man*, 10–3 June 1704, issue not known; Smith, *Bibliography*, p. 49, no. 150*c*; no advertisement given in Smith.

	proper for the Harpsicord or Spinnet ³¹⁴	Pepusch (1667–1752)	spinnet		
July	No solo sonata this month; instead a concerto grosso by Tomaso Albinoni (Op. 2, No. 6) ³¹⁵	-	-	-	-
August	A Solo for a Flute and a Bass by Mr. Wm. Williams ³¹⁶	William Williams (1675–1701)	Recorder	[D minor]	?
September	A Solo for a Flute, and a Bass by Mr. Courtivil ³¹⁷	Raphael Courteville fl. (1675–c. 1735)	Recorder	[C major]	?
October	A Solo for a Violin or Flute, by Signior Pez ³¹⁸	Johann Christoph Pez (1664–1716)	Violin or recorder	?	?
November	A Solo for a Violin and a Bass by Mr Tho. Dean of the New Theatre, never before printed, the Solo proper for the Harpsicord of Spinnet ³¹⁹	Thomas Dean senior (fl. 1701–11)	Violin/ harpsichord/ spinnet	A major	5–7
December	A Solo for a Violin and a Bass by Signior Torelli, the Solo proper for the Harpsichord or Spinnet ³²⁰	Giuseppe Torelli (1658–1707)	Violin/ harpsichord/ spinnet	G minor	8–10

Table 3.4 Solo sonatas in Walsh's instrumental music periodical (1704)

³¹⁴ *The Post Man*, 8–11 July 1704, issue 1292; Smith, *Bibliography*, p. 48, no. 150a; no advertisement given in Smith.

³¹⁵ *The Post Man*, 19–22 August 1704, issue 1309; Smith deest.

³¹⁶ *The Post Man*, 26–8 September 1704, issue not known; Smith, *Bibliography*, p. 49, no. 153.

³¹⁷ *The Post Man*, 17–9 October 1704, issue 1331; Smith, *Bibliography*, p. 50, no. 155.

³¹⁸ *The Post Man*, 11–4 November 1704, issue not known; Smith, *Bibliography*, p. 50, no. 157.

³¹⁹ *The Post Man*, 14–6 December 1704, issue 1356; Smith, *Bibliography*, p. 51, no. 159.

³²⁰ *The Post Man*, 13–6 January 1705, issue 1364; Smith, *Bibliography*, p. 53, no. 165.

Stamped title pages give the details of each solo sonata (Fig. 3.4):



Fig. 3.4 Title page to *A Solo in Gb for a Violin and a Bass by Signr Torelli* (Walsh, 1704)
Reproduced by kind permission of the Chapter of Durham Cathedral

Advertisements or title-pages state that some solos could be performed on the harpsichord or spinet. While this was partially a sales tactic to make the music available to a wider audience, Walsh's periodical provides evidence of this performance practice in Britain.

Notably, the names of the soloists who performed these works were occasionally advertised. The only solo sonata for which the venue is known was Bitti's solo sonata for January, performed at the Drury Lane theatre; more details were given for some of the corresponding multi-part pieces.³²¹

None of the solo sonatas were taken from larger collections by individual composers offered for sale by Walsh in or before 1704, and thereby formed a unique set on their own. As Walsh's periodical was a short-lived venture which was not repeated, its success is difficult to gauge, although there seemed to be some attempt to continue it in 1705: *The Post Man* dated 3–5 April advertised 'The Instrumental Musick for January, February and March, 6 new Sonatas for 2 Flutes and a Bass [...] Compos'd by Mr. William Corbet';³²² at least some of the solos were reprinted in multi-composer collections. A parallel, but more long-standing periodical was *The Monthly Mask of*

³²¹ January: 'That famous Sonata in Alamire for 2 Violins and a through Bass, by Signior Torrelli, perform'd by Signior Gasperini and Mr Dean at the Theatre', *The Post Man*, 22–5 January 1704, issue 1231; February: 'That Excellent piece of Musick, call'd the Golden Sonata, compos'd by the late Mr Henry Purcel, perform'd by Mr Banister and Mr Dean, at the Subscription Musick in York-Buildings', *The Post Man*, 2–4 March 1704, issue not known; July: 'A Sonata Concerto Grosso for Violins, in 5, 6, and 7 parts, Compos'd by Signior Albinoni, perform'd by Signior Gasperini and others, at the Theatre', *The Post Man*, 19–22 August 1704, issue 1309.

³²² *The Post Man*, 3–5 April 1705, issue 1389; Smith, *Bibliography*, p. 55, no. 172.

Vocal Music, published by Walsh and Hare between 1702 and 1711, in which the names of the singer and the performance venue were frequently printed above each song.³²³

January

The first solo sonata in Walsh's series is by the Italian violin virtuoso Martino Bitti (1655/6–1743). Unusually, *The Post Man* advertisement and the print itself state that the work was performed by Signior Gasperini, i.e. the visiting Cremonese virtuoso Gasparo Visconti, who was the most prominent Italian violinist heard in London at the time; the venue was given on the stamp on the title page to the print as 'The Theater Royall', i.e. the Drury Lane theatre.³²⁴ According to Michael Talbot, the two works published for January and April are the earliest known (as well as the earliest printed instrumental compositions) by Bitti.³²⁵

February

'Mr. Nicola's Favourite Solo in a#' is concordant with 'Young Nicola', GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,466, No. 21, fols. 29v–31r.³²⁶ The Walsh print in six movements or sections (Adagio/Presto–Adagio–Allegro–[untitled]–Grave–Allegro) concludes with a giga-style Allegro in 6/8 not found in the British Library manuscript. I have identified this as the fifth and final movement of 'Sonata Quinta' for violin from Daniel Purcell's *Six Sonatas or Solos, three for a Violin, And three for the Flute, with a Thorough Bass for the Harpsicord* (Walsh, 1698), despite the attribution to 'N: M:' at the bottom of the page (see Ex. 3.19).³²⁷

³²³ Facsimile edition: Olive Baldwin and Thelma Wilson, ed., *The Monthly Mask of Vocal Music, 1702–1711*, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007).

³²⁴ Talbot SV4; see Talbot, 'A Thematic Catalogue of the Instrumental Music of Martino Bitti', p. 76.

³²⁵ Talbot, 'Martino Bitti's Twenty-Four Sonatas for Violin and Basso Continuo: An Introduction', p. 5.

³²⁶ Title as given on Henry Purcell's *Golden Sonata* with which it was paired; it was reprinted in *Six Select SOLOS Collected out of the Choisest Works of Six Eminent Authors* [...] the First Collection Engraven and Carefully Corected (London: Walsh and Hare, 1706).

³²⁷ Also as 'Sonata Quinta' in *Six Sonatas or Solos for the Violin with a Thorough Bass for the Harpsicord or Bass Violin Compos'd by M.^r G. Finger and M.^r D. Purcell* (Walsh, 1708).

The image shows a page of handwritten musical notation for a violin solo in A major. The score is divided into two main sections: **Grave** and **Allegro**. The **Grave** section is marked with a tempo of 6/4 and includes figured bass notation such as $4\ 6\ b_5\ 5\ 6\ 5\ 4\ 3\ 6$ and $7\ 6\ 4\ 5\ 4\ 3$. The **Allegro** section is marked with a tempo of 6/8 and includes figured bass notation such as $6\ 5\ 6\ 5\ 6\ 5\ 4\ 3$ and $6\ 5\ 4\ 3$. The score is written in treble and bass clefs with a key signature of two sharps (F# and C#). The page number 8 is visible in the top right corner. At the bottom of the page, there are markings for **Piano**, **A**, and **N: M:**.

Ex. 3.19 Nicola Matteis junior, *A Solo in a# for a Violin*, Grave and Allegro (Walsh, 1704)
 Reproduced by kind permission of the Chapter of Durham Cathedral

Slurs were added to the Matteis attribution which are not found in the Daniel Purcell print, but there are no significant differences otherwise. Mistakes and false attributions could result from publishers not always obtaining the music directly from composers, but rather through the circulation of manuscripts. Walsh probably decided to add the 6/8 Allegro since Matteis junior's sonata would otherwise have ended with the preceding Grave; perhaps Matteis's final movement was missing from the source Walsh was working from. Emphasis is placed on the soloistic violin part throughout the sonata, which includes rapid scalic passages over a tonic pedal in the basso continuo, written-out flourishes and semiquaver arpeggios requiring a dexterous bow hand for the rapid string crossings (see Chapter 5, Ex. 5.1).³²⁸

March

No details of an advertisement for the 'VIOLINO SOLO Del Archangelo Corelli' ('A Solo in A# for a Violin by Arcangelo Corelli') are given in Smith (no. 150*b*) or have otherwise been located; its existence in Durham C30, printed in the same format as the other solos, confirms it as the 'missing piece' within the periodical. A title page in GB-Ltc lists the work, although it is missing in this source.³²⁹ The 'Corelli' solo is not one of the Op. 5 collection but can be identified as Marx Anh. 33. Concordances are found in manuscripts of British provenance, including the Armstrong-Finch manuscript, pp. 9–11, in the hand of William Armstrong, which is not listed in Marx.³³⁰ The sonata follows a standard four-movement form (Adagio–Allegro–Grave–Giga) and there is some simple double stopping for the violin in the final movement. Since Walsh's violin and recorder versions of Corelli's Op. 5 sonatas were already widely available, a different work by 'Corelli' was an enticing purchase, regardless of its authenticity.

April

'A SOLO in A# for a VIOLIN by Sig.^r Martino Betti' was the second solo sonata by Bitti in Walsh's periodical, and is the unique source for this work.³³¹ It was therefore not included among the seven solo sonatas by Bitti in GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,466. Michael Talbot suggests that the work

³²⁸ The solo was falsely attributed to Matteis senior and the music discussed in George Alfred Proctor, 'The Works of Nicola Matteis Sn.' (PhD dissertation, Eastman School of Music, University of Rochester, 1960), pp. 113–7.

³²⁹ Lindgren, 'The Great Influx of Italians and Their Instrumental Music into London, 1701–10', p. 467.

³³⁰ For other concordances, including an Italian source, see Hans Joachim Marx, *Die Überlieferung der Werke Arcangelo Corellis: catalogue raisonné* (Cologne: Arno Volk Verlag, 1980), Anh. 33, pp. 249–50.

³³¹ Talbot catalogue no. SV8; see Talbot, 'A Thematic Catalogue of the Instrumental Music of Martino Bitti', p. 76.

may have belonged together with the sonatas in the British Library manuscript and intended as a parallel publication to Bitti's *Sonate a Due Violino, e Basso Per Suonarsi con Flauto o' vero Violino* (Walsh, 1711).³³² The sonata is in four movements with some flamboyant writing for the violin reaching third position in the fast movements (Ex. 3.20).

Ex. 3.20 Martino Bitti, *A Solo in A# for a Violin*, Allegro (Walsh, 1704)
Reproduced by kind permission of the Chapter of Durham Cathedral

³³² Ibid, pp. 58–9.

May

Walsh's print of the 'VIOLINO SOLO del. Sig.^r Carlo Ambrogio Lonati' in G minor is the unique source for this work. It follows the movement structure Adagio–Allemanda–Presto–Allegro. This idiomatic violin sonata features multiple stopping in the Adagio and together with the Allemanda contains written-out florid ornamentation. The ornaments include some 'tremolo', or slurred repeated notes under the same bow, similar to that found in No. VI of Lonati's 1701 set of violin sonatas.

June

Titled 'A SOLO in D# for a VIOLIN by Signr Pepusch', this four-movement work was the second solo sonata by Pepusch printed by Walsh.³³³ A transposition up to F Major for recorder was published as part of Roger's *VI Sonate a Flauto Solo Con Cimbalo o Vero Fagotto del Signore Pepusch* (1705). It was also printed by Walsh in *Six Sonatas or Solos for the flute with a Through Bass for the Harpsicord Compos'd by Mr Pepusch* (1707). The sonata follows a four-movement pattern with lively semiquaver passages in the final 12/8 Allegro rather than the usual triplet patterns.

July

Instead of a solo sonata, Walsh added variety this month by publishing a 'Sonata Concerto Grosso for Violins, in 5, 6, and 7 parts, Compos'd by Signior Albinoni, perform'd by Signior Gasperini and others, at the Theatre', identified as Albinoni's Op. 2, No. 6.³³⁴ It was the first concerto made available to the British public,³³⁵ and its description as a 'Sonata Concerto Grosso' in *The Post Man* advertisement suggests an unfamiliarity with the genre. The first movement of this concerto was adapted into an unaccompanied 'Prelude by Signr Albinoni' in Walsh's *Select Preludes or Voluntarys for y^e Violin* (1705) with the high positions on the violin omitted. Walsh temporarily changed his assertion that the periodical was to 'be continued monthly the best and choicest Sonata's and Solo's by the greatest Masters in Europe'³³⁶ to 'the choicest Sonata's and Concerto's',³³⁷ although the only

³³³ Cook catalogue no. 1:163; see Cook, 'The life and works of Johann Christoph', vol. 2, p. 84, where details of concordances are given.

³³⁴ Michael Talbot, 'Albinoni, Tomaso Giovanni', *Grove Music Online* <Oxford Music Online> [accessed 12 April 2019].

³³⁵ Arthur Hutchings, et al., 'Concerto', *Grove Music Online* <Oxford Music Online> [accessed 2 September 2016].

³³⁶ *The Post Man*, 8–11 July 1704, issue 1292.

³³⁷ *The Post Man*, 19–22 August 1704, issue 1309.

other ‘concerto’ was printed for August 1704, listed as ‘A Sanato Concerta Gross [*sic*] in 5 or 6 parts for Violins, Compos’d by Signior Caldara’.

August

‘A Solo for a Flute and a Bass by Mr. Wm. Williams’ i.e. William Williams, was the first of three recorder sonatas included in Walsh’s periodical. It does not form part of Durham C30 but was probably the same as ‘A Sonata for a Single Flute Compos’d by M^r. W.^m Williams & engrav’d by Tho: Cross’, appended to GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,466, fols. 62v–63r.

September

‘A Solo for a Flute, and a Bass by Mr. Courtivil’, i.e. Raphael Courteville, is not included in Durham C30, but was almost certainly the same work as that published in *The Compleat Flute Master* (1695).

October

The violin/recorder sonata by Pez is not found in Durham C30, nor is it listed in Richard L. Hardie’s ‘Descriptive Catalogue of Walsh’s Extant Instrumental Publications’.³³⁸ It is the only solo sonata in Walsh’s periodical which could not be identified; it is not possible to know whether it might have been the solo sonata by Pez in F major published two years later as Sonata No. 10 in *DIX SONATES pour les flûtes, dont il y en a VI À II FLÛTES DE M^r. WILLIAM CROFT & IV À 1 FLÛTE & 1 BASSE de la Composition de M^r. Pepusch, Fioco & Pez* (Roger, 1706).

November

Walsh’s print for the A major violin sonata by ‘Mr Tho Dean of the new Theatre’, i.e. Thomas Dean senior, is the unique source for this work. The ‘new Theatre’ was the Lincoln’s Inn Fields theatre where Dean played in the band during the 1703/4 season.

³³⁸ Richard L. Hardie, “‘Curiously Fitted and Contriv’d’”: Production Strategies Employed by John Walsh, from 1695 to 1712, with a Descriptive Catalogue of his Instrumental Publications’ (PhD dissertation, University of Western Ontario, 2000).

The sonata follows a standard four-movement pattern (Adagio–Allegro–Adagio–Allegro), ending with a giga-style movement, and provides some insight into Dean’s skills as a violinist. The tuneful opening Adagio allows much opportunity for embellishment, with its long sequence of minims separated by wide intervals; the cheerful second movement Allegro features arpeggiated passagework, which culminate in E₆ in fourth position in the penultimate bar (Ex. 3.21). Perhaps this was the ‘piece of Instrumental Musick intirely new, with a Solo by Mr. Dean’ performed during a performance of *Circe* for the benefit of ‘I. Smith’ at the Lincoln’s Inn Fields theatre on 14 July 1704.³³⁹

³³⁹ *The Daily Courant*, 14 July 1704, issue 701.

Ex. 3.21 Thomas Dean, *A Solo in A# for a Violin and a Bass*, Allegro (Walsh, 1704), p. 6
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December

‘VIOLINO SOLO / Del Guiseppe Torrelli’, i.e. Giuseppe Torelli (1658–1707) in G minor is the final solo sonata in Walsh’s sonata periodical.³⁴⁰ The work is otherwise obscure and it is not known

³⁴⁰ No concordances are given in Francesco Passadore, *Catalogo tematico delle composizioni di Giuseppe Torelli (1658–1709)* (Padova: I solisti veneti, 2007), pp. 25–6.

whether it was perhaps once included in one of the following lost prints of Torelli's music published by Roger: *Capricci musicali per camera a violin e viola overo arcileuto*, Op. 7 (1698)³⁴¹ or *Sonate 12 a viol. solo col basso o cimbalo da Torelli perti e altri autory* (1698).³⁴² The sonata follows a traditional four-movement structure (Adagio–Allegro–Adagio–Jigg/Vivace) and features some busy dialogue between the two parts in the second movement. Technically, the violin part does not venture beyond third position, and the only multiple stopping is on the final chord in G minor.

Other solo sonata compilations by Walsh

Six of the trio sonatas from Walsh's 1704 periodical were later published as *Harmonia Mundi* in c. 1707.³⁴³ A parallel publication for the first six solo sonatas appeared in 1706, advertised in *The Post Boy* as follows (Fig. 3.5):³⁴⁴

Six select Solos for a Violin and a thorough Bass, collected out of the Choicest Works of Six Eminent Masters, viz. Signior Martino Betty, Mr. Nicola, Jun. Signior Corelli, Signior Torelli, Signior Carlo Ambrogio, and Mr. Pepusch; the first Collection Engraven and carefully Corrected, price 3 s.³⁴⁵

³⁴¹ Rudolf Rasch, *The Music Publishing House of Estienne Roger: Taglietti-Trios* <<https://roger.sites.uu.nl/catalogue/>>, p. 32.

³⁴² Rudolf Rasch, *The Music Publishing House of Estienne Roger and Michel-Charles Le Cène: Part Two: Catalogues: Catalogues Roger 1696-1700* <<https://roger.sites.uu.nl/>>, p. 7.

³⁴³ *The Post Boy*, 28–30 May 1702, issue 1098; Smith, *Bibliography*, p. 80, no. 257.

³⁴⁴ *Six Select SOLOS Collected out of the Choisest Works of Six Eminent Authors [...] the First Collection Engraven and Carefully Corrected* (London: Walsh and Hare, 1706); GB-Lbl, h.1729.yy.(2.).

³⁴⁵ *The Daily Courant*, 23 November 1706, issue 1439; Smith, *Bibliography*, p. 71, no. 224.

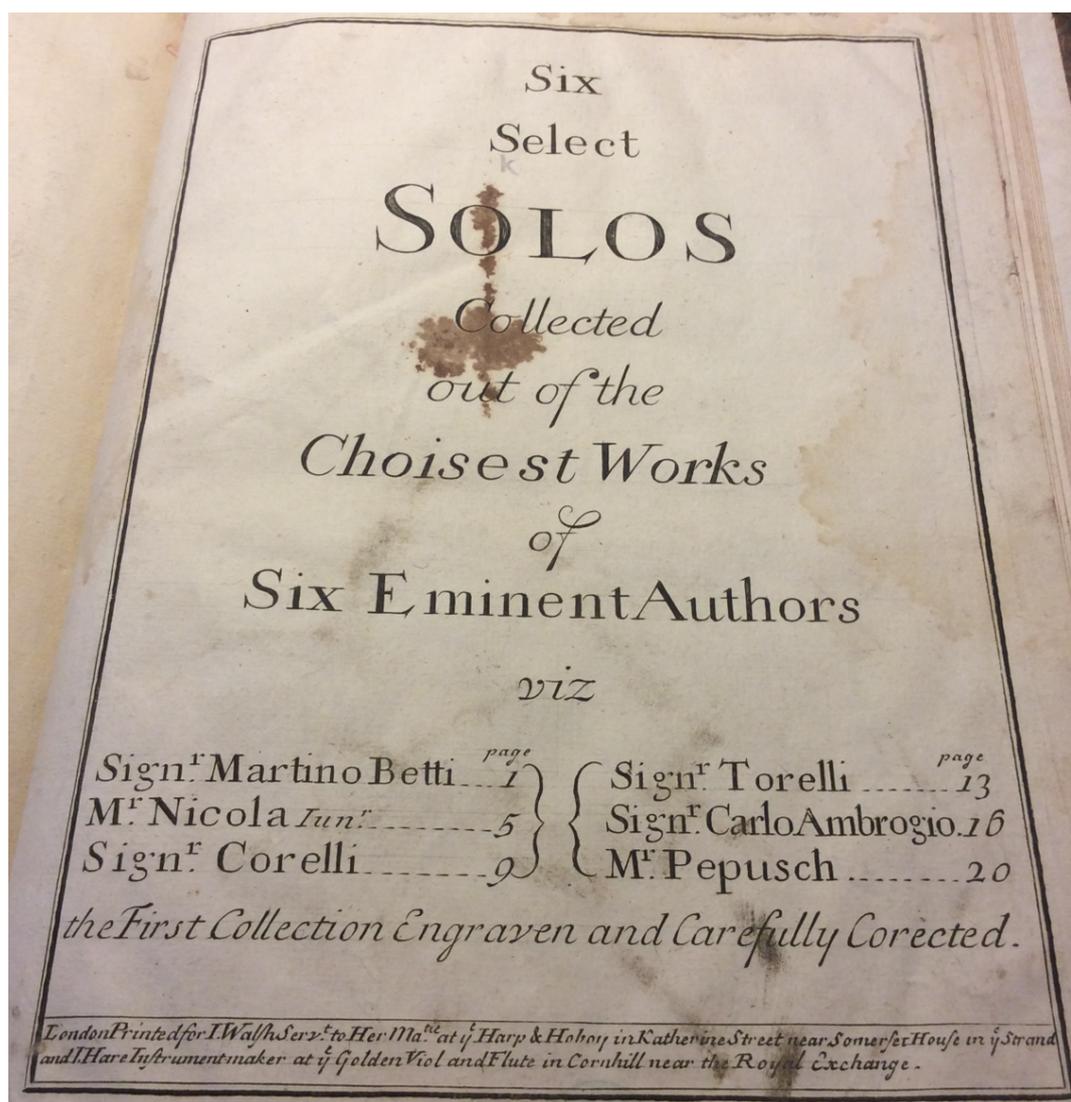


Fig. 3.5 Title page to *Six Select Solos Collected out of the Choisest Works of Six Eminent Authors* (Walsh, 1706)
By permission of the British Library, Music Collections, h.1729.yy.(2.)

The second solo by Bitti (for April) was replaced with that by Torelli (for December) in the 1706 print to make up the ‘Six Eminent Masters’. The pagination of the sonatas from January–June in Durham C30 is continuous (pp. 1–24), further evidence that this source is the original 1704 periodical, although the works were bound together in a different order. Walsh used the same plates for both sets of prints, but the page numbers were changed in the 1706 compilation in order to accommodate the Torelli sonata.³⁴⁶

The mention of a ‘first Collection’ in the advertisement implies that a second collection would also be published, although this has not been located. The solo sonatas from August to December

³⁴⁶ The page numbers appear in the top right-hand corner in C30, and in the middle of the page in parentheses in the 1706 compilation.

(there was no solo sonata for July) cannot be assembled as a set, since Walsh's 1704 prints for the solo sonatas by Williams (August), Courteville (September) and Pez (October) are lost. Furthermore, the page numbers for the final two pieces by Dean (November, pp. 5–7) and Torelli (December, pp. 8–10) are confusing, since the Dean sonata begins on p. 5, which would not have left enough room to accommodate the preceding sonatas from August to October.

Walsh and Hare brought out yet another compilation of trio and solo sonatas, this time aimed at recorder players, titled *Six SONATAS Three for Two FLUTES and Three for a FLUTE & a BASS Compos'd by Several Eminent Masters*.³⁴⁷ It is not included in Smith's Walsh bibliography, but has been dated 1705 in the British Library Catalogue.³⁴⁸ The three solo sonatas are by native composers, and include the works previously published by Williams, Courteville, and Finch ('The Cuckoo'; the composer is not named), printed in separate parts.³⁴⁹

3.7 GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,466 and the Armstrong-Finch Manuscript

In addition to the numerous prints produced by Walsh and Roger, solo sonatas were frequently copied into manuscripts. While it is not possible to discuss each source in detail here, two early eighteenth-century manuscripts stand out since they document the early history of the genre in Britain from the 1680s onwards: GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,466 and the Armstrong-Finch manuscript.

GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,466

GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,466 is a manuscript of British provenance containing sixty-six violin sonatas by various authors copied by two scribes in upright score, its contents suggesting a copying date of c. 1705–10. The volume is titled 'Sixty Six Solo's or Sonata's FOR A Violin and a Base Viol or Harpsichord. Composed BY Several Eminent Masters', added later in the eighteenth century, identifiable by the Gothic lettering of the word 'composed' (Fig. 3.6).³⁵⁰

³⁴⁷ A similarly titled collection is Daniel Purcell's *SIX SONATAS three For two FLUTES & a Bass, and three SOLOS for a FLUTE and a BASS* (Walsh, c. 1710).

³⁴⁸ GB-Lbl, K.11.d.15.(1.); Smith deest; Hardie deest.

³⁴⁹ The figured bass part is labelled 'FLUTO BASSO'.

³⁵⁰ Talbot, 'Martino Bitti's Twenty-Four Sonatas for Violin and Basso Continuo: An Introduction', p. 7, where a more detailed description of the manuscript can be found.

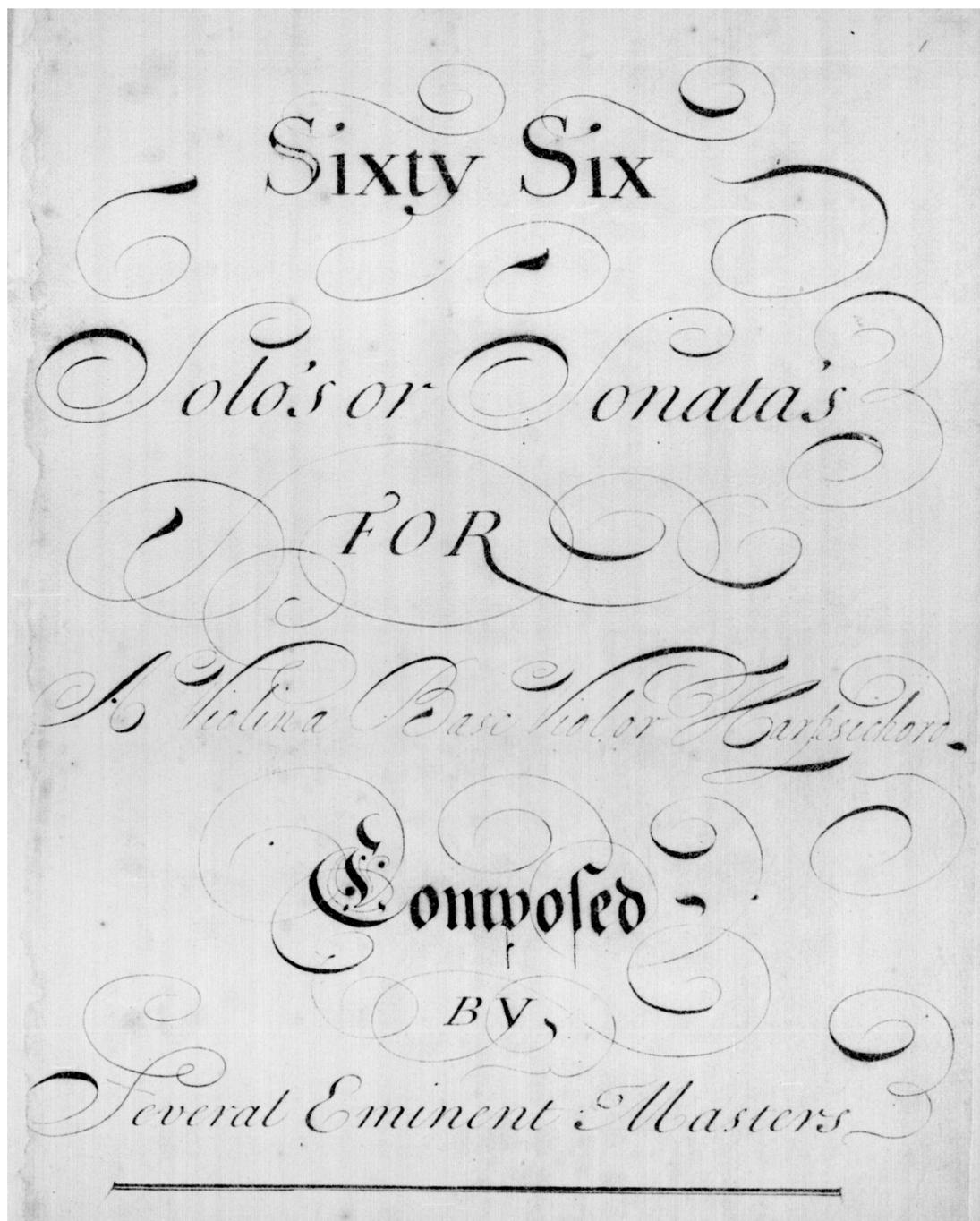


Fig. 3.6 Title page to GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,466
By permission of the British Library, Music Collections

Previous owners of the manuscript include the music collector Julian Marshall (1836–1903) and the amateur singer James Mathias (1709/10–1782). The collection is damaged in places, with ink showing through the folios and tearing making some of the music illegible. The volume measures 36.5 x 26.5 cm, and the sonatas were copied from fol. 2v to fol. 81r, numbered from 1 to 66; a bifolio was added later onto fols. 82–3, with the printed solo sonata by William Williams making up the sixty-seventh sonata. An index grouping the sonatas by key was also added at a later date,

found on fol. 84v. The folio numbers are modern and each sonata occupies between two or three folios. Michael Talbot points out that the way in which the pieces were copied, with the sonatas beginning on the verso side, helps to avoid page turns and suggests that the manuscript was intended for use in performance; furthermore, the manuscript reveals typically British practices of copying, such as the omission of dots on repeats, few trills, sparse figuring in the bass, the lower-case 'g' treble clef employed by the first copyist, and the use of sharp and natural signs instead of flat signs, the latter being common practice until c. 1710.³⁵¹ The first scribe copied the majority of the sonatas, with the second scribe only working on Nos. 17, 18, 20–33, 33, 43 and 66. There was some attempt by the two scribes to categorise the pieces by composer or key, although this is not consistent throughout.

Except for eleven anonymous works (some of which can be attributed to Finger), fifteen of the composers' names are given above the opening bar. Both imported music and works by composers resident in Britain are represented, including some already deceased by the time other works were included. Several of the sonatas could have been copied from printed collections by Walsh or Roger, although details such as slurs, trills and bass figures are frequently changed or omitted. Other sonatas seem to be unique to this manuscript and concordances for those attributed to 'Capelini', 'Vitolina' and 'Gentilis' are yet to be identified. All of the ten Corelli attributions come from sources other than the Op. 5 collection. Finger is the most represented composer, with fourteen attributions to him in the manuscript; in addition, the anonymous sonatas 14, 15, 22 and 23 are ascribed to Finger in other sources, and others may well be by him based on their style.

The contents of GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,466 are summarised in Table 3.5 with examples of concordances identified by the present author.³⁵²

³⁵¹ Ibid, pp. 7–8.

³⁵² For the 'Corelli' concordances, see Marx, *Die Überlieferung der Werke Arcangelo Corellis*; for the 'Finger' concordances, see the 'Thematic Inventory of the Music of Gottfried Finger (c. 1655–1730)' in Robert Rawson, 'From Olomouc to London: the Early Music of Gottfried Finger (c. 1655–1730)' (PhD dissertation, Royal Holloway, University of London, 2002).

No.	Composer	Key	Concordance
1	Corelli	D major	Marx Anh. 34
2	Corelli	A minor	Marx Anh. 35
3	Corelli	G minor	Marx Anh. 62
4	Corelli	A major	Marx Anh. 63
5	Corelli	A major	<i>SONATE A VIOLINO SOLO COL BASSO CONTINUO COMPOSTA DA ARCANGELO CORRELLI e Altri Autory</i> (Roger, 1697), No. 8; Marx deest
6	Finger	A major	US-NYp, MS JOG 72-50, fols. 13v–15r; Rawson RI118
7	Finger	A major	None; Rawson RI119
8	Corelli	A major	Marx Anh. 64
9	Corelli	A major	Marx Anh. 65
10	Purcell, [Daniel]	D major	Daniel Purcell, <i>Six SONATA's or Solos</i> (1698), No. 1 (in F major for recorder)
11	Purcell [Daniel]	B minor	Daniel Purcell, <i>Six SONATA's or Solos</i> (1698), No. 2 (in D minor for recorder)
12	Purcell [Daniel]	A major	Daniel Purcell, <i>Six SONATA's or Solos</i> (1698), No. 3 (in C major for recorder)
13	Anonymous	A major	Croft and Finger, <i>Six Sonatas or Solos [...] Compos'd By M^r W^m Crofts & an Italian M^r</i> (1699), No. 1 by Finger (C major); Rawson RI99 (Add. MS 31,466 not listed)
14	Anonymous	B minor	Croft and Finger, <i>Six Sonatas or Solos [...] Compos'd By M^r W^m Crofts & an Italian M^r</i> (1699), No. 2 (D minor) by Finger; US-R, M1490.B113, fols. 25v–27r; Rawson RI105 (D minor); Rawson RI122a (B minor)
15	Anonymous	D major	Croft and Finger, <i>Six Sonatas or Solos [...] Compos'd By M^r W^m Crofts & an Italian M^r</i> (1699), No. 3 (G major) by Finger; Rawson RI113 (Add. MS 31,466 not listed)
16	Anonymous	G major	-
17	Anonymous	A major	Marx Anh. 33
18	Young Nicola [Matteis Junior]	C minor	-

19	Carlo Ambrosio [Lonati]	D major	Armstrong-Finch manuscript, pp. 46–9, ‘XI / Sonata / del Sig ^r Carlo Ambrosio Lonati’
20	Finger	A major	Rawson RI121a; US-R, M1490.B113, fols. 19v–20v, Rawson RI101 (C major)
21	Young Nicola [Matteis Junior]	A major	‘Mr. Nicola’s Favourite Solo in a#’ (Walsh, 1704); published for February
22	Anonymous	D major	Armstrong-Finch manuscript, pp. 36–9 (D major), ‘IX / Sonata / del Sig G. Finger.’; RI126
23	Anonymous	A major	US-NYp MS JOG 72-50, fols. 5r–7r, ‘Violino Solo / Mr Finger / Sonata’; Rawson RI120
24	Corelli	D major	Marx Anh. 36
25	Vitilina	D major	None; Talbot tentatively suggests Tomaso Antonio Vitali (1663–1745) as the composer ³⁵³
26	Finger	D major	None; RI127
27	Anonymous	E major	-
28	Martino [Bitti]	B-flat major	None; Talbot SV1 ³⁵⁴
29	Martino [Bitti]	C minor	None; Talbot SV2
30	Martino [Bitti]	G minor	None; Talbot SV3
31	Martino [Bitti]	A major	‘A new Solo, by Signior Martino for a Violin and a Bass, perform’d by Signior Gasperini’ (Walsh, 1704), printed for January; Talbot SV4
32	Martino [Bitti]	D minor	None; Talbot SV5
33	Martino [Bitti]	D major	None; Talbot SV6
34	Martino [Bitti]	A minor	None; Talbot SV7
35	Anonymous	G minor	-
36	Anonymous	D minor	Tentatively attributed to Finger by Rawson; RI131
37	Anonymous	D minor	-

³⁵³ Talbot, ‘Martino Bitti’s Twenty-Four Sonatas for Violin and Basso Continuo: An Introduction’, p. 8.

³⁵⁴ For works by Bitti, see Talbot, ‘A Thematic Catalogue of the Instrumental Music of Martino Bitti (1655/6–1743)’, 46–94.

38	Capelini	A minor	None; Michael Talbot puts forward Carlo Capellini (1635–84) as the composer; ³⁵⁵ Pietro Paolo Cappellini (fl. 17th century) is suggested in the <i>New Grove</i> ³⁵⁶
39	Pepusch	D major	None; Cook 1:154
40	Pepusch	B-flat major	<i>XXIV SOLOS for a VIOLIN with a THROUGH BASS for the HARPSICORD or BASS VIOLIN Compos'd by Sign^r Pepusch</i> (Walsh, 1708), Vol. II, No. 15; Cook 1:150
41	Pepusch	A minor	<i>XXIV SOLOS for a VIOLIN with a THROUGH BASS for the HARPSICORD or BASS VIOLIN Compos'd by Sign^r Pepusch</i> (Walsh, 1708), Vol. II, No. 17; Cook 1:151
42	Pepusch	E minor	See Cook 1:155
43	Pepusch	D major	None; Cook 1:156
44	Courteville [Raphael]	A major	<i>The Self-Instructor on the Violin [...] to which is added an excellent Solo of M^r. Courtinville</i> (London: Miller, Walsh and Hare, 1695)
45	Finger	B flat major	Armstrong-Finch manuscript, pp. 58–63, ‘XIV / Sonata / del Sig ^r G. Finger.’ (A major); Rawson RI125
46	Finger	B-flat major	Gottfried Finger, <i>VI SONATAS or SOLO'S</i> (1690), No. 1; Rawson RI124
47	Finger	F major	Gottfried Finger, <i>VI SONATAS or SOLO'S</i> (1690), No. 2; Rawson RI136
48	Finger	D major	Rawson RI128a; Gottfried Finger, <i>VI SONATAS or SOLO'S</i> (1690), No. 6 (F major), Rawson RI106
49	Finger	B minor	Rawson RI123a; Gottfried Finger, <i>VI SONATAS or SOLO'S</i> (1690), No. 5 (D minor), RI104
50	Finger	E major	Rawson RI133a; Gottfried Finger, <i>VI SONATAS or SOLO'S</i> (1690), No.4 (G major), RI112
51	Finger	E major	Armstrong-Finch manuscript, pp. 32–5, ‘VIII / Sonata / del Sig ^r G. Finger.’; Rawson RI134

³⁵⁵ Talbot, ‘Martino Bitti’s Twenty-Four Sonatas for Violin and Basso Continuo: An Introduction’, p. 8.

³⁵⁶ Lawrence E. Bennett, ‘Cappellini, Pietro Paolo’, *Grove Music Online* <Oxford Music Online> [accessed 12 April 2019].

52	Finger	E major	Armstrong-Finch manuscript, pp. 28–31, ‘VII / Sonata / del Sig. G. Finger.’; Rawson RI135
53	Finger	E major	Gottfried Finger, <i>VI SONATAS or SOLO’S</i> (1690), No. 3; RI132
54	Finger	F major	See Rawson RI137
55	Pepusch	C major	None; Cook 1:157
56	Old Nicola [Matteis]	C minor	Nicola Matteis, <i>Ayres for the Violin</i> , Book 3: Malinconico, No. 44 (Adagio); ³⁵⁷ Aria con divisione, No. 46 (Presto); Aria For the Flute, No. 122; Fuga, No. 116 (Presto)
57	Corelli	A major	Marx Anh. 66
58	Pepusch	E major	Johann Christoph Pepusch, <i>TWENTY-THREE</i> [i.e. TWENTY-TWO] <i>SOLOS OR SONATAS FOR A VIOLIN, A BASS VIOL OR HARPSICHORD</i> , No. 15 (D major), B-Bc, MS 26.478; Cook 1:135
59	Albicastro [Henricus]	C minor	Unknown ³⁵⁸
60	Pepusch	F minor	None; Cook 1:158
61	Albicastro	B-flat major	Unknown ³⁵⁹
62	Albicastro	F minor	D-Dl, Mus.2-R-8,11 ³⁶⁰
63	Albicastro	F major	Unknown ³⁶¹
64	Farmer	A major	‘Solo by Mr. Thomas Farmer. B. M.’, <i>The Second Part of the Division Violin</i> (1689)
65	Schenck [Johannes]	B-flat major	Giovanni Schenck (1660–c. 1710), <i>SUONATE a Violino e Violone o Cimbalo</i> , Op. 7 (Roger, 1699), No. 2

³⁵⁷ Also as Preludio No. 114 from Book 5.

³⁵⁸ ‘London’ Sonata No. 1; see Michael Talbot and Andrew Woolley, ‘Some information about Henricus Albicastro together with a Thematic Catalogue of Albicastro’s violin and Continuo Sonatas’ (2016), hosted on the Edition HH website at https://www.editionhh.co.uk/ab_Albicastro.htm, p. 10; in addition to the four solo sonatas by Albicastro in GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,466, Andrew Woolley has recently discovered a further sonata once belonging to the Rose Family, Lairds of Kilravock near Inverness (Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, Acc. MS 11420/3), identifiable as Albicastro’s Op. 9, No. 1; see *ibid.*, pp. 7, 12.

³⁵⁹ ‘London’ Sonata No. 2; see *ibid.*, p. 10.

³⁶⁰ ‘London’ Sonata No. 3; see *ibid.*, pp. 10–11.

³⁶¹ ‘London’ Sonata No. 4; see *ibid.*, p. 11.

66	Gentilis [Giorgio Gentili]	F major	-
67	‘A Sonata for a Single Flute Compos’d by M ^r . W. ^m Williams & engrav’d by Tho: Cross’	D minor	‘Sonata Solo – Flutto’, US-Dp, RM788.1191 S698 (Detroit Recorder Manuscript), No. 1

Table 3.5 Inventory of GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,466

Armstrong-Finch manuscript

The recently rediscovered Armstrong-Finch manuscript is primarily of significance as it is the unique source for Henry Purcell’s ‘violin sonata’, which is in fact the trio sonata in G minor for violin, bass viol and continuo (Z780) with the bass viol part missing. A detailed description of the physical format, provenance and contents of the Armstrong-Finch manuscript is given by Peter Holman in his article ‘A Purcell manuscript lost and found’ (2012), with the main details summarised below.³⁶² An inventory of the solo sonatas in the Armstrong-Finch manuscript is found in Appendix B.

After the manuscript appeared in the library catalogue of the botanist and amateur musician Ellen Willmott (1858–1934) of Warley Place near Brentwood, Essex, it was auctioned between 1 and 3 April 1935, but the manuscript subsequently went missing; it was in fact never sold, and since Ellen Willmott did not marry, the manuscript was inherited by her brother-in-law Robert Valentine Berkley (1853–1940). After being held in a private collection, it was auctioned at Sothebys and purchased by the British Library in December 2019, Lot 81.

The oblong-quarto volume measures around 25.9 x 36.5 cm, with the music written towards the middle of the manuscript from both ends, and nearly all the inverted items were copied by Edward Finch (1663–1738). Parts of the manuscript were copied by William Armstrong for Finch,

³⁶² Holman, ‘A Purcell manuscript lost and found’, 469–87.

including works by Finch himself.³⁶³ Armstrong was a copyist to members of the Italian opera orchestra in London and played the viola in the orchestra between c. 1707 and 1712.³⁶⁴

Solo sonatas for violin, recorder and transverse flute were copied into the Armstrong-Finch manuscript, some of which were arrangements made by Finch.³⁶⁵ When the manuscript was reversed and inverted, two sequences of numbers were used to number the pages. The composers are listed in Table 3.6, with the number of works by each composer given in brackets, including transpositions of the same piece; the majority of the works attributed to Corelli have Marx Anhang numbers.

Pages	Scribe	Composers of solo sonatas
1–67	Armstrong	Corelli (4), Farmer (1), Courteville (1), Finger (6), Lonati (2), King (1)
72–98	Finch	Finger (1), Corelli (1), Finch (4)
100–35	Armstrong	Finger (7), Finch (2)
136–61	Finch	Finger (1), Finch (5), Corelli (1)
Volume reversed and inverted		
60	Finch	John Baptist Grano (fl. c. 1710–29) (1) (two movements only)
Second sequence of page numbers		
1–125	Finch	Geminiani (14), Visconti (2), J. B. Loeillet ('Loeillet de Gant') (2), Corelli (1), Finch (2)

Table 3.6 Composers of solo sonatas in the Armstrong-Finch manuscript

At the time that Holman's *Early Music* article was published in 2012, some items from the manuscript were missing, including a 'thematic index to the Violin Sonatas' with the inscription 'Hunc librum scripsit Gulielmus Armstrong Londini, A.D. 1691' (listed in Ellen Willmott's sale catalogue), as well as one complete solo sonata and the first ten bars of another.

³⁶³ Ibid, pp. 470, 473.

³⁶⁴ Ibid, p. 474.

³⁶⁵ A more detailed inventory of the solo sonatas in the Armstrong-Finch manuscript, together with concordances, is found in Appendix B.

Significantly, the missing items came to light before the manuscript was sold again at auction in December 2019. The rediscovered inventory is of special interest.³⁶⁶ it is headed ‘Solo’s for y^e Flute, beginning att Page the 100’ (rather than violin) and contains incipits, keys and page numbers for twenty-four of the solo sonatas; those ‘By M^r Edward Finch’, ‘By M^r Godfrey Finger’ and ‘By M^r Raphael Courtivill’ are in Armstrong’s hand, with the remaining incipits added by Finch. The missing solo sonata on pp. 1–7 turns out to be a Finger sonata in A major, Rawson RI101 (RI121a), headed ‘DEL SIGNOR GODFRIDO FINGER / SONATA’ in decorative floriated letters.

In his 2012 article, Peter Holman argued that it was unlikely Armstrong began copying music into the manuscript already in 1691, the date given in the inventory at the beginning of the sequence of fifteen solo sonatas, but which could not be verified at that time.³⁶⁷ This is because the second of these works (at the time missing the first ten bars), attributed to Corelli (Marx Anh. 33), is concordant with ‘A Solo in A# for a Violin by Arcangelo Corelli’, which was printed for Walsh’s instrumental music periodical in 1704.³⁶⁸

However, several pieces in the sequence of fifteen sonatas were already in circulation during the 1690s, such as those found in *SONATE A VIOLINO SOLO COL BASSO CONTINUO COMPOSTA DA ARCANGELO CORRELLI e Altri Autory* (Roger, 1697), which appeared both in score and in separate parts, dedicated to ‘David Rutgers Courtier’.³⁶⁹

I have identified earlier concordances to some of the sources given in Holman’s article (see also Appendix B), which means that these pieces were therefore theoretically available sooner; for example, the solo sonata by Thomas Farmer on pp. 2–3 of the Armstrong-Finch manuscript was already printed in the first edition of *The Second Part of the Division Violin* in 1688, at least sixteen years before the fourth edition (1705). Similarly, Courteville’s solo was first printed in *The Self-Instructor on the Violin* (1695) and *The Compleat Flute Master* (1695), before the 1700 reprint.³⁷⁰ In any case, Armstrong almost certainly made his additions to the manuscript earlier than Finch, who dated all but two of his solo sonatas between Christmas 1717 and February 1720.

³⁶⁶ An image of the inventory and first page of the Finger A major sonata is reproduced on the Sotheby’s website: <<https://www.sothebys.com/en/buy/auction/2019/important-manuscripts-continental-books-and-music-2/h-purcell-the-armstrong-finch-manuscript-important?locale=en>> [accessed 20 December 2019].

³⁶⁷ Holman, ‘A Purcell manuscript lost and found’, *Early Music*, p. 476.

³⁶⁸ For other sources, see Marx, *Die Überlieferung der Werke Arcangelo Corellis*, pp. 249–50.

³⁶⁹ Rudolf Rasch, *The Music Publishing House of Estienne Roger: Saint-Hélèn -Swaen* <https://roger.sites.uu.nl/catalogue/>, pp. 69–70.

³⁷⁰ Reprinted in *The First, Second and Third Books of the Self-Instructor on the Violin [...] Also an Excellent Solo by Mr. Courteville* (London: John Hare, 1700).

The significance of the Armstrong-Finch manuscript for the solo sonata in Restoration Britain is severalfold: it contains some of the earliest solo sonatas by native composers, including Thomas Farmer, Robert King, Raphael Courteville and Finch himself, whose works were composed during the 1680s and/or the 1690s. Pieces by Gottfried Finger, the principal composer of solo sonatas in Britain before 1700, are strongly represented, and the manuscript contributes to the evidence that Finch knew and may have studied with him the sonata by ‘M^r Edward Finch and M^r Finger’ on pp. 132–5 in C minor is concordant with Finger’s Op. 3, No. 2.³⁷¹ As Peter Holman points out, their connection is further confirmed by the presence of manuscripts of Finger’s music in Durham Cathedral Library, which were owned by Finch (Bamburgh Mss. M195–7).³⁷² Moreover, the Armstrong-Finch manuscript contains three solo sonatas which are apparently unique to this source.³⁷³ Finch was one of the earliest British composers to write a solo sonata (‘The Cuckoo’) in the 1680s, undoubtedly influenced by Finger. His continued interest in the genre and personal connections with composers meant he kept up to date with the latest works by Corelli and eighteenth-century immigrants including Visconti, Loeillet and Geminiani, transposing some of the violin pieces for his own instrument, the transverse flute, while often retaining the double stopping. Finch also documented the use of larger size recorders and flutes in the Armstrong-Finch manuscript, which enabled him to play some of the violin sonatas without the need for transposition.³⁷⁴

3.8 Some Amateur Collectors of Solo Sonatas

In addition to the solo sonatas copied by Edward Finch, music acquired by other amateur musicians provides a valuable record of the dissemination of the solo sonata in Britain. Especially noteworthy are the collections of Philip Falle (1656–1742) in Durham, Philip Percival in Dublin, Claver Morris (1659–1727) in Wells, and Thomas Britton (1644–1714) in London.

³⁷¹ Rawson RI102.

³⁷² Holman, ‘A Purcell manuscript lost and found’, p. 474.

³⁷³ ‘Sonata / del Sig^r G. Finger.’ in G major, pp. 112–5; ‘Sonata / by M^r Edward Finch’ in C major, pp. 124–7; ‘Mr Grano’s Composition for the German Flute / made as fast as he could write.’ in E minor (two movements), p. 60 inv.

³⁷⁴ Holman, ‘A Purcell manuscript lost and found’, p. 484.

Solo sonatas owned by Philip Falle (1656–1742)

Born in Jersey, Philip Falle studied under Narcissus Marsh (1638–1713) at Oxford, graduating in 1676; he was ordained priest in 1679 and became a prebendary of Durham Cathedral in 1700.³⁷⁵ In 1722, Falle bequeathed his music collection to Durham Cathedral, with any music he acquired after this date presented after his death, where it is still held.³⁷⁶ In 1698 Falle was chaplain to the Duke of Portland during his embassy to Paris. On his return he became one of King William III's chaplains, accompanying him to the Netherlands in 1699, 1700 and 1701, which is presumably when Falle acquired a large proportion of his music.³⁷⁷

Falle was also a keen amateur composer, writing fifteen anthems and pieces for his own instrument, the bass viol; the substantial amount of viol music in Falle's collection indicates that he played the instrument. In addition to solo sonatas for the violin and recorder, Falle owned numerous collections of bass viol solo sonatas and suites by Dutch composers, in Dutch prints (see Table 3.7).³⁷⁸ For example, Falle purchased a copy of *Chehys* by Carolus Hacquart (c. 1640–1701), which he inscribed as follows: '*acheté a La Haye, 1701, couste 4 florins*, which according to the Change at that time was 8 shillings and 8 pence. I was asked 30 florins by Roger at Amsterdam'.³⁷⁹ In addition to the works listed below, Falle also owned prints of viol music by the French composer Marin Marais (1656–1728).³⁸⁰

³⁷⁵ For Falle, see Margaret Urquhart, 'Prebendary Philip Falle (1656–1742) and the Durham Bass Viol Manuscript A.27', *Chehys*, 5 (1973–4), 7–20.

³⁷⁶ For details of Falle's collection, see Brian Crosby, *A Catalogue of Durham Cathedral Music Manuscripts* (Oxford: Oxford University Press for the Dean and Chapter of Durham, 1986); Harman, *A Catalogue of the Printed Music and Books on Music in Durham Cathedral Library*.

³⁷⁷ Holman, *Life After Death*, p. 62.

³⁷⁸ Holman, *Life After Death*, pp. 62–4.

³⁷⁹ Cited in Urquhart, 'Prebendary Philip Falle (1656–1742) and the Durham Bass Viol Manuscript A.27', p. 11, n. 37; Other music was purchased by Falle in London, such as his copy of Johan Snep's Op. 1 (see Fig. 3.2); on the preface, Snep conveyed his high regard for the Dutch viol player Johannes Schenck (1660–after 1712), whose solo sonatas Falle also owned.

³⁸⁰ Walsh did not publish any solo sonatas for the bass viol.

Composer	Item	DRc Shelfmark
Martino Bitti (1655/6–1743)	<i>A Solo in A# for a Violin by Sigr Martino Betti</i> (Walsh, 1704)	*C30 (viii)
	<i>Violino Solo a# del Martino Betti Perform'd by Sigr. Gasperini at the Theater Royall</i> (Walsh, 1704)	*C30 (xi)
Elias Bronnemüller (fl. c. 1690–1712)	<i>Fasciculus Musicus Sive Tabulae</i> , Op. 2 (Leeuwarden, François Halma, 1710); contains solos for oboe, recorder and violin; dedicated to Queen Anne	*D57
Gottfried Finger (c. 1660–1730) and John Banister junior (1662–1736)	<i>A Collection of Musick in Two Parts</i> (London, 1691); contains a solo sonata by Finger ³⁸¹	*C67
Corelli	<i>A Solo in A# for a Violin by Arcangelo Corelli</i> (Walsh, 1704), Anh. 33	*C30 (vii)
Thomas Dean (or Deane) senior (fl. 1701–1711)	<i>A Solo in A# for a Violin and Bass by Mr Tho Dean of the New Theatre</i> (Walsh, 1704)	*C30 (x)
Daniel De Moivre (Demoivre) (fl. 1687– 1731)	<i>Aires made on purpose for a Flute [...] 3d.</i> Collection (1704)	*C100
Charles Dieupart (b. after 1667–c. 1740)	<i>Six Suites de Clavessin Divisées en Overtures [...] Propres à jouer par la Flûte ou le Violon</i> (Roger, 1701)	*C31
Corelli, Thomas Farmer (d. 1688), Edward Finch (1663– 1738)	<i>The Second Part of the Division-Violin [...] with several Solo's; by Signior Archangelo Correlli, and others. The Second Edition</i> (Henry Playford, 1693); Corelli, Anh. 62	*C74
Angelo Maria Fiore (c. 1660–1723)	<i>Trattenimenti da Camera A Due Stromenti Violino e Violoncello e Violoncello e Cimbalo</i> , Op. 1 (Roger, 1700)	*C39

³⁸¹ Rawson RI96.

Carolus Hacquart (c. 1640–1701)	<i>Cheyls</i> , Op. 3 (The Hague: printed for the author, 1686); contains twelve suites for bass viol	*C92
Jean Baptiste Locillet (‘Locillet de Gant’) (1688–c. 1720)	<i>Sonatas or Solos for a Flute with a Through Bass for the Harpsicord or Bass Violin [...] Parte Prima</i> (Walsh, c. 1712)	M99
Carlo Ambrogio Lonati (c. 1645–c. 1710–15)	<i>A Solo in Gb for a violin by Carlo Ambrogio</i> (Walsh, 1704)	*C30 (ix)
Nicola Matteis junior (c. 1667–1737)	<i>A Solo in a# for a Violin Compos’d by Mr Nicola</i> (Walsh, 1704)	*C30 (vi)
Johann Christoph Pepusch (1667–1752)	<i>A Solo in D# for a Violin by Signr Pepusch</i> (Walsh, 1704)	*C30 (xii)
	<i>Solos for a Violin with a Through Bass for the Harpsicord or Bass Violin [...] Parti Secunda</i> (Walsh, 1708)	D63
David Petersen (c. 1650–1737)	<i>Speelstukken [...] Dese stükken warden gespeelt met een Viool en Bas Continuo</i> (Amsterdam, 1683)	*C35
Johannes Schenck (1660–after 1716)	<i>Tyd en Konst-Oeffeningen</i> , Op. 2 (Amsterdam, 1688; for two bass viols; sold by Roger)	*C86
	<i>Scherzi Musicali per la Viola da Gamba</i> , Op. 6 (Roger, 1698)	C87
	<i>Suonate a Violino e Violone o Cimbalo</i> , Op. 7 (Roger, 1699)	*C32
	<i>Le Nymphé di Rheno per Due Viole di Gamba Sole</i> , Op. 8 (Roger, 1701)	*C88
	<i>L’Echo du Danube, Contenant six Sonates</i> , Op. 9 (Roger, 1704)	C89
Raphael Courteville (fl. c. 1675–1735)	<i>The First, Second and Third Books of the Self-Instructor on the Violin [...] Also an Excellent Solo by Mr. Courteville</i> (London: John Hare, 1700).	*C76
Johan [Jean] Snep (1659–1719)	<i>Sonates Allemandes, Courantes, Chaconnes [...] a 1 Viole de Gambe & i Basse Continue de Mr. Jean</i>	C91

	<i>Snep</i> , Op. 1 (Roger, 1700); contains Francis Vaillant's label	
Corelli	<i>A Second collection of SONATAS for two FLUTES and a BASS, by Sign^r Christopher Pez, to which is added Some Excellent SOLO'S out of the First Part of Corelli's Fifth OPERA</i> (Walsh, 1707)	C98
William Croft (1678–1727) and Finger	<i>Six Sonatas or Solos Thre for a Violin and Thre for the Flute [...] Compos'd By M^r W^m Crofts & an Italian M^r</i> (Walsh, 1700)	C30 (i)
Giuseppe Torelli (1658–1709)	<i>A Solo in Gb for a Violin and a Bass by Signr Torelli</i> (Walsh, 1704)	*C30 (v)
Marco Uccellini (c. 1603 or 1610–1680)	<i>Sonate Correnti, et Arie, da Farsi con diversi Stromenti si da Camera come da Chiesa, à Uno, à Due, & à Trè</i> , Op. 4 (Venice: Allesandro Vincenti, 1645) contains six sonatas for violin and continuo	*C47
	<i>Sonate sopra il Violino e Diversi Altri Strumenti a Uno, Due, Tre. E Correnti [...] Libro Septimo</i> (1663)	*C48
Gasparo Visconti (1683–1713)	<i>Gasperini's Solos for a Violin with a through Bass for the Harspricord or Bass Violin</i> , Op. 1 (Walsh, 1703)	C26
Giovanni Battista Vitali (1632–1692)	<i>Balletti Correnti, Gighe, Allemande [...] à Violino, e Violone, ò Spinetta con il Secondo Violino à beneplacito</i> , Op. 4 (Venice: Gardano, 1677)	*C58
Philippe van Wichel (c. 1614–1675)	<i>Fasciculus Dulcedinis</i> , Op. 1 (Antwerp, 1678); contains seven violin sonatas	*C46

Table 3.7 Printed solo sonatas/suites in Durham Cathedral Library dated before 1716

In addition to printed music, Falle owned manuscripts which contain solo sonatas, including GB-DRc MSS Mus. A27, Mus. D4 and Mus. D10. GB-DRc, MS Mus. A27 is a large oblong quarto score of music for bass viol both with and without continuo in Falle's hand, copied partially from his printed collection and organised by key. It contains solo sonatas from Schenck's Op. 2 (*C86), Op. 6 (C87), and Snep's Op. 1 (C91), and other solo sonatas by both composers. Two of the

violoncello sonatas from *Trattenimenti da Camera*, Op. 1 by Angelo Maria Fiore (c. 1660–1723) were also included, transcribed for the bass viol (*C39). MS Mus. D4 is a set of three partbooks probably of Dutch rather than English origin.³⁸² The books have the monogram bearing the name ‘AKoon’ on the front flyleaf, and the ruling differs to that of English manuscripts, with Dutch spellings of the composers. The first and second partbooks contain the treble and bass parts to an anonymous five-movement ‘Sonata Solo’ in B-flat major, possibly in Finger’s hand;³⁸³ it is not listed in Rawson’s thematic catalogue of Finger’s music (Ex. 3.24). MS Mus. D10, a mid-seventeenth century manuscript contains two solo sonatas for bass viol, an anonymous ‘Sonatino’ for ‘Viol di gamba Solo’ and continuo and an untitled solo sonata by Henry Butler (d. 1652).

³⁸² For MS Mus. D4, see Andrew Ashbee, Robert Thompson, and Jonathan Wainwright, comp., *The Viola da Gamba Society Index of Manuscripts Containing Consort Music*, vol. 2, pp. 60–1.

³⁸³ Patxi Xabier del Amo Iribarren, Anthony Poole (c.1629–1692), *the Viola and Exiled English Catholics* (PhD dissertation, University of Leeds, 2011), p. 239.

Formata Solo 23

adagio

presto

poco largo

voltare subito

Ex. 3.22 GB-DRc, MS Mus. D4, *Sonata Solo*, p. 23
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In addition to Falle's music, Durham Cathedral Library also holds the private collection once belonging to the library of Bamburgh Castle, Northumberland. The music was compiled by members of the Sharp family, begun by John I (1644–1714), Archbishop of York from 1691.³⁸⁴ John Sharp I was chaplain to Sir Heneage Finch, the 1st Earl of Nottingham, whose fifth son was the amateur composer Edward Finch, a prebendary of York. Some of Edward Finch's manuscripts are now held at Durham Cathedral Library, and those which include solo sonatas are Bamburgh MS M70, and MS M208 ('Solo' in C minor for a keyboard instrument).

Solo sonatas owned by Johann Sigismund Kusser (1660–1727) and Philip Percival

The professional Hungarian violinist and composer Johann Sigismund Kusser (or Cousser) and his connection with Philip Percival in Dublin also provides some insight into the circulation of solo sonatas in Britain. According to the German music theorist Johann Gottfried Walther (1684–1748), Cousser received six years of tuition from Jean Baptiste Lully (1632–1687) in Paris, after which he was employed in Germany as a composer and conductor of operas in Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel, Hamburg and Stuttgart.³⁸⁵

Cousser left Stuttgart to arrive in London on Christmas Day 1704, where a performance of his 'Instrumental and Vocal Musick' with the singer 'Signiora Ziuliana de Celotte' (Celotti) took place between the acts of *The Man of Mode* at Lincoln's Inn Fields on 9 February 1705.³⁸⁶ He remained in London until departing for Dublin on 29 May 1707, where he arrived on 4 July 1707 and settled for the remainder of his life. Cousser played a strong part in music-making at the vice-regal court at Dublin Castle and took the place of the violinist William Viner as Master of the State Music in 1716. It is possible that Viner (who gave a benefit concert in York Buildings on 23 May 1707) met Cousser in London, and the two musicians travelled together to Dublin, where they became

³⁸⁴ R. Alec Harman, *A Catalogue of the Printed Music and Books on Music in Durham Cathedral Library* (London: Oxford University Press, 1968), p. x.

³⁸⁵ For Cousser, see especially Samantha Owens, *The Well-Travelled Musician: John Sigismund Cousser and Musical Exchange in Baroque Europe* (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2017); George J. Buelow and Samantha Owens, 'Kusser, Johann Sigismund', *Grove Music Online* <Oxford Music Online> [accessed 22 April 2019]; Harold E. Samuel, 'John Sigismund Cousser in London and Dublin', *Music & Letters*, 61/2 (April 1980), 158–171; David Hunter, 'The Irish State Music from 1716 to 1742 and Handel's Band in Dublin', *Göttinger Händel-Beiträge*, 11 (2006), 171–98, (pp. 173–5, 187–9).

³⁸⁶ Harold E. Samuel, 'A German Musician Comes to London in 1704', *The Musical Times*, 122/1663 (September 1981), 591–3 (p. 592).

colleagues at Dublin Castle.³⁸⁷ Along with Philip Percival, a member of the Irish parliament and ‘Director and Supervisor of the State Musick’ at Dublin Castle, Viner and Cousser were part of a small music club in Dublin that performed Italian repertoire.³⁸⁸ Outside of London, Dublin was an important cultural centre, with a population of around 60,000 in 1700.³⁸⁹

Cousser kept a commonplace book (pocket notebook) from the 1690s until his death in 1727, detailing many aspects of his life as a professional musician, documented in several languages including German, English and French; it is now held at the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, New Haven.³⁹⁰ Some of the commonplace book’s contents relate to the time before Cousser’s arrival in Britain, but as Harold E. Samuel indicates, the entries do not appear chronologically.³⁹¹

Cousser’s references to his own music collection (which contained solo sonatas) are of particular interest and show his contribution to the dissemination of Italian music in Dublin.³⁹² In the commonplace book are listed an unspecified ‘Solo. Vivaldi. a.’ and ‘Solo. Pepusch. E#.’,³⁹³ as well as ‘[?] Jüng Rosingrav’s Solo’ (also as ‘Tho: Rosingrav’s Solo & arie’ under ‘Stutgard’),³⁹⁴ ‘X Des Planes Solo’s’, ‘X Corelli Solos nebst graces’, and ‘X Gemminianis Solos’.³⁹⁵ ‘Des Planes Solo’s’ were given again under ‘Paris’ and ‘Stutgard’ (together with ‘Pepusch solo’s’).³⁹⁶ These were presumably the *SONATE a Violino Solo e Violoncello col Cimbalo DI GIO: ANT: DES PLANES*, Op. 1 (Paris: Foucault, 1712; Roger, 1714) by Giovanni Antonio Piani (1678–1759).

Cousser also recorded a list of works belonging to his music club colleague Philip Percival under the heading ‘M^r. Percival hat an Instrumen^t: - sachen’, (i.e. ‘Mr. Percival has the following instrumental items’). Among various Italian trio and larger scale sonatas and concertos are the following solo sonatas: ‘Besseggis – Solo’s’, ‘Bonportis Solo’s’, ‘Cosimis Solos’, ‘Mascitis (2. 3. 4.)

³⁸⁷ Samantha Owens, ‘Mr Viner’s Divisions on Corelli’s Solos’: The Dissemination of Italian Music in Early Eighteenth-Century Dublin’ (unpublished conference paper, Global Corelli: Fame and Music in the Early Modern World, Australian National University, Canberra, 4 November 2013), p. 2; I am grateful to Samantha Owens for sending me a copy of her conference paper.

³⁸⁸ Ibid; for references to musical events in Dublin, see Brian Boydell, *A Dublin Musical Calendar 1700–1760* (Blackrock: Irish Academic Press, 1988).

³⁸⁹ Ibid, p. 11.

³⁹⁰ US-NHUB, Osborn Music MS 16; Cousser’s commonplace book contains 448 pages.

³⁹¹ Samuel, ‘John Sigismund Cousser in London and Dublin’, p. 159; a detailed summary of the commonplace book’s contents is given in this article.

³⁹² Cousser is not known to have composed any solo sonatas.

³⁹³ Cousser’s Commonplace book, p. 200.

³⁹⁴ Ibid, p. 203; p. 209.

³⁹⁵ Ibid, p. 205.

³⁹⁶ Ibid, p. 208.

Solos', 'Vivaldis Solos', 'Des Planes Solo's', and 'Gemminianis Solo's';³⁹⁷ these works were all available in British and Dutch prints. In addition, Cousser made a note to himself to bring a set of ornaments by Viner for Corelli's Op. 5 violin sonatas ('Mr. Viners Divisions, auf Corelli's Solo's') on a trip to England and the Continent in 1716.³⁹⁸ On 18 October 1711, a 'Mr. Dowdal' brought a trunk of music to London on Cousser's behalf, which contained amongst other items, 'Mr. Galliards Solos for ye Flûte' and 'Solo's von Sr. Vivaldi'.³⁹⁹

The correspondence between Philip and his brother John Percival (1683–1748) (1st Earl of Egmont from 1733) in London during the 1710s and 1720s throws further light on the type of music performed by the Dublin music club. The brothers collected and exchanged Italianate instrumental music for their respective clubs in Dublin and London, and Philip Percival's letters further reveal that Cousser had advised him on what repertoire to purchase. The letters give details of pieces circulating in Ireland, which is significant as music was not extensively advertised in Dublin until the early 1720s. Philip wrote to John Percival in 1715: 'I shall be glad [if] you cou'd bring over some new Concertos, solos and sonatas, for you must imagine a 6 Months Concert will wear our few very bare in that time'.⁴⁰⁰

Solo sonatas owned by Claver Morris (1659–1727)

The physician and enthusiastic amateur musician Claver Morris studied at New Inn Hall, Oxford, from 1676 and after obtaining his MD in 1691, he established himself in Wells in the West Country. Morris's diaries from 1709–10 reveal that he ran private music meetings in Wells, in addition to being a core member (and possibly founder) of the weekly meetings of the Wells Music Club at Close Hall Vicarage, which was formed by 1709 and ran until June 1726. The varied collection of instruments, recorded in Morris's account books, was probably used by the club. Morris sang and appears to have played the viola da gamba, recorder and harpsichord; in 1686 he paid a 'Mr Hall' for violin lessons.⁴⁰¹

³⁹⁷ Ibid, pp. 231–2.

³⁹⁸ Ibid, p. 204.

³⁹⁹ Samuel, 'John Sigismond Cousser in London and Dublin', p. 159.

⁴⁰⁰ Owens, 'Mr Viner's Divisions on Corelli's Solos', p. 3.

⁴⁰¹ For Morris, see Johnstone, 'Claver Morris, an Early Eighteenth-Century English Physician and Amateur Musician Extraordinaire', 93–127; for Morris's accounts relating to musical instruments and accessories, see H. Diack Johnstone, 'Instruments, Strings, Wire and Other Musical Miscellanea in the Account Books of Claver Morris (1659–1727)', *The Galpin Society Journal*, 60 (April 2007), 29–35.

The music collection owned by Morris provides a fascinating insight into amateur music-making outside of London. It included the latest Italian sonatas, many of which Morris was able to acquire soon after their publication. Regrettably, Morris's accounts covering the years between 1698 and 1708 are lost, and although a list of his books purchased during this period was published in 1932, it does not record any musical items.⁴⁰² In 1701, Morris obtained music from Vaillant and Henry Playford's shops, although no details of instrumental music are recorded.⁴⁰³ Most of the music Morris owned was sent to him from London, purchased from Edward Lewis at the Harp in St Paul's Alley, while some of it was obtained from a bookseller named Hammond in Bath.⁴⁰⁴ Morris recorded having purchased the following solo sonatas between 1686 and 1718 (see Table 3.8).

Date	Item	Price	Identification
October 1686	<i>Courtly Masquing Ayres</i>	1s.	John Playford, 1662
December 1709	'Massiti's 3 ^d Opera being Solos'	8s.	Michele Mascitti, Op. 3 violin sonatas; H. Diack Johnstone suggests this was the original edition published in Paris (Foucault, 1707); ⁴⁰⁵ however, the works were also advertised by Isaac Vaillant in <i>The Daily Courant</i> on 26 May 1709 ⁴⁰⁶
December 1709	'Valentine's Sonatas'	7s.	Possibly the Italian edition of Robert Valentine's Op. 2 recorder sonatas (Rome: Vitali Mascardi, Francesco Caifabri, 1708); or Valentine's Op. 1 trio sonatas (Roger, 1710)
September 1711	'Valentini's Solos'	7s.	Giuseppe Valentini, <i>idee per camera</i> , Op. 4 (Rome: Giovanni Giacomo Komarek, 1706–7; Roger, 1710)

⁴⁰² Johnstone, 'Claver Morris, an Early Eighteenth-Century English Physician and Amateur Musician Extraordinaire', p. 94, n. 5.

⁴⁰³ Ibid, p. 121

⁴⁰⁴ Ibid, p. 100, n. 25.

⁴⁰⁵ Ibid, p. 124.

⁴⁰⁶ Rudolf Rasch, *The Music Publishing House of Estienne Roger: Maasman-Musicien* <https://roger.sites.uu.nl/catalogue/>, pp. 20–1.

May 1712	‘Corelli’s 12 Solos, with his Graces to them’	6s.	Corelli’s Op. 5, bought from ‘Mr Hammond’ in Bath; probably (Roger, 1710–1711) or Walsh (c. 1711)
November 1713	‘the 2 ^d & 4 th Operas of Massiti’s Solos’	10s.	Mascitti, Op. 2 violin sonatas; probably (Roger, 1707–8) or (Walsh, 1712); Mascitti, Op. 4 violin sonatas; probably (Roger, 1712) or (Walsh, 1712); bought from Hammond in Bath
November 1713	‘Gasparini Visconti’s 1 st Opera of Solos’	3s. 6d.	Gasparo Visconti, Op. 1 (Roger, 1703) or Walsh (1703); bought from Hammond in Bath
August 1714	‘Mont de Caix Pieces’	9s.	Brought from London by Morris’s friend ‘Mr Odingsells’; Johnstone suggests these were the <i>Premier livre de pieces de viole</i> (Paris, 1708) by Louis de Caix d’Hervelois (c. 1680–1755); ⁴⁰⁷ also sold by Roger (1712)
December 1717	‘Massiti’s Sonatas, his 5 Opera’	6s.	Bought from ‘Mrs Lewis’; Mascitti, Op. 5 violin sonatas (Paris, 1714); probably (Roger 1715) or (Walsh, c. 1715)
July 1718	‘Albinoni’s Solos’	6s.	Bought from ‘Mr Hammond’ in Bath; Johnstone suggests this may have been Tomaso Albinoni’s <i>Trattenimenti armonici per camera</i> , Op. 6 (Roger, c. 1712), also published by Walsh early July 1718; or Albinoni’s <i>Sonate da Chiesa a Violino Solo</i> (Roger, 1707–8) or (Walsh, 1710) ⁴⁰⁸

Table 3.8 Solo sonatas/suites purchased by Claver Morris, 1686–1718⁴⁰⁹

⁴⁰⁷ Johnstone, ‘Claver Morris, an Early Eighteenth-Century English Physician and Amateur Musician Extraordinaire’, p. 100.

⁴⁰⁸ Ibid, p. 125.

⁴⁰⁹ This table is based on the Appendix found in *ibid*, pp. 123–5, with some additions and amendments.

Additionally, on 10 July 1711, Morris employed a ‘M^r Gibbons’ for ‘Pricking Bassanies [sic] 3 & 4th Sonatas, with his Graces expressd’, although the music is no longer extant.⁴¹⁰

The solo sonatas in Morris’s collection show he was rapidly keeping up to date with the latest musical imports to Britain, as well as providing an insight into his musical tastes and that of the Wells Music Club. With three exceptions (*Courtly Masquing Ayres*, Robert Valentine and Louis de Caix d’Hervelois), all the composers of solo sonatas were Italian, and the music was composed for the violin. It would also seem that most (if not all) editions were easily available in Britain, having been published by Walsh or Roger. As well as the above purchases, Morris recorded in April 1720 to have ‘sorted Toxey Walkeley’s Sonatas’, referring to the Salisbury cathedral organist Anthony Walkeley (1672–1718); after Walkeley died in 1718, the sonatas were given to Morris by Walkeley’s brother Joseph, but the details of these works are unknown.⁴¹¹

Solo sonatas in the library of Thomas Britton (1644–1714)

The Northamptonshire coal merchant and amateur musician Thomas Britton was apprenticed for seven years in London, and after some time back in Northamptonshire, he established a small-coal business from his home in Aylesbury Street in Clerkenwell, London, in 1677.⁴¹² Apparently with the encouragement of Sir Roger L’Estrange (1616–1704), Britton began a concert series in a small room above his coal storage, while carrying on his small-coal trade.

In 1694, part of Britton’s library was sold in an auction containing over a thousand books, showing his interest in subjects such as chemistry, astrology, divinity and history. It was not until Britton’s death that his large music library and instrument collection was auctioned for sale on 12 December 1714. The sale catalogue for Britton’s music library is lost but was reprinted by Hawkins.⁴¹³

Vocal and instrumental music and treatises by British and Italian composers are both well represented, ranging from the seventeenth century to the latest publications of Italian music. Out of the 160 entries for instrumental music, the items in Table 3.9 can be identified with certainty as

⁴¹⁰ Ibid, p. 124.

⁴¹¹ Ibid, p. 98, n. 16.

⁴¹² For Britton, see Curtis Price, ‘The Small-Coal Cult’, *The Musical Times*, 119/1630 (1978), 1032–4; Hawkins, *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music*, vol. 2, pp. 788–93.

⁴¹³ Ibid, pp. 792–3.

solo sonatas, considered separately here for the first time; items listed simply as ‘sonatas’ are not included here due to the flexibility of this term:⁴¹⁴

Lot	Description	Identification
14	Nicola’s 1st, 2nd, 3d, and 4th books, original plates, with second trebles and tenors	<i>Ayrs</i> by Nicola Matteis, Books 1 & 2 (1676), Books 3 & 4 (1685)
67	12 Solos by Torelli for a violin and bass, and 10 Solos by Corelli	Unknown, but may have been Torelli’s <i>12 Introduttioni à violino e violoncello o basso continuo</i> , Op. 4 (Bologna: Marino Silvani, 1690; Roger, 1701); the ‘Solos by Corelli’ may have differed from the Op. 5 collection
68	16 Solos by Corelli, Dr. Croft, &c. some for flutes and some for violins	The ‘Solos by Corelli’ may have differed from the Op. 5 collection; probably <i>Six Sonatas or Solos [...] Compos’d By Mr W^m Crofts & an Italian M^r</i> (London, 1699)
81	Walter’s Solos finely engrav’d and neatly bound	Probably Johann Jakob Walther’s <i>Hortulus Chelicus</i> (Mainz, Ludwig Bourgeat, 1688; sold by Roger, 1698)
86	Nicolini Cosmi’s solo book neatly bound	<i>Sonate da Camera a Violino e Violone o cembalo</i> , Op. 1 (London, 1702)
87	Corelli’s solo book, Dutch print	A Roger edition of <i>Sonate a Violino e Violone o Cimbalo</i> , Op. 5
88	Ditto	Ditto
89	Senallio’s Solos finely engrav’d	Probably Op. 1 (Paris, 1710) or Op. 2 (Paris, 1712) violin sonatas by Jean Baptiste Senaillé (c. 1688–1730)
90	Danrieu’s Solos ditto	Probably Op. 2 (Paris and Amsterdam, 1710) violin sonatas by Jean-François Dandrieu (1681 or 1682–1738)

⁴¹⁴ A table showing the trio sonatas in Britton’s collection is found in Kang, ‘The Trio Sonata in Restoration England (1660–1714)’, pp. 60–1.

104	Biber's Solo book finely engrav'd	Probably <i>Sonatae Violino Solo</i> (Nuremberg, 1681) by Heinrich Ignaz Franz von Biber (1644–1704)
143	Sonatas for 3 flutes, and several Solos and Sonatas for flutes and violins, Dr. Pepusch, &c.	Unknown

Table 3.9 Solo sonatas in Thomas Britton's sale catalogue (1714)

It is not possible to ascertain when or how Britton acquired these solo sonatas, although the majority were published around 1700 or shortly after. Apart from the two entries for the recorder, all of the solo sonatas were for the violin, for which the works by Walther and Biber would have required a particularly skilled performer.

As pointed out by Lenore Coral, around 80% of the music in Thomas Britton's collection was in manuscript.⁴¹⁵ Britton's catalogue contained almost entirely chamber music undoubtedly intended for his concerts; manuscripts were normally used for public performances, and printed music in the home. A comparison between the cost of printed and manuscript music in Henry Playford's catalogue of 1697 reveals the latter being around three times more.⁴¹⁶ However, out of the eleven entries for solo sonatas in Table 3.9, at least seven must have been printed editions, since they are described with terms such as 'finely engrav'd', 'neatly bound' and 'Dutch print'.

GB-Lbl, Add. MS 64,965 is an English manuscript possibly copied a pupil of Pepusch in c. 1710, which may have been connected with Britton's concerts owing to the inclusion of a trio sonata by Pepusch, nicknamed 'Smalcoal'. This manuscript contains trio sonatas and chamber music by composers such as Visconti, Haym, Becker, Finger, and Torelli. With regard to solo sonatas, GB-Lbl, Add. MS 64,965, fols. 24v–25r contains the final Allegro in 3/8 from *Sonate a violino solo on suo basso continuo*, Op. 8 (Venice: Antonio Bortoli, 1705; Amsterdam: Roger, 1707–8), No. 11 in E major by Carlo Antonio Marino (or 'Marini') (1670–71–c. 1717). The work appears in the manuscript as 'viola / da Carlo Marini', still in treble clef but transposed to D major, for bass viol, intended to be performed an octave lower.⁴¹⁷

According to an advertisement in the *London Journal* dated 28 April 1722, twelve solos for violin and bass by Obadiah Shuttleworth (c. 1700–1734) were 'shortly [to] be publish'd' and are now

⁴¹⁵ Lenore Coral, 'Music in Auctions: Dissemination as a Factor of Taste', in *Source Materials and the Interpretation of Music: A Memorial Volume to Thurston Dart*, ed. Ian Bent (London: Stainer & Bell Ltd, 1981), 383–401 (p. 390).

⁴¹⁶ Ibid, p. 391.

⁴¹⁷ Holman, *Life After Death*, pp. 108–9.

lost;⁴¹⁸ Hawkins wrote that the English violinist and organist Shuttleworth was one of the violinists who performed at Britton's concerts.⁴¹⁹

3.9 'Contrived for the Improvement of the Hand': Sonata Movements as 'Preludes'

As amateurs aspired beyond the usual dance tunes and solo sonatas became more common, publications such as Walsh's *Select Preludes or Voluntarys for y^e Violin* (1705) provided idiomatic and virtuosic material 'Made and Contrived for the Improvement of the Hand'; these short unaccompanied pieces were used as warm-up exercises, written 'by the most eminent Masters in Europe', many of whom were active in London at the time.⁴²⁰ It was common practice to improvise 'preludes or voluntaries' in the same key as a work to be performed, with Walsh's publications providing written-out examples.⁴²¹ An equivalent publication with slightly different pieces in arrangements and keys suitable for the recorder was issued three years later by Walsh as *Select Preludes & Voluntarys for the Flute* (1708), Fig. 3.7.⁴²²

⁴¹⁸ Peter Holman, 'Shuttleworth, Obadiah', *Grove Music Online* <Oxford Music Online> [accessed 5 April 2019].

⁴¹⁹ Hawkins, *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music*, vol. 2, p. 791.

⁴²⁰ *Select PRELUDES or VOLUNTARYS for y^e VIOLIN by the most eminent Masters in Europe* (London: Walsh and Hare, 1705); an advertisement for Walsh's violin preludes appeared in *The Post Man*, 20–3 January 1705, issue 1366, a month after the 1704 instrumental periodical had come to an end.

⁴²¹ Preludes are further discussed in the preface to Betty Bang Mather and David Lasocki, *The Art of Preluding 1700–1830: For Flutists, Oboists, Clarinetists and Other Performers* (New York: McGinnis & Marx Music Publishers, 1984).

⁴²² *Select Preludes and Voluntarys for the Flute being made & Contriv'd for y^e Improvement of y^e Hand with Variety of Compositions by all the Eminent Masters in Europe* (London: Walsh, Randall and Hare, 1708); modern editions: Rene Colwell, ed., *Preludes and Voluntarys for Treble Recorder* (London: Schott, 1950); David Lasocki, ed., *More Preludes and Voluntarys (England, ca. 1700) for treble recorder* (London: Nova Music, 1981); as pointed out by David Lasocki, twenty-nine pieces are the same as in the violin version, with those by Bassani, Berenclow, Gorton, Hills and King substituted for works by Pepusch; see David Lasocki, 'Preluding on the Recorder in England in the early 18th Century', *Recorder & Music*, 6/7 (September 1979), 194–7 (p. 195); *The Gentleman's Companion for the Violin or Hoboy* was advertised 'with Flourishes by the most able Masters, several of them in two Parts', but is no longer extant; see *The Daily Courant*, 4 January 1710, issue 2558; Smith, *Bibliography*, pp. 104–5, no. 340.

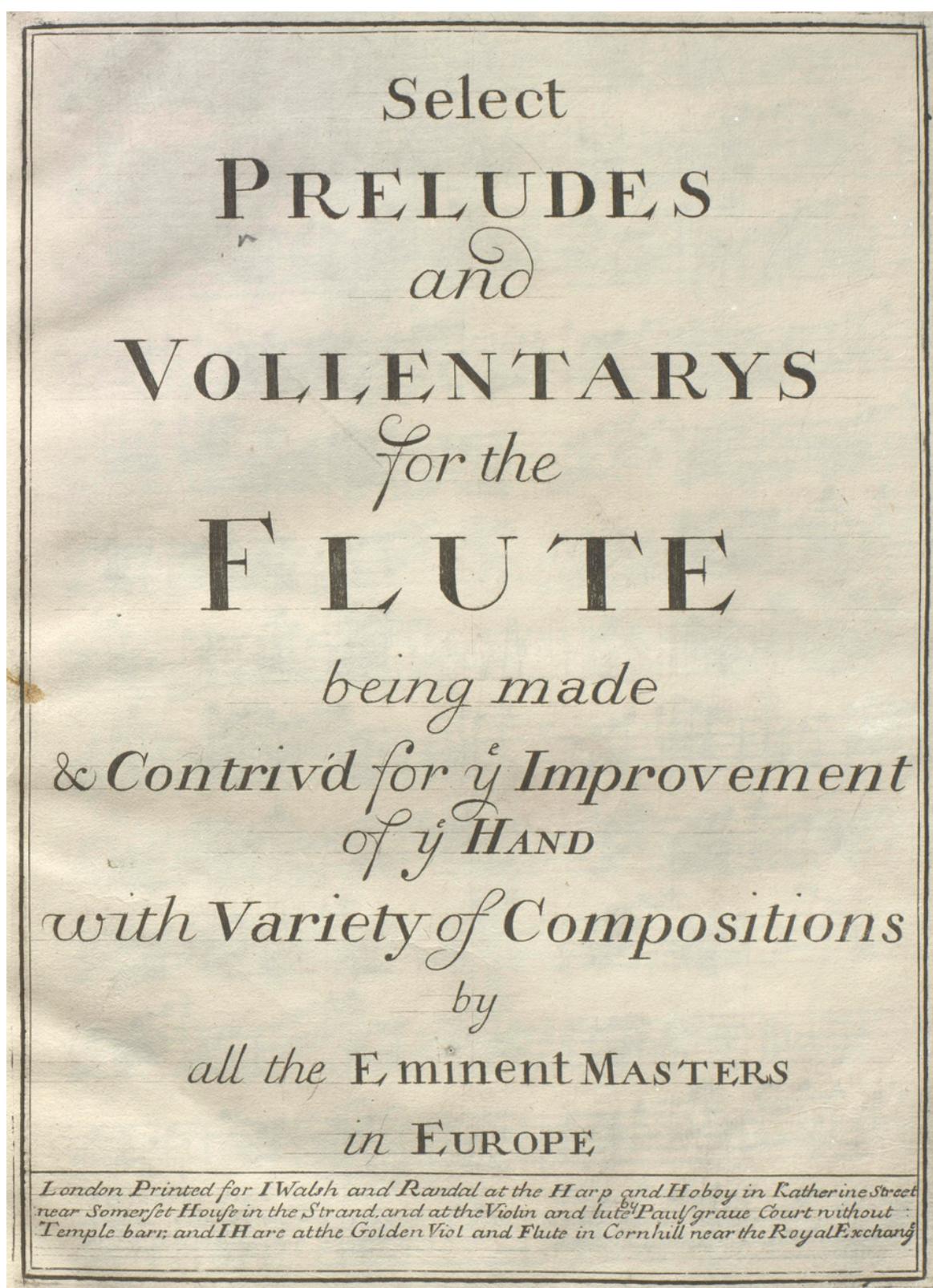


Fig. 3.7 Title page to *Select Preludes and Voluntarys for the Flute* (Walsh, 1708)
 By permission of the British Library, Music Collections, h.250.g.

The practice of selecting movements from solo sonatas to play as ‘preludes’ highlights their value as technical study material. The violin edition contains thirty-five unaccompanied ‘preludes’, and while some seem to be written-down improvisatory pieces, several can be identified as the fast movements from solo sonatas, divisions over a ground bass, and at least one concerto grosso (Fig. 3.8). Others appear to be preludes written for that purpose or cannot otherwise be traced to other works.

A Table of the PRELUDES by the Severall Eminent MASTERS for the VIOLIN Contain'd in this Booke			
	Keys}	{Page	
Arcangelo Corelli	D*	1	M ^r Pepusfch
Sign ^r Torelli	E [♯]	2	Sign ^r Ambrogio Lonati
Sign ^r Nicolini Cofma	A*	3	M ^r Hen ^r Purcell
Sign ^r Biber	D*	3	M ^r Simons
Sign ^r Bononcini	D ^b	4	M ^r King
Sign ^r Nicola Mateice	A*	5	Sign ^r Bafani
Sign ^r Gasperini	D*	6	M ^r Smith
Sign ^r Hyme	F [♯]	7	M ^r Gorton
M ^r Keller	D*	8	Ziani
M ^r Dean	A*	9	M ^r Finger
Sign ^r Albinoni	D*	10	M ^r Hills
M ^r Corbett	A*	11	Sign ^r Pepusfch
M ^r Hen ^r Eccles	A [♯]	12	Sign ^r Torelli
Arcangelo Corelli	A*	13	Sign ^r Hyme
Sign ^r Nicolini Cofma	A*	14	Sign ^r Albinoni
Sign ^r Vitali Jun ^r	D ^b	15	Sign ^r Gasperini
M ^r Bannister	B ^b	16	Sign ^r Nicola
			16
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			33

Fig. 3.8 Table of contents to *Select Preludes or Volentarys for y^e Violin* (Walsh, 1705)⁴²³

Table 3.10 lists examples of concordances with works in *Select Preludes or Volentarys for y^e Violin* (1705), which the present author has identified.

⁴²³ In the table of contents, Barenclow is omitted, but his prelude is found on pp. 34–5.

Composer	Page no.	Concordances
Sign ^r Biber	3	Adapted from Heinrich Ignaz Franz von Biber (1644–1704), <i>SONATAE, VIOLINO SOLO</i> (Nuremberg, 1681), ‘Sonata VIII’
Sign ^r Albinoni	10	Adapted from Tomaso Albinoni (1671–1750/51), <i>SINFONIE E CONCERTI</i> (Venice, 1700), Op. 2, No. 6, Allegro ⁴²⁴
Arcangelo Corelli	13	Arcangelo Corelli, Op. 5 (Rome, 1700), No. 6, Allegro
Sign ^r Nicolini Cosma	14	Nicola Cosimi (c. 1660–1717), <i>Sonate da Camera a Violino e Violone o cembalo</i> (1702), Op. 1, No. 3, Allemanda
M ^r Gorton	23	‘Division by M ^r Gorton’, i.e. William Gorton (d. 1711), the second part of <i>The Division Flute</i> (1708), p. 11
M ^r Finger	25	Gottfried Finger (c. 1660–1730), <i>VI SONATAS or SOLO’S</i> (1690), No. 3, Allegro
M ^r Hills	26	‘Division by M ^r Hills’, the second part of <i>The Division Flute</i> (1708), p. 10
Sign ^r Torelli	29	Giuseppe Torelli (1658–1709), <i>SONATE A TRE STROMENTI</i> (Bologna, 1686), Op. 1, No. 8, Allegro
Sign ^r Albinoni	31	Albinoni, <i>BALLETTI A tre, Due Violini, e Violoncello</i> (Venice, 1701), Op. 3, No. 1, Allemanda
Sign ^r Gasperini	32	Gasparo Visconti (1683–1713), <i>Sonate a violino e violone o cembalo</i> (1703), Op. 1, No. 4, Allegro

Table 3.10 Movements from solos in *Select Preludes or Voluntarys for y^e Violin* (Walsh, 1705)

⁴²⁴ Talbot, ‘Albinoni, Tomaso Giovanni’, *Grove Music Online*.

According to David Lasocki, the preludes by Finger, Daniel Purcell and Pepusch in the second part of *The Division Flute* (Walsh, 1708) are also movements taken from solo sonatas.⁴²⁵ Using Lasocki's suggestion, the four preludes can be identified as follows (see Table 3.11).

Prelude	Concordance
'Prelude by Mr Pepusch', G major, p. 12	Johann Christoph Pepusch, <i>VI SONATE à Flauto Solo Con Cimbalo o Vero Fagotto</i> (Roger, 1705; Walsh, 1707), Allegro ⁴²⁶
'Prelude by Mr Pepusch', F major, p. 12	Pepusch, <i>VI SONATE à Flauto Solo Con Cimbalo o Vero Fagotto</i> (Roger, 1705; Walsh, 1707), Allegro ⁴²⁷
'Prelude by M ^r D Purcell', F major, p. 13	Daniel Purcell (c. 1664–1717), <i>Six SONATA's or Solos</i> (1698), No. 1, Allegro
'Prelude by Mr Finger', D minor, p. 13	Gottfried Finger (c. 1660–1730), <i>VI SONATAS or SOLO'S</i> (1690), No. 5, Allegro

Table 3.11 Preludes adapted from solos in the second part of *The Division Flute* (1708)

To this can be added 'A Ground by M^r Finger', which is concordant with 'Sonata X' in one movement ('Ciacona') in Finger's *DIX SONATES à 1 Flute & 1 Basse Continue*, Op. 3.⁴²⁸

Donald Cook identifies further movements from Pepusch's solo sonatas, which were printed as preludes in *Select Preludes & Voluntarys for the Flute* (1708).⁴²⁹ Four other 'preludes' by Pepusch cannot however be traced to any extant solo sonatas.⁴³⁰

⁴²⁵ Lasocki, 'Preluding on the Recorder in England in the early 18th Century', p. 196.

⁴²⁶ Cook catalogue no. 1:025, ii.

⁴²⁷ Cook catalogue no. 1:025, iv.

⁴²⁸ *The FIRST and Second Part of The Division FLUTE Containing The Newest Divisions upon the Choicest Grounds for the FLUTE as also Several Excellent PRELUDES CHACON'S and CIBELLS* (London: Walsh and Hare, 1708), p. 1; Rawson RI110; see also David Lasocki, 'Divisions on a Ground for the Recorder: A Bibliographic Essay', *Recorder Education Journal*, 7 (2001), 10–19 (pp. 11–12).

⁴²⁹ Prelude in B flat major, p. 14, Cook catalogue no. 1:150, iv; Prelude in B flat major, p. 14, Cook no. 1:148, ii; Preludes in B flat major, p. 15, Cook nos. 1:128, ii, iii, and iv.

⁴³⁰ Cook catalogue nos. 1:168–1:171; Cook, 'The life and works of Johann Christoph Pepusch (1667–1752)', vol. 2, p. 86.

Chapter summary and conclusions

The demand and availability of solo sonatas for the violin and recorder increased after 1700, undoubtedly fuelled by the arrival of Corelli's Op. 5 violin sonatas. With the opening of Walsh and Roger's publishing houses in 1695 and 1696, solo sonatas became increasingly available in Britain, featuring native composers, immigrants and visitors, as well as foreign imports.⁴³¹ Solo sonatas were particularly fashionable in London during first decade of the eighteenth century, evident from their inclusion in various recorder treatises, as well as Walsh's instrumental music periodical in 1704. The addition of solo sonatas to instrumental treatises and publications such as *The Second Part of the Division Violin* and *The Division Viol* created a way of offering more up-to-date music within already well-established seventeenth-century publications. The publication of an 'Op. 1' set of solo sonatas often shortly followed the arrival of immigrant soloists as part of their introduction to a new audience.

In Amsterdam, Roger had the upper hand in obtaining foreign imports and capitalised on the British amateur market through his London agents. Roger's publishing house contributed to the dissemination of foreign solo sonatas in Britain, with Walsh closely monitoring and copying the music sold by his rival. Solo sonatas by native and foreign composers resident in Britain were also printed by Roger. Walsh nevertheless remained at the forefront of musical fashions, and apart from Roger had a near monopoly on the solo sonatas sold in London. On a much smaller scale, solo sonatas were also published by John Young, Luke Pippard and John Miller, although the more minor publishers were unable to compete with Walsh. Solo sonatas were in some cases initially printed privately for the author, before being seized by a publisher, or otherwise circulated only in manuscript.

In addition to Walsh and Roger's printed output, music collections belonging to amateurs such as Claver Morris, Thomas Britton and Edward Finch, as well as manuscripts specifically dedicated to solo sonatas, contribute to our knowledge of how the genre circulated in Britain.

Several native composers such as Dean, Courteville and Williams tried their hand at writing solo sonatas, although are only known to have composed one or two works within this genre. Moreover, Topham, Viner and Parcham were the only native composers to publish collections of solo sonatas between 1700 and 1716, with others preferring to concentrate their efforts on the more widespread duet sonata or trio sonata.

⁴³¹ For music sold at auction during this period, see Lenore Coral, 'Music in English Auction Sales, 1696–1750' (PhD dissertation, University of London, 1974).

As demand grew, Walsh made good use of title pages and catalogues to advertise similar publications. For example, on the front cover to Viner's six *SOLOS for a VIOLIN* (1717), it was stated that 'there is lately Printed for Violins Schickhardts Solos, D^r. Pepusch Solos, Mascitti's Solos, Corellis Solos, Albinonis Solos, Martinis Solos, Bomportis Solos, Gasperinis Solos Fingers & Purcells Solos'.

Later, an anonymous catalogue titled *AN ACCOUNT OF Printed Musick* (?1724) provides a broad overview of the solo sonatas in circulation by the second decade of the eighteenth century, notably those available in Roger's prints.⁴³² Although advertisements by Vaillant an Ribotteau have not been identified for all of these works, it is still likely some were already sold before 1724. According to Michael Tilmouth, the catalogue was printed by John Brotherton, originally as a supplement to *A Short Explication of such Foreign Words As are made Use of in Musick Books* and the editions were perhaps even available to purchase from Brotherton.⁴³³ The violin sonatas were separated into works 'printed in Score' and those 'printed in Two Books, each Part by it self' (see Fig. 3.9).

[II]

Sonatas and Airs for One Violin and Bass, printed in Score (commonly called Solos).

Corelli, op. 5.
 Vivaldi, op. 2, 5.
 Abaco, op. 1, 4.
 Giuseppe Valentini, op. 4, 8.
 Albinoni, op. 4, 6.
 Zosti, op. 1.
 Rhiemen, op. 2.
 Bessèghi, op. 1.
 D'Andrien, op. 2.
 Dr. Pepusch, op. 2, 4, 5, 6.
 Taglietti, op. 3.
 Mascitti, op. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6.
 Marini, op. 8.
 Bomporti, op. 7, 10.
 Bernardi, op. 3.
 Nicolini, op. 1.

Gentili,

[II]

Gentili, op. 5.
 Gaspero Visconti Romano, op. 1.
 Albicastro, op. 5, 6, 9.
 Schickhardt, op. 2, 8, 20.
 Brunnmüller
 Signior Haim e Bitri
 Le Balbi, op. 2.
 Piani des Planes, op. 1.
 Macharani, op. 1.
 Zuanne Reali, op. 2.
 Mr. de Fech, op. 1.
 Giovanni Mofst, op. 1.
 Jacobi Klein, jun. op. 1.
 Castrucci, op. 1.
 Mr. Francoeur, op. 1.
 Signior Somis
 Mr. Senaille, op. 1, 2, 3.
 Geminiani, op. 1.
 Albinow and Tibaldi.

Solos

Solos for a Violin and a Bass, printed in Two Books, each Part by it self.

Corelli, op. 5.
 Albicastro, op. 2.
 Schenck, op. 7.
 Mathys, op. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5.
 Tonini, op. 3.
 Veracini, op. 2.
 Torelli, op. 4, 7.
 Antoni, op. 5.
 Signior A. Schultsen, op. 1.
 Marie Fiore, op. 1.
 Finger, op. 2.
 Bomporti, op. 8, 9.
 D. Purcell
 Crofts.

Sonatas

Fig. 3.9 *An Account of Printed Musick* (1724), pp. 10–12

⁴³² *AN ACCOUNT OF Printed Musick, FOR VIOLINS, HAUTBOYS, FLUTES, AND Other Instruments, BY Several Masters* (London: [John Brotherton], 1724); includes a list of 'BOOKS printed for J. Brotherton, at the Bible in Cornhill'; the list is transcribed in Tilmouth, 'Chamber Music in England', Appendix 2, pp. 393–8.

⁴³³ *Ibid.*, p. 181.

To conclude, in *The Musical Grammarian* (1728) North expressed the vast extent to which Italianate music, including solo sonatas, had become an integral part of musical life in Britain:

A large scene might be opened here, to present a view of the present state of musick in England but why all that which every body knows, and most hearers better then my self? And what a work would it be to enumerate the masters regnant, with their characters, and the number of consorts, sonnatas and concerti, besides solos innumerable bred and born here or brought from abroad.⁴³⁴

⁴³⁴ Mary Chan and Jamie C. Kessler, ed., *Roger North's The Musical Grammarian 1728* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), p. 272.

CHAPTER 4

‘For the Entertainment of several Persons of Quality’:

Performances and Reception

This chapter explores performances of solo sonatas by professional and amateur musicians on all instruments, played by native and foreign soloists whose names appear in newspapers, diaries and other British sources until c. 1720. Appendix D contains examples of solo performances the musicians took part in along with some biographical details. The role of the solo sonata among other public entertainments and its reception in Britain are also surveyed. Newly uncovered references in primary sources such as Restoration plays and religious writings are discussed, contributing to an understanding of the social context surrounding the solo sonata.¹

Dedications to sets of solo sonatas are often the only clue that the works were played at private concerts for wealthy patrons who sponsored the publications since such performances were not usually documented in detail. A new form of entertainment, the public concert, provided an ideal setting for solo sonatas to be performed by celebrity soloists, promoted to the public via newspaper advertisements. Solo sonatas allowed the ‘masters’, or professional musicians, to display their skills on an instrument, which unlike a concerto, only required a continuo instrument for accompaniment.

Published in 1961, Michael Tilmouth’s ‘Calendar of References to Music in Newspapers Published in London and the Provinces (1660–1719)’ is still an invaluable source of information on early public concerts;² each original newspaper advertisement has been verified by the present author. A large number of the concerts advertised in London are also referenced in Judith Milhous and Robert D. Hume’s *The London Stage, 1660–1800* (2001), which provides details of composers, performers and music.³ A more recent and comprehensive study is the PhD dissertation by Catherine Harbor concerning concert life in London, which systematically lists all newspaper references to violin soloists, as well as providing short biographies for each performer, information

¹ The reception of Corelli’s music has already been addressed for example in Owain Edwards, ‘The Response to Corelli’s Music in Eighteenth-Century England’, *Studia Musicologica Norvegica*, 2 (1976), 51–96.

² Michael Tilmouth, ‘A Calendar of References to Music in Newspapers published in London and the Provinces (1660–1719)’, *RMA Research Chronicle*, 1 (1961), ii–vii, 1–107.

³ Judith Milhous and Robert D. Hume, ‘The London Stage, 1660–1800: A New Version of Part 2, 1700–1729’, available at <<http://www.personal.psu.edu/hb1/London%20Stage%202001/>> [accessed 2 June 2019].

on concert venues and theatrical plays during which the solos were played; solo instruments other than the violin are mentioned only where they appear in conjunction with violin performances.⁴ Other accounts are found in *Music and Musicians on the London Stage, 1695–1705* (2009) by Kathryn Lowerre and *The Lively Arts of the London Stage, 1675–1725* (2014), although solo sonatas are not specifically discussed.⁵ Additional information on most of the performers is contained in *A Biographical Dictionary of Actors, Actresses, Musicians, Dancers, Managers & Others Stage Personell in London, 1660–1800* (1978–93) and in *Vice Chamberlain Coke's theatrical papers, 1706–1715* (1982).⁶

British newspapers were still in their infancy in the seventeenth century, and since publications and advertisements were limited in number, they cannot be relied on as the only source of concert information; newspapers are not comprehensive, and the nature of the coverage is not consistent. The year 1695 marked the end of press-licensing laws, making way for a whole host of new publications in which concert and theatre performances were advertised; these often provided the only record of an event. Britain's first daily newspaper, *The Daily Courant*, which ran from 1702 to 1735, was particularly rich in announcements promoting solo performances. This newspaper was printed on a single page, supplying mainly news from abroad on one side, with advertisements on the reverse; by 1704, 800 copies of *The Daily Courant* were being sold each day.⁷ After the ascension of William and Mary in 1689 there was a general lull in music-making at court, and with payments already in arrears, musicians increasingly looked to public concerts and the theatres to gain an income.

Performers' names were usually given in newspapers, but there are only infrequent references to specific composers or pieces. Some advertisements give no details of the performers or the music, such as a concert on 19 May 1712 which simply mentioned 'Solos for the Violin and Flute [...] by the greatest Performers extant' at the 'New Theatre in Greenwich'.⁸ Solo sonatas (and probably

⁴ Catherine Harbor, 'The birth of the music business: public commercial concerts in London 1660–1750', 2 vols. (PhD dissertation, Royal Holloway, University of London, 2012); this dissertation is based on the *Register of Music in London Newspapers 1660–1750*, compiled from over 12,000 newspaper references relating to concert life in London, initially compiled by Professor Rosamond McGuinness (1929–2012); see *ibid.*, p. 4.

⁵ Kathryn Lowerre, *Music and Musicians on the London Stage, 1695–1705* (Performance in the Long Eighteenth Century: Studies in Theatre, Music, Dance) (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009); Kathryn Lowerre, ed., *The Lively Arts of the London Stage, 1675–1725* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014).

⁶ Philip H. Highfill, Jr., Kalman A. Burnim, and Edward A. Langhans, ed., *A Biographical Dictionary of Actors, Actresses, Musicians, Dancers, Managers & Others Stage Personnel in London, 1660–1800* (Carbondale and Edwardsville: Southern Illinois University Press, 1978–93); Judith Milhous, and Robert D. Hume, *Vice Chamberlain Coke's Theatrical Papers, 1706–1715* (Carbondale, Illinois: Southern Illinois University Press, 1982).

⁷ Peter Allsop, *Arcangelo Corelli: New Orpheus of our Times* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), p. 188.

⁸ *The Daily Courant*, 17 May 1712, issue 3307.

some other works) were often simply referred to as ‘solos’, together with the name of the performer. While it was usual for a composer to perform his own music, particularly at a benefit concert in aid of himself (as a way of both endorsing and financially supporting the soloist), not always is there evidence that the featured soloist had composed the music; the name of a composer who was different from the performer is occasionally given in advertisements. Conversely, the lack of detail in advertisements meant that some musicians who composed solo sonatas are not listed as playing them at their benefits (particularly before 1702, when *The Daily Courant* was first printed), although their works were undoubtedly performed on such occasions. For example, there are no advertisements for Edward Keen (fl. 1699–?1735) playing solo sonatas; however, he had benefit concerts in 1699, 1700, 1703, 1705, 1707 and 1721, and also composed a solo sonata which was published in 1707.⁹ Other composers of solo sonatas active before 1700 who are not advertised as performing ‘solos’ include Gottfried Finger (c. 1660–1730), Nicola Matteis junior (c. 1667–1737), Daniel Purcell (c. 1664–1717), Robert King (c. 1660–1726) and Robert Orme (d. ?1711). Similarly, advertisements promoting the Italian violinist Nicola Cosimi (c. 1660–1717) during concert series in 1701/2 and 1703 do not list the music he played, although he would unquestionably have performed his Op. 1 solo sonatas.¹⁰

The music discussed in Chapters 2 and 3 provides a greater insight into what repertoire was available, but rarely can pieces be linked to specific performances. Sale catalogues of music collections used at concerts, such as those belonging to Gottfried Finger and Thomas Britton (1644–1714), help to fill in some of the gaps.

Famous visiting or immigrant musicians (particularly Italians) were often referred to by their first name followed by ‘Signior’, such as ‘Signior Pietro’ for Pietro Chaboud (fl. 1707–25) or ‘Signior Gasperini’ for Gasparo Visconti (1683–1713). Frustratingly, instrumental pieces including solo sonatas were frequently listed simply as ‘entertainments’, ‘symphonies’, or even ‘a piece of (instrumental) Musick’. For example, it is not stated whether the ‘Entertainment of Flute Musick by Mr. *Banister* and his Son’ played during *Love’s Last Shift* (1696) on 18 June 1703 at the Drury Lane theatre included sonatas.¹¹ It is not always possible to know if a work advertised as a ‘sonata’ was performed by a soloist as the term was also used to denote trio and larger scale works, which formed the bulk of instrumental music heard on stage. Also, a ‘solo’ may not in all cases have

⁹ *The 4th Book of the Compleat Flute Master* [...] as also an excellent Solo, by Mr Edw. Keen, never before published (London: Walsh, Hare and Randall, 1707); not extant.

¹⁰ For details, see Harbor, ‘The birth of the music business’, vol. 2.

¹¹ *The Daily Courant*, 18 June 1703, issue 365.

designated a solo sonata, and simply meant a performance by a single musician, with or without accompaniment. For example, it is not possible to know for certain whether the ‘particular performance on the Violin and Lute by Mr Cuthbert, and Mr Latour’, for the benefit of the violinist Thomas Cuthbert (?–1737) in ‘Mr Barkers Great Dancing Room in Mincing-lane’ on 5 March 1703 was a solo sonata.¹²

Most concerts were centred around London, the musical capital, which provided the greatest opportunities for visiting and immigrant soloists. In his commonplace book, the composer Johan Sigismund Cousser (1660–1727) noted advice given by the composer Johann Jakob Greber (d. 1731) on ‘What a virtuoso should observe upon arriving in London’.¹³ Greber was among the German musicians who had travelled to London in the early eighteenth century before Handel’s arrival, giving recitals in 1703 and 1704 together with the Italian singer Francesca Margherita de l’Epine (c. 1680–1746). Greber’s advice ranges from general matters of introducing oneself to particular musical patrons and performers, to etiquette in Britain, as well as recommended repertoire for vocal music. Among Greber’s suggestions were, ‘Don’t forget to select a day for a benefit concert, but for this you must pay the expenses, namely 30 guineas for the large theatre and 20 for the small’ (Drury Lane and Lincoln’s Inn Fields theatres), and ‘Associate cordially with the musicians, but without great familiarity; seldom go drinking with them. If you wish to pay them special honour, do it in your own lodgings’.¹⁴

Performances of sonatas took place outside of London in spa towns and the provinces. Music formed part of the entertainment offered to visitors in spa towns during the summer months, often performed by musicians who had travelled from London, sometimes together with their patrons; the music heard in spa resorts therefore responded to the musical tastes of the capital. There were also many occasions during which professional and amateur musicians played together, including the music club of Claver Morris in Wells and Thomas Britton’s concerts in London.

Professional soloists whose performances were advertised in newspapers are summarised in Table 4.1, p. 253, providing an overview of what solo music was on offer to the London public. Since ‘solos’ were occasionally listed under different terminology such as ‘symphony’ or ‘entertainment’,

¹² *The Post Man*, 25–7 February 1703, issue 1094.

¹³ ‘Was ein virtuose, so in London kommt, zu observiren sol’, Cousser’s commonplace book, pp. 428–33; the German text is translated in Harold E. Samuel, ‘A German Musician Comes to London in 1704’, *The Musical Times*, 122/1663 (September 1981), 591–3.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 591.

these have been included where appropriate; the list excludes ‘concertos’ (which are beyond the scope of this study) when no ‘solos’ were also offered during the same performance.

4.1 ‘The master violin must have its solo’: Performances before 1700

John Banister’s concerts

England was the first country to hold public concerts for which an entry fee was paid to hear professional musicians. On 30 December 1672 *The London Gazette* advertised that every afternoon ‘at Mr John Banisters House, now called the Musick-School over against the George Tavern in White Fryers, will be Musick performed by excellent Masters’, hosted by the violinist and flageolet player John Banister senior (1624/5–1679).¹⁵ Pepys recounted that the events had already begun in 1660 in the Mitre Tavern in Fleet Street; these concerts subsequently moved to Chandos Street in 1675, Lincoln’s Inn Fields in 1676 and Essex Buildings in 1678, continuing until Banister’s death the following year.¹⁶ According to Roger North (1651–1734), ‘there wanted no variety of humour, for Banister himself (*inter alia*) did wonders upon a flageolet to a thro-base, and the severall masters had their solos’.¹⁷ Since North’s ‘Memoires of Musick’ are dated 1728 it is difficult to know what the ‘solos’ were which had supposedly been performed fifty years earlier, and what solo sonatas (if any) they included.

Alongside Banister’s early concerts, private music meetings held in the homes of the middle and upper classes provided an opportunity to hear a famous soloist perform. Among the most notable early violin soloists was Nicola Matteis senior (fl. c. 1670–90), whose playing was described in the diary of John Evelyn from 1674.¹⁸

Thomas Britton’s concerts

Much of what is known about the concerts ran by Thomas Britton (1644–1714), the musical small-coal merchant, comes from accounts given by Hawkins:

¹⁵ *The London Gazette*, 30 December 1672–January 3, 1673, issue 743.

¹⁶ Peter Holman, ‘John Banister (i)’, *Grove Music Online* <*Oxford Music Online*> [accessed 4 April 2017].

¹⁷ John Wilson, ed., *Roger North on Music: Being a Selection from his Essays Written During the Years c. 1695–1728* (London: Novello and Company, 1959), p. 352; a similar description is given in *ibid.*, p. 303, n. 49.

¹⁸ See Esmond Samuel de Beer, ed., *The Diary of John Evelyn*, vol. 4 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955), pp. 48–9, 51, 186–7.

[...] from the year 1678, when he first began to entertain the public, to the time of his death in 1714, Tom Britton's concert was the weekly resort of the old, the young, the gay and the fair of all ranks, including the highest order of nobility'.¹⁹

The concerts took place above Britton's coal storage in Clerkenwell, London:

[...] over that was the concert-room, which was very long and narrow, and had a ceiling so low, that a tall man could but just stand upright in it. The stairs to this room were on the outside of the house, and could scarce be ascended without crawling [...] Notwithstanding all, this mansion, despicable as it may seem, attracted to it as polite an audience as ever the opera did.²⁰

This concert series attracted amateurs and professionals alike, and according to Hawkins, Britton himself took part on the viola da gamba and other instruments. Amateur violinists included Henry Needler (?1685–1760) of the Excise Office, the painter John Wollaston (1672–1749) (who also played the recorder) and the poet John Hughes (1677–1720). Among the professional musicians were violinists such as John Banister junior (1662–1736), William Corbett (1680–1748) and Obadiah Shuttleworth (c. 1700–1734), the organist Philip Hart (?1674–1749), Pepusch and even Handel.²¹ The amateurs were of a high standard, and in his description of Needler, Hawkins wrote that 'The soundness of his judgement and the goodness of his taste led him to admire the music of Corelli, and it is said that no person of his time was equal to him in the performance of it'.²²

A further account of these concerts was given by Britton's neighbour, the satirical writer Ned Ward (1667–1731), who in 1709 described the musical club as a 'harmonious Society of Tickle-Fiddle Gentlemen'.²³ Ward included the words to a song describing Britton's concerts, relating that the music was up-to-date and the violin playing virtuosic:

¹⁹ Sir John Hawkins, *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music: republication of the J. Alfred Novello edition, 1853*, vol. 2 (New York: Dover Publications, 1963), pp. 700, 807; elsewhere Hawkins wrote that the 'concert of Britton' took place over 'a period of more than forty years' (p. 788) and a 'memorandum' in the 'diary of Mr. Thomas Rowe' apparently stated that 'Thomas Britton, the musical small-coal man, had concerts at his house in Clerkenwell forty-six years' (p. 791), both implying an earlier start date than 1678.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 790; in his description of Britton's concerts, Hawkins also cited the account given by Thomas Hearne (1678–735); see *ibid.*, pp. 788–9.

²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 790–1.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 806.

²³ Edward Ward, *THE Secret History of CLUBS* (London: Printed, and Sold by the Booksellers, 1709), p. 349.

I.

*We thrum the fam'd Corrella's Aires;
Fine Solos and Sonettos,
New Riggadoons and Maidenfairs,
Rare Jigs and Minuettos;*

II.

*We run squeaking up
To the Finger-Board Top,
And from Ela can drop
Down to G with a Swop;*²⁴

Oxford Mermaid Club

Among other musical gatherings was the Oxford Music Club which met regularly at the Mermaid Tavern in Carfax (initially owned by Anthony Hall (d. 1691)) from 1690 to 1719 and had around forty members. As Margaret Crum points out, there is no mention of solo sonatas among the unusual records of the music which was performed or bought for the club, there being a preference for vocal music, trio sonatas and concertos.²⁵ This does not necessarily mean that solo sonatas were not performed: 'Mascitti's sonatas' bought for 5 s. in June 1714 could have been solo sonatas; George Llewellyn (1668–1739), whose initials appears next to the solo sonata ascribed to 'Se: Leliocolista' in GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. C.61 was a member of the Mermaid Club, as was Daniel Purcell, whose solo sonatas were published in 1698 and c. 1709.

Early concerts in York Buildings

The earliest newspaper advertisement for a public performance of solo sonatas appeared in *The London Gazette* dated 19 to 23 November 1685: 'Several Sonata's, composed after the Italian way', for one or two bass viols with continuo (now lost) by the German viol player August Kühnel (1645–c.1700) were to be performed weekly at two different venues: the Dancing School in Walbrook (Thursdays) and the Dancing School in York Buildings (Saturdays). Peter Holman

²⁴ Ibid, p. 356; depending on the length of the fingerboard, Ward probably meant E₆ in fourth position; 'Ela' is defined as 'the highest Note in the common Scale of Musick; as Gamut is the lowest', in Edward Cocker, *Cocker's English Dictionary* (London, 1704); the Oxford English Dictionary defines 'Ela' as "The highest note in the Gamut, or the highest note of the 7th Hexachord of Guido d'Arezzo, answering to the upper E in the treble. Often figurative as a type of something 'high-flown.'"

²⁵ Margaret Crum, 'An Oxford Music Club, 1690–1719', *Bodleian Library Record*, 9/2 (March 2014), 83–99 (p. 95).

suggests that the sonatas for two bass viols were performed together with Finger, who like Kühnel was in Munich in 1682.²⁶

Several Sonata's, composed after the Italian way, for one and two Bass-Viols, with a Thorough-Basse, being, upon the Request of several Lovers of Musick (who have already Subscribed) to be Engraven upon Copper-Plates, are to be perform'd on Thursday next, and every Thursday following, at Six of the Clock in the Evening, at the Dancing-School in Walbrook, next door to the Bell Inn; and on Saturday next, and every Saturday following, at the Dancing School in York-Buildings. At which places will be also some performance upon the Barrantone, by Mr August Keenell [Kühnel], the Author of this Musick. Such who do not subscribe, are to pay their Half Crown, towards the discharge of performing it.²⁷

This also appears to be the earliest advertisement for concerts in York Buildings, which contained the first purpose-built concert room in Britain, where performances took place every Thursday from 18 April 1689; the houses in York Buildings were planned out around 1674–5, but the opening date of the concert room is not known.²⁸ North wrote that ‘there was nothing of musick valued in towne, but was to be heard there. It was called the Musick Meeting; and all the Quallity and *beau mond* repaired to it’.²⁹ North wrote on several occasions that ‘solos’ were performed in York Buildings while describing the chaotic and competitive nature of the concerts:

I observed well the musick here, and altho' the best masters in their turnes, as well solo, as concerted, shewed their gifts, yet I cannot say, whatever the musick was, that the enterテインment was good; because it consisted of broken incoherent parts; now a consort, then a lutinist, then a *violino solo*, then flutes, then a song, and so peice after peice, the time sliding away, while the masters blundered and swore in shifting places, and one might perceive that they performed ill out of spight to one and other;³⁰

Elsewhere North provided similar accounts of such early concerts, in which he exclaimed that ‘the whole was without designe or order; for one master brings a consort with fuges, another shews his guifts in a solo upon the violin’.³¹ And yet again, North emphasised that ‘solos’ formed a part of these early entertainments:

²⁶ See Peter Holman, *Life After Death: The Viola da Gamba in Britain from Purcell to Dolmetsch* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2010), pp. 14–15; Finger also seems to have played the baryton, a type of bass viol with a set of metal strings behind the fingerboard (plucked with the left thumb), for which he composed seven suites.

²⁷ *The London Gazette*, 19–23 November, issue 2088.

²⁸ Wilson, *Roger North on Music*, p. 305, n. 53.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 353.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 305

³¹ Mary Chan and Jamie C. Kassler, ed., *Roger North's The Musical Grammarian 1728* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), p. 266.

A song, a fuge, a solo, or any single peice (and so all the rest) may be very good in their severall kinds, but for want of a due coherence of the whole, the company not be pleased. And thus it is with the musick exhibited in London publiquely for ½ crownes. A combination of masters agree to make a consort as they call it, but doe not submitt to the government of any one, as should be done, to accomplish their designe. And in the performance, each takes his parts according as his opinion is of his owne excellence. The master violin must have its solo, then joyned with a lute, then a fuge, or sonnata, then a song, then the trumpet and haut-bois, and so other variety, as it happens. And upon every peice ended, the masters shift their places to make way for the next, the thro-base ceaseth, and the company know not whether all is ended, or any thing more to come, and what.³²

4.2 ‘Several new *Italian Sonata’s*, never yet perform’d here’: 1700 to c. 1716

In order to provide an overview of solo sonatas heard on the London stage, Table 4.1 shows the British, visiting and immigrant musicians whose ‘solo’ performances were advertised in newspapers; details of the music and biographical information for each musician is found in Appendix D.

The dates refer only to mentions of a ‘solo’ (or similar) in an advertisement, and not all the dates a performer was active. For example, William Corbett’s first benefit concert was in 1699, but the earliest reference to him playing a solo was not until 1707. ‘Solos’ were therefore played even when they were not listed in advertisements; the sixteen-year gap when no ‘solos’ are mentioned in newspapers between August Kühnel (1645–c.1700) in 1685 and Thomas Dean senior (fl. 1701–11) in 1701 is misleading: printed and manuscript solo sonatas were in circulation, public concerts were frequent, and there are references to ‘solos’ in Restoration plays. While advertisements which do not give details of ‘solos’ have been omitted, details of other soloists not included in Table 4.1 are given throughout this dissertation.

³² Wilson, *Roger North on Music*, p. 13.

Performer	Nationality	Instruments on which 'solos' performed	Years 'solos' advertised
August Kühnel (1645–c.1700)	German	Bass viol	1685
Thomas Dean senior (fl. 1701–11)	British	Violin	1701–11
Gasparo Visconti ('Signior Gasperini') (1683–1713)	Italian	Violin	1702–6
Charles Dieupart (b. after 1667–c. 1740)	French	Harpsichord (accompaniment)	1703
Francisco Goodsens ('Signior Francisco') (d. 1741)	Italian?	Violoncello (accompaniment)	1703
Mary Anne Champion ('Mrs Champion') (c. 1687–1706)	British	Harpsichord (accompaniment)	1704
Henry Eccles junior (?1675–85–?1735–45)	British	Violin	1705; 1713
Nicola Francesco Haym (1678–1729)	Italian	Violoncello? (accompaniment)	1706
Peter La Tour (fl. 1699–1726)	French	Transverse flute	1706; 1708
William Corbett (1680–1748)	British	Violin	1707; 1714
William Viner (d. 1716)	British	Violin	1707; 1710
Thomas Dean junior (fl. 1707–9)	British	Archlute (accompaniment)	1708
Mr Beeston (fl. 1708–12)	British	Violin	1708; 1711; 1712
Luis Mercy (fl. 1708–51)	British	Recorder	1708; 1716; 1719
Mr Denby (fl. 1708–42)	British	Transverse flute	1709
Mr Bulkley (fl. 1713–1714)	British	A bass instrument? (accompaniment)	1709
Joseph Manship (fl. 1689–1712)	British	Violin	1710
William Babell (1688–1723)	British	Harpsichord (solo and accompaniment)	1711, 1713, 1717

Claudio Rogier ('Signior Clodio') (fl. 1707–58)	Italian?	Violin	1713; 1718
James Paisible (c. 1656–1721)	French	Recorder; echo flute	1713; 1715; 1718
Francesco Maria Veracini (1690–1768)	Italian	Violin	1714
Mr Glash (fl. 1714)	British	Oboe	1714
Signora Stradiotti (fl. 1714)	Italian	Harpsichord	1714
Signori Vegolini (fl. 1714)	Italian	'two different Instruments never heard in England before'	1714
Matthew Dubourg (1703–1767)	British	Violin	1714–21
Pietro Castrucci (1679–1752)	Italian	Violin; viola d'amore	1715; 1716
Alessandro (Alexandro) Bitti (d. after 1755)	Italian	Violin	1715; 1717; 1718; 1722
Pietro Chaboud ('Signor Pietro') (fl. 1707–25)	Italian	Bass viol; transverse flute	1715; 1717; 1719
Angelo Zannoni (fl. 1710–32)	Italian	Bass viol	1715
Attilio Ariosti (1666–1729)	Italian	Viola d'amore	1716
Mr Pitchford (fl. 1707–17)	British	Violin	1717
Mr. Morphy [Murphy] (fl. 1712–53)	British	Harp	1717
Jean Christian Kytch (Keitch) (d. c. 1737)	Dutch	Oboe; 'little flute'	1717; 1719; 1720
Charles Claudius Phillips (d. 1732)	British	Violin	1717; 1720
John Baston (fl. 1708–39)	British	Recorder	1718
Rouse Hawley (fl. 1718–19)	British	Violin	1718; 1719
John Baptist Grano (d. before 1746)	British	Transverse flute	1718; 1719
Giovanni Stefano Carbonelli (1699/1700– 1773)	Italian	Violin	1719; 1722
Philippo Amadei (c. 1665–c. 1725) ('Signor Peippo', 'Mr Pipo')	Italian	Violoncello; bass viol (accompaniment)	1718; 1719

Signor Dragon (fl. 1719)	Italian?	Transverse flute	1719
Francis Dahuron (d. c. 1736)	French	Transverse flute	1719
Sarah Ottey (fl. 1720–22)	British	Violin	1720–2
John Francis Weber (d. 1751) ('Sig. Vebar/Viebar')?	German?	Archlute	1722
Francesco Geminiani (1687–1762)	Italian	Violin	1725

Table 4.1 'Solo' performances advertised in British newspapers, 1685–1725

An account of the types of concerts heard in London was given by the German scholar and traveller Zacharias Conrad von Uffenbach (1683–1734), who visited London for five months in 1710. Uffenbach attended a benefit concert for 'Signior Francisco', i.e. the violoncellist and viola da gamba player Francisco Goodsens (d. 1741), directed by Johann Christoph Pepusch (1667–1752) on 14 June at the Great Room in Peter's Court.³³ The instrumental performers included James Paisible (c. 1656–1721) on the recorder, 'Signior Pietro', i.e. Pietro Chaboud (fl. 1707–25) on the bass viol and Pepusch, 'who directs everything and played the thorough bass'. The music ended with the ladies in the audience departing before Paisible had the opportunity to perform on the transverse flute:

When this concerto [i.e. concert] was finished, he [Paisible] wanted to play a solo on the flute traverse or flute d'Allemand, but the ladies did not want it, and as they left, the music came to an end, though it had only lasted for two hours. I could have listened the whole night with the greatest pleasure.³⁴

The music could have been a solo sonata (with continuo), although Uffenbach's original German text only mentions that Paisible wanted to perform 'alone' ('allein').³⁵

³³ As Donald Cook points out, Uffenbach's diary entry was under 25 June according to the New Style of dating in use in Germany, but not yet in Britain; see Donald Frederick Cook, 'The life and works of Johann Christoph Pepusch (1667–1752), with special reference to his dramatic works and cantatas', 2 vols. (PhD dissertation, King's College London (University of London, 1982), vol. 1, p. 28.

³⁴ William Henry Quarrell and Margaret Mare, trans. and ed., *London in 1710: From the Travels of Zacharias Conrad Von Uffenbach* (London: Faber & Faber, 1934), p. 67.

³⁵ 'Als dieses Concert vorbey war, wollte er sich allein auf der Flöte traverse oder Flöte d'Alemande hören lassen, allein das Frauenzimmer machte einen Aufstand, und wie diese fortgiengen, hörte die ganze Musick auf, die in allem nur zwey Stunden gewähret. Ich hätte noch die ganze Nacht mit grossem Vergnügen zugehört.'; Johann Georg Schelhorn, ed., *Herrn Zacharias Conrad von Uffenbach Merkwürdige Reisen durch Niedersachsen, Holland und Engelland*, vol. 2 (Ulm and Memmingen, 1753–4), p. 504; the first part translates as 'He wanted to be able to be heard alone on the transverse flute or German flute'.

Taverns and alehouses

In addition to concert rooms and theatres, music was also performed in taverns or alehouses. Sir John Hawkins (1719–89) wrote that ‘upon the breaking up of Britton’s concert, the persons that frequented it formed themselves into little societies, that met at taverns in different parts of the town for the purpose of musical recreation. One of these was at the Angel and Crown tavern in White-chapel, where the performance was both vocal and instrumental’.³⁶ On 4 August 1705 ‘in the great Room at the Ship Tavern in Greenwich’ a performance took place of ‘some Sonata’s with a Trumpet [...] Tickets are deliver’d out at Mr. Bleny’s a Sword Cutler near the Royal Exchange, and at the abovesaid Ship Tavern at Greenwich, at half a Crown each Ticket’.³⁷ The second part of *Letters from the Dead to the Living* (1703) contains a satirical message from the deceased ‘Seignior Nicolas [Matteis] to Mr. Buckley, At the Swan Coffe-House near Bloomsbury’, despairing that his *Ayres* were being performed in alehouses:

What, my Diviner Aires made the sordid Entertainment of drunken Footmen, scoundrel Fellows, and I know not what for Ragamuffins! [...] They shall have my Sonata’s, that they shall, with a Horse-Pox to ‘em. Can’t their *Darby* go down but with a Tune, nor their Tobacco smoak without the Harmony of a *Cremona* Fiddle?³⁸

Sonatas were also performed as part of a musical experiment to demonstrate a system of unequal temperament to the Royal Society of London on 3 July 1705. The reverend Thomas Salmon (1648–1706) described that two viols were set up accordingly:

[...] that every stop might be in a perfect exactness: Upon these, a Sonata was perform’d by those two most eminent Violists, Mr *Frederick* and Mr *Christian Stefkins*, Servants to her Majesty [...] And that they might be prov’d agreeable to what the best Ear and the best Hand performs in Modern practice, the famous *Italian*, Signior *Gasperini*, plaid another Sonata upon the Violin in Consort with them, wherein the most compleat Harmony was heard’.³⁹

³⁶ Hawkins, *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music*, p. 807.

³⁷ *The Daily Courant*, 31 July 1705, issue 1028.

³⁸ Thomas Brown, Capt. Ayloff, and Henry Barker, *A CONTINUATION OR SECOND PART OF THE LETTERS FROM THE DEAD to the LIVING* (London, 1703), pp. 38–9.

³⁹ Cited in Benjamin Wardhaugh, *Thomas Salmon: Writings on Musick Volume II: A Proposal to Perform Musick and Related Writings, 1685–1706* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2016), p. 166; see also Holman, *Life After Death*, pp. 12–3.

'Another shews his guifts in a solo upon the violin': concert rooms and theatres

As Lowell Lindgren points out, by 1700 the two public theatres in London normally put on plays six nights a week throughout the year.⁴⁰ The two theatres were the Drury Lane theatre and the Lincoln's Inn Fields theatre, managed by Christopher Rich (1657–1714) and the actor Thomas Betterton (c. 1635–1710) respectively. This provided ample opportunity for instrumental music and famous soloists to be featured; sometimes the music was placed between the acts of a play (rather than during the interval), indicated for example in the announcement for John Dryden's *Secret Love, or, The Maiden Queen* (1667) on 16 February 1706, 'In which will be perform'd some Italian Sonatas, (between the Acts) by the best Masters'.⁴¹

A visit to the theatre consisted of far more than just seeing the play, with dancing, singing, tightrope dancing, equestrian acts and acrobatics on the programmes, these other spectacles attracting an audience less interested in seeing the theatrical production: on 13 March 1703, the comedy *The Old Mode, and the New* by Thomas D'Urfey (1653–1723) was 'shorten'd at least an hour in the Action', to further include 'Dancing by the *Devonshire* Girl', 'Singing by Mr. *Leveridge*', and 'several Entertainments on the Violin by the Famous Signior *Gasperini*'.⁴²

From time to time, it was announced that a 'solo' would be performed on stage, such as the 'Solo to be perform'd on the Stage by the famous Matthew Dubourg, a Youth of 12 Years of Age' on 7 April 1715 during a performance of *The Busie Body* (1709) by Susanna Centlivre (c. 1667–1723) at the Lincoln's Inn Fields Theatre.⁴³ Such advertisements perhaps imply that seeing a famous soloist on stage was not usual, and this novelty had to be highlighted. The solos could otherwise have been played by the lead violinist or another member of the band, without having to relocate to the stage, thereby remaining in close proximity of the harpsichord or other accompanying instrument;⁴⁴ alternatively, advertisements were simply stating what was already common practice.

⁴⁰ Lowell Lindgren, 'The Great Influx of Italians and Their Instrumental Music into London, 1701–10', in *Arcangelo Corelli: fra mito e realtà storica*, ed. Gregory Barnett, Antonella D'Ovidio, and Stefano La Via (Florence: Olschki, 2007), 419–84 (p. 419).

⁴¹ *The Daily Courant*, 16 February 1706, issue 1198.

⁴² *The Daily Courant*, 13 March 1703, issue 282.

⁴³ *The Daily Courant*, 7 April 1715, issue 4197.

⁴⁴ See Judith Milhous and Curtis Price, 'Harpsichords in the London Theatres, 1697–1715', *Early Music*, 18/1, The Baroque Stage II (February 1990), 38–46

In any case, the virtuoso soloist performing a sonata on stage had ascended far above the lowly status of a ‘fiddler’. As Curtis Price points out, two groups of musicians were found in the Restoration theatre: after 1700, the orchestra was usually sat in front of the stage, playing for the overture, act tunes and more elaborate musical scenes. The stage band would often be in costume, take part in the action and play for dances, and were referred to as the ‘Musick’ or given the more derogatory term ‘fiddlers’.⁴⁵

Double stopping

The double stopping in Corelli’s Op. 5 violin sonatas was considered an impressive novelty judging by at least three extant advertisements highlighting this technique. The first concert featured ‘Corelli’s Sixth double Note Solo perform’d by Mr. Viner’, i.e. William Viner (d. 1716), in York Buildings on 23 May 1707.⁴⁶ The next performance took place on 26 March 1708 at the Queen’s Theatre, the programme advertised as follows:

That Celebrated Sonata for a Violin and Flute, made by the Famous Signior Gasparini, and play’d by him and Mr. Paisible often, afore her Majesty, and at the Theatre, to be perform’d by two young Gentlemen that never Play’d in Publick; who also perform some new Italian Sonata’s of the most Eminent Masters in Europe; and Double-stopp’d Solo’s of the Famous Archangelo Corelli⁴⁷

‘A Double Stopt Solo of Correlly’s, by Mr. Beeston’ was included at a benefit concert for himself and ‘Mr Tenoe’ on 26 July 1708 in the Great Room by the Bowling-Green at Epsom’.⁴⁸ Apart from a notice for a concert postponed from 21 January 1708 to 2 February, this is the first time Beeston’s name is given in advertisement, but it is not known whether he was one of the ‘young Gentlemen’ who had performed on 26 March that year.

Double-stopping on the violin was of course in itself not new to British audiences, having been heard in performances by Matteis senior and Thomas Baltzar (1631–63), and found for example in music in *The Division Violin* (1684). Corelli’s solo sonatas were nevertheless a huge technical leap from most of the violin music printed in seventeenth-century Britain owing to the frequency and complexity of multiple stopping; the preface to the third and fourth Books of Matteis’s *Ayrs* (1685)

⁴⁵ Curtis A. Price, ‘Restoration Stage Fiddlers and Their Music’, *Early Music*, 7/3 (July 1979), 315–22 (p. 315).

⁴⁶ *The Daily Courant*, 22 May 1707, issue 1644.

⁴⁷ *The Daily Courant*, 24 March 1708, issue 1903; *The Daily Courant*, 26 March 1708, issue 1905.

⁴⁸ *The Daily Courant*, 26 July 1708, issue 2008; the concert also featured a ‘Sonata for 3 Flutes’ and a ‘Sonata for Hautboy, and Flute’ alongside a solo performed by Peter La Tour (fl. 1699–1726) on the transverse flute, and a solo composed by Pepusch, performed by Luis Mercy (Mr. Massey) (fl. 1708–51) on the recorder.

explained the inclusion of optional double stopping: ‘The Pointed Notes are made for Masters that can touch two strings for want of a second Trible [i.e. second treble or violin part]’.⁴⁹

North criticised double stopping as mere acrobatics:

The use of the double notes is too much affected, and done as if a consort of 3 or 4 parts might be obtained that way; but at best it proves hard and uncouth, and is not worth the paines and difficulty that belongs to it. But masters must doe (seeming) wonders, as tumblers shew tricks which one else can performe, to obtain esteem by pleasing the ignorant.⁵⁰

Harp and harpsichord

Alongside the main solo instruments, i.e. violin, recorder and transverse flute, ‘solos’ on the harpsichord and harp also featured in concerts. These pieces may not have been sonatas, although there is evidence that treble-bass solo sonatas were also performed on keyboard instruments: for example, a concert at Hume’s Dancing School in Soho on 24 April 1711 featured ‘a new Cantata with a Solo on the Harpsicord perform’d by Mr. Babel Junior’.⁵¹

In an advertisement for a benefit for ‘Captain Hill’ in Lambeth Wells on 16 March 1714 it was announced that ‘for the better Encouragement of the abovesaid Captain Hill, a Gentleman will perform a solo upon his Harp, who is particularly well known to be famous on that instrument’.⁵² A similar performance took place at the same venue on 28 May 1715, it ‘being King George’s Birth-Day, will be perform’d an extra-ordinary Entertainment of Musick and Dancing by Eminent Masters and particularly a Solo on the Harp by a Gentleman who is known to be famous on that Instrument’.⁵³

New instruments

Unique or unknown instruments were also featured, adding yet more variety to concert programmes. On 18 March 1703, ‘For the Benefit of Mr. Corbet, lately arrived from Italy’, William

⁴⁹ Nicola Matteis, *Ayres for the Violin* [...] *The Third and Fourth Parts* (London, 1685).

⁵⁰ Wilson, *Roger North on Music*, p. 234.

⁵¹ *The Spectator*, 21 April 1711, issue XLV.

⁵² *The Daily Courant*, 14 September 1714, issue 4022.

⁵³ *The Daily Courant*, 27 May 1715, issue 4240.

Corbett performed ‘several Pieces on the Viol de Venere, a particular new Instrument, never yet heard of in England, after the New Manner of Signiora Faustina’.⁵⁴

In a benefit for ‘Mrs Orme’ at Stationer’s Hall on 27 May 1714, it was advertised that ‘Gli Signori Vegelini (two select Musicians lately arriv’d) will perform several Solo’s and Sonata’s on two different Instruments never heard in England before’.⁵⁵ No further details of the performers or instruments were given.

Spa resorts, provinces and towns outside London

Although musical life in Britain was centred around London, concerts took place in other cities and towns that kept up to date with the latest musical developments. For example, on 22 December 1715 *The Nottingham Weekly Courant* advertised a ‘concert for the Benefit of his Majesty King George’s Hautboys’ to be performed on 6 January at ‘Porter’s Dancing School in the High-Pavement’; the music included ‘several of Corelli’s, Vivaldi’s, and Albinoni’s Concerto’s: And one of Corelli’s Solo’s by an extraordinary Hand. And a Gentleman of the Town to play the Harpsicord’.⁵⁶

Italian solos and sonatas were also advertised in *The Newcastle Courant* on 21 May 1712 as taking place at ‘Harris’s Dancing School, Westgate, Newcastle upon Tyne’, and Michael Tilmouth suggested that this concert may have been promoted by Ralph Agutter, a musical instrument maker from London: ‘a Consort of Instrumental Musick; As Opera-Tunes, Italian-Solio’s, Sonata’s, Overtures &c upon the following Instruments, viz. Spinett, Trumpet, Hautboy, Violins, Bass-Viols, Bassoon, &c’.⁵⁷

⁵⁴ *The Daily Courant*, 18 March 1724, issue 6991; *The Norwich Gazette* dated 4 and 11 August 1739 advertised Corbett playing on the ‘Viol de Venere’ with 22 strings, the viola d’amore and ‘Viol Volubile’; see Owain Edwards, ‘Espionage, a Collection of Violins, and “Le Bizzarie Universali”: A Fresh Look at William Corbett’, *The Musical Quarterly*, 73/3 (1989), 320–43 (p. 323, n. 10).

⁵⁵ *The Daily Courant*, 25 May 1714, issue 3926; ‘Mrs Orme’ could have been the widow of the amateur recorder player Robert Orme (d. ?1711), whose music and instrument collection was auctioned on 20 December 1711, and who was described as ‘lately deceased’ in *The Daily Courant*, 7 December 1711, issue 3168.

⁵⁶ Cited in Michael Tilmouth, ‘A Calendar of References to Music in Newspapers published in London and the Provinces (1660–1719)’, *R. M. A. Research Chronicle*, 1 (1961), ii–vii, 1–107 (p. 93).

⁵⁷ Cited in *ibid*, p. 82.

Similarly, *The Suffolk Mercury* dated 13 November 1721 announced plans for a concert series at Bury St Edmunds to include ‘the newest Solos, Sonatos, Concertos and Extravaganzas extant’.⁵⁸

Two unidentified solo sonatas, one for violin and one for recorder, were performed at a concert for St. Cecilia in Edinburgh, the details of which are found in a document titled ‘the Order of the Instrumental Music for the Feast of St Cecilia, 22d November 1695’, published by the solicitor and historian William Tytler (1711–92) in 1792.⁵⁹ Peter Holman points out that the concert must have taken place around 1710 owing to the dates of some of the repertoire in the programme.⁶⁰

The concert featured works by Clerk (either Sir John Clerk of Penicuik or Jeremiah Clarke), Torelli, John Barrett, Pepusch, Finger, Bassani and Corelli, performed by twelve professional and nineteen amateur musicians.⁶¹ The first solo was played by the professional violinist Adam Craig (c. 1668–1741);⁶² the second was performed by the amateur recorder player John Middleton (1678–1739) who stood for Aberdeen in Parliament from 1713 and achieved the rank of brigadier-general in the army in 1735.⁶³

As Kenneth Edward James points out, Bath’s first newspaper, *The Journal*, was not established until 1744, meaning that almost no concerts were advertised in the city before this date.⁶⁴ Although the earliest reference to a public concert in Bath comes from *A Step to the Bath* (1700) by the satirical writer Ned Ward (1667–1731), describing life in the city around 1700, the details of who the performers were and what music was played remains obscure.⁶⁵ Solo sonatas were played in spa towns such as Hampstead Wells, Richmond Wells and Epsom Wells, from which can be inferred that they were also performed in Bath. For example, in 1701, Wriothsesley Russel, Duke of Bedford (1680–1711), was accompanied by Cosimi and Haym on a visit to Bath; Cosimi dedicated his Op.

⁵⁸ Cited in Michael Tilmouth, ‘The beginnings of provincial concert life in England’, in *Music in Eighteenth-Century England: Essays in Memory of Charles Cudworth*, ed. Christopher Hogwood and Richard Lockett (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 1–18 (p. 11).

⁵⁹ William Tytler, ‘On the Fashionable Amusements and Entertainments in Edinburgh in the last Century, with a Plan of a grand Concert of Music on St Cecilia’s Day, 1695’, in *Archaeologia Scotica: or Transactions of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* (Edinburgh: printed for the Society, 1792), 499–510; originally published by James Christie, lost.

⁶⁰ Holman, *Life After Death*, pp. 89–90; Peter Holman, ‘An Early Edinburgh Concert’, *Early Music Performer*, 13 (January 2004), 9–17.

⁶¹ For details of the performers and programme, see Appendix I in François-Pierre Goy, ‘The ‘British’ Sainte-Colombes’, *The Viola da Gamba Society Journal*, 11 (2017), 1–45 (pp. 30–42).

⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 34.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 41.

⁶⁴ Kenneth Edward James, ‘Concert Life in Eighteenth-century Bath’ (PhD dissertation, Royal Holloway, University of London, 1987), p. 79.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 127.

1 violin sonatas to the Duke the following year. The librettist Joseph Addison (1672–1719) provided an account in *The Spectator* (1711) of a whistling match in Bath in c. 1708, in which the winner ('a footman') had 'whistled a Scotch tune and an Italian Sonata, with so settled a countenance, that he bore away the prize, to the great admiration of some hundreds of persons'.⁶⁶

'A Solo and Concerto by that Famous Youth': child prodigies

From the turn of the eighteenth century there are scattered references to child prodigies or 'youths' appearing in connection with sonata performances. Between 21 and 24 September 1700, *The Post Boy* announced 'a Sonato upon the Trumpet by a Boy of 12 Years of Age' at the New Theatre in Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, performed as part of a revival of *The Virtuoso* (1676) by Thomas Shadwell (c. 1642–92).⁶⁷ The work was probably a trumpet sonata with string accompaniment in the style of a work attributed to Corelli, i.e. 'Compos'd by Signior Corelli, on purpose for Mr. Twiselton when he was at Rome', and published by Walsh in 1704 (Marx WoO 4).⁶⁸ An even younger trumpeter appeared in York Buildings on 24 February 1703: 'a Boy of about Eight Years of Age, will perform an Italian Sonata on the Trumpet, who never yet perform'd in publick'.⁶⁹ The most celebrated child prodigy on the violin at this time was Matthew Dubourg (1703–1767). According to Hawkins, Dubourg's first public performance took place at one of Thomas Britton's concerts, sometime before they came to an end in 1714:

That fine performer Mr. Matthew Dubourg was then but a child, but the first solo that ever he played in public, and which was probably one of Corelli's, he played at Britton's concert, standing upon a joint-stool; but so terribly was the poor child awed at the sight of so splendid an assembly, that he was near falling to the ground.⁷⁰

Newspaper advertisements for performances by Dubourg appeared regularly in London between 1714 and 1721, with an additional performance in 1727.⁷¹

⁶⁶ Joseph Addison, *THE WORKS OF THE LATE RIGHT HONORABLE JOSEPH ADDISON, Esq; VOLUME the THIRD* (Birmingham: printed by John Baskerville for J. and R. Tonson, 1761), pp. 128–9.

⁶⁷ *The Post Boy*, 21–4 September 1700, issue 852.

⁶⁸ *The Daily Courant*, 16 March 1713, issue 3563.

⁶⁹ *The Daily Courant*, 22 February 1703, issue 265.

⁷⁰ Hawkins, *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music*, p. 791.

⁷¹ For further performances by Dubourg, see Appendix D.

4.3 ‘The Best and Choisest Sonatas and Solo’s’: Amateur Music-making

Walsh and Roger’s prints made sonatas widely accessible to amateurs who could divert themselves with the same music they had heard at professional concerts. Instrumental treatises were readily available and an advertisement for ‘Sonatos and Solos’ in *The British Apollo* dated 4–6 August 1708 even mentioned the inclusion of ‘Instructions for a Violin and a Bass’, unfortunately lost:⁷²

ADVERTISEMENT S.

Lately Publish’d.

Solos for a Violin and a Bass.

12 Solos by *Archangelo Corelli*, 24 Solos by *Mr. Pepusch*, 10 Solos by *Signore Bonporti*, 6 Solos by *Gasperini*, 6 Solos by 6 Eminent Masters, Sonatos and Solos with Instructions for a Violin and a Bass, Musick for a single Violin, the first Book of the Division Violin, select Préludes for the Violin, by several Masters: Select Lessons for the Violin, a Collection of Jiggs and Hornpipes, a Collection of Scotch Tunes, Books of Minuets and Rigadoons, Books of Country Dances, Books of Instructions for the Violin.

All Printed for, and Sold by *J. Walsh*, Servant to Her Majesty, at the *Harp and Hoboy* in *Katherine-street*, near *Somerjet-House* in the *Strand*. *J. Hare*, Instrument-maker at the *Golden Viol and Flute*, in *Cornhill*, near the *Royal-Exchange*. And *P. Randal*, at the *Violin and Lute*, by *Paulgrave-Court* without *Temple-Bar*.

Fig. 4.1 Violin music advertised in *The British Apollo*, 4–6 August 1708

Trio or larger scale sonatas, although more extrovert in character, provided a more natural transition from multi-part domestic consort music widespread in Britain during the seventeenth century. In contrast, solos required only two players, meaning they were a less social affair and usually made greater demands on the performers, particularly the soloist. The inclusion of solo sonatas printed without their bass lines in recorder treatises nevertheless provides evidence that amateurs played them unaccompanied, being more useful than a trio sonata when several friends were not present. This advantage was highlighted in John Playford’s preface to the *First Part of the Division Violin* (1685), relevant since *The Second Part of the Division Violin* (1689) had three solo sonatas added:

Having for some Years past stored my self with a Collection of several *Choice Divisions* for the *Violin* upon a Ground, A *Consort of Musick* which do not require many hands to perform; knowing how acceptable and useful this would be to *Practitioners* in *Music*, I have with no small Pains and Charge made the same publick.⁷³

⁷² *The British Apollo*, 4–6 August 1708, issue 51.

⁷³ *The Division Violin*, 2nd edition (London: John Playford, 1685), preface.

North however pointed out that ‘single-toned’ instruments were less enjoyable to play alone since the harmony was missing:

Yet with respect to amusement, and releif of an active mind distressed with either too much, or too litle imployment, nothing under the sun hath that vertue, as a sollitary application to Musick [...] It is most conducing to use such instruments as touch the accords, for the harmony yeilds more pleasure than any single-toned instrument can doe, and the ear being once accustomed to taste that, can never be enough.⁷⁴

It is possible that some solo sonatas were deliberately composed to meet the technical level of amateurs, who may have attempted to learn their instruments without the help of a teacher, as implied by the names of tutor books such as *The Self-Instructor on the Violin* (1695). In the seventh edition of *Apollo's Banquet* (1687), John Playford claimed that his violin instructions were ‘also for the benefit of such Learners as live remove from any professed Teachers [...] since my first Publication hereof, I have met with several Persons that have only by the Instructions attained to play indifferently well’; this text was repeated in subsequent editions.⁷⁵ Matteis purposely categorised some of his violin music according to difficulty, and also wrote additional second violin parts, to make the music more suitable for domestic settings; therefore, not all published music was necessarily a true representation of what the ‘masters’ were performing.

Some accounts of amateurs performing sonatas

Roger North recounts playing the ‘Musica Grave’ or ‘Sarabanda’ from Matteis’s second book of *Ayrs* (1676) shortly after its publication, together with the viol player John Jenkins (1592–1678), who was by then at least eighty-four years old and enthralled by the new music. North was at the time on a visit to Kimberley, Norfolk, where Jenkins was residing at the home of his last patron Sir Philip Wodehouse (1608–81). Jenkins probably played the bass part on the viola da gamba or lute while North played the violin:

In his [Jenkins’s] extream old age, I toucht to his base the double stringed lesson, the 2nd or 3rd in Sigr Nichola’s 2nd book. He pulled off his spectacles, and clapt his hand on the table, saying he never had heard so good a peice of musick in all his life;⁷⁶

⁷⁴ Wilson, *Roger North on Music*, pp. 257–8.

⁷⁵ *Apollo's Banquet*, 5th edition (London: John Playford, 1687), preface.

⁷⁶ Wilson, *Roger North on Music*, p. 298, n. 32.

North also recounted playing Purcell's 'Itallian manner'd compositions; and with him on his harpsicord, my self and another violin, wee performed them more than once, of which Mr Purcell was not a litle proud'.⁷⁷

The physician and amateur musician Claver Morris (1659–1727) owned various trio and solo sonatas undoubtedly used during his private music meetings and the weekly Music Club in Wells. The first of Morris's two extant diaries is dated 1709–10, and on 23 December 1709 he detailed playing sonatas in between his medical duties:⁷⁸

We stayed all day at Major Prater of Froom. Colonel Berkeley, the Major, Mr. Jesser, my servant, and I played recorder sonatas almost all the day. Only about 3 o'clock I was sent for, to visit Mrs. Merryweather.⁷⁹

From the age of twenty-three, the attorney-general Sir Dudley Ryder (1691–1756) kept a diary written in shorthand during 1715 and 1716 while a student at the Middle Temple.⁸⁰ When not attending to his law books, Ryder's many pastimes included (amongst dancing and socialising) playing the recorder, as well as having bass viol lessons with a 'Mr Cynelum', who was probably Sainte-Colombe (fl. 1707–13) the younger.⁸¹ Ryder was very meticulous in detailing the authors and names of the books he read, but disappointingly vague in terms of what music he played, never noting the names of any composers. On at least two occasions he mentioned playing 'sonatas' with his friends: on 6 August 1715 Ryder visited George Smith (d. 1746), a nonconformist minister in Hackney: 'to Mr Smith, where played two or three sonatas upon the flute';⁸² as David Lasocki suggests, these works were probably recorder duets since Smith was also a recorder player.⁸³ On another occasion, Monday 17 October 1715, Ryder seems to have played recorder solo sonatas

⁷⁷ Ibid, p. 47.

⁷⁸ Morris's second diary is dated 1718–26.

⁷⁹ Edmund Hobhouse, ed., *The Diary of a West Country Physician A.D. 1684–1726* (London: Simpkin Marshall, 1934; 2nd edn., 1935), p. 59; also cited in David Lasocki, 'Amateur Recorder Players in Renaissance and Baroque England', *American Recorder*, 40/1 (January 1999), 15–9 (p. 18).

⁸⁰ For Dudley Ryder, see Peter Holman, *Life After Death*, pp. 72–3; Ian Woodfield, 'Dudley Ryder 1715–1716: Extracts from the Diary of a Student Viol Player', *Journal of the Viola da Gamba Society of America*, 21 (1984), 64–8; David Lasocki, 'Dudley Ryder, An Amateur Musician and Dancer in England (1715–16)', *American Recorder*, 28/1 (February 1987), 4–13.

⁸¹ Two musicians with the name Sainte-Colombe seem to have lived in Britain; see Goy, 'The 'British' Sainte-Colombes'; Ian Woodfield, 'The Younger Sainte-Colombe in Edinburgh', *The Viola da Gamba Society Journal*, 14 (1985), 43–4.

⁸² William Matthews, ed., *The Diary of Dudley Ryder, 1715–1716* (London: Methuen & Co, 1939), p. 70.

⁸³ Lasocki, 'Dudley Ryder, An Amateur Musician and Dancer in England (1715–16)', p. 5.

with bass viol continuo: ‘Cousin Billio came. We played together some sonatas upon the flute and viol and then I went to the coffee-house’.⁸⁴

At what was in all probability an amateur concert on 4 December 1718, it was announced that ‘All the Solo’s will be plaid on a Throne built for that purpose’, suggesting this was a grand occasion. Rather unusually, the concert was to be followed by audience participation by both gentleman and ladies who were given the choice to perform a solo themselves, preserving their anonymity by wearing a mask! The programme of the concert was printed in detail, but regrettably the names of the performers or composers were not provided. The expensive ticket price of half a guinea must have reflected the extravagance of the event compared with the more usual ticket price of 5 shillings, or 3 or 4 shillings for a book of sonatas, although (dubiously) the ‘best Masters [...] never perform’d before in publick’:

This is to give Notice to all Gentlemen and Ladies, that are Lovers of Musick. AT the Long Room next the King’s Theatre in the Hay-market, formerly call’d Boman’s Chocolate-Room, on Thursday next, the 4th Instant, will be perform’d a Musical Entertainment, consisting of an Assembly of the best Masters of Vocal and Instrumental Musick, who never perform’d before in publick. All the Performers will appear in Masques; the Order of the Performance will be as follows: A new Concerto grosso, a new Cantata, a Violin solo, a new Concerto for the little Flute, Hautboys Solo, Cantata Flute Solo, a piece with 2 Harpsicords, a Concerto, German Flute solo, Harp solo, Cantata. All the Solo’s will be plaid on a Throne built for that purpose; and after the Concert is performed, any Gentlemen or Ladies may, appearing in a Masque, if they pleas, ascend the Throne, and call for any Instrument and play a Solo, &c. the Auditors only excepted. Tickets may be had at St. James’s Coffee-house, Tiltyard Coffee house, Slaughter’s Coffee-house in St. Martin’s Lane, John’s Coffee-house near the Royal Exchange, and at the Place of Performance, at half a Guinea each Ticket.⁸⁵

⁸⁴ Matthews, *The Diary of Dudley Ryder*, p. 120; both Ryder and Billio played the viol and recorder, and it is not known who played which instrument on this occasion.

⁸⁵ *The Daily Courant*, 2 December 1718, issue 5340.

4.4 ‘The chiefest Instrumental Musick now in request’: Reception

A collection of sonatas (or indeed any music book) was a valuable possession and in 1712 a reward was issued for the return of four lost solo sonatas to the bookseller Robert Knaplock (d. 1737):

Lost on Saturday the 2d Instant between Temple-Bar and the Monument, a Long-Octavo Musick-Book bound in Red-Leather, and four Sonata’s or short Solo’s pricked in it, of no use to any but the Owner. If the Person who has found it will bring or send it to Mr. Knaplock’s at the Bishop’s Head in St. Paul’s Church-yard, he shall have 5 s. Reward.⁸⁶

The following section is centred around remarks on solos and sonatas in Restoration plays, books and religious publications, organised in chronological order in each category; while much of this material is original and compiled from neglected sources, references to modern discussions are included as applicable.

Miscellaneous books

The well-known section on counterpoint in Playford’s twelfth edition of *An Introduction to the Skill of Musick* (1694), ‘Corrected and Amended by Mr. Henry Purcell’ remarked on the distinction sonatas had achieved by this date in Britain:

Most of these different sorts of *Fugeing* are used in *Sonata’s*, the chiefest Instrumental Musick now in request, where you will find *Double* and *Treble Fuges* also reverted and augmented in their *Canzona’s*, with a great deal of Art mixed with good Air, which is the Perfection of a Master.⁸⁷

In a poem in the preface to the second book of *Orpheus Britannicus* (1702), Henry Hall (c. 1656–1707), organist at Hereford Cathedral, expressed his disapproval at the current state of music in Britain since the death of Henry Purcell:

Duly each day, our young Composers Bait us,
With most insipid Songs, and sad Sonato’s.
Well were it, if the World woul’d lay Embargo’s
On such *Allegro’s* and such *Poco Largo’s*:
And would Enact it, There presume not any,

⁸⁶ *The Daily Courant*, 11 February 1712, issue 3222.

⁸⁷ John Playford, *AN INTRODUCTION TO THE Skill of Musick* [...] *The Twelfth Edition. Corrected and Amended by Mr. Henry Purcell* (London: printed by E. Jones, for Henry Playford, 1694), p. 125.

To Teize *Corelli*, or Burlesque *Bassani*;
 Nor with Division, and ungainly Graces,
 Eclipse good Sense, as weighty Wiggs do Faces.
 Then honest [Thomas] *Cross* might Copper cut in vain,
 And half our Sonnet-sellers Starve again:⁸⁸

In the second part of *Letters from the Dead to the Living* (1703), the satirical letter from ‘H...y P...l to Dr. B...w’ describes the extent to which Purcell is troubled by excessive noise in the afterlife:

You are sensible I was a great Lover of Musick before I departed by Temporal Life, but now I am so surfeited with incessant sound, that I would rather chuse to be as deaf as an Adder, than be plagu’d with the best *Ayre* that ever *Corella* made, or the finest *Sola* or *Sonetta* that ever was Compos’d in *Italy*: For you must know the Laws of this Country are such, that every Man, for his Sins in the other World, shall here be punish’d with excess of that which he their esteem’d most pleasant and delightful.⁸⁹

A passage in *Letters Amorous and Gallant* (1703) ‘From a Gentleman in the Country to his Friend at London, giving him an Account of several very Pleasant and Comical Adventures in Oxfordshire’ also attests to the high regard for sonatas:

[...] and the good Dame of the House made her Youngest Daughter sing, which was to me more harmonious, and more taking, than all the much-priz’d Sonata’s at the Theatres.⁹⁰

In 1714 the writer Nicholas Rowe (1674–1718) denounced those playwrights who ‘can patch a lame Plot with some fine Lines [...] but all these thrust into their wrong Places, where they have not the least to do’, in his *Remarks on the Plays of Shakespear*:

And these are the Men who exclaim against the Rules, and by a senseless Noise set up for Patrons of Confusion, and Enemies to *Harmony* and *Order*: as if any one should prefer the rambling Prelude of a Performer (who by the way seldom knows any thing of the Composition) to the fine *Sonata’s* of *Corelli*, or the admirable Composition and Harmony of Parts in a Piece of *Henry Purcel’s*.⁹¹

⁸⁸ ‘To Mr. Henry Playford, on his Publishing the Second Part of Orpheus Britannicus’, in *ORPHEUS BRITANNICUS* [...] *The Second BOOK* (London: printed by William Pearson, for Henry Playford, 1702), p. ii.

⁸⁹ Brown, Ayloff, and Barker, *SECOND PART OF THE LETTERS FROM THE DEAD to the LIVING*, p. 260.

⁹⁰ A Person of Quality, *Serious and Comical ESSAYS* [...] *With Ingenious LETTERS Amorous and Gallant. Occasional Thoughts and Reflections on Men and Manners*, in ‘Letters Amorous and Gallant’, Letter IX (London: J. King, 1710), p. 159.

⁹¹ Nicholas Rowe, *THE WORKS OF Mr. William Shakespear. VOLUME THE NINTH* (London: printed by J. Darby for E. Curll, K. Sanger, and J. Pemberton, 1714).

A *Treatise upon the modes: or, a farewell to French kicks* (1715) by John Harris (1680–1738) (later Bishop of Llandaff) included a section marked ‘Relation between Music and Dress, exemplify’d’. Harris described a gentleman who would hum a tune according to the national style of clothing he had chosen that day, although peculiarly chose a sonata when dressing in British attire:

Men of odd and singular Passions with regard to Music, are also remarkable for Improperities and Inconsistences in Dress. This, I have been told, was exemplify’d by one who had made it his Business to learn certain humorous national Tunes, which seem (and there are such in every Nation) to express the Genius of the Country where they were made. For according to the Tune which he humm’d to himself when he dress’d, his Habit took the Air, for that Day, of the Nation to whom that Tune was adapted. This Morning, saith he, I am inclin’d to appear as a *Frenchman*; and so animating himself by a *Jig*, or a *Fanfaron*, or a *Figary*, he would give a spring from one end of the Room to the other. At another time the Fancy took him to dress as a *Spaniard*. And then he equip’d himself gravely to the Sound of a Saraband: But whenever he went to Court, and aim’d at the Perfection of Dress, he dispos’d his *British* Habit to the Graces of a *Sonata*.⁹²

Restoration plays

Restoration comedy was satire of what was happening in society, and despite the comic exaggerations, references to solos and sonatas were a reflection of the type of music known to theatre and concertgoers of the time. In order for the individual scenes written in the 1690s or early 1700s to have been funny, there was an expectation that a well-educated audience would understand what solos and sonatas were.

This was not always the case: in Act I, Scene I of *The Wives Excuse: or, Cuckolds make Themselves* (1691) by Thomas Southerne (1660–1746), Mr Friend-all and Wilding are discussing pieces they have just heard at a music meeting, clearly confused about what the sonatas were:

Mr. Fr.[iend-all]:

Vocal, or Instrumental! Which do you most approve of? If you are for the Instrumental, there were the Sonata’s to night, and Chacons, which you know –

⁹² John Harris, *A TREATISE UPON THE MODES: OR, A FAREWELL TO French KICKS* (London: printed for J. Roberts, 1715), p. 61.

Wild.[ing]:

The Sonata's and Chacones which I know! Not I, Sir, I don't know 'em: they may be two *Italian* Fidlrs [sic] of your acquaintance, for any thing I know of 'em.

Mr. Fr.:

Fye, fye, Fidlers! Masters, if you please, *Wilding*, Masters excellent in their Art, and Famous for many admirable Compositions.⁹³

The following year, Act IV, Scene I in *The Maid's last Prayer; or, Any, rather than Fail* (1693) (also by Southerne) contains a detailed description of a lively private music meeting hosted by the character Sir Symphony, and performed by amateurs.⁹⁴ Some of Southerne's comic references would only have appealed an educated audience familiar with music theory, with terms such as 'flat Note', 'double relish', and 'Fuga' used in the dialogue.⁹⁵

Once the concert begins, Sir Symphony provides a running commentary during a chaotic performance of an unnamed piece. It is intriguing to conjecture whether 'Finger in *England*' might have been a sly reference to Gottfried Finger:

All the while the Symphony Plays, he beats time and speaks in admiration of it.

Sir Sym.[phony]:

O Gad! there's a flat Note! there's Art! how surprizingly the Key changes! O law! there's a double relish! I swear, Sir, you have the sweetest little Finger in *England*! ha! that Stroak's new; I tremble every Inch of me: Now Ladies, look to your Hearts – Softly, Gentlemen – remember the Eccho – Captain, you play the wrong Tune – O law! my Teeth! my Teeth! for God's sake, Captain, mind your Cittern – Now, the Fuga, Bases! Bases! Again, again! Lord! Mr. *Humdrum*, you come in three Bars too soon. Come, now the Song –⁹⁶

⁹³ Thomas Southerne, *THE WIVES EXCUSE: OR, Cuckolds make Themselves. A COMEDY. As it is ACTED at the Theatre-Royal, BY Their MAJESTIES Servants* (London: printed for W. Freeman, 1692), p. 6; for a modern discussion, see Michael Tilmouth, 'Some Early London Concerts and Music Clubs, 1670–1720', *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association*, 84th Sess. (1957–8), 13–26 (p. 20).

⁹⁴ 'SCENE the going into Sir Symphony's'; for a more detailed discussion on this scene, see Curtis A. Price, *Henry Purcell and the London Stage* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), pp. 176–7.

⁹⁵ Flat note = a note with a flat accidental; double relish = a type of trill.

⁹⁶ Thomas Southerne, *THE Maids last Prayer: OR, ANY, rather than Fail. A COMEDY. As it is Acted at the Theatre Royal, By Their MAJESTIES SERVANTS* (London: printed for R. Bentley, and J. Tonson, 1693), p. 42; also cited in Michael Tilmouth, 'Chamber Music in England' (PhD dissertation, University of Cambridge, 1960), p. 96.

Henry Purcell's songs *Though you make no return to my passion* (Z601/1), 'sung by Mrs. Hodgson', and the duet *No, resistance is but vain* (Z601/2), 'written by Anthony Hely Esquire [...] and sung by Mrs. Ayliff, and Mrs. Hodgson' are to be performed next. Then Sir Symphony is called to play an unidentified 'solo' on his bass viol (although elsewhere he also plays the violin) accompanied by Captain Drydrubb on the cittern, if he is to please the ladies in the audience; two bullies, unimpressed by the music, startle him, and there is no further commentary on the bass viol 'solo':

Gran.[ger]:

This is admirable: But if you wou'd oblige the Ladies, you must play your Solo.

Sir Sym.:

With all my Heart, if the Captain will accompany.

1 Bully:

Pox a' this scraping, and tooting: Shall we Ecclipse, *Tom*, and make it a Rankum?

2 Bully:

No, no, we'll dumbfound the Baronet.

[*They dumbfound him, on each side, as he turns.*]

Sir Sym:

Who's that? What do you mean?

This is not to be born:

Is't you, take that, Sir.

[*Turning quick, one hits him in the Eye –*

[*Strikes him with a base Viol, and leaves it upon his Head.*⁹⁷

The comedy *Love for Love* (1695) by William Congreve (1670–1729) was the premiere play on 30 April 1695 at the newly opened Lincolns Inn Fields Theatre. In Act II Scene I, after Sir Sampson Legend has reproached his son Valentine for his extravagant lifestyle, he similarly accuses Jeremy,

⁹⁷ Southerne, *THE Maids last Prayer*, pp. 42–3; for a modern discussion, Tilmouth, 'The beginnings of provincial concert life in England', pp. 14–5.

Valentine's servant, of being a 'cormorant' (an insatiably greedy person); confronting him on music, Jeremy's distaste for the fashionable sonata emphasises their difference in social status.

Sir Sampson:

[...] and Musick, don't you love Musick, Scoundrell?

Jeremy:

Yes, I have a reasonable good Ear, Sir, as to Jiggs and Country Dances; and the like; I don't much matter your *Sola's* or *Sonata's*, they give me the Spleen.

Sir Sampson:

The Spleen, ha, ha, ha, a Pox confound you – *Sola's* and *Sonata's*? 'Oons, whose Son are you? how were you engendred, Muckworm?⁹⁸

The incidental music (a four-part suite) to *Love for Love* was composed by Finger,⁹⁹ whose *VI SONATAS or SOLO'S* (1690) was the only dedicated collection of solo sonatas available in Britain at this date.¹⁰⁰ Finger's sonatas may therefore well have featured in the evening's entertainment.

The following year, in Act III of *Love's Last Shift, or The Fool in Fashion* (1696) by Colley Cibber (in contrast to Jeremy's insulting remarks), the fop Sir Novelty Fashion enters with 'the Musick' and commands:

Here, Gentlemen, place your selves on this Spot, and pray oblige me with a Trumpet *Sonata* [The Musick prepare to Play].¹⁰¹

On 11 January 1704 a performance of this play at the Drury Lane theatre included 'several Sonata's on the Violin, compos'd by the great *Arcangelo Corelli*, and perform'd by Signior *Gasparini*'.¹⁰²

⁹⁸ William Congreve, *LOVE for LOVE: A COMEDY. Acted at the THEATRE in Little Lincolns-Inn Fields, BY His Majesty's Servants* (London: printed for Jacob Tonson, 1695), pp. 26–7.

⁹⁹ For musical sources, see Robert Rawson, 'From Olomouc to London: the Early Music of Gottfried Finger (c. 1655–1730)' (PhD dissertation, Royal Holloway, University of London, 2002); <<http://www.vdgs.org.uk/restoration/F%20names.pdf>> [accessed 2 June 2019]; the songs, instrumental music and references to music in *Love for Love* are discussed in Kathryn Lowerre, 'Music in the productions at London's Lincoln's Inn Fields Theater, 1695–1705' (PhD dissertation, Duke University, 1997), pp. 71–99.

¹⁰⁰ Finger also composed the song 'I tell thee Charmion' in *Love for Love*.

¹⁰¹ Colley Cibber, *Love's Last Shift; OR, THE Fool in Fashion. A COMEDY. As it is Acted at the THEATRE ROYAL, By His Majesty's Servants* (London: H. Rhodes; S. Briscoe, 1696), p. 45; also cited in Curtis A. Price, *Music in the Restoration Theatre* (Ann Arbor, Michigan: UMI Research Press, 1979), p. 109.

¹⁰² *Daily Courant* (London, England), Tuesday, January 11, 1704; Issue 542.

Three years later, in *Love without Interest, or, The man too hard for the Master* (1699), Jonathan is irritated by his master Sir Fickle Cheat's request for music in Act II, Scene I.¹⁰³

Sir Fickle Cheat:

Come Madam, come Nieces, Gentlemen Fiddlers, I beg your Pardon. Come let's see what Entertainment you have for this Lady.

[...]

[Jonathan Aside:

Pox of this scraping afore Dinner, it serves only to set People's Teeth an edge, and spoil their Stomachs: Gout and Palsie light on their mangy Fingers! Would they had done.

An Entertainment of Musick. A Sonata.

Sir Fickle:

Sweetly tweedled, I'faith. Now for a Song.¹⁰⁴

Even during the enormous fashion for Italianate music, it is clear that sonatas divided opinion; this is hinted at in Act II in *The Inconstant* (1702) by George Farquhar (1677–1707), when after dancing a lively minuet accompanied by a fiddler, Bizarre, 'a whimsical Lady', requests of Captain Duretete:

Come Sir, sing now, sing, I know you sing well; I see you have a singing face; a heavy dull Sonata face.¹⁰⁵

Conversely, the variety of musical characters found in sonatas was remarked on in Act III Scene I of the comedy *As You Find It* (1703) by Charles Boyle (1674–1731), the 4th Earl of Orrery, where Orinda likens Hartley's behaviour and unwanted advances to a sonata:

¹⁰³ The play is probably falsely attributed to William Pinkethman (d. 1725), who wrote the dedication and acted the part of Jonathan; see Allardyce Nicoll, *A History of English Drama 1660–1900, Volume 1: Restoration Drama 1660–1700*, 4th edition (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1952), p. 424.

¹⁰⁴ William Pinkethman, *Love without Interest: OR The Man too hard for the Master. A COMEDY. As it was Acted at the Theatre Royal, BY His Majesty's SERVANTS* (London: printed for Arthur Bettesworth, 1699), pp. 12–3.

¹⁰⁵ George Farquhar, *THE INCONSTANT: OR, The way to win him. A COMEDY, As it is Acted at the Theatre Royal in Drury-lane. By his Majesty's Servants* (London: J. Knapton; B. Lintott, 1702), p. 25; also cited in William Newman, *The Sonata in the Baroque Era* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1959), p. 31.

You run strange Divisions in Love, you leap from the serious to the merry Part of a sudden, like a *Sonata* – But no part of the Tune can charm me, I assure you.¹⁰⁶

In the comedy *The old mode & the new, or, Country Miss with her Furbeloe* (1703) by Thomas D'Urfey (1653–1723), the characters in Act II Scene II are entertained at dinner with 'Musick Playing, a Sonnata; then a Song sung'.¹⁰⁷ As previously mentioned, an advertisement for a production on 13 March 1703 stated that the play would be shortened to accommodate violin performances by Visconti amongst other entertainments.¹⁰⁸

Religious writings

If sonatas were the music of choice for the fashionable middle and upper classes, certain religious leaders disputed the appropriateness of these works, especially in the context of worship. Conversely, Edward Finch (1663–1738), a prebendary of York (ordained in 1700), and Philip Falle (1656–1742), a prebendary of Durham Cathedral (ordained in 1679), were two avid collectors (and in Finch's case a composer) of solo sonatas as reflected by their libraries including extant sources in Falle's collection at Durham Cathedral, although only pursued this music for their leisure.

Arthur Bedford (1668–1745), chaplain to the 3rd Duke of Bedford from 1702, and vicar at Temple-Church in Bristol, remarked on sonatas on several occasions. In his *Serious Reflections on the Scandalous Abuse and Effects of the STAGE* (1705) Bedford wrote:

They who deny that Musick will affect what Passion the Composer pleaseth, must be great Strangers to that Science, and such who (as I suppose) never heard a *Sonata* performed in their Lives. But they who apprehended I spoke against Musick in general, were under a great Misapprehension. I only spoke against the Corruptions thereof in the *Play=house*, and not against the Science it self.¹⁰⁹

In his 'Observations concerning Musick made Anno Domini 1705–6', Bedford was clearly in favour of studying (trio) sonatas, particularly those of Henry Purcell, Corelli and Bassani:

¹⁰⁶ Charles Boyle, Earl of Orrey, *As You Find it. A COMEDY. As it is Acted at the New Theatre, in Little-Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, BY Her Majesty's Servants* (London: printed for R. Parker, 1703), p. 34.

¹⁰⁷ Thomas D'Urfey, *THE Old Mode & the New, OR, Country Miss with her Furbeloe. A COMEDY. As it is Acted at the THEATRE ROYAL By her Majesty's Servants* (London: printed for Bernard Lintott, and sold by Samuel Clark, 1703), p. 29; also cited in Price, *Music in the Restoration Theatre*, p. 109.

¹⁰⁸ *The Daily Courant*, 13 March 1703, issue 282.

¹⁰⁹ Arthur Bedford, *SERIOUS Reflections on the Scandalous Abuse and Effects OF THE STAGE: IN A SERMON Preach'd at the Parish-Church of St. Nicolas in the City of Bristol, on Sunday the 7th Day of January, 1704/5* (Bristol: W. Bonny, 1705), preface.

He who would attain to skill in composing Instrumental Musick, ought above all other sorts to be well versed in the score of Sonata's, as being the perfection of all modern improvements of this nature [...] And I believe, there is no Artist, who will not think it well worth his while to be acquainted wth. The Italian Musick;¹¹⁰

Bedford also praised sonatas for the variety they offered to the listener:

A Poet must avoid Tauntologies, or the same word frequently repeated; & a musician must not dwell upon ye same Key or note. For w^{ch}. reason musick is best, w^{ch}. hath most variety; & consequently a Long Tune, such as a Sonata, Anthem, or set service, shews ye skill of the Composer, & delights the Ear much better, than any other.¹¹¹

In *The Great Abuse of Musick* (1711), Bedford was further sympathetic to the idea that a sonata could express different affekts, but now argued that the addition of a (sacred) text would enhance the music:

There are some swift *Notes* and *Leaps* in a *Sonata*, especially in the upper Part, which shall almost command a Laughter. There are also slow Movements, with Variety of *Discords*, which shall bring down the Mind again into a pleasing *Melancholy*, and all this shall happen frequently in the *Playing* over of the same *Tune*. Now if the bare *Musick* can so transport us, what can we expect when fine *Voices* are added to the *Instruments*?¹¹²

Elsewhere he added:

As therefore a fine *Sonata*, set only for *Instruments*, shall alter the *Passions* in a Minute, to be either merry or grave, as the *Composer* pleases; so I am sure, that *Notes* lose none of their Efficacy, when added to *Words*.¹¹³

A less approving view was presented in a sermon by Luke Milbourne (1649–1720), a 'Presbyter of the Church of England' in 1712:

¹¹⁰ GB-Lbl, Add. MS 4917, fols. 17–9; 'Presented by Sir John Hawkins, May 30. 1778'; also cited in Michael Tilmouth, 'Chamber Music in England' (PhD dissertation, University of Cambridge, 1960), p. 157.

¹¹¹ Ibid, fol. 115.

¹¹² Arthur Bedford, *THE GREAT ABUSE OF MUSICK. IN TWO PARTS* (London: printed by J.H. for John Wyatt, 1711), p. 169.

¹¹³ Ibid, pp. 171–2.

Yet Certainly, if the *Musick of the Church* be compared with *that of the Theatre*, the Advantage must lie wholly on the Side of the former. No Heart can be so warm'd with *sacred Enthusiasm* by any *Solo* or *Sonata*, as by a pious *Hymn* or *Anthem* well compos'd, and well perform'd, or by a *plain Psalm* skilfully sung¹¹⁴

The ability of music to affect and alter the 'passions', the quality which sonatas were so admired for, is also perhaps one reason why some treated these works with caution. In *A Supplement to the First Part of the Gentleman Instructed, With a Word to the Ladies* (1708) the Jesuit theologian and writer William Darrell (1651–1721) gave the following warning. Even though the term 'sonata' is not used, this is implied by the umbrella term 'Italian Symphonies':

I know we may regale our Ears with a Ragous of Italian Symphonies without the Penalty of eternal Weeping [...] But however the Effects are dangerous, for Musick has a strange ascendant over our Passions; it heats and cools 'em, it ruffles and transports 'em, it moulds and fashions 'em to any Figure; it awakes the Fury of Anger, and conjures up the Devil of Love¹¹⁵

At a time when anti-Catholic sentiments were still prevalent, the poet, dramatist and politician Joseph Addison (1672–1719) gave an account of the poet and wit Thomas D'Urfey in 1713, commenting that 'My Friend [Thomas D'Urfey] [...] has made use of Italian Tunes and Sonnata's for promoting the Protestant Interest, and turned a considerable part of the Pope's Musick against himself'.¹¹⁶

¹¹⁴ Luke Milbourne, *PSALMODY Recommended in a SERMON Preach'd to the COMPANY OF Parish-Clerks, At St. ALBAN'S Woodstreet, NOVEMBER 17. At St. Giles's in the Fields, NOVEMBER 22, 1712* (London: J. Downing, 1713), p. 26.

¹¹⁵ [William Darrell], *A Supplement To the FIRST PART OF THE GENTLEMAN INSTRUCTED With a Word to the LADIES. Written for the INSTRUCTION of the Young NOBILITY of both SEXES* (London: printed for E. Read, 1708), p. 75.

¹¹⁶ *The Guardian*, 28 May 1713, issue LXVII; A humorous song entitled 'The Moderate Man', claimed to be set 'To a pretty Tune. By the famous Signior Corelli' was also included by Thomas D'Urfey in *WIT and MIRTH: OR PILLS TO PURGE Melancholy*, Vol. 1 (London: printed by W. Pearson for J. Tonson, 1719), pp. 7–9.

Sonatas in portraits of musicians

The portrait in Fig. 4.2 depicts an English gentleman sat at a harpsichord, dressed in clothing of the 1690s, currently on display at Gawthorpe Hall, Burnley.¹¹⁷



Fig. 4.2 Unknown Man, formerly known as Daniel Purcell, c. 1700
© National Portrait Gallery, London

¹¹⁷ National Portrait Gallery no. 1463, 'Unknown Man, formerly known as Daniel Purcell'; Aileen Ribeiro and Cally Blackman, *A Portrait of Fashion: Six Centuries of Dress at the National Portrait Gallery* (London: National Portrait Gallery, 2015), p. 101.

Previously thought to be Daniel Purcell painted by John Closterman (1660–1711), the identity of the sitter remains unknown, and it has been suggested that the painter might have been Dutch.¹¹⁸ The open music manuscript book appears to contain the figured bass part to a ‘Sonata Settima’, which although partially legible, has not been identified (Fig. 4.3). It most likely belongs to a trio or larger scale sonata, since in Britain solo sonatas were usually copied out in score. Had this page been intentionally opened to show the sitter was up to date with the latest musical fashions? Another version of the painting is held at Worcester Cathedral Library in which the sonata has been replaced with the song ‘Britons, Strike Home!’ from Henry Purcell’s *Bonduca* (1695).



Fig. 4.3 ‘Sonata Settima’, detail from Unknown Man
© National Portrait Gallery, London

¹¹⁸ John Ingamells, *Later Stuart Portraits 1685–1714* (London: National Portrait Gallery, 2009), pp. 360–1.



Fig. 4.4 The Recorder Player, early 18th century
By kind permission of Marguerite Dolmetsch and Dr Brian Blood, The Dolmetsch Trust

The painting of an unknown recorder player holding a Bressan-style treble recorder belonging to the Dolmetsch Collection, Haslemere, shows an oblong music book, bound in red vellum placed on a table (Fig. 4.4).¹¹⁹ The cover reads in gold letters, 'CORELLIS SOLOS FOR THE FLUTE', revealing its contents as being probably the anonymous recorder arrangements of Corelli's Op. 5 violin sonatas, nos. 7–12, first published by Walsh in 1702 (Fig. 4.5). The suggestion made by Carl Dolmetsch in 1957 that the sitter was the German musician Johann Christian Schickhardt (c. 1681–

¹¹⁹ The painting was also reproduced on the cover of *Recorder and Music Magazine* (July 1966).

1762) was rightly discounted by David Lasocki in 1977.¹²⁰ Another possibility later put forward by Dolmetsch was the Dutch recorder player John Baptist Loiellet (1680–1730), painted by Robert Woodcock (1690–1728), also a recorder player, but again evidence for this is lacking since only marine paintings by Woodcock are known.¹²¹

While an earlier date cannot be ruled out, the painting probably dates from c. 1720–40 owing to the style of the wig, the large sleeve cuffs beginning above the elbow and the shirt and necktie which were quite common in the 1730s. In general, the sober colours and scarcity of lace and ornamentation on the jacket suggests a professional musician rather than a member of the aristocracy; it implies the sitter was celebrated enough to have his portrait painted or was wealthy enough to have the painting commissioned.¹²² A later date would confirm the long-standing fashion for Corelli's Op. 5 violin sonatas and the continued use of the recorder at a time when it was being superseded by the transverse flute.¹²³

¹²⁰ See David Lasocki, 'Johann Christian Schickhardt (ca. 1682–1762): A Contribution to his Biography and a Catalogue of his Works', *Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis*, 27/1 (1977), 28–55 (pp. 36–7).

¹²¹ David Lasocki and Helen Neate, 'The Life and Works of Robert Woodcock, 1690–1728', *American Recorder*, 29/3 (August 1988), 92–104, n. 16.

¹²² I would like to thank Pawel Nowak for his insights on the clothing worn by the sitter.

¹²³ For recorder players active in Britain between c. 1705 and 1740, see David Lasocki, 'Professional Recorder Players in England, 1540–1740' (PhD dissertation, University of Iowa, 1983), pp. 846–91.



Fig. 4.5 'Corellis Solos for the Flute', detail from *The Recorder Player*

Chapter summary and conclusions

Seventeenth and early eighteenth-century public concerts were aimed at the wealthier middle and upper classes (i.e. the 'gentry', 'nobility' or 'Persons of Quality') who were the main audience for sonatas. The Restoration theatre attracted members from all ranks of society, many of whom attended to be seen or to socialise and took little interest in the play or the music.¹²⁴ Despite a lack of detail in newspaper advertisements, performances of solo sonatas already took place during the 1680s and 90s, particularly at benefit concerts in aid of a particular musician.

Solo sonatas were a well-established part of concert programmes by the first decade of the eighteenth century, particularly in London. Performances of sonatas also took place in the English provinces and spa towns, with only scattered or later references from Scotland and Ireland where this music was otherwise conjecturally performed.

British audiences sought as much variety as possible, and solo sonatas were played on numerous instruments including the violin, bass viol, viola d'amore, recorder, echo flute, transverse flute,

¹²⁴ See Harold Love, 'Who were the Restoration Audience?', *The Yearbook of English Studies*, 10 (1980), 21–44.

oboe, harpsichord, archlute and harp: the ‘second of the 12 Grand Concerts by Subscription’ at Stationer’s Hall, not only featured ‘solo by that excellent Performer young Mr. Du Bourg’, but it was announced that ‘in order to make the Performance still more entertaining, there will be Four Instruments more than there was before, viz. the Viol d’amour, the Eccho Flute, the German Flute, and the serpent’; newspaper advertisements only ever give the name of one accompanist in addition to the soloist.¹²⁵

Notably, the mention of Corelli’s name was a way to entice an audience, while solo sonatas and their performers were often singled out as the highlight of the programme.¹²⁶ In the words of Burney, ‘Indeed, no instrumental Music was heard with equal delight by the ignorant and the learned, or imitated more closely by subsequent composers for violins’.¹²⁷ Corelli’s Op. 5 violin sonatas remained a benchmark by which to rate violinists in Britain well into the eighteenth century, further highlighted by the number of surviving written-out ornaments for these works.¹²⁸ Hawkins wrote that in his later years Charles Dieupart (b. after 1667–d. c. 1740) ‘frequented concerts performed in ale-houses, in obscure parts of the town, and distinguished himself not more there, than he would have done in an assembly of the best judges, by his neat and elegant manner of playing the solos of Corelli’.¹²⁹ In the early eighteenth century, the arrival of the concerto and concerto grosso created yet more opportunities for soloistic display in between theatrical acts, alongside the solo sonata:

AT the Theatre in Greenwich, on Saturday next, being the 19th Instant, will be presented the loves of Baldo and Media, after the Italian Manner [...] Intermixt with several Concertos and Dances between the Acts¹³⁰

As suggested by the information from newspapers summarised in Table 4.1, the number of British versus foreign performers of solo sonatas can be estimated to have been about equal, which does

¹²⁵ *The Daily Courant*, 8 March 1717, issue 4799.

¹²⁶ Corelli’s trio sonatas were also frequently heard, and Hawkins remarked that ‘the whole four operas for many years furnished the second music before the play at both the theatres in London’; Hawkins, *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music*, p. 677.

¹²⁷ Charles Burney, *A General History of Music From the Earliest Ages to the Present Period (1789) Volume the Second with Critical and Historical Notes by Frank Mercer* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1935), p. 990.

¹²⁸ See Neal Zaslaw, ‘Ornaments for Corelli’s Violin Sonatas, op. 5’, *Early Music*, 24/1, Music in Purcell’s London II (February 1996), 95–116.

¹²⁹ Hawkins, *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music*, vol. 2, p. 822.

¹³⁰ *The Spectator*, 17 July 1712, issue CCCCXXXIII.

not fit the traditional view of soloists usually being Italian violinists. Notably, the English violinist Thomas Dean featured prominently as soloist during the first decade of the eighteenth century.

Numerous references in the general literature and theatrical plays highlight the vogue for solos and sonatas, particularly those of Corelli, in Britain during the 1690s and early eighteenth century. Restoration plays often mention sonatas in a humorous context, while some religious leaders suggested Italianate music should be treated with caution. Regrettably, unlike songs (for which the words were sometimes printed in the script), playwrights did not specify details of the sonatas which were called for in stage directions.

Alongside British gentlemen undertaking the Grand Tour came a fashion for everything Italian, and sonatas were no exception, revered for their musical variety; the gracefulness of Corelli's solo sonatas, coupled with violin techniques to impress the listener, made them particularly attractive to British audiences. Solo sonatas were esteemed for their ability to showcase a famous performer, who could display their technical dexterity in the fast movements and chordal passages, and musicality and improvisation skills in the slow movements.

With the adoption of the sonata and the establishment of public concerts came also an increased divide between professional and amateur music making. While many amateurs were of a high standard, such as the members of Thomas Britton's music meetings, others would have struggled to play the works of Corelli or Cosimi. Much of the printed music for amateurs contains solo sonatas without double stops, all in first position on the violin, and many works were played on the recorder or harpsichord instead. In *The Muscicall Grammarian* (1728), North commented on the differing standards between professionals and amateurs during performances of sonatas:

I have observed some persons – lovers, and no mean performers – very sollicitous to encourage the comon fidders, that entertained them at mealls, to practise the celebrated sonnatas with which they were used in private to divert themselves. But it seemed very unfit; for they must sitt and hear themselves outdone, because those who play all their lives long, will touch with more vigor, distinction and swiftnes, than persons of quality, that exercise onely for their diversion, can doe.¹³¹

¹³¹ Wilson, *Roger North on Music*, p. 272.

CHAPTER 5

‘Fine things neer [at] hand *solo*’:

Instruments, Players and Performance Practice

Numerous performing styles inevitably existed concurrently between the 1670s and c. 1716 owing to a change in musical genres, the continuous arrival of immigrant musicians and travellers going abroad. Since the subject of Baroque performance practice has already been addressed in numerous specialist books and articles, this chapter discusses issues that are specific to the solo sonata in Restoration Britain.¹ The topics considered include the relationship of printing formats to performance practice, melody and bass instruments (played by professionals and amateurs), tempo and ornamentation.²

Performances from printed sources

The convention of printing music in separate oblong parts, traditionally associated with domestic music and found in two-part collections printed by John Playford (1623–86), was also used in the four books of *Ayres* (1678, 1685) by Nicola Matteis (fl. c. 1670–90); among the exceptions are two one-movement pieces marked ‘Sonata’, printed in score. A slightly later example is *A Collection of Musick in Two Parts* (1691) by Gottfried Finger (c. 1660–1730) and John Banister junior (1662–1736), where it is significant that the only ‘Sonata solo’ appeared in score with a figured bass part, distinguishing it from the recorder duets printed in separate parts.³

In Britain, a transition from separate parts to scores in two-part music took place with the solo sonata, where an upright rather than oblong format was generally preferred. Some exceptions include *Six Sonatas or Solos for the Flute* Op. 1 (1701) and Op. 2 (1706) by William Topham (fl. 1701–9), and the solo sonata in *SIX SONATAS of two Parts Purposely made and Contrived for Two FLUTES Compos’d by M.^r William Croft To which is added an Excellent SOLO for a FLUTE and a BASS by Seign.^r Papus* (1704), all published by Walsh and printed in oblong parts. Solo sonatas were also printed in

¹ For summaries on performance practice in the period, see Colin Lawson and Robin Stowell, ed., *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of Historical Performance in Music* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018); Stewart Carter, ed., *A Performer’s Guide to Seventeenth-Century Music* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2012); Judy Tarling, *Baroque String Playing for Ingenious Learners* (St Albans: Corda Music Publications, 2001).

² While solo sonatas for violin, bass viol, recorder, transverse flute and oboe were in circulation, the ‘trumpet sonata’, which frequently featured in public performances, included a string band rather than solely continuo accompaniment; see Peter Holman, ‘The Trumpet Sonata in England’, *Early Music*, 4/4 (October 1976), 424–9.

³ Finger’s recorder sonata in B-flat major, Rawson RI96.

oblong score, such as Walsh's edition of Corelli's Op. 5 violin sonatas (1700) and Galliard's self-published *VI SONATAS FOR a Flute & a Through Bass* (1710/11).

The three solo sonatas in *The Second Part of the Division Violin* (1689) by Thomas Farmer (d. 1688), Edward Finch (1663–1738) and 'Corelli' (Marx Anh. 62) were printed in separate parts using table-book format: the bass part was printed upside down, allowing two musicians sitting opposite to play from the same copy in a domestic setting (see Fig. 5.1). This form of printing, which had been in use since the sixteenth century (in turn derived from earlier manuscript music), was still employed in other British prints of the time; one example is the two-part 'Lessons for Viols or Violins' in *NEW AYRES AND DIALOGUES COMPOSED FOR Voices and Viols* (1678), which also includes pieces by Farmer.⁴ The 'Easie Lessons in Two Parts', i.e. 'duos' for two treble instruments, and for one treble and one bass instrument, in *The Gentleman's Diversion* (1693/4) by John Lenton (d. 1719) were also printed in table-book format.



Fig. 5.1 'A Sola by Mr. Tho. Farmer B.M.', *The Second Part of the Division Violin* (Henry Playford: London, 1689) Call # D1742. Used by permission of the Folger Shakespeare Library

An upright book was a practical consideration to facilitate page turns, while a score allowed the music to be shared by two players when only a single copy was available; an upright copy also made it easier for the soloist to read the music if looking over the shoulder of the continuo player, which naturally implies that the soloist played standing up rather than sitting down. By viewing both parts together, each musician could follow the harmony, which also facilitated keeping the ensemble together; in slow movements the continuo player could more easily accompany during

⁴ *NEW AYRES AND DIALOGUES COMPOSED FOR Voices and Viols, OF Two, Three, and Four Parts: Together with Lessons for Viols or Violins*, By JOHN BANISTER, One of the Gentlemen of his Majesties private Musick: And THOMAS LOW, One of the Vicars Choral of Saint Pauls, London (London: Printed by Mr C. for H. Brome, 1678).

any elaborate ornamentation. Two-part music written in score is also particularly suited for lessons: the teacher can play the bass line while simultaneously following the pupil's part.

Roger North (1651–1734) asserted that the benefit of a score was primarily for the continuo player, in order to work out and fill in the harmonies where figuring was sparse or absent, and to help be more aware of the other parts.

A score is certainly the best thro base part, and a master will serve himself of it, on many occasion's, to Embellish his play, but the figures added also, have no Inconvenience, tho In such case the use of them is onely to learners, that cannot observe the Composition, as they goe along, from the score. [...] So whether figured or not, it is certein, a thro-base may best be played from the score: and if there were nothing else to recommend it but the capacity of a nicer waiting [awareness] on the parts then displayed, by seeing their movement, it's enough.⁵

5.1 'Now arriv'd to that perfection of performance': Melody Instruments

Violin

There is an instrument, which tho' very excellent in its kind, yet hath engross't all people's fancy to learne, and very few will touch upon any other, and that is the violin.⁶

Crucial to the development of the sonata in Britain was the gradual transition from viol consorts, central to domestic music-making until at least the middle of the seventeenth century, to a more widespread use of the violin. Although the violin was already played at court from the sixteenth century, it only gained acceptance as an amateur instrument during the Interregnum (1649–1660). The violin was formerly associated with a lowly occupation: Sir John Hawkins (1719–76) explained that 'in the times of puritanical reformation, the profession of a common fiddler was odious'.⁷ The army officer and writer Richard Atkyns (1615–1677) still expressed these views in *The Original and Growth of Printing* (1664):

⁵ John Wilson, ed., *Roger North on Music: Being a Selection from his Essays Written During the Years c. 1695–1728* (London: Novello and Company, 1959), p. 249.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 227.

⁷ Hawkins also cited 'a very humorous character of a common fiddler' by Bishop Earle, referring to the 'Act against Vagrants and wandring, idle dissolute persons' of 1657, in which 'fiddlers and minstrels' were included; see Sir John Hawkins, *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music: republication of the J. Alfred Novello edition, 1853*, vol. 2 (New York: Dover Publications, 1963), p. 702.

Musick is not onely an Art, but one of the Liberall Arts practised by Princes themselves, and made instrumentall to the Glory of God; yet what Trade is there more despicable in the World both in Name and Nature, than a Common Fidler; though he may draw as good a sound out of an Instrument, and have as much Art in Playing and Composing as any Gentleman, yet if he get his Living by it, and makes it his trade, he is still but a Fidler: and herein I pity him more than any of other Professions, because he perverts the Creation, and turns Day into Night: and most commonly when sober Persons are in Bed, he must play to please the humours of the lighter sort; And though his Heart be ready to break through Melancholy, he must sing a merry Song to delight the Company, if commanded, or have his Fiddle sing about his Ears⁸

The violin's status was elevated by foreign violin virtuosos, particularly Thomas Baltzar (1631–63) and Matteis, as well as the newly re-established violin band at the court of Charles II which performed music in the French style, influenced by the court of Louis XIV.⁹ North gave the following account:

The use of the Violin had bin litle in England except by common filders. In consorts the chest of violls, with an organ, were the cheif suppellectile [household furniture or implement], and seldome wanted in a musicall family [...] One Baltazar a Swede, about the time of the Restauration came over, and shewed so much mastery upon that instrument, that gentlemen, following also the humour of the Court, fell in *pesle mesle*, and soon thrust out the treble viol¹⁰

A gradual increase in the number of self-instruction books for the violin published from 1658 onwards is further evidence for the instrument's demand, despite these treatises not being sufficient for learning all the techniques required for playing sonatas.¹¹ While some amateurs were fortunate enough to study with a famous violinist, perhaps even a pupil of Corelli, good teachers were not always available, and many others attempted to teach themselves using insufficient written instructions, as recounted by North:

⁸ Richard Atkyns, *The Original and Growth of Printing* (London: printed by John Streater for the author, 1664), p. 8; this source seems not to have featured in the literature to date.

⁹ See especially Peter Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers: the Violin at the English Court, 1540–1690* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993).

¹⁰ Wilson, *Roger North on Music*, pp. 300–1.

¹¹ A detailed list can be found in Claire Sharpe, 'An Annotated Bibliography of Early English Violin Tutors Published 1658–1731 Including Reissues and Subsequent Editions of Single Works', *A Handbook for Studies in 18th-Century English Music*, X (1999), 1–50.

So for the Gentlemen upon a violin, who must teach themselves as most doe, for they are scarce admonish't to stop in tune by the master. The fault lyes in all sides: the learners will not have patience, and the teachers not [the] will to goe regularly to work with them.¹²

The establishment of what might loosely be called a sonata style, and a more widespread use of the violin in Britain went hand in hand, and in 1728 North exclaimed how well the instrument lent itself to the new rhetorical style demanded from these works:

And the best utensill of Apollo, the violin, is so universally courted, and sought after to be had of the best sort, that some say England hath dispeopled Itally of viollins. And no wonder after the Great Master [Corelli] made that instrument speak as it were with humane voice, saying to his scollars – *Non udite lo parlare?* [Do you not hear it speak?]¹³

The nature of the bow

A variety of new Italianate violin techniques and bow-strokes required for performing sonatas were outlined by North, among which are the ‘*arcata* or long bow’ (messa di voce), the ‘*stoccata* or stabb’ (staccato), and ‘the late invention they call a wrist-shake’ (vibrato).¹⁴ A longer violin bow specifically for playing sonatas was advantageous to these developments in musical styles.¹⁵

It is significant that James Talbot’s Manuscript, Christ Church Library Music MS 1187, dating from c. 1692–5, differentiates between ‘The usual length of the Consort Bow’ and explicitly ‘The length of the Bow for Solo’s or Sonata’s’.¹⁶ James Talbot (1664–1708) was an amateur musician and Regius Professor of Hebrew at Cambridge University, who received his violin and bow measurements from the English violinist John Banister junior; together with Robert King (c. 1660–1726), Banister was among the first agents to sell Corelli’s Op. 5 violin sonatas in London.

¹² Wilson, *Roger North on Music*, p. 239, n. 47.

¹³ Wilson, *Roger North on Music*, p. 359; for a detailed account of the Italian style of violin playing with reference to Matteis, see Simon Jones, ‘The “Stupendious” Nicola Matteis: An Exploration of his Life, his Works for the Violin and his Performing Style’, 3 vols. (PhD dissertation, University of York, 2003).

¹⁴ Wilson, *Roger North on Music*, p. 234.

¹⁵ Baroque bow lengths are also discussed in David Boyden, *The History of Violin Playing from its Origins to 1761* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1965; repr. 1990), pp. 209–10 and Robin Stowell, *The Early Violin and Viola: A Practical Guide* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 38–41.

¹⁶ Robert Donington, ‘James Talbot’s Manuscript (Christ Church Library Music MS 1187). II. Bowed Strings’, *The Galpin Society Journal*, 3 (March 1950), 27–45 (p. 29).

The length of the ‘Consort Bow’ was calculated at exactly two feet (twenty-four inches), while the ‘Bow for Solo’s or Sonata’s was two to three inches longer. Talbot provided no fewer than three measurements for the sonata bow in feet and inches, in addition to a second set of measurements in inches (see Table 5.1). North observed that Matteis used an unusually long violin bow:

He [Matteis] was a very robust and tall man, and having long armes, held his instrument almost against his girdle [waist], and his bow was as long as for a base violl¹⁷

This description is frustratingly vague, especially considering the large variation in bass viol bow lengths, which averaged around twenty-nine inches overall (length of the stick). Talbot’s measurements for a consort bass viol bow were two feet and seven inches (thirty-one inches), and two feet and six inches (thirty inches) for a division viol bow.¹⁸ In his treatise *The Division-Violist* (1659), Christopher Simpson (c. 1602–6–1669) wrote that ‘A Viol-Bow, for Division, should be stiff, but not heavy. Its length (betwixt the two places where the Hairs are fastened at each end) about seven and twenty Inches’, i.e. giving a hair length of two feet and three inches.¹⁹ If North’s eyewitness account can be relied on, Matteis might have used a very long bow up to thirty-two and a half inches (two feet and eight and a half inches) in total length.²⁰

The English violinist John Lenton (d. 1719) on the other hand suggested, ‘Let your Bow be as long as your Instrument’.²¹ Lenton therefore implied a shorter bow length (according to Talbot’s measurements for a full-size violin), which was more appropriate for performing the French-style tunes in his violin treatise, *The Gentleman’s Diversion* (1693/4).

In 1776, Hawkins commented retrospectively on the length of the ‘sonata bow’ in 1720, although at twenty-four inches it was supposedly the same length as Banister’s ‘consort bow’ so it seems that Hawkins was referring to the length of the hair only.

¹⁷ Wilson, *Roger North on Music*, p. 309, n. 63.

¹⁸ Donington, ‘James Talbot’s Manuscript’, p. 32.

¹⁹ Christopher Simpson, *The Division-Violist* (London: Printed by William Godbid, and sold by John Playford, 1659), p. 2.

²⁰ I am grateful to the viol and bow maker Tim Soar for drawing my attention to this.

²¹ John Lenton, *The Gentleman’s Diversion* (London, 1693/4), p. 11.

The bow of the violin has been gradually increasing in length for these last seventy years; it is now about twenty-eight inches. In the year 1720, a bow of twenty-four inches was, on account of its length, called a Sonata bow; the common bow was shorter;²²

Since no reference points for any of the following bow measurements were provided, it is not possible to know whether they refer to the free hair length or to the length of the stick, although Talbot's measurements likely refer to the total length.

Source	Bow	Length
James Talbot (via John Banister junior)	'The usual length of the Consort Bow'	2 feet ²³
"	'The length of the Bow for Solo's or Sonata's'	2 feet 2 feet, 2 inches, 4 lignes 2 feet, 3 inches ²⁴
"	'Bow of violin'	'not under 24' from there to 27 ½ at most ²⁵
"	'Solo-Bow'	'27, 26–25 ½' [inches] ²⁶
John Lenton	'Bow'	'as long as your instrument'; Talbot (via John Banister) gave the 'Length of the Instrument' as 1 foot, 11 inches and 4 lignes, i.e. just under 24 inches ²⁷
John Hawkins	'in the year 1720 [...] a Sonata bow'	'twenty-four inches'

Table 5.1 Violin bow lengths as given by Talbot (via Banister), Lenton and Hawkins

A longer violin bow is particularly helpful for playing slow movements with sustained notes or elaborate ornamentation slurred in one bow, such as the second Adagio by Nicola Matteis junior, Ex. 5.1. Although a shorter and lighter bow makes playing fast passages easier, many solo sonatas

²² Hawkins, *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music*, vol. 2, p. 782.

²³ Donington, 'James Talbot's Manuscript', p. 29.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Ibid, p. 30.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Ibid, p. 29.

include movements with lengthy ‘moto perpetuo’ semiquaver passages, which would have been played with the longer and heavier ‘solo bow’, such as the Allegro by Matteis junior, Ex. 5.1.

The image shows two pages of handwritten musical notation for a violin solo. The top left of the first page is labeled 'VIOLINO SOLO' and 'by M^r Nicola Matteis'. The score is written in treble clef with a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The first page includes tempo markings 'Adagio' and 'Presto'. The second page includes the tempo marking 'Allegro'. Both pages end with the instruction 'Volte' and a double bar line. The notation features complex semiquaver passages and rests.

Ex. 5.1 *Violino Solo* by M^r Nicola Matteis, (Walsh, 1704), pp. 5–6
Reproduced by kind permission of the Chapter of Durham Cathedral

North credited Matteis senior with a change in bow hold that was different from the French-style bow grip used by British violinists at the time. The latter involved resting the thumb on the hair, with the little finger either placed on the stick or tucked underneath, as described in treatises such as *The Gentleman's Diversion*.²⁸ Matteis's practice of positioning the thumb on the stick in theory facilitated the use of a longer bow and made movements more effortless, bearing in mind that (as with differences in violin holds), much also depended on the individual technique of the player:

[...] he [Matteis] taught the English to hold the bow by the wood onely and not to touch the hair, which was no small reformation.²⁹

²⁸ Lenton, *The Gentleman's Diversion*, p. 11.

²⁹ Wilson, *Roger North on Music*, p. 309.

British violin treatises aimed at beginners continued to provide directions for placing the thumb on the hair. As late as 1722, by the time solo sonatas were firmly a part of the standard repertoire, the third edition of *The Compleat Musick-Master* still contained the outdated instructions to hold the bow ‘with your Thumb half under the Nutt and half under the Hair from the Nutt’.³⁰

The court violinist and theatre composer John Lenton (d. 1719) published his violin instruction book *The Gentleman’s Diversion* (1693/4) at a time when the solo sonata was becoming the main genre for soloistic display before the concerto. Lenton is important because his instructions on violin technique are particularly detailed compared with other British violin treatises of the time. Unusually, Lenton included, unusually for an instruction book, two-part (as opposed to unaccompanied) pieces by various composers for two treble instruments or a treble and a bass; they do not include any solo sonatas and are closer in style to theatre suites.³¹ Lenton was fully aware of the recent musical changes, considering the Italian style to be ‘the best manner in the world’.³² This was further highlighted by his inclusion of a short ‘Prelud’ by Matteis which stands out as being more idiomatic for the violin than the rest of the tunes.

Recorder

The Baroque recorder was introduced to Britain by musicians from France in 1673, including notably the recorder virtuoso James Paisible (1656–1721).³³ The treble (alto) recorder in F was favoured in Britain, and was frequently designated on title pages to solo sonatas from the publication of Finger’s *VI SONATAS or SOLO’S Three for a VIOLIN & Three for a FLUTE* (1690) onwards. A focus on the violin, although imperative, does therefore not in itself provide a complete picture of the early solo sonata repertoire in Britain.

Hawkins observed that the relative ease of learning the recorder in the early stages was influential in its popularity among amateur gentlemen:

Others, less sensible of the charms of harmony and melody, looked upon music as a mere accomplishment, and were content to excel only on those instruments on which a moderate degree of proficiency might be attained with little labour and application; and these seem to have been the Flute

³⁰ *The Compleat Musick-Master* (London: printed by and for William Pearson, 1722), p. 38.

³¹ The contents of *The Gentleman’s Diversion* are summarised in Malcolm Boyd and John Rayson, ‘The Gentleman’s Diversion: John Lenton and the First Violin Tutor’, *Early Music*, 10/3 (1982), 329–32.

³² Lenton, *The Gentleman’s Diversion*, p. 11.

³³ David Lasocki, ‘Professional Recorder Playing in England 1500–1740. II: 1640–1740’, *Early Music*, 10/2 (1982), 182–91 (p. 183).

à bec and the Flageolet [...] but the flute, especially of the larger size, was a more solemn instrument, and was taken to by the fine gentlemen of the time, whose characters were formed after that model of good breeding exhibited in the French court towards the end of the last century.³⁴

Before the transverse flute was introduced to Britain at the beginning of the eighteenth century, the French-style recorder was usually referred to as the ‘flute’ or ‘common flute’, (also called ‘flute à bec’ by Hawkins), while the transverse flute was called ‘German flute’ or ‘Flute Almain’. The flageolet (a small woodwind instrument) had previously been the main wind instrument played by amateurs.

The earliest British instruction book for the recorder is *A Vade Mecum* (1679) by John Hudgebut (fl. 1679–99), in which the author remarked that ‘The Rechorder like Jacob hath got the Birth-right, being much more in Esteem and Veneration, with the Nobility and Gentry, whilst the Flagilet sinks down a Servant to the Pages and Footmen’. Furthermore, all the advantages of the flageolet were applicable to the recorder, such as ‘being easily carried in the Pocket’, ‘always in Tune’, but additionally ‘more Smoother and Charming’ as well as having a greater ‘Extent and Variety of Notes’.³⁵

In order to differentiate between the Renaissance flute (a transverse instrument), the term ‘recorder’ was used to describe the instrument until the 1670s before the new French-style instrument became widespread.³⁶ Both terms are found on title pages to instruction books such as *The Delightful Companion: OR CHOICE NEW LESSONS FOR The Recorder or Flute* (Playford, 1686) and the following advertisement:

THE Recorder or Flute made easie; by exact and true directions, shewing the manner and way of playing on that fashionable Instrument, by the Notes of the Flagelet; whereby the meanest capacity may, with a little spare time, attain his desire.³⁷

³⁴ Hawkins, *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music*, vol. 2, p. 738.

³⁵ John Hudgebut, *A VADE MECUM For the LOVERS of MUSICK, Shewing the EXCELLENCY of the RECHORDER* (London: printed by N. Thompson for John Hudgebut, 1679), preface.

³⁶ For the Renaissance flute, see Nancy Hadden, ‘The Renaissance Flute in the Seventeenth Century’, in *From Renaissance to Baroque: Change in Instruments and Instrumental Music in the Seventeenth Century Britain*, ed. Jonathan Wainwright and Peter Holman (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), 113–44.

³⁷ Edward Arber, ed., *The Term Catalogues, 1668–1709 A.D.; with a Number for Easter Term, 1711 A.D. A Contemporary Bibliography of English Literature in the reigns of Charles II, James II, William and Mary, and Anne* (London: Edward Arber, 1903–6), II15-II16 (Easter 1683); this work is no longer extant.

Hawkins elaborated on his account of the recorder as an amateur instrument in the early eighteenth century, referencing the solo sonatas of Robert Valentine (1674–1735–40) and Johann Christian Schickhardt (c. 1681–1762):

And to come nearer to our own times, it may be remembered by many now living, that a flute was the pocket companion of many who wished to be thought fine gentlemen. The use of it was to entertain ladies, and such as had a liking for no better music than a song-tune, or such little airs as were then composed for that instrument; and he that could play a solo of Schickhard of Hamburg, or Robert Valentine of Rome, was held a complete master of the instrument.³⁸

ADVERTISEMENT S.

Lately Publish'd.

Solos and Aires for a Flute and Bass, as also for a Single Flute. 6 Solos by *Archangelo Corelli*, for a Flute and a Bass. *Fingers and Purcells* Solos for a Flute and a Bass. Mr *Pepusch's*. Solos for a Flute and a Bass. Mr. *Tophan's* 1st and 2d Collection of Solos for a Flute and a Bass. Overtures and Aires for a Flute and a Bass, by several. Mr. *Demiour's* Aires for a Flute and a Bass. *Demiour's* Aires for a Single Flute. A Collection of *Scotch* Aires for a Single Flute. *Sax's* Aires for a Single Flute. A Collection of *Grounds and Divisions* for a Single Flute. Books of Instructions for Learners on the Flute. All Printed f.r. and Sold by *J. Wulff*, Servant to Her Majesty, at the *Harp and Hoboy* in *Katherine-Street*, near *Somerjet-House* in the *Strand*. *J. Hare*, Instrument-maker at the *Golden Viol and Flute*, in *Cornhill*, near the *Royal-Exchange*. And *P. Randal*, at the *Violin and Lute*, by *Paulgrave-Court* without *Templ.-Bar*.

Fig. 5.2 Recorder music advertised in *The British Apollo*, 21–3 July 1708

The French recorder maker Peter Bressan (1663–1731) arrived in London around 1688. David Lasocki dates the beginning of the decline of the recorder as an amateur instrument in Britain at 1715, based on an account by Bressan in 1721 that his trade had begun to decline six years earlier.³⁹

Violin and recorder: interchangeability

In *The Present State of England* (1683), Edward Chamberlayne (1616–1703) described the violin and recorder as being among the foremost melody instruments in Britain:

The Violin is now of all others generally of highest esteem, and is indeed a very useful Instrument in Consort, and now arriv'd to that perfection of performance, that it were endless to enumerate all that have been of late accounted great Violin-Masters. [...] Of Wind-Instruments, the Flageolet within this 20 years, and since that the Flute, have been highest in vogue and frequentest in use.⁴⁰

³⁸ Hawkins, *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music*, vol. 2, p. 738.

³⁹ David Lasocki, 'Amateur Recorder Players in Renaissance and Baroque England', *American Recorder*, 40/1 (January 1999), 15–9 (p. 16).

⁴⁰ Edward Chamberlayne, *The Present State of England, Part III and Part IV* (London: printed for William Whitwood, 1683), pp. 91–2.

The interchangeability between these two instruments was reflected in the early sonata repertoire in Britain, with the same pieces often transposed and adapted to suit each instrument. An early advertisement for six trio sonatas by William Williams (1675–1701) indicates this practice; a notice for subscriptions was placed in 1696, although the sonatas were not published until 1700:

There will be speedily published (by way of subscription) six new Sonata's, in three parts (fairly grav'd upon Copper Plates, and Printed in four Books) three design'd for Violins, and three for Flutes; those for the Flutes being writ three notes lower [usually a minor third], will go on the Violins, and those for the Violins being rais'd will go on the Flutes, which will make six for each instrument.⁴¹

Further evidence is found in an advertisement for *The Second Part of the Gentleman's Tutor to the Flute* (Hudgebut, 1699), which included 'a Scale shewing how to transpose any Tune for the Flute, that is set for the Violin or Voice' by John Banister.⁴² Although Hudgebut's publication is apparently lost, the title page to *The Fifth BOOK of the NEW FLUTE MASTER* (Walsh, 1706) also mentioned the addition of 'a Scale shewing how to transpose any Tune to the FLUTE that is made for the VIOLIN or VOICE', regrettably missing from the British Library exemplar.⁴³

Transposition was a general practice which took place both ways between the violin and recorder. The following notice given in the preface to *A Collection of Musick in Two Parts* (1691) explained how to transpose recorder music for the violin (Fig. 5.3):

⁴¹ *The Post Boy*, 22–4 December 1696, issue 255; 'Six new Sonatas, approved of by the best Masters, three for two Violins, and three for two Flutes, with a part for the Bass Violin and Viol, and a figured Bass for the Organ, Harpsicord, or Arch-Lute, finely Engraven on Copper-Plates, and exactly Corrected by the Author. Composed by William Williams, Servant to His Majesty. Price of the 4 Books 7s. 6d. Printed for the Author, and are to be sold at the Surgeon's Arms, over against Drury-Lane in the Strange'; see *Bibliotheca Annua: OR, THE ANNUAL CATALOGUE FOR The Year 1699. BEING AN EXACT CATALOGUE OF ALL English and Latin Books, Printed in England from January, 1698/9, to March 25, 1700* (London: John Nutt, 1700), p. 39.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 38.

⁴³ *The Fifth BOOK of the NEW FLUTE MASTER Containing The most Perfect Rules and Easiest Directions for Learners on the FLUTE yet Extant. together wth an Extraordinary Collection of AIRES both Italian and English. Perticularly the most celebrated ARIETTS in the new OPERA of Arsinoe Queen of Cyprus, and several other Excellent Tunes never before Printed. To which is added a Scale shewing how to transpose any Tune to the FLUTE that is made for the VIOLIN or VOICE. the whole fairly Engraven* (London: Walsh, 1706). At the time of writing (2019), the British Library integrated catalogue states that 'the Scale is contained on a folding plate'; the Rare Books & Music Reference Team have informed me that the folding plate is missing from the original exemplar although it appears that it was most likely once attached to one of the endpapers; it is also missing from the British Library facsimile made around 2003–5, and an earlier microfilm at Mus.Mic.597 is now reported as 'mislaidd'; unfortunately no other exemplars are known.



Advertisement.

NOte, That the 9, 10, 11, 12, and 13th Pages of the Firſt Book being all taken up with a *Solo* for a Flute or Violin, with the Thorough-Baſs under each Line; the ſame Pages in the Second Book are fill'd with Preludes and Diviſions upon a Ground-Baſs. And further Note, That ſome of the Leſſons contained in theſe Books being too high for the Violin, as they are here Printed, are yet very proper for it, if you tranſpoſe them two Notes lower.

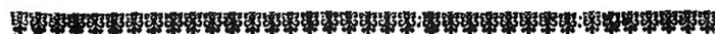


Fig. 5.3 'Advertisement' in *A Collection of Musick in Two Parts* (1691)

Interesting to point out is the comment that certain pieces are 'too high for the Violin' but could be performed if transposed 'two Notes lower', thereby deliberately avoiding any venture out of first position. The highest note in *A Collection of Musick in Two Parts*, D₆ in third position on the violin, was apparently deemed too challenging for the amateur violinist, as confirmed by the lack of directions for shifting in British violin treatises of the time.

The rudimentary instruction to play two or three notes higher or lower, and Walsh's 'Scale', may not have been sufficient for some amateurs to overcome the challenges of transposing at sight, or writing out the music again in a different key; at least for a professional, transposing by a third at sight would have presented no problem. In addition to benefiting the publisher, separate violin and recorder versions of the same solo sonatas were therefore sometimes published, such as *Six SONATAS or SOLOS* [...] *Compos'd by M.^r G. Finger and M.^r D. Purcell* (Walsh, 1709).

To summarise, the transpositions used in Walsh's *SIX Solos for A FLUTE and A BASS By ARCHANGELO CORELLI* (1702) included intervals of a major second, minor third and perfect fourth, as detailed in Table 5.2.

Op. 5 violin sonata	Key	Recorder arrangement	Key
IX	A major	I	C major
X	F major	II	G major
VII	D minor	III	G minor
VIII	E minor	IV	G minor
XI	E major	V	G major
XII / La Folia	D minor	VI / La Folia	G minor

Table 5.2 Transpositions in recorder arrangements of Corelli's Op. 5 sonatas (Walsh, 1702)

Bass viol

The bass viol was the leading solo instrument in Britain before the violin, and solo sonatas for this instrument were composed by Englishmen living abroad well before the genre was established. Hawkins described the popularity of the bass viol among well-educated middle-class amateurs in the seventeenth century:⁴⁴

[...] it appears that through every stage of improvement, besides that it was the profession of persons educated to the practice of it, it was the recreation of gentlemen: among the latter, those of a more grave and serious turn betook themselves to the practice of the lute and viol da gamba, resorting to it as a relief from study, and as an incentive to sober mirth.⁴⁵

Around 1710, North remarked on the versatility of the bass viol as being equal to the violin:

Whereas in truth all the sublimity of the violin – the swelling, *tremolo*, tempering [intonation?], and what[ever] else can be thought admirable – have place in the use of the Base Viol, as well as drawing a noble sound; and all with such a vast compass, as expresseth upper, mean and lower parts, and in a way lute toucheth the accords, and is no less swift than the violin itself, but wonderfully more copious.⁴⁶

⁴⁴ For more information on this topic, see Peter Holman, 'Chapter 2: "The Noble Base Viol": Amateur Players around 1700', in *Life After Death: The Viola da Gamba in Britain from Purcell to Dolmetsch* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2010), 49–93.

⁴⁵ Hawkins, *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music*, vol. 2, p. 738.

⁴⁶ Wilson, *Roger North on Music*, p. 227.

Solo sonatas for the bass viol were also performed professionally, notably by August Kühnel (1645–c.1700) in 1685, and thirty years later in 1715 by Pietro Chaboud (fl. 1707–25), who was also known as a transverse flute player.⁴⁷ As reflected by Walsh's output, British composers focussed on writing solo sonatas for the violin or recorder rather than the bass viol.⁴⁸ Roger's agents in London made prints of continental viol sonatas and suites available, including works by Johan Snep (1659–1719), Johannes Schenck (1660–after 1716) and Marin Marais (1656–1728). Solo sonatas for the viol circulated in manuscript (of particular note being those by Finger) or were transposed and adapted from the violin repertoire: a British manuscript, GB-Lbl, Add. MS 64,965, fols. 24v–25r contains a work entitled 'viola da Carlo Marini', written in treble clef with the assumption that it was to be played an octave lower. It is an arrangement for bass viol of the last movement of Sonata 11 in E major from *Sonate a violino solo con suo basso continuo* (Venice, 1705) by Carlo Antonio Marino (or Marini).⁴⁹

Violoncello

During the period in question the violoncello was reserved for professional performers. The Italian violoncellist Nicola Francesco Haym (1678–1729), who arrived in London in 1701, probably played solos on the instrument; although no direct evidence for this has survived, two early solo violoncello sonatas (in G major and G minor) by Haym survive in an Italian manuscript.⁵⁰ Some of the manuscripts discussed in Chapter 2 contain solo sonatas for the violoncello, and the collection of Philip Falle (1656–1742) at Durham Cathedral Library contains a copy of *Trattenimenti da Camera A Due Stromenti Violino e Violoncello e Violoncello e Cimbalo*, Op. 1 (Roger, 1700) by Angelo Maria Fiore (c. 1660–1723); it includes some suites for solo violoncello with basso continuo amongst the bass viol music. Roger published other solo violoncello music such as *VI Sonates à une basse de violon & basse continue*, Op. 1 (Jeanne Roger, 1717) by the Dutch amateur Jacob Klein (1688–1748) and *XII sonate a violoncello solo e basso continuo* (Jeanne Roger, 1718) by Domenico Silvio Passionei (1682–1761).

According to Lowell Lindgren, the first advertised solo violoncello music in Britain was 'A Concerto on the Bass Violin, composed and performed by Sig. Pippo', performed on 14 March

⁴⁷ *The Daily Courant*, 23 April 1715, issue 4211; see Holman, *Life After Death*, pp. 99–101.

⁴⁸ Suites for the viol such as *A Choice Collection of New Ayres, Compos'd and Contriv'd for Two Bass-Viols* (London, 1701) by William Gorton (d. 1711) were also published in Britain.

⁴⁹ See Holman, *Life After Death*, pp. 108–9.

⁵⁰ I-Mc, Nosedá MS. G-65-2; modern edition: Lowell E. Lindgren, ed., *Nicola Francesco Haym: Complete Sonatas*, Part 2 (Middleton, Winsconsin: A-R Editions, 2002).

1722 in a benefit for the violinist Stefano Carbonelli (1699/1700–1773) at the Drury Lane theatre.⁵¹ The first advertised ‘solo’ on the violoncello took place on 10 May 1732 at Hickford’s Room: the programme included ‘a Solo, composed, and perform’d by Mr St. Helene, on the Bass Viol, another on the Violoncello’.⁵² Two solo sonatas for the violoncello by Lorenzo Bocchi were published in Britain in *A MUSICALL ENTERTAINMENT For a Chamber* (Dublin, 1724; Edinburgh 2/1726).

Transverse flute

The transverse flute was played in Britain from around the beginning of the eighteenth century. A description of a transverse flute made by the French recorder player Peter Bressan (1663–1731) was recorded in James Talbot’s manuscript in the 1690s.⁵³ The instrument was first designated by John Eccles (c. 1668–1735) in his setting of *The Judgement of Paris* (1701). From thereon, the transverse flute was used in larger scale works and professional flute performances were advertised in the newspapers. In general, amateurs still played the recorder as opposed to the transverse flute, with Edward Finch (1663–1738) being among the exceptions.

In 1715, Roger’s London agent Henri Ribotteau advertised Schickhardt’s *VI Sonates à une flûte traversière, un haubois ou violon et basse Continue*, Op. 20.⁵⁴ Walsh issued the same music in 1718 as his very first publication of solo transverse flute sonatas.⁵⁵ Roger was yet again ahead of Walsh, having in 1710 issued *VI SONATE DA CAMERA a Flauto Traversa, Haubois, o Violino Solo di NICOLA FRANCESCO HAIM ROMANO e M. BITTI*. In 1712 Roger also published *VI sonates a un hautbois ou violon & basse continue*, Op. 3 by Elias Bronnemüller (fl. c. 1690–1712), where the title page states that ‘les deux derniers sont bonnes pour la Flute Traversiere’.⁵⁶

In addition, the Armstrong-Finch manuscript contains transverse flute arrangements of solo sonatas for violin and recorder by Finger, Corelli and Geminiani, compiled at a time when

⁵¹ *The Daily Courant*, 14 March 1722, issue 6363; Lowell Lindgren, ‘Italian Violoncellists and some Violoncello Solos Published in Eighteenth-Century Britain’, in *Music in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, ed. David Wyn Jones (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000), 121–57 (p. 131).

⁵² *Ibid.*

⁵³ Anthony Baines, ‘James Talbot’s Manuscript; I: Wind Instruments’, *Galpin Society Journal*, 1 (1948), 9–26 (p. 16).

⁵⁴ *The Post Man*, 29 September–1 October 1715, issue 11150.

⁵⁵ In 1723, Walsh and Hare published *Solos for a German Flute, Hoboy or Violin, with a Thorough Bass for the Harpsichord or Bass Violin [...] being all choice pieces by ye greatest authors and fitted to the German Flute by Sigr P. Chaboud* which contained arrangements of sonatas by Geminiani, Castrucci and other composers.

⁵⁶ Rudolf Rasch, *The Music Publishing House of Estienne Roger: Babell-Bustijn* <https://roger.sites.uu.nl/catalogue>, p. 68.

published flute music was scarce.⁵⁷ Recorder music was most commonly transposed down a minor third to fit the flute, whereas transpositions between the violin and flute were dictated by the tessitura of the original violin writing.

Oboe

In Britain, the oboe was known as the ‘French hautboy’ and as David Lasocki points out, the term ‘hautboy’ on its own may still on occasion have denoted its predecessor, the shawm.⁵⁸ The Baroque oboe was introduced to the court of Charles II from France in 1673, the same year as the recorder, by the composer Robert Cambert (c. 1628–77).⁵⁹ Cambert brought with him four oboists, among whom was James Paisible, also a virtuoso recorder player.

Before 1700, oboes were already heard in concerted music at public performances and listed in printed music collections aimed at the amateur market. Because fingering patterns on the two instruments were similar, it was common practice for oboists to double on the recorder. This may help explain why, despite the instrument’s relatively early arrival, references to solo sonatas for the oboe were a later occurrence.

The first oboe treatise published in Britain, *The Sprightly Companion* (1695), compiled or written by ‘J. B.’ (presumably John Banister junior), did not include any solo sonatas amongst its ‘tunes’ and military style ‘marches’.⁶⁰ The same year, a picture of an oboe appeared among three recorders on the title page to *The Compleat Flute-Master* (1695), to which was ‘added an admirable solo’, suggesting it as an alternative instrument (Fig 5.4).

⁵⁷ See Appendix B.

⁵⁸ David Lasocki, ‘The French Hautboy in England, 1673–1730’, *Early Music*, 16/3 (August 1988), 339–57 (p. 342).

⁵⁹ For the oboe in Restoration Britain, see Bruce Haynes, *The Eloquent Oboe: A History of the Hautboy from 1640 to 1760* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), pp. 145–52.

⁶⁰ The previous year, Henry Purcell’s ‘Sound the Trumpet’ from *Come Ye Sons of Art* (1694) includes the line ‘On the sprightly hautboy play’.



Fig. 5.4 Title page to *The Compleat Flute-Master* (1695)

While this was further inferred by the depiction of oboes alongside violins on the title page to *The Self-Instructor on the Violin* (1695), the images may also simply refer to one of the music shops' addresses: 'I. Miller, muscull Instrument Seller, at y^e Signe of y^e Violin & Haut=Boy' (Fig. 5.5).

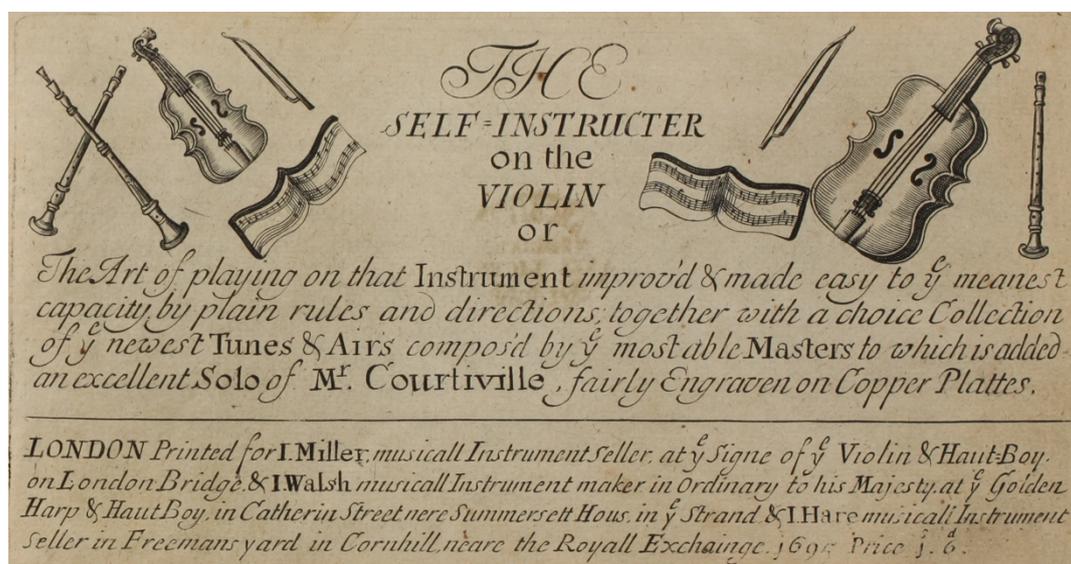


Fig. 5.5 Title page to *The Self-Instructor on the Violin* (1695)

As the recorder was less fatiguing to play and did not require reeds, it surpassed the oboe in its popularity with amateurs. The preface to *The Sprightly Companion* (1695) aimed to persuade of the oboe's merits and versatility:

For beside its Inimitable charming Sweetness of Sound (when well play'd upon) it is also Majestical and Stately, and not much Inferiour to the Trumpet [...] And whereas most other single Wind-Instruments (especially the Flute) go so very high, for want of the lower Notes, that it is impossible to play upon them in Consort with the Violin, &c. The Hautboy is free from this defect, and may be play'd upon in Consort, without transposing or advancing the Key.⁶¹

Learning the correct embouchure and breathing on the oboe would have initially presented a greater challenge than on the recorder:

Some Men, I must confess, endeavour to Decry the Hautboy, pretending the Learners must blow so hard, that it is apt to bloat their Faces, and prejudice their Lungs: But this is a meer Mistake, as will be found on Experience;⁶²

A year before *The Sprightly Companion* (1695) was published, the two-part lessons in *The Gentleman's Diversion* (1693/4) were advertised as suitable for 'Violins, Flutes, Hautbois, &c.', which further suggests that oboists could have performed violin or recorder solo sonatas. Conversely, the title page to *The Sprightly Companion* states that the tunes are also 'Proper for the FLUTE, VIOLIN, and other Instruments'. Peter Hedrick agrees that since no designated solo sonatas for oboe and continuo survive from the final third of the seventeenth century, solos for other instruments were adapted to fit the oboe.⁶³ It should however be noted that in Charles Babel's manuscript, US-R, M1490.B113 (1698), No. 26 is labelled 'Sonata Hautbois Seul M^r. Pepus'.

The first collection of solo sonatas specifying the oboe in Britain was published at a slightly later time by Walsh in 1723 as *Solos for a German Flute, Hoboy or Violin, with a Thorough Bass for the Harpsichord or Bass Violin [...] being all choice pieces by ye greatest authors and fitted to the German Flute by Sigr P. Chaboud*.⁶⁴ As with music for the transverse flute, Roger was ahead of Walsh in publishing

⁶¹ *The Sprightly Companion: BEING A Collection of the best Foreign MARCHES, Now play'd in all CAMPS. WITH TWO FAREWELLS at the Funeral of the late QUEEN, One of Four Parts, by Mr. Peasible; The other of Three Parts, by Mr. Tollett; And several other Tunes. Design'd Chiefly for the HAUTOBOY; Yet Proper for the FLUTE, VIOLIN, and other Instruments: ALSO Plain and Easy DIRECTIONS for Playing on the HAUTOBOY* (London: printed by J. Heptinstall, for Henry Playford, 1695), preface.

⁶² *Ibid.*

⁶³ Peter Hedrick, ed., *An Early Hautboy Solo Matrix: Solos for the Hautboy before 1710 based on a Symphonia/Sonata by Johann Christoph Pez that Demonstrates a Performance Practice of Adaptation* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2015), p. 3.

⁶⁴ Two years later, Walsh published twelve *Solos, for a Violin or Hautboy: with a bass figured for the harpsichord* (1725), 'With proper Graces adapted to each Adagio by the Author' by William Babel (c. 1690–1723); for further early eighteenth-century solo sonatas for the oboe, see Haynes, *The Eloquent Oboe*, pp. 351–2.

solo sonatas for the oboe: in 1698, Roger printed *XII Sonates à une flûte, violon ou hautbois*, Op. 5, by the Dutch composer Servaas de Konink (1654–1701), which are lost but are presumably the works found in a manuscript collection in Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. Vogel 139.⁶⁵ In 1704, Roger published *VI Sonate à un haubois & une basse continue* by the German composer Andreas Heinrich Schultze (1681–1742), which are also lost.⁶⁶

In 1714, Ribotteau advertised an unknown ‘Six Sonatas for a Violin or Hoboy and a Bass by Jac. Rhieman, Op. 3’ by the German-Dutch composer Jacob Riehmman (d. 1726).⁶⁷ Philip Falle owned a copy of *Fasciculus Musicus Sive Tabulae*, Op. 2 (Leeuwarden: François Halma, 1710) by Elias Bronnemüller (fl. c. 1690–1712), dedicated to Queen Anne. It contains a ‘Solo pour la Hoboj’, the earliest published solo sonata for oboe, which may have been played by members of Queen Anne’s chamber band.⁶⁸

Keyboard instruments

The custom of presenting solo sonatas in score made it possible to play these works on a keyboard instrument. Solos were performed with the right hand executing the melody, and the left hand playing the bass line, with or without additional harmonies. This is illustrated in Walsh’s instrumental music periodical (1704), where it was announced that the violin sonatas were also ‘Proper for the Harpsichord or Spinnet’. Movements of solo sonatas by Finger and Johann Christoph Pepusch (1667–1752) are also found in the keyboard manuscript GB-Lbl, Add. MS 41,205, a large oblong quarto measuring 36.2cm x 25.3cm, dated after 1710, and once belonging to William A. Barrett (1834–91).⁶⁹

⁶⁵ Rudolf Rasch, The Music Publishing House of Estienne Roger:

Keller-Kühnel <https://roger.sites.uu.nl/catalogue/>, p. 10.

⁶⁶ Rudolf Rasch, The Music Publishing House of Estienne Roger: Saint-Hélène - Swaen

<https://roger.sites.uu.nl/catalogue>, p. 52; other oboe solo sonatas published by Roger include *Sonates pour un haubois ou violon et basse continue*, Op. 2 (1709) by Johann Christian Schickhardt and *VI sonates a un hautbois ou violon & basse continue*, Op. 3 (1712) by Elias Bronnemüller (fl. c. 1690–1712); the latter was already announced in the *Amsterdamsche Courant* in 1709.

⁶⁷ *The Post Man*, 14–6 October 1714, issue 11050.

⁶⁸ Haynes, *The Eloquent Oboe*, pp. 348, 353.

⁶⁹ A modern flyleaf inscription reads ‘said to be all in the handwriting of / John Barrett’; see Andrew Woolley, ‘English Keyboard Sources and their Contexts, c. 1660–1720’ (PhD dissertation, University of Leeds, 2008), pp. 192–3, and the entry for GB-Lbl, Add. MS 41,205 in the British Library integrated catalogue; two giga-style movements are attributed to ‘M.^r Finger’: fol. 26r in E major, Rawson RI132 (*VI SONATAS or SOLOS* (1690), Sonata Terza); ‘Jig’, fols. 26v–27r, in F major, Rawson RI139; giga-style movement, ‘Da’l Sig.^r Pepusch’: fols. 30r–30v in D major, Cook 1:113; giga-style movement, anonymous, fols. 33r–33v in D minor, concordant with D-W Cod. Guelf. 299, No. 98, a manuscript containing anonymous music, some of which can be attributed to Finger; giga-style movement, ‘Pepusch’: fols. 38v–39r in G major, Cook 1:109.

A similar practice was described earlier in *Musicks Hand-maide: Presenting New and Pleasant LESSONS FOR THE Virginals or Harpsycon* (Playford, 1663): although the ‘lessons’ are dance tunes rather than sonatas, Playford declared that they ‘are so composed that the Treble Violin may play the Tunes along with the Virginals, which will be a pleasant Consort’, paraphrased in the 1678 edition.⁷⁰

Keyboard pieces were usually called ‘lessons’ or ‘voluntaries’ rather than sonatas, which may explain the change in terminology in a harpsichord arrangement of Corelli’s Op. 5 No. 7: ‘The 7.th Solo of Corelli, Compos’d into a Lesson’ by John Reading (?1685–1764) in GB-Ldc MS 92b, dated c. 1730. A ‘Sonata à Cimbalo solo’ (Sonata No. 4) by the Dutch composer and keyboard player Sybrandus van Noordt (1659–1705) was included in his *Sonate Per il Cimbalo appropriate al Flauto & Violino*, Op. 1 (Amsterdam: Hendrik Anders, [1700–02], repr. Roger, c. 1704), and is the first keyboard sonata composed in the Netherlands.⁷¹

5.2 ‘The basso continuo should not cease’: Bass Instruments

Title pages to solo sonatas provide a starting point for determining the appropriate basso continuo instrument(s). Often more than one option is given, although the general practice seems to have been for one player to accompany; the modern practice of using a keyboard instrument together with a string bass was not necessarily the norm. Walsh listed the ‘Basviolin [sic], Viol, or Harpsichord’ as suitable for Corelli’s Op. 5 violin sonatas in 1700.⁷² The continuo instruments in use at various times included the bass viol, bass violin, violoncello, theorbo, archlute, guitar, harpsichord and organ.

Not pointed out in the literature to date is that Walsh’s very first sonata compilation (published in 1700) included a scale showing how to play a bass line on the violin, usually an octave higher; the scale is unfortunately lost:

A Collection of Choice Sonatas, or Salo’s for a Violin and a Bass, By Basani, Correlli, Mr. Courtville, Sen Nicola, &c. To which is Added, A plain and easy Scale, shewing how to play any Bass upon a Violin

⁷⁰ *Musicks Hand-maide Presenting New and Pleasant LESSONS FOR THE Virginals or Harpsycon* (London: John Playford, 1663), preface.

⁷¹ Randall H. Tollefsen, revised by J. H. Giskes, ‘Sybrandus van Noordt’, Grove Music Online <Oxford Music Online> [accessed 21 November 2019].

⁷² *The Post Boy*, 12–5 April 1701, issue 921; *Bibliotheca Annua: OR, THE ANNUAL CATALOGUE FOR The Year 1700. BEING AN EXACT CATALOGUE OF ALL English and Latin Books, Printed in ENGLAND, From March 25, 1700, to March 25, 1701* (London: A. Roper and W. Turner, 1701), p. 31

that is made for the Bass-Violin or Harpsicord, being very Useful to all Practitioners in Consort, and never before published [...] Price 1s. 6d.⁷³

Walsh's aim was to increase the versatility of his publications in the event that no continuo player was available; it meant that solo sonatas could be played by two violinists, one reading the continuo part. Furthermore, in another attempt to make his publications more accessible to amateurs, 'A Catalogue of English and Italian Musick for Violins and Flutes Printed for J Walsh and Randal' (1709) listed 'Sonatas with Rules for a Bass' under the 'SOLOS for a VIOLIN and a BASS' category, which is also regrettably lost.⁷⁴

Stringed bass instruments: bass viol, bass violin and violoncello

There is some ambiguity surrounding the various terms applied to stringed bass instruments in Britain; these included the fretted six-string bass viol, the unfretted four-string bass violin and violoncello.

Bass viol

The bass viol was used to play continuo parts until around the second decade of the eighteenth century while also remaining a solo instrument. Peter Holman points out that after 1700, the bass viol was no longer specified as one of the instruments on the title pages to song books, being replaced by keyboard instruments and lutes. The same was true for instrumental music: Walsh's only mention of the bass viol on a title page to solo sonatas was for *SIX SONATAS or Solos Three for A VIOLIN AND Three for the FLUTE WITH A Thorough Bass for y^e Harpsicord Theorboe or Bass=Viol COMPOS'D BY M^r W^m Crofts & an Italian M^r* (1700).⁷⁵ Similarly, the last time the word 'viol' was applied to any Walsh title page was on the reprint to a Corelli trio sonata in 1704, after which the terms 'bass violin', 'violono basso' and 'violoncello', all indicating violin-family instruments, were used instead.⁷⁶

⁷³ Ibid; see also William C. Smith, *A Bibliography of the Musical Works Published by John Walsh during the Years 1695–1720*, 2nd edn (Oxford: Bibliographical Society, 1968), p. 19, no. 50.

⁷⁴ Printed in William Williams, *SIX SONATA'S Five in Four & a Sixth in 7 Parts Compos'd in Imitation of Archangelo Corelli*, Op. 3 (London: Walsh, Randall and Hare, 1709); in a similar catalogue dated c. 1710 in the British Library catalogue ('A Catalogue of English and Italian Musick for Violins and Flutes Printed for J Walsh'), the description was changed to 'Sonatas & Solos with Instructions for a Bass'; GB-Lbl, music collections, C.117.g.4.

⁷⁵ Holman, *Life After Death*, pp. 46–7.

⁷⁶ Peter Holman, 'Continuity and Change in English Bass Viol Music: the Case of Fitzwilliam MU. MS 647', *The Viola da Gamba Society Journal*, 1 (2007), 20–50 (p. 21).

As Michael Talbot observes, the term ‘Base Viol’ on the title page to GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,466, (added later in the eighteenth century rather than when the manuscript was copied in c. 1705) was ambiguous, and could mean either bass viol, bass violin or violincello.⁷⁷ The six-string bass viol also began to be called ‘viola di gambo’ or ‘viol di gambo’ from about 1710 onwards, when it was used as a virtuoso solo instrument by professionals.⁷⁸

The term ‘bass viol’ was used on the title pages to various manuscripts of Pepusch’s solo sonatas, such as *Sixteen Sonatas for a Violin and a Bass Viol or Harpsichord*, US-R, Vault M. 219. P242S, Part 1, fols. 1–32v, dated c. 1700–14.⁷⁹ Similarly, another manuscript collection of Pepusch’s solo sonatas in B-Bc, MS 26.478 is titled *Twenty-Three [actually Twenty-Two] Solos or Sonatas for a Violin, a Bass Viol or Harpsichord*, dated probably before 1707.⁸⁰ Pepusch may have been the last composer to assign the instrument to a continuo part since Walsh published some of these pieces calling for the bass violin instead.⁸¹ As Peter Holman has shown, the catalogue of instruments belonging to James Brydges (1673–1744), Duke of Chandos, compiled by Pepusch at Cannons in 1720 indicates that Pepusch meant the six-string bass viol rather than ‘viol’ being an abbreviation of ‘violoncello’.⁸²

The bass viol remained a continuo instrument for solo sonatas during the period in question, especially within amateur circles. In 1715, the amateur musician Sir Dudley Ryder (1691–1756) recorded in his diary that he played ‘some sonatas upon the flute and viol’ with his ‘Cousin Billio’.⁸³ As discussed by Peter Holman, bass viol players may have tuned their bottom D string down to C to suit a wider range of bass parts.⁸⁴

⁷⁷ Michael Talbot, ‘Martino Bitti’s Twenty-Four Sonatas for Violin and Basso Continuo: An Introduction’ (2/2014), hosted on the Edition HH website at www.editionhh.co.uk/ab_MartinoBitti.htm, p. 7.

⁷⁸ Holman, *Life After Death*, p. 55; it is worth pointing out that around sixty years earlier John Playford also called the instrument ‘Basse Violl, or Violl de Gambo’ in *A Breefe Introduction to the Skill of Musick* (London: John Playford, 1654), p. 29.

⁷⁹ Cook catalogue nos. 1:089–1:104.

⁸⁰ Cook catalogue nos. 1:121–1:142.

⁸¹ See Holman, *Life After Death*, pp. 104–5, where Pepusch’s other collections of solo sonatas with bass viol continuo are discussed, namely GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,531 and GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,532.

⁸² *Ibid.*, pp. 97–8.

⁸³ William Matthews, ed., *The Diary of Dudley Ryder, 1715-1716* (London: Methuen & Co, 1939), p. 120.

⁸⁴ Holman, *Life After Death*, p. 101.

Bass violin

The bass violin was a larger four-string instrument than the violoncello and had been a part of violin consorts since the sixteenth century.⁸⁵ Its tuning in Restoration Britain was B-flat–F–c–g.⁸⁶ Peter Holman concludes that until the 1730s, the bass violin as well as the violoncello were played only by professionals.⁸⁷ This implies that amateurs were limited to keyboard instruments, the bass viol or plucked instruments when playing a continuo part. Despite this, from the first decade of the eighteenth century, solo sonatas printed for the amateur market designated mainly the bass violin but also the violoncello on title pages. A bass violin with four strings was depicted on the title page to various editions of the first and second parts of *The Division Violin* (Fig. 5.6).



Fig. 5.6 Title page to *The Second Part of the Division Violin* (London: Henry Playford, 1689)
Call # D1742. Used by permission of the Folger Shakespeare Library

⁸⁵ For the bass violin, see for example Lucy Robinson and Peter Holman, 'Bass violin', Grove Music Online <Oxford Music Online> [accessed 16 July 2019] and Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers*.

⁸⁶ The second edition of John Playford's *An Introduction to the Skill of Musick* (1655) explained that "The Basse Violin is tuned eight Notes lower then the Treble Violin is, and is tuned in Fifths [sic], in the same manner, his first string is A la mire, the second string is D la sol re, the third is Gam-ut, the fourth is Double C fa ut", p. 55; later editions give the B-flat tuning: see for example the tenth edition (1664), p. 108.

⁸⁷ Holman, *Life After Death*, p. 91.

Violoncello

The use of the violoncello and double bass in Britain coincided with the establishment of the Italian opera orchestra in 1705–6.⁸⁸ Terminology applied to the violoncello varied, and as Lowell Lindgren points out, players listed as violoncellists in orchestral lists from 1707–c. 1713 are occasionally also recorded as ‘bass viols’ or ‘basses’.⁸⁹ In early eighteenth-century Italy the term ‘violone’ was used to signify the violoncello, particularly in a basso continuo part, whereas ‘violoncello’ was in some instances reserved for solo parts.⁹⁰

The Roman composer, librettist and theatre manager Nicola Francesco Haym (who arrived in March 1701) appears to have been the first violoncello player in Britain.⁹¹ According to Lowell Lindgren, the earliest depiction of a violoncello in Britain is found on the frontispiece to the Op. 1 solo violin sonatas by Nicola Cosimi (c. 1660–1717), who travelled to London together with Haym.⁹² The image accompanying Cosimi’s *Sonate da Camera a Violino e Violone, o Cembalo*, Op. 1 (1702) was designed by Pierce Tempest (1653–1717) and engraved by John Smith (1654–1720). It was modelled on the frontispiece to Corelli’s *Sonate a Violino e Violone o Cimbalo*, Op. 5 (1700), designed by Antonio Meloni and engraved by Girolamo Frezza. The elaborate title page shows three putti, one playing the violoncello, another holding a violin and the other singing, while an angel holds a shield decorated with the arms of the sonatas’ dedicatee, the Duke of Bedford.

⁸⁸ Ibid, p. 45.

⁸⁹ Lindgren, ‘Italian Violoncellists and some Violoncello Solos’, p. 127.

⁹⁰ Ibid, p. 126.

⁹¹ Holman, *Life After Death*, p. 96.

⁹² Lindgren, ‘Italian Violoncellists and some Violoncello Solos’, p. 123, where Cosimi’s frontispiece is also reproduced.



Fig. 5.7 Frontispiece to Nicola Cosimi's *Sonate da Camera a Violino e Violone, o Cembalo*, Op. 1 (1702)
British Museum Department of Prints and Drawings

While Roger frequently printed the term 'violoncello' on the title pages to his solo sonatas, Walsh generally wrote 'bass violin'; in 1710, Walsh did however issue *Sonate da Chiesa a Violino Solo e Violoncello o Basso Conti: da Tomasso Albinoni*, with the title in Italian. The violoncello was also specified in *SIX SOLOS for a FLUTE With a THOROUGH BASS for the HARPSICORD or VIOLONCELLO*, Op. 1 (Walsh, 1718) by Luis Mercy (fl. 1708–51).⁹³

Keyboard instruments: harpsichord and organ

The harpsichord was the main keyboard instrument for accompanying solo sonatas; it was specified in the earliest prints in Britain, including Matteis's fourth book of *Ayres* (1685), which mentions the 'Bass-Viol and Harpsechord' on the title page. Finger's *VI SONATAS or SOLO'S* (1690) and *Six Sonata's or Solos* (1698) by Daniel Purcell (c. 1664–1717) as well as Topham's Op. 1 (1701) and Op. 2 (1706) recorder sonatas all specify a "Thorough Bass for the Harpsicord".

The chamber organ, which had been used to accompany consort music during the seventeenth century, continued to be used in sonatas in Restoration Britain. Although is not mentioned on title

⁹³ In addition, the bass parts to Topham's *SIX SONATA'S Five in Four & a Sixth in 7 Parts*, Op. 3 (Walsh, 1709) were labelled 'Violoncello' and 'Organo'.

pages to solo sonatas, separate bass parts are occasionally labelled ‘organo’, such as in *Six SONATAS or SOLOS for the FLUTE with a Through BASS for the HARPSICORD Compos’d by Mr. Pepusch* (1707).

Unusually, the bass flute and bassoon are named as continuo instruments to *A Second Set of SOLOS for the FLUTE. with A Through Bass for the Bassoon, Bass-Flute or Harpsicord, Compos’d by Mr. Pepusch* (1709); it was printed in separate parts, and the bass labelled ‘organo’ with added figures.⁹⁴

Plucked instruments: theorbo, archlute and guitar

Theorbo

The ‘English theorbo’ was smaller in size compared to the Italian model (tiorba or chitarrone), and similarly to the archlute, it was double strung. The English theorbo also had shorter diapasons (bass strings) compared to the Italian theorbo.⁹⁵ Details for a 13- or 14-course theorbo were given in James Talbot’s manuscript in the 1690s.⁹⁶

Bass parts changed from providing a simple accompaniment to becoming more elaborate and imitating voices in the 1680s and 90s. Title pages to song books show how the theorbo was being gradually replaced by the harpsichord as the usual continuo instrument, starting in 1687.⁹⁷ The ‘theorboe’ was still given as an alternative to the harpsichord and bass viol on the title page to *SIX SONATAS or Solos Three for A VIOLIN AND Three for the FLUTE* (1700) by William Croft (1678–1727) and Gottfried Finger, although some of the fast passagework, particularly in the Croft sonatas, seems more suited to other instruments such as the archlute or harpsichord.

Archlute

High bass lines were more cumbersome to play on the English theorbo due to its larger size and re-entrant first course, meaning that the highest string was tuned one octave lower than expected.

⁹⁴ Smith, *Bibliography*, p. 103, no. 335.

⁹⁵ For further information on the English theorbo, see David Van Edwards, ‘English Theorbo’ <<https://www.vanedwards.co.uk/47.htm>> [accessed 3 June 2019]; Robert Spencer, ‘The Theorbo in England’, *Early Music*, 24/3 (August 1996), 540–2; Lynda Sayce, ‘Continuo Lutes in 17th and 18th-Century England’, *Early Music*, 23/4 (November 1995), 666–77, 679–84; Nigel North, *Continuo Playing on the Lute, Archlute and Theorbo* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1987), where diagrams showing an Italian theorbo, English theorbo and archlute are found on p. 12.

⁹⁶ Sayce, ‘Continuo Lutes in 17th and 18th-Century England’, pp. 675, 679; Michael Prynne, ‘James Talbot’s Manuscript (Christ Church Library Music MS 1187): IV. Plucked Strings-The Lute Family’, 52–68.

⁹⁷ Holman, *Life After Death*, p. 39.

As bass lines to sonatas became more intricate, the archlute began to take precedence over the theorbo by around 1700. The archlute was an Italian import commonly used in Rome, specified in the first edition of Corelli's Op. 1 (1681) and Op. 3 (1689) trio sonatas. It was tuned in G like the English theorbo, and in addition to a wide range of notes was suitable for playing quick bass lines and filling in harmonies.

As pointed out by Lynda Sayce, *Rules or a Compleat Method for Attaining to Play a Thorough Bass* (1707) by Johann Gottfried Keller (d. 1704) still made reference to the 'Theorbo Lute', with subsequent editions mentioning the 'Arch Lute'.⁹⁸ While the archlute is not indicated on the title pages to any solo sonatas published in Britain during this period, evidence of its use comes particularly from performances by the violinist Thomas Dean senior (fl. 1701–11) and his son: a 'Solo for the Arch-Lute and Violin, by the two Mr. Deans' was performed at Stationer's Hall on 4 February 1708.⁹⁹

The archlute is therefore the most suitable plucked continuo instrument for solo sonatas in the period considered, although English and French (but not Italian) theorbos also remained in use in Britain. For particularly complex bass lines, a keyboard and/or bowed bass instrument may still have been more practical.

Guitar

The five-course Baroque guitar, traditionally associated with dance music and a popular instrument with female amateurs, was also played as a continuo instrument; its volume made it particularly suitable for accompanying small ensembles despite not being specified on the title pages to any solo sonatas in Restoration Britain.¹⁰⁰ North heard Matteis, 'a consummate master' on the guitar and his son perform together:

He [Matteis senior] left a son Nicholai, whom he taught upon the violin from his cradle; and I have seen the boy in coats play to his father's guitarre.¹⁰¹

Matteis senior's treatise, *The False Consonances of Musick* (1682), provides instructions for playing figured bass on the guitar, while being 'a great help, likewise to those that would play exactly upon

⁹⁸ Sayce, 'Continuo Lutes in 17th and 18th-Century England', p. 679.

⁹⁹ *The Daily Courant*, 4 February 1708; issue 1863.

¹⁰⁰ For the baroque guitar, see Christopher Page, *The Guitar in Stuart England: A Social and Musical History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017).

¹⁰¹ Wilson, *Roger North on Music*, p. 356.

the Harpsicord, Lute or Base=Violl'.¹⁰² Elsewhere Matteis added the 'Theorbo, Hoopsechord, or any other Instrument to accompany with perfection and ease'.¹⁰³

'Bass Violin or Harpsicord': number of continuo players

Early and mid-seventeenth-century sonatas generally indicated the number of melodic parts on the title page with designations such as 'à 1' or 'à 2', without counting the basso continuo; one example is *SONATE CONCERTATE In stil Moderno nel Organo Overo Clavicembalo con diversi Instrumenti A 1. 2. 3. & 4. Voci* [...] *LIBRO SECONDO* (1629) by Dario Castello.

The number of continuo players employed in later music, particularly Corelli's Op. 5 violin sonatas (and other works with the same scoring), has already been discussed at length: Peter Allsop argues that the designation 'Violino e Violone o Cimbalo' meant that the works were 'duo sonatas' for violin and violone only; the harpsichord could replace the violone part but was not intended to be the first choice.¹⁰⁴ This suggests a flexible instrumentation where alternative bass instruments could stand alone, although modern performances frequently employ a combination of harpsichord or organ, and violoncello. David Watkin presents a similar view, arguing that the violoncello player would have provided a chordal accompaniment in order to fill in the harmonies.¹⁰⁵

Importantly, wording similar to Corelli's 'Violino e Violone o Cimbalo' was frequently printed on the title pages to solo sonatas published in Britain. Examples include *XXIV SOLOS for a VIOLIN with a THROUGH BASS for the HARPSICORD or BASS VIOLIN Compos'd by Sign^r Pepusch* (Walsh, 1708), *Six Sonatas or Solos for the Violin with a Thorough Bass for the Harpsicord or Bass Violin Compos'd by M.^r G. Finger and M.^r D. Purcell* (Walsh, 1708), and *XII Sonata's or Solo's for a Violin a Bass Violin or Harpsicord Compos'd by Arcangelo Corelli* (Walsh, 1711).

An alternative explanation is that the wording was simply a commercial decision made by music publishers to sell more copies, rather than a musical one. It must also be pointed out that notices

¹⁰² Matteis, *THE FALSE CONSONANCES OF MUSICK Or Instructions for playing a true Base upon the Guitarre, with Choice Examples and cleare Directions to enable any man in a short time to play all Musickall Ayres* (London, 1682), title page; facsimile edition: Nicola Matteis, *The False Consonances of Musick (1682), complete facsimile edition with an introduction by James Tyler* (Monaco: Éditions Chanterelle, 1980; Great Yarmouth: Galliard), title page.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, p. 26.

¹⁰⁴ Peter Allsop, 'The 'Solo' Sonatas', in *Arcangelo Corelli: New Orpheus of our Times* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), pp. 120–1.

¹⁰⁵ David Watkin, 'Corelli's Op. 5 Sonatas: 'Violino e violone o cimbalo'?', *Early Music*, 24/4 (November 1996), 645–6, 649–50, 653–4, 657–63.

for public performances in London only ever give the names of one soloist and one accompanist for solo sonatas.¹⁰⁶

A further possibility is that the number of continuo parts was simply dictated by the players available, and title pages were not to be taken as a literal instruction. An advertisement by Francis Vaillant for an early edition of Corelli's Op. 5 violin sonatas specifies that the score was 'only fit for such as play a thorough bass', for which reason separate parts were also sold, in order that the works could be played 'at 3', i.e. by three musicians:

To all Lovers of Symphony. Francis Vaillant French Bookseller in the Strand near Catherine Street gives notice, that he is now printing the new Solos of Corelli in Scores as well ingraven in every particular as the Roman original. Such who will know further thereof may see a Specimen of it at his Shop. The price will be 5s but as the said work thus ingraven in score is only fit for such as play a thorough bass, the said Vaillant is now ingraving the same Solos, the Treble and the Bass separately for the conveniency [sic] of such who play upon the Violin or Bass Violin, so that those, who are already provided with the original from Rome, may have the Treble and the Bass separately, that they may play them at 3.¹⁰⁷

It is also interesting to note that the 'Aria facile' in Book 4 of Matteis's *Ayres* (1685), pp. 4–5, contains a 'Cimbalò' part in addition to a more intricate 'Basso di viola' part on the same page, both of which are figured. This would either allow all three instruments to play together, or the bass viol could add a chordal accompaniment (or simply play the bass line) without the harpsichord (Ex. 5.2). This practice was commonplace in seventeenth-century vocal music performed in a domestic setting, and the diarist Samuel Pepys (1633–1703) recorded singing on various occasions to his own bass viol accompaniment.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁶ See Appendix D.

¹⁰⁷ *The Post Man*, 24–7 August 1700; also cited in Smith, *Bibliography*, p. 14.

¹⁰⁸ Holman, *Life After Death*, p. 40.

The image shows a page of handwritten musical notation. At the top left, the word 'Cimbalo' is written in a cursive hand. Below it, the first staff of music is marked 'allegro.' and contains several ornaments (marked with asterisks) and a '43' marking. The second staff is labeled 'Basso di viola.' and also contains ornaments and '43' markings. The third and fourth staves continue the musical notation with similar markings. The page number '5' is written in the top right corner.

Ex. 5.2 Nicola Matteis, 'Aria facile' from
Other Ayres and Pieces for the Violin: The Fourth Part (1685), p. 5

Cosimi's Op. 1 (1702) and Geminiani's Op. 1 (1716) solo sonatas, printed in score, also specify 'violone e cembalo' on their title pages. A set of paintings by Marco Ricci (1676–1730), thought to originate from his visits to Britain from late in 1708 to 1716 of real or imagined opera and concert rehearsals in domestic scenes, depict the entire continuo section (notably the violoncello but also the double bass and archlute) looking over the harpsichordist's shoulder to read from the same copy.¹⁰⁹

Female instrumentalists

As shown in Chapter 4, female professionals occasionally performed sonatas in public, although due to social customs they were limited to playing the harpsichord. This section considers on which other instruments female amateurs might performed solo sonatas in a domestic setting.

Hannah Woolley (1622–c. 1675), a former school mistress, was the author of books on household management and cookery, as well an etiquette guide titled *The Gentlewomans Companion; OR, A GUIDE TO THE Female Sex* (1673). Its 'Rules to be observed by a Gentlewoman in Vocal and Instrumental Musick' provides an extraordinary account from a woman on ladies' music-making, who were expected to perform regardless of their ability, in contrast to what was acceptable for professionals.

¹⁰⁹ Together with Giovanni Antonio Pellegrini (1675–1741), Ricci was involved in the designing and painting of opera sets for the Queen's Theatre in the Haymarket, including Haym's arrangement of Alessandro Scarlatti's opera *Pirro e Demetrio* (1709); see Richard Leppert, 'Imagery, Musical Confrontation and Cultural Difference in Early 18th-Century London', *Early Music*, 14/3 (August 1986), 323–33, 335–8, 341–2, 345; it is however also possible that the paintings originate after Ricci's return to Italy; see Peter Holman, 'The Lute Family in Britain in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries', *Lute News*, 84 (December 2007), 7–21 (p. 9).

Do not discover upon every slight occasion you can sing or play upon any Instrument of Musick; but if it be known to any particular friend in company, whom you have a special respect for, and he or she perswade you to sing, excuse your self as modestly as you may; but if your friends persist, satisfie their desires, and therein you will express no part of ill breeding; your prompt and ready compliance thereunto shall serve you against censure; whereas, a refractory resistance savours of one that makes a livelihood of the profession, and must expect to have but small doings if there be no better recommendation than that distastful kind of morosity.

Use not your self to hemming or hauking, a foolish custom of some, endeavouring to clear their throat thereby; nor be not too long in tuning your Instrument.

Having commenced your Harmony, do not stop in the middle thereof to beg attention, and consequently applause to this trill, or that cadence, but continue without interruption what you have begun, and make an end so as not to be tedious, but leave the Company an appetite: As you would desire silence from others being thus applied, be yon attentive, and not talkative when others are exercising their harmonious voices.¹¹⁰

Keyboard arrangements (or works printed in score) made solo sonatas available to female amateurs since the violin and wind instruments were seen as unsuitable. The preface to *A Choice Collection of Ayres For the Harpsichord or Spinett* (1700) stated that the harpsichord's 'neatness & easiness in Playing on hath so particularly Recommended it to the Fair Sex, that few Ladys of Quality Omitt to Learn on it'.¹¹¹

Only the viol, lute, guitar and keyboard instruments were considered to be acceptable instruments for ladies. In c. 1695 North distinguished between instruments suitable for men and women:

For men the viol, violin, and the thro-base instruments organ, harpsicord, and double base, are proper; for weomen the espinnett, or harpsicord, lute, and gitarr; for voices both.¹¹²

Some amateur publications emphasised this divide with titles such as *The Ladys Entertainment* (1708) for the harpsichord or spinet, and *The Gentleman's Diversion* (1693/4) for the violin (with the

¹¹⁰ Hannah Woolley, *The Gentlewomans Companion; OR, A GUIDE TO THE Female Sex* (London: Printed by A. Maxwell for Dorman Newman, 1673), p. 74.

¹¹¹ *A Choice Collection of Ayres For the HARPSICHORD or SPINETT* (London: John Young, 1700), preface.

¹¹² Wilson, *Roger North on Music*, p. 16.

recorder or oboe as alternatives). Much of this convention related to symbolism and to how a female performer looked, rather than the difficulty of the music: North wrote that ‘the harpsicord for ladys, rather than the lute; one reason is, it keeps their body in a better posture than the other, which tends to make them crooked’.¹¹³ Such views were also asserted as late as 1722 by John Essex (c. 1680–1744), who gave the following guidance in *The Young Ladies Conduct, or Rules for Education*:

The *Harpsicord*, *Spinnet*, *Lute* and *Base Violin* [i.e. bass viol], are Instruments most agreeable to the LADIES: There are some others that really are unbecoming the Fair Sex; as the *Flute*, *Violin*, and *Hautboy*; the last of which is too Manlike, and would look indecent in a Woman’s Mouth; and the *Flute* is very improper, as taking away too much of the Juices, which are otherwise more necessarily employ’d, to promote the Appetite, and assist Digestion.¹¹⁴

An advertisement for *The Second Part of the Youth’s Delight on the Flagelet, or The Young Gentle-woman’s Recreation* (1683) nevertheless reveals that the flageolet was also aimed at female amateurs:¹¹⁵

The Second Part of Youth’s Delight on the Flagelet, or The Young Gentle-woman’s Recreation; being a Collection of Songs, Tunes, and Ayres, composed by several able Masters, and set to the Flagelet. By the Author of the First Part. In which book are Lessons made on purpose to teach Birds; with several Preludes or Flourishes, for the help of those that have but little Fancy. Printed for John Clarke at the Golden Viol in St. Paul’s Churchyard.¹¹⁶

Although unusual, references to female amateur and professional violinists from this period do exist. Betty, the daughter of Claver Morris (1659–1727), learned the violin as a child. At the age of twenty, she was instructed by the English violinist John Shojan (fl. 1707–20), a member of the Haymarket orchestra from 1708–1717, who lived with the family ‘to Teach her, & perfect her Hand on the Violin’, for eight months from 22 January 1708.¹¹⁷ As discussed in Chapter 4, Sarah Ottey (fl. 1720–22) played the violin as a professional soloist in London. In 1740, the violinist

¹¹³ Ibid.

¹¹⁴ John Essex, *The Young Ladies Conduct, or Rules for Education* (London, 1722), 84–5.

¹¹⁵ The flageolet was notably played by Samuel Pepys and his wife Elisabeth, who both received instruction from Thomas Greeting (d. 1682), a royal violinist and author of the flageolet tutor *The Pleasant Companion* (1667).

¹¹⁶ Arber, *The Term Catalogues, 1668–1709 A.D.*, II4 (Hil. 1683).

¹¹⁷ H. Diack Johnstone, ‘Claver Morris, an Early Eighteenth-Century English Physician and Amateur Musician Extraordinaire’, *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, 133/1 (2008), 93–127 (pp. 98, 109).

Elizabeth Plunkett (1725–44) made her debut in Dublin and was announced in London as ‘a Scholar of Mr. Dubourg’ when she played at two benefit concerts in January and February 1744.¹¹⁸

5.3 ‘Gracing used by our best solo masters’: Ornamentation and Tempo

Ornamentation

In the section titled ‘Good advice to play well’ in *The False Consonances of Musick* (1682), Matteis wrote that ‘To set your tune off the better, you must make severall sorts of Graces of your one Genius, it being very troublesome for the Composer to mark them’.¹¹⁹ Unlike in trio sonatas, the melody line was not obscured in solo sonatas which allowed for the performer to be more flexible, particularly in terms of adding ornamentation.

While subject of ornamentation is extensive, simply put, three distinct styles were in use in Britain during the period that the sonata became established: divisions, short embellishments (such as trills, either notated by symbols or expected to be played in a particular sequence of notes), and more elaborate scalic roulades. The ‘wrist shake’ or ‘close shake’, i.e. vibrato was also viewed as an ornament, as were the slur, *messa di voce* and tremolo.

It is worth considering all three methods of ornamentation in relation to the solo sonata. Ornamentation was discussed at length by North, and basic instructions were included in instrumental tutor books.¹²⁰ Furthermore, instructions for early seventeenth-century Italian vocal embellishments (‘exclamation’, ‘trillo’ and ‘gruppo’) from *Le Nuove Musiche* (1602) by Giulio Caccini (1551–1618) appeared in Playford’s *A Brief Introduction to the Skill of Musick* between 1664 and 1694, as well as the *Synopsis of Vocal Musick* (1680).

As for ornamentation in the basso continuo, North cautioned that this was only appropriate when there was little movement in the upper part(s):

It is not allow’d a thro-base part to break and adorne while he accompanys, but to touch the accords onely as may be figured, or [as] the composition requires. Yet there is a difference in the management

¹¹⁸ For Plunkett, see Philip H. Jr. Highfill, Kalman A. Burnim, and Edward A. Langhans, ed., *A Biographical Dictionary of Actors, Actresses, Musicians, Dancers, Managers & Others Stage Personnel in London, 1660–1800*, Vol. 12: Pinner to Rizzio (Carbondale and Edwardsville: Southern Illinois University Press, 1987), p. 37.

¹¹⁹ Matteis, *The False Consonances of Musick*, p. 79.

¹²⁰ See esp. Wilson, *Roger North on Music*, pp. 149–73.

when the upper parts move slow, and when they deuide, or when they are full, or pause. In that latter case, somewhat more airey may be putt in, and often there is occasion to fill more or less.¹²¹

Divisions

Before the solo sonata was adopted in Britain and Italian-style ornaments were widely used, divisions were added to simple two-part ayres and dance tunes for variety. In his *Little Consort of Three Parts* (1656), Matthew Locke (1621–1677) advised against this practice:

I have now done, onely shall desire in the performance of this Consort you would do your selves and me the right to play plain, not Tearing them in pieces with division, (an old custome of our Countrey Fidlers, and now under the title of A la mode endeoured to be inroduced) which if you please to observe, I shall take it as a motive for the rendring you somewhat hereafter worthy your better acceptance.¹²²

Matteis added written-out diminutions to some of his *Ayres*, with interchangeable titles such as ‘Sminuita’, ‘Divisione’, ‘Passeggiata’, or ‘Variazione’; North commented on Matteis’s ability to play divisions without the underlying melody being obscured:

His deivision was wonderfull swift; but whether upon a common[-time] or tripla ground, the plain song was distinctly perceivable under it, and (so far from loosing his time and emphases that) one might imagine an harmony in each note.¹²³

Writing in c. 1726, North explained that divisions were a ‘manner peculiar to solos’, and not suitable in ensemble music:

There is another manner peculiar to solos, for if it is introduced in consort it is comonly indulged an autharchia [autocracy], and that is swift deivision [...] But deivision properly so, is when the strokes upon the instrument are swift as hand can move, or a nice attention distinguish. This kind of agility is pleasing to many, but none so much as to the performers, who all the while are wrapt in the joy of their owne excellence.¹²⁴

¹²¹ Ibid, p. 249.

¹²² Matthew Locke, *LITTLE CONSORT of THREE PARTS* (London: printed by W. Godbid for John Playford, 1656), preface.

¹²³ Wilson, *Roger North on Music*, p. 309, n. 63.

¹²⁴ Ibid, p. 235.

As discussed by Robert E. Seletsky, British sources include variations on dance movements in Corelli's Op. 5 sonatas including the 'Walsh Anonymous' manuscript (c. 1720) and others by Matthew Dubourg (1703–67) (c. 1721), evidence that this practice was applied to solo sonatas.¹²⁵

Ornament symbols

Ornament symbols, particularly for the 'close shake' or trill were frequently added to tunes in amateur instruction books well into the eighteenth century. Notable examples are those found in various editions of Playford's *Introduction to the Skill of Musick* and Simpson's *The Division Violist* (or *The Division Viol*), which give explanations of 'smooth graces' (adding intermediary notes) and 'shaked graces' (trills and turns).

In North's description of 'smooth graces' he stated that 'it is next to a rule not to rise a 3d without a faint touch of the intermediate [note]'.¹²⁶ Musicians were expected to understand such unwritten conventions without them being marked in the music:

And numberless instances might be given of their libertys, which belong to every performer of cours. For that reason masters are infinitely to blame that print these graces with their musick, which is an afront to an ordinary player, who may justly say, did not I know that?¹²⁷

The Compleat Flute-Master (1695) contains particularly detailed instructions on how to embellish repeated notes, 'flat notes' and 'sharp notes' (notes with added accidentals), scale and arpeggio patterns. Ornaments including the 'sigh', 'beat' and 'double relish' were explained, and although musical styles had changed considerably, these instructions continued to be reprinted in recorder treatises until as late as c. 1780.¹²⁸

The Compleat Flute-Master was the earliest British instrumental treatise to include a solo sonata, composed by Raphael Courteville (fl 1675–c. 1735). It was also printed in *The Self-Instructor on the Violin* (1695), but the ornamentation rules in the latter are far less detailed, mentioning only the

¹²⁵ See Robert E. Seletsky, '18th-Century Variations for Corelli's Sonatas, op. 5', *Early Music* 24/1, Music in Purcell's London II (February 1996), 119–30.

¹²⁶ Mary Chan and Jamie C. Kassler, ed., *Roger North's The Musical Grammarian 1728* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), p. 166.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*

¹²⁸ For a list of recorder tutors in which the ornamentation table was printed, see *THE COMPLEAT FLUTE-MASTER OR The whole Art of playing on y^e Rechorder. A facsimile of the 1695 first edition* (Mytholmroyd: Ruxbury Publications Ltd., 2004), p. xxvii.

'beat', 'shake' and 'slur'. The inclusion of the Courteville solo raises the question as to what extent these 'graces' were applied to solo sonatas, which differ from Italianate flourishes and roulades. Amateurs may have attempted the French-style ornaments, but it seems likely they were used in addition to more florid ornamentation. Some keyboard arrangements of Corelli's Op. 5 violin sonatas in GB-Lbl, Add. MS 71,209 contain ornament symbols as opposed to the elaborate ornamentation found in violin and recorder versions.

Roulades

Italianate slow movements were generally written out with little or no embellishment. Improvisation was still part of a performer's musical language, and longer note values such as minims and semibreves provided a blank canvass in a solo sonata. In the words of Charles Burney (1726–1814), 'It was formerly more easy to compose than play an *adagio*, which generally consisted of a few notes that were left to the taste and abilities of the performer'.¹²⁹

Matteis added written-out scalic flourishes to his *Ayres* alongside frequent use of the 'shake' (trill) symbol. Since these works were published as educational material for amateurs it was necessary to write out Italianate ornamentation in full, such as the single movement 'Sonata' in Book 2 (1676), Ex. 5.3.



Ex. 5.3 Nicola Matteis, excerpt from 'Sonata' in *Other Ayres Preludes Allmands Sarabands: The Second Part* (1676)

North elegantly termed such ornaments 'curling graces', and these were applied particularly at cadences, with numerous examples included by Matteis. This ornamentation practice was adopted by British musicians such John Banister junior:

It would be endless to call in all those elegant turnes of voices and instruments which are taught by the Itallian masters (and perhaps outdone by the English Banister) [and] accounted glorious ornaments, and to subject them to a resolution. They are such as I may terme curling graces, and are applied often at cadences, and other principall passages, resembling a neat Lesson contracted with a soft slurre more or less as there is occasion or time to let it in. These are shewed as fine things neer [at] hand *solo*, but have

¹²⁹ Charles Burney, *A General History of Music From the Earliest Ages to the Present Period (1789) Volume the Second with Critical and Historical Notes by Frank Mercer* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1935), p. 10.

no use or effect at distance or in consort, and for that reason the best masters in such cases decline them, and sound plain.¹³⁰

North gave a further description of free ornaments performed by the ‘best solo masters’, for which an understanding of the underlying harmony was essential:

And whoever is pleased to observe the gracing used by our best solo masters, and of those who have imported the comodity even from Corelli himself, shall find they are onely a swift and smooth breaking upon the severall notes high and low of the accord, observing chiefly to put an emphasis upon the proper notes.¹³¹

In addition to florid ornamentation found in Corelli’s Op. 5 violin sonatas (as discussed in Chapter 3), other examples are found in the posthumously published solo sonatas of William Babel (c. 1690–1723). His two books of twelve sonatas were printed by Walsh in c. 1725 as *Solos, for a Violin or Hautboy: with a bass figured for the harpsichord*, ‘With proper Graces adapted to each Adagio by the Author’.¹³² Ornaments are omitted in some movements of the Walsh edition, which Charles Gower Price suggests was to avoid interfering with a busy bass line or with the harmony, although this does not mean ornaments cannot be added by the performer as appropriate.¹³³

Tempo

At a time when tempo and character were generally still dictated by the time signature, Henry Purcell (1659–1695) provided definitions of Italian tempo markings in the preface to his *Sonnatas of III Parts* (1683).¹³⁴ Similarly, British composers generally used Italian rather than English tempo markings in their solo sonatas. North provided a detailed descriptions of the movements and tempo markings found in ‘our comon Sonnatas for Instruments’ in c. 1715–20;¹³⁵ other definitions were given in North’s *The Musical Grammarian* (1728). To understand how these terms might have been interpreted in Britain, Purcell and some of North’s definitions and descriptions are compared in Table 5.3.

¹³⁰ Wilson, *Roger North on Music*, pp. 160–1.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 163.

¹³² The second book lists the German flute as a third possibility; see Charles Gower Price, ‘Free Ornamentation in the Solo Sonatas of William Babel: Defining a Personal Style of Improvised Embellishment’, *Early Music*, 29/1 (February 2001), 29–48, 50, 52, 54.

¹³³ *Ibid.*, p. 46.

¹³⁴ Henry Purcell, *SONNATA’S OF III PARTS: TWO VIOLLINS And BASSE: To the Organ or Harpsecord* (London: printed for the author and sold by J. Playford and J. Carr, 1683).

¹³⁵ See Wilson, *Roger North on Music*, pp. 117–8.

Tempo	Purcell (1683)	North (1728)
Adagio	Adagio and Grave, which import nothing but a very slow movement	The adagios, are designed for pure and pute harmony, for which reason measure of time is so litle regarded in them ¹³⁶
Grave		The grave comes neerer a sober conversation ¹³⁷
Allegro	Allegro, and Vivace, a very brisk, swift or fast movement	the allegro light and chirping ¹³⁸ some masters write poco allegro, or assai to temper the impertinent hast[e] that some self conceived performers are apt to make more for ostentation of hand then justice to the musick ¹³⁹
Andante	-	The andante is a walking about full of concerne ¹⁴⁰
Affettuoso	-	The affectuoso is expostulating, or amour ¹⁴¹
Largo	Presto Largo, Poco Largo, or Largo by it self, a middle movement	-
Vivace	Allegro, and Vivace, a very brisk, swift or fast movement	-
Aria	-	One is tituled, aria, but tho cheerfull enough d[oes] not come up to the fury of an allegro ¹⁴²
Allemande	-	Another sort is the almanda [,] from a more heavy style, [which] is supposed to be [de]rived of the Germans, whose musick is good but very articulate and plaine ¹⁴³
Presto	-	When the master is for that sport, he writes presto, or prestissimo, but never when any fuge is thought of ¹⁴⁴

Table 5.3 Definitions of Italian tempo markings given by Purcell (1683) and North (1728)

Already three years before Purcell's *Sonnatas* were printed, some Italian tempo markings were defined in the *Synopsis of Vocal Musick* (1680), where it was hinted that such terms were being adopted by non-Italians:

¹³⁶ Chan and Kassler, *Roger North's The Musical Grammarian*, p. 177.

¹³⁷ Ibid.

¹³⁸ Ibid.

¹³⁹ Ibid, p. 188.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid, p, 177.

¹⁴¹ Ibid.

¹⁴² Ibid, p. 186.

¹⁴³ Ibid, p. 187.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid, p. 188.

The secondary signs of the Tact or Time are certain words used by the *Italians*, and afterwards also of others, to wit, *Adagio*, and *Presto*, signifying, that such a part of a Song where *Adagio* is written, is to be Sung slower, and where *Presto*, swifter.¹⁴⁵

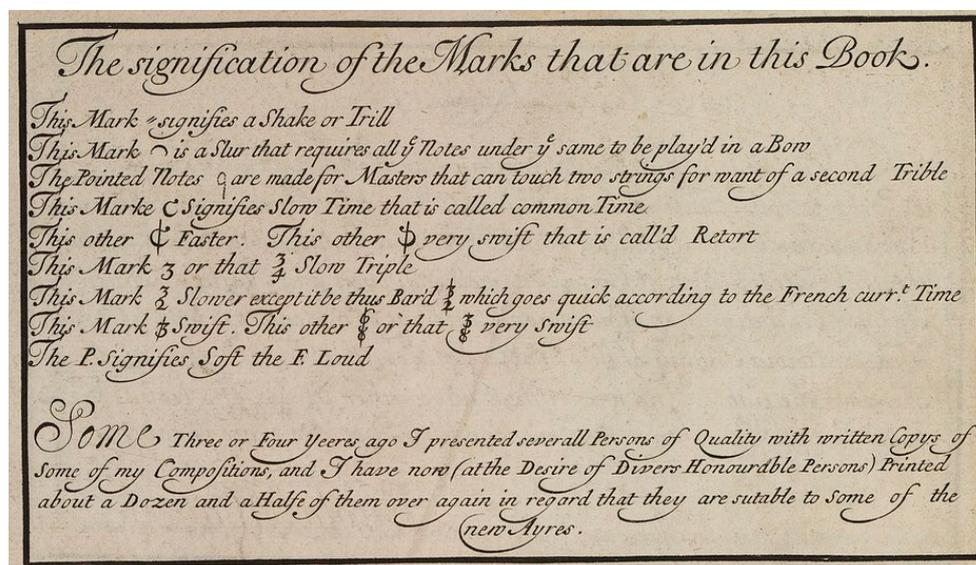


Fig. 5.8 Nicola Matteis, definitions of musical signs from *Ayres for the Violin: The Third and Fourth Parts* (London, 1685)

Matteis used Italian tempo markings throughout his music beginning with his first book of *Ayres* (1676). But instead of defining Italian words, in the preface to his third and fourth books (1685) he explained the meaning of different time signatures; British amateurs would have been familiar with the practice of time signatures dictating the ‘mood’ or tempo as discussed for example in Playford’s *Introduction to the Skill of Musick*.

Chapter summary and conclusions

The arrival of the sonata coincided with new instruments, including the adoption of the ‘sonata bow’ for the violin, the Baroque recorder and oboe, transverse flute, violoncello and archlute. ‘Open instrumentation’ was frequently employed in solo sonatas, with interchangeable treble and bass instruments, particularly between the violin and recorder. Solo sonatas for the oboe and transverse flute only started becoming widespread from around the second decade of the eighteenth century.

¹⁴⁵ A. B. Philo-Mus., *Synopsis of Vocal Musick: CONTAINING The Rudiments of Singing Rightly any Harmonical Song [...] Whereunto are Added Several PSALMS and SONGS of Three Parts. COMPOSED BY English and Italian Authors for the benefit of young Beginners* (London: printed for Dorman Newman, 1680), p. 19.

The choice of basso continuo was often flexible and could include one or more continuo instruments such as the harpsichord, organ, theorbo, archlute, bassoon, bass viol, bass violin and violoncello. For accompanying solo sonatas, professionals generally used the bass violin, and from the first decade of the eighteenth century, the violoncello, while amateurs continued to play the bass viol. In some cases, the choice of accompanying instrument was left to the performers' discretion and only 'a bass' was indicated, such as Daniel Purcell's *SIX SONATAS three For two FLUTES & a Bass, and three SOLOS for a FLUTE and a BASS* (c. 1710); in this publication, the parts were printed separately and the 'basso continuo' part is extensively figured throughout. While the subject of how to play a basso continuo part is beyond the scope of this study, North gave some useful general advice by stating that bass should play with no interruption between the movements of a sonata, a practice not always adhered to in modern performances:

And during the whole sonata, the basso continuo should not cease one moment, altho divers of the parts may rest and perhaps all for a time, for any fissure in measures which thro swift and slow should be uniforme hurts the entertainment, because they will run on in the auditors' minds, and ought to be attended by the basso continuo so long as that entertainment lasts.¹⁴⁶

Matteis helped to introduce a florid Italianate style of ornamentation appropriate to slow movements in solo sonatas, adding to the French-style ornaments, variations and divisions already familiar in Britain. On the whole, British composers embraced Italian tempo markings in their sonatas, and Purcell and North give examples of how these were to be interpreted.

It is intriguing that John Lenton, seemingly paraphrasing Finger's view of Italian music (in Lenton's case 'manner') as being 'the best in the World', felt it necessary to caution against the mixing of national performing styles in.¹⁴⁷ Lenton implied that the hugely admired Italian style of playing had leaked into performances of English music, to the detriment of both:

With men of Reason I question not but what I have said will appear of use, but if there are any such, who admire the *Italian* manner in *English* performances, they spoil that which (in itself), is the best manner in the World, to make their own ridiculous.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁶ Chan and Kassler, *Roger North's The Musical Grammarian*, pp. 200–1.

¹⁴⁷ Finger wrote in the preface to his *VI SONATAS or SOLOS* (1690) that 'The Humour of them is principally Italian: A sort of Music which thò the best in the World, yet is but lately naturaliz'd in England'.

¹⁴⁸ Lenton, *The Gentleman's Diversion*, p. 11.

Summary, Conclusions, Implications, Further Research

Summary

The principal aim of this research project was to provide the first history of the solo sonata in Britain from its origins in the 1670s until c. 1716, the year Francesco Geminiani's Op. 1 violin sonatas were published. Chapter 1 provided context through modern and historical definitions of the solo sonata, as well as giving an overview of solo-bass music in Britain before the Restoration. Chapters 2 and 3 presented a detailed survey of solo sonatas circulating in Britain before and after 1700, in order to determine which music was available before and after the publication of Corelli's Op. 5 violin sonatas. As a result, neglected or unknown works in manuscript and printed sources as well as details of lost works were brought to light. Information on the music itself was supplemented with biographical details of the composers, thereby helping to place it into context and to consider possible influences.

The next aim was to examine in which settings solo sonatas were performed and the role that this music played in the lives of professionals and amateurs. Chapter 4 presented records of solo sonatas played at events advertised in newspapers, giving details of venues and the musicians. As expected, there were fewer records of sonatas featured in domestic music-making, with only occasional mentions in the diaries and writings of amateur musicians.

Another objective was to discover how contemporaneous references to sonatas in Restoration plays and other literature might shed light on the reception of this music in Britain, since such a study had not previously been attempted. It is apparent from the mention of this music in the plots of plays that audiences must already have been familiar with solos and sonatas before 1700 and indicates that playwrights from this period were up to date with musical fashions. The final aim of this research was to investigate performance practice issues specifically relating to the solo sonata in Restoration Britain, which were addressed in Chapter 5. Having included solo sonatas for all instruments in this study, it was shown that in many cases works were interchangeable or circulated in arrangements or adaptations to suit a variety of instruments. Even Corelli's Op. 5 violin sonatas, which are idiomatically composed for the violin and contain much chordal writing, were adapted for the bass viol, recorder and transverse flute. Chapter 5 looked at the instrumentation of solo sonatas and how these changed over time, including suitable instruments for professionals and amateurs. British sources described the use of a longer 'solo bow' as opposed to a 'consort bow' especially for playing solos or sonatas on the violin.

Conclusions

Between the 1670s and c. 1716, the solo sonata gradually became widely adopted in Britain through the dissemination of foreign works and immigrant musicians, serving various functions within professional and amateur circles. This is demonstrated by the wealth of manuscript and printed material in circulation, particularly after the publication of Corelli's Op. 5 violin sonatas in 1700. Henry Purcell's *Sonnata's of III Parts* (1683) was the first collection of trio sonatas printed in Britain, while the first solo sonata was printed five years later, being Thomas Farmer's 'Sola' in the first edition of *The Second Part of the Division Violin* (1688). Finger was the main composer of solo sonatas before his departure for Vienna in 1701, after which Pepusch wrote the largest number.

Individual solo sonatas by British composers were written until around 1706 by the professionals Farmer, Courteville, King, Dean, Parcham and Williams, and the amateurs Finch, Orme and Penicuik. None of these works appear to have belonged to a larger collection; before 1700, Daniel Purcell and Croft were the only British composers to publish collections of solo sonatas.

The earliest solo sonatas by British composers were written by Butler and Poole, two exiled Catholic viol players working abroad due to anti-Catholic sentiments in Britain. It is notable that several of the earliest solo sonatas by British composers also seemed to emerge within Catholic circles connected to the court of James II, almost certainly influenced by Gottfried Finger. Furthermore, Francis Withy's connections with Catholic musicians may explain how he obtained some of the solo sonatas in his collection, a comparatively little-explored area in music history. After the arrival of Corelli's Op. 5, British composers focussed their collections of solo sonatas for the recorder until William Viner's Op. 1 violin sonatas were published in 1717.

With the exception of Matteis, solo sonatas were not printed in Britain until the late 1680s. Matteis made a significant contribution to a new style of solo repertoire during the 1670s and 1680s, although inner parts were added to his *Ayres* in line with the preference for music in several parts in Britain. After the Glorious Revolution, solo sonatas became a fundamental part of the repertoire performed at public concerts and the theatre, particularly in London; during the 1690s, solo sonatas also circulated in Oxford musical circles. Before 1700, the early model for solo sonatas by British composers can in several cases be linked to Gottfried Finger whose eclectic style combines Austro-Bohemian, Italian and English elements. Except for Matteis, no solo sonatas by Italian composers were printed in Britain before Corelli's Op. 5 violin sonatas in 1700 (except for one work attributed to Corelli, Marx Anh. 62 in *The Second Part of the Division Violin* (1689)), while other Italian composers' works appear only in manuscript. The discovery by this author of what must

be a reissue of the second edition of *The Second Part of the Division Violin*, dated 1689 on the title page and containing solo sonatas by Farmer, Finch and Corelli Anh. 62 shows that these works were printed earlier than has previously been thought.

For a professional virtuoso musician newly arrived from abroad, a collection of solo sonatas was often the first set of compositions to appear and published as Opus 1. Such a publication assisted towards securing a patron, to demonstrate technical and musical skills (including the embellishment of slow movements) and establish a name among the concert-going public. In some cases, the most technically advanced solo sonatas, undoubtedly designed for a composer's own performance, were not printed and circulated only in manuscript.

The solo sonata in Britain coincided with the rise of the virtuoso solo performer, which in turn went hand in hand with the rise of public concerts and a greater division between professional and amateur musicians. With the advent of benefit concerts, the performance of a solo sonata by the beneficiary appears to have been an almost mandatory requirement, and this becomes ever more apparent as concert advertisements increase in frequency and detail in the first decades of the eighteenth century. Solo and larger-scale sonatas also became an integral part of the other entertainments making up an evening at the theatre, often advertised in conjunction with a famous soloist; at times solo sonatas were advertised as being performed on the stage, thereby singling them out as a special novelty. During the first decade of the eighteenth century, concertos began to be performed alongside sonatas.

For the amateur musician, solo sonatas could easily be performed at music meetings or in a domestic setting, requiring only two performers. Solo sonatas printed without their bass lines in instrumental treatises made them suitable for solitary music-making, included as a special 'addition' among the common ayres and dance tunes. Music publishers advertised the inclusion of the bonus piece on the title page, thereby also encouraging sales of entire solo collections. Solo sonatas were also ideal teaching material which could be performed by just the teacher and pupil. Furthermore, the fast movements of solo sonatas were used as 'preludes', or technical warm-up exercises for familiarisation with a particular key.

While social customs surrounding instruments meant that the violin, recorder, flute and oboe were generally out of bounds for female musicians, solo sonatas were available to them on the bass viol and harpsichord either as a soloist or for playing the basso continuo. Solo sonatas, many of which came from Italy and the continent, are found in collections belonging to amateur musicians from

various middle-class professions, including Edward Finch, Philip Falle, Thomas Britton, James Sherard and Claver Morris.

The late adoption of the solo sonata in Britain can partially be explained through the availability and use of the particular instruments required. The violin only began gaining interest and approval with amateurs around the Interregnum, while the baroque recorder and oboe did not arrive in Britain until 1673. It has been shown that solo sonatas for the transverse flute (which was known in Britain from the 1690s) and especially the oboe were not in wide circulation until the second decade of the eighteenth century, although such works were sold earlier by Roger, and some musicians were likely playing violin and recorder sonatas on these instruments. Considering that the bass viol was already established as a solo instrument in Britain, it makes sense that among the earliest solo sonatas in British sources are virtuosic works for that instrument, such as those copied by Withy in the Oxford Music School collection.

Music publishers capitalised on the new interest in solo sonatas, beginning with Henry Playford in the 1680s. John Walsh's publishing house opened in 1695, whose very first print (*The Self-Instructor on the Violin* (1695)), interestingly, included a solo sonata. Together with his rival Estienne Roger in Amsterdam from 1696, Walsh virtually dominated the publication of solo sonatas in Britain, much of which corresponded with music performed at public concerts. More minor music publishers were unable to compete with the volume of material produced, and only occasionally published solo sonatas, while self-publishing remained an option for some composers. Before 1700, Roger published significantly more solo sonatas than Walsh. After this, Walsh relied on pirating Roger's editions of imported solo sonatas, with both publishers frequently printing their own editions of the same collections. The music published by Roger supplemented the number of works made available by British music publishers.

In 1704 Walsh embarked on producing an instrumental music periodical and published a different solo and trio sonata (or concerto grosso) each month; the periodical represented music by a variety of European composers, not only British or Italian. A year later Walsh repeated the same sentiment on the title page to his *Select PRELUDES & VOLLENTARYS for the VIOLIN* (1705), which he stated were composed 'by all the Greatest Masters in EUROPE for that INSTRUMENT', to include mainly composers from Britain and Italy, but also from Germany, Moravia and Bohemia/Austria. Walsh's scheme occurred just as Italianate music was becoming hugely favourable: the first all-sung Italianate opera in Britain, *Arsinoe, Queen of Cyprus* by Thomas Clayton (1673–1725), was performed at the Drury Lane theatre on 16 January 1705.

Implications

This research enhances our understanding of the solo sonata as a whole by collating repertoire by British and immigrant composers and imported music in both manuscripts and prints, which will be of interest to scholars and performing musicians. Corelli's importance for the solo sonata in Britain after 1700 has been placed in context through the influence of his pupils and the imitation of his style by British composers. It further contributes to a wider understanding of music in Britain, particularly during the neglected fifteen-year period between the death of Purcell in 1695 and the arrival of Handel in 1710. The information on solo sonatas performed at the theatre will be of interest and use for historically informed re-enactments of Restoration plays.

Further research

It is very difficult to determine how the earliest solo sonatas were transmitted to Britain, and further research focussing particularly on pre-1700 manuscripts may shed more light on the arrival of the solo sonata. A web-based thematic catalogue of all the solo sonatas included in this study (which could easily be updated) is the logical next step in this project. It would allow for more consistent details about each sonata to be presented, making for easier comparisons and identifications between sources.

For practical reasons the scope of this research was narrowed until the year 1716. One limitation of this methodology is that publication dates or even dates on manuscripts are not always accurate indicators of when a work was composed, which was in some cases much earlier. Furthermore, the date of arrival remains elusive for much music imported from abroad found in British collections. While some solo sonatas published after 1716 were included, future lines of enquiry could include a study which expands until the middle of the eighteenth century. Because this dissertation has focussed on solo sonatas for one melody instrument with accompaniment, most unaccompanied pieces, suites, divisions over a ground bass and concertos were generally omitted despite showing soloistic or virtuosic writing; these genres would each merit a study of their own.

APPENDIX A

1. Solo Sonatas advertised by Estienne Roger, 1697–1700

Solo sonatas sold by Estienne Roger in Amsterdam were advertised from 1697 onwards and outnumbered those published by John Walsh in London, particularly before 1700. A separate list of solo sonatas advertised by Roger until 1700 is made available here for the first time.

Earliest title given in Roger's catalogues	Identification	Solo instrument	Date of earliest Roger advertisement
'Corelli opera quinta a violino solo col basso'	<i>Sonate a Violino Solo col Basso Continuo Composta da Arcangelo Corelli e Altri Autory</i>	Violin	1697 ¹
'Sonaten a violino solo col basso continuo composta da Corelli, e altri autory gravé'	<i>Sonate a Violino Solo col Basso Continuo Composta da Arcangelo Corelli e Altri Autory</i>	Violin	1697 ²
Tonini opera terza baletti da camera a violino e violone o cimbalo	Bernardo Tonini (c. 1666–after 1727), Op. 3; suites	Violin	1698 ³
Torelli opera septima sonata da Camera a violino e violone o Cimbalo	Giuseppe Torelli (1658–1709), Op. 7; lost	Violin	1698 ⁴
Scherzi musicali ou suittes pour la viole de gambe a 1	Johann Schenck (or Schenk) (1660–after 1710), <i>Scherzi</i>	Viola da gamba	1698 ⁵

¹ Rudolf Rasch, *The Music Publishing House of Estienne Roger and Michel-Charles Le Cène: Part Two: Catalogues: Catalogues Roger 1696-1700* <<https://roger.sites.uu.nl>>, p. 7.

² *Ibid.*, p. 8.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

⁴ *Loc. cit.*

⁵ *Loc. cit.*

viole et 1 bass. contin. ad libit. [...] par Mr. Skenk	<i>Musicali</i> , Op. 6; suites and a 'Sonata con Basso Obligato'		
Konst oeffeningen ou 15 Sonates pour la viole de gambe avec 1 bass cont. par Mr. Skenk grave	Schenck, <i>Tyd en konst-oeffeningen</i> , Op. 2; eleven suites and four solo sonatas	Viola da Gamba	1698 ⁶
Sonate 12 a viol. solo col basso o cimbalo da Torelli perti e altri autory grav.	Unknown	Violin	1698 ⁷
Ricercate a violino e violone, o cimbalo da pietro degli Antonye opera quinta	Pietro Degli Antoni (1639–1720), Op. 5; lost	Violin	1698 ⁸
12 Son. a 1 flute, violin ou hautbois & 1 B. Continue par Mr. S. de Konink, gravé	Servaas de Konink (1654–1701), Op. 5	Recorder or violin or oboe	1698 ⁹
Six sonates 3 a 1 flute & 1 B,C, & 3 a 1 violon, & B, C. composés par M, D. Purcell, gravé	Daniel Purcell, (c. 1664–1717), <i>Six SONATA's or Solos</i>	Recorder, violin	1698 ¹⁰
Hortulus chelicus waltherianus ou solos pour le violon & une B. cont, de walther grave	Johann Jakob Walther (c. 1650–1717), <i>Hortulus Chelicus</i>	Violin	1698 ¹¹

⁶ Loc. cit.

⁷ Loc. cit.

⁸ Ibid, p. 11.

⁹ Loc. cit.

¹⁰ Ibid, p. 14.

¹¹ Ibid, p. 18.

6 Sonates de differens Maîtres Italiens & anglois idem a un dessus & une basse flute ou violon	Unknown	Recorder or violin	1699 ¹²
17 [i.e. 18] Sonates a violin solo col basso da giovanni Schenk opera septima	Schenck, Op. 7	Violin	1699 ¹³
Les solos pour un violon & I. B Continue de Mr. Pieterseon gravé	David Petersen (c. 1650 –1737), <i>Speelstukken</i>	Violin	1699 ¹⁴
Antonio Veracini opera Seconda, Sonates a Violino solo col Basso, gravé	Antonio Veracini (1659 –1733), Op. 2	Violin	1699 ¹⁵
Sonates allemandes, Courantes, sarabandes, Gigues, Gavottes, Rondeaux, Passacailles, &c. à une viole de Gambe & une bass. cont de Mr. Jean Sneppe, gr.	Johan Snep (1659– 1719), Op. 1	Viola da gamba	1700 ¹⁶
Fingher opera seconda consistant en six sonates. 3 a un violon & 3 à une	Gottfried Finger (c.1660–1730), <i>VI Sonatas or Solo's</i>	Violin, recorder	1700 ¹⁷

¹² Ibid, p. 20.

¹³ Loc. cit.

¹⁴ Ibid, p. 22.

¹⁵ Ibid, p. 25

¹⁶ Ibid, p. 37.

¹⁷ Ibid, p. 40.

flûte & une basse continue, gravé			
Six sonates, trois à une flûte & trois à un violon & une basse continue de mrs. Crofts & un maitre Italien gravé	William Croft (1678–1727) and Finger, <i>Six Sonatas or Solos</i> [...] <i>Compos'd by M^r W^m Crofts & an Italian M^r</i>	Violin, recorder	1700 ¹⁸
Six sonates à violino solo col basso continuo, trois de mr. Finger, & trois de mr. Crofts gravé	Violin arrangement of <i>Six Sonatas or Solos</i> [...] <i>Compos'd by M^r W^m Crofts & an Italian M^r</i>	Violin	1700 ¹⁹
Six sonates à flûte solo col basso continuo, trois d'un maitre Italien & trois de mr. Finger gravé	Recorder arrangement of <i>Six Sonatas or Solos</i> [...] <i>Compos'd by M^r W^m Crofts & an Italian M^r</i>	Recorder	1700 ²⁰
Quatorse sonates, dix à violino solo col bass, cont, e 4 à violoncello solo col basso, cont [...] del Signor Fiore, grave	Angelo Maria Fiorè (c. 1660– 1723), <i>Trattenimenti da Camera</i> , Op. 1	Violin, violoncello	1700 ²¹
new Solos of Corelli in Score as well ingraven in every particular as the Roman original	Arcangelo Corelli, Op. 5; advertised by Francis Vaillant in <i>The Post Man</i> , 24–7 August 1700	Violin	1700 ²²

¹⁸ Ibid, p. 41.

¹⁹ Loc. cit.

²⁰ Loc. cit.

²¹ Loc. cit.

²² Rudolf Rasch, *The Music Publishing House of Estienne Roger: Caix-Croft*
<<https://roger.sites.uu.nl/catalogue>>, p. 57.

2. Solo sonatas advertised by Roger's agents, 1700–c.1716

The following table summarises newspaper advertisements for solo sonatas (and some treble-bass suites) sold by Roger's agents Francis and Isaac Vaillant, and Henry Ribotteau in London. François Lesure's *Bibliographie des éditions musicales publiées par Estienne Roger et Michel-Charles Le Cène*, Amsterdam, 1696–1743 (Paris: Société française de musicologie; Heugel & Cie, 1969) has now been updated by Rudolf Rasch with 'The Music Publishing House of Estienne Roger', < <https://roger.sites.uu.nl/>>, on which this table is based, with some amendments and additions.²³ Although Roger printed many more solo sonatas for which no advertisements have been located, this by no means rules out that these works were sold in Britain.

Agent	Advertisement or label	Composer	Publication	Roger No.
Francis Vaillant	<i>New State of Europe</i> , 23 May 1701, issue 1	Henricus Albicastro (Johann Heinrich von Weissenburg) (c. 1660–c. ?1730)	XV <i>Suonate à Violino solo col viol a da gamba [or: violoncello] o basso continuo</i> , Op. 2 [1701]	287
Francis Vaillant	Exemplar in GB-DRc, C91 contains Francis Vaillant's label [date unknown]	Johan Snep (1659–1719)	<i>Sonates [...] a 1 viole de gambe & 1 basse continue</i> , Op. 1 [1700]	142
Francis Vaillant	Exemplar in GB-Ob, MS. Mus.Sch. C.198, contains the label: 'LONDON.'	Marin Marais (1656–1728)	<i>PIECES A 1 & 2 VIOLES & 1 BASSE CONTINUE</i> , Livre 1 [1701]	35

²³ An older list of music advertised by Roger's agents in London is found in Michael Tilmouth, 'Chamber Music in England' (PhD dissertation, University of Cambridge, 1960), Appendix 1, p. 388–92.

	Sold by Francis Vaillant french bookseller in the strand' [date unknown]			
Francis Vaillant	<i>The Post Man</i> , 9–11 April 1702	Charles Dieupart (b. after 1667–c. 1740)	'Mr Dieupart's Book of Lessons, purposely composed for a Violin and a Bass' [1701]	226–7
Francis Vaillant	<i>The Post Man</i> , 24–7 April 1703, issue 1120	Gasparo Visconti (1683–1713)	<i>Sonate a violino e violone o cimbalo</i> , Op. 1 [1703]	297
Isaac Vaillant	<i>The Post Man</i> , 11–3 April 1706, issue 1599	Albicastro	<i>XII Sonate a violino solo col violone o basso continuo</i> , Op. 9 [1706]	291
Isaac Vaillant	<i>The Post Man</i> , 11–3 April 1706, issue 1599	Arcangelo Corelli (1653–1713)	<i>XII sonates de Mr. Arcangelo Corelli tirés de tous ses ouvrages & transportez pour la flûte, dont il y en a VI à 2 flûtes & 1 basse continue & VI à une flûte seul & basse continue</i> [1706]	134
Isaac Vaillant	<i>The Post Man</i> , 11–3 April 1706, issue 1599	Giorgio Gentili (?1669–after 1730)	<i>XII sonate à violino e violoncello o cimbalo</i> , Op. 3 [1706]	299
Francis Vaillant	<i>The Post Man</i> , 14–6 January 1707, issue 1723	Johann Christoph Pepusch (1667–1752)	<i>Sonates à un violon seul & une basse continue</i> , Op. 2 [1707]	72–3

Isaac Vaillant	<i>The Daily Courant</i> , 26 May 1709, issue 2367	Michele Mascitti (1663/4–1760)	<i>Sonate da camera a violino solo col violone o cembalo</i> , Op. 3 [1709]	143
Henry Ribotteau	<i>The Post Man</i> , 13–6 October 1711, issue 2056			
Isaac Vaillant	<i>The Daily Courant</i> , 26 May 1709, issue 2367 ²⁴	Tomaso Albinoni (1671–1750/51)	‘6 Solos by Albinoni for the Violin’ ²⁵	
Isaac Vaillant	<i>The Daily Courant</i> , 26 May 1709, issue 2367	Giulio Taglietti (c. 1660–1718)	<i>Arie cantabili à violino solo e violoncello o basso continuo</i> , Op. 3 [1709]	324
Isaac Vaillant	<i>The Daily Courant</i> , 26 May 1709, issue 2367	Johann Christian Schickhardt (c. 1682–1762)	<i>Sonates à une flûte et une basse continue</i> , Op. 1 [1709]	325
Henry Ribotteau	<i>The Post Man</i> , 13–6 October 1711, issue 2056	Mascitti	<i>Sonate a violino solo col violino [sic] o cimbalo</i> , Op. 1 [1706]	124
Henry Ribotteau	<i>The Post Man</i> , 13–6 October 1711, issue 2056	Mascitti	<i>Sonate da camera a violino solo col violone o cimbalo</i> , Op. 2 [1707–8]	107
Henry Ribotteau	<i>The Post Man</i> , 13–6 October 1711, issue 2056	Johann Christoph	<i>XII Sonates à deux violons, deux haubois ou deux flûtes traversières & basse continue</i> , Op. 3 [1711]	53

²⁴ Rasch deest.

²⁵ Presumably Albinoni’s *Sonate à violino e basso continuo*, Op. 6 [1704], (Roger no. 290); *Sonate da chiesa a violino solo e violoncello o basso continuo*, Op. 4 [1707–8], (Roger no. 12).

		Pepusch (1667–1752)		
Henry Ribotteau	<i>The Post Man</i> , 13–6 October 1711, issue 2056	Pepusch	<i>XII Sonate à violino solo e violoncello o basso continuo</i> , Op. 4 [1711]	60
Henry Ribotteau	<i>The Post Man</i> , 14–6 October 1714, issue 11050	Jacob Riehman (d. 1726)	‘Six Sonatas for a Violin or Hoboy and a Bass by Jac. Rhieman, Op. 3’ ²⁶	?
Henry Ribotteau	<i>The Post Man</i> , 14–6 October 1714, issue 11050 ²⁷	Johann Christian Schickhardt (c. 1682– 1762)	‘Twelve Solos for a Flute and a Bass, by Schickhardt, Op. 18’ ²⁸	192?
Henry Ribotteau	<i>The Post Man</i> , 24–6 March 1715, issue 11050 ²⁹	Jean Baptiste Loeillet (‘Loeillet de Gant’) (1688–c. 1720)	<i>XII SONATES à une Flute & Basse Continue</i> , Op. 2 [1715]	346
Henry Ribotteau	<i>The Post Man</i> , 29 September–1 October 1715, issue 11150	‘Loeillet de Gant’	<i>XII SONATES à une Flûte & Basse Continue</i> , Op. 3 [1715]	365

²⁶ Rasch deest; Rhieman’s Op. 3 is listed in Rasch as ‘Sonate a violino, viola di gamba e basso continuo ... Opera terza’ [1715], Roger no. 350; see Rudolf Rasch, *The Music Publishing House of Estienne Roger: Ragenet-Ruggieri* <<https://roger.sites.uu.nl/catalogue/>>, pp. 59–60; Riehman also composed *Sonate à violino solo e basso continuo*, Op. 2 [1710–2] (Roger no. 326), lost.

²⁷ Rasch deest.

²⁸ Probably *Recueil d’Airs choisis par Jean Christien Schickbard*, Livre 1 [1714] (Roger no. 192), lost.

²⁹ Also advertised in *The Post Man*, 14–6 October 1714, issue 11050 (same issue no. as 24–6 March 1715?).

Henry Ribotteau	<i>The Post Man</i> , 29 September–1 October 1715, issue 11150	Stefano Macharani	<i>Sonate a violino solo e basso continuo</i> , Op. 1 [1715]	366
Henry Ribotteau	<i>The Post Man</i> , 29 September–1 October 1715, issue 11150	Benedetto Marcello (1686–1739)	<i>XII Suonate a flauto solo con il suo basso continuo per violoncello o cembalo</i> , Op. 2 [1715]	368
Henry Ribotteau	<i>The Post Man</i> , 29 September–1 October 1715, issue 11150	Mascitti	<i>XII Sonate a violino solo e basso continuo</i> , Op. 5 [1715]	364
Henry Ribotteau	<i>The Post Man</i> , 29 September–1 October 1715, issue 11150	Schickhardt	<i>VI Sonates à une flûte traversière, un haubois ou violon et basse Continue</i> , Op. 20 [1715]	359

APPENDIX B

Inventory of Solo Sonatas in the Armstrong-Finch Manuscript

I wish to thank Peter Holman for allowing me to adapt his inventory of the Armstrong-Finch manuscript on which my own list of solo sonatas is based. Additional concordances for the sonatas by Farmer, Finch and Courteville located by the present author are marked with the initials (AW).

Hand	Page nos.	Composer	Title	Instrument	Key	Concordances
Armstrong	1–7	Gottfried Finger (c. 1660–1730) (AW)	‘DEL SIGNOR GODFRIDO FINGER / SONATA’ (AW)	Violin	A major	US-Dp, RM788.1191 S698, No. 3, ‘Treizieme / Sonnate’ (C major) (AW); GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,466, No. 20, ‘Finger’ (AW); Rawson RI101, RI121a (AW)
Armstrong	8–11	Corelli; Marx Anh. 33	‘del Sig ^r Arcangelo Corelli / II Sonata’ (AW)	Violin	A major	‘A Solo in A# for a Violin by Arcangelo Corelli’ (Walsh, 1704); GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,466, No. 17; US-Wc, M k219 C 79 S 6 (Case), No. 1 ¹
Armstrong	12–5	Thomas Farmer (d. 1688)	‘III / Sonata / by M ^r . Tho. Farmer’	Violin	A major	<i>The Second Part of the Division Violin</i> (1689), ‘A Sola by Mr Tho Farmer B.M.’, pp. 2–3 (AW); also printed in the second edition (1693) (AW) and fourth edition (1705); GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,466, No. 64, ‘Farmer’; the fourth movement

¹ For further concordances, including an Italian source, see Hans Joachim Marx, *Die Überlieferung der Werke Arcangelo Corellis: catalogue raisonné* (Cologne: Arno Volk Verlag, 1980), Anh. 33, pp. 249–50.

						in common time in <i>The Second Part of the Division Violin</i> was replaced with an ‘Adagio’ in 3/4 in the Armstrong-Finch MS, which also omits the final movement in 3/8 (AW); the movements in GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,466 are the same as in <i>The Second Part of the Division Violin</i> (AW)
Hand	Page nos.	Composer	Title	Instrument	Key	Concordances
Armstrong	16–9	Raphael Courteville (fl. c. 1675–1735)	‘III / Sonata / by M ^r Courtivil’	Violin	A major	<i>The Self-Instructor on the Violin</i> (Miller, Walsh and Hare, 1695), ‘M ^r . Courtivilie Sonates Sola’ (in A major), violin only (AW); <i>The Compleat Flute Master</i> (Walsh and Hare, 1695), ‘Solo. M ^r . Courtiville’ (in C major), recorder only (AW); <i>The First, Second and Third Books of the Self-Instructor on the Violin</i> (1700), ‘Solo. M ^r . Courtiville’ (in A major), violin only; <i>Six SONATAS Three for Two FLUTES and Three for a FLUTE & a BASS</i> (Walsh, c. 1705), ‘A Solo for a Flute and a Bass by M ^r Courtivill’ (in C major) (AW); GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,466, No. 44, ‘Courtevil’; US-Wc, M 219 C 79 S 6 (Case), No. 7 (falsely attributed to Corelli), GB-Ckc, MS 226, ‘Flauto Solo’, fols. 7–8 (in C major) (AW);

						‘A solo for a flute and a bass, by Mr. Courtivill’ (C major) (London: ?1704; dated [?1715] in the Sibley Music Library, University of Rochester catalogue) (AW)
Hand	Page nos.	Composer	Title	Instrument	Key	Concordances
Armstrong	20–3	Corelli; Marx deest (AW)	‘V / Sonata / del Sig ^r Arcangelo Corelli.’	Violin	A major	<i>SONATE A VIOLINO SOLO COL BASSO CONTINUO COMPOSTA DA ARCANGELO CORRELLI e Altri Autory</i> (Roger, 1697), No. 8; GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,466, No. 5, ‘Corelli’
Armstrong	24–7	Finger	‘VI / Sonata / del Sig ^r Godfrid Finger.’	Violin	A major	US-Wc, M 219 C 79 S 6 (Case), No. 10 (falsely attributed to Corelli); not in Rawson’s catalogue, but composed in Finger’s style
Armstrong	28–31	Finger	‘VII / Sonata / del Sig. G. Finger.’	Violin	E major	<i>SONATE A VIOLINO SOLO COL BASSO CONTINUO COMPOSTA DA ARCANGELO CORRELLI e Altri Autory</i> (Roger, 1697), No. 10; GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,466, No. 52, ‘Finger’; US-Wc, M 219 C 79 S 6 (Case), No. 10 (falsely attributed to Corelli); Rawson RI135

Hand	Page nos.	Composer	Title	Instrument	Key	Concordances
Armstrong	32–5	Finger	‘VIII / Sonata / del Sig ^r G. Finger.’	Violin	E major	GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,466, No. 51, ‘Finger’; US-Wc, M 219 C 79 S 6 (Case), No. 6 (falsely attributed to Corelli); Rawson RI134
Armstrong	36–9	Finger	‘IX / Sonata / del Sig G. Finger.’	Violin	D major	GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,466, No. 22; Rawson RI126
Armstrong	40–5	Corelli; Marx Anh. 34	‘X / Sonata / del Sig Arc ^o . Corelli’	Violin	D major	<i>SONATE A VIOLINO SOLO COL BASSO CONTINUO COMPOSTA DA ARCANGELO CORRELLI e Altri Autory</i> (Roger, 1697), No. 4; GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,466, No. 1, ‘Corelli’; GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. C.61, pp. 40–3, ‘Sign Corelli’; US-Wc, M 219 C 79 S 6 (Case), No. 1 ²
Armstrong	46–9	Carlo Ambrogio Lonati (c. 1645–c. 1710– 15)	‘XI / Sonata / del Sig ^r Carlo Ambrosio Lonati’	Violin	D major	GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,466, No. 19, ‘Carlo Ambrosio’

² For further concordances, see Hans Joachim Marx, *Die Überlieferung der Werke Arcangelo Corellis: catalogue raisonné* (Cologne: Arno Volk Verlag, 1980), Anh. 34, pp. 251–3.

Hand	Page nos.	Composer	Title	Instrument	Key	Concordances
Armstrong	50–2	Lonati	‘XII / Sonata / del Sig. ^f . Carlo Ambrosio’	Violin	F major	<i>SONATE A VIOLINO SOLO COL BASSO CONTINUO COMPOSTA DA ARCANGELO CORRELLI e Altri Autory</i> (Roger, 1697), No. 9
Armstrong	53–7	Robert King (c. 1660–1726)	‘XIII / Sonata / by M ^r Robert King’	Violin	F major	GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. C.61, pp. 34–7, ‘Sola / R:K’; US-Wc, M 219 C 79 S 6 (Case), No. 2 (falsely attributed to Corelli)
Armstrong	58–63	Finger	‘XIV / Sonata / del Sig ^f G. Finger.’	Violin	A major	GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,466, No. 45, ‘Finger’ (in B flat major); US-Wc, M 219 C 79 S 6 (Case), No. 3 (in B-flat major; falsely attributed to Corelli); Rawson RI125.
Armstrong	[64]–67	Corelli; Marx Anh. 35	‘XV / Sonata / del Sig ^f Arcangelo Corelli’	Violin	A minor	<i>SONATE A VIOLINO SOLO COL BASSO CONTINUO COMPOSTA DA ARCANGELO CORRELLI e Altri Autory</i> (Roger, 1697), No. 9; GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,403, pp. 62–3, ‘Son: by Arcangelo Corelli’; GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,466, No. 2, ‘Corelli’; US-Dp, RM788.1191 S698, No. 19, ‘Sonatta Flutto Solo’ (in D minor); US-Wc, M 219 C 79 S 6 (Case), No. 12

Hand	Page nos.	Composer	Title	Instrument	Key	Concordances
Finch	72–5	Finger	‘XVII / Sonata / del Sig ^f Godfred Finger’	? Transverse flute	G major	Armstrong-Finch manuscript, pp. 136–9, ‘Sonata del Sig ^f . G. Finger’ (in B-flat major); Gottfried Finger, <i>Dix sonates à 1 flûte & 1 basse continue</i> , Op. 3, No. 3 (Roger, 1701), (in B flat major); US-Dp, RM788.1191 S698, No. 4, ‘Sonatta Solo Flutte’; Rawson RI197
Finch	76–[81]	Corelli	‘XVIII / Sonata IV. / Corelli’s IV Solo of his Opera Quinta Set for the German Flute by Transposing it & putting it from F. To D#’	Transverse flute	D major	Corelli, Op. 5, No. 4 (in F major)
Finch	82–7	Edward Finch (1663–1738)	‘XIX / I Sonata / EF [Edward Finch’s monogram] / X ^{mas} 1717. For the German Flute’	Transverse flute	D major	GB-DRc, Bamburgh MS M70, pp. 12–15 inv., ‘EF [monogram] / Sonata Ist / X ^{mas} / 1717’ (autograph); GB-DRc, Bamburgh MS M70, pp. 68–71 inv., ‘Sonata I / made X ^{mas} 1717 / & / Alter’d by Lorenzo / Bocchi / October 1720’ (autograph)

Hand	Page nos.	Composer	Title	Instrument	Key	Concordances
Finch	89–93	Finch	‘XX / 2 Sonata / For the German Flute. / April 29 th . 1718’	Transverse flute	D major	GB-DRC, Bamburgh MS M70, pp. 16-19 inv., ‘Sonata 2 / April 29 / 1718’ (autograph); GB-DRC, Bamburgh MS M70, pp. 72–5 inv., ‘Sonata / 2 / made April 29th / 1718 / Alter’d by / Sign ^r / Lorenzo / Bocchi / October / 1720’ (autograph)
Finch	94–8	Finch	‘XXI / 3 / Sonata / August 30 th . 1718’	? Transverse flute	D major	Concordance: GB-DRC, Bamburgh MS M70, pp. 20–3 inv., ‘Sonata / 3 / Aug ^t 30 th . / 1718 / The Groans & Sighs’ (autograph)
Armstrong	100–4	Finger	‘SONATA / del Sig ^r Godfrido Finger’	Recorder	F major	Gottfried Finger, <i>Dix sonates à 1 flûte & 1 basse continue</i> , Op. 3, No. 7 (Roger, 1701); Rawson RI108
Armstrong	105–7	Finger	‘Sonata / del Sig ^r G. Finger.’	Recorder	C major	Gottfried Finger, <i>Dix sonates à 1 flûte & 1 basse continue</i> , Op. 3, No. 5 (Roger, 1701); US-Dp, RM788.1191 S698, No. 8, ‘Sonatta Solo Flutte’; US-R, M1490.B113, ff. 32v–4r, No. 22; Rawson RI100

Hand	Page nos.	Composer	Title	Instrument	Key	Concordances
Armstrong	108–11	Finger	'Sonata / del Sig ^r G. Finger.'	Recorder	G major	US-R, M1490.B113, ff. 17v–19r, no. 12; attributed to 'Mr. Rosiers' in the index; not in Rawson
Armstrong	112–5	Finger	'Sonata / del Sig ^r G. Finger.'	? Recorder	C major	None; not in Rawson
Armstrong	116–9	Finger (falsely attributed to Courteville)	'Sonata / by M ^r Raphael Courteville'	Recorder	F major	Gottfried Finger, <i>Dix sonates à 1 flûte & 1 basse continue</i> , Op. 3, No. 8 (Roger, 1701); GB-OB, MS Mus. Sch. C.61, pp. 50–3, 'For y ^e Flu: in F key / 1 st Set in F' (in D major); US-Dp, RM788.1191 S698, No. 2, 'Sonata / Mr Courteville / Solo / Flutto'; US-NYp, MS JOG 72-50, ff. 17v–19r (in D major); Rawson RI109, 130a
Armstrong	120–3	Finger	'Sonata / del Sigr G. Finger'	Recorder	F major	Gottfried Finger, <i>VI SONATAS or SOLO'S</i> (1690), No. 6; <i>Six Sonatas or Solos for the Flute</i> [...] <i>Compos'd by Mr. Finger and Mr. D. Purcell</i> (1709), No. 3; GB-Ckc, MS 122, fols. 11r–11v, 'Sonata Flauto Solo' (recorder), ff. 9v-10 'Flauto Solo' (basso continuo); GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,466, No. 48, 'Finger' (in D major); GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,993, fol. 3v (incomplete continuo

						only); GB-Lbl, Add. MS 41,205, fol. 26v, 'Jig / Mr. Finger' (last movement only, arranged for keyboard; US-Dp, RM788.1191 S698, No. 9, 'Sonata Solo Flutto'; Rawson RI106, 128a
Hand	Page nos.	Composer	Title	Instrument	Key	Concordances
Armstrong	124–7	Finch	'Sonata / by M ^r Edward Finch'	? Recorder	G major	None
Armstrong	128–31	Finch	'Sonata / by M ^r Edward Finch'	Recorder	C major	<i>The Second Part of the Division Violin</i> (1689), 'A Solo by M ^r . Finch called the Cuckoo.', pp. 16 – 9 (AW); also printed in the second edition (1693) and fourth edition (1705), all in A major (AW); <i>Six SONATAS Three for Two FLUTES and Three for a FLUTE & a BASS</i> (Walsh, c. 1705), 'A SOLO call'd the CUCKOO' (AW); 'A Solo Call'd ye Cuckoo' (? Walsh, c. 1720), arranged for keyboard; GB-DRc, Bamburgh MS. M70, fols. 41–4 inv., 'Sonata 8 / The Cuckow / made in King James the 2d Reign / by EF' (in G major, autograph); GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. E.399, ff. 44v–45, 'The Cuckoo' (G

						major, violin part only); US-Dp, RM788.1191 S698, No. 5, 'Sonata Flutto Solo'
Hand	Page nos.	Composer	Title	Instrument	Key	Concordances
Armstrong	132–5	Finger (? & Finch)	'Sonata / by M ^r Edward Finch and M ^r Finger'	Recorder	C minor	<i>Dix sonates à 1 flûte & 1 basse continue</i> , Op. 3, No. 2 (Roger, 1701); Rawson RI102
Finch	136–9	Finger	'Sonata / del Sigr: G: Finger'	Recorder	B-flat major	<i>Dix sonates à 1 flûte & 1 basse continue</i> , Op. 3, No. 3 (Roger, 1701); US-Dp, RM788.1191 S698, No. 4, 'Sonatta Solo Flutte'; Rawson RI97
Finch	140–1	Finch	'4 / Sonata / November 20th. 1718'	? Transverse flute	G major	GB-DRC, Bamburgh MS M70, pp. 24–5 inv., 'Sonata / 4 / November 20 th . 1718' (autograph); GB-DRC, Bamburgh MS M70, pp. 66–8 inv., 'Sonata IIII / EMendata / Lorenzo Bocchi' (autograph)
Finch	142–7	Finch & Thomas Benson (fl. 1698–1742)	'5 / Sonata / X ^{mas} 1718'; title at the end: 'Xtmas / 1718 / EF [monogram] & ye Presto / by T. Benson'	Violin	A minor	GB-DRC, Bamburgh MS M70, pp. 26–9 inv., 'Sonata 5 / X ^{mas} 1718' (autograph); third movement (Presto) composed by Thomas Benson according to Finch's comment in MS M70

Hand	Page nos.	Composer	Title	Instrument	Key	Concordances
Finch	147–50	Finch & Thomas Benson	'6 / Sonata / January 29. 1718/9 / Eccho'; title at the end: 'Feb. 2. 1718/9 / Gigha By / Mr T. Benson & EF [monogram]'	? Transverse flute	D major	GB-DRc, Bamburgh MS M70, pp. 30–3 inv., 'Sonata / 6 / Febr: 2d / 1718/9 / Eccho'; title at the end: 'Febr: 2d 1718/9 / This Gigha by Mr Tho" Benson'
Finch	151–5	Finch	'Sonata / 8 / EF [monogram]'	Violin	G major	Armstrong-Finch manuscript, pp. 128–31, 'Sonata / by M ^r Edward Finch' (in C major)
Finch	156	Corelli	'Sonata / IX / Corelli IX Solo'	Transverse flute	C major	Corelli, Op. 5, No. 9, first movement; Armstrong-Finch manuscript, pp. 115–9 (second sequence of page nos. inv.), 'IX / Sonata / di Arch- / -angelo Corelli / Opera Quinta / Set from Are#3d into / C faut Proper for y ^e . / German Flute'; GB-DRc, Bamburgh MS M70, pp. 52–5 inv., 'Corelli's / set a third Higher / For the German Flute / IX Sonata'
Finch	157–61	Finch	'Sonata / XI EF [monogram] / On The Bells / & / Hempdresser'	? Transverse flute	D major	GB-DRc, Bamburgh MS M70, pp. 56–9 inv., 'Sonata XI / EF [monogram] / Febr. 18 1719/ 20 / The Bells'

Hand	Page nos.	Composer	Title	Instrument	Key	Concordances
Finch	60 inv.	John Baptist Grano (fl. c. 1710–29)	‘Mr Grano’s Composition for the German Flute / made as fast as he could write.’	Transverse flute	E minor	None; two movements only (3/2 and ‘Sicilian Air’ in 6/8)
Second sequence of page numbers begins here						
Finch	[1]–4	Francesco Geminiani (1687–1762)	‘Sign ^f . Francesco / Geminiani’s Sonata’s / Written out & fitted / for the German Flute [...] IX Solo / set a note higher’	Transverse flute	G major	Francesco Geminiani, <i>SONATE A VIOLINO, VIOLONE, E CEMBALO</i> (1716), Op. 1, No. 9 (A major)
Finch	5–8	Geminiani	‘Geminiani’s / X. Solo. / Set a / note / Lower’	Transverse flute	D major	Francesco Geminiani, <i>SONATE A VIOLINO, VIOLONE, E CEMBALO</i> (1716), Op. 1, No. 10 (E major)
Finch	9–12	Geminiani	‘Geminiani’s / XI Solo / transposed & / Set a Note Lower’	Transverse flute	G minor	Francesco Geminiani, <i>SONATE A VIOLINO, VIOLONE, E CEMBALO</i> (1716), Op. 1, No. 11 (A major)
Finch	13–6	Geminiani	‘Geminiani’s / XII Solo / transpos’d / here & there’	Transverse flute	D minor	Francesco Geminiani, <i>SONATE A VIOLINO, VIOLONE, E CEMBALO</i> (1716), Op. 1, No. 12 (D minor)

Hand	Page nos.	Composer	Title	Instrument	Key	Concordances
Finch	16–20	Geminiani	‘Geminiani’s VII Solo / Set a Note higher’	Transverse flute	D minor	Francesco Geminiani, <i>SONATE A VIOLINO, VIOLONE, E CEMBALO</i> (1716), Op. 1, No. 7 (C minor)
Finch	20–3	Geminiani	‘Sig ^r Geminiani’s VIII th Solo Set a Note lower & transpos’d for y ^e German Flute.’	Transverse flute	A minor	Francesco Geminiani, <i>SONATE A VIOLINO, VIOLONE, E CEMBALO</i> (1716), Op. 1, No. 8 (B minor)
Finch	23–7	Geminiani	‘Geminiani’s / IV / Solo / Alter’d / from double / Notes for y ^e German / Flute.’	Transverse flute	D major	Francesco Geminiani, <i>SONATE A VIOLINO, VIOLONE, E CEMBALO</i> (1716), Op. 1, No. 4
Finch	29–33	Geminiani	‘Geminiani’s V th / Solo Transpos’d / & Set a Note Higher / For the German Flute see / page 95’	Transverse flute	C major	Armstrong-Finch manuscript, pp. 95–9 (second sequence of page nos. inv.), ‘Geminiani’s V th : / Solo Transposed & / Set a Note Higher & / the Best of the Double Notes drawn out for / the German Flute / instead of what is written at page / 29’; Francesco Geminiani, <i>SONATE A VIOLINO, VIOLONE, E CEMBALO</i> (1716), Op. 1, No. 5 (B flat major)

Hand	Page nos.	Composer	Title	Instrument	Key	Concordances
Finch	34–9	Geminiani	‘Geminiani’s I st . / Sonata Solo / a Note lower / see Page 80’	? Transverse flute	G major	Armstrong-Finch manuscript, pp. 80–5 (second sequence of page nos. inv.), ‘Geminiani’s Sonata I ^{ma} : Set a Note Lower / & Adapted to the German / Flute’; Francesco Geminiani, <i>SONATE A VIOLINO, VIOLONE, E CEMBALO</i> (1716), Op. 1, No. 1 (A major)
Finch	40–3	Geminiani	‘Geminiani’s / III Sonata / Set a Note Lower’	? Transverse flute	D minor	Francesco Geminiani, <i>SONATE A VIOLINO, VIOLONE, E CEMBALO</i> (1716), Op. 1, No. 3 (E major)
Finch	45–9	Geminiani	‘Geminiani’s / II Sonata / Fitted to / the German / Flute / & Prick’d in the Key he / made it in.’	Transverse flute	D minor	Francesco Geminiani, <i>SONATE A VIOLINO, VIOLONE, E CEMBALO</i> (1716), Op. 1, No. 2 (D minor)
Finch	50–3	Geminiani	‘Geminianis Sonata VI / Put a Note Higher for the German Flute’	Transverse flute	A minor	Francesco Geminiani, <i>SONATE A VIOLINO, VIOLONE, E CEMBALO</i> (1716), Op. 1, No. 6 (G minor)
Finch	54–7	Gasparo Visconti (1683–1713)	‘Gasperini / I / Gasparo Visconti’s I st . / Solo put out of F. Key into D [#] 3 ^d . As better for / the German Flute’	Transverse flute	D major	<i>Gasperini’s Solos for a Violin with a Thorough Bass for the Harpsicord or Bass Violin</i> , Op. 1 (Walsh, 1703), No. 1 (F major)

Hand	Page nos.	Composer	Title	Instrument	Key	Concordances
Finch	58–62	Visconti	‘Gasparini’s / 2 / G §3 ^d / Set a Note / lower for / the German / Flute’	Transverse flute	G major	<i>Gasparini’s Solos for a Violin with a Thorough Bass for the Harpsicord or Bass Violin</i> , Op. 1 (Walsh, 1703), No. 2 (A major)
Finch	63–6	Jean Baptiste Loeillet (‘Loeillet de Gant’) (1688–c. 1720)	‘Lully’s VII Solo For / the Flute Set a third / Lower for the German Flute.’	Transverse flute	A minor	Jean Baptiste Loeillet, <i>Sonatas or Solos for a Flute with a Thorough Bass for the Harpsicord or Bass Violin</i> , Op. 1 (c. 1712), No. 7 (C minor)
Finch	67–71	Loeillet	‘Lully’s XII th Solo / Set a Note Lower’	? Transverse flute	E minor	Jean Baptiste Loeillet, <i>Sonatas or Solos for a Flute with a Thorough Bass for the Harpsicord or Bass Violin</i> , Op. 1 (c. 1712), No. 12 (D minor)
Finch	80–5	Geminiani	‘Geminiani’s Sonata I ^{ma} : Set a Note Lower / & Adapted to the German / Flute’	Transverse Flute	G major	Armstrong-Finch manuscript, pp. 34–9 (second sequence of page nos. inv.), Geminiani’s I st . / Sonata Solo / a Note lower / see Page 80’; Francesco Geminiani, <i>SONATE A VIOLINO, VIOLONE, E CEMBALO</i> (1716), Op. 1, No. 1 (A major)
Finch	95–9	Geminiani	‘Geminiani’s V th : / Solo Transposed & / Set a Note Higher & / the Best	Transverse flute	C major	Armstrong-Finch manuscript, pp. 29–33 (second sequence of page nos. inv.), Geminiani’s V th / Solo Transpos’d / & Set a

			of the Double Notes drawn out for / the German Flute /instead of what is written at page / 29'			Note Higher / For the German Flute see / page 95'; Francesco Geminiani, <i>SONATE A VIOLINO, VIOLONE, E CEMBALO</i> (1716), Op. 1, No. 5 (B flat major)
Hand	Page nos.	Composer	Title	Instrument	Key	Concordances
Finch	100–4	Finch	Sonata 9th / May 28th 1719'; title at the end: 'Finished the / 9th of June 1719'	Violin	D minor	GB-DRc, Bamburg MS M70, pp. 44-8 INV, 'May 28th. 1719 / Sonata / 9'; title at the end: 'Finish'd the / 9th. of June 1719'
Finch	110–4	Finch	'Sonata / X' ae 'Finishd / October 9th. /1719'	Violin	D minor	GB-DRc, Bamburg MS M70, pp. 48–51 inv., 'Sonata / X'; title at the end: 'Finish'd / October 9th / 1719 / EF [monogram]'
Finch	115–9	Corelli	'IX di Arch- /-angelo Corelli / Sonata / Opera Quinta / Set from Are #3 ^d into / C faut Proper for y ^e . / German Flute'	Transverse flute	C major	Armstrong-Finch manuscript, p. 156, 'Sonata / IX / Corelli IX Solo', (C major) first movement; GB-DRc, Bamburg MS M70, pp. 52–5 inv., 'Corelli's / set a third Higher / For the German Flute / IX Sonata'; Corelli, Op. 5, No. 9 (A major)

APPENDIX C

Advertisements for John Walsh's 1704 Music Periodical

Presented here for the first time is a full transcription of advertisements in *The Post Man* for John Walsh's monthly periodical of instrumental music 'for the year 1704'. Walsh included a solo sonata every month except for July. The advertisements for each work appeared either in the latter half of the month, or not until the following month.

Month	Advertisement
January	This day is publish'd, That famous Sonata in Alamire for 2 Violins and a through Bass, by Signior Torrelli, perform'd by Signior Gasperini and Mr Dean at the Theatre, as also a new Solo, by Signior Martino for a Violin and a Bass, perform'd by Signior Gasperini, both Publish'd for Jan. pr. 1s. 6d, which will be continued monthly with the best and choicest Sonata's and Solo's by the Greatest Masters in Europe for the year 1704, and next week will be publish'd, Mr Wm Crofts 6 Sonatas for 2 Flutes to which will be added an excellent Solo for a Flute and a Bass, Composed by Signior Papus, performed before the Nobility and Gentry with great applause, the whole fairly Engraven. pr. 2s. Printed for and sold by J. Walsh Musical Instrument maker in Ordinary to her Majesty, at the Golden Harp and Hoboy in Catherine-Street, near Somerset House in the Strand and J. Hare, Musical Instrument-maker at the Golden Viol in St Pauls Churchyard, and at his Shop in Freemans Yard near the R. Exchange. ¹
February	This day is published, That Excellent piece of Musick, call'd the Golden Sonata, compos'd by the late Mr Henry Purcel, perform'd by Mr Banister and Mr Dean, at the Subscription Musick in York-Buildings. As also a Favourite Solo for a Violin and a Bass by Mr Nicholas [illegible], the Solo proper for the Harpsicord, pr. [illegible] both 1s. 6 d. by the greatest Masters in Europe, for the year 1704. There is likewise published Mr Daniel Demoivrs new Air for the Flute and a Bass, pr. 2 s. Printed for and sold by J. Walsh Musical instrument maker in Ordinary to her Majesty, at the Golden Harp and Hoboy in Katherine Street near Somerset House in the Strand, and J. Hare, Musical Instrument maker, at the Golden Viol in St Paul's Church-yard, and at his Shop in Freeman's Yard near the Royal Exchange. ²
March	A Solo in A# for a Violin by Arcangelo Corelli. The Solo Proper for the Harpsichord or Spinnet; Smith no. 150 <i>b</i> ; original advertisement not found.
April	This Day is publish'd, The Monthly Mask of Vocal Musick: Or the newest Songs made for the Theatre and other occasions composed by Mr Weldon, Mr Croft, &c. for April price 6d. Next week will be publish'd a Sonata for two Violins and a thorow Bass with a Trumpet part by Archangelo Corelli, as also a new Solo for a Violin and a Bass, by Martino Beity, neither of them before printed, price of both 1[?]. 6d. Publish'd for April, to be continued monthly with the best and choicest Sonata's and Solo's, collected from the works of the greatest Masters in Europe, for the Year 1704. Printed for and sold by J. Walsh Musical Instrument maker in Ordinary to her Majesty by the Golden Harp and Hoboy in Katherine street near Somerset house in the Strand, and J. Hare, Musical Instrument maker at the Golden Viol in St Paul's Church yard, and at his Shop in Freeman's Yard near the Royal Exchange. ³
May	This day is Publish'd, A Sonata for Violins in 3 parts, Composed by Signior Tomaso Albinoni, as also a Solo for a Violin, by Carlo Ambrogio Conati [sic], the Solo proper for the Harpsicord or Spinnett, price of both 1s. 6d. publish'd for May, and will be continued Monthly, with the best and choicest Sonata's and Solo's by the greatest Masters in Europe, for 1704. Printed for and sold by J. Walsh Musical Instrument maker in Ordinary to her Majesty, at the Golden Harp and Hautboy in Katherine street near Somerset House in the Strand, and J. Hare, Musical Instrument maker at the Golden Violin in St Paul's Church yard, and at his Shop in Freeman's Yard near the Royal Exchange. ⁴

¹ *The Post Man*, 22–5 January 1704, issue 1231.

² *The Post Man*, 2–4 March 1704, issue not given.

³ *The Post Man*, 27–9 April 1704, issue 1261.

⁴ *The Post Man*, 10–3 June 1704, issue not given.

June	This day is publish'd, A Sonata for Violins in 3 parts, Compos'd by Christophere Pez, as also a Solo for a Violin by Signior Pepusch. The Solo proper for the Harpsicord or Spinnet, price of both 1s. 6d. Published for June, and will be continued monthly with the best and choicest Sonata's and Solo's by the greatest Masters in Europe, for 1704. Printed for and sold by J. Walsh Musical Instrument maker in Ordinary to her Majesty, at the Golden Harp and Hautboy in Katherine street near Somerset House in the Strand, and J. Hare, Musical Instrument maker at the Golden Violin in St Paul's Churchyard, and at his Shop in Freemans Yard near the Royal Exchange. ⁵
July	This day is Publish'd, A Sonata Concerto Grosso for Violins, in 5, 6, and 7 parts, Compos'd by Signior Albinoni, perform'd by Signior Gasperini and others, at the Theatre. Publish'd for July, pr. 1. s. 6 d. to be continu'd Monthly, with the choicest Sonata's and Concerto's, by the greatest masters in Europe, also a Collection of Lessons for the Harpsicord or Spinnett by Dr Blow, pr. 2 s. 6 d. Printed for J. Walsh Musical Instrument maker in Ordinary to her Majesty, at the Golden Harp and Hautboy in Katherine street near Somerset House in the Strand and J. Hare, Musical Instrument maker at the Golden Violin in St Paul's Church-yard, and at his Shop in Freemans Yard near the Royal Exchange. ⁶
August	Advertisement illegible. Smith (no. 153) transcribed as follows: 'A Sanato Concerta Gross [<i>sic</i>] in 5 or 6 parts for Violins, Compos'd by Signior Caldara; also a Solo for a Flute and a Bass by Mr. Wm. Williams. Publish'd for August, pr. 1s. 6d. to be continued Monthly, &c. Printed for J. Walsh . . . at the Golden Harp and Hautboy . . . and J. Hare . . . at the Golden Violin . . . and . . . in Freemans Yard, &c. ⁷
September	This day is published, Mr Paisible's Aires, in four parts, with a Trumpet, perform'd before Her Majesty and the new King of Spain at Windsor Castle, pr. 1s. 6d. There is likewise Published, a Sonata in 3 parts, for Violins, with a Viol by Archangelo Corelli, as also a Solo for a Flute, and a Bass by Mr. Courtivil. Publish'd for September, price 1s. 6d. Printed for J. Walsh Musical Instrument maker in Ordinary to her Majesty at the Golden Harp and Hautboy in Katherine street near Somerset House, in the Strand, and J. Hare, Musical Instrument maker at the Golden Violin in St Paul's Church-yard, and at his Shop in Freemans Yard near the Royal Exchange. ⁸
October	This day is publish'd The Instrumental Musick for October, a Sonata for Violins in 3 parts, with a Thorow Bass for the Harpsicord, compos'd by Mr Pepusch. Likewise a Solo for a Violin or Flute, by Signior Pez, price of both 1s. 6d. which will be continued monthly, with the choicest Sonata's or Solo's by the best Masters in Europe. There is now publidh'd, Mr John Eccles General Collection of Songs, price bound 18s. Printed for J. Walsh Musical Instrument maker in Ordinary to her Majesty, at the Golden Harp and Hautboy in Katherine street near Somerset House in the Strand, and J. Hare, Musical Instrument maker at the Golden Violin in St Paul's Church-yard, and at his Shop in Freemans Yard near the Royal Exchange. ⁹
November	This day is publish'd, the Instrumental Musick for Novemb. A Sonata for Violins in parts, by Signior Albinoni, of the choicest of his Works. Also a Solo for a Violin and a Bass by Mr Tho. Dean of the New Theatre, never before printed, the Solo proper for the Harpsicord of Spinnet. Pr. of both 1s. 6d. There is now compleat, the whole Volume of Monthly Collections of Vocal Musick for the year 1704. Pr. Bound 5s. Printed for J. Walsh, Servant to her Majesty at the Golden Harp and Hautboy in Katherine street near Somerset House, in the Strand, and J. Hare, at the Golden Viol in St Paul's Church-yard, and at his Shop in Freeman's Yard near the Royal Exchange. ¹⁰
December	This day is publish'd, The Monthly Mask of Vocal Musick, or the newest Songs made for the Theatres and other occasions for January, Pr. 6 d. The whole Volume of Monthly Collections being now compleat for the year 1704. There is likewise publish'd the Instrumental Musick for December, 2 Sonatas for Violins in parts by Signior Caldara and Signior Gabrielli, the choicest of their Works, also a Solo for a Violin and a Bass by Signior Torelli, the Solo proper for the Harpsichord or Spinnet. Price together 1 s. 6 d. Printed for J. Walsh, Servant to her Majesty, at the Golden Harp and Hautboy in Katherine street near Somerset House in the Strand, and J. Hare at the Golden Viol in St Paul's Church-yard, and at his Shop in Freeman's Yard near the Royal Exchange. ¹¹

⁵ *The Post Man*, 8–11 July 1704, issue 1292.

⁶ *The Post Man*, 19–22 August 1704, issue 1309.

⁷ Smith no. 153.

⁸ *The Post Man*, 17–9 October 1704, issue 1331.

⁹ *The Post Man*, 11–4 November 1704, issue not given.

¹⁰ *The Post Man*, 14–6 December 1704, issue 1356.

¹¹ *The Post Man*, 13–6 January 1705, issue 1364.

APPENDIX D

‘Solo’ Performances advertised in British Newspapers, 1701–25

The following appendix is an overview of ‘solos’ performed by professional musicians in Britain advertised in newspapers after the arrival of Corelli’s Op. 5 violin sonatas (1700). The performers are divided into immigrant/visiting and British soloists, listed chronologically according to their first ‘solo’ performance (but not necessarily the earliest mention of a musician), corresponding to Table 4.1 in Chapter 4, p. 253.

‘A Solo by a great Italian Master’: immigrant and visiting soloists

Gasparo Visconti (1683–1713)

The visiting Italian violinist Gasparo Visconti was the main performer of solo sonatas between 1702 and 1706. During this period, there are at least 112 newspaper advertisements which feature him as a performer in York buildings and the Theatre Royal, Hickford’s Dancing School in the Haymarket and Richmond Wells. Visconti played his own compositions as well as sonatas by Arcangelo Corelli (1653–1713), Bononcini (probably Giovanni Maria, 1642–1678), Nicola Francesco Haym (1678–1729) and William Corbett (1680–1748).¹ Details of the music were not always given, such as on 22 December 1702 when it was announced that ‘the Famous Signior Gasperine lately arriv’d from Rome, will perform several Entertainments of Musick by himself, and in Consort with others’ at the Drury Lane theatre.²

The earliest mention of Corelli’s Op. 5 violin sonatas being performed publicly in Britain was on 11 February 1703 at the Drury Lane theatre, where ‘the Famous Signior Gasperine will perform several of Corelli’s Sonata’s, accompany’d by Monsieur Dupar and others’; limited tickets were available, since it was stated that ‘None are to be admitted into the Pit, or Boxes, but by printed Tickets, not exceeding Four Hundred in Number, of which, One hundred for the Front Boxes at Six Shillings a Ticket, and Three hundred for the Pit and Side-Boxes at Four Shillings’.³ During a performance of *Aesop* on 10 November 1703 at the Drury Lane theatre, it was announced there would be ‘some new Sonata’s for the Violin lately brought from *Rome*, Compos’d by the Great

¹ For further details of Visconti’s advertised solo performances, including dates, venues and plays, see Catherine Harbor, ‘The birth of the music business: public commercial concerts in London 1660–1750’ (PhD dissertation, Royal Holloway, University of London, 2012), vol. 2.

² *The Daily Courant*, 22 December 1702, issue 213.

³ *The Daily Courant*, 10 February 1703, issue 255.

Arcangelo Corelli, and perform'd by Signior *Gasparini*, and others'.⁴ On 28 January 1703 it was announced that 'the Famous Gasperini and Signior Petto, will Play several Italian Sonata's' in York Buildings.⁵ Advertisements for Visconti's performances in *The Daily Courant* increased after the publication of his Op. 1 violin sonatas in 1703; Visconti continued to perform until 1706, remaining at the forefront of soloists in London. Lowell Lindgren suggests that the 'several Italian Sonatas for the violin by Signior *Gasparini* compos'd by the Famous *Bolonchini*' performed on 21 February 1704 may have been solos from Bononcini's *Arie, correnti, sarabande, gigue & allemande a violino e violone over spinetta*, Op. 4 (Bologna: Giacomo Monti, 1671).⁶

Visconti's 'scholars'

Visconti taught the violin during his time in London and his unnamed 'scholars' also participated in public concerts. Venues included the Drury Lane theatre which Visconti was closely associated with; the first announcement was for a performance on 18 May 1703 when Visconti played a 'Sonata [...] with 'a Scholar of his' during a performance of *The Relapse*.⁷

On 14 July 1705 in Richmond Wells, there were 'some Solo's on the Violin by a Scholar of Signior Gasparinis', who never perform'd in Publick before [...] To begin exactly at half an hour after Six of the Clock, and for those whose Business requires their Return to London, the conveniency of the Tide will permit the same Night'.⁸ On 12 October 1705, 'several Sonata's on the Violin, by a Scholar of Seignior Gasparini's' were included as part of *The Comical Revenge: or, Love in a Tub* at the Drury Lane theatre.⁹ A further performance of 'several new Sonatas on the Violin by a Schollar of Signior Gasperini's' at Drury Lane took place on 22 June 1706 during *The Northern Lass, or, The Nest of Fools*.¹⁰

⁴ *The Daily Courant*, 10 November 1703, issue 489.

⁵ Michael Talbot suggests that 'Signior Petto' could possibly have been Martino Bitti (1655/6–1743); see Michael Talbot, 'A Thematic Catalogue of the Instrumental Music of Martino Bitti (1655/6–1743)', *RMA Research Chronicle*, 46/1 (2015), 46–94 (pp. 50–1).

⁶ Lowell Lindgren, 'The Great Influx of Italians and Their Instrumental Music into London, 1701–10', in Gregory Barnett, Antonella D'Ovidio, and Stefano La Via, ed., *Arcangelo Corelli: fra mito e realtà storica* (Florence: Olschki, 2007), 419–84 (p. 466); *The Daily Courant*, 21 February 1704, issue 577; a 'Prelude by Bononcini' was published in Walsh's *Select Preludes and Voluntaries for the Violin* (1705).

⁷ Harbor, 'The birth of the music business', vol. 2, p. 523.

⁸ *The Daily Courant*, 13 July 1705, issue 1013.

⁹ *The Daily Courant*, 12 October 1705, issue 1091.

¹⁰ *The Daily Courant*, 22 June 1706, issue 1307.

Similarly, in York Buildings on 28 April 1707 ‘a Solo on the Violin by a Scholar of Signior Nichola’ was performed.¹¹ Lowell Lindgren suggests that the ‘teacher was conjecturally Matteis or Cosimi’.¹² Matteis junior left London in 1701 and Cosimi in 1705, and both violinists had built a considerable reputation for themselves before their departure. By not revealing the pupil’s name and only the teacher’s, it implied the ‘scholar’ was young (another way of enticing an audience) and yet to earn their title.

Charles Dieupart (b. after 1667–c. 1740)

The earliest mention in Britain of the French harpsichordist and violinist Charles Dieupart was for a performance of Corelli’s violin sonatas on 11 February 1703, in which he accompanied Visconti.¹³ *The Daily Courant* announced a concert in Richmond Wells on 12 August 1703 for ‘The famous Signior Gasparini, who will perform several Italian Sonatas accompanied by Mr Dupar [...] This Consort to be perform’d but once, because of the Queen’s going to the Bath’.¹⁴

Francisco Goodsens (d. 1741)

There are various references to Francisco Goodsens (presumably of Italian ancestry), also known as ‘Signior Francisco’, as a bass violinist in the Chapel Royal from 1711 and violoncellist in operas at the Queen’s Theatre between 1707 and 1713. He was probably the ‘Mr Francisco upon the bass-viol’ mentioned in *The Observer* on 30 October 1703.¹⁵ In a benefit for ‘Mr Hughes’ in the Great Room at Hampstead Wells on 18 May 1703 there were ‘several Entertainments by Mr. Dean and Signior Francisco’.¹⁶

Nicola Francesco Haym (1678–1729)

A performance at the Drury Lane Theatre on 3 April 1706 included a ‘New Sola never yet perform’d, compos’d by Signior Haym’s, and perform’d on the Stage by him and Signior Gasperini’

¹¹ *The Daily Courant*, 26 April 1707, issue 1622.

¹² Lowell Lindgren, ‘The Great Influx of Italians and Their Instrumental Music into London, 1701–10’, in Gregory Barnett, Antonella D’Ovidio, and Stefano La Via, ed., *Arcangelo Corelli: fra mito e realtà storica* (Florence: Olschki, 2007), 419–84 (p. 477).

¹³ David Fuller and Peter Holman, ‘Dieupart, Charles’, *Grove Music Online* <*Oxford Music Online*> [accessed 6 June 2017]; *The Daily Courant*, 10 February 1703, issue 255.

¹⁴ *The Daily Courant*, 7 August 1703, issue 408.

¹⁵ Lowell Lindgren, ‘Italian Violoncellists and some Violoncello Solos Published in Eighteenth-Century Britain’, in *Music in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, ed. David Wyn Jones (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000), 121–57 (p. 138).

¹⁶ *The Daily Courant*, 17 May 1703, issue 337.

during *The Careless Husband* (1704) by Colley Cibber (1671–1757).¹⁷ Haym conjecturally accompanied on his own instrument, the violoncello.

Peter La Tour (fl. 1699–1726)

Although the French wind player Peter La Tour was usually known as an oboist, there were ‘several entertainments on the German Flute (never perform’d before) by Mr Latour for his own Benefit’, in York Buildings on 12 February 1706.¹⁸ On 26 July 1708 a concert ‘in the Great Room by the Bowling-Green at Epsom’ included ‘a solo on the Flute Almain by Mr. Lature’.¹⁹

Claudio Rogier (‘Signior Clodio’) (fl. 1713–29)

Benefit concerts for the (Italian?) violinist Claudio Rogier took place from 1713 until 1729, and on 27 January 1716 at the Lincolns Inn Fields Theatre, a performance of *The Fatal Marriage* included ‘A Sollo on the Violin by Mr. Clodio’.²⁰ ‘An Entertainment of Musick by Signor Clodio and Signor Piepo’, i.e. the cellist Philippo Amadei (c. 1665–c. 1725), was performed at the Lincoln’s Inn Fields theatre during *A Woman’s Revenge* on 6 November 1718.²¹

James Paisible (c. 1656–1721)

The French-born woodwind player and bass violinist James (Jaques) Paisible usually performed on the recorder, and the German traveller Zacharias Conrad von Uffenbach (1683–1734) also documented him as a transverse flute player.²² Paisible had close connections with the London theatres as a composer and instrumentalist, playing the bass violin in the Drury Lane theatre in 1702. He occasionally played the ‘echo flute’: for example, on 25 March 1713 at Hickford’s Room, a benefit for the violinist William Corbett and the opera singer Anna Lodi included ‘A Solo on the Eccho Flute by Mr Peasible, accompanied by Mr Babel, Jun. on the Harpsichord’;²³ Paisible played further solos on the echo flute in 1715.²⁴ A concert in York Buildings on 31 January 1705 for the benefit of Thomas Dean senior and Edward Keen (fl. 1699–?1735) included a ‘Solo by a great

¹⁷ *The Daily Courant*, 3 April 1706, issue 1238.

¹⁸ *The Daily Courant*, 11 February 1706, issue 1193.

¹⁹ *The Daily Courant*, 26 July 1708, issue 2008.

²⁰ *The Daily Courant*, 27 January 1716, issue 4452.

²¹ *The Daily Courant*, 6 November 1718, issue 5318.

²² William Henry Quarrell and Margaret Mare, trans. and ed., *London in 1710: From the Travels of Zacharias Conrad Von Uffenbach* (London: Faber & Faber, 1934), p. 67.

²³ *The Guardian*, 24 March 1713, issue XI.

²⁴ See for example, *The Daily Courant*, 2 June 1715, issue 4245; for the echo flute, see George H. Goebel, ‘New Evidence on the Echo Flute’, *The Galpin Society Journal*, 48 (March 1995), 205–7; David Lasocki, ‘Paisible’s Echo Flute, Bononcini’s Flauti Eco, and Bach’s Flauti d’Echo’, *The Galpin Society Journal*, 45 (March 1992), 59–66.

Italian Master, an extempore Performance on the Flute to a ground by Mr. Paisable, a Sonata for two Flutes by him and Mr. Banister, a Solo by Mr. Dean, &c.’²⁵ On 23 December 1718 in a concert ‘For the Entertainment of their Excellencies, all the Foreign Ministers’ at Stationer’s Hall, Paisable played a ‘Piece for the small Eccho-Flute’ in a benefit for ‘Mr. Pippard’, presumably accompanied by Filippo Amadei, since ‘The Violoncello, perform’d by Signor Pipo’ was also on the programme, and Lowell Lindgren points out this as the earliest mention of the instrument in a British newspaper.²⁶

Francesco Maria Veracini (1690–1768)

The Italian violinist Francesco Maria Veracini was on his first visit to London by 23 January 1714, performing solos and ‘symphonies’ at benefit concerts and between the acts of operas at the Queen’s (later King’s) Theatre, Haymarket until 24 December that year.²⁷ In a benefit concert for Veracini at ‘Mr. Hickford’s great Dancing-Room in James-street’, the programme included ‘an Extraordinary Consort of Musick, Vocal and Instrumental, of his own Composing, viz. Several Solo’s for the Violin, never yet perform’d before’, for which tickets were available at the door for half a guinea.²⁸ Burney commented on the reception of Veracini’s solo sonatas in London:

Veracini, who was now regarded as the greatest violinist in Europe, performed *symphonies* between the acts, at the opera, immediately after his arrival, and in April had a benefit concert at Hickford’s room. His compositions, however, were too wild and flighty for the taste of the English at this time, when they regarded the sonatas of Corelli as models of simplicity, grace, and elegance in melody, and of correctness and purity in harmony’.²⁹

His performances of Corelli were better received, and it was announced that on 20 February 1714, ‘Signior Veracini will perform a Solo of Corelli’ during a performance of the opera *Croesus* at the Queen’s Theatre.³⁰

²⁵ *The Daily Courant*, 30 January 1705, issue 871.

²⁶ *The Daily Courant*, 22 December 1718, issue 5357; Lindgren, ‘Italian Violoncellists and some Violoncello Solos Published in Eighteenth-Century Britain’, p. 128.

²⁷ Veracini was in London again from 1733–8 and 1741–5; for Veracini, see John Walter Hill, *The life and works of Francesco Maria Veracini* (Ann Arbor, Michigan: UMI Research, 1979).

²⁸ *The Daily Courant*, 20 April 1714, issue 3896.

²⁹ Charles Burney, *A General History of Music From the Earliest Ages to the Present Period (1789) Volume the Second with Critical and Historical Notes by Frank Mercer* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1935), p. 990.

³⁰ *The Daily Courant*, 18 February 1714, issue 3844.

Signora Stradiotti (fl. 1714)

On 29 April 1714 in a benefit for the Italian soprano ‘Signora Stradiotti, who has never yet perform’d in Publick since her Arrival here in England’ there were ‘several extraordinary new Songs [...] and at the End of the Consort she will perform alone a Solo for the Harpsichord’ at ‘Hickford’s Great Dancing Room’.³¹

Pietro Castrucci (1679–1752)

Performances by the Roman violinist Pietro Castrucci, a pupil of Corelli, were advertised in London between 1715 and 1748; Castrucci frequently performed solos and concertos, including works by Corelli. His first advertised solo performance took place soon after his arrival in London, on 23 July 1715, when *The Daily Courant* advertised a concert for ‘the Benefit of Signor Castrucci, who came lately over from Italy with the Lord Burlington. At the Great Room in James-street near the Hay-Market [...] In which he will perform several Solo’s on the Violin, interely New’.³² The music, which is not named, could have included works from his *SONATE a Violino e Violone o Cembalo*, Op. 1 (Roger, 1718). He was described as ‘Signor Castracci [sic], lately come from Rome’ in a benefit concert for himself ‘in which he will perform several Solo’s on the Violin’ at Hickford’s Great Room on 14 March 1716.³³

The Daily Post announced that on 26 February 1731 at Hickford’s Great Room, ‘Mr. CASTRUCCI, first Violin to the Opera’ was to play ‘a Sola, in which he will perform 24 Notes with one Bow’ (slurred),³⁴ parodied in the same newspaper the following day: ‘the last Violin of Goodmans-Fields Play House’ would perform ‘particularly one Solo, in which he will execute five and twenty Notes with one Bow: This is esteem’d the more extraordinary, because it is one Note more than the Famous first Violin of the Opera can play’.³⁵ Castrucci also played the viola d’amore and it was announced that on 4 April 1721 at Hickford’s Great Room ‘Sig. Castrucci, first Violin of the Opera, will give an Entertainment of Vocal and Instrumental Musick, and will play a Solo on the Viol D’Amour’.³⁶

³¹ *The Daily Courant*, 27 April 1714, issue 3902.

³² *The Daily Courant*, 22 July 1715, issue 4288.

³³ *The Daily Courant*, 13 March 1716, issue 4491.

³⁴ *The Daily Post*, 22 February 1731, issue 3566.

³⁵ *The Daily Post*, 23 February 1731, issue 3567.

³⁶ *The Daily Courant*, 3 April 1721, issue 6068.

Alessandro (Alexandro) Bitti (d. after 1755)

The Italian violinist Alessandro Bitti was probably the son (rather than the brother) of Martino Bitti; Alessandro performed solos and concertos in London from 1715 to 1722. Between 1718 and 1721 Bitti was employed as first violinist in the service of the Duke of Chandos's ensemble at Cannons. He was first announced in a benefit concert for his pupil Joanna Maria, Baroness Linchenham (known as 'the Baroness') on 6 April 1715 at 'Mr. Hickford's Great Dancing-Room', which included 'several Solo's for the Violin, to be perform'd by Mr. ALEXANDER BITTI, newly arriv'd from Italy'.³⁷ On 25 May 1717 the performance of *A Silent Woman* at the Drury Lane theatre included 'a New Solo on the Violin and compos'd and perform'd by Signor Bitte on the Stage'.³⁸ On 23 December 1718 in a benefit concert for Mr. Pippard at Stationer's Hall there was 'A new Concerto Compos'd by the great Master Signor Martino Betti, and perform'd by his Brother Alex. Betti, with a Solo of his own Composing' among various other solos:³⁹

A Solo and Concerto by the Famous Young Mr. Dubourg. A new Concerto Compos'd by the great Master Signor Martino Betti, and perform'd by his Brother Alex. Betti, with a solo of his own composing. A Solo on the German Flute, perform'd by Mr. Grano.⁴⁰

Pietro Chaboud (fl. 1707–25)

The Italian wind and viola da gamba player Pietro Chaboud may have been the 'Bolognese the traverse' who played at a private concert for the Duke of Bedford for which he received payment on 23 May 1702. Before his arrival in Britain, Chaboud played the bassoon and serpent at San Petronio in Bologna from 1 December 1679, and the trombone from 30 April 1685. Chaboud's musical employment in London included playing the bassoon in the Haymarket Theatre orchestra and performing the transverse flute and viola da gamba at private and public concerts; he first performed a solo sonata on the transverse flute in York Buildings on 23 May 1707.⁴¹

³⁷ *The Daily Courant*, 4 April 1715, issue 4194; a concert with a similar programme was advertised in *The Daily Courant*, 12 April 1717, issue 4829; For Alessandro Bitti see also Michael Talbot, 'Martino Bitti's Twenty-Four Sonatas for Violin and Basso Continuo: An Introduction' (2/2014), hosted on the Edition HH website at www.editionhh.co.uk/ab_MartinoBitti.htm, pp. 10–11.

³⁸ *The Daily Courant*, 25 May 1717, issue 4866.

³⁹ *The Daily Courant*, 23 December 1718, issue 5358; Mr. Pippard must have been the music instrument maker, engraver and music publisher Luke Pippard.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴¹ *The Daily Courant*, 23 May 1707, issue 1645.

On 25 April 1715 in a benefit concert for himself at ‘the Great Room in James-street’ there were ‘several solo’s on the Base Viol, and German Flutes, by Signor Pietro’.⁴² As Peter Holman points out, Chaboud was probably the first transverse flute player in London, and may have performed the ‘Flute D. Almayne’ solo in *The Judgement of Paris* (1701) by John Eccles (c. 1668–1735).⁴³ He first appeared on 27 March 1717 during a benefit concert at ‘Mr. Hickford’s Great Dancing-Room’ featuring ‘several Solo’s by Signior Castrucci on the Violin, and Signor Pietro on the Bass-Viol and German Flute’.⁴⁴

A concert on 7 May 1719 at ‘Mr. Hickford’s Great Room’ in which ‘Signor Pietro’ played a ‘Solo on the Bass Viol’ is the last notice there is of Chaboud performing in London. Walsh published two sets of *Solos for a German Flute, a Hoboy or a Violin with a Thorough Bass for the Harpsicord or Bass Violin, being all Choice Pieces by the Greatest Authours and Fitted to the German Flute by Sig. Pietro Chaboud* (1723, 1715), which include transpositions of violin sonatas by composers such as Castrucci, Geminiani and Vivaldi;⁴⁵ Chaboud is not known to have composed any solo sonatas.

Angelo Zannoni (fl. 1710–32)

The bass viol remained a fashionable solo instrument with amateurs in the early eighteenth century but was also played by professionals on stage. The Venetian singer Angelo Zannoni first appeared as Argante in Handel’s *Rinaldo* on 30 December 1714.⁴⁶ On 9 May 1715 at the ‘Great Room in James-street near the Hay-Market’ the programme featured singing by ‘Signora Pilotti, Signora Diana, and Mr. Angelo Zanoni. And several solo’s on the Base-Viol to be perform’d likewise by him’.⁴⁷

Attilio Ariosti (1666–1729)

The Italian composer Attilio Ariosti (1666–1729) first appeared in London on 12 July 1716 during a performance of Handel’s opera *Amadigi di Gaula* (1715) at the King’s Theatre in the Haymarket, ‘To which will be added a New Symphony, Compos’d by the Famous Signor Arilio Ariolli; in which he performs upon a New Instrument call’d, Viola D’Amour’;⁴⁸ he remained in London for

⁴² *The Daily Courant*, 23 April 1715, issue 4211.

⁴³ For Chaboud see Peter Holman, *Life After Death: The Viola da Gamba in Britain from Purcell to Dolmetsch* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2010), pp. 99–102.

⁴⁴ *The Daily Courant*, 23 March 1717, issue 4812.

⁴⁵ For Chaboud’s *Solos for a German Flute*, see Federico Maria Sardelli, *Vivaldi’s Music for the Flute and Recorder*, translated by Michael Talbot (Abingdon: Routledge, 2016), pp. 66–70.

⁴⁶ For Zannoni, see Holman, *Life After Death*, p. 111.

⁴⁷ *The Daily Courant*, 9 May 1715, issue 4224.

⁴⁸ *The Daily Courant*, 12 July 1716, issue 4595.

the rest of his life. Five years earlier, Ariosti's *Amor tra nemici* (1708) was brought from Vienna to London by the imperial ambassador, and was the first opera sung in Italian throughout (under the name *Almahide* (1710)) although much of the music was replaced with works by Giovanni Bononcini.⁴⁹ Lowell Lindgren has pointed out that Ariosti's twenty-one 'lessons' for viola d'amore, printed together with six cantatas, a subscription publication dedicated to George I in 1724, and fifteen in a manuscript copied by the Swedish Composer Johan Helmich Roman (1694–1758) around 1718, were probably intended for such performances.⁵⁰

Jean Christian Kytch (Keitch) (d. c. 1737)

The Dutch woodwind player Jean Christian Kytch was active as a performer from at least 1709 when a benefit concert for him took place on 18 June at the 'Hand and Pen in St. Alban's-street'.⁵¹ From around 1709 he was a bassoonist in the London opera orchestra, where by 1712 he was playing the oboe. On 27 March 1717 at 'Stationer's Hall near Ludgate' the music included 'an Entertainment on the Harpsicord by Mr. Babel, intirely new. A Solo on the Flute, by Mr. Paisible, and a Solo on the Hautboy by Mr. Kitch'.⁵²

Giovanni Stefano Carbonelli (1699/1700–1773)

The Italian violinist Stefano Carbonelli, thought to have been a pupil of Corelli, was first announced on 13 February 1719 in 'A Concerto and Solo for the Violin by Mr. Carbonelli and Mr. Pipo' at Hickford's Great Room.⁵³ Carbonelli is mentioned as a soloist in connection with the Drury Lane theatre from 1722, where Hawkins gives the date of him leading the band as c. 1725.⁵⁴ Carbonelli's set of twelve solo violin sonatas, dedicated to his patron John Manners, 3rd Duke of Rutland, were published in 1729. He continued to appear in concert advertisements until 1749.⁵⁵

⁴⁹ Lowell Lindgren, 'Ariosti, Attilio', *Grove Music Online* <*Oxford Music Online*> [accessed 1 June 2019].

⁵⁰ Lowell Lindgren, 'Ariosti's London Years, 1716–29', *Music & Letters*, 62/3/4 (July–October 1981), 331–51 (p. 336); for Ariosti see also Lindgren, 'Italian Violoncellists and some Violoncello Solos Published in Eighteenth-Century Britain', p. 140.

⁵¹ *The Daily Courant*, 18 June 1709, issue 2387.

⁵² *The Daily Courant*, 25 March 1717, issue 4813.

⁵³ *The Daily Courant*, 9 February 1719, issue 5398.

⁵⁴ Sir John Hawkins, *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music: republication of the J. Alfred Novello edition, 1853*, vol. 2 (New York: Dover Publications, 1963), p. 891.

⁵⁵ For Carbonelli, see preface in Michael Talbot, ed., *Giovanni Stefano Carbonelli: Twelve Sonate da camera*, 2 vols. (Launton: Edition HH, 2011).

Philippo Amadei (c. 1665–c. 1725)

The Italian cellist Filippo Amadei travelled from Rome to London in 1715 in the company of the Castrucci brothers, all three musicians being employed by the Earl of Burlington.⁵⁶ Amadei first appeared in a newspaper advertisement for a performance at the Lincoln's Inn Fields theatre during a 'Solo on the Flute by Mr. John Baston, accompanied by Signor Peippo' on 20 May 1718.⁵⁷ He played an 'Entertainment of Musick' with the violinist Clodio Rogier during *A Woman's Revenge* on 6 and 27 November 1718 at Lincoln's Inn Fields.⁵⁸ He was the principal cellist in the Royal Academy of Music from 1720.

Soon after Carbonelli had arrived in London, a benefit for 'Mr. Dahuron' at Mr. Hickford's Great Room on 13 February 1719 included 'A Concerto and Solo for the Violin by Mr. Carbonelli and Mr. Pipo'.⁵⁹ They were also announced during the opera *Camilla* where 'Signor Carbonelli, lately arriv'd from Italy, will perform a Solo on the Violin, accompanied by Signor Piepo'.⁶⁰ On 29 April 1719 at Merchant Taylor's Hall, together with 'a Concert[o] and Solo by Mr. Kitch' there was 'A Solo on the Bass Viol and German Flute by Signor Pietro and Signor Pipo'. This notice is difficult to interpret since Signor Pietro (Chaboud) played both the bass viol and the German flute; it could imply that Chaboud (Signor Pietro) played a solo on the German flute, accompanied by Amadei (Signor Pipo) on the bass viol (or bass violin or violoncello).⁶¹

Signor Dragon (fl. 1719)

A concert on 7 May 1719 at 'Mr. Hickford's Great Room' featured a 'Solo and Concerto on the German Flute, by Signor Dragon', and 'several new Solo's and Concerto's by Mr. Keitch, on the Hautboy and little flute', for his benefit.⁶² 'Signor Dragon' is otherwise an obscure figure.⁶³ He may have been the French transverse flute player 'Mr. Dahuron' (or 'Daharon'), i.e. Francis Dahuron (d. c. 1736) who was advertised playing 'a Concerto and Solo for the German Flute' for his benefit three months earlier on 13 February 1719 at Hickford's Room, alongside solos and concertos played by Carbonelli, Amadei (Mr. Pipo), Mercy, and Kytch.⁶⁴

⁵⁶ For Amadei, see Holman, *Life After Death*, pp. 111–3.

⁵⁷ *The Daily Courant*, 20 May 1718, issue 5172.

⁵⁸ *The Daily Courant*, 6 November 1718, issue 5318; *The Daily Courant*, 27 November 1718, issue 5336.

⁵⁹ *The Daily Courant*, 9 February 1719, issue 5398.

⁶⁰ *The Daily Courant*, 16 April 1719, issue 5455.

⁶¹ *The Daily Courant*, 29 April 1719, issue 5466.

⁶² *The Daily Courant*, 6 May 1719, issue 5472.

⁶³ 'Signor Dragon' is not listed in *A Biographical Dictionary of Actors, Actresses, Musicians, Dances, Managers & Others Stage Personell in London, 1660–1800* (Carbondale and Edwardsville: Southern Illinois University Press, 1978–93).

⁶⁴ *The Daily Courant*, 9 February 1719, issue 5398.

John Francis Weber (d. 1751) ('Sig. Vebar/Viebar')?

'An Entertainment of Musick' for 'the benefit of Signor Carbonelli' at the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane, included 'A Solo on the Arch-Lute, composed and performed by Sig. Vebar'.⁶⁵ He was probably the lutenist John Francis Weber who is stated as being from Genoa in his will, although his name suggests he was of German heritage.⁶⁶

Francesco Geminiani (1687–1762)

On his arrival in Britain in 1714, Geminiani appears to have focussed on private performances and therefore does not feature in newspaper advertisements until 1725, when he played for Meetings of the Philo-Musicae et Architecturae Societas Apollini masonic lodge, held at the Queen's Head Tavern, Temple Bar.⁶⁷

'Particular entertainments on the Violin': performances by British soloists***Thomas Dean senior (fl. 1701–11)***

Thomas Dean was the most prominent British violinist between 1701 and 1711, performing solos in York Buildings, Hampstead Wells, Lincolns Inn Fields Theatre, Stationer's Hall and Cheshunt House (Hertfordshire). His earliest documented concert took place on 26 March 1701 in York Buildings which included 'Particular Performances of Instrumental Musick, by Mr. Dean' for the benefit of himself and Mr. Manship.⁶⁸ Between 11 May and 27 July 1702 there were notices of Dean playing at Hampstead Wells during the summer season:

IN the Great Room at Hampstead-Wells, on Monday next, being the 11th of May, will be Perform'd a Consort of Vocal and Instrumental Musick by the Best Masters, with particular Entertainments on the violin, by Mr. DEAN, beginning exactly at 11 a Clock, Rain or Fair, to continue every Monday, (at the same Time and Place) during the Season of Drinking the Waters.⁶⁹

Dean was the first British violinist to appear in an advertisement for a performance of one of Corelli's Op. 5 violin sonatas when he played a 'Solo of the famous Archangelo Corelli' at a benefit concert for his son, the archlute player Thomas Dean junior, in York Buildings on 18 April 1707.⁷⁰

⁶⁵ *The Daily Courant*, 14 March 1722, issue 6363.

⁶⁶ Holman, *Life After Death*, pp. 152–3.

⁶⁷ Harbor, 'The birth of the music business', vol. 2, p. 555.

⁶⁸ *The English Post*, 21–4 March 1701, issue 70.

⁶⁹ *The English Post*, 6–8 May 1702, issue 246.

⁷⁰ H. Diack Johnstone, 'Deane, Thomas', Grove Music Online <Oxford Music Online> [accessed 7 January 2019].

Earlier concerts featuring Dean already mention Italian music, such as a performance on 24 March 1704 in York Buildings by ‘Seignior Gasperini, Mr. Dean, and others the best Masters. The instrumental Musick is but lately brought from Italy’.⁷¹ A concert on 31 January 1705 in York buildings ‘for the Benefit of Mr. Dean and Mr. Keene’ included a ‘Solo by a great Italian Master’ and ‘a Solo by Mr. Dean’.⁷² On 6 November 1706 a concert at Stationer’s Hall included ‘several Solo’s, Sonata’s, and select pieces of Musick [...] to be Perform’d by Mr. Bannister, Mr Dean, Mr. Smith, Mr. Francisco, and other extraordinary Masters’.⁷³

Outside of London, there were ‘several solos by the famous Mr Dean’ alongside ‘the most celebrated songs in the Operas with their Symphonys’ at Cheshunt House in Hertfordshire on 22 August 1709.⁷⁴ Dean returned to Hampstead Wells on 30 July 1709, the advertisement mentioning ‘Symphonys on the Violin by Mr. Dean and Mr. Manshipp; Mr. Dean will perform a Solo which he never did in Publick before, likewise a Trumpet Tune of his own, with several full Pieces of Musick, with a Trumpet and Hautboys, and without’.⁷⁵

In April 1710 Dean was to perform, ‘Two Solo’s [...] one being of his own composing’ for the benefit of himself, Manship and Ridgeley in York Buildings.⁷⁶ Only two solo sonatas by Dean senior are known but it is likely he composed more given the frequency with which he performed.

Mary Anne Champion (c. 1687–1706)

Mary Anne Champion, known to the public as ‘Mrs Champion’, appeared as a dancer, singer and harpsichordist at the Drury Lane theatre between 1698 and 1704 as well as taking part in concerts in York Buildings. On 12 January 1704 during a performance of *The Rover* (1677) by Aphra Behn (1640–89) at the Drury Lane theatre she accompanied Visconti, there being ‘several Sonatas on the Violin by Signior Gasperini and Mrs. Champion’.⁷⁷ The previous year she appeared in ‘an Entertainment of Instrumental Musick perform’d by the Famous Signior Gasperini and Monsieur Du Ruell, and others, accompany’d by Mrs. Champion on the Harpsicord’ in a benefit for herself

⁷¹ *The Daily Courant*, 24 March 1704, issue 605.

⁷² *The Daily Courant*, 27 January 1705; issue 869.

⁷³ *The Daily Courant*, 6 November 1706, issue 1424.

⁷⁴ *The Daily Courant*, 15 August 1709, issue 2436.

⁷⁵ *The Daily Courant*, 28 July 1709, issue 2421.

⁷⁶ *The Tatler*, 13–5 April 1710, issue 159.

⁷⁷ *The Daily Courant*, 12 January 1704, issue 543.

at the Drury Lane theatre on 22 June 1703 during the play *Love's Contrivance* (1703) by Susannah Centlivre.⁷⁸

Henry Eccles junior (?1675–85–?1735–45)

A performance by the violinist and bass viol player Henry Eccles junior was advertised for his own benefit on 2 January 1705 at Mr Hill's Dancing Room, 'in Crosby-Square in Bishopsgate-street', with 'several Italian Sonatas perform'd on the Violin by Mr. Henry Eccles'.⁷⁹ The same year, a 'prelude' by Eccles was published in Walsh's *Select Preludes and Voluntaries for the Violin* (1705). A second concert took place on 15 May 1713, 'For the Entertainment of His Excellency the Duke d'Aumont, Ambassador extraordinary from France. For the Benefit of Mr. Eccles, Musician to his Grace', which included 'a Sonata on the Violin, and a single Piece on the Bass-Viol, by Mr. Eccles'.⁸⁰ Eccles appears to have worked in Paris thereafter, publishing sets of violin sonatas in 1720 and 1723 (including two recorder sonatas), but the 1720 set contains several plagiarised movements by Giuseppe Valentini (1681–1753) and one by Francesco Antonio Bonporti (1672–1749).⁸¹

William Corbett (1680–1748)

Although the English violinist William Corbett is not known to have composed any solo sonatas, he appeared regularly as a soloist, with benefit concerts for him taking place from 1699 onwards. The first 'solo' mentioned in a newspaper advertisement was for a performance on 19 March 1707 in York Buildings, with 'new Musick Vocal and Instrumental, compos'd by Wm Corbett, several Pieces of Flutes, and Concerti Grossi, with a new Italian Solo perform'd by him, being the first he ever play'd in Publick'.⁸² On 28 April 1714 at Mr Hickford's Dancing Room, in a benefit for himself and his wife 'Signora Lodi' (Anna Lodi), there was 'a Solo of Corelli's by Mr. Corbet' as well as 'a Solo for the Harpsichord' by an unnamed performer.⁸³

William Viner (d. 1716)

The violinist William Viner played solos at benefits concert for himself on two occasions in York Buildings, which are his only documented performances: in 1707 he played 'Corelli's sixth double

⁷⁸ *The Daily Courant*, 22 June 1703, issue 368.

⁷⁹ *The Daily Courant*, 2 January 1705, issue 847.

⁸⁰ *The Daily Courant*, 12 May 1713, issue 3612.

⁸¹ W. Barclay Squire, 'Henry Eccles's Borrowings', *The Musical Times*, 64/969 (November 1923), 790; for Henry Eccles junior, see Margaret Laurie, 'Henry Eccles (ii)', *Grove Music Online* <*Oxford Music Online*> [accessed 1 June 2019].

⁸² *The Daily Courant*, 19 March 1707, issue 1590.

⁸³ *The Daily Courant*, 26 April 1714, issue 3901.

Note Solo' (Op. 5, No. 6) alongside 'a Sonata on the Flute D'Almain by Signior Pietro' (Chaboud).⁸⁴ On 31 March 1710 Viner played 'a new Solo composed on purpose for him, by Mr. Pepusch. Note, There being no Play that Evening at either of the Houses, there will be the best Hands in the Kingdom'.⁸⁵ There are no records of Viner's performances during his time in Dublin as Master of the State Music from 1703 until 1716, but two poems in praise of his playing were published posthumously in the 1720s.⁸⁶

Thomas Dean junior (fl. 1707–9)

From 1707 to 1708 Thomas Dean senior appeared in concerts with his son of the same name, the archlute player Thomas Dean junior. Their first concert, on 28 April 1707, included a 'Sonata for the Arch-Lute and Violin, by the two Mr. Deans' in York Buildings,⁸⁷ and at a benefit for Dean junior at Stationer's Hall on 4 February 1708 there was a 'Solo for the Arch-Lute and Violin, by the two Mr. Deans, compos'd by Mr. Dean, Jun [and] a Solo of the famous Archangelo Corelli by Mr. Dean, Sen'.⁸⁸

Dean junior not only accompanied his father's violin playing, but various other performers at a benefit concert for himself in York Buildings in 1707 and 1708, such as on 18 April 1707, where 'At the desire of several Ladies of Quality' there were played 'A set of Airs for the Arch-Lute and Violin, by the Two Mr. Deans, compos'd on purpose by Mr. Dean Jun. A Sonata for the Arch-Lute and Flute Alleman, by Mr. Dean Jun. and Mr. Latour [...] A Solo of the famous Archangelo Corelli, by Mr. Dean, Sen'.⁸⁹ In addition to the violin and lute airs, on 21 January 1708 in York Buildings there was 'Singing to the Arch-Lute by Mr. Dean, Jun'.⁹⁰ Dean junior is next heard of in the diary of Claver Morris whom he met in Bath in 1709, subsequently spending ten days in Wells with Morris and participating in the music club's meetings on 20 and 27 September.⁹¹

⁸⁴ *The Daily Courant*, 23 May 1707, issue 1645.

⁸⁵ *The Tatler*, 25–8 March 1710, issue 151; the exact work cannot be identified, but according to Donald Cook it may have been one of the sixteen solo sonatas in US-R: MS M. 219 P424S, ff. 33r–54v; see Donald Frederick Cook, 'The life and works of Johann Christoph Pepusch (1667–1752), with special reference to his dramatic works and cantatas' (PhD dissertation, King's College London (University of London), 1982), p. 28, n. 3.

⁸⁶ Matthew Pilkington, *THE Progress of Musick IN IRELAND, A POEM* (Dublin: Pressick Rider, 1725), p. 6; 'On the Death of Mr. Viner. By the late Mr. Arch-Deacon, Parnel', in *A Miscellaneous Collection of POEMS, Songs and Epigrams* (Dublin: T. M. Gent, 1721), pp. 55–8.

⁸⁷ *The Daily Courant*, 26 April 1707, issue 1622.

⁸⁸ *The Daily Courant*, 4 February 1708, issue 1863.

⁸⁹ *The Daily Courant*, 17 April 1707, issue 1614.

⁹⁰ *The Daily Courant*, 19 January 1708, issue 1849.

⁹¹ H. Diack Johnstone, 'Claver Morris, an Early Eighteenth-Century English Physician and Amateur Musician Extraordinaire', *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, 133/1 (2008), 93–127 (p. 108).

Mr Beeston (fl. 1708–12)

The violinist Mr Beeston performed a ‘Double Stopt Solo of Correlly’s’ at Epsom Wells on 26 July 1708 in the ‘Great Room by the Bowling-Green at Epsom’.⁹² There are other scattered mentions of Beeston playing solos at benefits for himself at lesser venues: at Wax Chandler’s Hall on 17 October 1711, Beeston played a solo ‘which he never yet perform’d in Publick’. The concert also included ‘a Solo on the Flute-Almain’ by an unknown performer.⁹³ On 28 November 1712, at ‘Mr. Orlibeer’s School in Raven Court’, there was ‘a Solo by Mr. Beeston, for his Benefit’, as well as an unknown ‘Solo for the Flute’; confusingly, the music also included ‘part Songs of the late Mr. Beeston and his Scholar’, and this seems to be the last concert which mentions him.⁹⁴

Luis Mercy (fl. 1708–51)

The English recorder player Luis Mercy was probably of French extraction. In addition to playing a solo composed for him by Pepusch on 26 July 1708, Mercy played ‘two Entertainments on the Flute’ during a performance of William Congreve’s *Love for Love* (1695) at the Lincoln Inn Fields Theatre on 9 April 1716.⁹⁵ The benefit concert for ‘Mr. Dahuron’ at ‘Mr. Hickford’s Great Room’ on 13 February 1719 also included ‘A Concerto and Solo for the Flute by Mr. Mercy’.⁹⁶

Humphrey Denby (fl. 1708–42)

Humphrey Denby (or Danby) was a member of Queen Anne’s eight-piece chamber band in 1708, which continued into the reign of George I.⁹⁷ ‘A Solo on the Flut A-la-main by Mr. Denby’ was played alongside ‘A Solo on the Violin by Mr. Dean’ at Hampstead Wells on 3 September 1709.⁹⁸

Mr Bulkley (fl. 1713–1714)

A benefit concert for the ‘Benefit of Mr Bulkley, who Play’d the Bass last Wednesday in Stationer’s-Hall’ took place at ‘Godwin’s Dancing School’ on 21 November 1709.⁹⁹ The first time he played a solo sonata was on 30 November that year when he presumably accompanied Dean (also on ‘the Bass’ [viol or violin?]) at Stationer’s Hall, in a benefit for ‘Mr. Tuner, who sets all the Musick for

⁹² *The Daily Courant*, 26 July 1708, issue 2008.

⁹³ *The Spectator*, 17 October 1711, issue CXCVIII.

⁹⁴ *The Spectator*, 26 November 1712, issue DXLVI.

⁹⁵ *The Daily Courant*, 19 April 1716, issue 4514.

⁹⁶ *The Daily Courant*, 13 February 1719, issue 5402.

⁹⁷ Bruce Haynes, *The Eloquent Oboe: A History of the Hautboy from 1640 to 1760* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), p. 348.

⁹⁸ *The Daily Courant*, 3 September 1709, issue 2453.

⁹⁹ *The Daily Courant*, 19 November 1709, issue 2519.

the British Apollo'.¹⁰⁰ The programme included 'a Solo of the famous Archangelo Correlis, perform'd by Mr. Dean and Mr. Bulchley'.¹⁰¹

Joseph Manship (fl. 1689–1712)

References to 'Mr Manship' occur in conjunction with Thomas Dean senior between 1701 and 1710; Manship is first mentioned in a benefit for both musicians on 26 March 1701 in York Buildings.¹⁰² He must have been the violinist Joseph Manship who joined the private music of William III on 5 July 1689. Manship played as a second 'treble' (or violin) in the band at the Queen's Theatre in the Haymarket between 1707 and 1712. On 22 March 1710, 'several Solo's and Sonato's by Mr. Dean and Mr. Manship' were performed at Stationer's Hall for the benefit of 'Mr. Cook and Mr. Laurence'.¹⁰³

William Babell (1688–1723)

William Babell, who sometimes appeared as 'Mr Babel jun', was the son of Charles Babell, a bassoonist in the Drury Lane orchestra. On 10 May 1717, for the benefit of 'Mr. Kenny', there was 'a New Simphony compos'd by Mr. Babel, with a Solo on the Harpsicord to be perform'd by him' alongside 'several New Solo's and Concerto's by that celebrated Youth Mr. Mathew Dubourgh', followed by 'Country Dances for the further Entertainment of Gentlemen and Ladies'.¹⁰⁴ Babell was also a violinist in the band of George I, but gained fame as a harpsichordist particularly for his arrangements of Handel's operatic arias and overtures; in addition to playing 'solos' on the harpsichord, he accompanied Dubourg and Paisible. For example, Babell accompanied Dubourg on 3 May 1717, in 'Two New Symphonies, compos'd by Mr. Babel, for the Harpsicord and Violins [...] perform'd by himself and Mr. Matthew Dubourg. A solo by Mr. Dubourg' at 'Hickford's Great Dancing-Room'.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰⁰ 'Mr. Turner' was William Turner (fl. London, early 18th century), who contributed three songs to *The British Apollo* (1709) and composed *SIX SONATAS or SOLOS for a FLUTE with a THROUGH BASS for the HARPSICHORD or BASS VIOLIN* (London: Daniel Wright, c. 1720); *The Tatler*, 26–9 November 1709, issue 100.

¹⁰¹ *The British Apollo*, 25–30 November 1709, vol. 2, no. 71.

¹⁰² *The English Post*, 21–4 March 1701, issue 70.

¹⁰³ *The Daily Courant*, 22 March 1710, issue 2624.

¹⁰⁴ *The Daily Courant*, 10 May 1717, issue 4853.

¹⁰⁵ *The Daily Courant*, 23 April 1717, issue 4838.

Mr Glash (fl. 1714)

At a benefit concert for himself on 4 May 1714 at ‘the Little Tennis Court in James-street near the Hay-Market’, there were ‘several extraordinary Concerto’s and Solo’s perform’d by Mr. Glash on the Hautboy’ for his benefit.¹⁰⁶

Matthew Dubourg (1703–1767)

The violin virtuoso Matthew Dubourg, son of the dancing master Isaacs, was the foremost young soloist in Britain, displaying his talents on the violin by playing Corelli’s violin sonatas. The first newspaper reference relating to Dubourg was for ‘a Sonata perform’d upon the Violin, by the wonderful Youth of 11 Years old’ on 1 May 1714 at the Queen’s Theatre (later King’s Theatre/Opera House) in the Hay-Market.¹⁰⁷ The concert was for the benefit of the Italian soprano Margherita L’Epine (1680–1746) in which she also played ‘on an Instrument of an Invention entirely New, imitating the Harp and Lute’. Dubourg was first named in a benefit for himself on 27 May 1718 at ‘Mr. Hickford’s School’ when he played ‘the same Piece which was perform’d on the Theatre between him and Mr. Grano: As also a New Concerto, and a Solo of Corelli’.¹⁰⁸ The same year Francesco Geminiani arrived in London, who according to Hawkins became Dubourg’s violin teacher; comparing their playing, Hawkins wrote that ‘Dubourg’s performance on the violin was very bold and rapid; greatly different from that of Geminiani, which was tender and pathetic’.¹⁰⁹

Annual benefit concerts for Dubourg took place and his age was announced in the newspapers each time until 12 March 1718, when he was described as ‘that famous Youth of 15 Years of Age’ at a benefit concert for ‘Mr. Kenny’ at the ‘Tennis-Court in the Hay-Market’.¹¹⁰ Advertisements mentioning Dubourg continued until 1721, and after visiting Dublin in 1724 he reappeared in London in a benefit concert for himself in York Buildings on 1 June 1727.¹¹¹ In 1728 Dubourg succeeded Cousser as the Master and Composer of State Music in Ireland.¹¹² Hawkins wrote that ‘it does not appear that he [Dubourg] ever composed solos for his own practice, contenting himself with performing those of Corelli and his master Geminiani’.¹¹³ However, on 4 March 1719 it was

¹⁰⁶ *The Daily Courant*, 3 May 1714, issue 3907.

¹⁰⁷ *The Daily Courant*, 1 May 1714, issue 3906.

¹⁰⁸ *The Daily Courant*, 24 May 1714, issue 3925.

¹⁰⁹ Hawkins, *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music*, vol. 2, p. 892.

¹¹⁰ *The Daily Courant*, 12 March 1718, issue 5113.

¹¹¹ *The Daily Journal*, 30 May 1727, issue 1989.

¹¹² Brian Boydell, ‘Dubourg, Matthew’, Grove Music Online <Oxford Music Online> [accessed 10 June 2019].

¹¹³ Hawkins, *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music*, vol. 2, p. 892.

announced that at a benefit concert for the now sixteen-year old Dubourg at the Drury Lane theatre, there would be ‘several new Concerto’s and Solo’s of his own Composition’ alongside ‘a new Concerto of Sig. Vivaldi, a Solo on the German Flute by M. Grano, and a Solo on the Hautboy by Mr. Keitch’.¹¹⁴ Some indication of how Dubourg performed Corelli’s solo sonatas can be gained from his embellishments, which may have been written down before 1721.¹¹⁵

Mr Pitchford (fl. 1707–17)

Mr Pitchford was listed as a violinist, violoncellist and bass player in the Vice Chamberlain Coke’s papers. He was mentioned in concerts from 1713, such as during a benefit for himself and ‘Mr Bulkley Junior’ at Hampstead Wells on 27 June 1713.¹¹⁶ On 14 October 1717 ‘a Solo on the Violin by Mr. Pitchford’ was included during a performance of *The Recruiting Officer* (1706) by George Farquhar (1677–1702) at the Lincoln’s Inn Fields theatre.¹¹⁷

Mr. Morphy [Murphy] (fl. 1712–53)

Mr. Morphy [Murphy] (fl. 1712–53) was named as the harpist who played ‘an Entertainment of Italian, Scotch, and Irish upon his Harp; particularly a Solo composed by the famous Signior Antonio Corria’ at ‘the Cornet House in Thrift Street, near Soho-Square’ for his benefit on 26 April 1717.¹¹⁸ He was first advertised playing the Irish harp at Stationer’s Hall on 14 May 1712,¹¹⁹ and continued to play at London concerts until 1718; he was probably the ‘Mr. Murphy’ who appeared in Dublin in 1721.¹²⁰

Charles Claudius Phillips (d. 1732)

‘A Solo on the stage by Mr. Claudius Phillips’ was advertised as part of a revival of *Don John, or the Libertine destroy’d* (1676) by Thomas Shadwell (c. 1642–1692) at the Theatre Royal in Drury Lane

¹¹⁴ *The Daily Courant*, 4 March 1719, issue 5418; other benefit concerts for Dubourg at the Drury Lane theatre also included ‘several Concerto’s and Solo’s of his own Composition’; see *The Daily Courant*, 8 April 1720, issue 5761; *The Daily Journal*, 30 May 1727, issue 1989.

¹¹⁵ Robert E. Seletsky, ‘18th-Century Variations for Corelli’s Sonatas, op. 5’, *Early Music* 24/1, Music in Purcell’s London II (February 1996), 119–30 (p. 123); see also Hans Joachim Marx, ‘Some Unknown Embellishments of Corelli’s Violin Sonatas’, *The Musical Quarterly*, 61/1 (January 1975), 65–76; David Boyden, ‘Corelli’s Solo Violin sonatas ‘Grac’d’ by Dubourg’, in *Festkrift Jens Peter Larsen*, ed. N. Schjørring and H. Glahn (Copenhagen: Wilhelm Hansen Musik Forlag, 1972), 113–25.

¹¹⁶ *The Daily Courant*, 25 June 1713, issue 3650.

¹¹⁷ *The Daily Courant*, 14 October 1717, issue 4987.

¹¹⁸ *The Daily Courant*, 26 April 1717, issue 4841.

¹¹⁹ *The Spectator*, 12 May 1712, issue CCCLXXVI.

¹²⁰ For Murphy, see Sean Donnelly, ‘The Famossest Man in the World for the Irish Harp’, *Dublin Historical Record*, 57/1 (Spring 2004), 38–49.

on 31 May 1717, but the instrument and music were not named.¹²¹ It is not known whether he was the Mr. Phillips who played ‘Signior Nicola’s Trumpet Tune’ and ‘several Trumpet Sonato’s’ at Stationer’s Hall on 22 March 1710.¹²² A ‘Mr Phillips’ was listed among the performers for the entertainments at the Guildhall for Lord Mayor’s Day on 28 October 1714.¹²³ Claudius Phillips had a benefit concert in Worcester in 1720 at the Great Room in the Tower.¹²⁴ An epitaph in the porch of St Peter’s Church Wolverhampton by a ‘Dr Wilkes’ praised his skills as a violinist:

Near this place lies
 Charles Claudius Phillips,
 Whose absolute contempt of riches
 and inimitable performances upon the
 violin
 made him the admiration of all that knew him.
 He was born in Wales,
 made the tour of Europe,
 and, after the experience of both
 kinds of fortune,
 Died in 1732.¹²⁵

John Baston (fl. 1708–39)

The recorder player John Baston frequently played trio sonatas and concertos (some of his own composing) with his brother, the violinist Thomas Baston (fl. 1709–27), at the theatres from 1711 until at least 1719.¹²⁶ On 4 April 1715 there was ‘a Flute Piece to be perform’d by Mr. John Bastion, of his own Composition’ during *King Henry IV* at the Drury Lane theatre; he played a ‘Piece of Musick on the Flute’ during *Don Quixote* at the Lincoln’s Inn Fields theatre on 2 May 1715.¹²⁷ On 20 May 1718 during a performance of *The False Count* at the Lincoln’s Inn Fields theatre there was

¹²¹ *The Daily Courant*, 31 May 1717, issue 4871.

¹²² *The Daily Courant*, 22 March 1710, issue 2624.

¹²³ Harbor, ‘The birth of the music business’, vol. 2, p. 542.

¹²⁴ *The Worcester Post Man*, 26 August 1720; cited in Michael Tilmouth, ‘The beginnings of provincial concert life in England’, in *Music in Eighteenth-Century England: Essays in Memory of Charles Cudworth*, ed. Christopher Hogwood and Richard Lockett (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 1–18 (p. 14).

¹²⁵ Cited in Philip H. Jr. Highfill, Kalman A. Burnim, and Edward A. Langhans, ed., *A Biographical Dictionary of Actors, Actresses, Musicians, Dancers, Managers & Others Stage Personnel in London, 1660–1800*, Vol. 11: Naso to Pinkey (Carbondale and Edwardsville: Southern Illinois University Press, 1987), p. 284.

¹²⁶ Harbor, ‘The birth of the music business’, vol. 2, p. 741.

¹²⁷ *The Daily Courant*, 4 April 1715, issue 4194; *The Daily Courant*, 2 May 1715, issue 4218; for a further performance by Baston, see *The Daily Courant* 6 May 1715, issue 4222.

‘A Solo on the Flute by Mr. John Baston, accompanied by Signor Peippo’, i.e. the Italian cellist Filippo Amadei.¹²⁸

Rouse Hawley (fl. 1718–19)

Rouse Hawley played Geminiani’s Op. 1 violin sonatas (1716) in 1718 and 1719 in York Buildings and Hickford’s Room, which were the first advertised performances of these works. The first concert was a benefit for ‘Mrs. Norman’ in York Buildings on 10 December 1718, when it was announced that ‘Several New Concerto’s, and a Solo of Mr. Geminiani will be perform’d by the famous Mr. Rouse’. During a concert ‘For the Entertainment of several Persons of Quality’ at ‘Mr. Coignand’s Great-Room’ for the benefit of ‘Mr. Vanbrughe’, there was ‘A Solo and Concerto on the Violin by Signor Rousesini’, as well as a ‘Solo on the Hautboy by Mr. Keitch’ and a ‘Solo on the German-Flute, by Mr. Grano’.¹²⁹

John Baptist Grano (d. before 1746)

The flautist and trumpeter John Grano, brother of the flautist Lewis Granom (c.1700–c. 1780), appeared at benefit concerts and in the theatre from 1710. His solo performances were advertised in 1718 and 1719, such as the ‘Solo on the German-Flute, perform’d by Mr. Grano’ at Stationer’s Hall on 23 December 1718.¹³⁰ Grano composed a set of *Solos for a German Flute, a Hoboy or Violin, with a thorough bass for the Harpsichord or Bass violin* (London: Walsh, 1728).

Sarah Ottey (fl. 1720–22)

Sarah Ottey was among the earliest professional female instrumentalists in Britain and probably the first female violinist to perform in London. Her first benefit concert took place at Stationer’s Hall on 9 March 1720, ‘wherein she will perform several Pieces alone on the Harpsicord, Base Viol, and Violin’, which implies the music probably included solo sonatas.¹³¹ Similar notices for her benefits appeared until 27 February 1722 when she played during *Love Makes a Man* at the Lincoln’s Inn Fields theatre, but no further details of the music were given.¹³² *The Daily Courant* dated 17 February 1722 announced this concert as ‘being the last Time of her appearing in Publick’.¹³³

¹²⁸ *The Daily Courant*, 20 May 1718, issue 5172.

¹²⁹ *The Daily Courant*, 18 March 1719, issue 5430.

¹³⁰ *The Daily Courant*, 23 December 1718, issue 5358.

¹³¹ *The Daily Post*, 5 March 1720, issue 133.

¹³² *The Daily Journal*, 27 February 1722, issue CCCXLIII.

¹³³ *The Daily Courant*, 17 February 1722, issue 6342.

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