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ITALIAN STRING QUARTETS AND LATE EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY LONDON: PUBLICATION AND PRODUCTION. WITH A CRITICAL EDITION OF THE QUARTETS OPP. 2 AND 7 BY VENANZIO RAUZZINI (1746-1810).

Dissertation submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree

of

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VOLUME 1 - THESIS

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L'Italia - la terra più favorita dal cielo - la terra ammantata di fiori e salutata dal più vivido sole, intorno alla quale tutto canta, dal Lido al golfo di Taranto - l'Italia non rinunzierà mai agli onori della musica, di cui è la regina, al fascino della melodia, di cui è la madre. L'Italia è il Conservatorio di Dio, scrisse il francese Méry, nè noi vorremmo smentire uno dei pochi stranieri che ci resero giustizia

Francesco Regli, Storia del Violino in Piemonte (1863)

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Francamente, guardando indietro, non riesco ad individuare dei momenti chiave nella mia vita adulta, né tantomeno nella mia infanzia o nella mia adolescenza, che mi abbiano logicamente portato a completare questo Dottorato, salvo una buona dose di testardaggine romagnola e di passione per la riscoperta di musiche sepolte nelle biblioteche di mezzo mondo. Tuttavia, anche questa meta è stata raggiunta, con viva e vibrante soddisfazione. I traguardi si sono palesati di fronte a me come continui stimoli e sfide, ed uno alla volta sono stati superati, partendo da S. Barnaba fino ad arrivare a Cardiff. Certo è che non avrei potuto farcela da solo, senza l'aiuto dei miei genitori, Urbano ed Anna Lisa, di mia sorella Margherita, di mia zia Luciana e di colei che è entrata nella tesi come fidanzata e ne è uscita come moglie, Martina.

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Abstract

This dissertation presents an overview of the situation of the printed string quartet output in London in the years between 1765 (year of publication of Gaetano Latilla's set) and 1790 (year of publication of last set of quartets by Felice Giardini). Between these years the London publishers printed about one hundred string quartets by musicians operating within or at the margins of the King's Theatre environment. Many of them were opera composers, several were prominent violinists and some of them were singers, as in the case of Venanzio Rauzzini (1746-1810), who published two set of six string quartets. I consider Rauzzini's quartets as highly representative of the whole Italian output for their structure, their destination, their publication history and their simple, light and domestic sensibility. While focusing on Rauzzini's quartets, I take into consideration the publishing market in London and its relations with the continental production, with particular reference to the local Italian publishing industry in the main centres of Venice and Florence I describe how the vibrant London market stimulated the establishment of a network of Italian publishing companies, aimed at satisfying the requests of the local aristocracy and of the foreigners who were visiting Italy during their *Grand Tour*, eager to get acquainted with everything that represented Italy in a number of artistic expressions.

Italian string quartet production has suffered neglect in the modern musicological world, due to the prominence of the Austro-German tradition represented by Haydn and his pupil Pleyel, and later on by Mozart and Beethoven. The Italian output, often considered by scholars as a byproduct of the opera system and a less fortunate sibling of its transalpine counterpart, was indeed a distinct genre, with specific features that were consciously cultivated by the Italian composers who were, in some cases, openly critical towards the 'new wave' of German compositions.

ABBREVIATIONS

LIBRARY SIGLA

<u>Austria</u>

A-Wgm Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien

A-Wst Vienna, Stadtbibliothek, Musiksammlung

<u>Australia</u>

AUS-Scm Sydney Conservatorium of Music, Library - University of Sydney

Belgium

B-Bc Conservatoire Royal de Musique, Bibliotheque

France

F-Pc Paris, Bibliothèque du Conservatoire national de musique

F-Pn Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale

Germany

D-B Berlin, Staatsbibliothek

D-WD Wiesentheid (Bayern), Musikssamlung des Grafen von Schönborn - Wiesentheid

Great Britain

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

GB-Lbl London, British Library

GB-Lcm London, Royal College of Music, Library

Italy

I-BGc Bergamo, Biblioteca civica 'Angelo Mai'

I-BGi Istituto Musicale 'G. Donizetti'

I-Mc Milano, Biblioteca del Conservatorio 'Giuseppe Verdi'

I-Nc Napoli, Biblioteca del Conservatorio di Musica S- Pietro a Maiella

I-OS Ostiglia, Biblioteca Greggiati

I-Raf Roma, Accademia Filarmonica Romana

I-Vc Venezia, Biblioteca del Conservatorio 'Benedetto Marcello'

I-Vnm Venezia, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana

Russia

RUS-Mrg Rossijskaja Gosudarstvennaja biblioteka

RUS-SPsc St Petersburg, Gosudartsvennaja publicnaja biblioteka, formerly Rossiyskaya Natsional'naya

biblioteka

Spain

E-Mn Madrid, Bibioteca Nacional

United States of America

US-Wc Library of Congress, Washington

ENGLISH NEWSPAPERS

PA: Public Advertiser;

MCLA: Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser;

MPDA: Morning Post and Daily Advertiser;

LCWC: London Courant and Westminster Chronicle,

MH: Morning Herald;

SJC: St. James's Chronicle or the British Evening Post;

SH: Stationers' Hall

ITALIAN NEWSPAPERS

GT: Gazzetta Toscana;

GU: Gazzetta Universale

NdM: Notizie del Mondo

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Contemporary mainstream string quartet repertoire is the tip of the iceberg of an enormous number of works that began to circulate both in manuscript and in printed form from the mid-eight-eenth century. The core of this repertoire mainly consists of works which originated within the Viennese classical music environment; whenever we think of the string quartet, the first composers' names that cross our minds are Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven for the late eighteenth century, and, later on in the history of music, we would probably be brought to consider other authors from the Austro-German romantic traditions such as Schubert, Mendelssohn and Brahms, followed by other mainstream romantic and contemporary composers. With the exceptions of Verdi's single String Quartet in E minor and of part of Luigi Boccherini's output, I Italian composers are usually excluded from mainstream repertoire, despite the vast number of extant sources. Luigi Boccherini (1743-1805) rightfully drew some attention from modern scholarship; however, he represented an anomaly within the Italian eighteenth-century scene due to his position away from geographical centres (he spent much of his career in Spain, after a short stay in Paris), his precociousness with regard to the history of the genre, and a long-lasting presence in the publishers' catalogues.

The marginality of this genre is mostly due to the fact that modern musicologists have often regarded Italian string quartets as a secondary output, as evidenced by the numerous studies dedicated to Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven and other Austro-Germanic string quartet composers:³ for this reason, the bibliography related to the Italian contributions to the genre is particularly sparse. Luca

¹ In particular within the field of historically informed performance practice.

² Most of the merit for the Boccherini revival goes to Christian Speck and the Centro Studi Opera Omnia Luigi Boccherini (Lucca, Italy).

³ Just to mention some publications: John Irving, Mozart: the 'Haydn' Quartets (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998); Hans Keller, The Great Haydn Quartets: their Interpretation (London: Dent, 1986); Floyd K. Grave and Margaret G. Grave, The String Quartets of Joseph Haydn (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006); William Drabkin, A Reader's Guide to Haydn's Early String Quartets (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2000); Dean Sutcliffe, Haydn: String Quartets Op. 50 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992); Christoph Wolff and Robert Riggs, The String Quartets of Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven: Studies of the Autograph Manuscripts. A Conference at Isham Memorial Library, March 15-17, 1979 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Department of Music, 1980); Reginald Barrett-Ayres, Joseph Haydn and the String Quartet (London: Barrie and Jenkins, 1974); nJoseph de Marliave, Beethoven's Quartets (New York: Dover, 1961); William Kinderman, The String Quartets of Beethoven (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2006); Philip Radcliffe, Beethoven's String Quartets: Compositional Strategies and Rhetoric (Stanford, CA: Stanford Bookstore, 1995); Robert Winter and Robert L. Martin, The Beethoven Quartet Companion (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1994).

Aversano commented on this trend, which generally neglected the whole Italian eighteenth-century instrumental output, by stating that 'Fin dalla sua nascita come disciplina scientifica, la musicologia internazionale (soprattutto quella, influente, d'area anglo-germanofona) considera lo sviluppo della musica strumentale al tempo della *Wiener Klassik* una faccenda sostanzialmente extra-italiana'.⁴ In the Grove Music Online, the section dedicated to the early development of the string quartet genre, written by Cliff Eisen, gives a comprehensive and thoughtful overview of the whole genre from its origin, but appears quite hasty in describing eighteenth-century Italian repertoire.⁵ In the eighty-two lines of the section, Eisen dedicated just five lines to the Italian production:⁶ there, he underlined the strong presence of the Italian string quartet genre in London and mentions only a selection of composers, selected according to unspecified criteria:

With the exception of G.B. Sammartini, whose 21 quartets include works for three violins and basso or for flute, two violins and basso, most Italian composers wrote their works for publication and performance elsewhere, chiefly London; these include Giordani's Op.2 (1773), Capuzzi's Op.1 (1780), Giardini's Op. 23 (1782) and a set of six by Bertoni (c1783).

The outcome of this description is an extremely partial view of the whole repertoire, and in particular of the London output. Simply by taking a closer look at the works of the composers mentioned by Eisen, we can have a deeper insight in the variety of the repertoire and the complexity of the publishing market. Tommaso Giordani published his Op. 2 in 1772 (not in 1773), but in London he also published a second set of six quartets as Op. 8 in 1773. Felice Giardini published not just one, but four sets of quartets in London (Op. 22, 23, 25 and 29), plus a single string quartet in a collection of six works by Bach, Abel and Giardini himself. Antonio Capuzzi published his Op. 1 in Vienna, and not in London, in 1780: this set was later to be imported to London only in 1782. Ferdinando Bertoni published his six string quartets in 1783 in London, as correctly reported by Eisen, but the process of publication of this work followed a complex route that led the set to appear also in Venice and Paris. A similar misunderstanding was present in Baron, who wrote that 'although a

⁴ Luca Aversano, 'La Musica Strumentale in Italia tra Sette e Ottocento: Declino o Via Tradizione?', Rivista Italiana di Musicologia, vol. 40, n. 1/2 (2005), pp. 351-359.

⁵ Cliff Eisen, et al. 'String Quartet', *Grove Music Online* http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com [accessed 5 June 2016].

⁶ Eisen treated the works by Boccherini and Cambini separately in the section.

great many early composers of the string quartet were Italians, none except the obscure Cirri, Andreozzi, Bertoni and Paisiello (obscure as an instrumental composer) wrote quartets and also remained in Italy'. The adjective 'obscure' contains in itself an underhand negative quality judgment; furthermore, as just noted, Bertoni published his quartets in London and Paris, and Cirri was a relevant personality within the British musical environment and published his first set of quartets in London. Paisiello, probably one of the most celebrated opera composer during the eighteenth century, travelled widely in Europe, publishing his quartets in Offenbach and Paris.⁷

The aim of this dissertation is to present a survey of the Italian string quartet repertoire in London, In the second volume of this dissertation I have edited Rauzzini's two sets of string quartets: these compositions provide a case study for the presence of the Italian string quartet in the British publishing market and exemplify the connections between the Italian composers in Europe and their homeland, emphasizing the impact of this genre within the British social and cultural environment and, in particular, its correlation with the world of opera. The considered time span ranges from 1765, year of publication of the first string quartets set by an Italian composer (Latilla), and 1791, a key year in British musical history that coincided with the arrival of Joseph Haydn in England. The celebrated Austrian composer became the star of the Salomon concerts: his debut in London was preceded by several failed attempts at placing him under a contract, at least since 1783.8 His arrival was shortly followed by that of his former pupil Pleyel, who stayed in England between December 1791 and May 1792.9 Pleyel was hired by Cramer at the Professional Concerts, as an attempt to contrast Haydn's success at the rival enterprise. The establishment of the Professional Concerts series in 1785 determined a progressive increase in the number of advertised public performances of string quartets, and promoted the professionalisation of the genre. In 1791 the shift in taste and in compositional techniques was evident for the British audience, so that in the same year Stevens was

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⁷ John Herschel Baron, *Intimate Music* (Stuyvesant, NY: Pendragon Press, 1998), 182.

⁸ Curtis Price, Judith Milhous, Robert D. Hume, *Italian Opera in Late Eighteenth-Century London, the King's Theatre, Haymarket 1778-1791* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), 590-91.

⁹ Allan Badley, 'Pleyel, Ignaz Joseph', in *Oxford Composer Companions Haydn*, ed. David Wyn Jones (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 286-87.

keen on engaging with the 'Modern German Style of Music' of Haydn and Pleyel,¹⁰ and Giardini, strong advocate of the Italian cause, felt compelled to react by publishing a polemic musical allegory that juxtaposed the Italian and the German genres.

Far from promoting Italian string quartet repertoire merely on the basis of an aesthetic and subjective point of view, I wish to examine it more in depth in relation to the function it fulfilled at the time it was conceived, that is as music for entertainment, generally destined for amateur performers and mainly for private use. Starting from this assumption, and considering the number of publications that testify to the diffusion of this repertoire, it is possible to affirm that, until the 1790s, the Italian string quartet met the requirements of the eighteenth-century London audience. The musical world in Georgian London was particularly interested in an aesthetic universe pervaded by the myth of the classical and Arcadian imaginary, still untouched by the arrival of the tormented Romantic hero; Gerhard, referring to the piano works of Muzio Clementi and to his activity in London, went as far as defining the features of a 'Londoner Klassischer Stil'.11 Burney, who defined music as 'an innocent luxury, unnecessary, indeed, to our existence, but a great improvement and gratification of the sense of hearing', justified the continuous stream of new publications from which the Italian string quartet repertoire generated with the reason that 'the most pleasing Music is such as has the merit of novelty'.¹² Nevertheless, these novelties were well anchored to a musical tradition that dated back to the beginning of the century and to Corelli's works, praised by the same Burney as a model of 'simplicity, grace, and elegance in melody, and of correctness and purity in harmony'. 13 And still, at the end of the eighteenth century, the Italian violinist Bartolomeo Campagnoli would confirm this aesthetic ideal by stating that 'nothing is more beautiful and moving than simplicity'.14

¹⁰ Mark Argent (ed.), Recollections of R. J. S. Stevens: An Organist in Georgian London (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 1992), 79.

¹¹ Anselm Gerhard, London und der Klassizismus in der Musik: Die Idee der 'absoluten Musik' und Muzio Clementi Klavierwerke (Stuttgart and Weimar: Metzler, 2002), 10.

¹² Charles Burney, A General History of Music from the Earliest Ages to the Present Period, vol. 1 (London: for the author, 1776), XIII-XIV.

¹³ Charles Burney, A General History of Music from the Earliest Ages to the Present Period, vol. 4 (London: for the author, 1789), 640.

¹⁴ 'Nulla è più bello e commovente che il semplice', in Bartolomeo Campagnoli, *Nuovo Metodo della Mecanica Progressiva per Suonare il Violino Op. 21* (Milano and Florence: G. Ricordi, Pozzi & Co., 1808-1815), §190-191.

In this perspective, the Italian repertoire should be seen nowadays as it was then, that is as a recollection of agreeable pictures from a musical pleasure garden that rejected elements 'deemed timeless by academicians: fugue, imitative thematic development, contrapuntal textures and, perhaps most importantly, expressive depth, solemnity and gravitas'. Burney's view was not univocal, and found its counterpart in Hawkins' academicism that condemned the new compositions as 'noise without harmony, exemplified in the frittering of passages into notes, requiring such an instantaneous utterance, that thirty-two of them are frequently heard in the time which it would take moderately to count four; and of this cast are the Symphonies, Periodical Overtures, Quartettos, Quintettos, and the rest of the trash daily obtruded on the world'. Hawkins also considered the preference for music based 'on the score of its novelty [...] surely absurd'. When the Italian taste for melody and the interest in the erudite contrapuntal tradition converged in Haydn and developed in the Wiener Klassik, the two views found a synthesis that relegated lighter entertainment music to a minor role within the academic discourse, practically denying and expunging it from the nineteenth and twentieth century musicological research.

Thus, Italian instrumental repertoire of the late eighteenth century deserves to be revalued in order to re-establish a comprehensive scenario of the eighteenth-century musical scene, also through the lenses of recent historical performance practice research; if treated with a correct attention to style, sound and sensitivity, leading back to a more intimate dimension, the Italian output will disclose its potential and will contribute to a widening of contemporary canonised repertoire, providing a new and fresh approach to performance. In the course of my research it became evident that composers were conscious of the peculiarity of the Italian string quartet style, as they intentionally adhered to it as long as the audience was interested in it. Finally, on a more practical level, a closer observation of correlated sources will contribute to a better understanding of the social and commercial aspects of

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¹⁵ Tim Eggington, The Advancement of Music in Enlightenment England (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2014), 70.

¹⁶ John Hawkins, A General History, vol. I (London: T. Payne, 1776), p. LXXX n.

¹⁷ Ibid, p. LXXXI.

the British music scene, with particular reference to the production process of its internal publishing market.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND: THE ITALIAN COLONY OF MUSICIANS IN LONDON BETWEEN 1765 AND 1790

The Italian string quartet mostly flourished in the beginning of the history of this genre, which can be considered the years between 1765 and 1790.¹⁸ In those years, a great number of string quartets were published throughout Europe, and in particular in major centres such as Paris and London. These populated centres were all characterised by a common feature: a lively and active publishing market that matched its offer with an increasing demand from members of the local aristocracy and of the rising middle class (also definable as *bourgeoisie*). These works were mainly destined for the private entertainment of these wealthy social groups, which did not intend to make a living out of what they considered as leisure, and left public music making to professionals.

In Italy, musical activity was mainly connected to theatres and religious institutions, which provided the main employment for musicians born or trained in the country. Institutions such as the four *Conservatori* in Naples, and the *Scuole* or *Ospedali* in Venice provided a strong musical training even to people who were not coming from a wealthy background. Other institutions, such as Tartini's *Scuola delle Nazioni* in Padua and later on, in the beginning of the nineteenth century, the *Conservatorio di Milano*, acted as professionalizing schools. In Felix Diergarten's words, the original mission of institutions such as the Naples's Conservatori 'was to train orphans for lucrative careers as professional musicians'. ¹⁹ Musical education in Italy was based on a highly competitive and relatively meritocratic system, which, through a strict and rigid tradition, granted an opportunity to the most

¹⁸ For further information about the ancestors of the string quartet genre, with reference to the Italian scene, see Max Pincherle, 'On the Origins of the String-Quartet', *Musical Quarterly*, 15/1 (1929), 77-87; Ludwig Finscher, 'Streichquartett', *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, Sachteil, vol. 8 (Kassel: Bärenreiter,1998), col. 1924-1977; Ludwig Finscher, *Studien zur Geschichte des Streichquartetts: Die Entstehung des klassischen Streichquartetts. Von den Vorformen zur Grundlegung durch Joseph Haydn*, vol. 1 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1974); David Wyn Jones, 'The

Origins of the Quartet', in The Cambridge Companion to the String Quartet, ed. Robin Stowell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 177-184.

¹⁹ Felix Diergarten, ""The True Fundamentals of Composition": Haydn's Partimento Counterpoint', *Eighteenth-Century Music*, vol. 8, n. 1 (2011), 53-75, (55).

gifted individuals to learn a profession that was in some cases particularly rewarding from a financial point of view.

The core of musical instruction within these institutions was through *partimenti*, exercises aimed at the realisation of a figured or unfigured bass.²⁰ Most eighteenth-century Italian musicians were trained through this system, which provided a common ground for the operatic and instrumental output of the time. Through several incremental stages, the composer-performer added upper voices to the original bass by adopting patterns that could be combined, diminished and adapted to the context. These patterns allowed the elaboration of several layers of melodic material at once, fully respecting the rules of harmony. Students trained through partimenti could develop this system so as to make it a practical compositional process which characterised the Italian output of the time, and therefore the students eventually became sought-after teachers themselves.²¹

At the end of their formative period, many of these students looked for remunerative working positions in Italy and Europe as instrumentalists, as composers for the theatre or the church, or as singers. Some of the male pupils were castrated before puberty in order to maintain the high register of the voice while developing the lower one. The choice of castrating the young singers, even if not openly encouraged, was motivated by economic reasons, as the demand for this kind of voice from the music system was high. We only know the names of the few ones who made a fortune through their international career, but the great majority of them disappeared in the mist of time.

In the second part of eighteenth century the growing economy of the British Empire probably made London appear like an Eldorado, acting as a magnet for many musicians; thanks to opera, Italian music was held in great consideration. At the same time, the absence in London of institutions such as the Italian *Conservatori* or *Scuole* hindered the growth of a local supply of musicians. According to McVeigh 'there were no English violinists in the eighteenth century who could remotely compare [to the Italians] in international terms, and in view of the repeated failure throughout the

²⁰ The most comprehensive studies on the partimento tradition are the works by Giorgio Sanguinetti, *The Art of Partimento: History, Theory, and Practice* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), and Robert O. Gjerdingen, *Music in the Galant Style* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007).

²¹ Traces of the partimento tradition can be also found in the technique employed for the composition of Italian string quartets, but a formal analysis of these scores is beyond the scope of this dissertation.

century to secure any system of formal training this is scarcely surprising'.²² The Italian institutions produced an abundance of practitioners, and the most gifted tried to make their fortune abroad, as stated by Samuel Sharp in 1765, during his stay in Naples:

The infinite quantity of music exhibited in their churches and chapels, provides bread, though the wages be small, for a prodigious number of performers; and, as trade is despicable, and laborious employments are held in detestation, parents are induced to bring up their children to this profession, which they can do at a small expence; for there are several hundred youths brought up to musick, in their Conservatories, or charitable foundations: Now, where there are so many hundreds in continual practice, it is not strange that emulation and genius should, every now and then, produce an excellent performer, who, if he be well advised, will certainly set out for England, where talents of every kind are rewarded ten-fold above what they are at Naples, except in the single instance of the first class of opera singers, who are payed extravagantly.²³

A great number of Italian musicians followed Sharp's advice and crossed the English Channel, attracted by the lively activity of the British publishing market and by its deep interest in Italian musical output, mostly related to the opera industry. In a letter he wrote to Padre Martini, Bertoni made clear why he and other Italian musicians had chosen to settle in London; he openly admitted that he was there mainly to earn enough money to secure his old age.²⁴ Free entrepreneurship made London the place where the music industry became conscious of its inner operative process; there it was possible for Italian musicians to venture in commercial activities, individually or in collaboration with other members of the large colony of composers from the same national background, who constituted a supportive network. Thus, in London the Italian string quartet found its comfortable nest.

Along with violinists and other instrumentalists, singers represented a relevant share of the Italian presence in the British capital; they were preferred over local artists for their mastery of the language and for their superior training. The extraordinary contracts obtained by the *primo uomo* and

²² Simon McVeigh, 'Italian Violinists in Eighteenth-Century London', in *The Eighteenth-Century Diaspora of Italian Music and Musicians*, ed. Reinhard Strohm (Turnhout: Brepols, 2001), 139-176 (161). One of the unsuccessful attempts to establish a British institution dedicated to the study of music, on the model of the Italian Conservatori, was made by Charles Burney and Felice Giardini at the Foundling Museum. Simon McVeigh wrote: 'The school was apparently open by the end of July 1774, but latent opposition roused itself on 3 August to order its closure'. Cited in Simon McVeigh, *The Violinist in London's Concert Life: Felice Giardini and his Contemporaries* (New York and London: Garland Publishing, 1989), 179-180. This gap was filled only in 1822, with the institution of the Royal Academy of Music.

²³ Samuel Sharp, Letters from Italy, describing the Customs and Manners of that Country, in the Years 1765 and 1766, 3rd edn. (London: Henry and Cave, 1767), 81.

²⁴ Ferdinando Bertoni, Letter to Padre Martini, 26 October 1782, I-Bc, I.013.156 http://www.bibliotecamusica.it/cmbm/viewschedal.asp?path=/cmbm/images/ripro/lettereb/I13/I13_15 6/> [accessed 31 October 2016].

prima donna at the opera theatre highly affected the economic balance of the whole opera industry. While it would have been possible to train a good English soprano to become a prima donna, the fundamental role of the primo uomo necessarily had to be covered by a male soprano. Male sopranos, also known as musici or, more vulgarly, castrati, covered a primary role in Italian opera; they had to be invited from Italy, the only place that didn't openly accept castration but certainly indulged in that practice. Despite the fact that castration was deemed immoral in Great Britain, the English opera industry was dependent on these singers, and male sopranos were received in London with a mix of curiosity, repugnance and admiration. The influence of the castrati in the London music scene throughout the whole eighteenth century has certainly been of utmost relevance; the performances of Giusto Ferdinando Tenducci (1736-1790), Gaspare Pacchierotti (1740-1821), Venanzio Rauzzini (1746-1810) and Luigi Marchesi (1754-1829) were preceded by high expectations and followed by intense discussion amongst audiences. Some of them were particularly sought-after private teachers for wealthy families, and in the end of the eighteenth century it was possible to observe a growing number of professional British singers on stage. Ferdinando Tenducci and Venanzio Rauzzini published two treatises dedicated to the art of singing, with instructions for beginners and exercises (the instructions contained in the prefaces of these treatises have been added in the appendix).²⁵ Rauzzini was a particularly active personality during his long permanence in the British Isles; he managed his British career in a savvy way, by publishing and composing music, and by teaching some of the most important singers of the early nineteenth century (Nancy Storace, John Braham, Michael Kelly). He also ran a series of concerts in Bath from 1777 until the end of his life. By the end of the century the colony of Italian musicians in London diminished in its number and the publication of sets of Italian string quartets in the British Isles became sporadic. By 1792, all the Italian composers who had published string quartets in the UK were dead, or had returned to their native country.²⁶ The sole musical personality who managed to maintain a position after 1790 and

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²⁵ Other singing treatises were published in London by the castrato Giuseppe Aprile (*The Italian Method of Singing, with 36 Solfeggi,* 1791) and by the singer Domenico Corri (*The Singer's Preceptor, or Corri's Treatise on Vocal Music,* 1810-11).

²⁶ Except from Luigi Borghi, who died in London in 1806. Borghi never published proper string quartets, but *Six Overtures in Four parts, with Hautboys and French Horns ad libitum* (by the author, 1787). Another exception is Valentino Nicolai, who died in Paris in 1798; nevertheless he probably was of German origin.

into the nineteenth century was Venanzio Rauzzini; he managed to turn himself from performer into entrepreneur, mirroring the taste of the public and maintaining his position of acquired prestige as a first-rate teacher, thus becoming an exception within a musical environment that was becoming, at least as far as concerns the instrumental repertoire, more and more partial to the German taste.

EXISTING SCHOLARSHIP

In recent studies, there are scarce traces of the Italian string quartet repertoire that developed in London during the eighteenth century. Krummacher drafted a generic list of publications of Italian composers of string quartets before focusing on the early nineteenth-century works of Felice Radicati (1775-1820) and Angelo Maria Benincori (1779-1821); Radicati's Op. 16 was published by Naderman (Paris), and Benincori's Op. 8 by Artaria (Vienna). Both sets appeared in 1809, the same year that Haydn, the tutelary deity of the classical string quartet, died.²⁷ It is curious that these are the only two Italian composers that dedicated a set of quartets to Haydn, perhaps to gain public recognition and credibility. Whether or not Krummacher chose them for this reason, the choice does more to reinforce the primacy of the Austro-German tradition than it does to display the Italian one.²⁸ The books on the string quartet genre by Parker²⁹ and Griffiths³⁰ do not mention most of the Italian composers who worked and published in the British Isles. The 'Cambridge Companion to the String Quartet', edited by Robin Stowell,³¹ presents a variety of contributions to the description of the genre without any specific reference to the Italian scene. In the same book, Bashford commented: 'wherever quartet-playing flourished in eighteenth-century Europe (for example in Austria, Germany, Britain, France and Russia), it was typically the province of serious-music lovers

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²⁷ Friedhelm Krummacher, Geschichte des Streichquartetts, vol. 1 (Laaber: Laaber Verlag, 2001), 290-299.

²⁸ Emily Green, 'A Patron among Peers: Dedications to Haydn and the Economy of Celebrity', *Eighteenth-Century Music*, vol. 8, n. 2 (2011), 215-37.

²⁹ Mara Parker, *The String Quartet, 1750-1797: Four Types of Musical Conversation* (Aldershot, Burlington: Ashgate, 2002).

³⁰ Paul Griffiths, *The String Quartet* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1983).

³¹ Robin Stowell, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to the String Quartet* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

among the wealthy, leisured classes - the aristocracy and the emerging bourgeoisie'.³² By reading this otherwise correct description of the kind of society that nurtured the string quartet, one has the feeling that Italy was not even remotely connected to the development of the genre.

The general lack of interest in the Italian string quartet by nineteenth and twentieth-century musicologists could also be motivated by the private dimension this genre inhabited, by the relatively
small presence on the public concert stages until the overtaking of the Austro-German tradition
and, finally, by the absence of well recognised and established ensembles comparable to Schuppanzigh's quartet in Vienna. McVeigh and McFarlane's research illustrates the relevance of the string
quartet in the London concert life, underlining the rising number of public performances towards
the end of the century, mainly in relation to the increasing importance of Austro-German repertoire
and to Haydn's visit to the British capital (see <u>chapter two</u>, "The Austro-German early string quartet
and its presence in London').³³

Despite intense research on the string quartet as a genre, there have been no extensive studies on the Italian branch as a whole since those of Torchi³⁴ and Torrefranca,³⁵ both of which appeared in the first half of the twentieth century. Torrefranca's essay 'Avviamento alla storia del quartetto italiano' was published in 1966;³⁶ right from the preface it is clear that Torrefranca's research is permeated with strong nationalistic ideals, derived from the fascist ideology that dominated a large part of the Italian cultural elite of the time and therefore in contrast with foreign influences. Despite the creeping political agenda and the lack of a systematic approach, Torrefranca's essay is the only study

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³² Christina Bashford, 'The String Quartet and Society', in *The Cambridge Companion to the String Quartet*, ed. Robin Stowell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 1-18.

³³ Meredith McFarlane and Simon McVeigh, 'The String Quartet in London Concert Life, 1769-1799', in *Concert Life in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, ed. Susan Wollenberg and Simon McVeigh (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), 161-198.

³⁴ Luigi Torchi, La Musica Strumentale in Italia nei Secoli XVI, XVII e XVII (Torino: Bocca, 1901).

³⁵ Fausto Torrefranca, 'Avviamento alla Storia del Quartetto Italiano', in *L'Approdo Musicale*, ed. Alfredo Bonaccorsi, n. 23. (Roma: ERI, 1966), 5-193; Fausto Torrefranca, 'Influenza di alcuni Musicisti Italiani vissuti a Londra su W. A. Mozart (1764-65)' in *Sonderdruck aus dem Bericht über den Musikwissenschaftlichen Kongreß in Basel 1924* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1926), 336-362.

³⁶ This work, originally conceived in 1932, was left unfinished at the author's death, in 1955.

entirely dedicated to this particular branch of the repertoire, and he collected and unearthed a large number of compositions that will be taken into consideration in this dissertation.³⁷

A more recent contribution is the book *Una pianta fuori di clima*, published by Ennio Speranza; this essay is a survey on the diffusion of the string quartet genre in Italy, from Verdi to Casella.³⁸ Ironically, the title of Speranza's book is a quote from a letter written by Giuseppe Verdi in 1878, in which the composer lamented the fact that the string quartet genre was, in his opinion, alien from the Italian musical environment as might be 'a plant outside its climate'. Speranza, on the contrary, illustrates an unexpected landscape, which demonstrates considerable interest for the string quartet in Italy in the late nineteenth century and in the whole twentieth century. This scene was characterised by competitions dedicated to string quartet composition, concert series and a more-or-less silent conflict between the affirmation of a nationalistic style and the reception of foreign (namely Germanic or French) influences.

The revaluation of the Italian string quartet undertaken by Speranza deserves to be extended to the previous century, with the final aim of contributing to the general picture of the uninterrupted tradition of the genre in the Italian musical scene. Speranza mainly focused on the internal string quartet production and on the local fruition during the nineteenth century, but the internal Italian publishing market during the eighteenth century was not yet developed enough to independently foster the diffusion of the string quartet. For this reason, any research focused on the earlier repertoire must necessarily take into account the output of Italian composers who worked and/or published outside of Italy. For the sake of brevity, it has not been possible to provide a full representation of the whole eighteenth-century Italian string quartet production throughout Europe; therefore, I have decided to focus my research on the Italian output in the British Isles, in order to underline the links between the private chamber music circles and the public opera enterprise.

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³⁷ Fausto Torrefranca (1883-1955) collected musical manuscripts and prints, opera libretti and about a thousand printed sources of theoretical content from 1524 to the first half of the 19th century. This collection, which formed part of his private library, is now conserved in the Fondo Torrefranca, at the Conservatorio di Musica Benedetto Marcello, Venice.

³⁸ Ennio Speranza, Una Pianta Fuori di Clima (Torino: EDT, 2013).

The hope is that my work, along with Speranza's, will contribute in filling the gaps of a puzzle that will, in the long term, present a picture of contributions to the string quartet genre which have been unjustly, and apparently consciously, neglected.

DISSERTATION STRUCTURE

Having set the historical background and surveyed existing musicological literature on the development of the string quartet in London in this introduction, in chapter two I will examine the activity of Italian musicians in London and their role in the development of the genre in eighteenth-century British public and private context. The eighteenth-century London music market witnessed the production of a number of Italian compositions that could be considered as predecessors of the string quartet, in the form of four-part pieces that could have been performed by one player per part. I will then present the relations between the music market and the diffusion of Italian opera in London in the late eighteenth century, a connection that nourished a specific network of Italian composers and performers who were keen to benefit from the local market activity and to become part of the social tissue of the British capital.

Italian composers were often involved in the King's Theatre's activities; in a dedicated section I will elucidate the frequent interconnections between the appearance of a musician at the King's Theatre and the commercial dynamics that promoted the publication of new sets of quartets over the period under study.

Through the scrutiny of mentions made in private diaries and letters by active members of the London musical world, such as the Burneys, James Harris and John Marsh, I will present the extant traces of the Italian string quartet within the private context. The Italian string quartet was also performed in public concerts, though it only covered a marginal share of the repertoire: using the data contained in McVeigh's *Calendar of London Concerts* 1750-1800,³⁹ I will analyse the presence of Italian string quartets in the public context and compare it to the rising number of Austro-German string quartet performances.

Italian and Austro-German repertoire shared the London market more or less peacefully throughout the eighteenth century, at least until the mid-1780s. Italian opera was then in its golden age, and foremost German composers in London were well acquainted with the Italian style. The dualism

³⁹ Simon McVeigh, *Calendar of London Concerts 1750-1800* http://research.gold.ac.uk/10342/ [accessed 20 December 2014].

between Italian and Austro-German repertoire became more evident from the 1790s as the latter was gaining audience attention, up to the point that a satirical composition appeared under the name of Jacques Vanderbouzzen (alias Felice Giardini) which mocked the difference between the two national styles.

The string quartet was rooted in the Italian musical tradition, but the British market played a pivotal role in terms of its diffusion, with a success that encouraged the development of the publication enterprise in its motherland. While investigating the Italian string quartet output in England, I became progressively aware of the lack of a systematic survey on the sources available in Italy, with particular regard to those in print; to this end, this dissertation includes a section in chapter three dedicated to the string quartets published in Italy by Italian composers during the eighteenth century. Some of these quartets reached London, adding to the local output and broadening the offer on the market. Focusing the attention on the publishing activity in the two main centres for the publication of string quartets in Italy, Florence and Venice, I have produced an exhaustive list of the sets of string quartets published in the country until 1800. At the end of this chapter, I also note how several composers from Austria (Mozart, Pleyel, Gyrowetz) and France (Grétry) were influenced by the Italian string quartet genre in the early years of their career.

Chapter four includes three case studies that draw attention to the publishing process of Italian string quartets in London and Europe. Chalcographic publishing activity in Italy began to develop only after 1770s, but contacts and exchanges with London were frequent, as attested by two of the three analysed case studies. By following the publication process of the sets of quartets by Capuzzi and Bertoni, I retrieved information on the commercial and musical exchanges between London, Italy and the European continent. In the same chapter, I will examine the reception of Boccherini's string quartets in England. At the end of this chapter, I also analyse the publisher's catalogue present in the copy of Rauzzini's Op. 2 set conserved at the GB-Lbl, in order to investigate terminological issues related to the string quartet and the consideration of the publisher (Welcker, in this case) towards this genre.

<u>Chapter five</u> specifically deals with the two sets of string quartets published by Venanzio Rauzzini: Op. 2 (1778) and Op. 7 (1781). As Rauzzini's instrumental output has been thoroughly analysed by

Reindl,⁴⁰ my work will mainly focus on the historical context, with specific reference to performance practice issues, and on the editorial process, discussing the publication process and the related copyright matters that were brought up by Charles Rennett around 1780.⁴¹

The final chapter of the dissertation will also include a description of the programme presented in the final concert, featuring works by Rauzzini and by other Italian composers who lived and published in London in the same years as Rauzzini.

The appendix to this volume includes a transcript of three treatises by Antonio Lolli, Venanzio Rauzzini and Giusto Ferdinando Tenducci. The first treatise is dedicated to the study of the violin in the string quartet context, while the other two are singing treatises: these provide relevant information about performance practice issues that can be directly applied to the instrumental repertoire, as explained in chapter 5.

In Volume II, I present the critical edition of the two set Rauzzini String Quartets.

⁴⁰ Apart from Op. 7, which Reindl couldn't retrieve

⁴¹ Johannes Reindl, 'Venanzio Rauzzini als Instrumental-Komponist' (PhD dissertation, University of Vienna, 1961).

Chapter 2: The Italian String Quartet in London (1765-1790)

The string quartet genre emerged from the tradition of consort music, therefore it found a fertile ground to develop in England. Domestic performances had been a British custom since the sixteenth century, when the tradition of consort music flourished. ⁴² Italian musicians were present in England certainly since the reign of Henry VIII, and their activity deeply influenced the local musical culture, both in the public and private contexts. Since then, the Italians had been a constant presence in the musical life of the English capital and as well as of the British provinces throughout the seventeenth century, mainly in relation to the opera world or for their teaching. The cult of Italy was interwoven with the tradition of the *Grand Tour*, which brought many young aristocratic Englishmen to undertake a journey to Italy, developing a passion for its arts, music and culture. From the beginning of the eighteenth century London became an important international centre for the development of Italian opera, and this tradition nourished a florid publishing and performing environment that attracted foreign musicians and involved both professional and amateur performers. The success of opera necessarily reflected on the instrumental output, allowing Italian musicians to benefit from their enhanced status.

Along with string quartets, the instrumental repertoire destined for the amateur market also included sonatas (with or without the accompaniment of a melodic instrument such as violin or flute), trios and various other compositions. By comparing the number of publications with the information on the repertoire performed drawn from public concert programmes, it is evident that the former are far more abundant than the latter. Consequently, one may presume that the main destination for musical editions was the domestic environment; this is also attested by the numerous accounts of private performances in letters and diaries. The presence of this substantial evidence suggests that this repertoire deserves closer attention; despite being neglected nowadays and considered as a niche, at the time it enjoyed widespread renown and an established identity.

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⁴² Peter Holman, Four and Twenty Fiddlers, The Violin at the English Court 1540-1690 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 123-143.

Obviously, the market only provided goods which could be absorbed by the public demand, and it is clearly evident that the request was strong and that the genre of the string quartet genre was indeed 'bestseller'; in fact, about one hundred string quartets by Italian composers were published in London between 1765 and 1790. In the 1780s the Prince of Wales would regularly play the cello in private 'quartett parties' with Giardini at the first violin, and this practice made the genre even more fashionable among the upper classes.⁴³ The string quartet was a transversal phenomenon which involved opera composers, instrumentalists and even singers (as it is in the case of Venanzio Rauzzini and Gabriele Piozzi). Italian composers were not the only foreign group active in London; German composers, including Austrians and Bohemians, were present and influential, and were often connected to the well-established figures of Johann Christian Bach (1735-1782) and Carl Friedrich Abel (1723-1787). British composers were active as well, but they covered a marginal share of the market.

Research on the eighteenth-century British chamber music scene and on the activity of Italian composers has been undertaken by Kidd,⁴⁴ concerning the sonata with violin accompaniment, and by Stern,⁴⁵ for the repertoire dedicated to the harpsichord quartet and quintet, a peculiar genre which enjoyed significant popularity in England. Both authors underlined how these chamber music works were often overtly destined for private meetings, musical gatherings or 'parties'. As an example, the composer Charles Avison (1709-1770) declared the following in an advertisement for his keyboard sonatas with two violins and cello Op. 7, published in 1760: 'This kind of music is not, indeed, calculated so much for public entertainment, as for private amusement. It is rather like a conversation among friends'.⁴⁶

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⁴³ Charlotte Papendieck, *Court and Private Life in the Time of Queen Charlotte*, ed. Augusta Mary Delves Broughton, vol. 1 (London: Richard Bentley & Sons, 1887), 133. An article in the *Public Advertiser*, 11 January 1787 reported: 'The Prince's morning parties are cheifly devoted to the quartettos of Haydn, Pleyel, Stamitz, and the charming trios of Schroeter, which, we learn, are soon to be presented to the public, a present which must be peculiarly acceptable to the amateurs of elegant simplicity, for such we understand is the character of the pieces we allude to'.

⁴⁴ Ronald Kidd, 'The Sonata for Keyboard with Violin Accompaniment in England (1750-1790)' (PhD dissertation, Yale University, 1968).

⁴⁵ Marion Stern, 'Keyboard Quartets and Quintets Published in London, 1756-75: a Contribution to the History of Chamber Music with Obligato Keyboard' (PhD dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1979).

⁴⁶ Cited in Ronald Kidd, 'The Emergence of Chamber Music with Obligato Keyboard in England', *Acta Musicologica*, vol. 44, fasc. 1 (1972), 122-144 (130). Trimpert similarly described the string quartet genre as destined

FROM THE FOUR-PART SONATA TO THE STRING QUARTET

By setting the starting point for my research in 1765, I made the choice to consider the set published by Gaetano Latilla in London as a trailblazer; however the string quartet arose from a musical tradition consisting of manifold expressions and denominations. In this section I will examine the path that led to the explosive development of the string quartet, with particular reference to the Italian output within the British Isles during the eighteenth century.

Establishing a distinction between the genre of the sonata a quattro, of the sinfonia in four parts (also called overture, sonata or concerto), of the divertimento, of the serenata and of the quartetto in all its declinations (brilliant, dialoguée, concertant) would certainly be a commendable academic exercise, but the number of necessary exceptions in such a classification would undermine any attempt at neat compartmentalisation.⁴⁷ Modern scholarship probably cares about denominations much more than composers did in the eighteenth century, and, as Adams suggests, 'the privileged status of the string quartet and the values associated with it, as well as the concept of Classical Style are constructs that were not developed until the nineteenth century and retrospectively applied to music of the eighteenth century'.⁴⁸ Fausto Torrefranca added a section entitled 'Quartetto (History of a name)' in the appendix of his monograph 'Avviamento alla Storia del Quartetto Italiano', in which he listed a number of denominations from the early eighteenth century to the early nineteenth century.

Among them we can find concerto a quattro (da chiesa or da camera), sonata a quattro, quatuor, quartetto dialogato, quartetto da camera, quartetto concertante, quartetto stile di chiesa (Sacchini Op. 2 No. 6), divertimento, serenata, orchester-quartetts and many others. Same sets were named differently in different editions (Boccherini's Sei Sinfonie o sia Quartetti, from Venier's edition, became Six Quartettos in Welcker's

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to 'small, private concerts in the homes of the nobility and rich middle class as a surrogate for orchestral music and solo music accompanied by an orchestra' [trans. J. H. Baron]: see Dieter Lutz Trimpert, *Die Quatuors Concertants von Giuseppe Cambini* (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1967), 210.

⁴⁷ For example, the first set of string quartets by Luigi Boccherini in Paris (Op. 1, according to his own catalogue, published by Venier, 1767), appeared with the title *Sei Sinfonie*, o sia Quartetti, but it would seem to be a stretch to include this set in the genre of the sinfonia. Later on, as the term quartetto became more and more popular, it began to be recognised and widely accepted.

⁴⁸ Sarah J. Adams, "'Mixed" Chamber Music of the Classical Period and the Reception of Genre', in *Music, Libraries, and the Academy – Essays in Honor of Lenore Coral*, ed. James P. Cassaro (Middleton WI: A-R Editions, 2007), 3-19 (19).

London edition). Manuscript sources generally presented a variety of titles, especially in the Italian output, at least until the establishment of the string quartet tradition in the late 1760s. A similar terminological evolutionary path was illustrated by Webster, with reference to the Austrian musical environment; he underlined the progressive establishment of the definition of the scoring as a genre unto itself, where 'the number of parts became the substantive title: *Trio, Quartet, Quintet*'. ⁴⁹ He attributed this development to the 'change from private to public musical culture and the rise of native publishing firms [in Vienna] around 1780'. ⁵⁰ I relate this increasing specificity in the terminology to the latter factor, as the diffusion of printed sources was the main contributor to a faster homogenisation of the genre and to a standardized commercial classification that made the 'quartet-product' easily recognisable by customers. London proved to be several decades ahead of Vienna in the field of music publishing, and therefore more prone to adopt an unequivocal terminology for music genres.

Research and speculation about the ancestors of the string quartet in the modern meaning of the term (that is a one-per-part ensemble of two violins, viola, and violoncello) and the process of definition of the genre's features will not be treated in detail in this dissertation. The standardisation of titles in the London market contributed to define the genre by its title in a manner that is less consistent in other national contexts.

Latilla's set of string quartets represented a precedent in terms of denomination, but it did not come as an absolute novelty; Italian composers had been writing music in four parts throughout the entire eighteenth century, and these works had often caught the interest of British publishers. In fact, the widespread culture of private music making in the British Isles fostered the practice of the intimate one-per-part performance.

A few examples show the diversity of genre designations in the Italian works either produced or circulating in London. Around 1725, Walsh published *12 Sinfonie a 4* Op. 2 by the Bolognese violinist Giuseppe Matteo Alberti (1685-1751). This set still belongs to the baroque concerto tradition, with

⁴⁹ James Webster, 'Towards a History of Viennese Chamber Music in the Early Classical Period', in *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, vol. 27, n. 2 (Summer, 1974), 212-247 (247).

⁵⁰ Ibid, 246.

a bass part for 'organo e violoncello'; out of twelve concerti, only No. 2 calls for 'due violini obligato' with tutti and soli indications for the ripieno instruments: a Concerto Grosso set up in the tradition of Corelli, Handel and Geminiani. The rest of the set could be perfectly performed by a oneto-a-part ensemble formed by four stringed instruments (with a cello) plus a keyboard instrument.⁵¹ In 1742 Francesco Barsanti (1690–1775), a native of Lucca like Boccherini, published a collection of 'Nove overture / a quattro / due violini viola e basso' Op. 4. The set was published by subscription and was granted a royal privilege that prevented piracy, with explicit reference both to imported copies as well as other editions produced on the British Isles. These overtures in four parts do not bear any instruction for tutti and soli in the violin parts, but the figured bass part (named 'basso') is rich in indications such as 'senza contrabbassi' or 'senza clavicembali' and 'violoncelli soli', which give us an idea of the composition of the desired continuo group. The upper parts could have well been performed by single players. A few years later, around 1750, John Johnson published two sets of six 'Six sonatas for two violins with a tenor and thorough bass for the harpsichord or violoncello' by Nicolò Pasquali (c1718-1757), which bear no indications on the number of performers, in the violin parts, and feature a bass part with figures and some sparse indications of 'tasto solo'. The title itself calls for a performance of the continuo on the harpsichord or, alternatively, on the cello. Again, a one-perpart performance of these works is legitimate. In 1754, Walsh published 12 Sinfonie or Sonatas for two violins, a tenor, with a bass for the violoncello or the harpsichord, composed in an easy and pleasing style by the Venetian Albergo Gallo (dates unknown). The first set of string quartets that appeared in London was the one by Gaetano Latilla (1711-1788), published in 1765 by Adolf Hummell. This set, for 'two Violins, Tenor and Violoncello obligato' was conceived for a one-to-a-part performance of four instruments, with no evidence of a thorough bass, and therefore linkable to the modern concept of string quartet.52

Nevertheless, the format of the string quartet was not yet defined, as just three years later Gaetano Pugnani (1731-1798) published two sets of compositions in London labelled as string quartets, but

⁵¹ An extended study on the problem of the number of performers involved in baroque instrumental music is the book by Richard Maunder, *The Scoring of Baroque Concertos* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2004).

⁵² Gaetano Latilla, Six String Quartets, ed. Michael Talbot, The Early String Quartet, vol. 5 (Ann Arbor, MI: Steglein, 2007).

more similar in style to symphonies for strings and continuo. The two sets were the *Three Quartets* for two Violins, a Tenor & Bass (Welcker, 1768), followed by a Second Set of Three Quartets (again published by Welcker and advertised in the Public Advertiser on 24th November 1770). The bass part in both of Pugnani's sets (labelled 'basso') is heavily figured, and there are frequent cues for 'Violoncello solo', 'Contrabbasso', and 'Tasto solo'. Apart from Pugnani's works, the string quartet format in London was settling into its modern set up, and all the compositions which appeared after 1765 under that title name were playable by a consort of four instruments, occasionally with an optional keyboard to fill in the harmony along with the bass part. The same discourse is valid for the Six Quartettos for two Violins, a Tenor and Violoncello with a Thorough Bass for the Harpsochord or Organ (the bass part is named Basso, with continuo numbers), composed by Pietro Beretta (Maestro di Capella in Ferrara, dates unknown) and published by Longman and Luckey between 1769 and 1775.

The string quartet in the private context also had pedagogic functions, as is indicated by the appearance of the *Ecole du Violon en Quatuor*, published by the Italian violinist Antonio Lolli (1725-1802) during his short stay in London in early 1785.⁵³ Lolli fled England around May 1785 due to 'unforeseen accidents',⁵⁴ only a month after the publication of the advertisement, so it is difficult to ascertain the real impact of this book on local readers. This violin method, conceived to involve a string quartet, confirms a common practice related to the didactic and domestic dimension of chamber music making in the eighteenth century. The act of playing an instrument in this setting was mostly seen as an amusing activity, and not yet as a polished public performance for professional musicians, just as a conversation between friends is different from a public lecture. Nevertheless, private musical life reflected the liveliness of public activity, which consisted of frequent concert series and, most importantly in relevance to Italian musicians, the opera seasons at the King's Theatre.

⁵³ This publication will be treated in more detail in chapter 3.

⁵⁴ Simone Laghi, "'Son razzi matti, son rocchetti che girano": sulle "stravaganze" dei violinisti virtuosi', in *Locatelli and the Violin Bravura Tradition*, ed. Fulvia Morabito (Turnhout: Brepols, 2015), 209-230 (225).

THE KING'S THEATRE AND STRING QUARTET PRODUCTION: A COMPLEX SYMBIOSIS

The string quartet represented just one of the aspects of the multifaceted musical life of the British capital. It is in this context that the string quartet developed not only as a musical genre, but also as an integral part of social interactions and as a point of contact between the performers and an active audience. Late eighteenth century musical life in London was catalysed by the activity revolving around the King's Theatre and its competitors, such as the Pantheon. These institutions, which represented the apex of the musical scene in Georgian England, attracted performers and composers from all over Europe, and in particular from Italy. In fact, for a musician London represented a short-term but lucrative target as part of a well-launched career; an economic and social acknowledgement for both his own artistic and networking skills. Nevertheless, the roles at the King's Theatre had to be redefined every year, and a seasonal contract was often merely a temporary position. Even managers were not spared from a relatively quick turnover; the opera system, as dependent as it was on high-class patronage, was uneconomical, and this is demonstrated by the numerous bank-ruptcies of impresarios throughout the years, with conflicts that led to the arsons of the King's Theatre and the Pantheon. The property of the string of the pantheon of the pantheon.

During the eighteenth century, the theatre was no longer an appendage of the private court environment, but was rather a public place. At the time this social mix was seen as a violation of the prerogatives of the upper classes, as remarked by the astronomer Edward Pigott after attending a performance of Giordani's *Artaserse*, in 1772: 'people where [sic] not dresst so richly nor so well as at Paris; the common people throw peals of oranges on the stage before the play begins.' Despite the fact that admission to the theatre was far beyond the financial reach of a large portion of the

⁵⁵ From 1773 to 1778 the King's Theatre was successfully administrated by James Brook, Richard and Mary Yates, and John and Frances Brooke. In 1778, Sheridan and Harris took over, paying £22,000, but this sum led to a financial breakdown and to a sequence of a complicated changes of ownership, and eventually to the fire which destroyed the Theatre in 1789. For further references about this period: Ian Woodfield, *Opera and Drama in Eighteenth-Century London: The King's Theatre, Garrick and the Business of Performance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001) and Price, Milhous and Hume, *Italian Opera in Late Eighteenth-Century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995).

⁵⁶ Cited in Ian Woodfield, Opera and Drama, 27. The letter is in Beinecke Library, Osborn f.c.80.

population, all the classes, besides the narrow circle of aristocracy, could potentially have access to the shows. In London musicians were not univocally tied to the subjective taste or the caprice of a single patron, or to the weekly duty of a church chapel, and they were free to pursue entrepreneurial activities, which essentially included performing, teaching and composing.

The string quartets by the castrato Venanzio Rauzzini (1746-1810) position themselves within this complex economic and social context which revolved around the activity of the King's Theatre. Acting as first-class performer, impresario, composer, teacher and agent, Rauzzini proved to be a good player on London's treacherous ground, as he embodied all the possible expressions of a musician's career in the British Isles. In fact, Rauzzini's activity was not restricted to the city of London, but expanded to several provincial cities (Bath in particular), as well as Dublin.⁵⁷

Rauzzini's career demonstrates several typical aspects of the careers of Italian musicians working internationally. Introduced as a performer, he developed his career by undertaking composition both in operatic and instrumental repertoire, establishing a social network that allowed him to preserve a role within the British music scene. These features added to the peculiarity of Rauzzini's position, being not an instrumental virtuoso (like most of his Italian colleagues) but a singer, and even more specifically, a castrato. Originally from Camerino, a small town in central Italy under the Papal state, Rauzzini most likely studied in Rome and maybe in Naples, receiving a solid training not only in singing and instrumental practice, but also in counterpoint and composition. According to some sources, Rauzzini probably had a chance to study with Nicola Porpora, sa prominent personality in the musical world of the time with many connections around Europe. Porpora could have been important in promoting the career of the young singer and in consolidating both his performing and composing skills. After his studies, Rauzzini left Italy and, in 1766, entered the service of the Elector Maximilian Joseph in Munich. There Burney had the chance to hear Rauzzini performing in 1772; the Englishman was equally impressed by his voice, his ability as a composer and his demeanour:

⁵⁷ A recent biography of Venanzio Rauzzini was recently published by Paul Rice, *Venanzio Rauzzini in Britain: Castrato, Composer, and Cultural Leader* (Rochester: University of Rochester press, 2015).

⁵⁸ Ibid, 1.

The first singer in the serious opera here, is Signor Rauzzini, a young Roman performer, of singular merit, who has been six years in the service of this court; but is engaged to sing in an opera composed by young Mozart, at the next carnival at Milan; he is not only a charming singer, a pleasing figure, and a good actor; but a more excellent contrapuntist, and performer on the harpsichord, than a singer is usually allowed to be, as all kind of application to the harpsichord, or composition, is supposed, by the Italians, to be prejudicial to the voice. Signor Rauzzini has set two or three comic operas here, which have been very much approved; and he shewed and sung to me several airs of a serious cast, that were well written and in an exquisite taste.⁵⁹

After the meeting with Burney, Rauzzini left Munich and headed to Milan to work with the young Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, who tailored the role of Cecilio for him in the opera *Lucio Silla*, premiered in 1772. Mozart was evidently pleased with Rauzzini's singing and wrote the motet *Exultate*, *Jubilate* KV 165 for him.

Burney, influential as he was in London's musical environment, probably acted as a sponsor for Rauzzini in the British capital, inasmuch as he was engaged as *primo uomo* for the King's Theatre for two seasons (1775-6 and 1776-7). In London, Rauzzini acted as an able manager of himself and a good entrepreneur; he later became a renowned teacher for some of the most celebrated early nineteenth-century singers (among them: John Braham, Nancy Storace, Charles Incledon, Elizabeth Billington, John Kelly and Gertrud Mara). As Burney commented after their meeting, Rauzzini also proved to be a competent composer, and staged a number of *pasticci* and operas (his main success was *Piramo e Tisbe*, premiered on 16 March 1775). When his engagement at the King's Theatre was over, Rauzzini undertook the challenge of chamber music composition, in order to find another means other than singing to maintain his name at the height of fame in London. Meanwhile he moved his residence and most of his entrepreneurial activity to Bath, where he resided until the end of his life running a concert series and teaching.

While in London, Rauzzini started collaborating with Antonio Sacchini (1730-1786), a Florentine-born composer who studied in Naples in the Conservatorio S. Maria di Loreto. Sacchini had arrived in London in 1772, and had captivated the favour of the public with the operas *Il Cid* and *Tamerlano*, both performed at the King's Theatre in the 1773 season. Rauzzini and Sacchini represented a usual combination for Italian opera; a composer and a famous castrato often formed a team, travelling

⁵⁹ Charles Burney, *The Present State of Music in Germany, the Netherlands, and United Provinces*, 2nd edn., vol. 1 (London: T. Becket, 1775), 128.

MUSICALS.

ROTAL AND DISTINGUISHED PATRONS.

The King has been graciously pleased, at different times, to permit some of the most celebra-ted musicians to dedicate their musicals labours to his Royal Person, among whom Dr. Arnold, in his edition of Handel, and Scafford Smith, in his Collection of Ancient M.S. Songs, have had this

great honour.
TheQuEEN, perfectly confonant with her general tenor of amiable and virtuous liberality, has not only graciously condescended to permit English Artists, but her own country-men likewife to add lustre to their works by a dedication to her Majesty, among which is Dr. Burney's History of Music, the dedication of which opens in the following elegant stile.

" MADAM,

" The condescention with which your Majests has been pleafed to permit your name to fland before the following History, may justly reconcile the author to his fovourite study, and convince him, that whatever may be faid by the profesfors of feverer wisdom, the hours which he has bestowed upon music have been neither dishonourable, nor improperly fpent."

The PRINCE of WALES has honoured Schroeter's laft Sonatas with his Royal patronage and name, which is another proof of his good tafte in music, by diftinguishing to eminent a master as Sebroeter.

The PRINCESS ROYAL has feveral musical

works under her pa'ronage.

The DUKE of GLOUCESTER's name is prefixed to some of the most distinguished pieces of Inftrumental mulic.

The DUKE of CUMBERLAND has a very modest dedication by Baumgusten, to a celebrated t of his Quartette.

The ROYAL PATRONAGE will be humbly folicited, we understand, for the music of Young's Night Thoughts, which Billington has nearly com-

LADY ABINGDON has a very fine fet of Bach's, Sonatas dedicated to ber.

LADY SALISBURY has honoured a bock by

Parfors, the finging-master, with her name.

LADY GALWAY'S name graces several of Nichol's works.

LORD EDGECUMBE has also stamped the true value on feveral pieces of composition for many year past, by his name appearing at the opening of the Dedications.

The Duchess of Devonshire has in numherless inflances graced the English mafters works with her title and extensive patronage.

LORD AILESBURY has diftinguished the Quarsettos of Giardini with his name.

LADY SARAH and LADY ANN WINDSOR'S names appear in the title-page of Smith's

LORD ABINGDON gave to the musical world a manuscript set of original flute Quartetts, by Bach, who wrote them on purpose for his Lordflip's private performance.

LADY ELIZABETH BURRELL is addressed by LADY ELIZABETH Set of Ballads.

Figure 1: Morning Post, 2 January 1788

together. The composer had to write music suitable for the voice of a specific virtuoso, and this practice resulted in several successful artistic partnerships that developed within the London theatres during the eighteenth century: e.g. Handel and Senesino, Porpora and Farinelli, Bertoni and Pacchierotti.

Rauzzini and Sacchini produced their string quartets almost simultaneously, in the years of their maximum public activity.60 Rauzzini's Op. 2 was published by Welcker in 1778,61 some months after his last season as primo uomo at the King's Theatre. The dedicatee of this set was John Sackville, Duke of Dorset. Antonio Sacchini published his set of String Quartets Op. 2 with the editor Bremner just one month after Rauzzini, with a dedication to James Harris, who regularly hosted house concerts.⁶² Dedications of music publications to important personalities in high society were common, and were conceived 'as a sign of respect and admiration, as an acknowledgement of the composer's support for and influence over the dedicator's compositional process, or as an open claim to a personal connection with the composer'. 63 An article in the Morning Post from 2 January 1788 (Figure 1) presented a list of a number of eminent aristocrats along

⁶⁰ A list of Italian string quartet editions in London can be found at the end of this section in Table 1, 'First editions of string quartets by Italian composers published in London'.

⁶¹ Advertisement, Morning Post and Daily Advertiser, 26 February 1778.

⁶² Advertisement, Public Advertiser, 14 March 1778.

⁶³ Emily Green, 'A Patron among Peers', 221.

with their connections to the musical world, and mentioned several works dedicated to their name in a way resembling a certificate of their ability and their taste. Behind the apparent gratuitous and obsequious dedication, the composer was aiming at gaining some attention and reward, while the patron could take pride in seeing his name associated with that of a renowned composer. 64 It was only towards the end of the century that musicians began to address dedications to each other in sign of reciprocal professional esteem, but this custom did not apply to the Italian string quartet repertoire in the UK.65

The symbiosis between the opera system and the chamber music output is a *topos* of the time, and several composers who served at the King's Theatre contributed to this common pratice. Rauzzini's second set of string quartets, Op. 7, was published in 1781,66 in conjunction with the debut of the pasticcio *L'omaggio di paesani al signore del contado*, premiered on 5 June. This composition, to which Rauzzini contributed with the second of three acts,67 formalised the return of Rauzzini at the King's Theatre both as a composer and a singer.68

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⁶⁴ Further information about the system of patronage between late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century, with a particular focus on Vienna, was given by Tia DeNora. According to DeNora, patronage in the Austrian capital was stimulated by the interest of the aristocracy in establishing an implicit and elitist sense of ownership over the works of a specific composer (namely Beethoven). Nonetheless, in my opinion, in contrast to the Austrian situation, the musical environment in London was less markedly dependant on the support of the aristocracy, and the mercurial state of the activity of the music market facilitated an agile turnover of protagonists that did not entertain enduring patronage relations, with the exception of pedagogic connections. For further reference see: Tia DeNora, 'The Social Basis of Beethoven's Style', in *Paying the Piper: Causes and Consequences of Art Patronage*, ed. Judith H. Balfe (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1993), 9-29.

⁶⁵ With regard to the aspect of dedications in Viennese music publications, starting from 1784 (Pleyel's Op. 2), more than forty composers dedicated their works to Haydn: 'these dedications not only helped increase Haydn's fame and influence at the turn of the century, but also gave dozens of composers and their publishers the opportunity to use that reputation to their own advantage in an increasingly competitive musical marketplace'. The implications of this custom are analysed in Emily Green, 'A Patron among Peers'; Emily Green, 'Dedications and the Reception of the Musical Score, 1785-1850' (PhD dissertation, Cornell University, 2009), 181-198.

⁶⁶ Advertisement, Morning Herald, 26 May 1781.

⁶⁷ The first act was composed by Battista Bianchi, the third by Tommaso Giordani. For further reference see: Rice, 129.

⁶⁸ This collaboration continued with the staging of the operas *L'eroe Cinese* (1782), *Creusa in Delfo* (1783), and *Alina, ossia la regina di Golconda* (1784).

The Neapolitan composer Tommaso Giordani (c1730-1806) published his two sets of string quartets in 1772 (Op. 2) and 1773 (Op. 8), and in the same period he staged a pasticcio, *Artaserse*, at the King's Theatre.⁶⁹

Ferdinando Bertoni (1725-1813) published his six string quartets during his second residency at the King's Theatre, at the time of the opera *Il Convito*, premiered on 2 November 1782.

Felice Giardini (1716-1796) published his sets of string quartets Op. 22 and 23 between 1780 and 1782, while he was covering the role of principal violin at the Pantheon or at the King's Theatre. In November 1783 he published his Op. 25. During the summer of 1784 he left for Italy, only to return towards the end of 1789. His last set of quartets (Op. 29) was published in 1790, in correspondence with his return to the opera stage of the Little Theatre in Haymarket, this time not as principal violin, but as a conductor from the cembalo.

⁶⁹ The opera *Artaserse* was premiered on 25 April 1772 and enjoyed notable success. Other performances took place at the King's Theatre in March and June 1773.

⁷⁰ The King's Theatre had burned down the previous year.

Table 1: First editions of string quartets by Italian composers published in London 1765-1805

Author	Year	Op.	Publisher	Dedicatee	No.	Price	Notes
Latilla, Gaetano	1765	1	Hummell	-	6	n. a.	Modern edition by Michael Talbot (Steglein, 2007)
Pugnani, Gaetano	1768	1	Welcker	-	3	n. a.	
Pugnani, Gaetano	1770	-	Welcker	-	3	6s	PA 24/11/1770
Giordani, Tommaso	1772	2	J. Johnston	William Hart Esq.r	4(+2)	10s 6d	PA 14/3/1772
Giordani, Tommaso	1773	8	Napier	Contessa di Taaffe	6	10s 6d	MCLA 22/5/1773: 'In a few days will be published, a sett of Quartetts, by Signor Giordani'
Cirri, Giovanni Battista	1775	13	Welcker (by the Author)	Lord Viscount Dudley (John Ward 2nd)	6	10s 6d	PA 25/2/1775: 'NEW MUSIC,/ This Day is published,/ (Composed by Mr. CIRRI, Price 10s. 6d.)/ SIX QUARTETTOS for two Violins, with a Tenor, and a Violoncello Obligato, in a Manner of Conversation./ To be had of Mr. Cirri, No. 32, Berwick-street, Soho; or at Welcker's Music Shop, Gerrard- street, Soho.
Rauzzini, Venanzio	1778	2	Welcker	Duke of Dorset (John Sackville)	6	10s 6d	MPDA 26/2/1778
Sacchini, Antonio	1778	2	Bremner	Giacomo Harris Esq. (James Harris)	6	n. a.	PA 14/3/1778
Giardini, Felice	1780	22	Blundell	Earl of Aylesford	6	10s 6d	LCWC 2/8/1780
Piozzi, Gabriele	1780	4	By the Author (Bremner?)	Le Comte de Maltzan	6	n. a.	MH 20/1/1781: advertisement for the Sonatas Op. 5 and all Piozzi's former works
Rauzzini, Venanzio	1781	7	Welcker	-	6	10s 6d	MH 26/5/1781
Monza, Carlo	1781	2	Bland	-	6	10s 6d	SJC 20-22/12/1781 'Maestro della Cappella Reale a Milano'
Giardini, Felice	1782	23	Blundell	Prince of Wales (George IV)	2(+4)	n. a.	MH 26/3/1782. 'NEW MUSIC. / This day is published, / SIX Quartettos, two for a Violin, two Tenors, and Violoncello; two for two Violins, Tenor and Violoncello; two for a Violin, Oboe, Tenor, and Violoncello. Composed by FELICE GIARDINI, Music Master to his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, and to their Royal Highnesses the Dukes of Gloucester and Cumberland, and most humbly dedicated to his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales. London: Printed for and sold by James Blundell, No. 10, Haymarket, opposite to the Opera House []'
Bertoni, Ferdinando	1782		Bremner (by the Author)	William Beckford Esq.	6	n. a.	
Giardini, Felice	1783	25	Thompson	Duke of Devonshire (William Cavendish)	3(+3)	10s 6d	SH 28/11/1783 [advertisement PA 17/3/1784]
Giuliani, Giovanni Francesco	1787	7	W. Forster	Conte Giovanni Guarini	6	n.a.	According to Grove Music Online
Giardini, Felice	1790	29	Longman & Broderip (for the Author)	Lord Grey de Wilton	6	10s 6d	SH 13/5/1790
Viotti, Giovanni Battista	1805	22	Clementi, Banger, Hyde, Collard & Davis		3 (fl/vln)		_

THE MUSICIAN IN THE PRIVATE SALONS

A musician's public success, which was often linked to activity at the King's Theatre, would open him the doors of the private salons of high society. In fact, a crucial factor in a musician's career was the possibility of his gaining access to the exclusive circle of private concerts, where the public could not enter just by paying a ticket, but required an invitation; to reject an invitation was equivalent to a direct offence to the host. These social gatherings were instrumental in generating support for this or that singer, the creation of a *claque* and, consequently, the success or the *fiasco* of an entire opera. As private lessons constituted a relevant part of their income in London, professional musicians were also keen on playing an active part in the private gatherings hosted in their wealthy students' households, and composed pieces specifically for these occasions.

In the London private gatherings celebrated professional artists joined rich amateurs (in most cases more endowed with money than talent) in performing the most recent compositions provided by a dynamic publishing market, including numerous arrangements of opera arias for a variety of ensembles; once the theatre curtain came down, operas would make their way into the salons of the aristocracy as well as the drawing rooms of the dynamic and lively bourgeoisie in the form of collections of favourite arias. The flourishing publishing market made available a large number of transcriptions and arrangements, in addition to various chamber music compositions destined for domestic entertainment. String quartets (along with sonatas for violin, pianoforte or harpsichord, quartets for two violins, violoncello obbligato and harpsichord, trios and duets for several instruments, etc.) provided additional income for the composer and acquired a complementary value in relation to the fame the composer had gained in the opera theatre or as a virtuoso. In turn, an increased popularity promoted further publications and, consequently, further engagements. At the same time, these compositions represented a passe-partout for the salons hosted by the most influential personalities, a key that allowed the musician to penetrate this private network. An article from 1787 discussed the Prince's musical parties and listed many of the first performers in the musical rank of the city that were keen to perform without any official remuneration at his concerts: 'Pieltain, the French Horn we mean, is lately added to the Prince's band, which now stands thus: Cramer, Crosdel, Park, Schroeter, Suck, Cole, Blake, and Borghi. They have not all regular salaries, though

none of them have any reason to complain of the want of liberality in their Royal Master.'⁷¹ Clearly they received some generous gratuity and, most important, were invested with an allure of prestige that made all of them highly desirable as private teachers for all the other wealthy families of London's high society.

Within an intimate domestic environment, either in the city or at country residences, chamber music represented an ideal link to the opera house, albeit in a more exclusive and elite dimension.

While analysing papers from the Harris family describing their daily routine as well as their links with the musical world, Burrows advanced the hypothesis of the occurrence of fundamental changes in both the aesthetic and socio-political frameworks of London's cultural life from the 1760s onwards:

It seems that by 1780 opera-going had fallen into a routine that shared the same sort of patterns and status as attendance at plays at Drury Lane and Covent Garden [...], while the important social action and political contacts took place at concerts and private assemblies. The distinction between these last two is often very vague: some private concerts were primarily social gatherings, and some assemblies included incidental musical performances.⁷²

In line with what Burrows had observed in Harris's papers, the flourishing of a private social network of music parties constituted a positive environment for the development of an articulated and varied chamber repertoire which was aimed at the performers' own amusement. Ironically, as opera became more and more accessible to a larger share of the population, the British upper classes reacted by recreating an exclusive environment, in a process comparable to the one evidenced by De-Nora in relation to the establishment of a more complex, exclusive and conceptual repertoire in the Viennese environment between 1790s and the first decade of the nineteenth century.⁷³

In the private salon a wealthy amateur could ascend to the same level of an accomplished performer, while the professional musician would accommodate himself to his host's level, providing music that was technically accessible and, as attested by the dedications, was specifically composed

⁷¹ Public Advertiser, 11 January 1787.

⁷² Donald Burrows, 'Æsthetics and Politics: Italian Opera as Revealed in the Correspondence of James Harris', in *LISA/LISA e-journal, Media, culture, histoire, Culture et société* (2004) http://lisa.revues.org/888 [accessed 23 December 2014], ¶31.

⁷³ Tia DeNora, 'Musical Patronage and Social Change in Beethoven's Vienna', *American Journal of Sociology*, vol. 97, no. 2 (1991), 310-346.

for such kind of occasions. The contrary was not quite true, as even the most outstanding musicians were considered as craftsmen, and their social level deemed inferior, at least implicitly. The social gap became evident on several occasions during the 1780s. One of the most striking cases saw as a protagonist the pianist Johann Samuel Schröter (1752-1788), who succeeded J. C. Bach in 1782 as music teacher of Queen Charlotte. When he eloped to Scotland with one of his students, a wealthy lady, her family settled an allowance of £500 per annum for him on condition that he abandoned performance as a career.⁷⁴

A similar scandal generated by a crossing of social boundaries was provoked by Hester Lynch. A member of the powerful Salisbury family, Hester Thrale Lynch was the widow of Henry Thrale, a rich brewer. Already in her forties, she 'ignominiously married'⁷⁵ the Italian singer Gabriele Piozzi (1740-1809), who was her daughters' music teacher. The couple undertook a journey to Italy for some time to avoid the polemic raised by their union, and later settled in North Wales in relative isolation. The feeling of frustration related to the aleatory financial aspect of music making is recurrent in eighteenth-century accounts, but the letter written on 12 April 1761 by the German violinist, composer and astronomer William Herschel (1738-1822) to his brother, gives us an idea of the problems musicians had to face in their activity. Herschel was born in Hanover and fled to England during the Seven Years' War, making his living there as a violinist and oboe player, as well as a renowned music teacher. In 1781 his interest in astronomy led him to the discovery of Uranus, which granted him the title of Court Astronomer and a fixed income of £200 per annum. In the letter written twenty years before that important turning point in his life he underlined how the economic uncertainty intrinsic to a musical career had become unbearable to him:

You don't perhaps know that I have already some time been thinking of leaving off professing Musick and the first opportunity that offers I shall really do so. It is very well, in your way, when one has a fixed Salary, but to take so much for a Concert, so much for a teaching, and so much for a Benefit is what I do not like at all, and rather than go on in that way I would take any opportunity of leaving off Musick; not that I intend to forget it, for it should always be my chief

⁷⁴ Johann Wilhelm von Archenholtz, *The British Mercury or Annals of History, Politics, Manners, Literature, Arts Etc. Of the British Empire*, Vol. 7, n. 52 (Hamburg: Hoffmann, 1788), 396-399.

⁷⁵ Samuel Johnson, Letter to Hester Thrale Piozzi, 2 July 1784, Harvard University Library, MS Hyde 1 (93) http://pds.lib.harvard.edu/pds/view/8361485?n=600 [accessed 10 October 2016].

⁷⁶ This decision was also motivated by Piozzi's illness, but Hester Thrale was later to take part to Bath's social life after her husband's death.

study tho' I had another employment. But Musick ought not to be treated in that mercenary footing. 77

We can imagine that the pianist Muzio Clementi (1752-1832) had probably reached similar conclusions when he decided to quit his successful career as a performer in London in 1790, at the height of his fame. Afterwards, he completely devoted himself to teaching, and, subsequently, to music publishing and instrument making. Leon Plantinga commented on Clementi's decision as an attempt to improve his social condition:

To some of Clementi's admirers on the continent, particularly in Germany, his gradual conversion from art to business seemed like a degrading capitulation to materialism; but in higher English society it would have been seen as a step towards respectability. Clementi thereby freed himself from the opprobrium attached in England to professional musicians and embarked upon the kind of purposeful activity that was building a powerful nation and empire.⁷⁸

In this context, it is true that music publications and private concerts represented a necessary means for a performer to promote himself, in order to obtain visibility and remunerative engagements, but always within a rigidly structured society that strongly contrasted any attempt at social advancement. This was particularly true of Italian composers, always regarded with suspicion for their Catholic upbringing, and even more for the castrati, who represented the common stereotype of the untrustworthy, sexually ambiguous and corrupt Roman clergy.

Nevertheless, the love for Italian art and culture in eighteenth-century London favoured the diffusion of music and, consequently, attracted a great number of performers. The community of Italian musicians played an important role in the spread of the string quartet genre in the London environment. As I will later discuss with regard to the Vanderbouzzen affair, ⁷⁹ musicians of various nationalities adopted models, patterns and compositional features which were characteristic of Italian repertoire and partly derived from the opera.

THE ITALIAN STRING QUARTET IN THE PRIVATE ENVIRONMENT

Despite the scant accounts of private performances of Italian string quartets, they are nevertheless referred to by contemporaries. From personal diaries we can retrieve information that provides an

⁷⁷ Letter cited in Anthony J. Turner, Science and music in eighteenth century Bath: catalogue of an exhibition in the Holburne of Menstrie Museum, Bath, 22 September 1977-29 December 1977 (Bath: University of Bath, 1977), 24.

⁷⁸ Leon Plantinga, *Clementi, his life and music* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977), 156.

⁷⁹ See the section 'The dualism between Italian and German compositional style: the Vanderbouzzen affair'.

impression of the presence of the string quartet in private contexts. In the following accounts it is common to find the names of well-known performers: this is mainly because the available sources refer to personalities of a certain significance within the music scene (the Burney family, James Harris, John Marsh). The confirmation that private performances were a common practice comes from the publisher Robert Bremner, who published a pamphlet in 1777 entitled 'Some Thoughts on the Performance of Concert Music', aimed at giving some instruction 'to those gentlemen who laudably meet together to improve, and feast on their own musical performances'.80 Furthermore, had the string quartets been performed exclusively by their composers, there would have been no interest from publishers to invest in such a great number of editions destined to the lovers of this genre. Fanny Burney reports an account of a possible private performance of one or more quartets from Rauzzini's Op. 2 which took place on 19 March 1778 at James Harris's house, though it is not explicitly specified if any of his instrumental music was performed on that occasion. Rauzzini's quartets had been published less than a month before, on 26 February. Among the performers we find James Cervetto (1748-1837) on the violoncello and Franz Lamotte (c1751-1780) on the violin: both would have also been playing at the Nancy Storace's benefit concert that took place a month later, where a quartet by Rauzzini received its only recorded public performance. This could be the description of a possible private prémiere of the work. Miss Burney left the following account in her diary:

On Thursday morning, we went to a delightful Concert at Mr. Harris's. The sweet Rauzini was there, & sung 4 Duets with Miss Louisa Harris: He has now left the opera, where he is succeeded by Roncaglia. I was extremely delighted at meeting with him again, & again hearing him sing, La Motte, Cervetto, played several Quartettos divinely, & the morning afforded me the greatest Entertainment.⁸¹

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⁸⁰ For a full transcript see Neal Zaslaw, 'The Compleat Orchestral Musician', Early Music, vol. 7, no. 1 (1979), 46-57

⁸¹ Fanny Burney, *The Early Journals and Letters of Fanny Burney*, ed. Lars E. Troide and Stewart J. Cooke, vol.3 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), 7-8. James Harris recorded the event in his diary: 'Thursday March 19 Concert at my house in the morning – Rauzzini, Cervetto, La Motte, a 2nd violin - & viola – much good company'. From Donald Burrows and Rosemary Dunhill, *Music and theatre in Handel's world* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 973.

About a year later, on 15 May 1779, the amateur musician John Marsh (1752-1828) left in his diary an account of a private performance of Sacchini's quartets:⁸²

At Mr Harris's I had the pleasure of hearing La Motte, Fischer, Cervetto, Hackwood & Sacchini, who sat at the piano forte (2 of whose instrumental quartettos were perform'd) & Rauzzini, Miss L Harris & 2 other young ladies sung, there being a good deal of company, who sat on forms placed across the room.

In these few words we can find several details that deserve some attention in order to improve our understanding of the string quartet performances in the private environment. The performance took place once again at Harris's house, during a Saturday morning gathering:⁸³ James Harris (1709-1780), a politician and grammarian, was the dedicatee of Sacchini's Op. 2. The performers were Lamotte, Cervetto and Francis Hackwood (fl. 1784-1820) on the viola; Rauzzini was also present. Johann Christian Fischer (1733-1800) was a renowned oboe player, but we can assume that on this occasion he took up the second violin part.⁸⁴ All of them were renowned orchestral and solo performers. At Harris' house, Sacchini sat at the piano and took part in the performance of his own quartets, playing the continuo. The accompaniment of a string quartet from a keyboard instrument (being it a harpsichord or a piano) was not an uncommon event, and sometimes the keyboard instrument replaced the violoncello and took full responsibility for the bass part. In Sacchini's particular case, this alternative is even more justified by the fact that the six quartets were composed for 'Due Violini, Viola e Basso', ⁸⁵ the 'Basso' part bearing figures throughout the whole set, without any explicit mention of the violoncello (figures can be found also in the sporadic passages in tenor clef).

The use of the piano as a support for the string quartet texture was sometimes even necessary to fill the gap in case a performer was missing. In a performance given at Susan Burney and her husband

⁸² Brian Robins, ed., *The John Marsh Journals: The Life and Times of a Gentleman Composer (1752-1828)* (Stuyvesant, NY: Pendragon Press, 1998), 198.

⁸³ The house concert is confirmed by James Harris's entry in his diary: '15 May Saturday: Concert at home, much good company – Performers vocal Miss Bulls, Miss Holford, Louisa [Harris] & Rauzzini – instrumental Sacchini, Cervetto, La Motte, Fischer, Stainer, Hackwood – an excellent performance – dined at home'. In Burrows and Dunhill, *Music and theatre in Handel's world*, 1030.

⁸⁴ In a portrait painted by Thomas Gainsborough (1727-88) and kept in Windsor Castle, Fischer is standing next to a keyboard instrument on which a two-keyed oboe is laid, while a violin is resting on a chair behind him, as if to illustrate his range of abilities as a performer and composer.

⁸⁵ In Italian, as stated on the frontispiece of the Bremner edition.

Captain Molesworth Phillips's country house in Norbury Park, Susan was required to play the part of the cello on the piano:

M^r B. was in excellent spirits & we had a most charming eve^g – tried over 5 new quartettos of Pleyell w^{ch} are delicious, & w^{ch} M^r Scheener⁸⁶ played most *exquisitely* – I was obliged to play the violoncello part as well as I was able on the Piano Forte – but even in spite of that disadvantage, it was a charming performance, & I listened to it with unspeakable delight.⁸⁷

Despite the presence of celebrated performers, house concerts did not always meet the expectations of the listeners. The same Susan Burney gave a description of a disappointing musical encounter with the elderly Giardini, which took place in the spring of 1790 in a private performance at Charles Burney's house. A small crowd of about ten people (players included) gathered in Dr Burney's studio and performed some vocal and instrumental music:

[Giardini's] powers are almost wholly gone – he mistook the notes, scratched, & in short played like a bad *dilettante* performer. In his Quartettos [Op. 29] composed for himself in this his decline, he was better – but had indeed very little left of those musical abilities for which he has been so famed – his tone is only sweet in slow passages – his execution is wretched - & his taste old fashioned, & now at times inelegant almost to vulgarity – wth regard to feeling & expression I always tho^t him very deficient - & always considered him as a very mechanical player. [...] Many in the room however professed that they tho^t him *divine* – so common is to take merit upon trust, & so few there are who can form any judgment for themselves.⁸⁸

This last account is significant for the importance of private concerts in relation to public concert life. The 74-year-old violinist appeared in blatant decline: his style was 'wretched', probably because of his poor health conditions, and 'old' because of his age. In this last meeting in Burney's studio, Giardini introduced his pupil Marianna Laurenti, a singer who performed as *prima buffa* at the Haymarket Theatre from January 1790. Laurenti had received a poor response from her appearances on the theatre's stage, and this meeting was probably an unsuccessful attempt for Giardini and his protégée to regain Dr Burney's plaudit, with the hope of obtaining other engagements for the next season. Subsequently, Giardini held a marginal role in London's music life, and left the country on 15 May 1792 after a last farewell concert. He had probably realised his time was over, and with him a large portion of the Italian musical dominance in the country.

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⁸⁶ Scheener, or Schöner, was a Swiss violinist from Geneva who frequently performed at the Burneys and in London. His first name is not known.

⁸⁷ Letter dated 23 August 1788, cited in Ian Woodfield, *Salomon and the Burneys: Private Patronage and a Public Career*, RMA Monographs (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), 26-27.

⁸⁸ Ibid., p. 69 [4 April 1790].

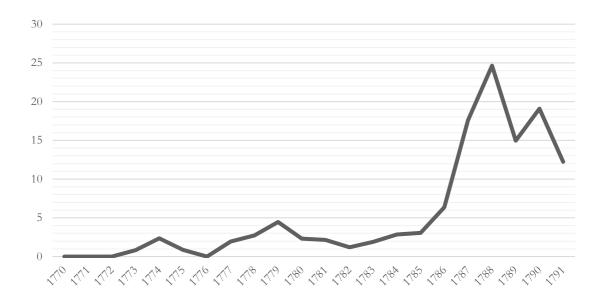
THE STRING QUARTET IN PUBLIC CONCERTS

The String Quartet mainly developed as a domestic genre, but was not completely alien to the public stage, particularly at benefit concerts and subscription concerts. While string quartets had been regularly issued by London publishers since 1765, it is only with the institution of the public concert series organised by Salomon and Cramer that the genre became a regular feature in the programmes, gaining a more professional status. The programmes for the Bach-Abel concerts, running from 1768 to 1782, were not advertised, therefore it is impossible to know whether they included string quartets or not. Nevertheless, considering the quartets they published individually, jointly and in collaboration with other composers, it is likely that some of their compositions appeared on the public stage.

Until 1786 the performances of quartets during public concerts are sparse: in his *Calendar* McVeigh records a total of 42 entries in the years between 1769 and 1786, that is about 2.5 performances per year. A stronger interest is recorded in the years between 1787 and 1792, when more than 20 per cent of public concerts included the performance of at least one string quartet.⁸⁹ Occasionally, when a new set of string quartets was published, it was presented to the public during a benefit concert: this happened for a quartet by Sacchini, performed on 9 April 1778 during a benefit concert for the singer Sarah Bates née Harrop (a pupil of Sacchini), while one of Rauzzini's quartets (presumably from Op. 2) was given a single public performance on 27 April 1778 in another benefit concert for one of his pupils, the singer Nancy Storace. These are the only recorded public performances of string quartets by Sacchini and Rauzzini.⁹⁰

⁸⁹ For further information on this topic: McFarlane and McVeigh, 161-196.

⁹⁰ McVeigh, Calendar.

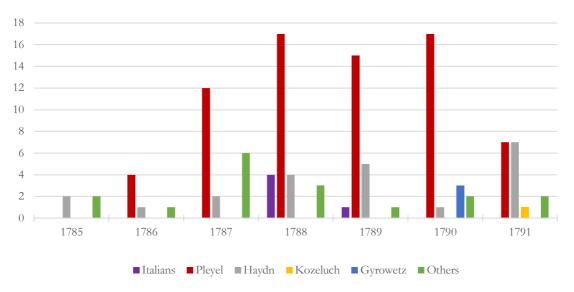


Graph 1: Quartets % in advertised concert programmes

In Graph 1 we can see the relative presence of the string quartet genre in public concert programmes.

The end of the Bach-Abel concerts in 1782 left an empty space in London's musical life. The violinist Johann Salomon arrived in London in 1781 and began his collaboration with the local series of concerts in 1783, playing a relevant role as a performer and occasionally as a manager, until he obtained an undeniable success with Haydn's engagement in 1791-2.91 Salomon often inserted string quartets in his programmes, almost exclusively by authors belonging to the Austrian musical environment (primarily Pleyel, but also Haydn and occasionally Kozeluch and Gyrowetz). The King's Theatre, the home for the Italian Opera, burned down on 17 June 1789. The building of the new Opera House was completed in 1793, but the reopening was subject to an intricate legal quarrel concerning the royal patent for Italian Opera. In addition, the Pantheon, the rival musical venue, burned down in 1792. The complex Italian opera system in London received a serious blow as a consequence of these incidents. Consequently, the series of public concerts such as the Salomon concerts and the Professional Concerts (led by Salomon's rival, Cramer, starting in 1785) prospered, and the interest in instrumental music grew.

⁹¹ Simon McVeigh, 'The Professional Concert and rival subscription series in London, 1783-1793', Research Chronicle, 22 (1989), 1-135 (2).



Graph 2. Public string quartet performances 1785-1791 by author

Salomon managed to hire Haydn for the 1791 season, which featured seven recorded performances of quartet pieces by the Austrian composer. Haydn's String Quartets Op. 64 were advertised as printed by Bland (as Op. 65) on 10 June 1791. The title page of the Op. 64 set explicitly mentions the link between the public performance and the edition: 'Composed by Guiseppe [sic] Haydn, / and performed under his Direction, / at Mr Salomon's Concert, the Festino rooms Hanover Square'. Given the seven recorded performances of string quartets by Haydn in that year, it is likely that the whole Op. 64 was performed during that year's series. At that time, references to public performances frequently appeared on editions of arias or other compositions presented by eminent musicians, but were not common in instrumental music, and especially not on string quartet editions.

As we can see from graph 2, the predominance of string quartet performances by Austrian composers from 1787 to 1791 is stunning, particularly those of Pleyel's music, while public performances of Italian string quartets are rare. From 1785 to 1791 the only Italian names associated to public string quartet performances are those of Giardini and Raimondi: both had been involved in the King's Theatre as principal violins.⁹²

⁹² The performances by Italian composers between 1785 and 1791 were five in total: three by Raimondi (all in 1788), and two by Giardini (one in 1788 and one in 1789). Ignazio Raimondi (1735-1813) was born in Naples. He studied with Emanuele Barbella (1718-1777), who was taught by Pasquale Bini (1716-1770), a pupil of Tartini; therefore, Raimondi could be partially considered as belonging to the third generation of Tartini's

Scuola delle Nazioni. In 1788, he led three public performances of his string quartets in London, and at least other five performances of his flute quartets. Raimondi published two collections of flute quartets: Op. 7

Data confirms what Charles Burney commented in 1789: "There has lately been a rage for the music of Pleyel, which has diminished the attention of amateurs and the public to all other violin music'. 93 Ignace Pleyel arrived in London in 1791, the same year as Haydn: he was fleeing from revolutionary France as were many other musicians, but he was already very popular in Britain before his arrival. As he arrived in London, he started a collaboration with Wilhelm Cramer, the organiser of the Professional Concerts. Pleyel's quartets are simpler, more straightforward and less technically demanding than Haydn's analogous compositions: this easiness greatly contributed, in the short term, to their private and public popularity, as confirmed by a comment that appeared in the *Morning Herald* on 22 November 1791:

PLEYEL, the celebrated composer, certainly visits this country in the course of the approaching musical season. This composer, who is a pupil of the great HAYDN, is becoming even more popular than his master; as his works are characterized less by the intricacies of science than the charm of simplicity and feeling.⁹⁴

These two qualities were considered the trade-mark of the Italian output, as certified by Pleyel himself in the dedicatory letter of his String Quartets Op. 1;95 the same concept was expressed on the polemic and allegorical image from the cover page of the Vanderbouzzen trios, as will be discussed below.

In those years, Austro-German composers (namely Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven and so on) were exploring the form and pushing it beyond the comfort zone. British amateurs accepted the evolution of the form in longer and complex pieces with some reluctance: already in 1776, William Napier

(RISM ID No. 00000990053503, three quartets, advertised in *Berliner Nachrichten*, 9 February 1779) and Op. 10 (RISM ID No. 00000990053506, six quartets, advertised in *Amsterdamsche Courant*, 28 June 1788). Both sets were originally published in Amsterdam, by Hummel (I thank Prof. Rudolf Rasch for this information). The second set was later published in London by the author (RISM ID No. 00000990053507) and, subsequently, by Welcker (RISM ID No. 00000990053508). In an advertisement dated 18 January 1787 (*Morning Herald*) Raimondi informs the public that 'a New Quartetto for flute, violin, tenor and violoncello' would be performed at his benefit concert on 31 January, and that at his own address there 'may also be had several pieces of music, consisting of symphonies, quartettos, trios, duets, and solos, of his composition'. This advertisement, along with the considerable number of public performances of Raimondi's quartets from 1787 to 1792, can act in absence of stronger evidence as an evidence for the date of publication of the London Op. 10 edition. Its title page calls for a flute quartet performance, but at least two of them were string quartets. The inner pages of the first volume suggest the violin as an alternative in quartets 1, 2, 4 and 6, while in quartets 3 and 5 the first volume states 'Violino Primo'. In the same quartets, the header of the second volume changes into 'Violino Secondo', thus excluding the possibility of a flute performance for quartets 3 and 5.

⁹³ Charles Burney, A General History of Music, vol. 4, 591.

⁹⁴ Cited in: Howard C. Robbins Landon, Haydn in England 1791-1795 (London: Thames and Hudson, 1976), 108.

⁹⁵ See the section: 'The String Quartet in Italy'.

advertised the publication of two sets of 'miscellaneous quartettos' based on 'English, Scotch, Irish, German, Italian and French' songs as follows:

It has been a general Complaint among the Lovers of Music, that the Quartettos which have been lately published, although many of them are excellent and well composed, yet are so very difficult that none but the best Masters are capable of performing them.⁹⁶

The trend that stimulated composers to write more and more complex, technically demanding and long quartets was obvious not only to the London public, but also in Venice and Vienna: in both places we can find evidence in the music advertisements of the amateurs' resistance to the new complex music. The publication of the String Quintet Op. 3 by Antonio Capuzzi was advertised in 1787 by the publisher Zatta as 'void of all the manners that make the execution difficult'. ⁹⁷ A remark similar to Napier's appeared some years later in the *Wiener Zeitung* in 1791, in an advertisement for Haydn's String Quartets Op. 64:

Until now there have been general complaints about the extraordinary difficulties experienced in the performance of Haydn's works. Mr. Haydn has resolved this [problem] in these 6 quartets [by showing] that he knows how to combine art, playfulness and good taste with the simplest facility in such a manner that both artist and mere amateur will be completely satisfied.⁹⁸

Seen from the musician's point of view, the creation of a repertoire that rendered his own involvement essential could have provided more performance opportunities. This had two consequences: professional performers became indispensable for music making and, at the same time, less tied to the income provided by a single private patron. The peak of string quartet public performances from 1787 to 1790, with an average of 22 quartet performance per annum, witnessed the presence of a regular group of performers such as Cramer, his antagonist Salomon, Borghi, Blake, Shield, Hindmarsh, Lindley and some others. Before that time, the string quartet genre prospered even without the presence of professional musicians during their performances, just as the vocal genre of the glee relied on the amateur circles. While the string quartet became more professionalized, domestic music-making began to revolve around the piano: some string players that had been active in public and private contexts as quartet performers decided to undertake a more remunerative career

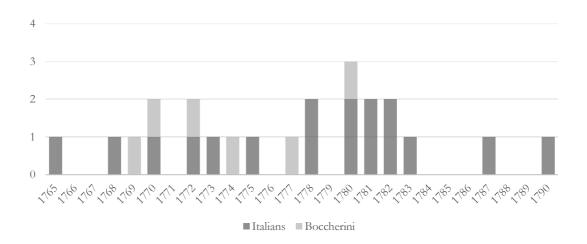
⁹⁸ Wiener Zeitung, 28 December 1791; quoted in Otto Erich Deutsch (ed.), Mozart: die Document seines Lebens, (Kassel: Bäerenreiter, 1961), 376.

⁹⁶ Public Advertiser, 18 January 1776. These quartets, twelve in total and distributed in two sets of six, were arranged by Stamitz, Vachon and Barthélemon.

⁹⁷ For further reference, see the section 'The String Quartet in Italy'.

in piano teaching, such as the aforementioned violist Benjamin Blake (1751-1827) and the violinist Charles Henry Wilton (1761-1832). Blake had regularly appeared from 1785 to 1793 at the Professional Concerts playing quartets with Cramer, his former teacher: in 1793, he resigned from the position and devoted himself to the piano, taking lessons with Clementi. Wilton, a pupil of Giardini's, moved to Italy after 1780, and studied with Nardini in Florence. In 1784 he came back to Britain and performed in several provincial cities, but by 1812 his main occupation was piano teaching.

From a publisher's point of view, the professionalisation of performance implied a risk of losing market share: in fact, the interest in a domestic genre such as the easy and comfortable Italian string quartet faded, as we can see from Graph 3, which traces the publication of first editions of Italian string quartets in London. In the graph, the publications of reprints of string quartet sets by Boccherini have been added, albeit in a different colour, despite the fact that he was not present on the London scene: as will be discussed later in chapter four, Boccherini's works were particularly welcomed in the British music market and he became the most published Italian string quartet composer.



Graph 3. Total number of first edition of string quartet sets by Italian composers published in London, with a differentiation between quartets by Boccherini and those by other Italian composers (1765-1790)

⁹⁹ Roger Fiske and Simon McVeigh, 'Blake, Benjamin', *Grove Music Online*, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com [accessed 27 April 2016].

¹⁰⁰ Brian Frith and Simon McVeigh, 'Wilton, Charles Henry', *Grove Music Online*, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com [accessed 27 April 2016].

From 1772, string quartets by Italian composers appeared with regularity until 1782: afterwards, the frequency diminished until it faded away after 1790. The only publication from 1790 is Giardini's Op. 29: at the time, the elderly Giardini was attempting a desperate comeback on the London scene after a period of six years in Italy, but his return was prevented by the position of predominance already acquired by German composers. British contemporaries were aware of the somehow ground-breaking novelties introduced by Haydn and his followers in the art of composition. Stevens specifically identified the 'Modern German Style of Music' while describing the activity of Pleyel and Haydn at the Professional and Salomon Concerts:

This year, 1791 [recte: 1792], I regularly attended the Professional Concert [organized by Cramer], at which Pleyel presided; and Haydn's twelve Concerts [organized by Salomon], at which he presided; in order to hear the Modern German Style of Music, and the method of conducting it, by two of its most eminent Composers.¹⁰¹

This dualism between the Italian tradition and the new German vogue became evident when Haydn and Giardini began to exchange inelegant compliments such as when Haydn reported that Giardini 'played like a pig'¹⁰² and the Italian refused to meet 'that German dog'.¹⁰³ After Giardini's Op. 29, no Italian string quartet set appeared in London until Viotti's Op. 22, published in 1805 (three quartets for flute or violin).

EARLY STRING QUARTETS BY AUSTRO-GERMAN COMPOSERS IN UK

As we have seen with regard to public performances, the string quartet output in London and the United Kingdom in general was not monopolised by Italian composers: several musicians coming from all over the continent, and in particular from central Europe and Bohemia, contributed to the spread of the genre. Until the 1780s, Austrian and German composers had often been influenced by the Italian tradition, and therefore collaborations with Italian colleagues were frequent and differences in compositional style with regard to the string quartet were minimal. Although many of them appeared to have been at least partially influenced by the Italian style, as they studied and worked in Italian cities during their formative years or were involved in the opera system, others

¹⁰² Noted by Haydn in his notebook on 22 May 1792. Howard C. Robbins Landon, *The Collected Correspondence and London Notebooks of Joseph Haydn* (London: Barrie and Rockliff, 1959), 257.

¹⁰¹ Argent, Recollections of R. J. S. Stevens, 79.

¹⁰³ Georg August Griesinger, Biographische Notizen über Joseph Haydn (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1810), p. 62.

(mainly Haydn and his followers) introduced unprecedented compositional and formal novelties.¹⁰⁴ A brief observation of the Austro-German string quartet repertoire in Britain during the period between 1760s-1780s will demonstrate how the two traditions coexisted. The dichotomy between the two national styles became evident towards the end of the eighteenth century, especially when Haydn's string quartet format became the predominant standard. While in the opera world the unchallenged predominance of the Italian tradition did not allow for the spread of a comparable Austro-German genre (and suffocated most attempts to create a national English opera), it is in the instrumental works that this difference emerged.¹⁰⁵

Two German composers were leading figures of musical life in the English capital during the second half of the eighteenth century: Johann Christian Bach (1735-1782) and Carl Friedrich Abel (1723-1787). Both were closely connected to the British Royal family, and were particularly proactive on the London music scene. It is worth underlining that the House of Hanover, which had ruled Great Britain and Ireland since 1714, was still well connected to its German roots during the eighteenth century. Within the timespan examined in this dissertation, the British king was George III of Hanover (1738-1820), who reigned from 1760 until the Regency Act (1811), when he conferred power to his son, the Prince of Wales (George IV). George III married Charlotte of Mecklenburg-Strelitz (1744-1818) soon after his coronation. Queen Charlotte, born near Mirow, in Northern Germany, proved to be an enthusiastic patron of the arts, with a pronounced German taste.

¹⁰⁴ Much analytical work has been done on techniques such as formal process, thematic-motivic manipulation, sonata deformation, evolution of formal function, and individualistic approaches to structure. In general, such studies focus on Austro-German repertoire and do not take Italian repertoire into account. Among these works we can mention James Webster, *Haydn's 'Farewell' Symphony and the Idea of Classical Style* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1991); James Hepokoski, Warren Darcy, *Elements of sonata theory: norms, types and deformations in the late eighteenth-century sonata* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006); Danuta Mirka, *Metric Manipulation in Haydn and Mozart* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009).

¹⁰⁵ I decided to adopt the term Austro-German to define a style that was the product of a mix of different influences, but essentially in order to refer to the composers that animated the musical life in Vienna in the second part of the eighteenth century and who were crucial for the development of the idea of a 'Viennese Classical School in London', discussed by David Wyn Jones and by other authors. For further reference about the definition of Austrian and German music in the London context see David Wyn Jones, 'Haydn, Austria and Britain: Music, Culture and Politics in the 1790s', in *The Land of Opportunity – Joseph Haydn and Britain*, ed. Richard Chesser and David Wyn Jones (London: The British Library, 2013), 1-21 (6-8).

Bach and Abel were among the first composers to publish quartets in London and both contributed to creating the public/private mix that set the trend for a later output. The six string quartets Op. 8 by Abel, published in London in 1769, were erroneously considered by Cliff Eisen as 'the first string quartets published in England', 106 but the set of quartets by Latilla was available as early as 1765, and also Franz Xavier Richter (1709-1789) had already had his Op. 5 set published by Longman in 1768.¹⁰⁷ Johann Christian Bach (1735-1782) is a pivotal figure in the eighteenth-century London music scene, and acted as a bridge between the German and the Italian tradition. He arrived in London in 1762, coming from Italy: there he had studied with Padre Martini from 1756, later covering the role of organist at the Cathedral in Milan from 1760. Bach's formation was grounded in the German school of his father Johann Sebastian Bach (1685-1750), but thanks to his Italian training he became an esteemed contributor to the opera repertoire. Soon after his debut at the King's Theatre, Bach was appointed as Queen Charlotte's music master. He shared this position with Carl Friedrich Abel (1723-1787), who had settled in London in 1759. The Abel and Bach families had been connected on numerous occasions in Leipzig and Dresden: thus, the collaboration between the two Germans naturally continued in London, giving birth to a series of concerts (currently known as the Bach-Abel concerts) that lasted from 1765 to 1782. Their contribution to the musical life of the city clearly expressed itself in several publications, especially with regard to chamber music.

Johann Christian Bach published several sets of quartets for a wind instrument (flute or oboe) and string trio. A set of quartets by this author was advertised on 20 March 1772 in the *Public Advertiser* as published by Welcker, with no specification of the instrumentation. This set probably corresponds to the Op. 8, which according to the title page is 'for a German Flute, Violin, Tenor and Violoncello': nevertheless, on 7 April 1772 (*Public Advertiser*) the same set was explicitly advertised as

¹⁰⁶ Cliff Eisen, et al. 'String Quartet', *Grove Music Online* http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com [accessed 5 June 2016].

¹⁰⁷ Richter's quartets are in three movements. The date of composition of these works is c1747, according to: David Wyn Jones, 'The String Quartets of Vanhal' (PhD dissertation, University of Wales, 1978), vol. 1, p. 28.

string quartets for 'two Violins, a Tenor and Violoncello', demonstrating how the string option could have been the most appealing one for the public.¹⁰⁸

The business enterprise of the two Germans also led to joint publications of quartets: one set with works for mixed ensemble (*Six quatuors concertant par J. C. Bach et C. F. Abel*, Op. 14. Paris: Sieber, 1776), and a further set of quartets in two movements (London: Napier, 1776) featuring works by Abel, Bach and the Italian Felice Giardini. 109

The Bohemian violinist Antonin Kammel (1730-1784) was also involved in the Bach-Abel joint venture when the three published a set of six trios for two violins and bass (London: Welcker, c1777). Kammel was active within the London chamber music environment both as a performer and a composer, with particular regard to string quartet: the first advertisement for a public performance of a string quartet in London was for one of Kammel's works, on 27 April 1769.¹¹⁰ In 1770 he published his Op. 4 (six quartets in three movements, dedicated to George Pitt), followed by Op. 7 in 1775 (six quartets, No. 3 and No. 5 bearing the option for flute or oboe, dedicated to Lavinia Bingham, the Countess Spencer), ¹¹¹ and three of the Op. 14 before 1780, also known as *Divertimentos*. ¹¹² Considering the output in the years between 1765 and the early 1780s, works by Kammel and J. C. Bach demonstrate that it is difficult to distinguish between Italian and the Austro-

The first-violin part bears t

¹⁰⁸ The first-violin part bears the inscription 'Flute or Violin' for quartets n. 1 and 4, but the other four quartets are for 'Violin or Flute'. The advertisement appears twice in a single page: 'Six Quartets composed by John Bach, Music Master to Her Majesty, Price 10s. 6d.' and, in another box 'Six Quartets for two Violins, a Tenor and Violoncello, composed by John Bach, Music Master to her Majesty, Price 10s. 6d.'. Both advertisements refer to Welcker's shop. J. C. Bach published a further set of string quartets Op. XVII in Paris (La Chevardiere), as an arrangement of sonatas Op. X for harpsichord and violin.

¹⁰⁹ Quartets n. 1, n. 3 and n. 5 by Bach (for flute or violin and trio); quartets n. 2 and 4 by Abel (for flute or violin and trio); quartet n. 6 by Giardini (for string quartet). Advertisement, *London Evening Post*, 18 May 1776. A copy of the set is accessible online from the Biblioteca Nacional de España (E-Mn): http://bdh-rd.bne.es/viewer.vm?id=0000010930&page=1 [accessed 27 October 2016].

¹¹⁰ McVeigh, Calendar.

¹¹¹ Also published in Paris (Sieber), Lyon (Casteau) and Bruxelles (Godfroy) as Op. 14, without any dedication (RISM ID No. 00000990032991) http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b9066225b [accessed 13 December 2016].

^{112 &#}x27;Six Divertimentos, three for two Violins, a Tenor and Violoncello, and three for a Hautboy or German Flute, two Violins and a Violoncello, composed and mostly humbly Inscribed to Sir Gregory Page Turner Bar.¹ by Antonio Kammel, Op. 14.' One specimen of this publication (RISM ID No. 00000990032990) is preserved in GB-Lbl (Music Collections g.276.b). This edition is 'printed by the Author', who also signed the second page of the first violin part. Another specimen (RISM ID No. 00000990032988) results as published by Welcker, as Op. 12. The existence of these two editions with the same content could be the result of the situation created by the bankruptcy of Welcker's company, in 1780. The set was also published in Amsterdam by J. J. Hummel as Op. 17 (RISM ID No. 00000990032993).

German compositions, also because musicians based in the United Kingdom often drew upon their professional experiences in several countries. The structure of the quartets by Latilla, Giardini, Kammel and Abel is similar (three movements with a final Minuetto or a dance movement); the sole exceptions being Latilla's Quartet No. 5, which unusually has four movements (though starting with a slow movement: Andante / Allegro / Grave / Presto), and Kammel's Quartets Op. 7 No. 1, No. 3 and No. 5, which are in two movements.

Kammel's string quartet production may be seen as a link to the Italian tradition, as he studied violin with Giuseppe Tartini in Padua. Padua, along with Venice, was the most important city in Italy for the development of the genre. Tartini's *Scuola delle Nazioni* left incontrovertible traces of a deep interest in chamber music in three and four parts in many scores still preserved in the Biblioteca Antoniana, most of which belong to the legacy of Giuseppe Ximenes (1717-1784), a patron of Tartini. For this reason, it is possible to deduce that Kammel's interest in chamber music was reflecting the influence of his Italian studies, and he could be considered an honorary member of the Italian community in London.

The formal revolution of Haydn's Op. 33, 'composed in an entirely new manner' that defined the standard structure of four-movement quartets, was in fact yet to come (the set was composed in 1781 and published in 1782). His previous sets of quartets in four movements, Op. 9, 17 and 20, had already appeared in London: the first two sets were both published in 1772 (respectively for Longman, Luckey and Co. and for Gardom), while the Op. 20 was published by Blundell between 1778 and 1780. Their appearance in the British capital did not seem to have an immediate influence on published repertoire, which generally maintained the two- or three-movement division and a partiality for the Italian taste for melody. It was only during the 1780s, with the inauguration of the Professional Concerts and of the other concert series and the related increase of public performances of string quartets by Austro-German composers, that the difference with the Italian output became more evident, and Italian instrumental repertoire became less interesting for the market. 113

¹¹³ As a proof of the increasing interest towards Haydn's string quartets in London it is worth mentioning the string quartet 'composed in imitation of Stile of Haydn's Opera Prima', published by the amateur John Marsh (1752-1828). This work, composed in 1784, was shaped on the model of Haydn's String Quartets Op. 1 and therefore is in five movements. The first set of string quartets by Haydn originally appeared in London in 1765, published by Hummel in Holland and sold by Bremner in London. In 1771 Bremner published his own

The last decade of the eighteenth century witnessed the rising and the affirmation of a 'Viennese' formal structure¹¹⁴ standardised by Haydn with his Op. 33 'written in an entirely new manner' (Vienna: Artaria, 1782), by Mozart, with his six quartets dedicated to Haydn (Vienna: Artaria, 1785), and later by Beethoven, with his Op. 18 (Vienna: T. Mollo et Comp., 1801). These three sets of quartets became a cornerstone for the genre throughout the entire nineteenth century and beyond, and most of the previous repertoire was destined to accumulate dust on library shelves. The musical satire published by Felice Giardini under the pen-name of Vanderbouzzen is a glaring example of how Italian composers unsuccessfully attempted to contrast the turn in the taste of the British audience, in order to reaffirm the predominant role they held in London concert life for much of the eighteenth century.

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edition of the set. Data about the publication of Haydn's string quartets in London can be retrieved in David Wyn Jones, 'Haydn's Music in London in the Period 1760-1790: part one', *Haydn Yearbook*, n. 14, (1983), 144-172.

¹¹⁴ For 'Viennese' structure I intend the four-movement quartet, with a minuet and a slow movement inserted between outer two fast movements.

THE DUALISM BETWEEN ITALIAN AND GERMAN COMPOSITIONAL STYLE:

THE VANDERBOUZZEN AFFAIR

The two string trios published by Giardini under the pen-name of Jaque Vanderbouzzen caused a small stir in the press and allow us to evidence the contrast between the ideal of the Italian style in comparison to the new 'Modern German Style of Music' mentioned by Stevens. The *Morning Chronide* from 31 January 1792 gave notice of a recent edition of a set of two string trios that was circulating in the London musical circles. This article praised the sarcasm of the engraving on the title page of the edition (see Figure 2), and underlined some specific differences between the Italian style and the Austro-German style that was enjoying great success in the public concerts series with Pleyel and Haydn:

MUSICAL CARICATURE, in private circulation. / This admirable piece of humour, which is now handing about in the Musical Circles, is a lampoon on the taste which the Germans have introduced, for trick, artifice, surprize, and difficulty, instead of symplicity and nature. The idea is exemplified by a contrast between the German and Italian style of composition. It is entitled, "Deux Trios en different style, par un Amateur d'Amsterdamme." The one has all the perplexity of the Modern German; the other all the tenderness of the Italian. It is just possible for a dexterous Musician to play the one, and every body may play the other. But that which makes the whimsical satire most captivating, is the Vignette in the title. A balance and scales are held by the Deity – In the one scale are three simple notes – in the other a vast number of notes covered with flowers. - The three simple notes weigh down the multitude, while, from the sky, Beams of Genius illuminate them, and below a Band of Loves accompany on the violin, the flute, &c. in a gay landscape, where doves coo, and lambkins gambol. The other scale is enveloped in gloom, while under it a band of German figures, with immense hats, are bursting their cheeks in blowing the bassoon, the horn, &c. – a peacock is singing on a tree – a bear beats time, and there is a full chorus of frogs. We are not displeased to see this piece of humour; for it must be granted, that the Germans have run riot in their instrumentalities. We wish, however, that the Italians, with all their sacred regard to simplicity, would, now and then, merely for the sake of their characters, indulge in a little novelty. Their melodies would not be worse for being original; and it would very much heighten the charm if their airs occasionally were made unlike one another. We suspect the author of this piece of genuine satire to be that wicked wit Giardini; we have no information, however, on which to ground this conjecture.

The Italians expressed their music with 'sacred regard to simplicity', with a steady devotion to a sober and neat style that nevertheless needed to be improved, possibly drawing some inspiration from the 'perplexity of the Modern German'.

The two string trios are divided into several movements: four movements for the Austro-German, and three for the Italian. The number of movements into which a composition was divided provided a further indication on its origin: most Italian quartets were in two or three movements throughout the whole eighteenth century, while the Austro-Germans began to adopt the four-

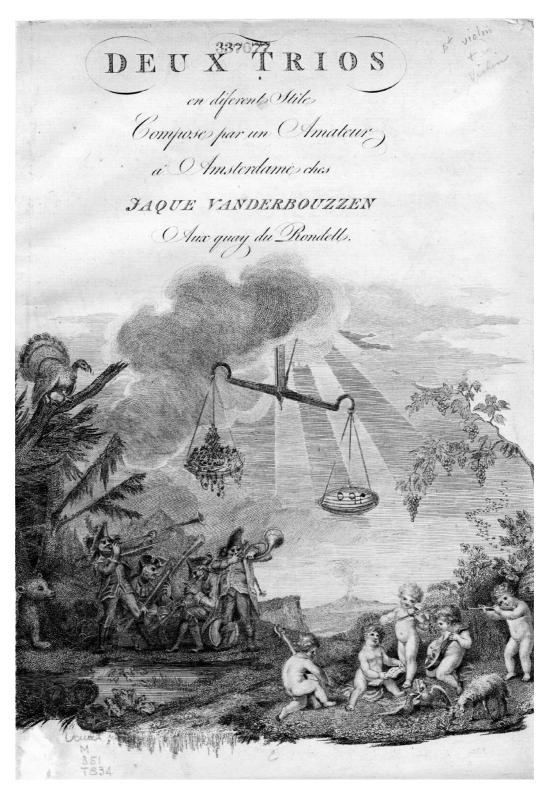


Figure 2. The title page of the Vanderbouzzen trios

movement structure at least since Haydn's Op. 9 (1769-70). The tempo indications for the Austro-German trio are polemically iterative, contradictory and certainly unclear. They are long and awkward, while the simple indications *Andante, Adagio* and *Scherzando* of the Italian trio recalls the idea of *bella semplicità*, proper to Italian taste. The choice of tonality may also be considered as a provocation: a harsh c# minor for the Austro-German and a serene C major for the Italian.

Trio in Stile Tedesco [c# minor]

- Andante non troppo Allegro a suo Comodo ma con moto e Dolcezza
- II. Menuetto Maestoso con Grazia & Trio A mezza Voce
- III. Adagio Cantabile Sostenuto con Esprezzione e tenerezza
- IV. Allegro Assai con vivacita e Prestissimo o pure a suo Comodo

Trio in Stile Italiano [C Major]

I. Andante

II. Adagio

III. Scherzando [Rondo]

The author of the article stated that 'It is just possible for a dexterous Musician to play the one [the German], and everybody may play the other [the Italian]': as a matter of fact, this sentence is applicable in a broader sense to the string quartet genre, as Italian publications, destined to the amateur performers, were generally less technically demanding than the ones by Haydn and his followers.

An account that the composer Giacomo Ferrari reported in his autobiographical *Aneddoti* confirms the intrinsic idea that the average skills required for a string quartet performance were not supposed to be too high, and highlights the dismay provoked by one of the first encounters between Mozart's quartets dedicated to Haydn and an Italian audience. Ferrari received a copy of Mozart's Op. 10 in Naples, sent by Thomas Attwood, who had arrived in Vienna in 1785, the year of publication of that set. Ferrari, a professional musician, wrote: 'Li provai con dilettanti e professori, ma non potevamo eseguire che i movimenti lenti, ed anche quelli malamente'. ¹¹⁵ As the challenging new Austro-German repertoire was becoming more and more popular, we are led to presume a general rise in the level of performing skills and a professionalisation of the repertoire: the string quartet became increasingly destined for the public performances of specialised musicians rather than for informal *dilettanti* gatherings in private salons. This trend is confirmed by the growing presence of the Austro-German string quartet repertoire in public concert series.

Despite this last sarcastic trick, Giardini failed in reviving his career and had to leave for Russia, where he died in poverty. Haydn, on the other hand, was all the rage in the London concerts and his music was regarded with great interest by the publishers, who managed to obtain direct contacts with the Austrian editors in order to source the new kind of music the market was requiring.¹¹⁶

¹¹⁵ Giacomo Ferrari, Aneddoti Piacevoli ed Interessanti Occorsi nella Vita di Giacomo Gotifredo Ferrari (London: by the author, 1830), 145. 'I rehearsed them with dilettanti and professionists, but we were only able to perform the slow movements, and even those were badly executed'.

¹¹⁶ For further references to Haydn and other German composers' publications: Ian Woodfield, 'John Bland: London Retailer of the Music of Haydn and Mozart', *Music & Letters*, 81/2 (2000), 210-44.

From then onwards, the number of publications by Italian string quartet composers diminished almost to nil, and the Austro-Germans took over, as confirmed by Charles Dibdin in 1791: 'The kingdom is inundated with German compositions'. 117

The King's Theatre burned down on 17 June 1789, and the administration was forced to face several legal problems (the new building was inaugurated on 26 January 1793). In the meantime, Italian Opera was performed at the Little Theatre in Haymarket and at the Pantheon in Oxford Street, but the Pantheon also burned to the ground in 1792. The taste for Italian chamber music faded in a climate of controversial legal quarrels related to the assignment of an exclusive licence for performing opera as well as due to the debts caused by the two arsons. The fact that the Italian music was falling out of fashion in London by the 1790s is confirmed in a letter dated 16 October 1793, written by Gaetano Pugnani to Giovanni Battista Viotti: in this letter Pugnani gives an account of his attempts to publish the incidental music for *The Sorrows of the Young Werther* in London. He reported to Viotti that he had previously written to Borghi asking him to act as a mediator, but Borghi replied that Pugnani's music 'is no longer appreciated in London, and that only Haydn and some other new composers had a reputation'. 118

¹¹⁷ Charles Dibdin, A Letter on Musical Education (London: For the author, 1791), 16.

¹¹⁸ Warwick Lister, *Amico: The Life of Giovanni Battista Viotti* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 186. The original letter is in US-NYp [JOB 97-52, item 1].

CHAPTER 3: THE STRING QUARTET IN ITALY

Just as musicians travelled from Italy to the British Isles, seeking an improved position, opportunities for publication and a better salary, so did their music: the string quartet was in fact well rooted within the Italian peninsula and had been cultivated there from the beginning of the genre, as testified by the presence of manuscript and printed sources. That said, a good number of quartets were produced in Italy, but when one comes to examine its two main publication venues, namely Florence and Venice, one observes that regional factors ensured that they remained marginal in comparison to London (Table 2 presents a list in chronological order of string quartet editions published in Italy by local composers).

Publication ventures in Italy were short-lived, usually lasting only about ten years. In order to understand the development of the Italian string quartet repertoire in London, it is advantageous to examine how the genre developed in its own country, but also why it did not then naturally prosper there in terms of publications. By looking at the number of published string quartets by Italian composer, it appears that the internal output roughly equalled the British one: about a hundred quartets were published in Italy between 1778 and 1800, compared to the 87 published in London between 1765 and 1790 (taking only first editions in consideration). String quartet editions began to appear in Italy with a considerable delay in comparison with London, and it was probably the interest created by the foreign production that stimulated the internal market. If we take into consideration the number of works printed elsewhere on the continent, including the sizeable output of composers such as Boccherini, Cambini and Bruni in Paris, we notice that Italian composers seemed keen on having their works published outside of their own country, in places where the market was active enough to allow a sufficient turnover.

Table 2: Set of string quartets printed in Italy before 1800

Composer	Title	Year	Publisher	Place	RISM ID No.	Notes
Manfredini, Vincenzo	Sei quartetti per due violini, viola e violoncello	1778	Ranieri del Vivo	Florence	00000990039101	GT 6/5/1778
Mortellari, Michele	Six Quatuor a deux violons, viole, et violoncel	1780	Alessandri e Scattaglia	Venice	00000992006505	GT 29/4/1780
Capuzzi, Antonio	Sei quartetti per due violini, viola e basso [Op. 1]	1780c	Alessandri e Scattaglia	Venice	00000990008720	
Cirri, Giovanni Battista	Sei quartetti a due violini, viola obbligata, e violoncello obbligato, Op. 17	1781	Ranieri del Vivo	Florence	00000990009950	Letter in I-Bc, 1.20.15
Zanetti, Francesco	Sei quartetti a due violini, viola e violoncello	1781	Carlo Baduel	Perugia	00000990069746	Date: Sbrilli
Bettelli, Cesare	Sei quartetti a due violini, viola e violoncello obbligato: Opera prima	1782	Salvatore Cardinalini	Perugia	00000990005254	
Andreozzi, Gaetano	Sei quartetti per due violini, viola e violoncello [] Op. 1	1782	Ranieri del Vivo	Florence	00000991012785	[]dedicati ad Agostini Dini, Patrizio Fiorentino [], GT 6/7/1782
Nardini, Pietro	Sei quartetti per due violini, viola e violoncello	1782	[by the author, engraved by Poggiali]	Florence	00000990046611	GT and GU, 28/9/1782
Giuliani, Giovanni Francesco	Sei quartetti per due violini, viola, violoncello, [Op. 2]	1783	[by the author, engraved by Poggiali]	Florence	00000990021698	Dedicati all'ill.mo sig.re Giuseppe Riccardi, NdM, 19/1/1783
Mosel, Giovanni Felice	Sei quartetti per due violini, viola e violoncello, Op. 2	1783	Ranieri del Vivo	Florence	00000991028164	GT 15/11/1783
Orsini, Gaetano	Trois Quatuors concertans pour deux Violons, Alto et Violoncelle, Op. 3	1785 (post)	Vincent Cracas	Rome	00000990047477	Dédiés à [] le prince Giustiniani duc de Corbara par son gentilhomme Caietano Orsini amateur de musique et élève de M.r Syrmen
Corona, Luigi	Tre Quartetti a due violini, viola e violoncello	1786	Pagani e Chiari (engraved by Poggiali)	Florence	Not on RISM I-OS, Ed.Mus. C-503	[] Umilmente dedicati a sua altezza lord Nassau Clavering principe e conte di Cowper pari della Gran- Brettagna, e principe del Sacro Romano Impero ec. ec. [], GT 27/05/1786,
Borsetti, Carlo	Six Quatuors	1787	Carlo Baduel	Perugia	00000990006461	Dédiés à son excellence monseigneur Fabrice Ruffo tresorier general de la Saintété de Notre Seigneur et de la réverende Chambre apostolique
Tinti, Salvatore	Sei quartetti tre per due violini, viola e violoncello, e tre per flauto, o secondo violino	1787	[by the author, sold at Corsi]	Florence	00000990064321	[] dedicati a sua altezza Lord Nassau Clavering, principe, e conte di Cowper [], GU 31/4/1787:
Drei, Francesco	[Sei quartetti]	1788	Vincenzo Pazzini e Carli	Siena	lost	GU 23/12/1788
Mosel, Giovanni Felice	Sei quartetti per due violini, viola e violoncello, Op. 4	1793	Ferrini, Chiari	Florence	00000991009471	GT 12/10/1793
Salvoni, Venanzio	Tre quartetti per due violini, viola e violoncello	1794	Delia e Salvoni	Naples	Not on RISM I-Mc Noseda, V.45.5	GU 20/12/1794
Bertoia, Valentino	Quatuors concertants arrangé pour deux violons, alto et basse tiré de l'opéra Il Matrimonio Segreto de [] Cimarosa	1795	Valentino Bertoja	Venice	Not on RISM I-Vnm, Mus. 1807	NdM 15/4/1795
Gianella, Luigi	Six quatuors pour flute, violon, ou pour deux violons, alto et basse	1795	Valentino Bertoia	Venice	00000991019056	NdM 15/4/1795
Giuliani, Giovanni Francesco	Tre quartetti per due violini, viola e violoncello, Op. 10	1797	Pagni e Bardi	Florence	00000990021697	GU 13/6/1797

There are a number of factors that constrained the publication of quartets in Italy. These include the fact that the music publishing industry in the politically and economically fragmented Italian territory of the late eighteenth century was not comparable to the vibrant musical life of the capital of the British Empire; Italy was neither a prosperous market for music, nor a dynamic publishing place. The economic viability of the music publishing process required a large circulation of copies, and this was only possible in densely populated cities such as London and Paris, whose markets were eager to absorb and commercialise the products of Italian musical tradition. Furthermore, the widespread preference for manuscript copies in Italy hindered the development of a strong local music publishing industry. The Italian publishing market began to expand only when the local enterprises in Venice and Florence, followed by Naples and other cities, understood the need to collaborate to create a network. In the late eighteenth century, Venetian publications were advertised by Florentine sellers and vice versa, 119 while Venetian firms actively collaborated with Viennese publishers.¹²⁰ The music publishers along the Italian peninsula did not act as competitors, but often as retailers for foreign enterprises, 121 thus becoming the protagonists of a concrete attempt to set up a national network dedicated to music publishing, which in the nineteenth century would lead to Ricordi's monopoly.

The British editions of Italian string quartets played a relevant role in the circulation of compositions by Italian musicians, stimulating the expansion of the internal market as well as of the repertoire itself. Through an analysis of the repertoire it is possible to underline the commercial exchanges between the two countries; Italian prints were imported into London (such as Tinti's *Sei Quartetti*; originally published in Florence, the copy preserved in the British Library bears a handwritten indication of the usual local price of 10s 6d), and London editions were exported to Italy, or even reprinted from English plates (as in the case of Bertoni's *Sei Quartetti*).

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¹¹⁹ In 1798 the Venetian publisher Zatta included 475 editions in his catalogue, 292 of which were composed by Italians and produced in Venice, Florence, Perugia and Naples (Antolini, 299).

¹²⁰ The topic has been comprehensively treated in Antolini, 273-277.

¹²¹ With the adjective 'foreign' I am referring to the presence of several distinct states within the Italian peninsula.

By publishing and trading scores, the British market produced a number of documents (printed sources, newspaper advertisements, concert programs, diaries and so on) that allow us to form a clearer picture of this repertoire. However, reference to the practice of chamber music is far less available in Italy. This could possibly confirm that this repertoire was almost exclusively destined for private performances, and therefore it did not leave much trace in the public sphere. Nevertheless, the documents we shall analyse testify how the string quartet tradition was in fact well rooted in Italy, and how Italian composers contributed to its diffusion. A vibrant musical life characterised all the states that formed pre-unitary Italy, but the economy generated by this cultural activity was marginal and bound to the many small courts scattered from the Alps to Sicily, or to the institution of the Catholic Church. Opera and sacred music represented the main musical activities, but neither were traditionally linked to the publishing market, and did not stimulate entrepreneurial activities in such a sense. In fact, the reluctance to abandon the typographical method in Italy during the eighteenth century prevented publishers from investing in the innovative printing technology of engraving. As pointed out by Anik Devriès-Lesure, a 'plausible explanations for the decline of nearly all the principal Italian publishing houses during the eighteenth century are the decline of the Italian economy and the decreasing spread of sales outlets over the country'. 122 The expansion of the market for printed music in the Italian peninsula was also negatively affected by the trade in manuscripts; in fact, buyers were concerned about the quality of printed music, which was deemed inferior to handwritten copies. 123 While learning how to play one or more instruments as well as singing in the Conservatori, pupils automatically became able to copy music, and the abundance of such professionals discouraged publishing enterprises. Hand copies were also cheaper, as the paper needed for the engraving process was thicker and more expensive than normal paper. Furthermore, few people in Italy could afford to buy expensive prints, whereas Paris and London provided a significantly larger market. Furthermore, France and the United Kingdom based their economic network

¹²² Anik Devriès-Lesure, 'Technological aspects', in *Music Publishing in Europe 1600-1900*, ed. Rudolf Rasch (Berlin: BWV, 2005), 65.

¹²³ Bianca Maria Antolini, 'Editori, Copisti, Commercio della musica in Italia: 1770-1800', *Studi Musicali*, Anno XVIII, n. 2 (Firenze: Leo S. Olschki Editore, 1989), 273-376 (294).

on centralised systems that irradiated from their capitals, making the engraving process a viable solution for the fast diffusion of musical novelties in the main centres and as well as in the provinces.

Charles Burney identified a further cause for the delayed development of music publishing in Italy in the continuous outpouring of new pieces: 'Musical compositions are so short-lived in Italy, such is the rage for novelty, that for the few copies wanted, it is not worth while to be at the expense of engraving, and of the rolling-press'. 124 Consequently, the problem was not the lack of interesting musical material but the fact that, by the time required for the music to be engraved, printed, bound and distributed, it would likely have been outdated. Printed music could have actually provided a good solution to this continuous need for novelties, but the fragmented local market and the presence of several political barriers hindered the circulation of scores and created significant logistic problems. 125 In 1765, Samuel Sharp confirmed in one of his letters that the diffusion of printed music in the peninsula was so low that 'the great masters here [in Naples], cannot even play readily, at sight, a piece of printed musick'. 126 A few years later, in 1787, the Venetian editor Zatta felt compelled to publish a statement in order to defend the quality of his printed editions against anonymous detractors (probably copyists, who would have seen their income strongly reduced by the advent of the printed music enterprise):

Non lasceremo intentato alcun mezzo per sempre più smentire le dicerie di certe classi di persone, le quali si sforzano di far credere, che la Musica stampata non possa riuscire nitida ed intelligibile al pari della manuscritta, sebbene il favorevole giudizio che riportarono da' Sig. Intendenti [con riferimento a] gli ultimi Quintetti Boccherini, li Quartetti e Sestetti Stabingher, li Trii Cirri, ed altri Capi da noi recentemente pubblicati [che] mostrano con evidenza quanto sia falsa una tale asserzione. 127

The absence of printed sources is not a proof of the absence of string quartet repertoire; it maintained a low profile and circulated throughout Italy in manuscript form until it became so popular

¹²⁴ Charles Burney, The Present State of Music in France and Italy, 1st edn. (London: T. Becket, 1771), 189.

¹²⁵ Ferrari made a comparison between two trips in Italy and UK: in 1803 it took him twentyfour hours to go from Manchester to London by mail coach (185 miles), while it would have usually taken about four-five days to go from Rome to Naples (150 miles). See Ferrari, *Aneddoti*, vol. 2, 119.

¹²⁶ Samuel Sharp, Letters from Italy, 80.

¹²⁷ Notizie del Mondo, 14 February 1787. 'We will use every means to deny the rumours spread by some classes of people who insist in persuading us that printed Music cannot be as limpid and intelligible as handwritten Music, despite the positive opinion of the experts [regarding] the last quintets by Boccherini, the quintets and sextets by Stabingher, the trios by Cirri and other editions that we have recently published which, through evidence, proves the falsehood of this belief'.

in Europe that local publishers began to consider it as a concrete business opportunity. This research includes a survey of string quartet sets published in the Italian peninsula between 1778 and 1800 (Errore. L'origine riferimento non è stata trovata.). The list presents about a hundred published string quartets, but we must also consider a broader output which included manuscript sources. Publishers in Venice and Florence began to print sets of string quartets from the early 1780s, although Italian composers had started to publish their string quartets abroad more than 10 years previously, in London (Latilla, 1765) and Paris (Boccherini, 1767). In fact, the edition of Latilla's string quartets in London predates the first Italian published set (Manfredini) by thirteen years.

As suggested by Sharp with reference to the situation of music in Naples, Italian musicians often attempted to test their fortune abroad, taking every opportunity to make a name for themselves and to emigrate. The fact that the economy revolving around the local music publishing activity in Italy was limited didn't diminish the role of the country on the European musical scene, as several foreign composers went there to study or were highly influenced by Italian masters living abroad. An important centre for the development of the quartet genre in Italy was the city of Padua; there a large number of pupils gathered from all over Europe to learn from the violinist Giuseppe Tartini (1692-1770) at the *Scuola delle Nazioni*. Padua enjoyed a lively musical activity, which revolved around the Basilica del Santo. The musical collection in the Santo library contains some anonymous manuscript quartets dating back from 1767/69. Tartini himself wrote at least four *sonate a quattro* (which probably formed a standard set of six, along with two other similar compositions which are now lost), which could be considered quartets to all intents and purposes except for the genre designation described in the title. Many of Tartini's pupils composed and in some cases even published string quartets; among them Lombardini, Nardini, Vogler, Morigi and Dall'Oglio. The Music Library of the University of California in Berkeley owns a large collection of manuscripts traceable to

¹²⁸ Further references to Tartini and chamber music performances in Padua may be found in Paolo Cattelan, *Mozart, Un Mese a Venezia* (Venezia: Marsilio, 2000), 263-277.

¹²⁹ Domenico Dall'Oglio (1700-1764) was one of Tartini's first students. He published *Sei Sinfonie a due violini alto viola e basso Op. 1* in Paris in 1753. The bass part is clearly for harpsichord, as confirmed by the presence of a figured bass and indications such as 'tasto solo', but some passages are explicitly marked as 'Violoncello solo'. Despite not being a prototype of the string quartet genre, this is a set that represents the process that led to the form of the early string quartet. The first set of string quartets by Boccherini (G 159-164) was

Tartini's circle in Padua.¹³⁰ Along with violin concertos and sonatas, the catalogue lists about forty string quartets or *sonate a quattro* that strengthen the conception of the Scuola delle Nazioni as an incubator for the development of the string quartet genre. Among these we can find a manuscript set of six string quartets by Vittorio Trento (c1761-1833), a pupil of Ferdinando Bertoni in Venice,¹³¹ and fifteen *Sonate a Quattro* by Michele Stratico (1728-1783), who studied with Tartini.

Of particular interest for his relations with London was Francesco Zanetti (1737-1788), whose quartets, dedicated to Lord Cowper, were published in Perugia in 1781 by Carlo Baduel, along with several other sets of chamber music compositions. ¹³² Zanetti never visited London, but eleven of his sixteen published instrumental music works were published there (two of them in two different editions). ¹³³ Burney praised Zanetti's sonatas as 'models of grace & elegance'. ¹³⁴ Zanetti's connections with the Florentine environment and in particular with Lord Cowper's circle of musicians is representative of the stimulative impulse that the Englishmen in Italy had on the local publishing enterprise, while facilitating the integration of Italian composers and performers in the London musical society.

The relevance of the Italian production and the interest of the local audience for the string quartet repertoire is testified by some early works of several foreign musicians who composed their first quartets while visiting Italy. In the last section of this chapter, I will refer to string quartet sets by

published in Paris in 1767 by Venier, but its original title still was *Sei Sinfonie o sia quartetti per due violini, alto e violoncello obbligati Op. I*, despite being destined to an ensemble of two violins, viola and cello.

¹³⁰ Vincent Duckles and Minnie A. Elmer, *Thematic Catalog of a Manuscript Collection of 18th-Century Italian Instrumental Music in the University of California, Berkeley, Music Library* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1963).

¹³¹ The string quartets by Vittoro Trento have been broadly discussed in: Licia Sirch and Alberto Zanotelli, La musica strumentale da camera di Vittorio Trento', in *La musica strumentale nel Veneto fra Settecento ed Ottocento Atti del convegno internazionale di studi (Padova, 4-6 novembre 1996)*, ed. Lucia Boscolo and Sergio Durante (Padova: CLEUP Editrice, 2000), 253-298.

¹³² Alice Sbrilli, 'Francesco Zanetti (1737-1788): i Sei Quartetti del 1781: edizione critica e analisi stilistica' (Tesi di Laurea Magistrale, Università degli Studi di Perugia, 2012).

¹³³ Alice Sbrilli, 'I Sei Quartetti del 1781 di Francesco Zanetti: contesto, circolazione e stile' in *Bollettino della Deputazione di Storia patria per l'Umbria* (Perugia: Deputazione di Storia Patria per l'Umbria,2015), 113-132 (118).

¹³⁴ Charles Burney, *The Letters of Dr Charles Burney Vol. 1, 1751-1784*, ed. Alvaro Ribeiro (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), 331.

Mozart, Gyrowetz, Pleyel and Grétry; their first quartets were all composed during an Italian journey, and were undoubtedly conceived for the local audience and its taste.

FLORENCE

The Tuscan capital city hosted several Englishmen, amongst whom were Horace Mann (1706-1786), accredited as British minister in the capital of the Grand Duchy in 1738, and George Clavering-Cowper (1738–1789), who established himself in Florence from 1759. Towper maintained relations with the King's Theatre in London, and in fact he acted as an agent of the theatre in Florence, procuring contacts with composers and singers. Cowper and his wife were keen promoters of musical activities in the city, and they acted as a catalyst for the society of Englishmen who would visit Florence during their Grand Tour. The couple also was a political trait-d'union between Great Britain and Leopold I, who was to become the Austrian emperor in 1790 as Leopold II.

The city had played a major role in Italian culture throughout the centuries, hosting a vibrant artistic life. The arrival in 1765 of Peter Leopold of the House of Habsburg-Lorraine (1747-1792) as Grand Duke contributed to the diffusion of a moderate Enlightenment philosophy. The musical interests of the Grand Duke Leopold I are well illustrated by his personal musical archive in the Palazzo Pitti, now preserved as the Fondo Pitti in the library of the Conservatorio Cherubini. ¹³⁸ As the Grand Duchy of Tuscany was a satellite state of the Austrian monarchy, it is not surprising that the instrumental works in this collection are in the vast majority by Austro-German composers. ¹³⁹ To complete the European-Florentine environment, the director of the court music of the Great Duke

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¹³⁵ Lord Cowper, who sponsored his own orchestra, organised the first Italian performance of Handel's *Messiah* in Palazzo Pitti, Florence, on 6 August 1768.

¹³⁶ Elizabeth Gibson, 'Earl Cowper in Florence and His Correspondence with the Italian Opera in London', *Music & Letters*, Vol. 68, No. 3 (1987), pp. 235-252.

¹³⁷ Michael Kelly, Reminiscences of Michael Kelly, vol. 1 (London: Henry Colburn, 1826), 107-08.

¹³⁸ Stefania Gitto, 'La collezione musicale di Palazzo Pitti (1): il catalogo del 1771', *Fonti Musicali Italiane*, n. 17, pp. 175-192 [accessed online on 29 March 2016] http://www.sidm.it/ojs/index.php/fmi/article/view/9.

¹³⁹ Franca Falletti, Renato Meucci, and Gabriele Rossi Rognoni, *La Collezione Granducale Del Conservatorio Cherubini*. (Florence: Giunti, 2001), p. 42.

was the Frenchman Eugène-François de Ligniville (1730-1788), a member of the Accademia Filarmonica in Bologna from 1758. These personalities not only promoted musical activities, but stimulated the music market as well as the interest in printed music.

Pietro Nardini stood at the centre of musical life in Florence, performing and establishing himself as a renowned teacher. Nardini probably was the most important of Tartini's pupils, and he also taught two violinists who arrived in Florence from Great Britain, Thomas Linley (1756-1778) and Joseph Agus (1749-1798). As reported by Kelly, Nardini was well established within Lord Cowper's circle; he never visited London, although he was well known there and probably had connections in the city, as several of his works published in the British capital.¹⁴⁰

Nardini had his only set of string quartets published in Florence in 1782.¹⁴¹ There is no dedication on the title page of this set, but it contains a fine engraved portrait of the author (Figure 3).



Figure 3: Portrait of Pietro Nardini, from his set of string quartets

¹⁴⁰ Fourteen new Italian Minuets for two violins and a bass (J. Cox, 1750), Six Solos for the Violin, with a Bass Op. 5 (Fougt, c1769), Six Sonatas for two German flutes or two violins and a bass (Bremner, c1760), Six Duets for two Tenors (Thompson, c1775).

¹⁴¹ 'Il Sig. Pietro Nardini Virtuoso di Camera di questa Real Corte ha composti sei quartetti in musica per due violini, viola, e basso, quali sono stati dati alla luce in stampa in rame, ed in carta per la bontà, e qualità della più nitida, e perfetta. Serve il solo nome di questo celebre e notissimo Professore di violino ad indicare il merito di quest'Opera, ma quella è divisa in quattro libretti quanto sono dette parti, e si vende da Anton Giuseppe Pagani Gazzettiere al prezzo di un gigliato da pagarsi nell'atto della consegna, avvertendo qualunque Estero, e Corrispondente, che non saranno attese commissioni, se con la richiesta non vi sarà il danaro', in Gazzetta Toscana, n. 39, 28 September 1782. Further information in: Federico Marri, liner notes to Pietro Nardini Complete String Quartets, CD, Brilliant Classics 94438 (2013).

In 1776 the publisher Ranieri del Vivo began his activity as a music publisher in Florence where his activity lasted about ten years, until 1786.¹⁴² During these years, the firm published the following sets of string quartets:

- 1778: six quartets by Vincenzo Manfredini (1737-1799);
- 1781: six quartets by Giovanni Battista Cirri (1724-1808), Op. 17;
- 1782: six quartets by Gaetano Andreozzi (1755-1826);
- 1783: six quartets by Giovanni Felice Mosel (1754-1811).

Among the composers who published string quartets in Florence, at least Mosel, Giuliani, Corona and Tinti were Nardini's pupils: it seems then legitimate to consider Florence as a laboratory for the development of an Italian string quartet tradition, consciously independent from the formal path undertaken by Haydn.

A plain indication of Nardini's awareness of his output's distinctiveness emerges from a letter he wrote to his ex-pupil Joseph Otter, discussing the sales of his own set of string quartets. It appears that some buyers had decided not to purchase them as they failed to meet their expectations:

Quando io ho promesso i miei quartetti non ho specificato di quanti tempi dovevano essere, perchè ciò appartiene alla volontà del compositore, ed ella sà molto bene, che i miei adagi non sono propri per i quartetti, essendo questi di altro genere; onde questa scusa non mi pare a proposito per quelli che Le hanno promesso di pigliarli: potrebbe darsi che non piacessero, o potrebbe anche darsi che ciò dipendesse da non Li sapere eseguire, perché avendone dati tanti fuori, lì in Italia come in Germania, in Inghilterra od in altri Luoghi nessuno mi ha fatto queste difficoltà.¹⁴³

This document underlines that Nardini was well aware of the fact that Italian chamber music required a specific performance practice style, a know-how which could have only been acquired

¹⁴² Gazzetta Universale, n. 69, 27 August 1776. 'Ranieri del Vivo di Firenze ha intrapresa la stampa in rame delle migliori produzioni di Musica vocale, e strumentale de' più celebri Maestri di Cappella. In ottobre p. f. darà 10. Sinfonie Teatrali, e da Accademia, 6. delle quali del Sig. Giuseppe Misliwecek, e 4. del Sig. Giovanni Paisiello. In seguito darà altri 20 pezzi di Sinfonie quintetti, e quartetti tutti nuovi fatti espressamente comporre da diversi Autori. Il prezzo di ogni Sinfonia sarà di Paoli due in Firenze per quelli che si associeranno, e per gli altri di due Paoli e mezzo, e si venderanno presso Anton Giuseppe, e Giovacchino Pagani'.

¹⁴³ Pietro Nardini, Letter to Joseph Otter, 27th May 1783, Paris, BNF, Richelieu VM BOB 21584. 'When I promised my quartets I didn't specify how many movements they should have, because this is a matter for the composer's will, and you well know that my adagios are not suitable for quartets, being of another genre; therefore this excuse is not acceptable from those who promised to buy them: maybe they didn't like them, or maybe they did not know how to execute them, because I sent many copies to Italy, Germany, England and other countries, and nobody pointed out this problem'.

through direct practical experience, or by having studied with an Italian master. In the letter, Nardini mentions his 'adagj', which he considered 'of a different genre' and not suitable for quartets. Nardini was praised by several contemporaries for the delicacy of his taste and his expression, especially in the adagio movements of his solo sonatas. Nevertheless, the adagios in his solo sonatas require invention, experience and a solid knowledge of improvisational patterns, whereas the four-part writing of the string quartet did not provide the same space for extended ornamentation. In fact, his six string quartets are mostly in two fast movements, with the exception of No. 2, which has a short Adagio as a transition between an Allegro and an Allegretto, and No. 4, which has an introductory Adagio of 14 bars.

Giovanni Francesco Giuliani (c1760-c1818) led the orchestra of the Teatri degli Intrepidi from 1783 to 1798. His first set of string quartets was published just a few months after that of his master, but it displayed a development in compositional technique which will become even more evident in his second set. Giuliani's first set of string quartets was advertised on 19 January 1783 in the newspaper *Notizie del Mondo*; the same quartets were printed by Forster in London in about 1786, this time as Op. 2.144 Just a few months later two orchestral compositions by Giuliani were performed during public concerts. 145 In 1787 Forster published another set of quartets by Giuliani, Op. 7.146 The same quartets were published by John Bland in two books, of which only one specimen from the first volume (containing Op. 7 No. 1-3) is known. 147 The title page of the Op. 7 specimen

¹⁴⁴ RISM ID No. 00000990021693, by William Forster & son. The *Morning Herald* from 19 May 1787 contains the advertisement for Giuliani's Duets Op. 3. The author was presented with the title of 'First violin at Florence'. The date of publication is deduced from the fact that the two Forsters, father and son, advertised conjountly until mid-1786, when the firm passed to the younger William Forster.

¹⁴⁵ According to McVeigh's *Calendar*, two orchestral compositions by Giuliani were performed in London on 30 April 1787 (a 'new Symphony', at the Professional Concerts) and on 25 May 1787 (a 'new Concertante', at the Salomon's benefit).

¹⁴⁶ RISM ID No. 00000990021694, by William Forster.

¹⁴⁷ RISM ID No. 00000990021696, from the same plates as RISM ID No. 00000990021694.

by Forster preserved in the British Library bears the autograph signature of the composer. Considering the number of Giuliani's compositions published in London around 1786-87¹⁴⁸ and the attested public performances of his music, evidence strongly suggests that the author spent at least some months in England.

In the first of Giuliani's sets, Quartet No. 3 alone is in two movements, while No. 1 and No. 2 have a short slow middle movement that acts as an interlude. In Quartets No. 4, 5 and 6 the slow middle movement progressively acquires more relevance; the *Largo* of Quartet No. 4, in the form of an aria, is particularly elaborate, with short *Recitativo* moments intermingled by short passages of *Allegro* and *Andante*. The coda of this movement ends as an *Andante* that leads into the third and final movement, a *Grazioso* in 6/8. The String Quartets Op. 7 are all in three movements, and each quartet has a long and elaborate slow movement. This development of the structure of the string quartet is likely to be an influence of the European cultural atmosphere of Florence, and reveal Giuliani's acquaintance with the Austro-Germanic style. Subsequently, Giuliani had three other String Quartets Op. 10 published in Florence by Pagni e Bardi (1797). In this latter set, Giuliani mixed the two-movement form (No. 1) with the three-movement form (No. 2 and No. 3).

In 1787, Nardini's pupil Salvador Tinti published a set of quartets (three led by a flute and three by a first violin), dedicated to Lord Cowper.¹⁴⁹ Along with the mentioned Zanetti's quartets, another

¹⁴⁸ The following sets of works by Giuliani were published in London between 1786 and 1795: Six Quartettos Op. 2 (W. Forster and Son), Six Duetts for Violin and Violoncello Op. 3 (W. Forster and Son), Tre concerti per cimbalo a piena orchestra Op. 4 (J. Cooper; the same concerti were published in Florence as Op. 2 in 1784), Six Sonatas, for the Harpsichord with Accompanyments for a Violin, and a Violoncello Op. 6 (printed for the Author by W. Forster), Sei quartetti a due violini, viola e violoncello Op. 7 (W. Forster, and later partially by Bland), Six Duetts for a Violin and Violoncello Op. 8 (Preston). Several of these works could be related to compositions previously printed in Florence.

¹⁴⁹ Gazzetta Universale, n. 27, 1787. 'Firenze. Dal Sig. Salvador Tinti sono stati pubblicati i sei Quartetti tre per due Violini, Viola, e Violoncello, e tre per Flauto, o secondo Violino: i medesimi si trovano vendibili da Giovacchino Corsi Librajo sulla Piazza di S. Firenze al prezzi di paoli 12.' Lord Cowper organized musical academies at his residence, and funded a private orchestra where the violinist Tinti performed: 'Dai Sigg. Armonici furono chiuse per quest'anno le loro adunanze con altra bella, e brillante Accademia di canto, e suono, che diedero Domenica sera nella loro sala di Porta Ross[a]. Con copiosa cera illuminata, e con scelto e nobil concorso di convitati. Furono cantate diverse arie con molto applauso, e piacere dal rinomato sig. Tommaso Guarducci, e dalla sig. Rosalinda Raffielli, come pure altre dal sig. Antonio Boscoli, e sig. Michel Neri, che unitamente agli altri Professore si distinsero col loro canto. Fu questo divertimento framezzato da un bellissimo concerto di violino suonato maestrevolmente dal sig. Salvador Tinti, e da altro di flauto traversiere eseguito dal Sig. Michele Sozzi con diverse sinfonie di clarinetti suonate dai Professori di Mylord Cowper.[...]' in Gazzetta Toscana, n. 15, 1775. In 1819 Tinti is mentioned as violin teacher (and pupil of Nardini's) at the Liceo Musicale in Florence; see Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung, 21 April 1819, n. 16, col. 266-7.

set dedicated to Lord Cowper was formed by the three string quartets composed by another pupil of Nardini's, Luigi Corona, published in 1786 (this set seems lost). 150 Even the virtuoso cellist Boccherini was a product of the Tuscan musical environment, and certainly his predilection for chamber music compositions was influenced by his background. Boccherini was much younger than Nardini, but the two were in contact within the small musical environment of the Grand Duchy, and may have had the chance to play some string quartets together. We know that Luigi Boccherini had already composed his first set of String Quartets Op. 1 (G 159-164) in 1761.¹⁵¹ At the time Boccherini was travelling between Italy and Vienna, where he went with his father to take part in the theatrical season at the Kärntnertortheater. 152 Boccherini had to wait to find a favourable environment when settling in Paris in 1767, to hand his first set of string quartets over to the printing press, along with the String Trios Op. 2. He had to wait six years to have his music published, but we don't have any proof that he actually tried to publish anything before 1767. In line with what Burney wrote, it is also possible that Boccherini did not consider it rewarding or financially attractive to publish while residing in Italy, whereas, as he reached the French capital, he felt the urge to capitalise on works he had composed in previous years, hence establishing a collaboration with the French publishers that lasted for his entire lifetime.

VENICE

The other major centre for music publishing in Italy was Venice, the capital of the *Serenissima Repub-blica*; its innate commercial attitude stimulated cultural and therefore musical exchanges with other European capitals and promoted the renaissance of the Italian publishing market. In comparison to

¹⁵⁰ Gazzetta Toscana, n. 21, 1786. 'Il Sig. Luigi del Corona ha data alla luce in Firenze la sua prima produzione in Musica: contiene questa tre Quartetti a due Violini, Viola, e Violoncello stampati in rame, che hanno riscossa la favorevole approvazione degl'intendenti. Si trovano vendibili al prezzo di paoli sei dall'Autore, da Anton-Giuseppe Pagani, e Giovanni Chiari'.

¹⁵¹ The date of composition of this set can be found in Boccherini's own catalogue. See: Rudolf Rasch, 'Luigi Boccherini and the Music Publishing Trade', in *Boccherini Studies*, vol. 1, ed. Christian Speck (Bologna: UtOrpheus, 2007), 63-142.

¹⁵² Christian Speck and Stanley Sadie, 'Boccherini, (Ridolfo) Luigi', *Grove Music Online* http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com [accessed 30 July 2016].

Florence, the capital city of the *Serenissima Repubblica* was less directly connected to Britain, as Venetian output mostly reflected on its close neighbour, Vienna. Nevertheless, a great number of Venetian musicians and composers made frequent appearances at the King's Theatre.

It is with Ottaviano Petrucci (1466-1539) in Venice that music publishing moved its first steps at the beginning of the sixteenth century. The city had been the leading publishing venue in Europe for the entire sixteenth century; from 1530 to 1560 Venice produced more music publication than the rest of Europe combined. 153 Music publishing prospered in Venice up to the first half of the seventeenth century. The plague (1629-30) and, later on, the wars the Serenissima fought against the Ottoman empire in the Mediterranean caused a diminishing of Venice's international role in terms of political, economic and commercial influence. The conflicts, in particular, severely drained the Republic's finances, and 'new levies were imposed at a time when new techniques of production were being developed in northern Europe'. 154 In fact, publishers in Amsterdam, London, Paris and other European cities had been adopting the chalcographic method and the use of engraved metal plates between the end of the seventeenth century and the beginning of the eighteenth century; this process gradually became the standard and superseded the obsolete typographic technique that still endured in Venice.¹⁵⁵ The postwar climate of economic uncertainty faced by wealthy families of the state, as well as new taxes and the missed opportunities for technological development all brought the local musical publishing enterprise to a substantial collapse, up to the point that Burney declared that 'the art of engraving music there seems to be utterly lost'. 156 Following a period of decline, the last twenty years of the eighteenth century witnessed a revivification of the local music publishing activity, fostered by the general interest in published editions that pervaded the whole continent.

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¹⁵³ Jane Bernstein, *Print Culture and Music in Sixteenth-Century Venice* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 22.

¹⁵⁴ Eleanor Selfridge-Field, 'Venice in an Era of Political Decline', in *The Late Baroque Era*, ed. George J. Buelow (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1993), 66-93 (76).

¹⁵⁵ Giulia Giovani, 'La diffusione a stampa della cantata da camera in Italia (1620-1738)' (PhD dissertation, Università di Roma 'Tor Vergata', 2011), 17-21.

¹⁵⁶ Charles Burney, The Present State of Music in France and Italy, 189.

In 1773 Luigi Marescalchi and Carlo Canobbio set up a new company that created a commercial network with other cities, Vienna and Florence in particular. The company released quartets previously published elsewhere by Boccherini (quartets G 177-182), Davaux and Esser. The firm started by Marescalchi and Canobbio ceased its musical activity in Venice in 1775. Later, in 1785, Marescalchi opened a new music publishing company in Naples.¹⁵⁷

Alessandri e Scattaglia published the *Six Quatuor a deux violons, viole, et violoncel* [...] by Mortellari in Venice (1780), with an elegant frontispiece written in French. An interesting feature of this set, dedicated to Armand-Charles Emmanuel Marquis d'Hautefort, is that Quartets No. 5 and No. 6 are two miniature sets of program music, as explained in detail in the first violin part of both works. Quartet No. 5 describes a turbulent meeting between two lovers, while Quartet No. 6 describes a storm, a musical topos that will also be used in the following years by Festa (1771-1839) in his String Quartet Op. 9 No. 3 (fourth and last movement, entitled *Burrasca*), and by Rossini (1792-1868) in his Sonata No. 6 for two violins, violoncello and double bass (*La Tempesta*, composed in 1804). A further edition by Alessandri e Scattaglia is Capuzzi's Op. 2, whose quartets will be treated separately due to their connection with the London and Viennese markets.

Perhaps the most important string quartet publisher in Venice was Antonio Zatta. Even if he issued sets composed by Italian musicians, his attention was mostly directed towards foreign composers, and he was well connected with Vienna, in particular with the composer and publisher Franz Anton Hoffmeister. In 1786 Zatta embarked on a project of weekly publications of a piece of music, but the regular issues proved to be too ambitious, and the project ended in mid-1787. Subsequently, Zatta continued to publish some music and imported printed editions from Austria and France well into the 1790s. Zatta's catalogue features a reprint of the six string quartets by Bertoni (originally published in London by the author between 1782 and 1783, and then in Venice in 1784), as well as

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¹⁵⁷ Sylvie Mamy, *La Musique à Venise et l'imaginaire français des Lumières* (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France, 1996), 140-145.

¹⁵⁸ Maria Girardi, 'Musica strumentale e fortuna degli autori classici nell'editoria veneziana', in *La Musica Strumentale Nel Veneto Fra Settecento ed Ottocento: Atti Del Convegno Internazionale di Studi (Padova, 4-6 Novembre 1996)*, ed. Lucia Boscolo and Sergio Durante (Padua: CLEUP, 2000), 479-526 (519).

¹⁵⁹ Antolini, 296.

other quartets by Haydn (Op. 42), Cambini, Boccherini (G 177-182, reprint of Marescalchi e Canobbio edition, and G 201-206) and Fodor. In 1787 Zatta also published the Six String Quintets Op. 3 by Capuzzi (with two violas) dedicated to Lord Cowper, the aforementioned dedicatee of several music compositions in Florence. In the advertisement for this latter set, published in the newspaper *Notizie del Mondo* (3rd October 1787), we find a clear declaration of intent by the publisher and the composer, demonstrating how they satisfied the taste of *dilettanti* customers. In fact, Zatta attested that the composer had carefully avoided all the artificial expedients that made execution difficult, in order to provide the sweetest and most amiable harmony. 160

THE ITALIAN STRING QUARTET AND FOREIGN COMPOSERS

The features of the Italian string quartet repertoire influenced the output of composers from the Austro-German sphere; Mozart, Pleyel and Gyrowetz composed their first string quartets specifically in order to include the taste of an Italian audience. This audience would often include Austrian and English personages from the political sphere, or wealthy travellers on the road for their *Grand Tour*, who contributed to the spread of musical fashion throughout the continent.

The six string quartets KV 155-160 that Mozart composed between 1772 and 1773 during his third Italian journey, while he was working on the opera *Lucio Silla* in Milan, are moulded on Italian canons; they are composed in three movements and feature a transparent texture with a predominance of melodic material in the violin part. These first quartets, along with K. 80 'Lodi' from 1770, were tailored on the taste of the local audience, and evidently differ from the four-movement quartets KV 168-173 that Mozart composed only a few months later in Vienna, in August 1773.¹⁶¹

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¹⁶⁰ Notizie del Mondo, 3 October 1787: 'Dalla musicale Calcografia di Antonio Zatta e Figli, Stampatori e Librai Veneti, è stata finalmente pubblicata la già promessa, e tanto desiderata famosa Opera III. de' Quintetti del valente Sig. Antonio Capuzzi per due Violini, un Violoncello, e due Viole. Non è qui necessario mettere in vista alli Dilettanti dell'Armonico regno il merito singolare di quest'Opera. Essa è certamente una delle migliori odierne produzioni, e può con sicurezza chiamarsi pregevole per essere bene adattata ad ogni genere di Professori e di Dilettanti, avendo l'insigne Professore sfuggite tutte quelle maniere, che ne rendono difficile la esecuzione, ma sibbene con mirabil'arte procurata la più dolce e dilettevole armonia. La medesima si trova vendibile al Negozio de' suddetti Zatta al Traghetto di San Bernaba, e in quello di Teodoro Viero Mercante da Stampe in Venezia nella Merceria dell'Orologio, al prezzo di lire 17. piccole Venete la Copia.'

¹⁶¹ In a recent article Klauk and Kleineritz suggest that the Italian influence on Mozart string quartet production could be indeed quite deep, and its traces can be fould as well in Mozart's Op. 10, the 'Haydn' quartet series. The article analyses a set of stylistic elements present in Mozart's works that could have been drawn

One of the composers who acquired significant notoriety for his string quartets in Great Britain as well as on the whole continent was Adalbert Gyrowetz (1763-1850), a Bohemian musician who, in the beginning of his career, travelled to Italy as secretary and music master of the Count Ruspoli. Gyrowetz composed over sixty string quartets throughout his long career. During his journey though Italy he met Pietro Nardini in Florence, and while in Rome he composed his first set of six string quartets, which, unknown to him, were published by Imbault in Paris. 162 From Rome, Gyrowetz moved to Naples where he studied counterpoint for two years with Nicola Sala and possibly also with Giovanni Paisiello. In 1789 he moved to Paris and then to London, where his string quartets and symphonies were well received and performed at the Salomon concerts. In the following years Gyrowetz's output clearly reflected Haydn's style, but the earlier chamber music works, and especially the 'Roman' quartets, still lay within the Italian tradition.

Both Mozart and Gyrowetz composed their first string quartets during a journey along the Italian peninsula, and while this could be well considered as a fortuitous circumstance, there is a further document which sheds clearer light on the matter. The dedicatory letter introducing the first edition of the Six String Quartets Op. 1 by Ignaz Pleyel (1757-1831) provides a transparent proof of the composer's awareness of the peculiarity of the Italian string quartet style. 163 Published in 1783, the set was dedicated to the Count Ladislao Erdödy, who supported Pleyel's period of study with Haydn in Eisenstadt (c1772-1777). As a preliminary declaration of intent, the composer wrote the dedicatory letter in Italian, despite the fact that neither the author nor the dedicatee were Italians.

Composed in Italy, but printed in Vienna, Pleyel's first set was probably the best-selling string quartet collection in the entire eighteenth century, and had several reprints in France, London and Germany. 164 In the dedicatory letter Pleyel, who would later establish his own instrument manufacture

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from the Italian string quartet tradition. Stephanie Klauk and Rainer Kleineritz, 'Mozart's Italianate Response to Haydn's Opus 33', *Music and Letters*, vol. 97, n. 4 (2017), 575-621.

¹⁶² Adrienne Simpson and Roger Hickman, 'Gyrowetz, Adalbert', *Grove Music Online* http://www.oxford-musiconline.com> [accessed 21st August 2016].

¹⁶³ RISM ID: 00000990050543. The dedicatory letter appears on some of the extant copies of the first violin part of the Op. 1 set of parts. The source for this information is: Rita Benton, *Ignace Pleyel: a Thematic Catalogue of his Compositions* (New York, NY: Pendragon Press, 1977), 100.

¹⁶⁴ Further information on the diffusion of this set may be found in the introduction to: Ignaz Pleyel, *Six String Quartets Op. 1*, ed. Simon P. Keefe, *The Early String Quartet*, vol. 4 (Ann Arbor, MI: Steglein, 2005).

and publishing company, demonstrates his business acumen by stating that he 'composed these quartets in Italy, ¹⁶⁵ and therefore in accordance to the local taste; they are not so difficult in the execution, nor so profound in the compositional technique, as my previous ones, but they are purposely composed so to make them more common, and pleasant'. The Italian word 'comune', literally translated as 'common', could also mean 'more popular' or 'more appealing'. By adopting the Italian style for this set, he intended to make these compositions more palatable for the average amateur performer, and indeed he managed to do so, as proven by the extraordinary success of this set. In other words, he points to the fact that the simple and transparent compositional style of the Italian string quartet was deemed the most popular, and thus more financially remunerative.

The fact Mozart, Pleyel and Gyrowetz decided to compose string quartets for an Italian audience suggests that there was a local request. Nevertheless, they preferred to publish abroad, and not in Italy. The same happened for Boccherini, and the old Maestro Nardini managed to publish his quartets only when the Italian music publishing industry revived, in the 1780s.

Outside of the Austro-German environment, there is at least one further example of a set conceived under the Italian sun that was published outside of the country, and that is the the collection of the Sei Quartetti Op. 3 by the French composer André-Ernest-Modeste Grétry (1741-1813). Grétry, who studied in Rome with Giovanni Casali, composed music for the church and the theatre, along with these six string quartets, dated 1765. The set was later published by Borrelly in Paris, in 1773, bearing a title page in Italian that advertised the fact that the quartets had been 'Composti a Roma [Composed in Rome]'.

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¹⁶⁵ Benton lists two autograph sources for String Quartet Op. 1 n. 3 and n. 4. The title of the n. 3 reports: 'Composto in Napoli Anno 783. Quartetto n.° 3 di me Ignazio Pleyel'. The n. 4 source: 'In N. D. et N. Cr. di me Ignazio Pleyel/ fatto in Roma 782/ Quartetto'. These two autographs, which are partially incomplete, confirm the Italian origin of the set. Both sources are preserved in RUS-SPsc.

¹⁶⁶ David Charlton, 'Grétry, André-Ernest-Modeste', *Grove Music Online* http://www.oxford-musiconline.com> [accessed 22 April 2017].

CHAPTER 4: THE PUBLICATION PROCESS - THREE CASE STUDIES AND A CATALOGUE ANALYSIS

The outlining of the complex network of connections between European publishers is a demanding task. Recent research on the topic has generally focused on Mozart and Haydn's publications and on the exchanges between the publishers in Vienna and London. 167 Thanks to these studies we gained an insight into the connections between the London publishing system and the continental scene. Woodfield underlined how the commercial relationship between Viennese and London publishers 'facilitated the quick importation of new editions, sometimes within weeks of first publication in Vienna'. 168 This new successful network promoted further connections and encouraged the composers to visit the British capital. Other political and social connections facilitated the exchanges between Italy (and in particular Venice and Florence), Vienna and the British Isles, and the unceasing request for new music in London eagerly absorbed continental output. The precise goal of the following three case studies is to examine three aspects of the publication process of Italian string quartets in the British capital: the ownership of plates, the re-use of the same for various publications in different cities, and the attention paid by British publishers to one of the main exponents of the Italian style, Luigi Boccherini.

The first two studies focus on the publication process of the sets of string quartets by Ferdinando Bertoni and Antonio Capuzzi, providing new evidence with regard to the use of the engraved plates and their circulation between the publishers, as well as the role composers had in the dissemination of their works. The first case inspects the publication process of the six string quartets by Ferdinando Bertoni, which appeared in 1783 during the author's second trip to London. This set is an example of a work produced by a character who was well connected to the King's Theatre environment. A reconstruction of the publication process of this set may be based on the extant printed

¹⁶⁷ The most relevant works on this topic are: David Wyn Jones, 'From Artaria to Longman & Broderip: Mozart's music on sale in London', in *Studies in Music History presented to H. C. Robbins Landon on his seventieth birthday*, ed. Otto Biba and David Wyn Jones (London: Thames and Hudson, 1996), 105-114; Ian Woodfield, 'John Bland: London retailer of the music of Haydn and Mozart', *Music & Letters*, 81/2 (2000), 210-244; David Wyn Jones, 'Haydn's Music in London'.

¹⁶⁸ Woodfield, 'John Bland', 210.

sources and on the letters that Bertoni himself wrote from London to his former teacher in Bologna, Padre Martini. In these letters we can read how the composer engaged in the common practice that involved a direct investment, i.e. publication 'by the author'. Among the sets of Italian string quartets published in London between 1765 and 1790, about 40% were published by the composer himself, and this could signify that this kind of self-promotion was considered a worthwhile investment. The proliferation of self-produced editions reinforces the idea that music publishing represented an important share of the commercial activity related to concert life: at the same time, it also served as advertising material. Successful publications were often reissued by publishers and included in the firm's catalogue. However, for the Italian string quartets in London, apart from two sets by Boccherini, I have been unable to find any publication after the first one, due to the continuous demand for new music that shortened the shelf life of a composition.

The case study shows that Bertoni benefitted from this entrepreneurial system, as he managed to retain the ownership of the engraved plates, so that he was able to arrange two editions of the same work in England and Italy, over a short period of time. The income generated by the sale of the printed copies of these quartets at least partially covered the economic loss that Bertoni incurred after the bankruptcy of the impresario Taylor in the first half of 1783. The process undertaken by Bertoni for the publication of his quartets may be compared to what John Marsh described in his diary. The Marsh, an amateur composer, intended to publish an anthem and a string quartet composed in imitation of Haydn's Op. 1. The wrote that he had to ask the dedicate of the work for his consent, and gave us some figures relating to the cost of publishing a string quartet. The process was thus described: first of all, he wrote to 'Dr Harington of Bath' asking for the permission to dedicate the anthem to him, in order to 'give it éclat & promote the sale of it'. Then, after Longman & Broderip refused to publish the anthem, Marsh managed to have the plates for both the anthem

¹⁶⁹ The fact that Bertoni physically owned the copper plates of his string quartets is inferred from the publication process, but the words of another Italian composer who spent in London many years of his career, Giacomo Ferrari (1763-1842), confirm this practice: before moving to England, Ferrari left 'tanti rami di musica [many copper plates engraved with music]' to a friend. Ferrari, *Aneddoti*, vol. 2, 44.

¹⁷⁰ Brian Robins, The John Marsh Journals, 348-349.

¹⁷¹ John Marsh, A Quartetto for two Violins, Tenor and Bass, composed (in imitation of the Stile of Haydn's Opera Prima) by J. Marsh. Esq.' (London: by the author, 1786).

and the quartet engraved by Straight; the printing process was finally completed by Preston, who also procured the necessary paper. Marsh recorded that the cost of an engraved plate for the string quartet was 5s; as the whole quartet consists of eleven plates plus the title page, the total cost for the engraving should have been about £3. Each copy of this quartet was sold for 2s, therefore to cover the sole cost of the engraving Marsh would have had to sell at least thirty copies. Subsequently, he sent the printed copies on consignment to more than one seller, in order to maximise the distribution.

Documents such as diaries, letters and contracts can hint at how the local enterprises developed and integrated their activities with those of foreign and geographically distant cities, but such documents are rare in comparison to the number of editions; furthermore, they are often related to single transactions, and are therefore insufficient for a general outline of continental interchanges. For these reasons, the second case study, which focuses on the quartets by Capuzzi, was necessarily based on a thorough analysis of the printed sources, along with the evidence provided by the news of publication appearing in the newspapers.

In the 1780s, the commercial relations between English and Austrian publishers grew, in particular as the firm Artaria & Co undertook collaborative relations with Longman & Broderip, in London. The case of the two collections of string quartets Op. 1 and Op. 2 by Antonio Capuzzi (1755-1818) is representative of this commercial exchange. His string quartets Op. 1, originally issued by Artaria, were soon after sold in London by Longman & Broderip, who took care to engrave a notice on the frontispiece that the works were 'imported from Vienna'.

To gain a better understanding of the connections between London publishers and the European market it proved useful to undertake an analysis of the reprints of string quartets originally published on the continent. London music shops often advertised the sale of editions coming from Holland or France, but what was more common was the production of pirate editions of works published elsewhere, mainly Paris, Amsterdam, Vienna and Leipzig. For the Italian string quartet repertoire, the best-selling composer was Luigi Boccherini: the Italian cello virtuoso appeared to be one of the most popular chamber music composers in Europe and also in the British Isles, despite the fact that he never visited the country to promote his music in person. His music was published

in London in several books of collected works, and the third study case focuses on the editions of Luigi Boccherini's string quartets in London. The aim of the analysis of Boccherini's output in the British capital is to underline the local market's consideration for successful continental publications and their prompt reception. The huge success of Boccherini's works in the British Isles also demonstrates the appreciative reception of the Italian string quartet by the local audience.

The last section of this chapter tackles terminological issues referring to the definition of quartet, showing the broad accepted meaning given to the term. By analysing the catalogue attached to the edition of Rauzzini String Quartets Op. 2 conserved at the GB-Lbl, I observed how the publisher Welcker assembled his string quartet section within his catalogue, pointing out the composition by Italian composers and evidencing the 'shelf-life' of these compositions that, in some cases, had appeared several years before the publication of Rauzzini's Op. 2. From this analysis it emerges that almost half of the compositions for string quartet were by Italian composers, and several of them were imported or reprinted from editions which appeared in France and Amsterdam, thus demonstrating some of the most frequent commercial routes for music editions in the late 1770s.

THE SIX STRING QUARTETS BY FERDINANDO BERTONI (1725-1813)

The events that led to the genesis of the three editions of Bertoni's string quartets will shed light on the Italian string quartet publication process in London and on the modality of the diffusion of the copper plates from UK to the continent.

Ferdinando Bertoni's six string quartets belong to the repertoire that revolved around the economic and cultural context of the opera system in London, with particular reference to the King's Theatre. Bertoni fulfilled the roles of choirmaster at the Pio Ospedale dei Mendicanti and principal organist in the ducal chapel in S. Marco, in Venice. During his Venetian period, he was twice allowed to travel to London as composer-in-residence at the King's Theatre: the first journey lasted from 1778 to 1780, and the second from 1781 to 1783. In London, Bertoni composed operas and arranged pasticcios for the King's Theatre, and in particular for the voice of the primo uomo, the castrato Gasparo Pacchierotti. Pacchierotti was a former pupil of Bertoni, and they had been working together in Venice since 1773.

Bertoni partially outlined the publication process of his set of string quartets in the letters he sent to his former teacher in Bologna, Giovanni Battista Martini (1706-1784): along with the news of publications, in fact, Bertoni's letters are a rare document that illustrates the intention of the composer and his modus operandi within the publishing market.

There are three extant editions of this set, published in London, Paris and Venice. Bertoni chose London as the first place in which to publish his quartets, as he was working there at the time and also because it was the most appealing market for Italian musicians, considering the concentration of publishers and buyers. Only in a later moment he turned to Paris, a city where he was probably not as well known as in London, and finally returned to his homeland, the *Serenissima Republic* of Venice, a country in political and economic decay.

The first edition of the set, entitled *Six Quartetto's for two Violins, a Tenor and a Violoncello*, can be ascribed to Bertoni's second journey to London. ¹⁷² Its publication coincided with the return of Bertoni to the King's Theatre and the set-up of his opera *Il Convito*, premiered on 2 November 1782. The six quartets were 'printed for the author', but were also sold at the shop of the publisher Bremner, who probably collaborated with Bertoni for the engraving and publication process. The dedicatee of this set was William Beckford (1760-1844), a noble patron and philanthropist. Beckford nourished a strong admiration for the Venetian composer, as proved by this letter written during his Grand Tour dated 4 August 1780: 'You may imagine how admirably those of the Mendicanti in particular are taught, since their establishment is under the direction of Bertoni, who breathes around him the very soul of harmony'. ¹⁷³

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¹⁷² Critical edition: Ferdinando Bertoni, *Sei Quartetti per Archi*, ed. Paola Visconti and Simone Laghi (Roma: Società Italiana di Musicologia, 2015). 'Six | Quartetto's | for | Two Violins, a Tenor | and | a Violoncello | Respectfully dedicated | to | William Beckford Esq.r | by | Ferdinando Bertoni | London. | Printed for the author | n. 8 Great Marybone | Street, where the work may be had & also at | Robert Bremner's Music Shop in y Strand & all other Music Shops'. The edition had a dedication to William Beckford (1760-1840): 'Sir, this production of six Instrumental Quartets had to be offered to an Illustrious Young Man, whom Comforts and pleasures have not distracted from the hard path of the merriest Arts, and who has given proof of good taste and knowledge in Music, as a tribute stemming out of my devout gratitude for the favor and protection you have been honoring me with for such a long time. Should you bestow your approval, I shall regard this as one of my most successful endeavors, and shall see your benign reception as evidence of your unaffected favor, which I can only repay by consecrating myself, as I do, with the utmost respect. London 1783 Your Most Humble, Devout, Beholden Servant, Ferdinando Bertoni'. Note: The dedicatory page is missing from the exemplar in I-Bc. It was drawn from the copy located in E-Mn.

¹⁷³ William Beckford, *Italy, with sketches of Spain and Portugal* (Paris: Baudry's European Library, 1834), 60.

On 9 November 1779, during the first residence in London, Bertoni wrote to Padre Martini, commenting on the music environment and the Italian colleagues:

Io me la passo bene, grazzie a dio, e sono rifermato per il second'anno, doppo del quale mi restituirò in Italia. La città è sorprendente; manca però di società, e quella degl'Italiani per noi non è la più desiderabile, dunque vita solitaria, e passarsela nell'attendere ai fatti nostri, e nel fare qualche passeggiata. Il mio ritorno dunque sarà doppo il mese di Giugno, e fermandomi a Parigi, ed altrove, spero essere a Venezia non più tardi del mese di settembre venturo. 174

As written in the letter, Bertoni travelled back to Venice in June 1780, only to come back again by the end of 1781. After the bankruptcy of Taylor, the impresario of the King's Theatre, Bertoni definitively left London on June 1783. He communicated his plans in a letter to Padre Martini, dated 2 May:

Ora siamo qui tutti con la testa rotta perché in pericolo di perdere il nostro dannaro, mentre il nostro impresario [Taylor] dopo aver ritirato un tesoro dal Teatro, è in prigione per una quantità di debiti, e si crede per una maliziosa intelligenza, onde siamo qui fra la speranza ed il timore; e si vede che in tutti li paesi del mondo vi sono li suoi bricconi. Io con tutto ciò mi preparo per la partenza, che (se posso) voglio non sia più tardi della mettà di Giugno.¹⁷⁵

After this letter, there is a gap of more than six months in the correspondence with Padre Martini. This silence could be due to the fact that on his way back to his permanent positions at San Marco and the Ospedale dei Mendicanti, Bertoni decided to stop for some time in Paris, as also happened in 1780 during his first return journey.¹⁷⁶

Once back in Venice, Bertoni wrote again to Padre Martini on 31 January 1784. In the letter, Bertoni asked his former teacher to take advantage of his network of connections in order to help him sell as many copies of the quartets he could:

Vorrei pregare Vostra Riverenza di procurarmi l'esito di qualche numero di quartetti da me stampati in Londra per due violini, viola e violoncello, li quali sono stati assai bene accolti. Essendo vicino alla partenza per l'Italia non potei esitarli tutti, perciò ne portai meco 50 corpi di quattro stampe l'uno per 4 strumenti. Può essere che a Vostra Riverenza riesca con qualche dilettante o professore di procurarmene scapito di qualcuna, giacché vorrei ali primi di Quadragesima darli

¹⁷⁴ I-Bc, I.013.154. "Thank God I am doing well, and I have been confirmed for the second year, after which I will return to Italy. The city is astounding, but it lacks society, and Italian society is not the most desirable for us, thus I tend to live on my own, and I mind my own business, and I do some walks. My return will be after the month of June, and I will stop in Paris , and in other places, hoping to be in Venice no later than next September'.

¹⁷⁵ I-Bc, I.013.158. 'Now we are here with an aching head as we are in danger of losing our money, while our impresario, after he withdrew a huge sum from the theatre's treasury, is in jail due to copious debts, and it is believed this is owing to malicious wit, therefore we are hanging between hope and fear, and it is evident that scoundrels are in every country of the world. Due to all this, I am preparing for my departure, which (if possible) I would like to be no later than the middle of June'.

¹⁷⁶ See letter 9/11/1779: I-Bc, I.013.154.

fuori. La spesa è d'un zecchino veneziano, e ad un suo avviso gliene spedirò quanti me ne ricercherà. 177

On 21 February, Bertoni sent six copies of the quartets to Martini. 178

It seems evident that the composer maintained the ownership of the plates and sent them to Venice, in order to allow Zatta to reuse them. The *Sei quartetti a due violini, viola e violoncello* were published in Venice by Antonio Zatta in 1784.¹⁷⁹ Apart from the title page, newly engraved by Zatta, the rest of the publication is identical to the London edition. The forthcoming issue of Zatta edition explains the urgent tone Bertoni used in his letter to Martini, as he was trying to get rid of the extant copies of the London edition. On 24 April 1784 he wrote again:

La prego poi di fare il possibile per l'esito dei quartetti, mentre nella ventura settimana sortirà la ristampa parimenti di Zatta, che pretende vendere a miglior prezzo, ne resterei pregiudicato, e ne cavi anco il zecchino romano, o qualche paolo di meno, giacché sono gli ultimi. 180

On the same day, Zatta posted the publication advertisement in the newspaper *Notizie del Mondo*, and updated his own catalogue.¹⁸¹ As Bertoni underlined in the letter, Zatta applied a lower price, as he was spared the cost of the engraving. The last letter in which Bertoni mentioned the quartets is dated 15 May 1784: in this, he thanked Padre Martini for helping him with the sales.¹⁸²

The Paris edition, published by Venier with the title VI Quartetti per Due Violini Alto et Violoncello, 183 was based on different plates: it differs from the other two in the insertion of several slurs and articulations, in addition to an important number of variants in the dynamic and agogic indications. In

¹⁷⁷ I-Bc, I.013.159. 'I pray Your Reverence to arrange the sale of some of the quartets I published in London for two violins, viola and cello, which were well received there. Being close to my departure for Italy I was unable to sell them all, therefore I brought with me 50 sets of four volumes for the four instruments. Maybe Your Reverence might be able to sell them to some dilettante or professor, as I would be happy to get rid of them by the beginning of Lent. The price is a Venetian zecchino, and at your request I will send you as many as you desire'.

¹⁷⁸ I-Bc. I.013.157.

¹⁷⁹ 'Sei Quartetti a Due Violini, Viola, e Violoncello del signor Ferdinando Bertoni. Venezia presso Antonio Zatta e Figli.' Located at: A-Wgm, I-BGc, I-Nc, I-Raf, I-Vc, I-Vnm.

¹⁸⁰ I-Bc, I.013.163. 'I pray you to do what is in your power to arrange the sale of the quartets, as next week Zatta will start printing and he wants to sell at a lower price, and that would damage me, so you can even demand a Roman zecchino or some paolos less, as these are the last copies'.

¹⁸¹ Antolini, 289.

¹⁸² I-Bc, I.013.164.

¹⁸³ VI Quartetti per Due Violini Alto et Violoncello composti dal Sig.r Ferdinando Bertoni Opera II. Nuovamente Stampata a Spese di G. B. Venier. Prix 9. Gravé par Richomme A Paris Chez M. Venier Editeur

Bertoni's letters there are no implicit or explicit reference to the Venier edition: it is impossible to prove that he knew about the Paris edition, or that he approved any modification to the musical text. Notwithstanding this, the abundance of articulations and other musical indications in the Venier edition provides alternative performance suggestions to the contemporary English edition, and stands as a valuable document for the modern performer interested in historical performance practice.

Bertoni's string quartets appear as Op. 2 in a catalogue published by Venier between 1780 and 1784.184 The publisher's address on the title page suggests that the edition was printed after 1782, when Venier moved to rue Traversière (as indicated on the title-page), while before his address was rue Saint Thomas di Louvre. As Venier's activity terminated in 1784, the Parisian edition of Bertoni's string quartets dates between 1782 and 1784. This time span does not clarify whether the first edition was the one published by Venier or the one that appeared in London, but it is possible to find an answer to this problem in the aforementioned correspondence: in the quoted letter from 1779, Bertoni made clear his intention to stop in Paris during his return journey to Venice, and it is probable that he did the same in the summer of 1783. While in Paris, Bertoni could have arranged in person the publication of the set of string quartets with Venier. This was an effective way to retain ownership of his production, due to the absence of an international copyright law that prevented piracy. At the same time, being aware of the fact that they were not protected by effective copyright laws, composers not infrequently tried to maximise the sales of their music by offering it to several publishers at once, so that double-dealing appeared as a tolerable common practice also for eminent composers like Haydn. 185 Bertoni seems to have followed the same process during his first return journey: after he published in London the Six Sonatas for the Harpsichord or Piano-forte with an accompanyment for the violin Op. 1, the same set appeared in a Parisian edition by Henry about six months later, in 1780. By following the publication process in person, Bertoni could have managed

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de plusieurs Ouvrages de Musique Rue Traversiere vis-à-vis l'Hotel de Richelieu. Et aux adresses ordinaires En Province chez les M.ds de Musique.' Located at: A-Wgm, D-WD.

¹⁸⁴ Cari Johansson, French Music Publishers' Catalogues of the Second Half of the Eighteenth Century, 2 vols. (Stockholm: Kungliga Musikaliska Akademien, 1955), facs. 125.

¹⁸⁵ David Wyn Jones, ed., 'Forster, William', in Oxford Composer Companions Haydn (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 104-05.

to earn money from each single publication, therefore displaying a good awareness of the market rules and risks.

THE STRING QUARTETS OP. 1 AND OP. 2 BY ANTONIO CAPUZZI: FROM VENICE TO VIENNA AND FROM VIENNA TO LONDON.

The London edition of the String Quartets Op. 1 by Antonio Capuzzi provides further evidence for a new continental network, and helps our understanding of how the evolution of the market in-

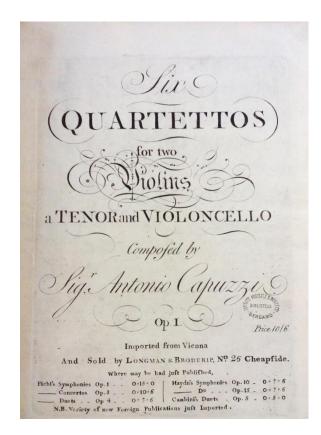




Figure 4: Capuzzi Op. 1 - Longman & Broderip title page [I-BGi, Fondo Piatti Lochis PREIS.C.8549a]

Figure 5: Capuzzi Op. 1 – Artaria/Le Duc title page [F-Pn, VM7-1325 (3)]

volved manuscripts, printed material and engraved metal plates. During the 1780s, Austrian publishers became more and more important for the continental music market, especially after the Artaria publishing company began to trade music in 1778. London publishers were then keen to expand their network further than Paris and Amsterdam, and started business relationships with the Viennese capital.

Antonio Capuzzi (1755-1818) was an Italian violinist: he studied with Antonio Nazari, a pupil of Tartini's. He was born in Bergamo, a city that at the time was part of the *Serenissima Repubblica* of

Venice, but was situated at the border with the Great Duchy of Lombardy, controlled by Austria. Capuzzi visited London in 1796, but his music had arrived in the British capital long before him.

His first set of String Quartets Op. 1 was published by Artaria, in Vienna (see Table 3 for details about the editions of Capuzzi Op. 1 and 2). The particularly elegant title page of the Artaria edition of Capuzzi Op. 1 was signed by the artist Karl Schutz (1745-1800), who also indicated the year of the engraving (1780). The plate number (No. 11) confirms the publication date. 186

Table 3: Capuzzi Op. 1 and Op. 2 editions and variants

Op.	Publisher	Place	Plate	Engraver	Year	Source	Notes
1	Artaria	Vienna	11	Huberty	1780	GB-Lbl	RISM ID No. 00000990008721 / 00000991015312 (US-I)
1	Longman & Broderip	London	11	Huberty	1782	I-BGi	Artaria edition, with new title page RISM ID No. 00000990070316
1	Le Duc	Paris	11	Huberty	[1780]	F-Pn	Gummed label on Artaria 1780 title page
2	Alessandri e Scattaglia	Venice	-	n.a.	c1780-2	GB-Lbl, F-Pc	RISM ID No. 00000990008720
2	Artaria	Vienna	-	n.a.	1782	A-Wst	A1122 – Same plates by Alessandri e Scattaglia, with same title page of Op. 1 by Artaria ('Opera 2': number 2 added in handwriting) RISM ID No. 00000990008719
2	Artaria	Vienna	-	n.a.	1782	A-Wst	A1123 – Same plates by Alessandri e Scattaglia (new title page by I. Alberti), with corrections. RISM ID No. 00000990008719

The same quartets were also exported from Vienna to Paris: a copy of the Op. 1, preserved at the Bibliothèque Nationale de France (F-Pn), bears the original title page of the Artaria edition, but the name of the company was replaced by a gummed label applied by the Parisian publisher Le Duc (Figure 6).



Figure 6: Capuzzi Op. 1, Le Duc version [Paris, BNF VM7-1325 (1)]

¹⁸⁶ According to Kathi Meyer and Inger M. Christensen, 'Artaria Plate Numbers', Notes, n. 15 (1942).

Capuzzi's Op. 1 was presented in London by Longman & Broderip in 1782;¹⁸⁷ from the 1780s, this firm acted as Artaria's agents in London.¹⁸⁸ These quartets were advertised as 'just imported from Vienna', together with the violin duos Op. 28 by Vanhal.¹⁸⁹

Longman & Broderip thought it was important to mention in clear print on the title page that the quartets were 'imported from Vienna'. They could have easily added a pasted label over the Artaria title page, as frequently happened, and as Le Duc in fact did in Paris: it appears that Longman and Broderip were eager to emphasise their direct connection with the Viennese publishers, using it as a selling point that could have been more appealing to British customers. From an analysis of the watermarks in the Op. 1 exemplar with the Longman and Broderip title page, it was possible to infer that the paper was originally from Venice, and therefore it is most likely that some paper copies were imported directly from Vienna, along with copies of Vanhal's Op. 28.190

An article by Ridgewell describing the Artaria plate numbering provided a good starting point for further research on this publication process. ¹⁹¹ In his article, Ridgewell analysed Artaria's inventory ledgers: ledger No. 3 (1784) lists the plates used for the publication of both Capuzzi's Op. 1 and Op. 2. Plates forming the material necessary to print Capuzzi's Op. 1 are listed under the title 'Rami di Musica in Stagno' (pewter music plates), along with most of the other plates in the inventory, while the 97 plates forming Capuzzi's Op. 2 are listed separately under the title 'Detti in Rame' (copper music plates), along with another 44 plates used for the title pages of other editions, also in engraved in copper. This in itself would be a relevant anomaly, but it goes with another difference:

¹⁸⁷ Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser, 26 March 1782. The advertisement reports 'Op. 1d [sic]', but on 28 March a similar advertisement appeared corrected as 'Op. 2d', along with the Vanhal Duos Op. 28: nevertheless, the exemplar in the Biblioteca Musicale 'Gaetano Donizetti' (I-BGi), the only one with the printed Longman & Broderip title page, indicates the set as 'Op. 1'. There is no extant exemplar of Op. 2 with a different title page directly ascribable to Longman & Broderip.

¹⁸⁸ David Wyn Jones, 'Haydn, Austria and Britain: Music, Culture and Politics in the 1790s', 6.

¹⁸⁹ A copy of Vanhal Op. 28 in the Library of the Conservatorio 'B. Marcello' (I-Vc), bears the overprinted inscription: 'Imported from Vienna, publish'd and sold by Torre & Co. 132 Pall Mall, London, July 15, 1785'.

¹⁹⁰ I would like to thank Dr. Fabrizio Capitanio (Conservatore Biblioteca Musicale Donizetti) for the information.

¹⁹¹ Rupert Ridgewell, 'Artaria Plate Numbers and the Publication Process, 1778-87', in Music and the Book Trade, ed. Robin Myers, Michael Harris and Giles Mandelbrote (New Castle, DE: Oak Knoll Press and London: British Library, 2008), 145-78.

Ridgewell identified the engraver for Capuzzi's Op. 2 as 'Artaria 2', an engraver whose only collaboration with this publisher would be this edition.¹⁹² A comparison between the Artaria edition of Capuzzi's Op. 2 and the Alessandri e Scattaglia edition of the same work showed the existence of several issues originating from the material prepared by the Venetian firm, therefore solving the problem of the mysterious 'Artaria 2'.

There are two exemplars of the Artaria edition of Capuzzi Op. 2 in the Vienna Library (A-Wst): in both cases the musical material is ascribable to the Alessandri e Scattaglia edition. One exemplar (identified as A1122, following a catalogue number on the title page, Figure 7) bears the same title page as the Capuzzi Op. 1 by Artaria, with the only difference that a handwritten number '2' was added near the printed word 'Opera'. The exemplar of Capuzzi Op. 1 by Artaria-Le Duc in F-Pn has, in fact, an identical title page, with no handwritten specification of the opus number (it simply reads 'Opera': see Fig. 6). Thus, it seems likely that in the first instance Artaria prepared a single title page with the intention of using it for both editions: this would suggest that the Viennese publisher was planning to release both Op. 1 and Op. 2 within a short period of time. The second exemplar in A-Wst (A1123, Figure 8) bears a different title page which was newly engraved by Ignaz Alberti (1760-1794).



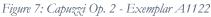




Figure 8: Capuzzi Op. 2 - Exemplar A1123

¹⁹² Capuzzi Op. 1 was engraved and signed by Huberty.

The music in A1123 is from the same plates as A1122, but there are some differences: in A1122, page numbering starts from number '1' on the first page of each of the four parts, with the same font and the same numbering as the Alessandri e Scattaglia edition. A1123, instead, begins with number '2', printed with a typical Artaria font (see Figure 9 and 10). Other small corrections were made in A1123 in relation to dynamic markings, and the changes are identifiable as belonging to the Artaria font set.



Figure 9: Exemplar A1122 - Violin part, p. 1



Figure 10: Exemplar A1123 - Violin part, p. 1

From this evidence it is possible to infer that Artaria obtained the plates from Alessandri e Scattaglia (or maybe from Capuzzi himself, who had possibly retained their ownership), then started to publish the Op. 2 set with the same title page prepared for Op. 1. Subsequently, Artaria prepared a second issue with a renewed title page, seizing the opportunity to insert some corrections. Finally, the copper plates were listed in a separate section of the ledger, as they were made of a different material than the usual Artaria pewter plates. Unfortunately, there is no evidence of publication for the Alessandri e Scattaglia edition of Op. 2, and the new title page of A1223 bears no date: nevertheless, Artaria advertised this publication in 1782. This fact confirms the hypothesis that Artaria physically owned the plates for Op. 2, originally engraved by Alessandri e Scattaglia in Venice, at least from 1782.

193 Wiener Zeitung, 10 July 1782: 'Von Anton Capuzzi 6 Quartetti per 2 Violini, Viola, e Basso, Op. 2, 4 ft'.

Capuzzi's Op. 1 and Op. 2 are both listed in Artaria's general catalogue from 1785, but are missing from the 1780 and 1782 catalogues:¹⁹⁴ this fact would require further investigation, as according to Schutz's signature, the title page for Op. 1 dated back to 1780.¹⁹⁵

The publication process of Capuzzi's quartets in Venice, Vienna and London shows that not only manuscripts or printed material, but even plates were sold or exchanged between publishers and could travel across Europe, as already proven in the case of the string quartets by Bertoni, printed in London and then in Venice from the same set of plates. Ridgwell refers to another case of plate-trading in relation to Artaria, when in 1776 a trunk destined for the publisher and containing printed music and engraved plates was stopped by Vienna's custom authorities. Thus, plate-trading appears then to have been a common practice, and through these case studies we may shed a new light on similar instances related to other music editions.

THE RECEPTION OF LUIGI BOCCHERINI'S MUSIC IN LONDON

The success of Luigi Boccherini (1743-1805) as a string quartet composer in the British musical scene is emblematic of the attention paid by local publishers to Italian repertoire, despite the fact that Boccherini never visited the British isles: nevertheless, he was well known there, especially for his chamber music compositions. ¹⁹⁷ Considering the fact that Boccherini never personally acquainted himself with the British scene, the widespread proliferation of his works during the 1770s is remarkable evidence of his success. London was just one of the many places reached by the fame of this Italian composer, as editions of his music appeared everywhere in Europe. At the same time, the British reprints testify to the attention paid by local publishers towards the musical novelties produced on the continent, and, especially as far as Boccherini's output is concerned, this mainly

194 Otto Biba and Ingrid Fuchs, ed., Die Sortimentskataloge Der Musikalienhandlung Artaria & Comp. In Wien: Aus Den Jahren 1779, 1780, 1782, 1785 Und 1788 (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 2006), 127-128.

¹⁹⁵ This particular aspect deserves to be treated separately, as it is not related to the string quartet situation in London.

¹⁹⁶ Rupert Ridgewell, 'Economic Aspects: The Artaria Case', in *Music Publishing in Europe 1600-1900*, ed. by Rudolf Rasch (Berlin: Berliner Wissenschafts-Verlag, 2005), 93.

¹⁹⁷ The most important source for this chapter is the article by Rasch, 'Luigi Boccherini and the Music Publishing Trade'.

refers to his Parisian compositions. France was the privileged gateway for continental music in London, at least until the outbreak of the French revolution and the Napoleonic wars, after which Austria and Germany became more and more influential on British musical taste.

Even if it is a complicated (and rather futile) exercise to indicate where and when the string quartet was born, it is certain that the appearance of Boccherini's Op. 2 in 1767 in Paris (by Venier) opened the way for the new genre. Boccherini had an important career as a virtuoso cellist and composer. Born in Lucca, he spent most of his life in Spain, mainly at the court of the Infante Don Luis, brother of the King of Spain Charles III. At the death of Don Luis, in 1785, Boccherini became chamber composer to the Prussian King Friedrich Wilhelm II. Nevertheless, he then moved to Madrid and did not leave Spain until the end of his life. Boccherini's works were mainly published in Paris, and from the late 70s also by Artaria, in Vienna. Although he never visited London, it is possible that the original destination of his first journey to Paris in 1767 was in fact the British capital, but then he changed his mind and decided to follow the Spanish ambassador in Paris to Madrid (in 1768 or early 1769). It is fascinating to note how Boccherini managed to publish a large amount of works despite his physical distance from a relevant publishing scene and market place, and had such an impact on the vibrant London music scene.

The only possible original edition of a set of music by Boccherini which appeared in London was a collection of *Six Sonata's pour le Violoncello*¹⁹⁹ published by Robert Bremner. The same pieces had appeared as sonatas for violin and bass in Paris three years before, about 1769, published by La Chevardière. Considering that Boccherini's instrument was the violoncello, it is plausible to infer that La Chevardière's choice to offer these sonatas, originally composed for the cello, as violin pieces was dictated by the intention to reach a wider market. For this reason, these Bremner sonatas could be considered an original edition. The success of the set undoubtedly contributed to the growth of Boccherini's fame in England. No other first editions of works by Boccherini appeared in London,

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¹⁹⁸ These quartets, catalogued by Gerard as G. 159-164, were published in 1767, but were composed as early as 1761, therefore they predate the Latilla edition of 1765.

¹⁹⁹ This set contains the sonatas G. 13, 6, 5, 10, 1 and 4, according to the Gerard catalogue. Bremner advertised the set in *General Evening Post*, 24-26 March 1772, together with the string quartet set G. 165-170.

but reprints of works originally published elsewhere were frequent. To confirm the interest of English amateurs in this repertoire, it is significant to note that in the 1780s several London publishers produced arrangements of Boccherini's works for keyboard with violin accompaniment.

Focusing on Boccherini's string quartet output, the works published in London were reprints of first Parisian editions. With six available editions, Boccherini was the most represented Italian string quartet composer in London during the 1770s. This is the list of Boccherini's quartets published in London:²⁰⁰

- G. 159-164: by Welcker [Public Advertiser, 30/06/1769]
- G. 165-170: by Longman & Lukey [c.1770], and by Bremner [General Evening Post, 24-26/03/1772]
- G. 171-176: by Bremner [*Public Advertiser*, 8/11/1777]
- G. 177-182: by Welcker [*Public Advertiser*, 21/03/1774], and Preston [c.1780]

In addition to local editions, starting from 1780 London sellers also offered several of Boccherini's imported Parisian publications.²⁰¹ Considering the popularity of his works, Boccherini's presence on the eighteenth-century music scene is still underestimated and deserves further consideration, not only under the analytic and historical perspective, but even more so in concert programmes.

After 1780, a few works by Boccherini were published in London, including trios, symphonies and string quintets. The publication of string quartets by Boccherini slowed down after 1780: his letters to publishers after that date prove that he was actually trying to get his works published, but with less success than before. In Paris, the publication of string quartets by Boccherini basically ceased for nearly twenty years after Op. 27, published in 1778-79 by Sieber. Similarly, the catalogues of the Viennese publisher of Boccherini's works, Artaria, report a decline in Boccherini editions advertised

²⁰⁰ I will use the numbers given by Yves Gerard in his catalogue to define the set, in order to avoid the confusion generated by the different opus numbers of the several extant editions.

²⁰¹ On 30 April 1782 the *Morning Herald* published an advertisement of the upcoming availability of Boccherini's Op. 26: the problem with the definition of Boccherini's opus numbers, in relation to the discrepancies between his own catalogue and the numbers applied by the editors is particularly complex for Op. 26. The set advertised here is most likely the set of quartets G 183-188, also known as Op. 22 in Boccherini's own catalogue: in fact, this set was published in Paris by La Chevardière as Op. 26, in 1777. For further reference: Simone Laghi, liner notes to: *Luigi Boccherini: Six String Quartets Op. 26*, CD, Brilliant Classics 95302 (2016).

after 1788.²⁰² Boccherini kept composing string quartets for the Spanish and the Prussian courts, but it looks like the hectic initial outbreak of his career reached a point of saturation, and cooled down the interest of the market. The decrease in size of Boccherini's string quartet output during the 1780s and '90s also proves that the taste of the European public was turning towards different musical forms, as was happening in London with the advent of the new Austro-German wave after 1785.

These three case studies explain how, starting from the late 1770s, the musical activity related to string quartet editions in London both relied on local compositions and on the continental output, owing to the increasing commercial relations with other publishers from Austria (such as in the case of Artaria and others Viennese publishers) and on the solid connection with Paris, as evidenced by the case of Boccherini's imported quartets.

Bertoni and Capuzzi's examples clearly shows that the trade of plates was a common habit, supported by the composers who somehow attempted to maintain control of their compositions by physically retaining the ownership of the plates.

²⁰² Rupert Ridgewell, 'Artaria's music shop and Boccherini's music in Viennese musical life', *Early Music*, vol. 33, n. 2 (2005), 179-189.

THE WELCKER CATALOGUE FROM RAUZZINI'S OP. 2 EDITION AND THE DEFINITION OF 'QUARTET': TERMINOLOGICAL ISSUES

Rauzzini's String Quartets Op. 2 were published in London in 1778 by John Welcker. This publishing firm was opened in 1765 by John's father, Peter, who died in 1775. In 1780 John Welcker went bankrupt, but his activity continued discontinuously until 1785, publishing a sizeable number of works. After Welcker's bankruptcy, his stock of prints and engraved plates was offered for sale in July 1780.²⁰³ Subsequently, some of these plates were used by other publishers, such as Bremner. The publisher Blundell was the son-in-law of the wife of Peter Welcker, Mary, and took over the shop immediately after the sale of Welcker's belongings. Copies of sets published by Welcker appeared with glued labels by other publishers, such as in the case of Schetky's Op. 7 (See Figure 15).

LONDON Printed and Sold by JOHN WELCKER (Mufic Seller to their MAJESTIES and all the ROYAL FAMILY) N.º 10 Hay Market.
Sold at W. Forfers Mufic Shop
the Corner of Dukes Court S!
Martins Lane. London.

Figure 11: Detail of the title page of Schetky's Op. 7, with Forster's glued label

Advertisd in February 1778, Rauzzini's Op. 2 is among the sets published by John before the bank-ruptcy. As often happened in those years, at the end of each of the four volumes forming the set of Rauzzini's Op. 2 Welcker inserted a copy of his updated catalogue.²⁰⁴ This is divided into several sections: the titles contained in the string quartet list are telling of the ambiguity inherent in the use of the term 'quartet' (Table 4). In fact, the catalogue proves how Welcker, as well as other publishers, adopted an inclusive and ambiguous definition of this term, generally labelling a piece only according to the number of parts it consisted of.²⁰⁵ The catalogue lists the name of the author, a short description of the item (or items, in case of more than one set per author) and the cost of each item. I have divided the string quartets listed in the catalogue in two categories, classifying the works originally published in London separately from the ones that originated elsewhere, in order

²⁰³ London Courant, 6 July 1780

²⁰⁴ The catalogue is present in the copy preserved at the GB-Lbl (Music Collections h.2800.).

²⁰⁵ Regardless of the number of players.

to show the source of the works. Of the 34 entries, 14 are by Italian composers (or concern works involving an Italian), representing 41% of the total repertoire.

Table 4: Welcker's catalogue in Rauzzini Op. 2

Author	Description	Price
Abel	2 setts	Each 10.6
Bach	6	10.6
Boccherini	1st sett 6 [G. 159-164]	10.6
Boccherini	2nd sett 6 [G. 165-170]	8.0
Boccherini	3rd and 4th setts	Each 10.6
Cirri	2 setts	Each 10.6
Cirri	2 setts	Each 3.6
Cirri	6 Op. 14	10.6
Demacchi	6	10.6
Davaux	6	8.0
Eichner	6 flute	10.6
Graaf	6 flute	10.6
Gossec	6	8.0
Giordani	2 setts	Each 10.6
Haydn	4 setts	Each 8.0 [Hummel?]
Haydn	6 Grand Op. 9	10.6
Haydn	6 Op. 10	10.6
Kammel	2 setts	Each 10.6
Kotswara	6	10.6
Lattilla	6	10.6
Pugnani	2 setts	Each 6.0
Punto	3 flute	5.0
Ricci	6 Op. 8	10.6
Richter	6	10.6
Smith	6 flute	10.6
Schwindl	6 flute	8.0
Syrmen, Madam	6	10.6
Tartini	6	10.6
Toeschi	6 flute	7.6
Vanhall	2 setts	Each 10.6
Vachon	2 setts	Each 10.6
Weideman	6 flute	10.6
Paisible	6	10.6
Misliwececks	6	10.6
Bach, Abel & Giardini	6	10.6

The listed Italian composers are: Luigi Boccherini (1743-1805), Giovanni Battista Cirri (1724-1808), Giuseppe Demacchi [recte: Demachi] (1732-1791), Tommaso Giordani (1730/33-1806), Gaetano Lattilla [recte: Latilla] (1711-1788), Gaetano Pugnani (1731-1798), Francesco Pasquale Ricci (1732-1817), Maddalena Lombardini (1745-1818), Giuseppe Tartini (1692-1770), Felice Giardini (1716-1796). Of the Italian composers listed, only Latilla and Boccherini never visited London: all the others had visited or where resident in the city. As already underlined in Chapter 4, Boccherini's reputation is widely confirmed by the presence of four sets of string quartets, coming second after Haydn, whose first six sets are included. Cirri contributed with five sets, one of which, Op. 14, is not a string quartet collection but consists of six concertos in four parts for solo cello, two violins and bass.²⁰⁶

²⁰⁶ The news of the publication of the Six Concertos for Cello Op. 14 was advertised by Welcker (*Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser*, 18 March 1775) at the price of 14s 6d. This first advertisement probably bears a

It is also appropriate to expunge the collection ascribed to Tartini from this list of quartets: these *Six Concertos in four Parts*²⁰⁷ are a transcription for two violins, cello and bass of six violin concerti, 'printed for Tommaso Mazzinghi by Welcker'.²⁰⁸ The item listed in this catalogue might possibly be a reprint, as the first edition dates back more than ten years.²⁰⁹ Also, Pugnani's two listed sets could be better ascribed to the genre of the string symphony, as both have a figured bass part, with several indications for *tasto solo*, and cues for *violoncello* and *contrabbasso* notated on the same stave. The same can be said for the *Six Orchester-Quartets* by Demachi, despite the fact that the *basso* part of the set does not bear any thorough-bass indications.²¹⁰

As far as the other listed Italian quartet sets are concerned, I have decided to identify the ones that were published for the first time in London and to separate them from those that were originally published elsewhere, at the same time providing further information about the publication process and eventual available references drawn from newspapers and private correspondence. By doing so, it has become clear that the main source for the latter group was the French market, and in particular the Parisian publishers. The trade between London and Paris was twofold, as Bertoni and also Rauzzini were keen on exporting their sets of quartets to the French capital just a few months after their first publication in London. Several of Rauzzini's works appeared in Paris soon after their first

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mistake in the price. In the following days the advice reported: '[...] composed by Cirri, Op. 10s 6d' [sic]; on 4 April 1775 the advertisement in the *Morning Post and Daily Advertiser* was corrected as follows: '[...] composed by Cirri Op. 14th, 10s. 6d.'. To be noted that the advertisement for the publication of Cirri's set of String Quartets Op. 13 (printed by the author, first news of publication on 25 February 1775), appeared in the newspapers in a distinct section, and not in Welcker's advertisement.

²⁰⁷ A copy of this music can be found in GB-Lbl (Music Collections g.296.b.)

²⁰⁸ Tommaso Mazzinghi (?-1775), violinist and wine merchant. Despite several quoting the Mazzinghi family as having Corsican origins, further and more precise references about its ancestry and the Florentine noble descent of its members can be found in Scipione Ammirato, *Delle Famiglie Nobili Fiorentine* (Florence: Gio. Donato e Bernardino Giunti, & Compagni, 1615). Members of the Mazzinghi family lived all around Italy, in Naples, Pisa, Florence and Leghorn. In 1763, Tommaso Mazzinghi published his *Six Solos for the Violin with a Thorough-Bass for Harpsichord* for Welcker. He died in London. His son, Joseph Mazzinghi (1765-1844), was himself a composer and collaborated with the King's Theatre for several years, from 1786. There are no extant string quartets by the Mazzinghi family, but Joseph published three Quartets Op. 3 for a peculiar ensemble formed by piano, flute, violin and viola (Longman and Broderip, 1788).

²⁰⁹ A subscription announcement for the publication of this work appeared in the *Public Advertiser* (7 December 1763, with delivery announced starting from February 1764). The arrangements were by Vincenzo Rota. For further details see: Minos Dounias, *Die Violinkonzerte Giuseppe Tartinis als Ausdruck einer Künstler-persönlichkeit und einer Kulturepoche* (Wolfenbüttel: Kallmeyer, 1935), p. 199.

²¹⁰ The separate part bears the inscription Violoncello on quartet n. 1 (with concertante writing and the presence of several passages in tenor clef) and Basso in all the other five, while the title page refers to 'Two Violins, a Tenor and Violoncello'.

publication in London: the Sonatas Op. 1, the String Quartets Op. 2 and the Keyboard Quartets Op. 6 were published by Sieber, and the Sonatas Op. 8 were published by La Chevardiere. Among the string quartet mentioned in this Welcker catalogue, the only exception to this strong London-Paris connection is Ricci's set of quartets, originally published in Amsterdam by Markordt.

The musical exchanges between London, Paris and Amsterdam were frequent, and the turnout of the publication was generally fast (generally about two years between a first publication and a foreign reprint); this trend lasted at least until the French Revolution and the subsequent outbreak of the Napoleonic Wars, when the commercial relations between Great Britain and France partially cooled down.

Italian string quartets in the Welcker catalogue: first editions

- Gaetano Latilla (1711-1788).²¹¹ An original London edition by Adolf Hummell from about 1765 was followed by a Welcker reprint from Hummell's plates, dating back from 'the second half of 1769 or very early 1770'. Latilla lived most of his life between Naples, Rome and Venice; he never visited London, therefore the publication of this set can not be linked to any biographical event. Nevertheless, this set appears to be the first set of string quartets published in London. Charles Burney had the opportunity to meet him in Venice in 1770 and reported a positive impression of this composer.
- Gaetano Pugnani (1731-1798). He visited London in 1767-1769, where he served as Principal Violin at the King's Theatre (his opera Nanetta e Lubino earned good success). In 1768 Welcker published Three Quintets for different instruments and a set of Three Quartets for two Violins, a Tenor & Bass,²¹² followed by a Second Set of Three Quartets (advertised on the Public Advertiser on 24 November 1770). From October 1772 to July 1773 Pugnani was again in London:²¹³ his opera *Apollo ed Issea* was performed on 3 May 1773, for his own benefit. Tickets for the concert were sold at his address in London (36, Suffolk Street) and at the publisher Napier, who published his Second Sett [sic] of Quintets during the same time.²¹⁴
- Felice Giardini (1716-1796). Native of Turin, he studied with Giovanni Battista Somis, as Pugnani did. He arrived in London in 1751 and resided there for over 40 years. Charles

²¹¹ An exhaustive description of Latilla's set of string quartets is given in the introduction of the modern edition prepared by Michael Talbot.

²¹² Both sets are listed in the catalogue on the title page of the Six Overtures Op. 4, the publication of which was advertised on 31 January 1769 on the Public Advertiser.

²¹³ Lister, *Amico*, 18.

²¹⁴ Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser, 22 March 1773.

Burney declared that Giardini brought a 'new discipline, and new style of playing' in the King's Theatre orchestra, while his daughter Susan blamed Giardini's old-fashioned style. His first string quartet was published in 1776 as No. 6 of a set of similar works by Johann Christian Bach and Carl Friedrich Abel (Napier). Giardini collaborated with the two German musicians, and the publication of this set of music was related to his collaboration with the Abel-Bach series of concerts.²¹⁵ Later, Giardini published Op. 22 (1780), Op. 23 (2 for violin, 2 violas and cello; 2 for 2 violins, viola, cello; 2 for oboe, violin, viola and cello; 1782), Op. 25 (3 for flute/oboe, violin, viola and cello; 3 for 2 violins, viola and cello; 1783), and Op. 29 (1790). Three further manuscript string quartets are preserved at the British Library.

• Giovanni Battista Cirri (1724-1808). Cirri was a virtuoso cello player: he was born and died in Forlì, but lived in London for several years. Thanks to an invitation from the Duke of York he moved to London and settled there in 1764, becoming the Duke's chamber musician, as well as director of music for the Duke of Gloucester. Before returning to Forlì in 1780, Cirri published several works in London, mostly with Welcker. In the catalogue we can find his collection of string quartets Op. 13²¹⁷ and Op. 10 (four for a flute, two violins and bass and 2 for two violins, cello obbligato and bass). The Op. 10 was published by the author in 1769 (Welcker acting solely as a retailer), and then reprinted with a new title-page by Welcker in 1770.²¹⁸ The other two sets priced 3s 6d are the *Deux Quattuors pour deux Violons, Violoncelle obligé et Basse*, published by the Author²¹⁹ and another unidentified set, which could be the 'celebrated Concerto with the Rondon [sic] which Madam

²¹⁵ London Evening Post, 20 April 1776: 'Next week will be published Six Quartettos, for two violins, a tenor and bass, or a flute, violin, tenor, and bass. Composed by Bach, Abel and Giardini. Price 10s 6d'. John Marsh left a reference about this string quartet, the first published by Giardini, in Robins, The John Marsh Journals, 189: 'Le Motte, Popo [Puppo] & Cervetto having at the last Meeting bro't into notice a very difficult & showy quartetto of Giardini's, Mr R.Still & Jacob soon afterw'ds began practicing the bass of it, as I did the 1st. fiddle w'ch were the 2 most difficult parts, in consequence of w'ch we now ventur'd to play it at Mr Harris's, the Spread Eagle & other concerts with tolerable effect; after w'ch I played the 2d. fiddle of it with Tewksbury at the public concert. This celebrated quartetto is called the 6th. Of Bach Abel & Giardini it being a miscellaneous sett compos'd by these authors'. Giardini's 'showy' quartet was both performed in private and public context: apart from James Harris's house, Marsh refers to the Spread Eagle concerts (a glee club at Salisbury, with meeting every other Tuesday during winter) and other unspecified public concerts in the Salisbury area with John Tewkesbury, a violinist and dancing master.

²¹⁶ Owain Edwards and Valerie Walden, 'Cirri, Giovanni Battista', *Grove Music Online* http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com [accessed 18 December 2014].

²¹⁷ *Public Advertiser*, 25 February 1775: 'NEW MUSIC. This day is Published, (Composed by Mr. CIRRI, price 10s. 6d) SIX Quartettos for two Violins, with a Tenor, and a Violoncello Obligato, in a manner of a Conversation. To be had of Mr. Cirri, No. 32, Berwick-street, Soho; or at Mr. Welcker's music shop, Gerrard-street, Soho'.

²¹⁸ The first issue (by the author) was advertised on the *Public Advertiser*, 7 January 1769, along with several other works by Cirri, while the reprint by Welcker was advertised on 3 February 1770.

²¹⁹ Public Advertiser, 14 January 1775. The set was advertised by Welcker. From the title page: Printed for and Sold by the Author at his Lodgings Mr Stirrups Greek Street, Soho'.

- Sirmen performed, composed by Sig. Cirri, Price 3s 6d', advertised by Welcker in the *Public Advertiser* on 18 May 1773: even if it was not possible to identify any work with that title, it is possible that it coincides with the violin concerto composed by Cirri and performed by Lombardini in the end of the second act of the oratorio *Abimelech*, composed by Arnold, on 25 March 1772, and in other performances up to the 8 April of the same year.²²⁰
- Tommaso Giordani (1730/3-1786). Born in Naples from a musical family, he began touring across Europe from 1745. He arrived in London in 1753 and embarked on a career as a prolific composer of both opera and instrumental music. His quartet output consists of three sets: Op. 2 (4 for string quartet, 2 for flute, violin viola and cello, J. Johnston, 1772), Op. 8 (for string quartet, W. Napier, 1773) and Op. 17 (for the unusual combination of harpsichord, flute, violin and bass, W. Napier, 1778).

Italian string quartets in the Welcker catalogue: reprints of continental editions

- Luigi Boccherini (1743-1805). I have already discussed the reprints of Boccherini's string quartets in London in chapter 4, and as expected they appear here in the Welcker catalogue. While the first and the fourth set of Boccherini's quartets (respectively containing G 159-164 and G 177-182) were actually published by Welcker (1769 and 1774), the two sets containing G 165-170 and G 171-176 appeared in London published by Longman and Lukey (1769) and Bremner (1772). From the catalogue in Rauzzini's string quartets Op. 2 it appears that Welcker was selling even the two sets he did not publish. It is to be noted that the set G 165-170, by Longman and Lukey, was sold at the unusual price of 8s (the usual price was 10s 6d), exactly as reported by the Welcker catalogue.²²¹ This fact shows that Welcker was probably acting as a retailer for his competitors. It is also possible that Welcker was advertising imported Parisian editions.
- Maddalena Lombardini (1745-1818). A pupil of Tartini, she performed in London from 1771 to 1773. Her string quartets were firstly published in Paris in 1769 with the indication 'Composti da Lodovico, e Madelena Laura Syrmen' as to prove the fact that it wouldn't have been proper for a woman to publish her own music, and therefore suggesting a collaboration with her husband, a violin player himself. The set was published in London by William Napier in 1775 (RISM ID No. 00000990059888) and advertised as Six Quartettos for two Violins, a tenor, and bass, composed by Madam Syrmen.²²² The recognition of Sirmen both as a violin player and a singer allowed her publication to be advertised solely under her name. It is interesting to notice that Welcker was listing a work originally published by Napier in his catalogue.

²²⁰ Public Advertiser, 25 March 1772.

²²¹ Rudolf Rasch, 'Luigi Boccherini and the Music Publishing Trade', 133.

²²² Morning Chronicle, 25 October 1775.

- Giuseppe Demachi (1732-1791). The set of music listed in the Welcker catalogue was the collection of *Six Orchester-Quartets for two Violins a Tenor and Violoncello*, published by Welcker in 1775,²²³ which was a reprint of his Op. 3, originally published in Paris by Venier in 1771.²²⁴ Another set of Quartets Op. 9 was advertised as 'just imported' by Longman and Broderip in October 1778:²²⁵ this set was scored for a 'Violino Principale, two violins and bass' and was originally printed by in Lyon (Guera) and Paris (*Bureau du journal de musique*). Demachi visited Great Britain about twenty years after the publication of his first set of quartets: in 1791 he performed in London, using the title *maître de concert* of the Princess Nassau-Weilburg.²²⁶ This event was advertised as his 'first appearance in this country'. A *New Overture* by Demacchi [sic] was the opening piece for a concert organised by Salomon and directed by Haydn on 15 April 1791.
- Francesco Pasquale Ricci (1732-1817). Born in Como, he joined the Franciscan Order of the Friars Minor and lived most of his life in his native town, where he was maestro di cappella of the Cathedral. From 1768 to 1777 he travelled to Paris, Amsterdam and London. Most of his music was published in Holland, as his set of six String Quartets Op. 8 'à Due Violini, Viola e Basso', published in Amsterdam by Markordt (about in 1773, RISM ID No. 00000990054634). Welcker reprinted this set in 1775:²²⁷ the English edition is almost identical to the Dutch one, therefore it is likely that Welcker used the same plates, or that he imported the printed material from Amsterdam and advertised it is as his own.²²⁸ This set was dedicated by the author to one of his pupils, the Baroness of Lynden, and the dedicatory page in the copy in Bruxelles Conservatoire states that they were expressly conceived for her country 'academie', or private musical entertainments. Due to the conventions of the time, in all likelihood a noble lady would have been performing from a keyboard instrument, and these quartets in fact have a figured 'basso' part: the cello is not mentioned anywhere. Though this fact in itself does not exclude the presence of a string instrument doubling the bass along with the keyboard, from the texture of the part it is possible to imagine a performance of this set with just two violins, a viola and a keyboard

²²³ A copy is preserved in GB-Lbl, signature: Music Collections R.M.16.f.14.(1.); RISM ID no. 00000990013354.

²²⁴ Sergio Martinotti, 'Demachi, Giuseppe', Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani,

http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/giuseppe-demachi_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29/ [accessed 17 December 2014].

²²⁵ Lloyd's Evening Post, 16-19 October 1778.

²²⁶ Sergio Martinotti, 'Demachi, Giuseppe', *Grove Music Online* http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com [accessed 17 December 2014].

²²⁷ Public Advertiser, 12 January 1775.

²²⁸ This information has been verified thanks to a comparison between an exemplar of the Markordt edition in the B-Bc (V. 6977), and the Welcker exemplar preserved at the GB-Ckc (Rw.27.219-22.4).

instrument (probably a pianoforte, due to the abundance of dynamic markings). In a letter to Charles Burney, Thomas Twining asked an opinion about Ricci's quartets: 'What is your idea of Ricci? I have some Quartetts of his that are, to me, very pleasing; like no other music that I know of; & tho' simple & of very easy execution, by no means trite or insipid'. ²²⁹ In his reply, Burney seemed unaware of the existence of this set of quartets. Welcker also published Ricci's Quintets Op. 5.²³⁰

²²⁹ Charles Burney, *Letters*, 378 [note 33]. The letter by Twining is dated 5-[6] July 1783.

²³⁰ Francesco Pasquale Ricci, Six Quintetti à Plusieurs Instrumens Obbligés [...] Opera V: 1. Travers, Hautbois, Violon, Alto et Basso. 2. Travers, Violon 1, Violon 2, Alto et Basso. 3. Violon 1, Violon 2, Alto, Violoncello et Basso. 4. Violoncello, Violon 1, Violon 2, Alto et Basso. 5. Clavecin, Travers, Violon, Alto et Basso. 6. Corno, Hautbois, Violon, Alto et Basso (London: Welcker, 1768). http://bdh-rd.bne.es/viewer.vm?id=0000010449 [accessed 07 October 2016]. Advertisement: Public Advertiser, 5 February 1768.

CHAPTER 5: RAUZZINI'S STRING QUARTETS IN THE LONDON MUSICAL ENVIRONMENT

THE LONDON MUSICAL ENVIRONMENT AND ITALIAN INFLUENCE: PER-

FORMANCE PRACTICE ISSUES

This chapter will focus on the evidence available from Italian sources regarding violin and string quartet performance practice in England.²³¹ British publishers had been providing treatises dedicated to amateur musicians throughout the first part of the eighteenth century, with more than thirty works printed in England between 1658 and 1731.²³² These treatises mostly provide instruction for the *dilettanti*, without exploring issues of advanced technique in depth, which were left to the face-to-face lessons with the master. Nevertheless, the existence of these sources testifies to the wide interest in violin playing, often approached as a self-taught discipline by people who wanted to indulge in some informal musical entertainment and were looking for accessible repertoire. Robert Bremner, musician and music publisher, specifically addressed the set of rules entitled 'Some Thoughts on the Performance of Concert Music' to this specific audience, which was considerably sizeable in the British capital.

The violin treatises published in the second part of the eighteenth century do not consider the issue of string quartet playing, while progressively becoming more and more complete in reference to specific instrumental technical issues. The only exception to this rule was the treatise by Lolli, L'E-cole du Violon en Quatuor, there Lolli based his peculiar and empiric approach to specific technical issues related to violin playing within the frame of the string quartet structure.

²³¹ For general reviews of violin playing and historical performance practice in the eighteenth century, see David D. Boyden, *The History of Violin Playing from its Origins to 1761* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002); Clive Brown, *Classical and Romantic Performing Practice 1750-1900* (New York: Oxford University Press,

^{2002);} Clive Brown, Classical and Romantic Performing Practice 1750-1900 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999); Robin Stowell, Violin Technique and Performance Practice in the Late Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985); Robin Stowell, The Early Violin and Viola: a Practical Guide (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001); Colin Lawson and Robin Stowell, The Historical Performance of

Music: an Introduction (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2012).

²³² Boyden, 358.

Great attention was paid to the development of the expressive power of the bow, often considered the voice of the instrument. Because of this emphasis on vocality, two singing treatises published in London by the Italian castrati Rauzzini (A Sett of Twelve Solfeggi, or Exercises for the Voice to be vocalized) and Tenducci (Instruction of Mr. Tenducci, to His Scholars) are also relevant. These volumes addressed the matter of expressivity in performance through the lens of the Italian musical tradition, based on the open partiality to melody and cantabile style.

The practice of violin playing in Great Britain was undoubtedly influenced by the wide dissemination of Geminiani's *The Art of Playing on the Violin.*²³³ Essentially rooted in the post-Corelli tradition, Geminiani's book underlines some aspects of performance practice that found their accomplishment in the general trends of the time. In the preface of the book, the author relates instrumental and vocal practices by stating that 'the Art of playing the Violin consists in giving that Instrument a Tone that shall in a Manner rival the most perfect human Voice'. ²³⁴ Particular attention is given to describing a kind of bowing that possessed a peculiar feature, the *messa di voce*: 'one of the principal beauties of the Violin is the swelling or increasing and softening the sound, which is done by pressing the bow upon the strings with the fore-finger more or less. In playing all long notes the sound should be begun soft and gradually swelled till the middle, and from thence gradually softened till the end [...] without interruption or stopping in the middle'. ²³⁵ This remark became a constant in other violin treatises inspired by Geminiani's work such as the *The Compleat Tutor for the Violin*, published in several editions from 1760 to 1806. ²³⁶

The expressive use of the bow was crucial in Italian violin technique, as confirmed by the *Lettera del defonto signor Giuseppe Tartini alla Signora Maddalena Lombardini*. This letter dating from 1760, but published in 1770 soon after the death of the Maestro, was acknowledged as an important document by Burney, who decided to translate and publish it in London in 1779, thus promoting its spread in the British Isles. The first advice that Tartini gave to his pupil is about the bow:

²³³ Francesco Geminiani, *The Art of Playing on the Violin, Op.9* (London: by the author, 1751).

²³⁴ Ibid., 1.

²³⁵ Ibid., 2

²³⁶ For a list of editions of this treatise see: Robin Stowell, Violin Technique and Performance Practice, 372-373.

Your principal practice and study should, at present, be confined to the use and power of the bow, in order to make yourself entirely mistress in the execution and expression of whatever can be played or sung, within the compass and ability of your instrument. Your first study, therefore, should be the true manner of holding, balancing and pressing the bow lightly, but steadily, upon the strings; in such a manner as that it shall seem to breathe the first tone it gives, which must proceed from the friction of the string, and not from percussion, as by a blow given with a hammer upon it. This depends on laying the bow lightly upon the strings, at the first contact, and on gently pressing it afterwards, which, if done gradually, can scarce have too much force given to it, because, if the tone is begun with delicacy, there is little danger of rendering it afterwards either coarse or harsh. Of this first contact, and delicate manner of beginning a tone, you should make yourself a perfect mistress in every situation and part of the bow, as well in the middle as the extremities; and in moving it up, as well as in drawing it down. To unite all these laborious particulars into one lesson, my advice is, that you first exercise yourself in a swell upon an open string, for example, upon the second or alamire: that you begin pianissimo, and increase the tone by slow degrees to its fortissimo; and this study should be equally made, with the motion of the bow up, and down, in which exercise you should spend at least an hour every day, though at different times, a little in the morning, and a little in the evening; having constantly in mind, that this practice is, of all others, the most difficult, and the most essential to playing well on the violin.237

The *messa di voce* was a central issue both in the sources related to instrumental practice and in the singing treatises of the late eighteenth century. In the *Twelve Solfeggi* by Venanzio Rauzzini²³⁸ and in the *Rules* by Ferdinando Tenducci²³⁹ the authors emphasised the *messa di voce* as the fundamental expressive tool for a singer: as one of the violin's main features was considered the capability to equal the human voice, this widely acknowledged basic principle was well integrated into string performance. According to Tenducci, the *messa di voce* consists in 'beginning Pianissimo, and increasing gradually to Forte, in the first part of the Time; and so diminishing gradually to the end of each Note'.²⁴⁰ For Rauzzini 'the art of Singing depends on keeping the voice steady gradually swelling the

²³⁷ This free translation was made by Burney for the London edition of the *Lettera*, see: Giuseppe Tartini, A Letter from the late Signor Tartini to Signora Maddalena Lombardini (now Signora Sirmen). Published as an important Lesson to Performers on the Violin, trans. Charles Burney (London: Bremner, 1779). The original publication was: Giuseppe Tartini, Lettera del defonto signor Giuseppe Tartini alla Signora Maddalena Lombardini (Venezia, Colombani, 1770), 3-4. Here is the original Italian text: 'Il di lei esercizio, e studio principale dev'essere l'arco in genere, cosicché ella se ne faccia padrona assoluta a qualunque uso o sonabile o cantabile. Primo studio dev'essere l'appoggio dell'arco su la corda siffattamente leggiero, che il primo principio della voce, che si cava, sia come un fiato, e non come una percossa su la corda. Consiste in leggerezza di polso, e in proseguir subito l'arcata dopo l'appoggio, rinforzandola quanto si vuole, perché dopo l'appoggio leggiero non vi è più pericolo di asprezza, e crudezza. Di questo appoggio così leggiero ella deve farsi padrona in qualunque sito dell'arco; sia in mezzo, sia negli estremi, e deve esserne padrona con l'arcata in su, e con l'arcata in giù. Per far tutta la fatica in una sola volta s'incomincia dalla messa di voce sopra una corda vuota, per esempio sopra la seconda ch'è alamirè. S'incomincia dal pianissimo crescendo sempre a poco alla volta fin che si arriva al fortissimo; e questo studio deve farsi egualmente con l'arcata in giù, e con l'arcata in su. Ella incominci subito questo studio, e vi spenda almeno un'ora al giorno, ma interrotta; un poco la mattina, un poco la sera; e si ricordi bene, che questo è lo studio più importante e difficile di tutti.'

²³⁸ Venanzio Rauzzini, *A Sett of Twelve Solfeggi, or Exercises for the Voice to be vocalized* (London: Goulding, D'Almaine Potter & C., 1809).

²³⁹ Giusto Ferdinando Tenducci, *Instruction of Mr. Tenducci to his scholars* (London: Longman & Broderip, c1785).

²⁴⁰ Tenducci, *Instructions*, rule n. 6 [See Appendix for a full transcript].

Notes, ascending and descending LEGATO and APPOGGIATO, taking breath in proper places'.²⁴¹

In 1777 the composer and publisher Robert Bremner wrote a preface to a set of String Quartets Op. 6 by Schetky; this introduction, entitled 'Some Thoughts on the Performance of Concert Music', was dedicated to those informal music gatherings so congenial to the string quartet and to 'those gentlemen who laudably meet together to improve, and feast on their own musical performances'. ²⁴² In this pamphlet Bremner, who declares himself as a pupil of Geminiani, tackled several issues of performance practice, clarifying and expanding some points of his teacher's treatise. In relation to *vibrato*, which Bremner called *tremolo* and Geminiani *close shake*, Bremner wrote that 'the application of it may, for the sake of variety, be admitted, at times, on a long note in simple melody', and should be avoided in moments of harmonic relevance, where exact intonation must prevail on expression. Geminiani treated the matter in a dedicated section of his book, stating that '[the close shake] should be made use of as often as possible'; ²⁴³ by writing so, Geminiani provided evidence that would later support controversial interpretations by historically informed performers, who consider it appropriate to apply some form of continuous vibrato in eighteenth-century music. ²⁴⁴ Bremner clarified the idea that 'as often as possible' merely meant that *vibrato* could be sparingly introduced as an ornament, where the harmonic structure of the piece allowed it.

With regard to ornaments, Bremner makes a clear separation between solo and concert playing: while the former is a moment where the soloist is free to insert all kind of embellishments and discretional variations, the latter requires a sober and smooth style, stripped of any personal initiative. In concert playing (also intended as ensemble playing), performers should respect the music, which

²⁴¹ Rauzzini, *12 Solfeggi*, preface [See Appendix for a full transcript].

²⁴² Public Advertiser, 28 January 1777..

²⁴³ Geminiani, The Art of Playing on the Violin, 8.

²⁴⁴ Beverly Jerold, 'Did early string players use continuous vibrato?', *The Strad*, 20 February 2015 [accessed via http://www.thestrad.com/early-sting-players-use-continuous-vibrato/, 8 February 2017]; to this article followed a second by Kevin Class, 'Early vibrato was one aspect of a vastly different sound world', *The Strad*, 23 February 2015 [accessed via http://www.thestrad.com/early-vibrato-one-aspect-of-a-vastly-different-soundworld/, 8 February 2017].

should 'be played just as it is written'. This attitude should therefore be applied to string quartet performance, especially if editions already suggest original ornaments.

Bremner gives an extended practical explanation about how to acquire good intonation on the violin, by comparing double stops and reciprocal relations between open strings and fingerings. From Bremner's description we can infer that the violin should be tuned with pure fifths, and, as his tuning was based on a chordal system, thirds, fourths and sixths should be tempered in accordance to the harmonic context. Tuning in pure fifths was also suggested in the London reprint of Tessarini's An Accurate Method to attain the art of Playing ye Violin,²⁴⁵ where also the idea of tempered half tones is present, 'for they change alternatively according as there mark'd sharp or flat'.²⁴⁶ Notes bearing sharps or flats are also absent from the violin's fingerboard scheme in Geminiani's treatise.²⁴⁷

A unique document that links performance practice and the string quartet is Lolli's *Ecole du Violon en Quatuor*. The first edition of this set was published in 1783 in Berlin and Amsterdam by J. J. Hummel, and it subsequently appeared in London in 1785, during the author's visit to the British capital.²⁴⁸ Several further editions followed in Paris (Sieber, c1791), Mannheim (Götz) and Offenbach (André, c1794). Ironically, there are no surviving string quartets by Lolli. Although his *Deux Concerto a Quatre* (Paris, Le Menu) could be well have been performed by four players, performance indications mark them as destined for a larger string ensemble.

Lolli's tutorial volume consists of a sequence of quartet movements in different characters. It was published in four volumes, one for each instrument of the quartet: while the second violin, the viola and the bass generally accompany and lay the harmony, the first violin plays the main line, mostly

²⁴⁵ Carlo Tessarini, An Accurate Method to attain the art of Playing ye Violin. With Graces in all the different Keys, how to make proper Cadences, & ye nature of all ye Shifts, with several Duets and Lessons for the Instrument (London: Welcker, c1765), 5.

²⁴⁶ Ibid, 1.

²⁴⁷ Geminiani, The Art of Playing on the Violin, Esempio I°.

²⁴⁸ The publication was advertised by the author himself (*Morning Herald*, 12 April 1785): 'Mr Lolli respectfully informs the Public, that he has composed a Work for the instruction of the Lovers of Music, entitled l'Ecole du Violon, or the School for the Violin; which is sold at Messrs. Longman and Broderip's, in the Haymarket, and in Cheapside; of Mr. Welcker, in Coventry-street; Mr Napier, in the Strand; or at No. 17, Great Poultney-street, Golden-square'. The first page of the first violin parts reports: 'Engrav'd by J. Sherer [recte: J. B. Scherer], n.° 47 Hay-market'.

consisting of scales and arpeggios. The volume that contains the first violin's part opens with an introduction entitled 'Observations Necessairs pour executer l'Ecole Suivante', ²⁴⁹ consisting of four points and a postscript annotation. The four points mostly concern the position of the instrument and the posture of the performer. Point 1 is a short generic indication that recalls the importance of a graceful appearance: 'que le Corps soit place dans uns position aisée et naturelle'. This aesthetic and practical rule also reflects in point 4: 'devant le miroir il faut apprendre à se tenir droit, et à jouer sans faire de Contorsions'. Point 2 refers to the left arm and suggests to turn the left hand inwards as much as possible, therefore positioning the elbow near the body, basically in front of the breast. Particularly relevant to the use of the bow's arm is point 3: 'le bras droit sans être collé au Corps ne doit agir que depuis le Coude jusqu'au poignet, et point du tout de l'Épaule'. This description of the right arm position, which is low in comparison with modern practice, is particular to the Italian violin school and can be found in other violin treatises of the late eighteenth century such as Galeazzi²⁵⁰ and Campagnoli.²⁵¹

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²⁴⁹ See Appendix for a full transcript.

²⁵⁰ Francesco Galeazzi, *Elementi Teorico-Pratici di Musica con un Saggio sopra l'Arte di Suonare il Violino* (Roma: M. Puccinelli, 1796), 86, 95. About the left arm: 'Regola IV. 33. Il manico del Violino, non deve tenersi in fuori, cioè fuor del corpo del Suonatore, ma sì bene in dentro verso il petto [...]; Regola V. 34. Il gomito del braccio sinistro deve tenersi ben piegato, e voltato in dentro al possibile anche appoggiandosi sul corpo, se bisogna'. About the right arm Galeazzi suggest a low but comfortable position, underlining that the violinist posture must necessarily be agreeable to the sight: 'Regola II. 50. La mano, il gomito, e tutto il corpo del braccio che sostien l'arco, deve trovarsi nel medesimo piano, o come volgarmente dicesi, tutto a un paro. Dimostrazione: questa è la più comoda situazione, e la più naturale e che per conseguenza cagiona minor fatica; oltredichè disdice anche sommamente alla vista il suonare colla parte superiore del braccio alta, e l'inferiore bassa, o al contrario'.

²⁵¹ Bartolomeo Campagnoli, *Nuovo Metodo*, 2. About the left arm: '9. Bisogna tenere il gomito rivolto il più che possibile al centro del corpo in maniera che la punta si ritrovi quasi in mezzo del petto, si può anche appoggiare il gomito quando necessario [...]'. About the right arm: '1. Il braccio che sostiene l'archetto non deve tenersi nè troppo alto, non troppo basso, ma in una posizione naturale come si terrebbe in tutt'altra azione indifferente'.

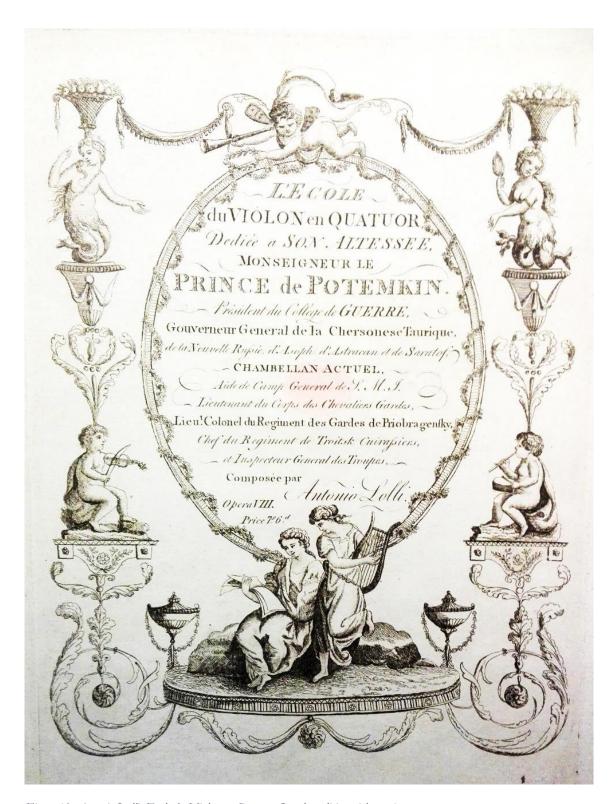


Figure 12: Antonio Lolli, Ecole du Violon en Quatuor (London edition, title page)

The whole set is a succession of eight sections in contrasting spirit, each one requiring the correct articulation for the different tempo markings. The order of the movements is: Allegro moderato, Andantino, Adagio, Allegro assai, Allegretto, Andante, Allegro, Spiritoso. The tempo indications influenced the use of the bow: according to the violin treatises of the time, bowing and consequently articulation were strictly dependant on the tempo and on the movement's *affetto*. Within the first violin part Lolli added short instructions related to bowings and dynamics. Some repeated figurations were offered with rhythmic and slurring variants, such as in bb. 86-87 (see Figure 12).

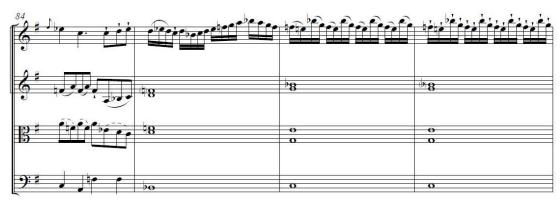


Figure 13: Lolli, Ecole du Violon en Quatuor, bb. 84-87

Several indications require the bow to be used in its full length, or at least 'as much as possible'. An indication in b. 63 (see Figure 13) also calls for a perfect equality in the notes, a concept explicitly mentioned in the introduction;²⁵² Lolli asked for every bow stroke to produce the same amount of sound, thus going against the baroque idea of *inegalite*, intrinsic in the different structural strength of the two directions of bowing (down = strong; up =weak). Geminiani warned in his treatise 'not to follow that wretched Rule of drawing the Bow down at the first Note of every Bar',²⁵³ therefore trying to stimulate in the performer the ability to control and modulate the sound according to the musical intention, regardless of any technical disadvantage.²⁵⁴ During the same years as the publication of Lolli's *Ecole*, the spread of the modern conception of a bow with a concave stick would have

²⁵² Lolli, *Ecole du Violon en Quatuor* (see Appendix), point 4.

²⁵³ Geminiani, The Art of Playing on the Violin, 4.

²⁵⁴ The same concept of *egalitè* can be found in Tartini, *Lettera*, 5: 'e sopra tutto in questi studj si arricordi d'incominciar le fughe ora con l'arcata in giù, ora con l'arcata in su; e si guardi dall'incominciare sempre per l'in giù'. Nevertheless Bremner, who cited Tartini's letter as a purposeful set of instruction recognising its didactic value, stated that the idea of the up- and down-bow being interchangeable is useful practice-wise, but not in performance: 'There is, however, one practice recommended there [in Tartini's letter] to which little attention may be paid, which is the beginning semi-quavers with an up-bow, a difficulty almost insurmountable, and of no great use when conquered; for if, according to the general opinion, there is but one best way of doing any thing, it must certainly be that which is followed by the generality of the best

overcome the differing strength of up-bow and down-bow, thus supporting an already widespread technical and musical idea.



Figure 14: Lolli, Ecole du Violon en Quatuor, Violin I, bb. 63-71

Another recurrent indication in Lolli is the term *soutenez* [sustain], applied to slurred figurations of notes, just as a singer would sustain a melisma over a syllable with a single breath. This enforces the correlation between singing and violin playing (see Figure 15).



Figure 15: Lolli, Ecole du Violon en Quatuor, Violin I, bb. 52-56

In relation to this term, Bremner argued that the study of the swell, or *messa di voce*, should be integrated with the ability to sustain the sound, as shown in Lolli's treatise: the two techniques would provide complementary resources for the expressivity of the bow. Bremner argued that the idea of a swelling sound was more suitable to the adagio of a Corellian sonata (thus creating a parallel with what Nardini wrote in the letter to Otter about the *true adagio* not being suitable for his string quartets; see <u>chapter three</u>), and suggested the study of the sustained sound for the performance of 'modern compositions':

The practice of the swell, as there instructed, is of the utmost consequence to those who wish to send a melodious Adagio, or any air home to the heart; but such slow movements as are composed more for the effects of harmony than melody, like those in the trios of *Corelli*, and

masters. Beside, such a practice if not universal, gives a disagreeable appearance to an orchestra, as it causes a contrary motion in the bows of those who play the same part' (Bremner, 'Some Thoughts on the Performance of Concert Music').

many modern compositions, claim, in most instances, a steady equal pressure of bow. A daily practice of this manner of bowing is of equal importance with that of the swell, if not more so, to those who wish to be useful in concert; as it accustoms the student to have at all times length of bow to spare, of which every good performer makes a point. These two, namely the swell, and *sostenuto*, or sustained bow, may be said to be the roots from whence all the other powers of bow spring.²⁵⁵

In conclusion, a string quartet performance was expected to be characterised by these features:

- a pure intonation with tempered sharpened and flat notes;
- use of messa di voce on long notes in a melodic context and sostenuto sounds in a harmonic context, wherever deemed appropriate;
- avoidance of unnecessary graces, trills, turns, vibrato, extemporary variations, let alone any peculiar passages where one instrument has a prominent solo part;
- full respect for articulations and phrasing suggested by the musical text.

One last aspect of playing in performance, which is not solely relevant to string quartet performance but is widely discussed by the mentioned authors, is the need for an appropriate posture, in order to give a positive visual impact of the musician on the audience. Appropriate musical and behavioural countenance were deemed fundamental by Geminiani, who condemned 'sudden Shifts of the Hand from one Extremity of the [violin's] Finger-board to the other, accompanied with Contorsions of the Head and Body'.²⁵⁶ Similarly, both Tenducci and Rauzzini suggested that the performer must behave in a civilised way when executing a piece of music in front of an audience, therefore adopting a suitable attitude according to the standard social etiquette. For Tenducci 'Scholars should appear at the Harpsichord and to their Friends with calm and chearful Countenance', while Rauzzini advises not to appear 'ridiculous' while singing. Considering the private context where *dilettanti* gathered to perform music for their own entertainment, an elegant and social behaviour, void of any excesses, was considered the minimum requirement for good ensemble playing. Paraphrasing Bremner: a rebellious concert cannot be productive of any noble effect.

²⁵⁶ Geminiani, *The Art of Playing on the Violin*, 1. Further reference about musicians' social behaviour in eighteenth-century London in Simone Laghi, "Son razzi matti, son rocchetti che girano": sulle "stravaganze" dei violinisti virtuosi'.

²⁵⁵ Bremner, Some thoughts on the Performance of Concert Music.

²⁵⁷ Tenducci, *Instructions*, rule n. 12

WELCKER, RENNETT AND COPYRIGHT ISSUES

At the time of publication of Rauzzini's Quartets Op. 7 the Welcker firm was the protagonist of a significant step towards the institution of an effective copyright law. After Welcker's bankruptcy in 1780, Charles Rennett became his silent partner, and helped John to reestablish the company in August 1780. Subsequently, from the end of 1782, Rennett started a partnership with Longman & Broderip.²⁵⁸ The lawyer was acquainted with several music sellers in London and intended to make a profit out of the prosperous music market, 'largely because he recognized the increasing value of music as a commodity'.²⁵⁹

The question of authorship and copyright in Britain was a hot topic throughout the eighteenth century, since the Act of Queen Anne (1710), the first English copyright law. The issue of publication rights was vigorously impugned in 1784 by Charles Rennett in a sequence of legal actions.

Rennett's hand-written signature can be found on the title page of a copy of the edition of Rauzzini's Six Sonatas Op. 8 (Figure 16).²⁶⁰ It is common to find the author or the publisher's signature on the title page of an edition, as it was a means to prevent the spread of unauthorised or pirated copies, but the presence of Rennett's signature on this edition is unusual. Rennett was neither the author nor the publisher, and, by signing the copies he claimed ownership of the rights of the composition, which, according to his view, had been purchased by the publishing company he legally represented. The title page reports the inscription 'printed for the Proprietor / [handwritten:] Cha.s Rennett'. Rennett thus introduced the concept of 'Proprietor of rights', a third party in between the author and the publisher. It was then far more common to see the inscription 'published by/for the Author', but this claim refers to a different practice: in such cases, it was the author who bore the expenses for engraving and printing the editions, that were usually sold at the author's home address or at the shop of the publisher who physically printed the volume.²⁶¹ The concept of

²⁵⁸ Nancy A. Mace, 'Charles Rennett and the London Music-Sellers in the 1780s: Testing the Ownership of Reversionary Copyrights', *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, 129/1 (2004), 1-23.

²⁵⁹ Mace, /

²⁵⁹ Mace, 7.

²⁶⁰ The Sonatas Op. 8 were published in 1781; see *Morning Herald*, 26 May 1781.

²⁶¹ As previously seen, sometimes copies of self-published works were available from more than one seller.

proprietor of rights is also present in Rauzzini's String Quartet Op. 7 set (Figure 17, without signature). The same definition appears in other works published in the same period by Welcker, a list of which can be found in the publication advertisement for Rauzzini's Op. 8: among those Schetky's Duets Op. 7²⁶² and J. C. Bach's Sonatas and Duets Op. 18 (also bearing Rennett's signature). The outset of these legal quarrels between publishers and authors possibly convinced some authors that the best way to retain rights over their works was to be in control of the engraved plates, as Bertoni did for his string quartets.

Composed by
VENANZIO RAUZZINI
Op. 8 Printed for the Proprietor ffha! Rouneth
LONDON Sold by Welcker Music Seller to their Majesties and the Royal Family N. 80 Hay Market

Figure 16: Detail of the title page of Rauzzini's Op. 8, with Rennett's signature

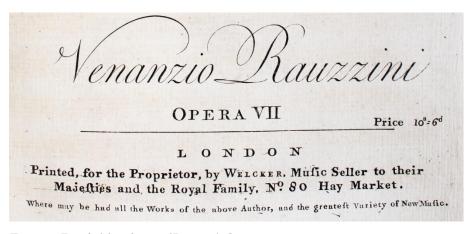


Figure 17: Detail of the title page of Rauzzini's Op. 7

²⁶² The advertisement from 26 May 1781 probably referred to reprints of previous editions. The copy of Schetky's Op. 7 in D-B (accessible online at http://resolver.staatsbibliothek-

berlin.de/SBB000155F1000000000) presents the inscription 'for the Proprietor', but the copy in GB-Lbl states 'Printed and Sold by John Welcker', though also bearing Forster's glued label (Errore. L'origine riferimento non è stata trovata.). The publisher's address information confirms that the two different title pages were produced in different moments.

FINAL RECITAL: QUARTETTI D'ITALIA, ITALIAN CHAMBER MUSIC IN

GEORGIAN LONDON

19 June 2017, 11.30. Concert Hall, Cardiff University School of Music, Corbett Road.

Programme

J. Vanderbouzzen [F. Giardini (1716-1796)]	Trio in Stile Italiano°	C Major
	- Andante	
	- Adagio	
	- Scherzando	
V. Rauzzini (1746-1810)	Quartetto op. 2 n. 6°	C Major
	- Allegro	
	- Adagio	
	- Tempo di Minuetto	
V. Rauzzini (1746-1810)	Quartetto op. 7 n. 3°	E b Major
	- Largo	
	- Allegro Assai	
	- Rondeau	
Int	terval	
F. Bertoni (1725-1813)	Quartetto n. 3*	c minor
	- Allegro	
	- Andantino Cantabile	
	- Minuetto	
T. Giordani (1730-1806)	Quartetto op. 2 n. 1*	B ♭ Major
	- Allegro Moderato	
	- Largo con espressione	
	- Menuetto	
A. Capuzzi (1755-1818)	Quartetto op. 1 n. 4*	B ♭ Major
	- Allegro (Recitativo)	
	- Adagio Cantabile	
	- Allegro Agitato	

Katarzyna Solecka* and Simone Pirri°, violins

Simone Laghi, viola

Carlos Montesinos Defez, cello

All compositions presented have been edited by Simone Laghi.

If nowadays a composer is motivated by an urgent feeling to express him- or herself, in the eighteenth century most practitioners considered musical activities (composition, performance, teaching) just as a job, a way to earn a living. For a few others who did not need to work, music was just a leisure activity, a pleasant pastime; thanks to this second category of people, the first could live, work, travel and compose the music that we will hear today.

Eighteenth-century Italy was a forge of musical talents, who had to reach other countries in order to pursue their careers and a good (in some case extraordinary) income. Those who settled and worked in London were responsible for developing the string quartet genre, which was conceived for domestic music gatherings. My research is aimed at reconsidering the Italian string quartet repertoire, a genre that has generally been neglected by researchers and performers. Through the publication of edited scores of these compositions, I intend to raise the interest for this musical genre. Furthermore, through this research, I have become aware of the paramount importance of the social environment for the evolution of this genre in the private context, in the years that preceded the debut of the string quartet on the public concert stages. My intention therefore was to investigate the social and economic implications of this genre, considering its mainly domestic destination, while analysing the commercial relation between London and Italy. The vitality of the British market, in fact, also influenced the development of publishing music enterprises in Italy, especially in Florence and Venice.

Due to the large number of compositions (almost one hundred) published in London by Italian composers between 1765 and 1790, it was difficult to make a representative choice (and also, to have a chance to read all these quartets beforehand!). Therefore, I decided to proceed in the following way. Firstly, as the opening piece, I present the *Trio in Stile Italiano* by Jacques Vanderbouzzen, alias Felice Giardini. This piece, published in a set of two trios, was meant to represent the supposed superior taste of the Italian composers (at least in Giardini's ideas), juxtaposed to the 'perplexity of Modern German' music (see Chapter 2).

The core of the programme comprises two quartets by Rauzzini, one from Op. 2 and one from Op. 7. Rauzzini is highly significant for this repertoire, in terms of musical and social value, and the second volume of this dissertation forms a critical edition of his twelve string quartets. Rauzzini remained an important figure of the late eighteenth-century London musical scene even in the 1790s, when the taste of the public shifted and editors' choices started to be more partial to the Austro-Germanic repertoire.

The choice of Capuzzi's and Bertoni's quartets is related to the study cases I have presented within my dissertation, in chapter 4. Capuzzi Op. 1 n. 4 is a peculiar quartet, a musical joke that appears as a miniature operatic scene, with the violin acting as a soprano in the opening obbligato recitative. This first set by Capuzzi is significant as it represents the commercial exchanges between European publishers: probably originally published in Venice (just as Op. 2), it then reached Longman and Broderip in London via Vienna, where it was reprinted by Artaria. Bertoni's quartet, on the other hand, made the opposite journey: published in London, it was then reprinted from the same plates in Venice a few months later.

The String Quartet Op. 2 n. 1 by Tommaso Giordani is a large-scale work, compared to the other ones in the programme, and is representative of the success of the Neapolitan musical tradition on the London stage and as well in its private salons.

Apart from Giordani Op. 2 n. 1 and Rauzzini Op. 2 n. 6,263 all these pieces are performed for the first time, after more than two hundred years of silence. This music was conceived to be played at informal gatherings, between friends and possibly in a large sitting room: for this reason, I decided to perform with my colleagues sitting in a circle, surrounded by two double arches of chairs, thus avoiding the creation of a wall between the performers and the listeners.

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²⁶³ I have previously presented and performed these two quartets in Festivals in France (2012) and Italy (2016).

APPENDIX

ANTONIO LOLLI: ECOLE DU VIOLON EN QUATUOR

[First edition published in 1783 in Berlin and Amsterdam by J. J. Hummel]

Observations Necessairs pour executer l'Ecole Suivante

- 1. Que le Corps soit placé dans uns position aisée et naturelle
- Que le Violon soit placé de maniere que la tête de l'Instrument soit à la hauteur du menton et vis-a-vis du Visage. La main gauche tournée le plus possible, afin de toucher les Cordes absolument avec le boût des doigts.
- 3. Le bras droit sans être collé au Corps ne doit agir que depuis le Coude jusqu'au poignet, et point du tout de l'Épaule. L'archet doit être tenue legerement entre les quatre doigts, et le pouce à un demi pouce de la hausse.
- 4. Pour tirer de plus beaux Sons et pour faire entendre avec expression une parfaite Egalité, l'archet doit toucher les Cordes bien perpendiculairement à un pouce du chevalet. Et devant le miroir il faut apprendre à se tenir droit, et à jouer sans faire de Contorsions.

NB. Avant qu'un Ecolier puisse faire usage des principes Suivans, il est necessaire qu'il connoisse les premiers Elemens de la Musique, c'est-a-dire, la Gamme, la Valeur des Notes, les-tons et demi-tons, et enfin tous les differens mouvemens, ainsi que le b carrs, b mols, et diezis.

VENANZIO RAUZZINI: INSTRUCTIONS FOR HIS SCHOLARS

[A Sett of Twelve Solfeggi, or Excercices for the Voice to be vocalized. Composed & Dedicated to his Scholars by Venanzio Rauzzini (London: Goulding, D'Allmaine, Potter & C., 1808)]

To My Scholars.

I make no doubt you will ask me why I have not presented you with SOLFEGGI, or Exercises for the voice, easier than these. My answer is, because many of that description are already published, and mine are designed for those who have already gone through the rudiments of Music, and possess some knowledge of the art of Singing; however I hope that by proper attention in taking breath where you see the following mark * the apparent difficulty will be removed, and you will find them well calculated for your improvement.

The Exercises I now offer you, are to be vocalized on the letter A which is to be pronounced as in the word Arm. They should be sung rather slow at first, untill you become thoroughly acquainted with them; Observe that no sound can be truly perfect, without you pronounce the vowels correctly, and especially the letter A; vowels improperly pronounced, render the tone of the voice imperfect.

Particular attention must be paid to the CANTABILE Exercises, a style of singing that (I am sorry to say) has been of late, too much neglected.

The sole object of singing is to please; extravagant passages may create surprize, but seldom pleasure.

I will not assume a superior knowledge over other Singing Masters, but I think that after a practice of thirty four years in England, during which time, I have had the opportunity of reflecting on the different dispositions and abilities of a great many Pupils professional, as well as Dilettanti, my opinion may be relied on, and my advice followed. Therefore, confiding on that Experience, I advise those who wish to sing well, to adopt in their manner of singing, what they can perform with FACILITY, and to be contented with that alone, for the Judicious can be delighted only by an easy and correct performance.

Do not think that, beceause a Singer performs a difficult passage with exactness, it is in your power to do the same, the different form in the Organ of the voice, the thickness, or the thinness of the Glands, produce very different effects; and what to one Scholar appears extremely difficult to perform, is executed by another with ease and rapidity. Some Singers will Ascend with the greatest facility one or two Octavers, and cannot Descend four Notes correctly, and ViceVersa.

The art of Singing depends on keeping the voice steady gradually swelling the Notes, ascending and descending LEGATO and APPOGGIATO, taking breath in proper places; in opening the mouth wide enough to produce the sounds free without their being impeeded by the TEETH, yet, not so wide, as to be ridiculous, but in a smiling form; above all things take particular care to articulate the words distinctly. The Performer who is distinct in his articulation, has greatly the advantage over others, who may sing much better, and do not possess it.

Whatever you sing, let it be done with Expression, and Precision; those are the principal objects to be attended to.

Inferior Singers attempt everything but not being able to Execute what they attempt, are mere copyists of Defects, and therefore always remain Inferior Singers.

The Singers who have acquired the greatest celebrity in the profession, are those who properly appreciated their own Talent, who knew the extent of their own abilities, and sought not to soar beyond them, adopting a method suited to the powers of their voice, and never attempting a passage which they could not execute with the greatest neatness and in the most correct and finished style. Endeavour to avoid an error too prevalent amongst Modern Singers, I mean that of Imitation: listen to a MARA, BILLINGTON, CATALANI, GRASSINI, STORACE, BRAHAM, VIGANONI etc bud to not imitate them; copy nothing but their manner of conducting the voice; avoid every difficulty, which your powers will not allow you to execute, and content yourself with singing well, which you will acquire, by forming a style of your own and attempting nothing but what you can do correctly, this is the surest step to perfection!

It has become lately a fashion (but "more honored in the breach, than in the observance") to publish Songs with a great number of Embellishments and Graces; but let me ask how many can execute those Graces with perfection? And if they are not well executed, instead of Graces they may be just called Disgraces!

Let Music Masters, who rank for men of abilities, select Songs, etc, suited to the Genius, and powers of the Pupils; and not give them indiscriminately (as is too often the case) the same piece of Music: let them adopt nothing but what they can perform in a finished manner, and in the most perfect Intonation.

My Exercises being written chiefly in the style of Songs, they will meet in them almost every passage the human voice is capable of performing; at the same time, the Scholars will have an opportunity of rendering themselves perfect in the Intervals, and by frequent practice acquire a knowledge of singing at sight.

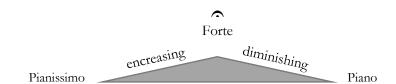
The frequent exercise of the voice is absolutely necessary to every Singer, and I hope those who are already Masters of their profession, will not disdain to adopt some of my Solfeggi, for their morning exercise.

VENANZIO RAUZZINI

GIUSTO FERDINANDO TENDUCCI: NECESSARY RULES FOR STUDENTS AND DILETTANTI OF VOCAL MUSIC

[Instruction of Mr. Tenducci to his scholars (London: Longman & Broderip, c1785)]

- 1. The first and most necessary Rule in singing, is to keep the Voice steady.
- 2. To form the Voice in as pleasing a Tone, as is in the Power of the Scholar.
- 3. To be exactly in Tune; as without a perfect Intonation, it is needless to attempt singing.
- 4. To vocalize correctly; that is, to give as open and clear a Sound to the Vowels, as the Nature of the Language in which the Student sings, will admit.
- 5. To articulate perfectly each Syllabe.
- 6. To sing the Scale, or Gamut, frequently; allowing to each sound one BREVE, or two SEM-IBREVES, which must be sung in the same Breath; and this must be done, in both, A MESSA DI VOCE: that is, by swelling the Voice, beginning Pianissimo, and increasing gradually to Forte, in the first part of the Time; and so diminishing gradually to the end of each Note, which will be expressed in this way,



- 7. To exercise the Voice in SOLFEGIO every Day, with the Monosyllables Do, Re, Mi etc.
- 8. To copy a little Music every Day, in order to accustom the Eye to divide the Time into all its Proportions.
- 9. Never to force the Voice, in order to extend its Compass in the VOCE DI PETTO upwards; but rather to cultivate the VOCE DI TESTA in what is called FALSETTO, in order to join it well and imperceptibly, to the VOCE DI PETTO for fear of incurring the disagreeable Habit of singing in the Throat, or through the Nose; -unpardonable Faults in a Singer.

- 10. In the Exercise of singing, never to discover any Pain or Difficulty, by Distortion of the Mouth, or Grimace of any Kind; which will be best avoided by examining the Countenance in a Looking glass, during the most difficult Passages.
- 11. It is recommended to sing a little at a Time, and often; and, if standing, so much better for the Chest.
- 12. That Scholars should appear at the Harpsichord and to their Friends with calm and chearful Countenance.
- 13. To rest or take breath between the Passages, and in proper Time; that is to say, to take it only when the Periods, or members of the Melody, are ended; which Periods, or Portions of the Air, generally terminate on the accented Parts of a Bar. And this Rule is the more necessary, as by dwelling too long upon the last Note of a musical Period, the Singer loses the Opportunity it affords of taking Breath, without breaking the Passages, or even being perceived by the Audience.
- 14. That without the most urgent necessity, of either a long Passage, or of any affecting Expression, Words must never be broken, or divided.
- 15. That a good MESSA DI VOCE, or Swell of the Voice, must always precede the AD LIBITUM Pause and CADENZA.
- 16. That in pronouncing the Words, Care must be taken to accord with the Sentiment that was intended by the Poet.
- 17. That the acute and super acute Sounds must never be so forced as to render them similar to Shrieks.
- 18. That in singing, the Tones of the Voice must be united, except in the case of Staccato Notes.
- 19. That in pronouncing the Words, double Consonants in the Italian Language, must be particularly enforced, and Care taken not to make those that are single seem double.
- 20. To practice the Shake with the greatest Care and Attention, which must generally commence with the highest of the two Notes, and finish with the lowest.

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ITALIAN STRING QUARTETS AND LATE EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY LONDON: PUBLICATION AND PRODUCTION. WITH A CRITICAL EDITION OF THE QUARTETS OPP. 2 AND 7 BY VENANZIO RAUZZINI (1746-1810).

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VOLUME 2 - SCORE

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RAUZZINI'S QUARTETS OP. 2 AND OP. 7

SIX STRING QUARTETS Op. 2

<u>Title</u>: Six Quartettos for two Violins a Tenor and Bass. Humbly Dedicated to His Grace the Duke of Dorset, by Venanzio Rauzzini. Opera II.

Sources: RISM ID no. 00000990053809

E-Mn (Sala Barbi M/680 (11); M/681 (11), M/682 (11), M/683 (11)).

GB-Lbl (Music Collections h.2800.)

AUS-Scm

US-Wc

A further edition of Rauzzini's Op. 2 was published by Sieber in Paris in the end of 1778. After a careful examination its variants have been discarded, as the Parisian edition was based on the original Welcker material. The comparison was made consulting the exemplar in GB-LBl (Music Collection Hirsch III.474).

Table 1: String Quartets Op. 2

Quartet No. 1	E♭ Maj	Allegro AssaiAndanteMenuetto e Trio
Quartet No. 2	Bþ Maj	AllegroLargoAllegro
Quartet No. 3	E Maj	AllegroLarghettoMenuetto e Trio
Quartet No. 4	A Maj	AllegrettoAndanteAllegro
Quartet No. 5	D Maj	AllegroCantabileRondò Allegretto
Quartet No. 6	C Maj	AllegroAdagioTempo di Menuetto

¹ RISM ID no. 00000990053810. The publication date of the French editions is based on the information contained in the publisher's catalogue in the String Quartet Op. 2 set, which lists two sets of harp sonatas by Krumpholtz, advertised in December 1778. For further reference see: Anik Devriès-Lesure, L'Édition Musicale dans la Presse Parisienne au XVIII^e siècle. Catalogue des annonces (Paris: CNRS éditions, 2005), 286.

The first of Rauzzini's two string quartet sets was published by Welcker in 1778. It followed a set of six sonatas for harpsichord or piano, with violin accompaniment. While the keyboard sonatas had no dedicatee, the string quartets were dedicated to 'His grace the Duke of Dorset', title of John Frederick Sackville, 3rd Duke of Dorset (1745-1799). Sackville had love affair with the Italian dancer Giovanna Baccelli (1753-1801). Miss Baccelli was the principal ballerina at the King's Theatre, and she collaborated with Rauzzini for the staging of several works, and in particular for the opera *Piramo e Tishe*, composed and performed by Rauzzini in 1775 and revived in several occasions. The Duke of Dorset also appeared in Badini's libretto for *Le Ali d'Amore*, another opera composed by Rauzzini and staged in 1776, where Baccelli figured again as principal dancer.

All the quartets in this set are in three movements within a fast-slow-fast tempo structure. While the title page calls for 'two Violins, a Tenor and Bass', the part of the bass is for 'Violoncello'. In Quartet No. 2 Rauzzini included the idea of cyclic recapitulation, inserting the initial theme of the first movement in the last movement in b. 86 (five bars before the concluding final cadence). As shown by Reindl, the first movement of Quartet No. 3 features several reminiscences of the duet *Pur ti riveggo al fine* from the opera *Piramo e Tishe*.⁵ In particular, bb. 1-3 are an exact transcription of the instrumental introduction of the aria. Also the material used for the violin parts in bb. 76-88 is an almost-literal citation of the instrumental accompaniment in the same piece (bb. 34-45). Far from being an arrangement of the opera, these citations underline the relationship between the stage and chamber music output in London at that time.

Quartet No. 4 is characterised by the presence of long slurs over the thematic lines (as an example: I, bb. 1-4; III, bb. 124-155), a feature that can be found in the other quartets of the set. At a first glance, when occurring in parallel passages, these slurs do not appear consistent in the four parts,

² Her real name was Giovanna Francesca Antonia Giuseppe Zanerini.

³ Piramo e Tishe could have been composed in Munich in 1769, but this hypothesis is not confirmed.

⁴ Carlo Francesco Badini, Le ali d'amore. A new pastoral entertainment, in three acts, written by Mr. Badini; and set to music by Signor Rauzzini, as performed at the King's Theatre in the Hay-Market (London: T. Cadell, 1776). In Eighteenth Century Collections Online <tinyurl.galegroup.com/tinyurl/4RZWUX> [Accessed 25 February 2017].

⁵ Johannes Reindl, 'Venanzio Rauzzini als Instrumental-Komponist' (PhD dissertation, University of Vienna, 1961), 290.

IV

but their presence suggests the adoption of a sustained sound throughout the theme, bringing into

play a comparison between the breath of a singer and a use of the bow which is more legato than

expected. The apparent carelessness with which the slurs have been notated in the parts does not

imply that the bowing should be homogeneous within the ensemble, but rather that the general

intention is to play legato. The staccato symbol (stroke) is often clearly notated as to indicate notes

that must be played separately, but the un-slurred runs of sixteenth notes in the first movement (bb.

46-48) are probably to be played legato, as it is indeed suggested by the second violin part in b. 46.

In Quartets No. 3, 4 and 5, every time a b# or an e# appear in the source, the note is indicated with

the symbol x, which nowadays is considered a double sharp: in fact, an ordinary sharp would have

probably been considered unfit to raise a note that forms a minor second with the note above,

which is already sharped. In all these occasions, the edition bears a regular #. This practice also

appears in the keyboard and violin Sonatas Op. 1, but does not appear in the later Op. 7.

SIX STRING QUARTETS Op. 7

Title: A Second Sett of Six Quartettos for two Violins, Tenor and Violoncello, composed by

Venanzio Rauzzini. Opera VII

Sources: RISM ID no. 00000990053815

GB-Ckc (Rw.27.241-4.6)

US-Wc (M 452 R 25, Case Music-3105, Item 4)

RUS-Mrg

This set of string quartets was not included in Reindl dissertation, but it was possible to retrieve two

extant copies of this set in US-Wc and GB-Ckc. Published 'for the proprietor, by Welcker', this set

was advertised on the Morning Herald on 26 May 1781; it does not bear any dedication. Rice gave

1780 as publication date, but it was not possible to retrieve any reference for that date.⁶ Around the

⁶ Paul Rice, Venanzio Rauzzini in Britain: Castrato, Composer, and Cultural Leader (Rochester: University of Rochester press, 2015), 118.

end of 1780 Rauzzini began to organise his concert series in Bath, and it is possible that these quartets were performed during that season.

Table 2: String Quartets Op. 7

Quartet No. 1	A Maj	AndanteLarghetto con MotoMinuetto
Quartet No. 2	B♭ Maj	AllegroRondeau Allegro Moderato
Quartet No. 3	Eb Maj	LargoAllegro AssaiRondeau
Quartet No. 4	D Maj	Allegro con SpiritoRondeau
Quartet No. 5	С Мај	Allegro ModeratoTempo di Minuetto
Quartet No. 6	A Maj	[Without Tempo Indication]Rondeau Allegro

Most of the quartets in this set are in two movements, and the two quartets in three movements open with a slow tempo marking. Contrary to Op. 2, the title page calls for 'two Violins, Tenor and Violoncello', but the part of the violoncello is labelled as 'Basso'; nevertheless, the scoring is unequivocally for a standard string quartet ensemble. The parts of Quartets Op. 7 present a higher degree of awareness concerning articulation, both in comparison with Op. 2 and with other contemporary British editions. The editorial process of this set presented a number of peculiar issues that have direct relevance to performance practice.

In Quartet No. 1 the dynamic symbols of *ff*, *sfp* and *sf* simultaneously appear in different staves as to indicate a momentary passing accent, rather than a change in the general dynamic range (I, bb. 4-5 and 23), following a notational custom that was common to other Italian composers of the time, such as Boccherini.⁷

The general precision of the engraving becomes evident in the first movement of Quartet No. 2 (bb. 11-16 and 28-32), whose source exhibits great consistency. In Quartet No. 3, on the other hand, the slurs in parallel passages between violin 1 and 2 are much more precise in the upper than in the lower part: this is probably due to the fact that the original score used for the engraving

⁷ Loukia Drosopoulou, 'Dynamic, Articulation and Special Effect Markings in Manuscripts Sources of Luigi Boccherini's String Quintets' (PhD dissertation, University of York, 2008), 138-152.

presented such articulations only in the upper part. In the second movement (from b. 9) the source presents contrasting slurring indications, while the general idea of 'legato playing' is clear: therefore, in such occurrences, the final decision has been left to the performer, with the caveat that the overall sound should not present unwanted internal accents; in analogue passages (bb. 11, 65, 67, 79, 81) the source calls for long slurs that probably stand for a general intention, rather than a prescriptive technical gesture.

An apparent incongruence in notation is evident in Quartet No. 3, second movement, b. 70: while the two quarter notes in the first violin are slurred, the second violin is not slurred and presents a stroke on the second note; by adding an editorial slur in the second violin and an editorial stroke on the second note of the first violin, we have a slur with a final shortened (but unaccented) note. In fact, this kind of notation appears in the source in Quartet No. 6, first movement, bb. 31-34: this articulation requires the last note of the slur to be slightly shortened by lifting the bow, without any re-articulation or accent. This is in line with the general performance style of the time that applied a diminuendo to every slur.8

In Quartet No. 5, second movement, the issue of contrasting slurs was eliminated with the inclusion of a clear opening statement 'tutte legate [every note slurred]'.

EDITORIAL METHODS

The critical notes describe rejected source readings. Pitch names are standard: c' refers to middle C (Helmholtz notation system). The following abbreviations are used:

 $ab = Abbreviation & vcl = Violoncello or Basso; \\ r. = rest & vla = Viola; \\ b(b). = bar(s); & vn1 = Violin 1; \\ GN = grace note; & vn2 = Violin 2; \\ n(n). = note(s); & vn2 = Violin 2; \\ n(n) = note(s); & vn3 = Violin 2; \\ n(n) = note(s); & vn4 = Violoncello or Basso; \\ vn5 = Violoncello or Basso; \\ vn6 = Violoncello or Basso; \\ vn7 = Violoncello or Basso; \\ vn8 = Violoncello or Basso; \\ vn9 = Violoncello or Basso; \\ vn1 = Violoncello or Basso; \\ vn1 = Violoncello or Basso; \\ vn1 = Violoncello or Basso; \\ vn2 = Violoncello or Basso; \\ vn2 = Violoncello or Basso; \\ vn1 = Violoncello or Basso; \\ vn2 = Violoncello or Basso; \\ vn3 = Violoncello or Basso; \\ vn4 = Violoncello or Basso; \\ vn5 = Violoncello or Basso; \\ vn6 = Violoncello or Basso; \\ vn7 = Violoncello or Basso; \\ vn8 = Violoncello or Basso; \\ vn9 = Violoncello or Basso; \\ vn9$

pold Mozart. A Treatise on the Fundamental Principles of Violin Playing trap

⁸ Leopold Mozart, *A Treatise on the Fundamental Principles of Violin Playing*, trans. Editha Knocker, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), 123-124.

Slurs and Ties

Slurs from the source have been included in the score: those that have been deleted or modified during the editorial process (as considered incorrect or inconsistently recurrent in analogue or parallel passages) have been reported in the critical notes, without any further indication in the score.

Editorial slurs have been added by using a dashed slur. Dashed curves have also been used to suggest shortened performance slurs, when a longer slur occurs in the source.

Ties from the source have always been transferred to the score. Editorial ties have been added without any graphic differentiation, with a critical note.

Accidentals

In eighteenth-century notational practice, the use of accidentals in printed and manuscript music is in some cases to be considered just as an indication to the performer, who should be able to infer the proper accidentals when required by the harmonic context; in other words, the use of accidentals is quite far from a normative approach to the text, therefore it can be useful to clarify some uncertainties in the text. The following method has been used:

Editorial accidentals are indicated in brackets; editorial accidentals that occur in the same bar on different octaves are not often explicitly notated in the source, and have been added without any further graphic indication. When the last note of a bar bears an accidental and the same note is repeated in the beginning of the following bar, the accidental is often omitted in the source. In this case, the accidental on the first note of the new bar has been added in brackets.

Accidentals are rarely indicated on grace notes, especially when they occur on a grace note which is a repetition of the altered last note in the previous bar. In this case, the accidental on the grace note has been added in brackets;

Accidentals are not always followed by a contrasting indication when the same note is occurring in the same bar, so it is up to the editor to make a decision according to the harmony and to compare it to similar passages. In this case, the change of accidental is indicated in brackets;

Dynamics

Dynamics have been carefully transferred: dynamics in brackets are editorial. Probable misplacements of dynamics in the source have been corrected in the score: these modifications have been listed in the critical notes.

On many occasions f and ff indications have the meaning of accent or sf, a symbol which never appears in Op. 2, but does in Op. 7.9

The following indications have been modified without any explicit indication in the notes:

Poc. F = poco f pmo = pp $dim.^{\circ} = dim.$ cres = cresc.

Dots and Wedges

Dots and wedges over the notes present in the source have been transferred: editorial suggestions are added in brackets. Dots only occur under a slur on repeated notes, to indicate bow vibrato. In quartet Op. 2 No. 6 (Tempo di Menuetto) the viola part shows dots where all the other instruments have wedges: in these cases wedges were used in the edition and the intervention was reported in the critical notes. In the Andante of Quartet No. 4 (Figure 1) and in the Tempo di Menuetto of Op. 2 No. 6 (Figure 2) wedges occur over the second of two slurred notes: while in the Andante the wedge is really short (nonetheless it is not a dot, as dots in the source are much bigger and clearly round, while this looks like a small triangle), and is placed between the slur and the note head, in the Tempo di Menuetto it is placed outside of the slur. It is not possible to define different interpretations in terms of performance practice for these two variants, therefore these wedges should be not considered as accents, but as an indication to gently shorten the note in order to re-articulate before the following one which, incidentally, in both cases also bears a dynamic indication.

⁹ Drosopoulou in her cited dissertation described the same practice in Boccherini's quintets.





Figure 1: Op. 2 No. 4, Andante, Violin I, bb. 27-28

Figure 2: Op. 2 No. 6, Tempo di Menuetto, Violin I, b. 72 (and 76)

Beaming

Beaming is generally as in the source, as often beaming can be a useful guide for the performer, while the directions of the stems have been modified according to modern standards.

CRITICAL NOTES

SIX STRING QUARTETS Op. 2

Quartetto No. 1

ΑI	LE	GRO) A	SSA

ANDANTE

Bar(s)	Violin 1	Violin 2	Viola	Violoncello
5		1/5-2/8: slur	1/5-2/7: slur	1/5-2/6: slur
7				1/7-2/9: slur
8			1/8-2/9: slur	
9		1/9-1/10: slur		
33	fon n. 2		6-8: b	
118		1-4: slur		
135	1-3: slur			
138	1-3: slur			
150	1-3: slur; 4-7: slur			
5				1: a (r. on beat 2) 2/5-1/6: slur
6				2-4: slur
8			2-4: slur	
9	1-3: slur			
10	2-4: slur			
25	1-2: no tie			
29		3-5: slur		2/29-1/30: slur
30				2-4: slur
33		3-5: slur		
35		1-5: slur		
36		1-2: slur		
39				2/39-1/40: slur
40				2-4: slur
47		1-4: slur		
48		2-4: slur		
65		1-5: slur		
66		1-2: slur		
27	1/27-1/28: no tie			
32			1-4: slur	
34			1-4: slur	

MENUETTO

Quartetto No. 2

43

ALLEGRO

3	1-8: slur			
5			1-8: slur	
14	1-5: slur	1-6: slur		
15	1-6: slur	1-6: slur		
16	1-6: slur	1-6: slur		
29			3: f (moved to n. 1)	

2/43-3/44: slur

LARGO

ALLEGRO

49 1-8: slur	
53 1-8: slur	
60 1-2: slur	
62 1-6: slur	
64 1-6: slur 1-6: slur	
84 Slur starting on n. 1;	
97 1-3: slur	
98 1: f(moved	l to n. 2)
No ties on repeated nn. over the bar lines (b'-b', ab'-ab', gb'-gb')	
5 2/5-1/6: no tie	
8 9-12: slur	
9 9-12: slur	
15 5, 6: quarter n. with duration dot	
20 2-3: slur	
42 2-3: slur	
No ties on repeated nn. over the bar lines (b'-b', ab'-ab', gb'-gb')	
47 2/47-1/48: no tie	
50 9-12: slur	
51 9-12: slur	
52 6-7: slur	1: <i>p</i> (moved to n. 1/53)
59	1: f (moved to n. 5)
63	1: f (moved to n. 5)
1 1/1-1/2: n	o tie
5 1/5-1/6: n	o tie
16 1-8: slur	
26 1-3: slur	
31 1-8: slur Slur nn. 2-8	
35 1/35-1/36	: no tie
44 1: g'	
67	
70 1/70-1/71	: no tie
87 3-5: slur	
88 1-2: no tie	
90 1/90-1/91	: no tie
91 1: f (moved	l to n. 2)

AL	LEG	RO

LARGHETTO

7	1-3: slur	1-3: slur		
46			2: no \$	
53			n. 4: d'	
1			1-6: slur	
4		2-5: slur		
9	1/9-4/12: slur			
17		2-3: slur		
18		2-3: slur		
42		5/42-3/43: slur		
43	5/43-1/44: slur			
45		1-3: slur		
53		1/53-5-54: slur		
55		3/55-6/56: slur		
63			1-3, 4-6: slur	
76			2: p (moved to n. 1)	
8	2 quarter nn. + 1 quarter r.	2 quarter nn. + 1 quarter r.	1 half n. + 1 quarter r.	1 half n. + 1 quarter r.

MINUETTO

TRIO

The key signature of the following Trio is in A major but sharps where added on most of the D and A: therefore, the key signature has been changed from A major to B major, retaining original pitches, adding accidentals that were not present in the source and tacitly omitting redundant accidentals that are included in B major's key signature

30			1-6: no #
31		2: no #	
37	1: no 4		
41	1: no 4		
44		1: no #	
46		1: no #	
48			1-6: no #
50			1-6: no #
51		2: no #	
52		2: no #	

Quartetto No. 4

ALLEGRETTO

1		2/1-1/2: slur	
12		2/12-1/13: slur	
21	1-4: slur		
22	1-4: slur		
25	2-4: slur		
27		5-8: slur	
28		5-8: slur	
29		5-8: slur	
30		5-8: slur	
35	1: no #		
38	1/38-1/39: slur		
47	9: no \$		
56		1: no #	

61		6: no ♯		
65		1-4: slur		
74			4-6: slur	
76			4-6: slur	
87			5-8: slur	
88			5-8: slur	
89			5-8: slur	
90		2-5: slur	5-8: slur	
9	The slur was split before n. 6 as the b. was divided in different systems			
14		6: no 4		
26	1-2: slur			
58	1-2: no tie			
60	1: no #			
29	1: p (moved to n. 2/28)			
51	1: no #			
55	1: no #			
75			2: no #	2: no #
87	tr repeated (new system beginning on b. 87)			
105	1: p (moved to n. 2/104)			
129	1: no #	1: no #		
131			1: no #	
146-147		The slur was split in two as a new system begins on b. 147		
186			1: no #	

ANDANTE

ALLEGRO

ALLEGRO

13		4-5: slur		
17		4-5: slur		
18		4-5: slur		
20		1-8: slur		
22		1-8: slur		
35		9-16: slur		
56	5: no \$			
71		6: no #		
73			2: f	
78	1: no #			
79	2, 4: no #			
82			2-4: slur	
84	4: no #			
104		p on n. 1		
112			1: no 4	

CANTABILE

RONDO ALLEGRETTO

123	4-5: slur			
124	4-5: slur			
133			2-7: slur	
151	4-6: slur			
165		GN: sixteenth n.		
8			4-6: slur	
9			1-7: slur	
20		1-2: slur		
21		1-2: slur		
23			1-3: slur	
25	1-3: slur	1-3: slur		
26	3/26-3/27: slur	1/26-1/27: slur		
29		1/29-2/30: slur		
38	GN: no #			
39	1: no #			
42			1-3: slur	
43		1-2: no tie; 2-3: slur		
44		1-3: slur		
51		J. J	GN: eighth n.	
53			GN: eighth n.	
11	The slur was split		OI V. CIGITATI II.	
11	before n. 5 as the b. was divided between systems			
12		n. 4: sixteenth n.		
12		5-6: no slur		
13		1-8: slur		
16	1-3: slur; 4: sixteenth n.	n. 4: sixteenth n.		
26	4-5: slur			
27	3-4, 7-8: slur	6-7: slur		
31		6-7: slur		
32	2-4: slur			
33	1-7: slur			
42	4-5: slur		3-4: slur	
43		1-3, 7-8: slur		
44		4-5: slur		
45		6-7: slur		
46			1/46-6/47: slur	
52	4: sixteenth n.			
53	4: sixteenth n.			
56	4: sixteenth n.			
57	4: sixteenth n.			
59-65	f and f are indifferently used but with the same meaning (accent)		1	
69	1-5: slur			
84	3: f°♯-a°			

ALLEGRO	1

ADAGIO

TEMPO DI MENUETTO

		T		T
4		1-4: slur		
6		1-4: slur		
10		1: a		
27		1-4: slur		
38			1: <i>f</i> (moved to n. 2)	1: <i>f</i> (moved to n. 2)
41			1: f (moved to n. 2)	1: f (moved to n. 2)
58	The slur was split before n. 5 as the b. was divided between systems			
91		The slur was split before n. 5 as the b. was divided between systems		
92		1-4: slur		
94				1: p
103			1: f (moved to n. 2)	1: f (moved to n. 2)
104	2-4, 5-8: slur			
106			1: f (moved to n. 2)	1: f (moved to n. 2)
112		1: f		
11	1: p			
12	1: f			
15		2: p		
39		8-11: sixteenth nn.		
40		1-4: slur		
9			1-3: dots	
10			2-4: dots	
12		1-4: slur		
13	1-2: no tie			
23			1-3: dots	
24			2-4: dots	
47		2-5: slur		
51	GN: no #			
57		2-5: slur		
67			1-3: dots	
68			2-4: dots	
116			1-3: dots	
117			2-4: dots	
120	1-2: no tie			
130			1-3: dots	
131			2-4: dots	

SIX STRING QUARTETS Op. 7

Quartetto No. 1

A'	NI)A	N	$\mathbf{r}_{\mathbf{F}}$

Bar(s)	Violin 1	Violin 2	Viola	Violoncello
7			2-6: slur	
23		6: <i>p</i> (moved to n. 1/24)		
43			1-2: no tie; 2-5: slur	
64		6: <i>p</i> (moved to n. 1/65)		
65		5: <i>p</i> (moved to n. 1/66)		
27	1/27-1/28: no tie			
29		1-2: no tie		
38		1-2: no tie		

LARGHETTO

Quartetto No. 2

ALLEGRO

RONDEAU -ALLEGRO MODERATO

10		7: <i>f</i>	
29	6: p (moved to n. 5)		
4, 16, 32, 44, 66	H- 600 4		

Quartetto No. 3

LARGO

ALLEGRO ASSAI

13		1: dotted half n. (no n. 2)		
68	2/68-2/29: slur	2/68-1/70: slur		
70		3/70-4/71: slur		
79			1-8: slur	

Quartetto No. 4

ALLEGRO CON SPIRITO

49			1-4: slur	1-4: slur
55	1: f (moved to n. 2)			
111				2: G
8		1/8-1/9: slur		
14			1/14-1/15: slur	
20				
36	2-5: slur			
41	2-5: slur		2-5: slur	
43			2-5: slur	

RONDEAU

ALLEGRO	
MODERAT	

TEMPO DI MINUETTO

1			Time signature: C
34	3: p (moved to 2/33)		
37	R. has a duration dot	1: quarter n.	
111		2: f (moved to 1/110)	
41		1/41-1/43: slur	
60	1: 		
81		1/81-1/83: slur	
84		1/84-3/85: slur	

Quartetto No. 6

[WITHOUT
TEMPO
INDICATION]

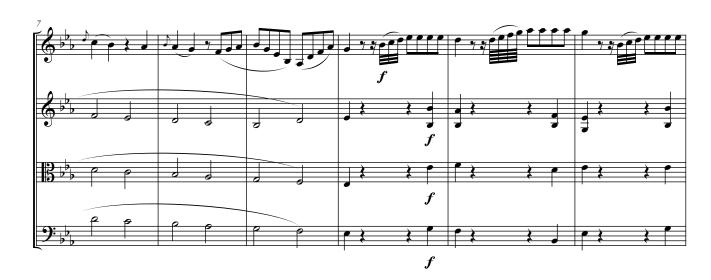
RONDEAU ALLEGRO

3	1: double sharp			
6	1-5: slur			
10				1: double sharp
42			1/41-1/42: no tie	
47			1-2: no tie	
79			1: no ab.	
88			1: d"	
92		5: a'; 6: g'		
2			2: p (moved to 1/3)	
8				3/8-1/10: slur
17	3/17-1/18: no tie			
69		1: p (moved to 1/63)		
79		1/79-4/80: slur; 1/79-1/80: no tie		
177		2: p (moved to 2/176)		

Quartetto Op. 2 No. 1

Venanzio Rauzzini (1746 - 1810)











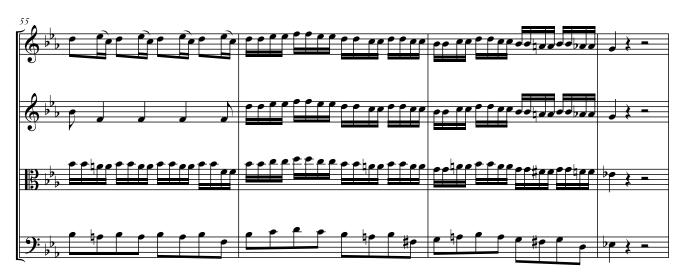


















74 f p fp	fp fp	fp fp	fp fp	fp	fp
-	f p fp	fp fp	fp fp	fp	fp
	-	-	-	ff	ff
-	_	-	•	ff	ff























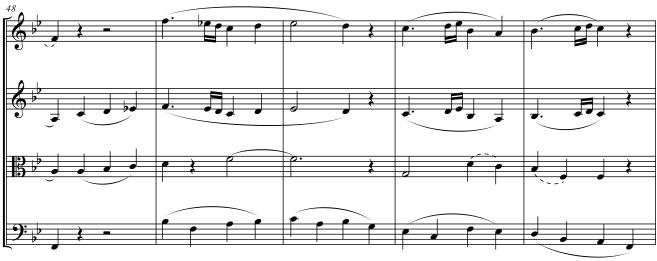








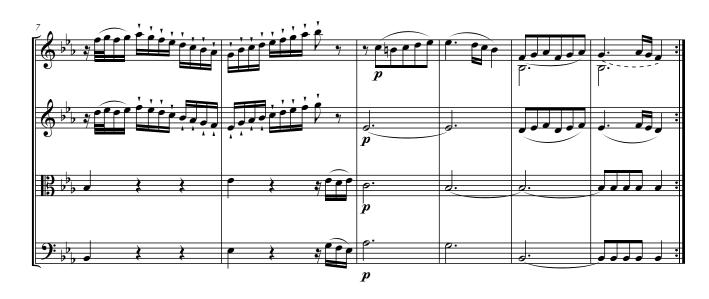


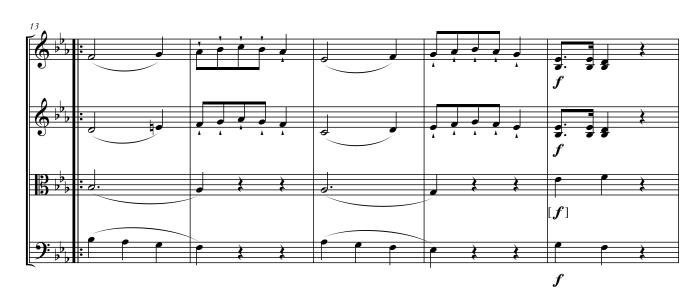




















Quartetto Op. 2 No. 2

Venanzio Rauzzini (1746 - 1810)













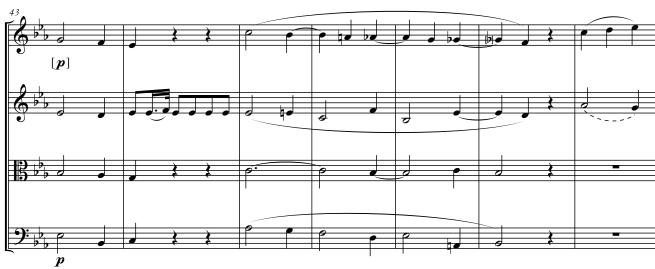






















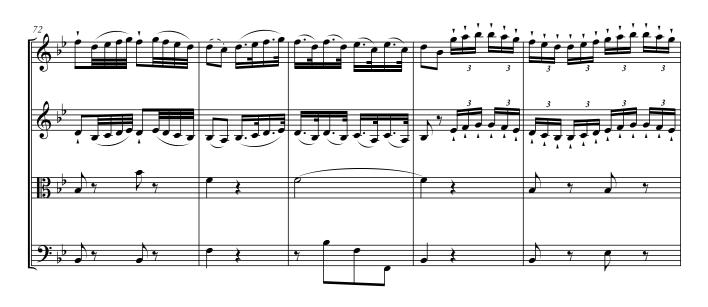




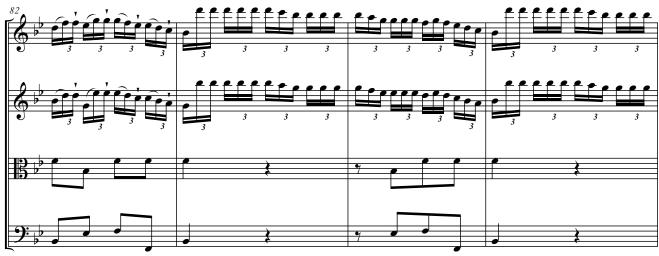














Quartetto Op. 2 No. 3

Venanzio Rauzzini (1746 - 1810)





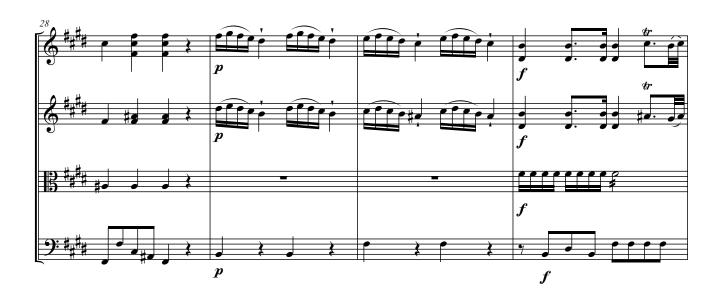








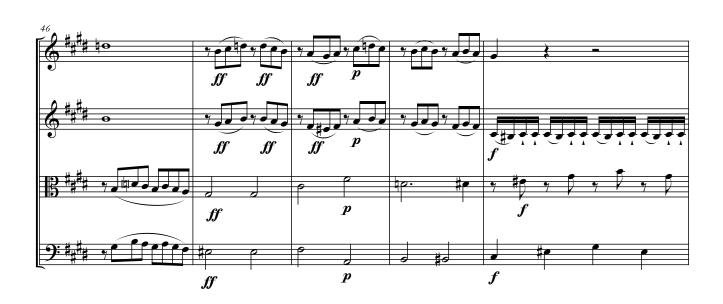










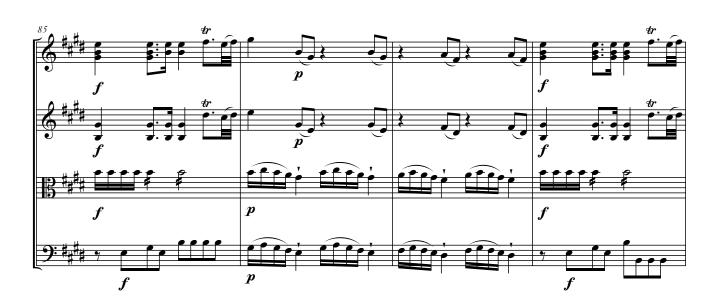








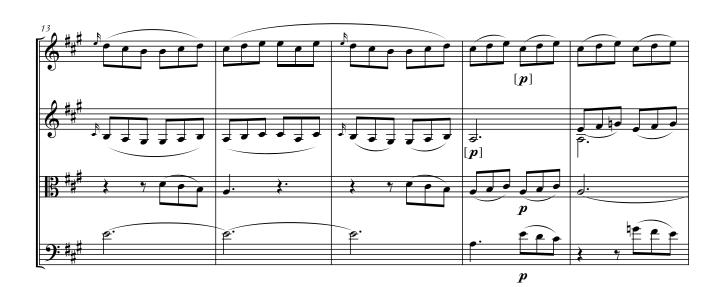
















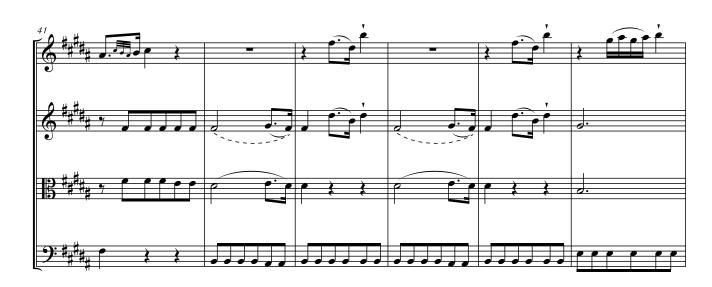














Quartetto Op. 2 No. 4

Venanzio Rauzzini (1746 - 1810)



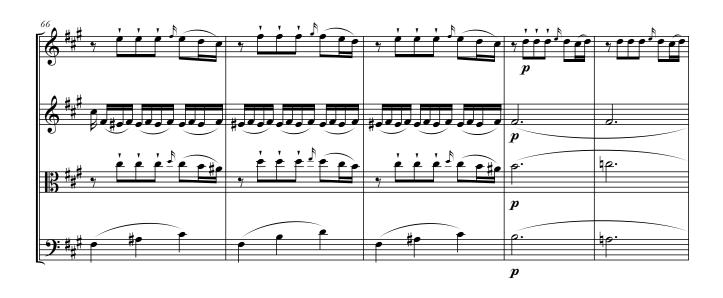




















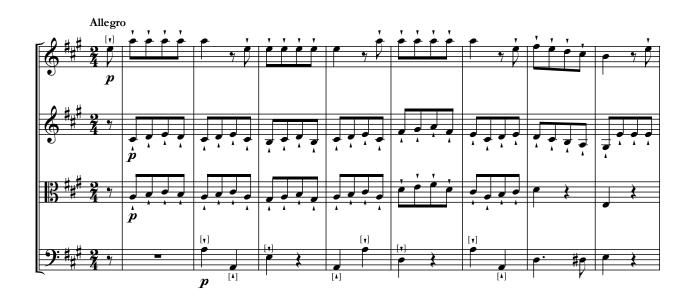


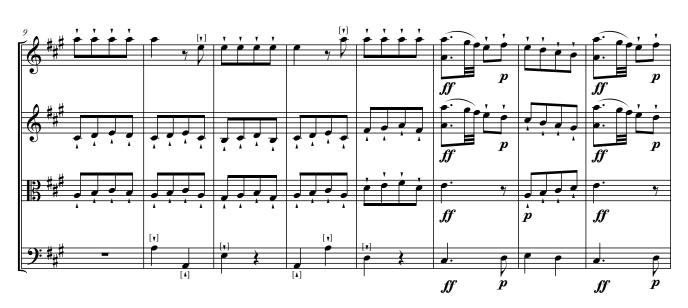




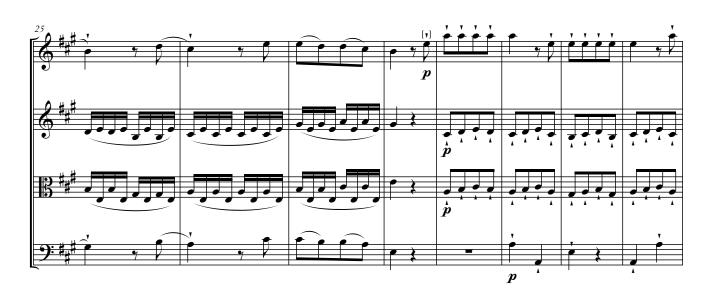












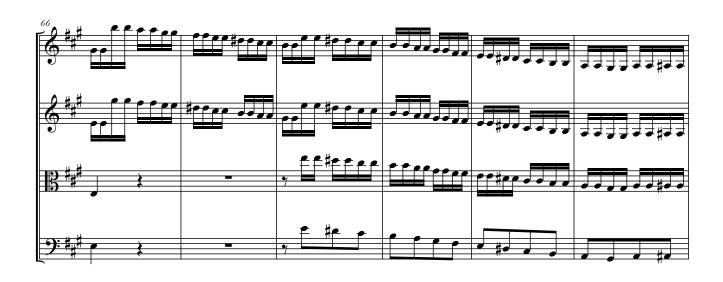




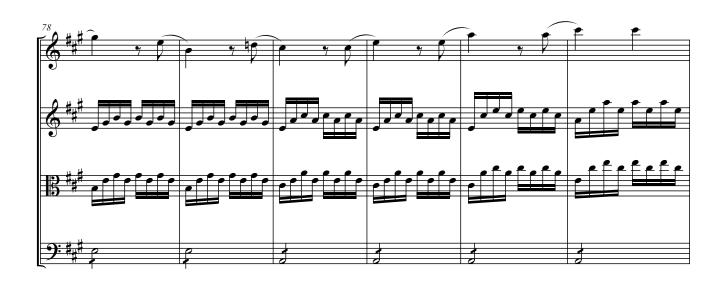


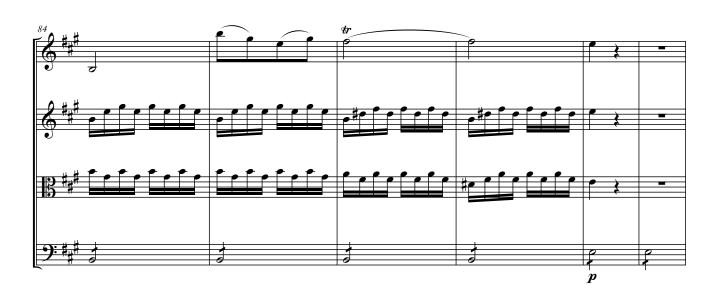






























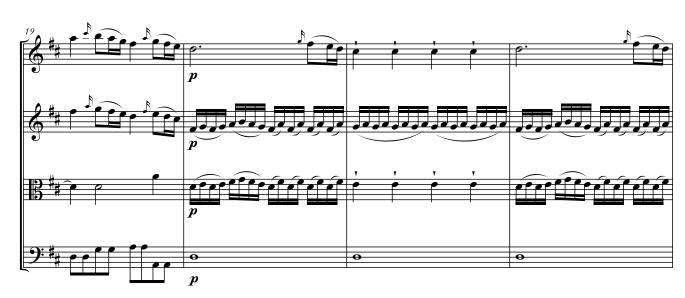


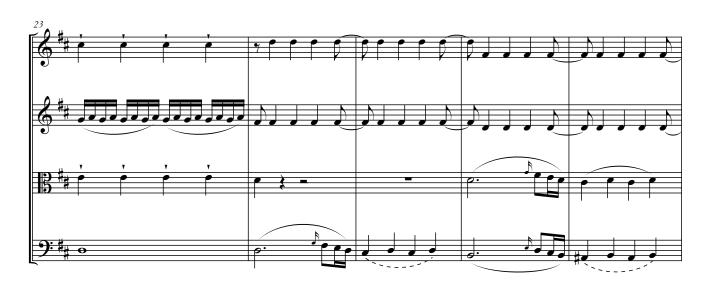
Quartetto Op. 2 No. 5

Venanzio Rauzzini (1746 - 1810)



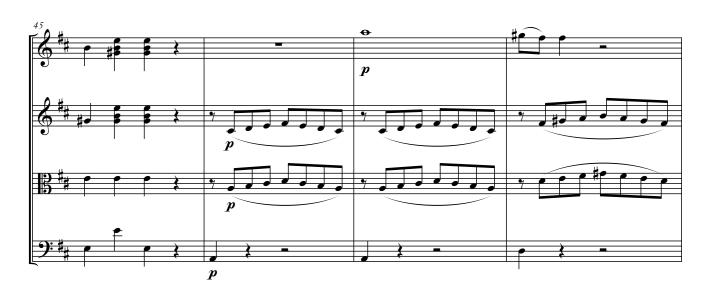


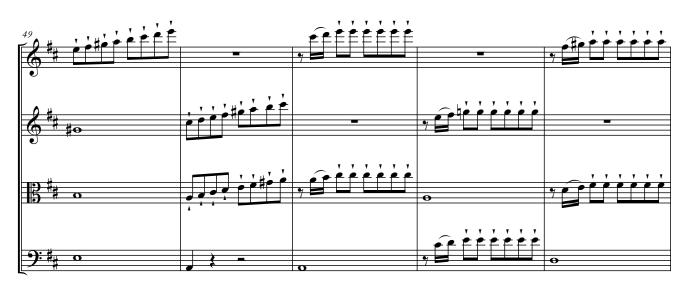










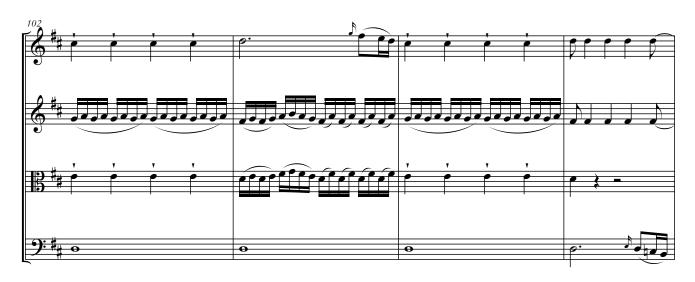


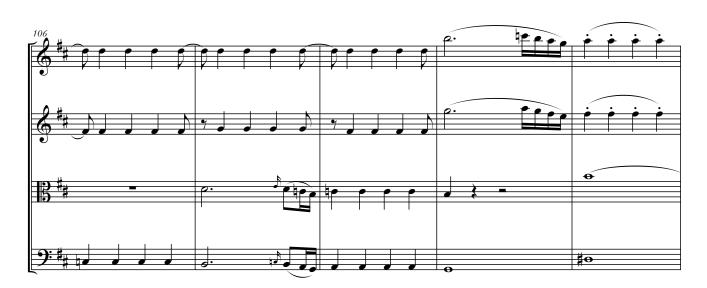


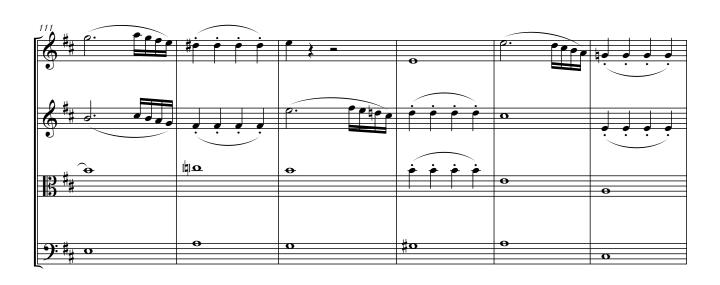




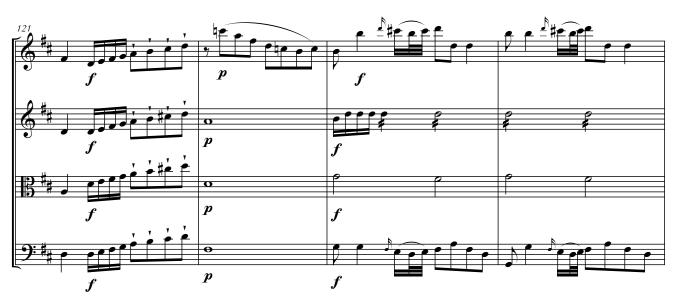


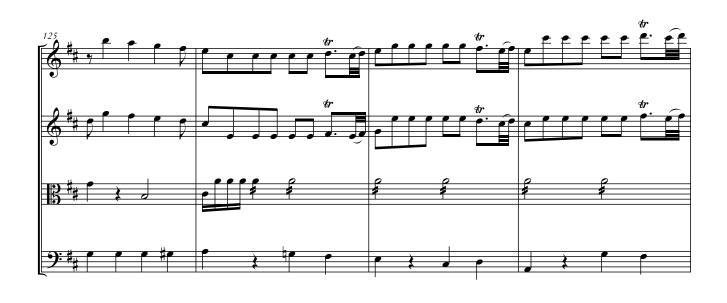


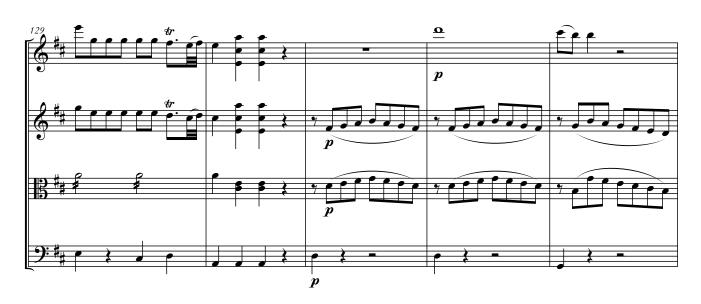


































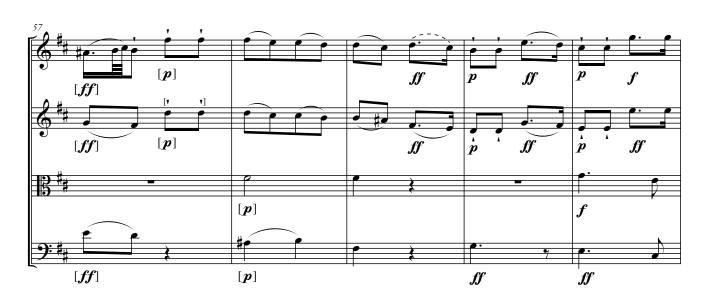
















Quartetto Op. 2 No. 6

Venanzio Rauzzini (1746 - 1810)







































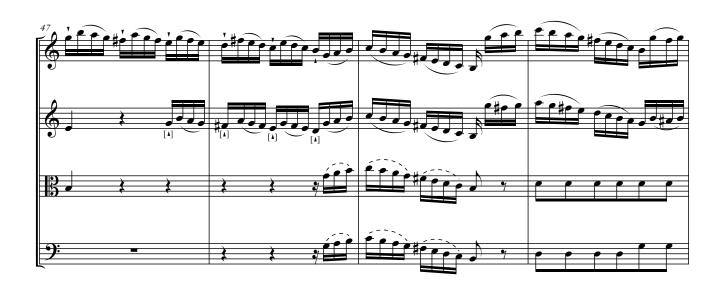




























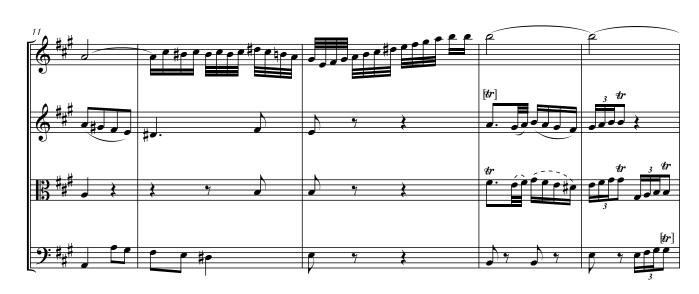


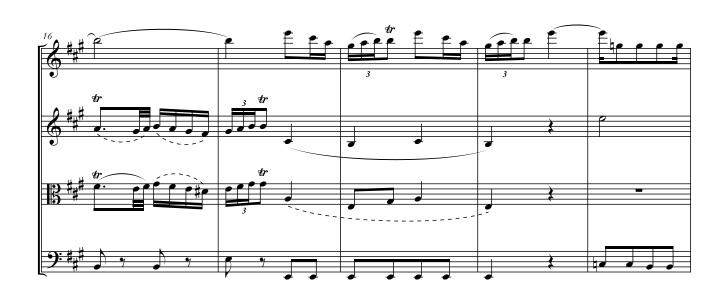
Quartetto Op. 7 No. 1

Venanzio Rauzzini (1746 - 1810)







































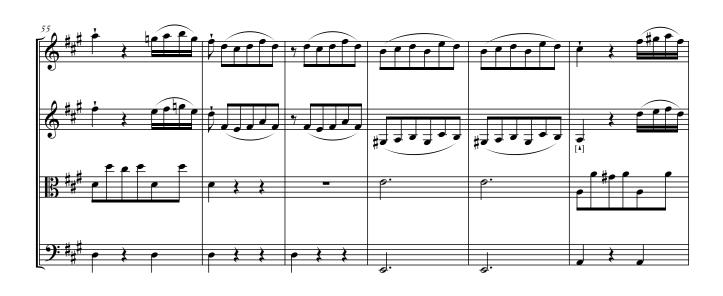




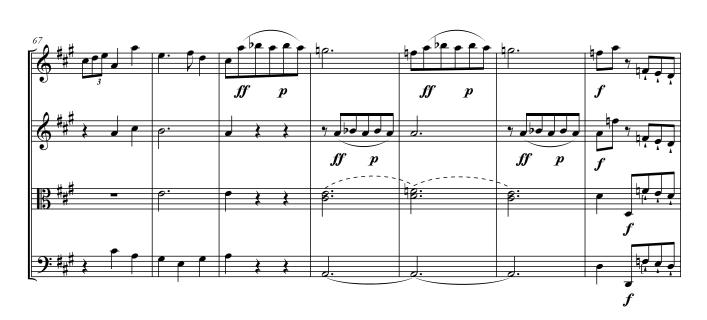














Quartetto Op. 7 No. 2

Venanzio Rauzzini (1746 - 1810)



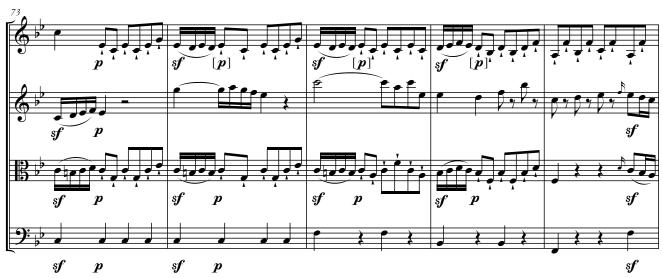




























Quartetto Op. 7 No. 3

Venanzio Rauzzini (1746 - 1810)





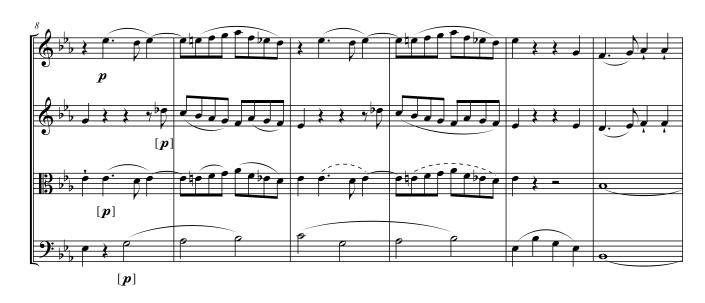














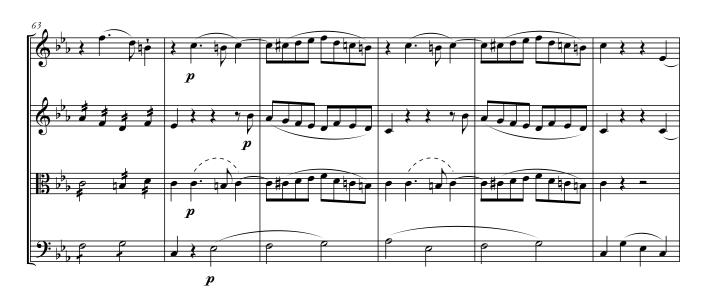




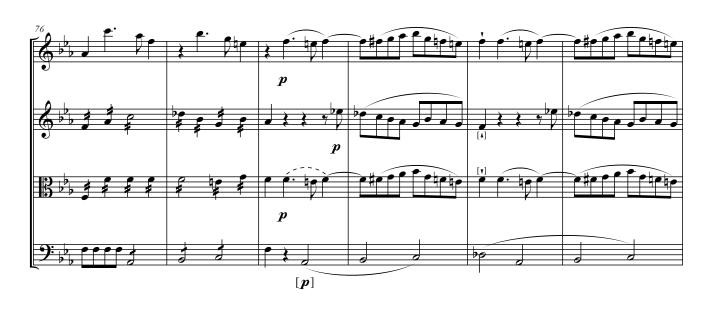


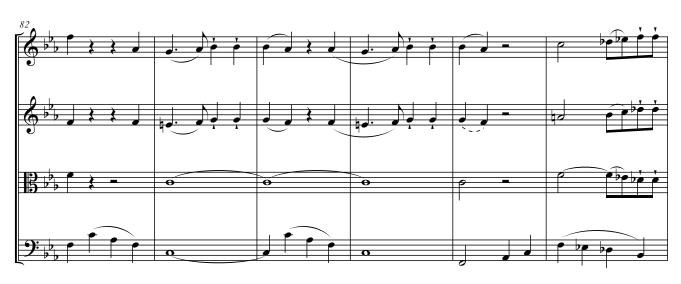












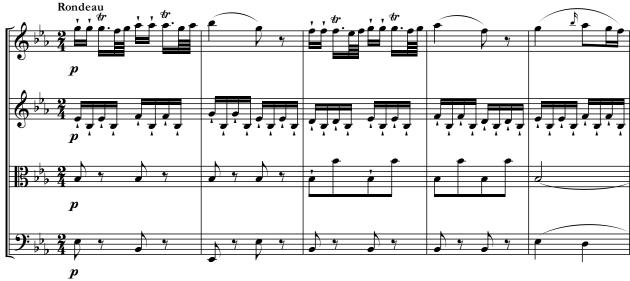








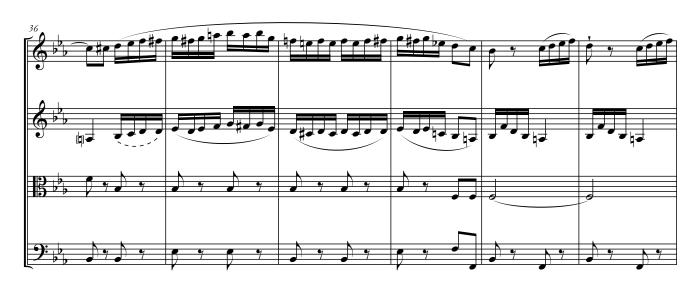


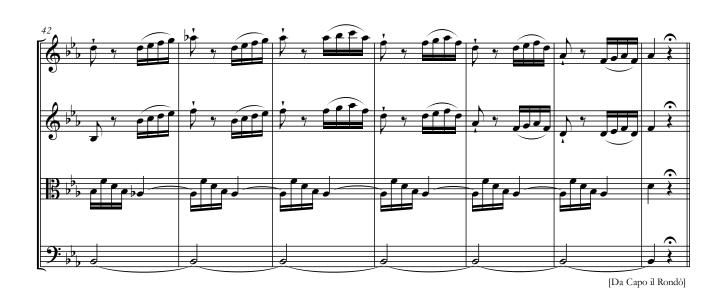








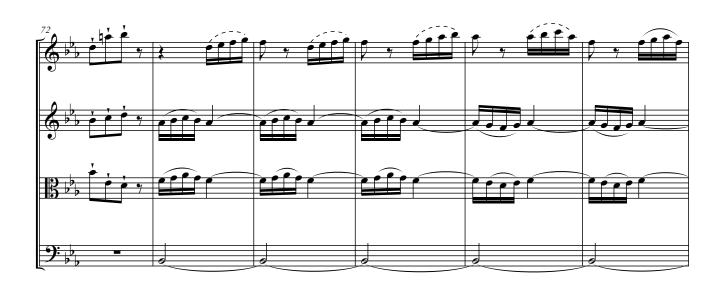


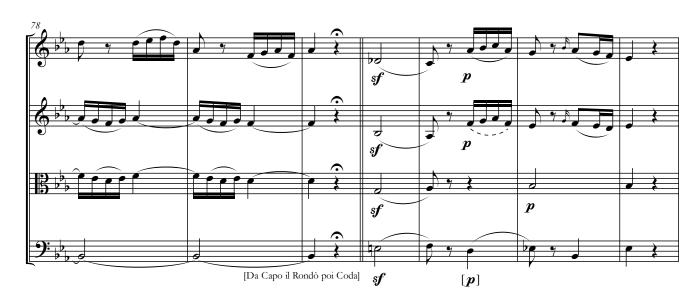


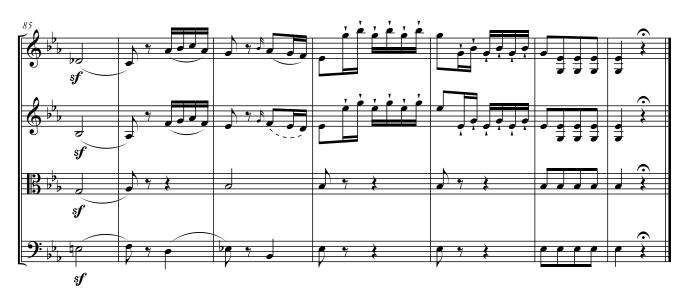












Quartetto Op. 7 No. 4

Venanzio Rauzzini (1746 - 1810)



[p]

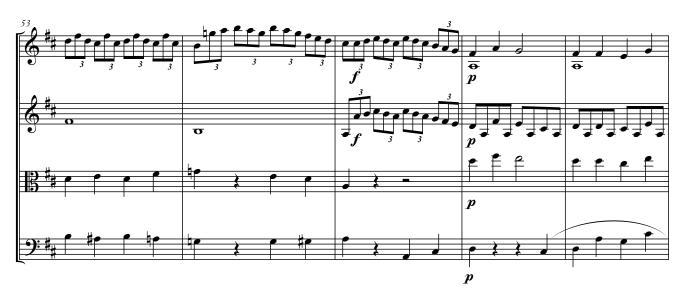


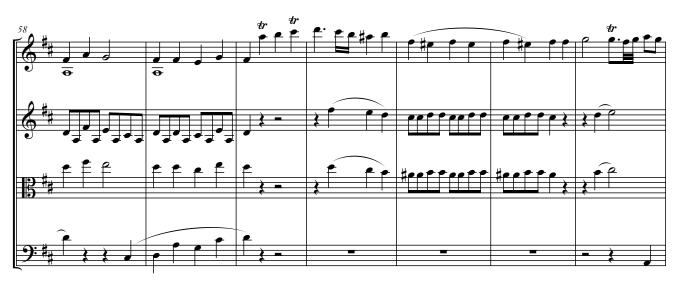


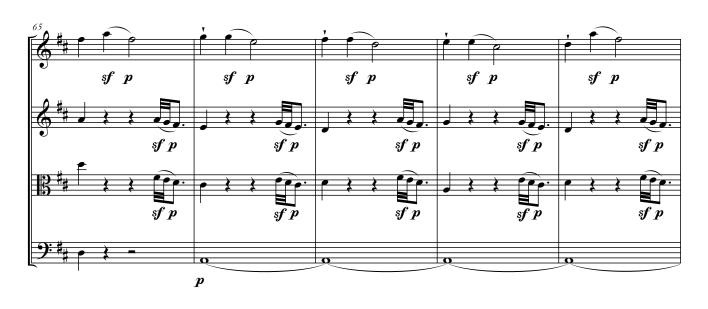
















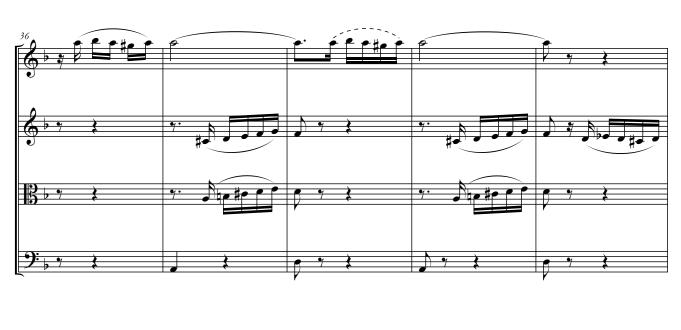


[p]















Quartetto Op. 7 No. 5

Venanzio Rauzzini (1746 - 1810)

























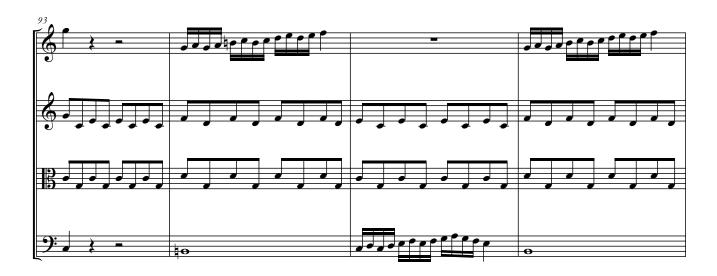






















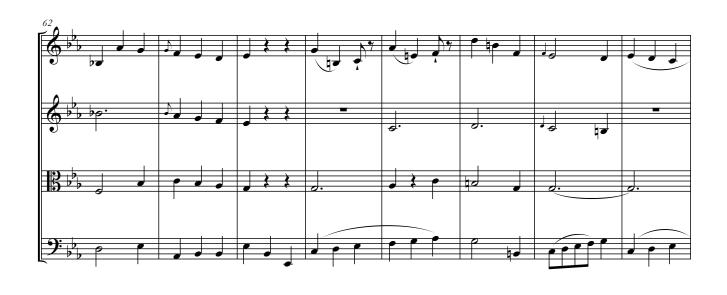


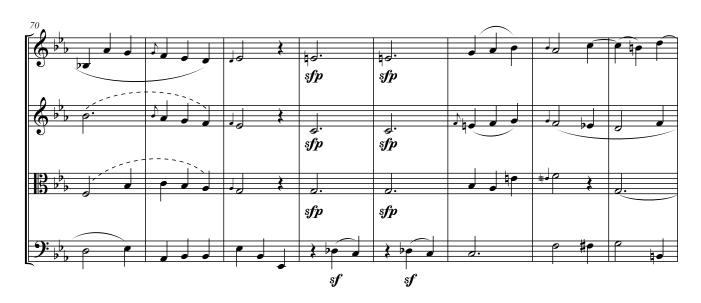


















Quartetto Op. 7 No. 6

Venanzio Rauzzini (1746 - 1810)









