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Volume 1

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ITALIAN MUSIC AND MUSICIANS
IN EDINBURGH c. 1720-1800.
A HISTORICAL AND CRITICAL STUDY

2 VOLUMES

VOLUME 1

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DEPARTMENT OF MUSIC
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ABSTRACT

The contribution of the Italian musicians who came to Scotland during the period c. 1720-1800 was both vigorous and influential. It encompassed practically every area of musical activity: from performance to teaching, from the composition and arrangement of music to its publication, from the “professional patronage” of other musicians to the establishment of publishing companies and businesses dealing in the music and musical instrument trade.

This thesis reconstructs the Scottish careers of almost all of those Italian musicians who went to live and work in Edinburgh. Some of them are already well-known figures, even if most historians have only given them limited attention. Other Italian musicians had only been treated in passing, some had been overlooked completely. This study examines primary documents in detail, such as the *Minute* books and *Plan Books* that were kept by the Edinburgh Musical Society in the eighteenth century, and also newspapers that were printed in Edinburgh during this period, in order to throw light on their musical activities in the Scottish capital.

Linked with the careers of the Italian musicians in Edinburgh between c. 1720-1800 is an investigation of the reception and perception of these musicians in Scotland. This has been based largely on eighteenth-century accounts, but also includes nineteenth- and twentieth-century commentaries on Scottish musical history and culture. This section has included a consideration of economic, religious and philosophical issues concerning opera and the production of stage plays in Edinburgh during this period.

Finally, there is a survey of the music that the Italian musicians performed, composed and published. This has involved examining a large amount of published music as well as manuscript sources. My investigation into this field has revealed a repertoire of music that was unique to Scotland, with Italian and English classical music performed alongside arrangements of Scots folk-songs.

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ABBREVIATIONS

- BDA* Highfill, Philip H; Burnim, Kalman A. and Langhans Edward A. *A Biographical Dictionary of Actors, Actresses, Musicians, Dancers, Managers and other Stage Personnel in London 1660-1800* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1973-1993)
- BUCEM* Schnapper, Edith B. ed *British Union-Catalogue of Early Printed Music Before the Year 1800* (London: Butterworths, 1957)
- BurneyH* Burney, Charles *A General History of Music from the Earliest Ages to the Present Period. To which is prefixed, a Dissertation on the Music of the Ancients* (London: Author, 1789)
- CM* *Caledonian Mercury*
- DBI* *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1960-)
- DEI* *Dizionario Enciclopedico Italiano* (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1970-1974)
- DNB* Stephen, Leslie ed *The Dictionary of National Biography* (London: Smith, Elder, & Co., 1885-1900)
- EA* *Edinburgh Advertiser*
- EEC* *Edinburgh Evening Courant*
- EitnerQ* Eitner, R. ed *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Quellen-Lexikon der Musiker und Musikgelehrten der Christlichen Zeitrchnung bis zur mitte des Neunzehuten Jarhunderts* (Leipzig: Brietkopf & Härtel, [s.a.])

- EMS Edinburgh Musical Society
- FétisB* Fétis, F. J. ed *Biographie Universelle des Musiciens et Bibliographie Générale de la Musique* (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1877)
- Grove1* Grove, George ed *A Dictionary of Music and Musicians (A. D. 1450-1880) by Eminent Writers, English and Foreign* (London: Macmillan, 1878-1890)
- Grove2* Fuller Maitland, J. A. ed *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (London: Macmillan, 1904-1910)
- Grove3* Colles, H. C. ed *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (London: Macmillan, 1927-1928)
- Grove4* Colles, H. C. ed *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (London: Macmillan, 1940)
- Grove5* Blom, Eric ed *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (London: Macmillan, 1954)
- Grove6* Sadie, Stanley ed *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (London: Macmillan, 1980)
- GroveI* Sadie, Stanley ed *The New Grove Dictionary of Musical Instruments* (London: Macmillan, 1984)
- GroveO* Sadie, Stanley ed *The New Grove Dictionary of Opera* (London: Macmillan, 1992)
- Hawkins H* Hawkins, John A *General History of the Science and Practice of Music* (London: T. Payne & Son, 1776)
- NAS National Archives of Scotland (formerly the Scottish Record Office)

- NLS National Library of Scotland
- OED* *The Oxford English Dictionary being a correct re-issue with an Introduction, Supplement, and Bibliography of a New English Dictionary on Historical Principles founded mainly on the materials collected by the Philological Society* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1961)
- RISM* *Repertoire Internationale des Sources Musicales* (Kassel: Bärenreiter-Verlag, 1971-1981)
- SND* Grant, William ed *The Scottish National Dictionary designed partly on regional lines and partly on historical principles, and containing all the Scottish words known to be in use or to have in use since c. 1700* (Edinburgh: Scottish National Dictionary Association, [s.a.]

INTRODUCTION

In the eighty years between about 1720 and 1800, some forty or so Italian musicians travelled to Scotland. Almost all of them were employed by the Musical Society in Edinburgh to perform at their weekly concerts. Many of these Italian musicians were singers, but there were also string players (mainly violinists), keyboard players and wind players. They were principally performers, but they were also teachers, composers and arrangers, publishers, dealers in music and musical instruments and entrepreneurs.

Scholarship on the history of music in Scotland during this period has tended to concentrate on a handful of these Italian musicians, principally Lorenzo Bocchi, Francesco Barsanti, Nicolò Pasquali, Giusto Ferdinando Tenducci, Domenico Corri and Pietro Urbani. There has also been some comment on the contribution of musicians such as the *Signori* Gurrini and Passerini, Giuseppe Puppo, Girolamo Stabilini and Giovanni Maria Giornovich. Some of the other Italian singers and instrumentalists who were engaged to perform at the Edinburgh Musical Society concerts (particularly the women), although they have not featured in the work of more recent historians, were (as is clear from contemporary accounts) well known and highly regarded. This thesis intends to bring to light their contribution.

i SOURCES

Information on the Italian musicians who performed in Edinburgh in the period considered in this thesis is to be found in a number of different sources. The Edinburgh Musical Society kept a record of its meetings and financial transactions from their formal constitution in the late 1720s, to their dissolution at the very end of the eighteenth century. While these *Minutes* only occasionally note the contracts made between the Society and the musicians, they are, however, useful in establishing the dates that the Italian singers and instrumentalists were in the employ of the Society. The *Minutes* also list the salaries that were paid to the musicians, and note the concerns and grievances that were occasionally voiced by both the Musical Society and by the musicians they employed.

Information on the repertoire that the Italian singers and instrumentalists performed in Edinburgh is found in a number of sources. The Musical Society noted their programmes in a series of *Plan Books* kept by the Society between the 1760s and the 1780s. A considerable amount of information on the music that the Italian musicians sang and played is also found in newspapers, such as the *Edinburgh Evening Courant*, the *Caledonian Mercury* and the *Edinburgh Advertiser*. Advertisements for concerts in the earlier part of the eighteenth century (up to the 1750s) tend to be rather vague, concerning themselves with announcing the date, time and venue for a concert. Advertisements from the 1750s onwards, however, include references to specific instrumental and vocal pieces. From these advertisements it is clear that there was a common thread to the repertoire that was performed by musicians in Edinburgh, both local and foreign. Concert programmes featured a combination of music that was unique to Scotland: there were vocal and instrumental arrangements of Scots folk songs, arias and purely instrumental works by Italian composers, and extracts from the oratorios of Handel, as well as performances of entire oratorios. This mixture of music was noted by the poet Allan Ramsay in his address "To the Music Club":

"...Then you whose Symphony of Souls proclaim
Your Kin to Heaven, add to your Country's Fame,
And shew that Musick may have as good a Fate
In *Albion's* Glens, as *Umbria's* green Retreat:
And with *Correlli's* soft *Italian Song*
Mix *Cowdon Knows*, and *Winter Nights are Long*."¹

The activities of the Italian musicians in Edinburgh in the eighteenth century were the object of observations and comments by contemporaries, both in Scotland and elsewhere. These important sources allow us to assess the opinions of eighteenth-century critics and public.

¹ Ramsay, Allan *Poems of Allan Ramsay* (Edinburgh: Thomas Ruddiman, 1721-1728), I, 304, "To the Musick Club". "The Broom of Cowdenknowes" is probably the best known of these two songs. Chambers states that "Cowdenknowes" dates from the early part of the eighteenth century and appeared in print in the *Tea-table Miscellany* of 1724. Chambers, Robert *The Songs of Scotland prior to Burns. With the Tunes* (Edinburgh and London: W. & R. Chambers, 1862), 363-364. "Cowdenknowes" also appeared in Thomson, William *Orpheus Caledonius, or a Collection of the Best Scotch Songs set to Musick by William Thomson* (London: for the author, [1726]), 10.

ii EDINBURGH, LONDON AND DUBLIN

Another common thread in the lives of those Italian musicians who performed in Edinburgh between c. 1720-1800, is the link between Edinburgh, London and Dublin. Many of the Italian musicians travelled from London or Dublin to perform in Edinburgh, sometimes returning to these cities after singing or playing at the Musical Society concerts. The relationship between these musical centres is complex, there being both similarities that tie them together, and differences which render them distinct from each other. In the 1720s the writer Daniel Defoe noted that:

“The first Town we came to [in Scotland] is as perfectly *Scots*, as if you were 100 Miles North off *Edinburgh*; nor is there the least Appearance of any thing *English*, either in Customs, Habits, Usages of the People, or in their Way of Living, Eating, Dress, or Behaviour; any more than if they had never heard of an *English* Nation; nor was there an *Englishman* to be seen, or an *English* Family to be found among them.”²

Over half a century later, in the 1780s, the differences between England and Scotland were still apparent, as one Italian visitor noted:

“La Scozia e L’Inghilterra hanno la stessa Costituzione, e formano al giorno d’oggi realmente un solo Paese cogli stessi beni, cogli stessi mali, ma sono ancora con tutto ciò in forma marcata da non potersi ingannare, due differenti nazioni. Le loro maniere, i loro costumi, il lor carattere, fin la stessa loro fisionomia segnano direi quasi una traccia visibili che le distingue.”³

Nevertheless, with some of the more obscure Italian musicians who appeared at the Edinburgh Musical Society concerts, information about their activities in these other centres is essential in understanding the reasons why they were engaged by the Musical

² Defoe, Daniel *A Tour thro’ the Whole Island of Great Britain, Divided into Circuits or Journies. Giving a Particular and Diverting Account of whatever is Curious and worth Observation, viz. I. A Description of the Principal Cities and Towns, their Situation, Magnitude, Government, and Commerce. II. The Customs, Manners, Speech, as also the Exercises, Diversions, and Employment of the People. III. The Produce and Improvement of the Lands, the Trade, and Manufactures. IV. The Sea Ports and Fortifications, the Course of Rivers, and the Inland Navigation. V. The Publick Edifices, and Palaces of the Nobility and Gentry. With useful Observations upon the whole. Particularly fitted for the Readings of such as desire to Travel over the Island. By a Gentleman* (London: G. Strahan, W. Mears, R. Francklin, S. Chapman, R. Stagg, J. Graves, 1724), III, part II, 6.

³ Angiolini, Luigi *Lettere sull’Inghilterra* (Milan: Bompiani, 1944), 362. “Scotland and England have the same constitution and are, in truth one country, with the same good and bad things. In spite of this, they are clearly still two different countries – their customs and manners, their character and even their physical appearance show one to be different from the other.” (Author’s translation.)

Society in Edinburgh, and for suggesting the repertoire that they may have performed in Edinburgh. Almost all of the Italian musicians who travelled to Scotland in the eighty years from c. 1720-1800 were affected and influenced by the the music of that country. The many programmes that have survived show that, shortly after their arrival in Edinburgh, both singers and instrumentalists began to include Scots-song settings in their concerts alongside the repertoire that they had also performed in other centres. This mixture is also reflected in the music that the Italians composed, arranged and published in Edinburgh during this period.

The link between Edinburgh and London is particularly evident from newspaper advertisements of the latter part of the century.⁴ Businesses announced that they had received a consignment of the latest, and most fashionable goods from London as a way of attracting customers. Items that were advertised in this way included china, silverware, jewellery, items of clothing and accessories:

“M. AND J. PATISONS,
MILLINERS and HABERDASHERS IN CRICHTON-STREET,
BEG leave to return their sincere thanks to their Friends, and the
Public in general, for the support they have already met with. –
They now beg leave to inform them, that one of their partners is just
now returned from London, from whence she has brought the newest
and most approved fashions...She also, while in London, established
a correspondence, by means of which they will be supplied, in the
course of a few days, with every new fashion as it appears...”⁵

Advertisements for music and musical instruments were similarly worded:

“NEW MUSIC,
AND MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS
Stewart and Co. Music Sellers and Musical Instrument Makers,
Parliament-square – and at their New Warehouse, No. 40, *South
Bridge-street* – take this method to acquaint their Friends and the
Public, that they have just received from LONDON a large and
elegant assortment of
NEW MUSIC & MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS...”⁶

Also:

“MUSIC SHOP.
...J. BRYSON also takes the liberty of acquainting the Public, That
he has just got to hand a large assortment of Music for the
Harpsichord, Violin, and German Flute, &c. and an assortment of
the best Roman Strings, from the warehouses of Mess. Preston and

⁴ This is an area that is stressed by Cranmer, John “Concert Life and the Music Trade in Edinburgh c. 1780-1830”, University of Edinburgh PhD thesis, 1991, 10.

⁵ *Edinburgh Evening Courant*, 8.6.1782 (hereafter *EEC*).

⁶ *EEC*, 8.12.1788.

Son, and other eminent music-sellers in London; from whom he will have a constant supply of the newest and best songs.”⁷

iii THE ALLURE OF ITALY

The allure of that which was foreign was also used in advertisements as a method of attracting potential customers:

“LADIES HAIR-DRESSING

BALLINGAL begs leave to acquaint the LADIES, that, from ten years practice under the first Masters in London and Paris, he flatters himself he has acquired a knowledge of Taste and Elegance in the above Art, that will give satisfaction to those Ladies who will do him the honour to employ him...”⁸

For many, Italy and Italian culture held a special fascination, and much has been written on the Italian part of the Grand Tour in the eighteenth century.⁹ Visitors to that country admired not only the art and architecture (particularly that of the Ancient Romans, the Renaissance and the Baroque), but also the music which they heard in concerts and in opera houses.¹⁰ The Scottish musicians and composers John Abell and Sir John Clerk of Penicuik both studied in Italy, the latter urged on by a friend in Rome writing that “The musique here is divine.”¹¹ The Scots poet Allan Ramsay commented:

“...We’d enter *Rome* with an uncommon Taste,
And feed our minds on every famous Waste;
Amphitheatres, Columns, Royal Tombs,
Triumphal Arches, Ruines of vast Domes,
Old aerial Aqueducts, and strong pav’d Roads,
Which seem to’ve been not wrought by man but Gods.
These view’d, we’d then survey with outmost Care
What modern *Rome* produces fine or rare,
Where Buildings rise with all the Strength of Art,

⁷ *Caledonian Mercury*, 17.10.1789 (hereafter *CM*).

⁸ *EEC*, 9.1.1782; 12.1.1782; 16.1.1782.

⁹ “Rome was the goal of many tourists...[it was] both reality and symbol of what was desirable about foreign travel.” Black, Jeremy *The British Abroad. The Grand Tour in the Eighteenth Century* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1992), 48. Wilton, Andrew and Bignamini, Ilaria *Grand Tour. The Lure of Italy in the Eighteenth Century* (London: Tate Gallery Publishing, 1996). Hibbert, Christopher *The Grand Tour* (London: Guild Publishing, 1987), 91-193. Jack, Ronald D. S. *The Italian Influence on Scottish Literature* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1972). On Scots in Italy in the eighteenth century, see Jack, Ronald D. S. Farrell, Joseph *From Tweed to Tiber: a celebration in story and verse of the historic and literary links between Scotland and Italy* (Edinburgh: the Authors, 1988).

¹⁰ “La musica era, tra le motivazioni, la più sovente adottata, se non per il viaggio vero e proprio, per molte delle tappe.” “Amongst the reasons given for many of the stages of the tour, if not for the journey as a whole, music was the most cited.” (Author’s translation.) Pellegrini, Giacomo Corna; Viola, Gianni Eugenio, Scaramellini, Guglielmo *Viaggiatori del Grand Tour in Italia* (Milan: Touring Club Italiano, 1987), 107.

¹¹ GD184536/2 John Paterson to John Clerk, Rome, 6.5.1697, *cit.* Purser, John *Scotland’s Music: a History of the Traditional and Classical Music of Scotland* (Edinburgh and London: Mainstream, 1992), 164.

Proclaiming their great Architect's Desert,
Which Citron shades surround and Jessamin,
And all the Soul of *Raphael* shines within:
Then we'd regale our Ears with sounding Notes,
Which warble tuneful thro' the beardless Throats,
Join'd with the vib'rating harmonious Strings,
And breathing Tubes, while the soft Eunoch sings."¹²

Advertisements from early eighteenth-century newspapers show that, in Edinburgh, French seems to have been the most widespread foreign language: language teaching was offered and advertisements also announced the publication of books in French.¹³ As the century progressed, lessons in Italian language gained popularity, with many immigrants offering their services as teachers.¹⁴ These teachers were not any of the Italian musicians that were in the service of the Musical Society, although in some cases, the relatives of these musicians taught Italian.¹⁵ Newspaper advertisements notified readers of the publication of books of Italian poetry and grammar:

"On Monday first will be published, Price 3s.

Inscribed (by permission) to Her Grace the Duchess of Gordon,
RUDIMENTS of the ITALIAN LANGUAGE,
In TEN LESSONS.

With a Select Collection, in Prose and Verse, from some of the best Italian Authors.

...The Italian, on account of its utility and beauty, becoming every day more fashionable, it is hoped this attempt to render the study of it still more extensive, will meet with a favourable reception; especially as this is the first of the kind that hath appeared in Scotland.

...N.B. As the Book is but just come from the Press, it could not be bound without hurting the impression. – It will be sold, when bound, at 3s. 6d."¹⁶

¹² Ramsay, *Poems*, I, 355-356, "An Epistle to a Friend at Florence, in his way to Rome".

¹³ Eg: *EEC*, 30.4-2.5.1719; 22.12-24.12.1719; 21.3.1748; 24.5.1748; 4.6.1750; 25.12.1773; 31.5.1777; 12.10.1782; 16.11.1782; 14.7.1783; 4.3.1786. *CM*, 2.5.1789; 19.5.1792; 23.10.1794.

¹⁴ Eg: "...[Peter Nicolosi] is to teach [Italian] after a new and easy method, and particularly the stile of letter on all different branches of commerce, and also the different coins in Italy...which will be of great use to merchants and others, commersants." *EEC*, 13.1.1762; 14.4.1762. Other advertisements for Italian lessons: *EEC* 22.7.1756; 20.11.1756; 17.11.1757; 19.1.1782; 7.10.1782; *CM*, 16.10.1788; 16.8.1790; *Edinburgh Advertiser*, 7.1.-11.1.1791 (hereafter *EA*). "LINGUA ITALIANA. SIGNOR LORO, a native of Italy, respectfully informs the Public, That his public class for teaching the principles of the Italian Language, opens on Monday the 7th of February next...His lessons will be explained in French if required...", *CM*, 29.1.1791, this would seem to show that French was indeed the most well-know foreign language in Edinburgh during this period. Other advertisements for Italian lessons: *EEC*, 17.11.1791; 9.4.1796.

¹⁵ "STEFANO PUPPO, Brother to Signor Puppo the musician, having opened a School for teaching the ITALIAN, SPANISH, and PORTUGUESE Languages...", *EEC*, 3.1.1776, also 23.7.1777; 5.11.1777.

¹⁶ *EEC*, 5.1.1771. In the previous decade Robert Urie in Glasgow had issued English translations of two works by Francesco Algarotti: *An Essay on Painting. Written in Italian by Count Algarotti* (Glasgow: Urie, 1764) and *An Essay on the Opera. Written in Italian By Count Algarotti* (Glasgow: Urie, 1768). An extract of this important work is

iv ATTITUDES TO THE THEATRE AND OPERA

A comparison of the music that was performed in Edinburgh by the Italian musicians in the years from c. 1720-1800 with the music that they performed in other musical centres such as Dublin and London, shows that there was one musical genre that does not seem to have been particularly in evidence in Scotland. This was opera, in the form of Italian opera and opera seria. Performances of ballad operas, such as *The Gentle Shepherd* and *The Beggar's Opera*, were advertised in Edinburgh throughout the eighteenth century. Performances of the Italian operas and *opere serie* that were popular in London and Dublin were not, however, advertised with any degree of regularity in Edinburgh. The exception to this was the short run of operas that were produced by the *Signori* Gurrini in the 1760s, and the operas that were staged at the Theatre Royal by Giusto Ferdinando Tenducci on his visits to Edinburgh in the late 1760s and the 1770s, and by Domenico Corri in 1779.

The question of the production of opera in Edinburgh raises a number of interesting and diverse issues, which assume a certain degree of importance in considering the Edinburgh careers of

reprinted in Strunk, Oliver *Source Readings in Music History. From Classical Antiquity to the Romantic Era* (London: Faber, 1952), 657-672. The library of the University of Glasgow also houses an Italian edition of the Algarotti *Saggio sopra l'Opera in Musica* (Livorno: M. Coltellini, 1763), presented by Algarotti to David Hume.

Books of Italian poetry and grammar were also published in Edinburgh: EEC, 21.1.1769; 26.10.1770; 4.12.1782. An "Italian Poetry Class", was advertised EEC, 15.11.1786.

"Tomorrow will be published,
BY BELL AND BRADFLUTE,
In one volume duodecimo, price 3s. 6d. in boards,
LETTERS
UPON
POETRY AND MUSIC
OF THE
ITALIAN OPERA;
Addressed to a Friend.
By the late JOHN BROWN, Painter..."

CM, 16.3.1789.

Italian musicians, who, almost without exception, were involved in the production of operas in cities such as Dublin and London. From contemporary newspapers, it is clear that these issues were related to the question of the morality of the stage and the production of stage-plays in Edinburgh in the eighteenth century. There is a considerable amount of information on this subject, both in the literature and newspapers of the period.¹⁷ Some historians have treated this question since the eighteenth century.¹⁸ The edition of Allan Ramsay's poetry published in Edinburgh in the late 1720s, included a number of prologues which included comments on the presentation of stage plays in Edinburgh:

"...After a Circuit round the Queen of Isles,
To gain your Friendship and approving Smiles,
Experience bids me hope; - tho' South the Tweed
The Dastards said, "He never will succeed:
What! such a Country look for any Good in!
That does not relish Plays, - nor Pork, - nor Pudding!"¹⁹

The prologues state clearly that the main opposition to the stage in early eighteenth-century Scotland came from the Kirk:

"...Braw Lads, and bonny Lasses, Welcome here, -
But wha's to entertain ye, - never speer²⁰...
Some Body says to some Fowk,²¹ we're to blame,
That 'tis a Scandal and black-burning Shame
To thole²² young Callands²³ thus to grow sae snack,²⁴

¹⁷ Particularly: Jackson, John *The History of the Scottish Stage, from its first establishment to the present time; with a distinct narrative of some recent theatrical transactions; the whole necessarily interspersed with memoirs of his own life*, by John Jackson (Edinburgh: Printed for Peter Hill, G. G. J. and J. Robinson, 1793); Arnot, Hugo *The History of Edinburgh* (Edinburgh: W. Creech, 1779), 364 ff. "Of the Stage"; "The Last Speech, Confession, and dying Words, of the PLAY-HOUSE of Canongate, who was quartered and drawn on Saturday, January 24. 1767. For the Crimes of robbing and debauching of Youth." ([Edinburgh:] s.n., [c. 1767]); "Considerations on the Proposed Application to His Majesty and to Parliament, for the Establishment of a Licensed Theatre in Edinburgh" ([Edinburgh:] s.n., 1767).

¹⁸ Dibdin, James C. *The Annals of the Edinburgh Stage: with an account of the rise and progress of dramatic writing in Scotland* (Edinburgh: R. Cameron, 1888); Graham, Henry Grey *The Social Life of Scotland in the Eighteenth Century* (London: Black, 1906), 92-96; Lawson, Robb *The Story of the Scots Stage* (Paisley: Alexander Gardner, 1917); Farmer, Henry George *A History of Music in Scotland* (London: Hinrichsen, 1947), 300 ff; Johnson, David *Music and Society in Lowland Scotland in the Eighteenth Century* (London: Oxford University press, 1972), 45-48; Houston, Robert Allan *Social Change in the Age of Enlightenment: Edinburgh, 1660-1760* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), 205 ff; Finlay, Bill ed. *A History of the Scottish Theatre* (Edinburgh: Polygon [c. 1998]).

¹⁹ Ramsay, *Poems*, II, 295 "A Prologue spoke by Mr. Anthony Aston, the first nigh [sic] he acted in Winter 1726". Quoted by Arnot, *History*, 366.

²⁰ Ramsay includes a short dictionary in this edition. Most of the following definitions are taken from this dictionary. Speer - to ask, inquire. Ramsay, *Poems*, I, 395.

²¹ People.

²² Thole - to endure, suffer. Ramsay, *Poems*, I, 396.

²³ Callan - boy. Ramsay, *Poems*, I, 385.

²⁴ Snack - nimble, ready, "cliver". Ramsay, *Poems*, I, 395.

And lear²⁵ – O mighty Crimes! – to speak and act. –
 Stage-Plays, quoth Dunce, are unco²⁶ Things indeed!
 He said, – he gloom'd, – and shook his thick boss²⁷ Head.
 They're *Papery*,²⁸ *Papery*! – cry'd his Nibour neist,²⁹
 Contriv'd at Rome by some malignant Priest,
 to witch away Fowks Minds frae doing well...”,³⁰

and:

“...Well may ye further in your leal³¹ Design,
 To thwart the Gowks,³² and gar³³ the Brethren tine³⁴
 The wrang Opinion which they lang have had,
 That a' which mounts the Stage – is surely bad.
 Stupidly dull! But Fools ay Fools will be,
 And nane's sae blind as them that winna see...”.³⁵

That the Kirk did indeed oppose the representation of plays, and objected to actors is evident from this particularly virulent attack dating from 1737:

“It is agreed upon by sober pagans themselves that playactors are the most profligate wretches and the vilest vermin that hell ever vomited out: that they are the filth and garbage of the earth, the scum and stain of human nature, the excrement and refuse of all mankind: the pests and plagues of human society; the debauchers of man's minds and morals, unclean beasts, idolatrous papists or atheists, and the most horrid and abandoned villains that ever the sun shone upon.”³⁶

As late as 1737, an act proclaimed:

“That every person who should, for hire or reward, act or cause to be acted, any play, or other entertainment of the stage, without the special license and authority mentioned in the said Act, should be deemd a rogue and vagabond, and for every such offence should forfeit the sum of £50 sterling.”³⁷

In his history of the Scottish stage, Lawson reports that the Kirk had condemned the stage as a seminary “of vice and folly”,³⁸ that it

²⁵ Lear – learning, to learn. Ramsay, *Poems*, I, 391.

²⁶ Unco, unko – uncouth, strange. Ramsay, *Poems*, I, 397.

²⁷ Boss – empty. Ramsay, *Poems*, I, 384.

²⁸ Popery.

²⁹ Neist – next. Ramsay, *Poems*, I, 392

³⁰ “Prologue. Spoke by one of the young Gentlemen, who for their Improvement and Diversion, acted The Orphan, and Cheats of Scapin, the last Night of the Year 1719.” Ramsay, *Poems*, I, 289.

³¹ Leal – True, upright, honest, faithful to trust, loyal. *A leal Heart never lied*. Ramsay, *Poems*, I, 391.

³² “Gowk, The Cuckrow. In Derision we call a thoughtless Fellow, and one who harps too long on one subject, a Gowk.” Ramsay, *Poems*, I, 389.

³³ Gar – to cause, make or force. Ramsay, *Poems*, I, 388.

³⁴ Tine – to lose. Ramsay, *Poems*, I, 396.

³⁵ “To Mr. Joseph Mitchel on the successful Representation of a Tragedy wrote by him.” Ramsay, *Poems*, I, 370.

³⁶ Lawson, *Scots Stage*, 123.

³⁷ Lawson, *Scots Stage*, 120; also quoted in the *Scots Magazine* in the edition of January 1757. This seems an extraordinarily high sum, bearing in mind that £50 in 1737 was the yearly salary that the Musical Society in Edinburgh paid Francesco Barsanti.

³⁸ *Scots Magazine*, XIX, 18, cit. Arnot, *History*, 378.

harboured: "idleness, looseness, and sin",³⁹ and was "a dreadful corruption of our youth, and an eyelet to prodigality and vanity".⁴⁰ The attitude of the Kirk to the stage filtered through to society.⁴¹ In the *Rules of good deportment*, published in Edinburgh in 1720, the author advised against a number of entertainments, in a chapter devoted to "Plays and Recreations", in no uncertain terms:

"...It is indiscreet and sinfull to use such Plays and Recreations as the Community or Body of which we are Members look upon as sinfull, and so consequently as offensive. But promiscuous Dancing, obscene Songs, Stage-Plays, Tragedies, Cards, Dice, Reading of Profane Books, are offensive to the Body of which we are Members, or at least to many worthy Saints: Therefore they should be abstained from."⁴²

Similarly:

"...Tragedies and Stage-Plays are unlawfull. We are commanded to shun all Appearances of Evil: But such Recreations have evil Appearances. Their subject Matter consists of sundry forged Fables and bitter Scoffings; and we are commanded to put away all Bitterness, Anger, Wrath, Clamour, evil Speaking.

They are condemned by the Church through all Ages, and orthodox Divines, as Incendiaries of Wickedness. We have many councils against Stage-Plays and Play-haunters."⁴³

According to Petrie, it was particularly important to guard women against the influence of anything that was immoral:

"...Particular Care should be taken about the Education of Females, for they sow the first Seeds in the Soul; for if they are Persons of Fashion and Good Breeding, they will naturally incline to instruct and teach their offspring."⁴⁴

Alexander Monro, the noted Edinburgh physician,⁴⁵ also warned against the dangerous, and potentially subversive, effects on women of the reading of plays. In his *Essay on female conduct*, dating from the 1730s, Monro remarked that:

³⁹ Lawson, *Scots Stage*, 105. Lawson asserts that this criticism dates from the second decade of the eighteenth century.

⁴⁰ Lawson, *Scots Stage*, 109. Lawson asserts that this criticism dates from 1731.

⁴¹ Linda Colley has stressed the importance of religious belief in shaping the perception of aspects of material life in the eighteenth century. Colley, Linda *Britons Forging the Nation 1707-1837* (St. Ives: Pimlico, 1992), 18.

⁴² Petrie, Adam *Rules of good deportment, or of good breeding. For the use of youth* (Edinburgh: [s.n.], 1720), 103.

⁴³ Petrie, *Rules*, 104-105.

⁴⁴ Petrie, *Rules*, 3.

⁴⁵ 1697-1767. After spending a brief period in Paris and studying in Leyden, Monro returned to Edinburgh, where he was appointed professor of anatomy and surgery to the Surgeon's Company. Monro was the author of a number of medical works published in Edinburgh and London. His portrait was painted by Allan Ramsay. Stephen, Leslie ed *The Dictionary of National Biography* (London: Smith, Elder, & Co., 1885-1900), XXXVIII, 179-180 (hereafter *DNB*).

"An artful Varnish is thrown over Vice, and the vicious are represented with so many Qualities which are agreable [*sic*] that one is in hazard of liking the Complex Character and losing that Aversion, which is one of the strongest Guards against Vice. The danger of promiscuous Reading of Plays is so great that no young Woman ought to allow herself in it, she ought to read none except such as are recommended to her by one whose judgement and sincere friendship she can rely on. Many Novels are wrote in the same bad taste as the faulty Plays and tend greatly to turn the Head and corrupt the Heart."⁴⁶

The influence of the Kirk was still strong in the second half of the eighteenth century. Edward Topham, who visited Edinburgh in the mid 1770s, noted that:

"...though the Scotch have no absolution, they have something very like it – a superstitious reliance on the efficacy of going constantly to church. Many of them may be said to pass half their lives there; for they go almost without ceasing, and look as sorrowful at the time as if they were going, not only to bury their sins, but themselves."⁴⁷

Advertisements that appeared in newspapers reveal that the debate on the stage was still alive later in the century:

"JUST PUBLISHED, Price 3d.
Sold by T. LUMISDEN and Company, at their Printing-house in the
Fish-Market, Edinburgh,
A DISCOURSE on the DANGER and SINFULNESS of the STAGE.
By an EMINENT AUTHOR..."⁴⁸

and:

"This day is published, and sold by J. REID, at his Printing-house in Bailie Fyfe's closs, and by W. Gray, front of the Exchange, Price 4d.

The THEATRE Licentious and perverted;
OR, A
SERMON for the Reformation of Manners.
Preached on the Lord's Day, Dec. 2. 1770.
...By JAMES BAINE, A. M. Minister of the Gospel at Edinburgh..."⁴⁹

Writing in his *History* of the Scottish stage, Jackson related the violent enthusiasm of the mid century,⁵⁰ and the *Edinburgh Evening Courant* reported that as late as the 1760s extremists had been known to burn down theatres in the name of religion:

⁴⁶ Monro, Alexander "The Professor's Daughter. An Essay on female conduct contained in Letters from a Father to his Daughter" *Proceedings of the Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh*, January 1996, XXVI, 16-17.

⁴⁷ Topham, Edward *Letters from Edinburgh; Written in the Years 1774 and 1775: Containing Some Observations on the Diversions, Customs, Manners, and Laws, of the Scotch Nation, during six months residence in Edinburgh* (London: Printed for J. Dodsley, 1776), 65.

⁴⁸ *EEC*, 25.6.1751.

⁴⁹ *EEC*, 19.12.1770. Other advertisements for such books, *EEC*, 2.4.1757.

⁵⁰ Jackson, *History*, 418.

"From Glasgow we are informed, that on Tuesday night last, a tumultuous mob convened, broke into, and set fire to the New Concert Hall in the neighbourhood of that town, whereby goods and effects to a considerable value were spoiled, burned, carried off, or otherwise destroyed. The magistrates there, in order to suppress such seditious and dangerous attempts, have offered a reward of one hundred pounds sterl. to any person or persons who shall discover any of the actors or accomplices in this most audacious crime...".⁵¹

As a number of historians have already noted, despite the opposition of the Kirk, plays continued to be performed in Edinburgh as they were advertised as being performed "gratis" between the acts of a concert of music.⁵² In this way, they avoided the penalty that they would otherwise have faced. It is not known whether these productions were staged, with costumes and scenery, as many of the advertisements make no mention of this aspect.

Contemporary newspaper advertisements show that performances of the ballad opera, *The Beggar's Opera*, were also announced in this way:

"By Desire of a Lady of Quality,
For the Benefit of Mr. Hind, at the Taylor's Hall in the Cowgate, to
Morrow will be performed a Concert of Musick in two Parts, between
which will be rehearsed (*Gratis*,)
THE BEGGARS OPERA
...To which will be added (*Gratis*) a new Farce, called,
MISS IN HER TEENS...".⁵³

Similarly:

"At the CONCERT-HALL in the Canongate,
TOMORROW being Friday the 14th instant, will be performed, a
Concert of Music; between the parts of which will be given gratis,
THE BEGGAR'S OPERA.
...The whole music will be conducted by Sig. PASQUALI, who will
also play a grand CONCERTO for the Violin Solo between the 2d and
3d Acts.".⁵⁴

This suggests that this work (perhaps along with other works of a similar nature), was considered as a work for the theatre, rather than being treated separately as opera. The manner in which this

⁵¹ EEC, 28.4.1764. Another such event recorded 25.5.1764, in *Gentleman's Magazine*, XXXIV, 245.

⁵² This was noted in the late eighteenth century by Arnot, *History*, 370. More recently, e.g: "We hear that on Monday the 21st [February 1743], at the Taylors Hall, Cowgate, at the Desire of several Ladies of Distinction, will be performed a concert of Vocal and Instrumental MUSICK. After which will be given gratis, Richard the Third, containing several historical Passages. To which will be added gratis, The Mock Lawyer. Tickets for the concert...to be had at the Exchange and John's Coffee Houses." CM, 17.2.1743, cit. Johnson, *Music and Society*, 45. Similarly, CM, 13.12.1750, cit. Graham, *Social Life*, 95.

⁵³ EEC, 26.3.1747.

⁵⁴ EEC, 23.11.1752. Other advertisements for "gratis" performances of *The Beggar's Opera* advertised, e.g: EEC, 26.7.1750; 20.9.1750; 3.8.1757.

work was sandwiched in between the acts of another, larger scale work, is reminiscent of the manner in which comic opera was first performed, although the circumstances in which it was performed in Scotland were clearly different than they were elsewhere.

To some eighteenth-century observers, the attitude of previous generations was negative and extreme. In his *History*, published in Edinburgh in 1779, Hugo Arnot speaks of the "sullen" and "gloomy fanaticism"⁵⁵ which pervaded society and which managed to dissipate "so effectually all ideas of polite or rational entertainment".⁵⁶ Similarly, William Tytler remarked that: "The spirit of the times was still too much tinctured with fanaticism to expect that the execrated profane entertainment of the stage would then succeed. A play-house was always held in abhorrence and anathematized."⁵⁷ Jackson wrote of the "rooted prejudices"⁵⁸ that surrounded the stage and the production of plays.

By the last quarter of the eighteenth century much had changed in Edinburgh, at least in part, as a result of the legalization of the theatre and the building of a Theatre Royal in that city in 1768. The writer and publisher William Creech believed that: "So remarkable a change is not perhaps to be equalled, in so short a period, in any city in Europe; nor in the same city for two centuries..."⁵⁹ He also remarked that: "The morality of stage-plays, or their effects on society, are never thought of..."⁶⁰ In his history of the Scots stage, Lawson even goes so far as to ascribe changes in social customs to the influence of the theatre – he writes that the time at which the *beau monde* dined was moved to an hour which would accommodate the beginning of theatrical performances.⁶¹ Many saw this change as a symptom of the increasing secularization of society. The anonymous author of a letter dated 1779 wrote of the numerous "...modes of vice we have learned from the people on the Continent...", observing that:

⁵⁵ Arnot, *History*, 364.

⁵⁶ Arnot, *History*, 366.

⁵⁷ Tytler, William "Edinburgh Fashionable Amusements in the last Century" *Transactions of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* (1792), 500.

⁵⁸ Jackson, *History*, 311.

⁵⁹ Creech, William *Edinburgh Fugitive Pieces: with Letters, containing a Comparative View of the Modes of Living, Arts, Commerce, Literature, Manners, &c. of Edinburgh, at different periods. By the Late William Creech, to which is prefixed an Account of his Life* (Edinburgh: Ramsay and Company, 1815), 62.

⁶⁰ Creech, *Fugitive Pieces*, 113.

⁶¹ Lawson, *Scots Stage*, 134.

"I have heard...that there was a great change with respect to the rigorous observation of the Sabbath...A man may now shave himself on Sunday morning, and powder his hair and walk after church time, and even visit his neighbours without giving offence, which was very far from being the case in my youth. But I little dreamed that it would have been possible for Presbyterians to have so far lowered the ideal of the morality of the Sabbath as to have played at cards on any part of that day."⁶²

Creech also observed a change in the twenty years from the 1760s to the 1780s. He observed that in 1763: "It was fashionable to go to church, and people were interested about religion. Sunday was strictly observed by all ranks as a day of devotion; and it was disgraceful to be seen on the streets during the time of public worship".⁶³ Only twenty years later, however: "Attendance at church was greatly neglected...Sunday was by many made a day of relaxation...The streets were far from being void of people in the time of public worship; and, in the evenings, were frequently loose and riotous".⁶⁴ Some observers were even more direct in their condemnation of the change that they perceived. The author of a brief comment on the *Fugitive Pieces*, signing himself 'Horatius', declared fearfully that:

"...[we] follow, with swift pace, our neighbours beyond the Tweed, and on the Continent...I will not say that in this country we are not yet arrived at the same pitch of vice; but, as we are daily taking large strides in following the fashions and manners of our neighbours, how soon we may reach the same degree in the scale, is a thought that every person of virtue must shudder to think of!"⁶⁵

These changes were, at least in part, an inevitable result of the improvement in communications that had taken place during the century between the major cities of Britain. For example, sources such as newspaper advertisements and the work of contemporary writers, particularly William Creech, show that the journey time between Edinburgh and London was cut from sixteen or eighteen days in 1763, to a mere sixty hours in 1786.⁶⁶

⁶² *Cit. Graham, Social Life*, 122.

⁶³ Creech, *Fugitive Pieces*, 100.

⁶⁴ Creech, *Fugitive Pieces*, 100.

⁶⁵ Creech, *Fugitive Pieces*, 132-133.

⁶⁶ Creech, *Fugitive Pieces*, 68. Creech also noted: "A person may now set out on Sunday afternoon, after divine service, from Edinburgh to London; may stay a whole day in London, and be in Edinburgh again on Saturday at six in the morning!...Forty years ago, it was common for people to make their will before setting out on a London journey." Creech, *Fugitive Pieces*, 68-69, n.

v ITALIAN MUSICIANS IN EDINBURGH c. 1720-1800:
TEACHERS, COMPOSERS, ARRANGERS,
ENTREPRENEURS AND "PROFESSIONAL PATRONS"

As well as performing, many of the Italian musicians in Edinburgh between c. 1720-1800 also taught music. Indeed, the *Minutes* of the Musical Society record that they used the prospect of earning a healthy income from teaching in attracting a performer to Edinburgh. Information on the activities of the Italians as teachers comes from a variety of sources: from the *Minutes* of the Musical Society, in the form of comments and observations by contemporaries and also from the vocal and instrumental treatises that they published. While some of these treatises were published in London and not in Edinburgh, they are useful in gaining an understanding of teaching methods and in helping to place the contribution of the Italian musicians in Scotland within a wider, European, context.

Many of the Italian musicians who travelled to Edinburgh between c. 1720-1800 were also active as composers and arrangers of music. Some of their works have been lost, some have survived only in manuscript form, but a great many were also published in Edinburgh, London and other European centres. This music covers a wide range of genres, including many vocal and instrumental arrangements of Scots folk songs, solo and ensemble sonatas and a number of larger works for the stage. While these works were often issued by established Scottish publishing houses (by Robert Bremner and also Alexander Baillie, for example), some of the Edinburgh-based Italian musicians founded publishing companies and also became involved in the sale of music and musical instruments.

The *Minutes* of the Edinburgh Musical Society and newspaper advertisements show that the Italians who performed in Edinburgh were also themselves musical patrons and entrepreneurs. Simon McVeigh has stressed the importance of these professional contacts,⁶⁷ and after the dissolution of the Musical Society at the end of the eighteenth century and the establishment of the Professional

⁶⁷ McVeigh, Simon *Concert Life in London from Mozart to Haydn* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 185.

Concert, these contacts became even more important in continuing and advancing the careers of musicians.⁶⁸

vi MODERN SCHOLARSHIP ON ITALIAN MUSICIANS IN EDINBURGH c. 1720-1800

A number of scholars have commented on the lives and work of the Italian musicians in Edinburgh between c. 1720-1800. These comments have been penned by those writing on Scottish musical history during this period and some also by those who have written more generally on Scottish culture in the eighteenth century. A study of this literature reveals a wide range of opinion on the importance of the contribution to Scottish musical life and culture of these musicians. Some scholars have considered this area in more detail than others. Writing about music in Edinburgh in the sixty years between c. 1780-1830, Cranmer has devoted considerable space to the activities of the Italian musicians in Edinburgh. Along with Cranmer, Kirsteen McCue is probably amongst the most sympathetic towards the Italian musicians, noting of the Italian singers and instrumentalists that:

“...These performers travelled around the country, taking part in provincial musical society concerts and bringing with them new European compositions and instrumental techniques. Their influence was of paramount importance on the development of Scottish awareness of European music and styles of performance.

It was without a doubt the Italian performers who were most popular and memorable...The Italian singers made an even greater impact [than the instrumentalists], for they were also shrewd businessmen who, in addition to performing and teaching, frequently opened up music selling and printing shops in the city.”⁶⁹

David Johnson has also highlighted the importance of those foreign musicians in Edinburgh:

“When we turn from the study of music as a culture to the study of musicians as individuals, we are struck by a paradox: the best native Scottish musicians left Scotland as soon as they could and did not return, while the best musicians working in Scotland were immigrants who had come from elsewhere.”⁷⁰

⁶⁸ John Cranmer has covered the period from the dissolution of the Musical Society and the various attempts to establish a regular concert series in Edinburgh in his thesis.

⁶⁹ McCue, Kirsteen “George Thomson (1757-1851): His Collections of National Airs in their Scottish Cultural Context” University of Oxford, Balliol College, DPhil thesis 1993, 17-18.

⁷⁰ Johnson, *Music and Society*, 51.

Henry George Farmer has also listed some of the most important of the Italian singers who performed in the Scottish capital during the eighteenth century, although he underestimated their number somewhat.⁷¹

Some scholars have treated the Italian musicians less sympathetically, mentioning them only *en passant*. Cedric Thorpe Davie has stated:

“Subscription concerts were first given in Edinburgh about the beginning of the [eighteenth] century and later in other Scottish cities. They were dominated by Italian musicians, and the music was of the kind which they customarily performed in London and elsewhere – the standard instrumental and vocal repertoire of their day. Moving from baroque to classical as the century progressed, they seldom showed any tendency to promote Scottish music, despite the occasional sonata or concerto...”⁷²

Writing in *Scotland's Music*, John Purser seems to overlook the contribution which the Italian musicians made to Scottish culture in the eighteenth century almost altogether, summing up the varied and wide-ranging careers of the many foreign musicians in only a few sentences. Citing the names of Barsanti, Pasquali, Domenico and Natale Corri and Stabilini, he does not consider the input of musicians such as Lorenzo Bocchi, the *Signori* Gurrini, Giusto Ferdinando Tenducci, Pietro Urbani, Giovanni Maria Giornovich or any of the many other Italian singers, instrumentalists, teachers, composers, publishers and entrepreneurs in Edinburgh in the eighteenth century:

“Among a few [*sic!*] immigrant continental musicians, Domenico Corri, whose technique did not stretch to any great complications of style, was ready enough to publish Scottish airs.”⁷³

Purser does, however, acknowledge the vein of nationalistic feeling that expressed itself in music:

“There was, however, a definite prejudice against the dominance of the Italian style in music, perhaps initiated by the presence of the composer and flautist Barsanti, in Edinburgh from 1735 to 1743; the composer and violinist Pasquali, who died in Edinburgh in 1757 after five years' residence; and later in the century, Domenico Corri and his brother [Natale], and Girolamo Stabilini.”⁷⁴

⁷¹ “Among the vocal stars were...Tenducci...Pietri [*sic*] Urbani, Domenico Corri...and his wife Miss Bacchelli, and a dozen more Italians of lesser account.” Farmer, *History*, 311.

⁷² Davie, Cedric Thorpe *Scotland's Music* (Edinburgh: Blackwood, 1980), 43.

⁷³ Purser, *Scotland's Music*, 200.

⁷⁴ Purser, *Scotland's Music*, 174.

This thesis seeks to rediscover the varied contributions of the many Italian musicians who travelled to Edinburgh between c. 1720-1800. Each of these musicians will be considered in turn, drawing attention not only to common threads in their lives, but also to recurring ideas of those who have written about the history of music in Scotland in the eighteenth century. Some of these musicians have been completely forgotten, and this work will draw attention to their involvement in the musical life of Edinburgh. The most well-known musicians will also be considered, analysing their achievements and the way that they have been viewed by those who have written on them.

CHAPTER 1

FRANCESCO BARSANTI

The career of Francesco Barsanti is in many ways similar to that of a great number of the other Italian musicians who visited Scotland during the course of the eighteenth century. Furthermore, although there has been some interest in, and analysis of, some of his works, there has been little assessment of his impact on the musical life of Scotland. For David Johnson, Barsanti “...was undoubtedly the finest instrumental composer ever to have resided in Scotland”,¹ while Enrico Careri has ranked Barsanti alongside Castrucci, Carbonelli, Ariosti and, of course, Geminiani as playing a central role in the development of late Baroque music in Britain.

The reasons as to why Barsanti should have gone to Scotland are unclear. In his *General History* (from where most of the biographical information about Barsanti comes), John Hawkins merely states that “...at length, reflecting that there was a respect of advantage for one of his profession in Scotland, he went thither...”.² A brief survey of Barsanti’s career in the period before he went to Scotland would suggest that the Musical Society in Edinburgh might have been sufficiently impressed with his London achievements to offer him a position and salary which he found appealing.

Born in 1690 in Lucca, Barsanti studied law at the renowned University in Padua, before choosing to pursue music, placing himself “...under the tuition of some of the ablest masters in Italy...” from which he obtained “...a considerable degree of proficiency in the science of practical composition...”.³ According to Hawkins, Barsanti moved to London in 1714 with Francesco Geminiani, where he established himself playing the oboe in the orchestra of the Italian Opera and teaching the flute, from which he “...derived considerable advantages...”.⁴ Barsanti was evidently both a highly-regarded and fashionable teacher of music.

¹ Sadie, Stanley ed *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (London: Macmillan, 1980), II, 189 (hereafter *Grove6*).

² Hawkins, John *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music* (London: T. Payne & Son, 1776) V, 371 (hereafter *HawkinsH*).

³ *HawkinsH*, V, 371.

⁴ *HawkinsH*, V, 371.

Among the first works that Barsanti published after his arrival in London were the *Sonate a flauto, o violino solo con basso, per violone, o cembalo* in 1724,⁵ dedicated to “Riccardo Conte di Burlington”.⁶ They clearly met with some measure of success, as the *Sonate* were reissued by Walsh three years later, in 1727, as *Sonatas or solos for a flute with a thorough bass for the harpsicord or bass violin*. Barsanti followed these with *VI Sonate per la trasversiera...opera seconda* published by Benjamin Cooke in 1728, and *Solos for a German flute...opera terza*, another publication by Walsh, of 1732.⁷

All six sonatas in the Op. 1 set are in the four-movement structure (slow-fast-slow-fast), of the *sonata da chiesa*. There is evidence of the more traditional elements of this style and form, such as the imitative writing between the solo and the continuo, for example: I, ii; III, ii; and IV, ii (see pages 330-7), which all begin with imitative figures between the upper and lower parts and feature imitative motifs which permeate the whole of the movement, such as the three repeated crotchets of I, ii (see pages 330-1). In common with the development of this form by other Italian composers of the late Baroque period (Corelli for example), these sonatas are part of the continuing process of fusion of the forms and stylistic writing of the *chiesa* with that of the *camera*. Almost all of Barsanti’s Op. 1 sonatas include features of the latter, including dance movements: numbers I and II conclude with compound time giges; numbers III and V with minuets; and number IV with a gavotta; there are also two sicilianas in sonatas IV and V.

Despite the similarities (which are perhaps inevitable) between the sonata genre by Corelli and that by Barsanti, Enrico Careri has suggested that the evidence of these first sonatas by Barsanti show that he – along with a number of the Italian musicians and composers working in Britain in this period – were more than merely “ambassadors for Corelli”. Careri has described characteristics (such as the dotted rhythms of V i, and the two dance

⁵ No opus number appears on the title page of the *Sonatas*. It is not, however, unreasonable to consider them as his *opera prima* seeing as they were followed by *opera seconda* and *terza*.

⁶ Richard Boyle, Earl of Burlington and Cork, Viscount Dungarvan, Baron Clifford & Clifford of Lanesborough, 1695-1753. Doyle, James *The Official Baronage of England* (London: Longmans, 1886), I, 279.

⁷ It seems that a copy of these sonatas were owned by the Edinburgh Musical Society, as the catalogue of music which was owned by the Society lists “SONATAS OP 3” under Barsanti. EMS, *Index of the Whole Musick Belonging to the Edinburgh Musical Society*, 2.

movements with variations over a ground bass – III, iv, marked gavotta; V, iv, a minuet), as being compositional features and devices found in the works of a number of Baroque composers, rather than just the “specific thumbprint of Corelli”,⁸ to borrow Careri’s own phrase. Peter Holman, in his introduction to the modern facsimile edition of these sonatas, has suggested that Barsanti may have influenced Handel in the composition of his Op. 1 sonatas.⁹

Careri has also highlighted important differences between Barsanti and Corelli in the former’s approach to the choice of keys for the slow (third) movements within the sonatas, and also in the treatment of the thematic material in the movements. Citing two movements from the Op. 1 sonatas (I, iii; III, iii), Careri shows that Barsanti alters the material from the opening at its return at the end of the movement, by contracting it, therefore managing to create a sense of return whilst avoiding a literal repetition.

Writing in the third quarter of the eighteenth century, Hawkins believed Barsanti to have been “an excellent musician”,¹⁰ and indeed, the Op. 1 sonatas reveal Barsanti to have been precisely so. Johnson believes the Op. 1 set to be “among the finest in that instrument’s repertory”,¹¹ while Maurizio Castellani considers them works destined not for the amateur, but sonatas which were clearly aimed at the professional performer.¹² Indeed, the sonatas place a number of very different technical demands on the player: the faster movements include repeated notes and awkward leaps in

⁸ Careri, Enrico “The First Publications in England of Geminiani, Castrucci and Barsanti” Paper delivered at Conference on Music in Eighteenth-Century Britain (Cardiff) July 9-12 1996, 10.

⁹ “Handel’s Op 1 has traditionally been dated c 1722, but recent research has shown that it was published around 1730 and that most of the sonatas were composed 1724 and 1728. So Barsanti could well have influenced Handel rather than the other way round, and his elegant recorder sonatas can certainly stand comparison with most of those by his great German contemporary.” Barsanti, Francesco *Sonate a flauto, o violino solo & contrabasso, per violone, o cembalo* (London: Walsh, 1724, repr Peer: Alamire, 1993), Introduction.

¹⁰ *HawkinsH*, IV, 7.

¹¹ *Grove6*, II, 189.

¹² “Sarebbe...estremamente riduttivo considerarle come composizioni meramente occasionali, nate per compiacere la moda del flauto dritto imperante in quegli anni presso i dilettanti di musica londinesi. Le loro caratteristiche tecniche e formali...presuppongono invece la destinazione anche e soprattutto a esecutori professionisti, che conoscano a fondo non solo la tecnica strumentale del flauto dritto, ma anche i principi dell’armonia e del contrappunto.” “It would be extremely derogatory to regard these as mere background music, born of the fashion for the German flute which held sway over London amateurs in those years. Their technical and formal characteristics...reveal, rather, that these were intended for professional flautists, who had a thorough grounding, not only in that instrument’s technical requirements, but also in the principles of harmony and counterpoint.” (Author’s translation.) Castellani, Maurizio *cit.* Careri, *First Publications*, n. 17.

running semiquaver passages (V ii, see pages 338-9; II ii, pages 340-1), separate/slurred sequences of semiquavers (II ii) and semiquaver arpeggios which cover the range of the instrument (III iv, pages 342-3). The slow movements call for an even and controlled tone, as well as taste and imagination and a knowledge of the rules of harmony in providing the unwritten embellishments.

While most of the opening adagios are (in common with performance practices of the period) only lightly ornamented with appoggiaturas, mordents, and trills, that of the second sonata is fully written out (see page 344). The melodic outline is decorated with semiquaver triplets, demi-semi- and hemi-demi-semi- quaver runs and creeping descending chromatic figurations. The articulation is carefully indicated, with staccato markings and slurs going against the usual division of the meter. Barsanti, however, was not the first composer/musician to publish ornamented versions of movements, as is evident from: the *Adagio* from the sonata Op. 5, no. 3, as published in *Sonata's or Solo's for a Violin a Bass Violin or Harpsichord Compos'd by Arcangelo Corelli His fifth Opera* (London: J. Walsh, 1711), although it is not certain if these are Corelli's own ornaments as Walsh claimed; the adagio from *Sonate a Violino e violone o cembalo...* (Amsterdam: J. Roger, [c. 1718]) Op. 1, no. 6 by Pietro Castrucci; and the *Largo e nobile* from the third of the *Sonate Accademiche* Op. 2 by Francesco Maria Veracini.

The first mention of Barsanti in the *Minutes* of the Edinburgh Musical Society is in a note dated June the 5th 1735. It states that the Society agreed:

“...That Mr Barsanti be employed to teach Miss Udall her singing for one year, and that he be allowed for that service, and for serving in the concert as the other Masters do, Fifty pounds sterline [sic], and that he shall have liberty to go abroad when he pleases in the next Harvest vacance for some six weeks without any deduction of his Salary during the time of his absence.”¹³

This arrangement between Barsanti and the Society was clearly agreeable to both parties, as just over a year later:

¹³ EMS, *Minutes*, 5.6.1735. The problem of singers and musicians employed by the Society absenting themselves from Edinburgh without permission, and in so doing not fulfilling the terms of their contract, was one which the Society faced throughout the course of its existence. *Vide* minute of 27.7.1734: “Resolved that Mr Benedetto have leave to go for six weeks to any part of the Country he pleases [commencing?] from the first of August next; But that hereafter neither he nor any of the other Masters be allowed to be absent without leave from the Directors in a meeting of the Directors, and even when such leave is given that there shall be a stop of their salaries in proportion to the time of their absence.”

“At a meeting of the Governour and Directors It was agreed that the Bargain between the Society & Mr Barsanti shall not only be understood to continue for the present year commencing from the [blank space] Day of [blank space] But that it shall without being specially renewed each year be understood to subsist, unless the Society shall intimate to him, or he to the Society Three months before the end of any year, that the Society or He incline to be free of the said bargain respectively. And they Having considered the Accounts of the Society, Do observe that they are not at present in condition to give a gratification to Mr Barsanti beyond his fixed Salary; but are of opinion that as soon as their affairs will permit them, such gratification should be given him. And they hereby allow Mr Barsanti leave to go for Two months to the North, To will, between the end of July and the beginning of October next.”¹⁴

The two months’ leave which the Society granted Barsanti to go north may well have been opportunities to earn some money by teaching in the country homes of wealthy families. While there is some information relating to the pedagogic activities of some of the other Italian musicians who lived and worked in Edinburgh (most notably Nicolò Pasquali and Giusto Ferdinando Tenducci), unfortunately no information has come to light, so far, on either Barsanti’s teaching method or abilities as a teacher. In his *History of Music in Scotland*, Farmer states that Barsanti (along with his fellow countrymen) was able to earn a “comfortable” living as a teacher, although he does not provide any evidence to support this statement.¹⁵ Barsanti most probably taught keyboard, thorough bass and perhaps also elementary composition, as well as singing and – for the gentlemen – his own instruments, the recorder and the oboe.

The *Minutes* of the Society show that they paid Barsanti not only for teaching and performing, but also for the upkeep of the musical instruments – mending the timpani,¹⁶ supplying the strings for the violins and the double bass,¹⁷ and for “writing musick”.¹⁸ It is possible that this simply meant copying out music, particularly parts. If the Society paid him for composing music for them it is interesting to speculate on what pieces Barsanti may have written for the Society.

¹⁴ EMS, *Minutes*, 24.6.1736.

¹⁵ “...it was not until the vogue of Italian opera [in London] at the opening of the 18th century, that it became the fashion to look upon the Italian musician himself as superior to all others. In Edinburgh especially, which seems to have followed English modes, he reigned supreme. Here we find Barsanti, Passerini, Bocchi, Puppo, Pasquali, Corri, Stabilini, Urbani, and others, who all made comfortable livings as teachers.” Farmer, *History*, 321.

¹⁶ EMS, *Minutes*, 6.1740-6.1741.

¹⁷ EMS, *Minutes*, 6.1735-6.1737; 28.2.1740; 19.11.1741.

¹⁸ EMS, *Minutes*, 6.1735-6.1737; 16.7.1742.

Johnson asserts that Barsanti's finest compositions date from the period which he spent in Edinburgh, and cites the *Concerti Grossi...opera terza* and the *Nove Overture a quattro...opera quarta*, both published in Edinburgh in 1742. From the *Index* of the music belonging to the Society, it is evident that they owned two copies of the *Concerti Grossi*.¹⁹ This is corroborated by the list of subscribers which appeared with the published edition of the *Concerti*, which shows that the Musical Society in Edinburgh did indeed subscribe to two sets of the *Concerti*. A number of other musical societies also subscribed: the "Charitable Society of Musick" and the "Philarmonick Society", both based in Dublin; the "Philarmonick Society of Musick of Wednesday at the Crown and Anchor" in London ordered three sets; also listed are the musical societies of Ripon and of Newcastle-upon-Tyne. In writing on the scattered geographical locations of the subscribers to these *Concerti*, Kirakowska has linked this with the dissemination of music around the British Isles.²⁰ Kirakowska, however, seems to overlook the impressive array of nobility and gentry who made up the majority of the subscribers on the list.²¹ They included: the Earl of Cassilis, Lord Elcho, the Duke and Duchess of Hamilton, the Earl of Hopetoun, the Duke of Montrose, the Duke and Duchess of Queensberry, the Marquis of Tweeddale and the Count of Wemyss (the dedicatee of the *Concerti*). The composer and theorist Johann Christoph Pepusch subscribed, as did the violinist and composer Francesco Maria Veracini, as well as the Scottish composer David Foulis.²² This rather outstanding list leads one to conclude that Barsanti's op. 3 *Concerti Grossi* was considered to be an important work by one of the leading musicians resident in Scotland in this period.

Most of the discussion on Barsanti's work has centred on the *Concerti Grossi*²³ and by far the greatest part of the modern-day

¹⁹ EMS, *Index*, 1.

²⁰ "This shows without a doubt that the passage of newly published music up and down the British Isles was by no means as slow as one might have expected, given the generally poor state of communications in the [early part of the] eighteenth century." Kirakowska, Susan "The Italian Concerto in Britain, 1700-1760" 2 vols University of Edinburgh MPhil thesis, 1978, 109.

²¹ "Most of the individuals included were Scots, men of high rank or members of the professional classes." Kirakowska, *The Italian Concerto*, 109.

²² Grove6, IV, 733. Colinton (near Edinburgh) 1710-Edinburgh 1773. In 1737 Foulis was elected a member of the Musical Society in Edinburgh, Johnson notes that he was a director of the Edinburgh Musical Society, 1739-1740.

²³ Bonaccorsi, Alfredo "I Concerti Grossi di Francesco Barsanti" *Bollettino Storico Lucchese* xi (2) 1930: 101-103; Kirakowska, *The Italian Concerto*; Barsanti, Francesco; Praetorius,

critical analysis of the *Concerti* has focused on exploring the relationship between the established Corellian aspects of that form and the more innovative aspects of Barsanti's handling of this genre. The instrumentation of the *Concerti Grossi* is somewhat unusual and decidedly un-Corellian. The first six in the set are for two horns and timpani along with the usual parts for strings, while the second six *concerti* have parts for two oboes, trumpet and timpani, as well as those for strings. It is possible that these concerti were written for the Musical Society, as an inventory of the instruments belonging to the Society dating from 1747 (i.e., shortly after the period that Barsanti was in Edinburgh) includes all bar the trumpet:

"Furniture in Mary's Chappell Belonging to the Musickall Society
...a Harpsichord, an Organ
a pr. French horns with Crooks
2 double Basses
2 tenor Fiddles
1 Violoncello
1 old [Do?]
1 German Flute
2 Hautboys
2 Octave german Flutes
2 Flagolets
2 Kettledrums
3 Bassoons..."²⁴

Of the *Concerti Grossi*, Johnson has written that they have "a contrapuntal glitter"²⁵ and that they "are all distinguished by closely argued, brilliantly effective contrapuntal writing".²⁶ Similarly, for Bonaccorsi, they are the work of a skilled composer; "è ben chiaro che il giuoco dei corni è mosso da mano vigile e sicura..."²⁷ the outer movements are "...in genere scorrevoli, loquaci, costanti e pur variabili...", whilst they are also products of their period:

Ernst ed *Concerto Grosso Op. 3 No. 4* (London: Ernst Eulenburg, [s.a.]); Barsanti, Francesco; Praetorius, Ernst ed *Concerto Grosso Op. 3 No. 10* (London: Ernst Eulenburg, [s.a.]); Sharman, Ian G. "Francesco Barsanti: A Fuller Biography and a Discussion of his *Concerti Grossi* (op. 3)" *Brio* xxvi, 1989, 4-10. The work is not referred to in either Farmer, *History* or Purser, *Scotland's Music*.

²⁴ EMS, *Minutes*, unpaginated.

²⁵ *Grove*6, II, 189.

²⁶ Johnson, *Music and Society*, 54.

²⁷ "It is very clear that the writing for the horns is the work of a skilled and accomplished composer..." (author's translation); "...for the most part fluent, eloquent, constant and yet varied..." (author's translation). Bonaccorsi, Alfredo *Maestri di Lucca* (Florence: Olschki, 1967), 45.

“L’energia propulsiva di questi concerti grossi del Barsanti: l’elemento ritmico fondamentale mentre un ritmo più sottile sorge, s’innesta fra eleganti figurazioni, imitazioni e contrappunti, sul robusto passo generale; la politezza spiccata; la distinzione fra ‘Allegro’ e ‘Adagio’, con l’intervento di una espressione affettiva nell’ ‘Adagio’; l’idea del concertare fra i due gruppi contrapposti di Concertino e Concerto grosso, si mantengono nello spirito e nello stile del tempo e dirigono la composizione.”²⁸

The *Index* belonging to the Edinburgh Musical Society also lists one copy of the *Nove overture a quattro*. Also listed in the *Index* are the “CONCERTOS FROM THE 4. 7. 8 & 12TH...THE 11TH OF THE 4TH OP. OF CORELLI”.²⁹ It is possible that these were arrangements which Barsanti made but which, unlike the [6] *Sonatas of three parts for two violins, a violoncello and thorough bass made out of Geminiani’s Solos*, he never published, and so remained in manuscript form. While most of the music listed in the Society’s *Index* was printed music, it is evident that the library also contained manuscript copies: listed under Corelli is the “4TH CONCERTO, THE HORNS AND TRUMPET BY PASQUALI”;³⁰ there is a *Stabat Mater* by Pasquali, which was probably the overture that he wrote to Pergolesi’s work which was never published; as well as an “Overture M.S.”;³¹ and “12 Sonatas M.S.”;³² and a “CANTANTIBUS, in the other closet, the parts wrote out in cantica sacra”.³³

Dating also from about this period which Barsanti spent in Edinburgh was the *Collection of Old Scots Tunes* (published by Alexander Baillie in 1742). Writing on Barsanti in his *General History*, Hawkins stated that “...it may be said of him with greater truth than of David Rizzio, that he meliorated the music of that country by collecting and making basses to a great number of the most popular Scots tunes.”³⁴ Hawkins was referring to the myth that

²⁸ “A rhythmic energy is the driving force of these *concerti grossi* by Barsanti. At the same time, a more subtle rhythm of elegant figurations, imitations and counterpoint emerges, and is interwoven into the strong forward thrust of the music. The polished style, the distinction between *Allegro* and *Adagio* with its appealing interjection, the dialogue between the two opposing groups of the *Concertino* and *Concerto Grosso* are all in the style and spirit of the period and govern the work.” (Author’s translation.) Bonaccorsi, *Maestri*, 45.

²⁹ EMS, *Index*, 2.

³⁰ EMS, *Index*, 3.

³¹ EMS, *Index*, 13.

³² EMS, *Index*, 17.

³³ EMS, *Index*, 3.

³⁴ *HawkinsH*, V, 372. Also cit. Rees, Abraham ed *The Cyclopaedia; or, Universal Dictionary of Arts, Sciences, and Literature* (London: printed for Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme & Brown, 1819), III, unpaginated.

Rizzio had been the composer of a number of the most well-known Scots melodies. He observed:

“...As to Scottish jigs, and indeed Scottish tunes in general, all men know that the style and cast of them is unaccountably singular. The vulgar notion is that the singularity arises from a common mixture of the primitive rude melody of that country with the more refined air of the Italians; and that David Rizzio...was not only the author of this improvement, but that many of the most admired Scottish tunes yet in use are of his own composition. This is highly improbable, seeing that none of the writers on music take the least notice of him as a composer...Besides which it will hereafter be shewn that the Scottish music, so far from borrowing from it, has enriched the Italian with some peculiar graces.”³⁵

Some pages later, Hawkins reiterated this, and noted:

“...To speak of the Scots music in the first place; the common opinion is that it has received a considerable degree of infusion from the Italians, for that David Ricci or Rizzio...finding the music of that country of such a kind as rendered it susceptible of a great improvement, he set himself to polish and refine it; and adopting, as far as the rules of his art would allow, that desultory melody, which he found to be its characteristic, composed most of those tunes to which the Scots songs have for two centuries past, been commonly sung.

As far as this opinion, which has nothing to support it but vulgar tradition, it may be urged that David Ricci was not a composer of any kind. The historians and others who speak of him represent him as a lutenist and singer...”³⁶

Scottish writers also commented on this myth. In his *Dissertation on the Scottish Music*, published in Edinburgh in 1779, William Tytler observed that:

“The absurd conjecture, that David Rizzio was either the composer or reformer of the Scottish melodies, has of late been so fully exposed, that I need say very little to confute it...He is by no contemporary writer said to have been [a] composer. He is not even extolled as a great performer; nor is there tradition of his being the author of any one particular song.”³⁷

Some twenty years after, Alexander Campbell declared:

“How it came to enter the brain of any rational being...that Rizzio was the author of, our national melodies, is to me a matter of much surprise. The notion is so absurd, as to merit no serious refutation.”³⁸

³⁵ HawkinsH, II, 509, n.

³⁶ HawkinsH, II, 562. Writing in the first half of the nineteenth century Busby also dismissed this myth. Busby, Thomas *Concert room and orchestra anecdotes of music and musicians ancient and modern* (London: Clementi & Co., 1825), II, 272-275.

³⁷ Tytler, William “A Dissertation on the Scottish Music”, in Arnot, *History*, 624-625.

³⁸ Campbell, Alexander *An Introduction to the history of Poetry in Scotland, from the beginning of the thirteenth century Down to the present time together with a conversation on Scotch [sic] song, by Alexander Campbell, author of odes and miscellaneous poems, &c. To which are subjoined, songs of the Lowlands of Scotland, carefully compared with the original editions, and embellished with characteristic*

According to Elliott in the entry on Rizzio in the *New Grove*,³⁹ this myth appears to date from the 1720s, with the publication of the first edition of William Thomson's *Orpheus Caledonius*. In the Index to this work, Thomson stated that "The Songs mark'd thus (*) were composed by *David Rezzio*",⁴⁰ and marked with an asterisk: "The Lass of Patie's Mill", "Bessie Bell", "The Bush Aboon Traquair", "The Bonny Boatman", "Ann thou were my ain thing", "Auld Robin Morris" and "Down the Burn Davie". Although Thomson omitted this in the later (1733) edition of the *Orpheus Caledonius*, the myth was perpetuated in a number of other eighteenth-century publications, most notably in *The Musical Miscellany*⁴¹ and in Oswald's *Collection of Curious Scots Tunes*.⁴² The table of contents in volumes V and VI of the *Miscellany* notes that "Pinkie House", "The Bonniest Lass in all the World" and "Lesly's March" are all by Rizzio. Curiously enough "The Bush Aboon Traquair", which Thomson ascribes to Rizzio, while it is included in the *Miscellany* is not singled out as being composed by the Italian.

With this in mind, it is not surprising to find Geminiani ascribing a number of Scots tunes to Rizzio – it is possible that among his music he possessed one of the editions which ascribed some Scots tunes to Rizzio. In the preface to his *Treatise of Good Taste in the Art of Musick*, published in 1749, Geminiani went so far as to declare that:

"TWO Composers of Musick have appear'd in the World, who in their different Kinds of Melody, have rais'd my Admiration; namely *David Rizzio* and *Gio. Baptista Lulli*; of these which stands highest in Reputation, or deserves to stand highest, is none of my Business to pronounce; But when I consider, that *Rizzio* was foremost in point of Time, that till then Melody was intirely rude and barbarous, and that he found means at once to civilize and inspire it with all the native Gallantry of the SCOTISH Nation, I am inclinable to give him the Preference.

But Melody, tho' pleasing to All, seldom communicates the highest Degree of Pleasure; and it was owing to this Reflection, that I lately have undertaken to improve the Melody of *Rizzio* into Harmony, by converting some of the Airs into two, three, and four Parts; and by making such Additions and Accompanymnts to

designs, composed and engraved by the late David Allan, Historical painter (Edinburgh: A. Foulis, 1798), 12.

³⁹ *Grove*6, XVI, 64-65.

⁴⁰ Thomson *Orpheus Caledonius*, Index.

⁴¹ *The Musical Miscellany* (London: Watts, 1729-1731).

⁴² Oswald, James *A Curious Collection of Scots Tunes* (Edinburgh: Author, 1740).

others as should give them all the Variety and Fullness required in a Concert.”⁴³

In his discussion on Geminiani, Careri does not investigate this statement further, and indeed seems somewhat to fuel the myth of Rizzio as composer. Careri states that “One thing that the two composers [Barsanti and Geminiani] had in common was a liking for Scottish music: in 1742 Barsanti published a set of ‘Old Scots Tunes’, while in 1749 Geminiani based a whole treatise on the Scottish Melodies of David Rizzio.”⁴⁴ A number of writers on Scottish music have explored this myth,⁴⁵ including, most recently, John Purser, who has remarked that:

“...[James Oswald and William Thomson] seem to have fooled Geminiani with that ploy. But it did not fool many Scots; they knew no Italian could have written such tunes, no matter how much Geminiani liked to believe it...”⁴⁶

Geminiani did visit Scotland, but not until some eleven years after the publication of the *Treatise*. A note in the *Minutes* of the Edinburgh Musical Society from 1760 records two payments to Geminiani:

“Aug 5th	By Expences with Mr Geminiani & the Masters in the tavern	
	Trying over his Musick	£ 1.12.6
11th	By Mr Geminiani for his concertos	£10.10.0
	[total transactions	£798.16.[?]]” ⁴⁷

It is clear that (unlike Barsanti) Geminiani did not remain in Scotland for long, as two years later we find him back in the Irish capital. A comparison of Barsanti’s *Collection* with Geminiani’s *Treatise of Good Taste* would seem to suggest that the aims of the two works are different from their very conception, as is indicated by their respective titles: one a collection, the other a treatise for the

⁴³ Geminiani, Francesco *A Treatise of Good Taste in the Art of Musick* (London: [s.n.], 1749), Preface.

⁴⁴ Careri, Enrico *Francesco Geminiani* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 18. Also “The four melodies used by Geminiani in Taste 1 [*Rules for Playing in a True Taste on the Violin*] are a Scottish air by David Rizzio (‘Ann thou were my ain Thing’), an air by Henry Purcell...a popular Irish tune, and an English tune.” Careri, *Geminiani*, 163; “The melodies used by Geminiani in Taste 2 [*A Treatise of Good Taste in the Art of Musick*] were composed by David Rizzio (c. 1525-66), an Italian composer [my italics]...his Scottish songs enjoyed great popularity during the eighteenth century, thanks to the publication of *Orpheus Caledonius...*” Careri, *Geminiani*, 171.

⁴⁵ Farmer, *History*, 124, 250, 252. Grove6, XVI, 64-65. Rimmer, Frederick and Elliott, Kenneth *A History of Scottish Music* (London: British Broadcasting Corporation, 1973), 35.

⁴⁶ Purser, *Scotland’s Music*, 179.

⁴⁷ EMS, *Minutes*, 5.6.1760; 11.6.1760.

student prefaced by an introduction giving examples of the most common ornaments (the “plain shake”, the “turned shake”, and *appoggiature*) and musical terms (*diminuendo* and *crescendo*). Barsanti’s settings appear as melody and figured bass, while Geminiani’s arrangements are followed by a number of variations on the melody, which show the student how to arrange and “diversify” (to borrow Geminiani’s term) in “good taste”.

Barsanti’s *Collection* seems to have gained general approbation from those who have written on the history of music in Scotland in this period. In his *General History*, Hawkins noted that it was a “good collection”.⁴⁸ For Farmer “...it is a commendable work, as one might reasonably expect from a composer of his ability, and there is actually a minimum of embellishment in his work, which is far different from the efforts of his fellow countrymen later.”⁴⁹ While for Johnson it is “an exciting collection”,⁵⁰ he believes the arrangements to be “probably the most sensitive ones ever made by a foreigner”,⁵¹ noting that they are “full of unexpected yet impeccably correct harmonic twists”.⁵² Only Purser has ignored Barsanti’s *Collection* completely, not only in the main text of his *Scotland’s Music*, but also in the section dedicated to the eighteenth century in the select bibliography of music.

The *Collection* is made up of thirty melodies arranged with a figured bass, as the title page states, “for Violoncello or Harpsichord”. It is dedicated to Lady Erskine – whose name is also to be found amongst the list of subscribers to the Op. 3 *Concerti Grossi*.

An examination of the melodies in the *Collection* reveals that almost all of them had appeared in many seventeenth-century manuscripts and eighteenth-century printed collections of Scots tunes. “Dumbarton’s Drums”, “Ettrick Banks”, “Lochaber”, “The Lass of Patie’s Mill”, “Katherine Ogie” and “The Bush Aboon Traquair” had all featured in Thomson’s *Orpheus Caledonius* published in London and Edinburgh in 1725 and 1733 respectively. “Katherine Ogie” had also appeared in a number of other sources; in John Young’s *Collection of Original Scotch Tunes for the Violin* issued in

⁴⁸ HawkinsH, IV, 7, n.

⁴⁹ Farmer, *History*, 254.

⁵⁰ Johnson, David *Scottish Fiddle Music in the 18th Century* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1984), 36.

⁵¹ Johnson, *Scottish Fiddle Music*, 35.

⁵² Grove6, II, 189.

London in 1720; in Alexander Stuart's *Musick for Allan Ramsay's Collection* of c. 1728; and in the first volume of William McGibbon's *Collection of Scots Tunes* which had appeared in Edinburgh in 1742 – the same year that Barsanti published his *Collection*.

An outstanding feature of Barsanti's *Collection of Old Scots Tunes* is the unusually demanding writing for bass. This is an aspect which seems to have been overlooked somewhat by scholars of Barsanti and of the Scots song genre, although it is almost certainly this aspect which Johnson is referring to, when he remarks that "the settings are virtuosic and extremely personal".⁵³

Comparison with other collections of Scots songs issued up to the early 1740s reveals the complexity of Barsanti's writing for the bass. Barsanti's writing has a rhythmic interest and vitality which, when compared with the settings by William Thomson and Alexander Stuart, show the latter (heavily dependent on simple crotchet/quaver motion) to be somewhat pedestrian by comparison. Compare Stuart and both of Thomson's versions (1726 and 1733) of "Katherine Ogie",⁵⁴ with Barsanti's,⁵⁵ or the different versions of "The Last Time I came o'er the Moor"⁵⁶ by the three composers (see pages 345-354).

McGibbon's writing is perhaps closer in spirit to Barsanti's than either Stuart or Thomson's. This is particularly the case when one considers not only the arrangement of the melody line (with the groups of slurred/separate semiquavers carefully marked), but especially so in the rather classical variations of the melody that are sometimes to be found in McGibbon's collection – those to "Katharine Ogie",⁵⁷ "The Lass of Paties Mill"⁵⁸ or to "Peggy I must love thee",⁵⁹ for example (see pages 355-357).

It is interesting to note that the simplicity of a Scots song was regarded (by Scottish judges) certainly as part of its appeal, but also as one of its essential characteristics. While most of the criticism of performances and published arrangements of Scots songs (both in

⁵³ Johnson, *Scottish Fiddle Music*, 36.

⁵⁴ Stuart, *Alexander Musick for Allan Ramsay's Collection of Scots Songs* (Edinburgh: Allan Ramsay, c. 1728), 136-137; Thomson, *Orpheus Caledonius*, 22; Thomson, *Orpheus Caledonius*, 1, 44.

⁵⁵ Barsanti, *Collection*, 1.

⁵⁶ Stuart, *Musick for Allan Ramsay's Collection*, 78-79; Thomson, *Orpheus Caledonius*, 10; Barsanti, *Collection*, 4.

⁵⁷ McGibbon, William *A Collection of Scots Tunes* (Edinburgh: Richard Cooper, 1742), 20.

⁵⁸ McGibbon, *Collection*, 16-17.

⁵⁹ McGibbon, *Collection*, 16.

the eighteenth century and after) has perhaps inevitably focused on the treatment of the melody line, it is interesting to find William Tytler remarking, in the late eighteenth century, that:

“The proper accompaniment of a Scots song, is a plain thin, dropping bass, on the harpsichord or guittar. The fine breathings, these heart-felt touches, which genius alone can express in our songs, are lost in a noisy accompaniment of instruments. The full chords of a thorough bass should be used sparingly, and with judgement, not to overpower, but to support and raise the voice at proper pauses.”⁶⁰

Tytler added:

“...the air, by way of symphony, or introduction to the song, should always be first played over; and, at the close of every stanza, the last part of the air should be repeated, as a relief for the voice, which it gracefully sets off. In this symphonic part, the performer may show his taste and fancy on the instrument by varying it *ad libitum*.”⁶¹

Writing in the preface to his collection *Albyn's Anthology*, which was published in Edinburgh in the second decade of the nineteenth century, Alexander Campbell declared that:

“In 1770, the late NEIL STEWART, music-seller and dancing-master in Edinburgh, published a volume (in folio) of Scottish [*sic*] Songs, in imitation of BREMNER'S Collection, mentioned above. In these collections, the melodies are harmonized with what was called a *dropping base* [*sic*]; that is, a thinly-scattered accompaniment, so as to support the voice of the performer; and, considered in this point of view, it perhaps may yield more pleasure to a person of unsophisticated taste, than more laboured harmony, in which the subtleties of *chromatick* trick are commingled, to please the dainty, and delight the exquisitely nice ear of a deeply-skilled and fastidious musician.”⁶²

Both these eighteenth-century Scottish writers on music, therefore, highlight the taste for simple accompaniments to Scots songs.

From the *Minutes* of the Society it is clear that Barsanti was employed by the Musical Society until 1743.⁶³ During this period, he

⁶⁰ Tytler, *Dissertation*, 640.

⁶¹ Tytler, *Dissertation*, 640.

⁶² Campbell, Alexander *Albyn's Anthology or A Select Collection of the Melodies & Local Poetry Peculiar to Scotland and the Isles hitherto Unpublished. Collected and Arranged by Alexander Campbell Author of the History of Poetry in Scotland, a Journey through the different parts of Scotland &c. &c. The Modern Scottish [*sic*] & English Verses adapted to the Highland, Hebridean & Lowland Melodies Written by Walter Scott Esq. and other living Poets of the First Eminence* (Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, 1816-1818), preface, vii. Phrases from this passage are quoted by Farmer (*History*, 254) who noted their author but not, however, their provenance.

⁶³ “...By a years Salary to Mr Barsanti preceeding 5th May 1736 £50.0. 0
By do to him preceeding [*sic*] 5th May 1737 £50.0. 0
...By Cash to Mr Barsanti for writing music pr order £ 4.0. 0
By Do to him for Do £ 3.16.6

made a number of requests to have his salary augmented. In 1736 the *Minutes* record that the Society "...Having considered the Accounts of the Society, Do observe that they are not at present in condition to give a gratification to Mr Barsanti beyond his fixed Salary...".⁶⁴ The Society decided to halve Barsanti's salary in 1740,⁶⁵ though not from any displeasure with his conduct, or malpractice on Barsanti's part, but most probably as a result of engaging a new singer,⁶⁶ Signora Avoglio.⁶⁷ Some years later, in 1743, the Society recorded "...A Second Application having been made for Mr Barsanti to have his Sallary Augmented...Ordered the Treasurer to Commune with Mr Barsanti [?] purchasing his Kettledrums".⁶⁸ This was followed by two notes, the first stating:

	[total expenditure	£604.4.[2?]",
EMS, <i>Minutes</i> , 6.1735-6.1737;		
"...To a years sallary to Mr Barsanti preceeding May 5th 1738		£50.0. 0
...To Mr Barsanti per order [?] [?]		£ 12.12.0
To Mr Barsanti for Fidle [sic] Strings		£ 5.0. 0
	[total expenditure	£374.9.8 ¹ / ₂]",
EMS, <i>Minutes</i> , 6.1737-6.1738;		
"...Mr Barsanti for performance and keeping the musick		£40.0.0",
EMS, <i>Minutes</i> , 14.2.1739;		
"...To Mr Barsanti		£ 4.2.4"
	[total expenditure	£285.2.9 ¹ / ₂]",
EMS, <i>Minutes</i> , 6.1738-6.1739;		
"...To Mr Barsanti half a years Sallary due Novemr. 5th 1738		£25.0.0"
	[total expenditure	£402.15.3 ¹ / ₂]",
EMS, <i>Minutes</i> , 6.1738-6.1739;		
"...To Mr Barsanti his Sallary from 1st Nov. to 1st May pr [order?]		£25.0.0
To Ditto pr Acct. & order		£ 4. 2.4
To Ditto for double bass Strings pr. order & receipt		£ - .15. -
...To Mr Barsanti his Sallary to 1st. Novr 1740 pr receipt		£20. 0. 0
...To Mr Barsanti his Sallary due 1st May pr. discharge		£20. 0.0
	[total expenditure	£414.15.6]",
EMS, <i>Minutes</i> , 6.1739-6.1740;		
"...To Mr Barsanti half a years Sallary to 1st Novr. 1740 pr Disch		£12.10. -
To Mr Barsanti for mending the Kettle drums pr Discharge		£ - .18.6
...To Mr Barsanti his Sallary 'till 1st May 1741		£12.10. -
	[total expenditure	£438.19.9 ¹ / ₂]",
EMS, <i>Minutes</i> , 6.1740-6.1741;		
"June 12 To Mr Barsanti the first [?] for his Concertos		
pr Order & Receipt		£ 1.1. -
Novr. 19 To Mr Barsanti his Sallary till 1st Current pr Receipt		£ 12.10.0
To Do. for a string to the Double Bass		£ - 15.6
Apr. 8 To Mr Barsanti his Sallary till 1st Curr.t pr Receipt		£ 12.10.0
	[total expenditure	£423.2.0]",
EMS, <i>Minutes</i> , 6.1741-7.1742;		
"July 16...To Mr Barsanti for writing Musick pr order		£ 1.16.0
Novr. 22 To Mr Barsanti his second [?] for his Concertos		£ 1. 1.0
...1743 May 1 To Mr Barsanti his years Sallary to this date		£ 25. 0. 0
	[total expenditure	£321.0. 2 ¹ / ₂]",
EMS, <i>Minutes</i> , 7.1742-6.1743.		
⁶⁴ EMS, <i>Minutes</i> , 24.6.1736.		
⁶⁵ EMS, <i>Minutes</i> , 28.2.1740.		
⁶⁶ EMS, <i>Minutes</i> , 14.2.1739.		
⁶⁷ Cristina Maria Avoglio, see chapter 3, iv, 89.		
⁶⁸ EMS, <i>Minutes</i> , 23.3.1743.		

“May 15 To Mr Larini⁶⁹
his half years Sallary
a new Agreement being
made with him on his
undertaking to put the Harpsicord
in order; whereby he was
to have £12 yearly £ 6.0.0
To Mr Barsanti
for his kettle drums £ 10.0.0
[total expenditure £321.0.2¹/₂].”⁷⁰

What eventually lead Barsanti to quit his position at the Society is unknown. It is possible that he had become dissatisfied with his salary from the Society and decided to return to London in the hope of continuing from where he had left off and earning more than he had done in Edinburgh. Johnson suggests that Barsanti became “tired” of Scotland,⁷¹ and decided to go back south. He states that the appeal which Edinburgh offered – “...local kudos, warm personal appreciation, indifferent performances, publication (with luck), and no money...[which] were to be shared on equal terms with inferior composers”⁷² – were in the long run, insufficient.

Whatever the motivations and reasons for Barsanti’s move, it is clear that it was not a successful decision. A single entry in the *London Stage* dating from this period, reveals that the theatre in Drury Lane paid £1.11.6 to “Mr. Barsanti for music by order of Garrick...”.⁷³ Hawkins compounds this rather pitiful view of Barsanti, writing that having arrived in London and “...being advanced in years, he was glad to be taken into the opera band as a performer on the tenor violin; and in the summer season into that of Vauxhall.”⁷⁴

After leaving Edinburgh Barsanti continued to compose and publish music. The *Minutes* of the Musical Society record that in the late 1760s they paid Barsanti for some music:

“...By Mr Barsanti for a sett
of Martini’s noturnos [*sic*] MS £ 3.3.0
[total expenditure £955.11.2].”⁷⁵

⁶⁹ Signor Larini, see chapter 3, vii, 95.

⁷⁰ EMS, *Minutes*, 15.5.1743.

⁷¹ Johnson, *Music and Society*, 54.

⁷² Johnson, *Music and Society*, 64.

⁷³ *The London Stage 1660-1800* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1979), 20.4.1750 (hereafter *London Stage*).

⁷⁴ HawkinsH, V, 372.

⁷⁵ EMS, *Minutes*, 6.1766-1767.

Barsanti also issued two sets of his own works, *Sei Antifone...opera quinta* issued by Welcker c. 1750 and *Six Sonatas for two violins and a bass...opera sesta* of 1769 and, according to Hawkins, “twelve concertos for violins”.⁷⁶ These, however, seem to have been unsuccessful ventures, as Hawkins observed that: “...from these publications so little profit resulted, that, towards the end of his life, the industry and œconomy of an excellent wife...and the labours of a daughter⁷⁷...were his chief support”.⁷⁸ Similarly, the entry on Barsanti in the *Cyclopedia* noted:

“...the profits arising from these publications were so small, that the sale did not cover the expense of printing them...towards the end of his life, he subsisted chiefly by the industry and economy of an excellent wife...and the studies and talents of a worthy and ingenious daughter...”.⁷⁹

The exact date of Barsanti's death is not known. Most of his biographers, however, seem to agree that it was in the first five years of the 1770s.⁸⁰ Johnson states that was in late 1772.⁸¹

In many ways Barsanti's Scottish career was similar to those of a great number of the Italian musicians who travelled to Scotland in the eighteenth century. He was admired as a performer, as a teacher and a composer, writing instrumental works in a number of

⁷⁶ HawkinsH, V, 372. These concertos seem to have been lost. The *Index* to the library of the Musical Society in Edinburgh mentions three copies of “6 concertos da Notturmi by Barsanti Op. 6”, EMS, *Index*, 11. It is possible that the concertos mentioned by Hawkins and the ones listed in the *Index* are the *Concerti Grossi con due Violini, Viola e Violoncello obbligati con due altri Violini e Basso di Ripieno. Opera Sesta...Questi Concerti sono composti da diversi Notturmi del St. Martini* (London: Walsh, [1757]) cited in the *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1960-), hereafter *DBI*. According to both the *Repertoire Internationale des Sources Musicales* (Kassel: Bärenreiter-Verlag, 1971-1981) and Schnapper, Edith B. ed *British Union-Catalogue of Early Printed Music Before the Year 1800* (London: Butterworths, 1957), hereafter *RISM* and *BUCEM* respectively, Barsanti's op. 6 is a set of *Six sonatas for two violins and a bass...* (London: [s.n., 1769]). *RISM*, I, 218; *BUCEM*, 87. Neither *RISM* nor *BUCEM* list any other concertos by Barsanti other than the *Concerti Grossi* op. 3 (Edinburgh: Author, 1742).

⁷⁷ Jane Barsanti (1755-1795), singer and actress. Her original training was as a singer – she was clearly talented, as Burney, the author of the article on her father which appeared in the *Cyclopedia* in 1819, remembered that she had “...the most promising voice and disposition for music...” and that with study “...she had vanquished all the difficulties of the art in point of execution...”. Rees, *Cyclopedia*, unpaginated. Unfortunately, on going to sing for Dr. Burney's doctoral ceremony in Oxford in 1769, “...she totally lost her singing voice...by sickness in a stage-coach” and was unable to sing again. She then turned to acting, appearing in comic parts at the Haymarket Theatre. Bowers, Garry; Grant, Kerry S. and Klima, Slava eds *Memoirs of Dr. Charles Burney 1726-1769* (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1988) 172, 178; Highfill, Philip H; Burnim, Kalman A. and Langhans Edward A. *A Biographical Dictionary of Actors, Actresses, Musicians, Dancers, Managers and other Stage Personnel in London 1660-1800* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1973-1993) (hereafter *BDA*), I, 358-362. HawkinsH, V, 372.

⁷⁸ HawkinsH, V, 372.

⁷⁹ Rees, *Cyclopedia*, III, unpaginated.

⁸⁰ See, for example, the *DBI*, VI, 534.

⁸¹ Grove6, 189.

genres (including *sonate* and *concerti grossi*). In common with most of the Italian musicians in Scotland in this period, Barsanti was also responsive to the culture in which he found himself, publishing a collection of Scots folk-song settings. These arrangements, unlike those made by many of the other Italian musicians, have been well-received by critics and historians of music in eighteenth-century Scotland.

CHAPTER 2

NICOLO' PASQUALI

"On Thursday last died Signior Nicolò Pasquali, master of music in this city, a person eminent in his profession as a composer, performer and teacher. He joined to a singular probity of manners, good sense and knowledge of mankind, free from the smallest tincture of caprice. One qualification most remarkable in him was, that altho' he did the greatest justice as a teacher, yet he seemed to act in his profession, more from real delight in music, and regard to same, than profit or gain. Under his conduct the spirit for this branch of the fine arts has diffused itself through all ranks, and is now arrived to a degree never before known in this kingdom. Signior Pasquali's death is a public loss to this city, that will not soon be supplied."¹

This was the obituary that appeared in the *Edinburgh Evening Courant* in October 1757 to mark the death of Nicolò Pasquali. It is a lengthy obituary of an entire paragraph, of the kind which was reserved to mark the death of a notable or respected citizen, rather than the few lines which usually appeared when announcing a death. The high personal and professional regard in which Pasquali was held in Edinburgh is clearly evident. What the obituary does not mention, was that Pasquali was a mere 39 years old when he died quite suddenly, and had been living in Edinburgh for only five years. Johnson has summarised his achievements, observing that "Pasquali's brilliant career was thus cut off before he reached forty".²

Unlike almost all of the other foreign musicians who went to Scotland, Pasquali had not gone to Edinburgh at the invitation of the Musical Society there. A minute of the Society states that he had originally been "...engaged to come here from Dublin by the managers of the play house...".³ Pasquali seems to have been engaged as part of the upgrading and modernisation of the Canongate Theatre in 1752,⁴ as Mr Storer (the manager) announced in a puff that he:

"...takes this Opportunity of acquainting the Public, that he is engaging a good regular Company of Performers from *London* and *Dublin*, for the Entertainment of the Nobility and Gentry in

¹ EEC, 15.10.1757.

² Johnson, *Music and Society*, 55.

³ EMS, *Minutes*, 27.2.1759.

⁴ Scholars have not previously known the reason for Pasquali quitting Dublin for Edinburgh: "It would be interesting to know what turned him [Pasquali]...to make a permanent home in the northern capital but I have not come across anything that suggests a reason." Pasquali, Nicolò; Churchill, John ed *Thorough-Bass Made Easy* (London: Oxford University Press, 1974), iii.

EDINBURGH next Winter. The Concert-hall will be enlarged, made more commodious, and entirely new painted. Signor PASQUALI is engaged to conduct the *Operas* and other *Musical Entertainments*, who, for his elegant composition and fine Taste on the VIOLIN, is justly esteem'd one of the first Performers in Europe.

N.B. For encouraging the above undertaking, there is a subscription carrying on for sixteen Performances.”⁵

It is clear it was only later that Pasquali was employed by the Musical Society. The Society's records state that “...[he] continued here [the play house] for 6 or 8 months without any Scholler but no sooner did he appear in the musical room then he had every hour Employed and continued so till his dying day”.⁶

The reasons as to why the theatre, and then the Society, in Edinburgh should have employed Pasquali become clear on briefly surveying his career in the period before he arrived in that city. Unfortunately, very little seems to be known so far of his background, beyond the place and the year of his birth (Cosenza, 1718). There is no information about his musical education, which one assumes was in his native country – one presumes that as a talented youngster he would have been sent to study in Naples, Rome, or one of the other musical centres there. His later fluency in writing for the theatre would lead one to suggest that he studied in a centre with a strong operatic tradition, such as Naples. However, until further evidence is uncovered such conclusions are purely speculative.

There is a little more information about the five years from about 1743 which Nicolò Pasquali spent in London with his younger brother, Francesco, a ‘cellist.⁷ There are references to performances by the two brothers in London, but they are vague, mentioning only “a solo on the Violin by Sg. Pasquali” and a concerto on the violoncello “by Sg. Pasquali Jr.” as part of a benefit concert for two other musicians at the New Haymarket Theatre in April 1745.⁸ Charles Burney praised Nicolò's music, saying that he had written “two pretty airs” for the singer Caterina Ruini Galli⁹ in the *pasticcio* opera *L'Incostanza Delusa* given at the New Theatre.¹⁰ The

⁵ EEC, 18.6.1752.

⁶ EMS, *Minutes*, 27.2.1759.

⁷ Francesco Pasquali was often referred to by the English version of his name, Francis.

⁸ *London Stage*, 1.4.1745.

⁹ c. 1723-1804. *Grove*6, VII, 103-104; *BDA*, V, 437-439.

¹⁰ *BurneyH*, IV, 458. The opera was given in February 1745 and performed 10 times between then and April of that year. Deutsch states that Pasquali led the orchestra. Deutsch, Otto Erich *Handel: a Documentary Biography* (London: Adam & Charles Black,

Biographical Dictionary of Actors also states that Pasquali was probably a member of the King's Theatre orchestra.¹¹

It is from these years which Pasquali spent in London that his compositions began to appear in print: the opus one *Sonate a Violino e Basso* published by Walsh in 1744 and reprinted in Paris.¹² A number of pieces by Pasquali were included in collections issued by Walsh: in *The Comic Tunes to the celebrated dances perform'd at both theatres by Sgr & Sigra Fausan, Mons. Desnoyer and Sigra Barberini, Mons & Madam. Michel. For the harpsichord, violin or german flute*, an eight-volume collection begun in 1744, which also included music by Arne, Galuppi, Geminiani and Hasse; in the *Select Minuets. Second Book* of about the same period;¹³ and in *The Favourite Songs in the Opera call'd La Ingratitudine Punita* (c. 1747), which included compositions by Hasse, Lampugnani and Pergolesi.

Nicolò Pasquali arrived in the Irish capital in September 1748,¹⁴ and remained there into the 1750s.¹⁵ Fortunately, there is a great deal of information about this period that Pasquali spent in Dublin, and it is this information which provides important evidence in helping to understand Pasquali's contribution to Scottish musical life, and also in eventually helping to assess it.

The *Dublin Musical Calendar* details Pasquali's appearances in that city for the years in which he was there. It can be seen from the *Calendar* that the Italian was principally – and perhaps almost exclusively – involved with the theatre. At Sheridan's request he led

1955), 606. One of the arias that Pasquali composed is to be found in a manuscript collection of songs dating from 1773 in the Euing Music Collection at Glasgow University Library (R.d. 26). The aria, "When first I saw thee", is attributed to Signora Galli in the collection, but is by Pasquali, as comparison with printed versions show (see pages 358-360).

¹¹ BDA, XI, 231.

¹² In 1747 the *Edinburgh Evening Courant* advertised the sale of "Pasquali's Solos" for five shillings under the heading of "MUSICK LATELY brought Home, by Messrs. HAMILTON and BALFOUR". *EEC*, 6.3.1747. It is possible that these solos were the opus one sonatas by Pasquali that had, three years previously, been issued in London.

¹³ *Select Minuets. Second Book. Collected from the late Operas, the Balls at Court, the Masquerades, and all the Publick Entertainments for the Harpsichord, German Flute, or Violin by Mr Handel, Sigr St Martini, Sigr Pasquali, Sigr. Hasse. To which are added Twenty Six Venetian Tunes*. See page 361.

¹⁴ Pasquali's arrival announced in *Faulkner's Dublin Journal*, 10-13.9.48, cit. Boydell, Brian *A Dublin Musical Calendar, 1700-1760* (Blackrock: Irish Academic Press, 1988), 116.

¹⁵ From the evidence which Churchill provides, it seems as if, from Dublin, Pasquali went back to London in 1751, before moving to Edinburgh in 1752. The entry on Pasquali in the BDA, XI, 231, is rather vague about this period, stating that "During his tenure in Dublin, Pasquali made at least one return trip to England". It is possible, as Churchill hints, that Pasquali was trying to establish himself in London, after the years there when he made little impression on musical society there and appears not to have been particularly successful. He believes that it was this lack of success which drove Pasquali to move to Dublin.

the orchestra at the Smock Alley Theatre, which the *Dublin Journal* believed to be “the best Band of Instrumental Performers ever heard in this Kingdom”.¹⁶ He was involved in performances of the popular music of his day – oratorios by Handel, such as *Messiah*, *Esther*, *Judas Maccabeus*, *Deborah* and *Acis and Galatea*.

From the evidence of the *Calendar*, Pasquali was not only an orchestral musician, but also a frequent solo performer in the Irish capital. The *Calendar* does not, however, specify what pieces he played on these occasions – whether these were his own compositions or those of others. Nonetheless, he was clearly an accomplished performer, as Mrs Delany observed of him that “...he plays very neatly and with good taste...”.¹⁷

Pasquali was also a prolific composer. Whilst he was in Dublin, he premiered three masques that he had written: *The Triumphs of Hibernia* (given on 4.11.1748), *The Temple of Peace* (9.2.1749) and *Apollo and Daphne* (14.4.1749). According to the *Dublin Musical Calendar*,¹⁸ Pasquali also contributed music to performances of a number of Shakespeare’s plays which were given in the Irish capital, such as *Hamlet*, *Julius Caesar*, *Macbeth*, *Romeo and Juliet*, *Othello* and the *Merchant of Venice*. He added “Entertainments of Musick”¹⁹ to *The Beggar’s Opera*, and overtures to the ballad opera *Jack the Giant Killer* and Pergolesi’s *Stabat Mater* – of which he conducted the first performance in Ireland in October 1749.

In London Pasquali continued to publish the music that he had written: *XII English Songs in Score. Collected from Several Masques and other Entertainments* (London: Author, 1750); *Six Sonatas for two violins with a tenor and thorough bass for the harpsichord or violoncello* (London: John Johnson, [c. 1750]); and the *Raccolta di Overture, e Symphonie* (London: Author, 1751). The *Raccolta* comprised twelve short, three-movement works in all: six *Symphonie* and six *Overture* (in the three-movement mould of the Italian opera overture of the first half of the eighteenth century). The *Overture* included some of those written for the masques which had been given a couple of years previously: *The Triumphs of*

¹⁶ *Dublin Journal*, 24-27.9.1748, cit. BDA, XI, 231.

¹⁷ Delany, Mary *The Autobiography and Correspondence of Mary Granville, Mrs Delany; with interesting reminiscences of King George the Third and Queen Charlotte* (London: Richard Bentley, 1861), II, 552, letter dated 8.6.1750, cit. Boydell, *Dublin Musical Calendar*, 140.

¹⁸ Boydell, *Dublin Musical Calendar*, 303-304.

¹⁹ Boydell, *Dublin Musical Calendar*, 118.

Hybernia; Apollo and Daphne and *The Temple of Peace*. Their inclusion would suggest that these pieces had met with some measure of public appreciation and success. The *Raccolta* also included overtures to three other works: *The Nymphs of the Springs*, *Venus and Adonis* and one for a *Gran Festino*.

A comparison of the writing in the *Raccolta* with that of the opus one violin sonatas shows quite clearly the difference between the two mediums: orchestral and solo. Compare, for example, the first violin part in the *Largo Andante* of the tenth *Symphonia* with the elaborate ornamental solo writing in the opening movements of the first and fourth sonatas (see pages 371, 378, 379). Similarly, the opening and closing movements of the same *Symphonia* (both marked *Allegro*) and those of the overture to *The Nymphs of the Springs*, present far fewer technical challenges to the performer than the faster movements in the sonatas (see pages 362-390). The writing in violin sonatas, therefore, also attests to Pasquali's own skill as a violinist, since these were most probably in his own repertoire. The technical challenges posed in these works make demands on the player's mastery of both the fingering and bowing arm: double stopping (in particular, throughout the whole of III, ii; but also IV, ii; VI, i; VI, ii; see pages 380-386); string crossings (V, iv, see pages 387-388) and bow control (the carefully-marked staccato indicated to be played in the same bow, in I, i; I, iii; II, iii; see pages 378, 389, 390).

Pasquali brought copies of some of his publications with him when he moved from Dublin to Edinburgh in 1752, as he announced in an advertisement in the *Edinburgh Evening Courant* that he was selling "some few remaining Copies of his printed music".²⁰ As well as the violin sonatas op. 1, and the songs, the advertisement mentioned "Twelve OVERTURES in parts". These were most probably the "12 symphonies & overtures" by Pasquali which are listed in the catalogue of the music belonging to the Edinburgh Musical Society²¹ and which the Society bought in March 1753 just over a week after they had engaged Pasquali.²²

²⁰ EEC, 16.11.1752; 21.11.1752; 27.11.1752.

²¹ EMS, *Index*, 14. The *Index* also lists:
 "Pasquali } 6 overtures op. 2"
 Ricci }
 which I have been unable to identify.

²² "By Do [cash] for a 2d Coppy [sic] of Pasqualli's Overtures £0.15.0
 [total expenditure £547.6.2]",

The *Courant* of 1753 advertised a production of a “whimsical Farce” called *The Enraged Musician or, The Tempest Rehearsed* which was to be given at the Canongate Theatre. It was written by Pasquali and based on Hogarth’s sardonic print.²³ The *Courant* stated that “Signor Pasquali will play the enraged Musician himself, this being the first Time of his attempting to speak on any stage”.²⁴ The music of this work seems to have been lost. The *Enraged Musician* is not mentioned by Farmer in his *History*, who does not even discuss Pasquali’s involvement with the Canongate Theatre. Dibdin, in his *Annals of the Edinburgh Stage*,²⁵ does not go beyond quoting the advertisement in the *Courant*. For Johnson, however, *The Enraged Musician* is of fundamental importance in the history of music in this period. It is, according to him, “the first home-grown Scottish opera ever”²⁶ – *The Gentle Shepherd* was, as Johnson observes, based entirely on melodies of folk music, and the reference is to classical music. It is perhaps significant that this opera should have been written by a foreign composer – and an Italian one at that. Nothing appears to be known about the reception of *The Enraged Musician*, but it does not seem to have lived for long in the repertory. It is interesting to note that Pasquali did not write another work in this genre; indeed, it would appear that all his composing for the theatre was done while he was in Dublin, and that after he moved to Scotland – and after the composition of *The Enraged Musician* – Pasquali moved away from the composition of theatrical works and concentrated on instrumental music and on teaching. Pasquali did, however, continue to perform some of the theatrical compositions that he had written earlier – particularly the music which he

EMS, *Minutes*, 23.3.1753. The Musical Society of Aberdeen also purchased a copy of these *Overture e Symphonie*. This is listed by Farmer in his inventory of music owned by the Aberdeen Musical Society as the *XII Overtures*. This title would seem to suggest that it was a later edition (by John Johnson in London, c. 1760) which was owned by the Aberdeen Musical Society. The 1764 inventory also records that the Society in Aberdeen owned the *Thoroughbass Made Easy*, by Pasquali which was published by Bremner in Edinburgh. Farmer, *Music Making*, 117.

²³ Busby, *Concert room*, II, 183, states that the *Enraged Musician* was Pietro Castrucci: “...The Caricaturist contrived to have the musician’s house beset by all the noisy street-instruments he could collect together, whose clamorous and combined performances brought Castrucci to his parlour window, in all the agonies of auricular mortification.” For an analysis and discussion of this print, see Leppert, Richard *Music and Society. Domesticity, ideology and socio-cultural formation in eighteenth-century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 211-214.

²⁴ *EEC*, 30.1.1753; 1.2.1753.

²⁵ Dibdin, James C. *The Annals of the Edinburgh Stage: with an account of the rise and progress of dramatic writing in Scotland* (Edinburgh: R. Cameron, 1888), 73-74.

²⁶ Johnson, *Music and Society*, 47.

composed to *Romeo and Juliet*. Performances advertised, such as those in the *Courant* of 1752 and 1755, were usually worded as follows: “At the Taylors-Hall...Tomorrow night...will be performed ROMEO AND JULIET, with the funeral Procession; the music of the Dirge composed and conducted by Signor Pasquali...”,²⁷ and “NEW CONCERT-HALL, Canongate, This Evening...the Tragedy of ROMEO AND JULIET...END of ACT the 4th the FUNERAL PROCESSION of Juliet to the Vault of the Capulets with a SOLEMN DIRGE as Set to Musick by Signor PASQUALI”.²⁸ Performances of *Romeo and Juliet* continued to be given after Pasquali’s death in 1757, and it seems as if Pasquali’s music continued to be played. While not citing Pasquali by name, advertisements usually made some mention of “the solemn dirge” and/or “a funeral procession”: “...ROMEO and JULIET...with a Funeral Procession and solemn DIRGE”,²⁹ and “ROMEO and JULIET...with a Grand Funeral Procession to the MONUMENT OF THE CAPULETS”.³⁰ The music which Pasquali wrote clearly achieved some measure of popularity, quite apart from the performances advertised in the *Edinburgh Evening Courant*, as an edition was printed by Bremner c. 1771 in London.

The music for the *Solemn Dirge* includes seven short choral and solo vocal pieces (see pages 391-398). It is possible that this published music was only a part of the music that Pasquali composed for *Romeo and Juliet*. The expense of hiring musicians for only one scene at the end of a play would lead one to suggest that there may well have been music to accompany other parts of the play – other solo songs perhaps, or purely instrumental pieces that acted as interludes or as music for choreographed dances on stage. The alternating solo and choral sections of the published music of the *Solemn Dirge* are framed by an opening and closing chorus of the same material. It is interesting to note that the choral parts are reduced to two lines (written on treble and bass clef only) and that they double the first violin and *basso* lines throughout. The two solo arias (possibly written for the same singer as they are both within the same range) are also doubled throughout by the first violins. This would seem to suggest that Pasquali was aware of the limitations

²⁷ *EEC*, 14.12.1752.

²⁸ *EEC*, 6.1.1755. Similarly advertised also in 20.2.1755; 25.2.1755.

²⁹ *EEC*, 11.1.1762. Similarly: 7.4.1762; 29.1.1763; 23.8.1763; 1.3.1766; 16.2.1782; 13.3.1784; 15.3.1784.

³⁰ *EEC*, 1.1.1776; 3.8.1778.

of those for whom he was writing and tailored his writing accordingly, rather like the instrumental writing in the *Raccolta di Overture e Symphonie*. The *Solemn Dirge* is scored for first and second violin and basso continuo only. This may have been a reduced version of the original which Pasquali himself made (or which was made by the publisher, Bremner) in order to make the music more commercially appealing and accessible to groups of enthusiastic amateurs. On the other hand, these forces may have been precisely those that were available to Pasquali when he first wrote the *Solemn Dirge*, suggesting the modest size and limitations of the theatre orchestra for which it was written. The instrumental writing is less technically challenging than that in the *Raccolta di Overture e Symphonie*, and yet is none the less effective for being so – in particular, the opening and closing chorus with its short, simple phrases and expressive silences. Writing in the *New Grove*, Johnson has commented specifically on Pasquali's skill in composing music for the stage, noting that he was a “fluent, prolific writer, accustomed to working in the theatre”.³¹

It was in 1753 – in the year after Pasquali had arrived in Edinburgh – that he was engaged by the Musical Society. The *Minutes* record a payment in February of that year:

“...Febry 20 By Cash expended in engaging Mr Pasqualli	£ 0.14.7
[total expenditure	£547.6.2]”. ³²

In March 1753 the *Minutes* note “...And Authoriz'd Mr Will.m Douglas Treasurer to agree with Mr. Pasqualli [*sic*] in the best manner he could...in consequence thereof Engaged Mr. Pasqualli to perform in the Concert for one year for fifty five pounds Sterling”.³³ Although there is no record in the *Minutes* of the contract between Pasquali and the Musical Society, a copy of a letter offering the post to another musician, immediately after Pasquali's death in 1757, is probably similar to the terms that were offered to Pasquali. The Society wrote to Lady Torphichen that:

“...there is a vacancy of a First Fidle to the Musicall Society at Edin.r happen'd by the Death of Pasqualli...that if the place is agreeable to Olivieri your Lady had Interest with the Gentleman to get it for him The trouble is but Small which is to attend regularly

³¹ *Grove*6, 263.

³² EMS, *Minutes*, 6.1752-6.1753.

³³ EMS, *Minutes*, 10.3.1753.

The advertisements for concerts given in various Edinburgh venues which appeared in the *Edinburgh Evening Courant* give fairly detailed programmes of the music which was performed by Pasquali and his contemporaries in these concerts. What emerges on a close examination of these programmes, is that when Pasquali first arrived in Edinburgh (in 1752), his concerts included the music with which he had been familiar in Dublin: extracts from the oratorios of Handel, the concerti grossi of Corelli;³⁶ works such as *The Beggars Opera*³⁷ and works for the violin of his own composition, such as the "Grand Concerto for the Violin Solo. & c. composed by Signor

37 EEC, 23.11.1752.

Pasquali”,³⁸ a “Solo on the Violin by Signor Pasquali”,³⁹ a “Grand Concerto for the Violin Solo”,⁴⁰ and a concerto.⁴¹ Neither *RISM* nor *BUCEM* list any published violin *concerti* by Pasquali, and it is possible that these works remained in manuscript form, and have since been lost.

By 1753 it is clear that Pasquali had already begun to be influenced by the musical culture of Scotland. This was certainly as a result of his coming into contact with Scots musicians, for whom folk music was part of their cultural inheritance. As a theatre musician, Pasquali would, without a doubt, have been involved in performances of *The Gentle Shepherd*, which were regularly advertised in the *Courant* and which continued to be popular. In a benefit concert for Bremner, the Italian performed a number of variations on “Tweedside”.⁴²

This influence may also have been the result of Pasquali coming into contact with some of the other Italian musicians and singers who had been in Edinburgh for longer than he had, and had therefore already absorbed some of this cultural heritage. These included Signor Rochetti, Giuseppe Passerini and his wife, Christina Passerini, who frequently announced in their advertisements that their concerts would include Scots songs.⁴³ Francesco Pasquali (Nicolò’s younger brother), appeared in a concert in 1752 with Giuseppe and Christina Passerini, where the music advertised included “Tweedside” and “The Bush Aboon Traquair” along with the music with which the Pasqualis were already familiar, that of Corelli, Handel and Geminiani.⁴⁴ The mixture of classical and “folk” musics evident in these programmes was typical of concerts that were given by Scots musicians and singers in Edinburgh throughout the eighteenth century – and also typical of almost all the programmes involving the Italian singers and instrumentalists who performed in Edinburgh in this period.

“For the BENEFIT of Signor PASQUALI, At the Assembly Hall, on Tuesday the 15th of January 1754, will be performed a CONCERT of

³⁸ *EEC*, 9.10.1752.

³⁹ *EEC*, 9.10.1752.

⁴⁰ *EEC*, 21.11.1752; 23.11.1752; 14.12.1752; 26.12.1752.

⁴¹ *EEC*, 27.2.1755; 21.2.1756; 28.2.1756.

⁴² *EEC*, 6.12.1753. This advertisement also states that the concert would include “...Several choice Scots Tunes between the Acts.”

⁴³ For example: *EEC*, 16.1.1752; 28.1.1752; 18.2.1752; 16.6.1752; 11.8.1752.

⁴⁴ *EEC*, 13.11.1752.

Vocal and Instrumental Music. The Vocal part by Miss Rodburn; the instrumental by Signor Pasquali and others.

PART I. Overture in Alexander's Feast, by M Handel. Song, Rasserena il mesto ciglio, in Artamene. Concerto on the German Flute. Song, Vo Solcando un mar crudele, by Vinci. Concerto, Violin solo, in which is introduced a new Set of the Birks of Endermay.

PART II. Overture in Les talens lyriques, by Monsieur Rameaux. Song, Oh inaspettata sorte, being a Favourite Italian Parody of the lass of Patie's Mill, by Sig. Veracini.⁴⁵ Concerto, French Horns, with Captain Reid's March at the End. Three Scots Songs, alternately set for Voice, Violin Solo, and other Accompaniments. Grand Concerto of Corelli to conclude.

Tickets...2s. 6d. each. To begin at Six o'clock."⁴⁶

"For the benefit of Mr HUTTON, at Mr Lamot's School in James's Court, on Tuesday the 19th of February 1754, will be performed a CONCERT of VOCAL and INSTRUMENTAL MUSICK. The Vocal Part by Miss Rodburn, the Instrumental by Signor Pasquali, and others. The whole conducted by Signor Pasquali.

PART I. Overture in Ariadne. An Italian Song. Concerto on the French Horns. An English Song in the Overture of Jeptha. Maggy-Lauder with Variations for the Violin, to be performed by Mr Hutton, with Symphony, composed by Signor Pasquali, by all the other instruments.

PART II. Overture of Signor Pasquali the Tenth. Song the Banks of Forth. Solo on the Violin by Signor Pasquali. Flora, a favourite cantata. Concerto of Geminiani, the first of the third Opera. Up and warn a, for the Violineello [*sic*] to be performed by Mr Hutton, with Variations and a Symphony composed by Signor Pasquali.

Tickets...z [*sic*] s. 6d. To begin precisely at Six o'clock."⁴⁷

"For the BENEFIT of Signor PASQUALI. On Friday the 17th of this Instant 1755, at the ASSEMBLY HALL, will be performed A CONCERT of Vocal and Instrumental MUSICK. the Vocal Part by Miss RODBURN, the Instrumental by Signor PASQUALI, and Others.

PART I. Overture in Pharamond, by Mr Handel. Song, Caro mio ben perdona, by Signor Lampugnani. Concerto on the German Flute, performed by Mr Macpherson. Song, When Charming Beauty, in Noah's, by Signor Pasquali. La Chasse, a new Solo on the Violin.

PART II. Full Piece with Trumpets, French Horns, Kettle Drums, &c. Song, Torbido in Volto, a Capital Song by Signor Pergolesi. Concerto for Violins, Bassoon, &c. Tweed side, newly set in the Italian

⁴⁵ This was probably an aria from the opera *Rosalinda* of 1744 with music by Veracini. Performances listed in the *London Stage* in 1740 and 1744. Fiske notes that Burney thought this aria was similar to "The Lass of Paties Mill". Fiske, *Roger Scotland in Music. A European Enthusiasm* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 194.

"The first air that presents itself in the printed copy of the favourite songs [in *Rosalinda*] is "The lass of Patie's mill," which Monticelli condescended to sing, and Veracini to sets the parts and ritornels to, in order, as they imagined, to flatter the English. But as few of the North Britons, or admirers of this national and natural music, frequent the opera, or mean to give half a guinea to hear a Scots tune, which perhaps their cook-maid Peggy can sing better than any foreigner, this expedient failed of its intended effect."

Burney, Charles *A General History of Music from the Earliest Ages to the Present Period. To which is prefixed, a Dissertation on the Music of the Ancients* (London: Author, 1789), IV, 451 (hereafter *BurneyH*).

⁴⁶ *EEC*, 3.1.1754.

⁴⁷ *EEC*, 18.2.1754.

manner, (for the sake of Variety) by Signor Pasquali, with various Symphonies of Violins and Flutes. Grand concluding Concerto in Mr Handel's Selected Harmony...".⁴⁸

It is possible that the variations and symphony that Pasquali composed to "Maggy Lauder" and "Up and warn a" have been lost. Indeed, as Johnson has noted, in his article on Pasquali in the *New Grove*,⁴⁹ much of Pasquali's music has been lost. Amongst the music no longer extant, he lists: the oratorios *Noah* and *David*; the three masques which had been given in Dublin – *The Triumphs of Hibernia*, *The Temple of Peace* and *Apollo and Daphne*,⁵⁰ the comic opera *The Enraged Musician*; the two cantatas *Tweedside* and *Vineyard*; and the overture which Pasquali wrote to Pergolesi's *Stabat Mater*. It is possible that they existed only in manuscript form, which would have made them much more vulnerable.

In his *Scottish Musical Memoirs*, Dalyell noted that "Pasquali also wrote...a number of minuets which were circulated around Scotland by folk-fiddlers".⁵¹ In all probability, two of the minuets are the ones that Johnson notes as being in two manuscript collections (see pages 399-400).⁵² "Signo: Pissqualies Minuet" is part of the *Collection of the Best and Most Favourite Tunes for the Violin* which James Gillespie compiled in Perth in 1768 – 11 years after Pasquali's death. The *Collection* is prefaced with an explanation of the rudiments of music, explanations of note values, the different manner of bowing various rhythms, and a short dictionary of musical terms. This is followed by a series of twelve lessons and then four separate sections devoted to "Airs and March's", "Scots Tunes", "Minuets", and "Hornpipes Jiggs and Reels". As is clear from these four sections, the *Collection* is a mixture of folk and classical music – rather in the same manner that the concert programmes mentioned above were. There are examples from the folk tradition, such as "The Yellow Haird Ladie [*sic*]", "Roslin Castle", "Katherine Ogie", "Duncan Gray" and "Gilderoy", as well as music from the classical tradition, and in particular, the ever-popular works of Handel and Corelli.

⁴⁸ EEC, 2.1.1755; 7.1.1755, cit. Dalyell, John Graham *Musical Memoirs of Scotland* (Edinburgh: T. G. Stevenson, 1849), 287.

⁴⁹ *Grove*6, 263.

⁵⁰ While Johnson states that only the overtures of these works survive, a number of the songs were, in fact, printed in the *XII English Songs in Score* (London: Author, 1750). The titles of the songs state their provenance quite explicitly: *A Song in the Tempest*, *A Song in the Triumphs of Hibernia*, or *A Song in Apollo and Daphne*.

⁵¹ Dalyell, *Musical Memoirs*, 286.

⁵² Johnson, *Music and Society*, 55, states that "a minuet of Pasquali's is recorded in NLS MSS. 808 and 3346."

Likewise, the very same minuet, this time called “Pasqualio’s Minuet”, is found sandwiched between “My Ain Kind Dearie” and a pibroch in another manuscript collection.⁵³ Unlike Gillespie’s *Collection*, this is an untitled and undated volume, which has been copied out by a number of different hands. There is, however, the same mixture of folk and classical – Scottish melodies such as “Katherine Ogie”, “Tulloch Gorum”, “Loch Erroch Side” and “Cald kale in Aberdeen” are found alongside single movements taken from the works of Handel, Corelli, Stamitz, Leclair, Abel and the Earl of Kellie. This cross-fertilisation is of central importance, as it is evidence of Scotland’s culture directly influencing the Italian musicians who came, and also (no less importantly) of Italian influence on Scottish culture.

It is clear that some of these pieces were never published, and that they remained in manuscript form and in Pasquali’s possession. This is suggested by a number of different sources: in an advertisement in the *Courant* for a concert in which Pasquali was to perform, announced “Part I. Overture Manuscript, composed by Signor Pasquali.”⁵⁴ Another advertisement in the *Courant*, this time for the posthumous publication of Pasquali’s *Art of Fingering the Harpsichord or Spinnet*, stated that there were a number of manuscripts found at the composer’s house after his death, as Bremner writes in his advertisement that “This work was found among the author’s manuscripts”.⁵⁵ Indeed, when Bremner published the *Art*, he stated in his introduction to the work, that he had “...purchased the whole musical Effects of the Author, after his Decease”. Bremner noted that he had also found a treatise on composition, which he intended to publish (but never did), despite its not being “thoroughly digested”.⁵⁶ There was also Pasquali’s “fine

⁵³ NLS MS 3346. See also NLS Inglis 153.

⁵⁴ *EEC*, 9.10.1752.

⁵⁵ *EEC*, 23.11.1758.

⁵⁶ It is particularly regrettable that this treatise does not seem to have survived, as Bremner continues:

“...unfinished as it is, it would be doing injustice to his Memory to suppress it, as it is full of Principles intirely [sic] new; which, tho’ he did not live to unfold them so fully as he intended, may perhaps contribute to render the beautiful study of composition easier and less intricate than ever yet thought of...”.

Churchill has linked these “Principles intirely new” to those expounded by Rameau in his *Traité de l’Harmonie* (Paris, 1722). As Churchill has noted, the *Traité* was published in an English translation in 1752; it is however possible that Pasquali read it in the original French, as evidence shows that he knew French (he owned a French/Italian Dictionary and six volumes of unspecified French plays). NAS CC8/8/116/2, 262r.

Overture to PERGOLESE'S [*sic*] *Stabat Mater*, [which] with many other valuable Compositions, which he left perfect, shall be printed from time to time". From a previously unknown document,⁵⁷ we learn that Bremner did indeed have access to Pasquali's music immediately after his death – as he was brought in to value the musical instruments and music which Pasquali had left. This document is an inventory of goods belonging to Pasquali that was compiled by his brother in November 1757 – a month after Nicolò had died. Pasquali was one of the few Italian musicians in the eighteenth century who came to Edinburgh and died there, leaving an inventory of goods belonging to him at the time of his death. The inventory is eight-and-a-half pages long, and provides a great deal of information. It not only lists items such as household furniture, clothing, books and personal effects, but also gives details of their value, of the money Pasquali had, and of money which was owed to him at the time of his death. It reinforces the impression of the obituary – that Pasquali was a successful musician, "a person eminent in his profession as a composer, performer and teacher" – and also provides many details of his life in Edinburgh which were previously unknown. It is a document which is of great interest for the music historian and social historian alike. Unfortunately, however, there are no details of the music that Bremner found beyond the extremely vague mention of "musick books compleat and uncompleat".⁵⁸ It is possible that Pasquali owned some music by other composers for the theatre. That he was interested in the theatre is clear not only from his list of compositions, but also from the list of his books in the inventory: volume one of a 1747 edition of Shakespeare's plays and 6 volumes of "French plays Torn".⁵⁹

The inventory does no more than mention Pasquali's "two fiddle [*sic*] and an old Spinet". However, it is clear that these instruments – the violins at least – were valuable, as Bremner estimated them to be worth sixty pounds sterling in the inventory. They may have been his own instruments. On the other hand, they may have been the Cremona violins which Pasquali had brought with him from Ireland, as when he arrived in Edinburgh in 1752,

⁵⁷ NAS CC8/8/116/2, 259-263. See Appendix, page 289.

⁵⁸ NAS CC8/8/116/2, 262v.

⁵⁹ NAS CC8/8/116/2, 262v.

the Italian announced in the *Courant* he had “...some Cremona and other good FIDDLES”⁶⁰ for sale.

As well as his activities as a performer, Nicolò Pasquali was, like most other professional singers and instrumentalists, a teacher. An advertisement placed in the *Courant* in November 1752 (some months after Pasquali had arrived in Edinburgh), states:

“Whereas SIGNOR PASQUALI has heard, that it has often been inquired, whether he and his Brother are willing to take any Scholars this Winter, and on what Terms; This is to inform the Public, that he will teach (at his own lodgings) on such Terms as are usual in this Country, the following branches of music, viz. The Art of Singing; Playing the Violin; Playing the Thorough Base and Lessons on the HARPSICHORD, and his Brother playing on the VIOLINCELLO. He lodges at Mr. Coustins in Shoemakers Land, facing the Earl of Murray’s in the Canongate; where Letters and written messages will be punctually answered...”⁶¹

We know that he taught singing, as the minutes of the Musical Society detail payments to him for the teaching of a Miss Rodburn,⁶² and from the inventory that at his death the Society owed him £0.12.6 for his teaching her. Miss Rodburn most probably was the “poor Girl, with an extraordinary good strong Voice, willing to be instructed in Singing, and not able to afford the charges”.⁶³ As well as singing, she also learned Italian (though not from Pasquali), as the *Minutes* of the Society reveal that they paid for her to be taught by a Mrs Remon.⁶⁴

Unfortunately, Pasquali did not leave a vocal tutor – which perhaps seems unusual, bearing in mind that he was clearly respected as a teacher. Consequently, the manner in which he instructed his pupils is not known. He possibly taught Miss Rodburn the songs and arias which she performed in concerts with him: the “Verdi Prati” from Handel’s *Alcina*, Hasse’s song “Non ha ragione”,⁶⁵ along with the pieces by Pergolesi, Lampugnani and those of his own composition cited in the concert programmes above.

⁶⁰ EEC, 16.11.1752; 21.11.1752 and 27.11.1752. These were most probably the advertisements that Dalyell was quoting in his *Musical Memoirs*. Dalyell, *Musical Memoirs*, 212.

⁶¹ EEC, 16.11.51; 21.11.52; 27.11.52.

⁶² EMS, *Minutes*, 26.7.1753; 10.6.1754; 8.3.1755.

⁶³ EEC, 16.11.52; 21.11.52; 27.11.52.

⁶⁴ This was presumably the wife of “M. REMON, a Native of SPAIN, but last from ITALY, where he has resided for several Years” and who placed an advertisement in the *Courant* intending to teach French, Spanish and Italian. EEC, 31.10.1754.

⁶⁵ EEC, 27.2.1755.

Although Pasquali was a highly respected violinist, he did not publish a tutor for that instrument. For the keyboard, however, he wrote two didactic works: *Thorough-Bass Made Easy* and *The Art of Fingering the Harpsichord*. The *Thorough-Bass Made Easy: or, Practical Rules for finding and applying its various Chords with little Trouble; together with a Variety of Examples in Notes, shewing the Manner of accompanying Concertos, Solos, Songs and Recitatives* is believed by scholars to be one of Pasquali's most significant works.⁶⁶ It was evidently recognised as an important work in the eighteenth century, as Thomas Busby noted that *Thorough-Bass* was "...almost the only Thorough-bass instruction used in England for more than thirty years, that is from 1763 till about 1795...it maintained its place on the desk of almost every organ or harpsichord practitioner."⁶⁷ Furthermore, it was reprinted a number of times through the eighteenth century after Pasquali's death. Published originally in 1757 by Bremner in London,⁶⁸ it was reissued by him in 1765 and again c. 1770. Then, some 20 years later, Preston and son published a *New Edition of Thorough-bass made easy*. Pasquali's work had also been translated into French and Dutch, and published in Amsterdam by J. J. Hummel c. 1763.⁶⁹ The title page of the first edition by Bremner states that it was also sold in London, by Walsh and Johnson, and in Dublin by Manwaring. The advertisement in the *Courant* heralding the publication of the *Thorough-Bass*, in March 1757, announced that subscriptions would be taken by "...R. Bremner, in Edinburgh; also by Mr. Baxter at Glasgow, Mr. More at Dundee, Mr. Douglass at Aberdeen, and by Mr. Andrew Murray[,] Merchant at Inverness."⁷⁰

As John Churchill has observed in the introduction to the facsimile reprint of the *Thorough-bass made easy*, the tutor is aimed at the "noble amateur" – in much the same way as a great number of

⁶⁶ "In retrospect it seems to be Pasquali's most important achievement." Johnson 'Pasquali' in *Grove*⁶, 263. "Pasquali's most important publication". *BDA*, XI, 232.

⁶⁷ Busby, *Concert room*, cit. Churchill, *Thorough-Bass Made Easy*, iii-iv. Busby also noted that "...the two Thomsons always said, that the profit of its sale [the *Thorough-Bass*] was the foundation of their fortune." Busby, *Concert room*, II, 21-22.

⁶⁸ The original advertisements in the *EEC* stated that it would be published in the first week of March, 1757. *EEC*, 30.9.1756; 5.10.1756; 30.10.1756; 16.11.1756.

⁶⁹ *La basse continuë renduë aisée; ou, explication succinte des accords que la clavessin renferme; de la meilleure manière de les combiner; et des règles générales et spéciales de l'accompagnement pur toutes sortes de pièces avec plusieurs exemples notés, gravés en XIV planches et destinés à l'usage de commençans par Nicolas Pasquali, Revüe et augmentée par Jaques Guillaume Lustig, organiste à Groningue* (Amsterdam: J. J. Hummel, [c. 1763]).

⁷⁰ *EEC*, 8.3.1757.

the other vocal and instrumental tutors written and published in the eighteenth century were. In Pasquali's tutor, no previous knowledge of thorough bass is assumed and the author begins by stating simply that "THOROUGH-BASS is performed by adding to the notes of the bass such chords as properly belong to them".⁷¹ There are sections to explain the figures and what they stand for, on voicing, on how to avoid consecutive fifths and octaves, on accompanying different time-signatures (triple time, *alla breve* and jig time). There are lessons which have the figures realized and which are annotated to draw the scholar's attention to good and bad progressions. There are also unrealised lessons (such as plates XIII, XIV, XV, XVI), with written directions: A lesson "Chiefly calculated to avoid skipping with the Chords", and one "Containing all the final closes in Musick". In his tutor, Pasquali stresses to the public the importance of daily practice, and of assimilating thoroughly that which is learned, before progressing on to that which is new.

Writing on Pasquali in the *New Grove* Johnson has observed that the *Thorough-bass made easy* contains "excellent advice", and he cites the manner in which Pasquali advocates the playing of broken chords in recitative.⁷² Pasquali writes: "THIS Part of Thorough-Bass, to those that are not accustomed to it, is still more difficult than any of the rest; though, when once grown familiar, it becomes one of the easiest...".⁷³ He continues: "CARE must be taken not to strike abruptly, but in the *Harpeggio* Way, laying down the Fingers in the Chords *Harplike*, i.e. one after the other, sometimes *slow*, other times *quick*, according as the Words express either common, tender, or passionate Matters".⁷⁴ Pasquali then proceeds to give examples:

"...for common Speech a quick Harpeggio; for the tender a slow one; and, for any thing of Passion, where Anger, Surprise, &c. is expressed, little or no Harpeggio, but rather dry Strokes, playing with both Hands almost at once.

THE abrupt Way is also used at a *Punctum* or full Stop, where the Sense is at an End".⁷⁵

⁷¹ Pasquali, *Thorough-Bass*, 3.

⁷² *Grove*6, 263.

⁷³ Pasquali, *Thorough-Bass*, 47.

⁷⁴ Pasquali, *Thorough-Bass*, 47.

⁷⁵ Pasquali, *Thorough-Bass*, 48.

In his *Performer's Guide to Baroque Music*,⁷⁶ Robert Donington follows this passage of Pasquali's with a number of extracts from C. P. E. Bach's *Versuch* (published in 1762, five years after Pasquali's treatise), which state the same thing. Bach observed that:

"When the declamation is rapid, the chords must be ready instantly...Arpeggiation must always be withheld from rapid declamation...arpeggiation is not required here, for it finds its natural employment in quite different situations, in slow recitatives and sustained chords...The pace with which a chord is arpeggiated depends on the tempo and context of the recitative. The slower and more affettuoso the latter is, the slower the arpeggiation. But as soon as the accompaniment shifts from sustained to short, detached notes, the accompanist must play detached, resolute chords, unarpeggiated, and fully grasped by both hands."⁷⁷

Finally, there is a musical example in the *Thorough-Bass*, "...as all Instructions are of little Force without an Example".⁷⁸ The example that Pasquali includes at the end of his tutor, is the short cantata of two recitatives and two arias, *Pastora* (see pages 401-406). Both recitatives are annotated with detailed instructions on how to play and arpeggiate the chords: as well as the small triplet/semiquaver [figures] there are instructions in words to indicate "The manner of Accompanying it", with the instruction between the keyboard staves, that "NB each white note begins at the little one that it is tied with", and to play in the "abrupt way" at a moment of particular tension.

In *Pastora* Pasquali does not, however, realize the basses of the two arias. These pieces are obviously intended for the student to put into practice that which was expounded in the earlier part of the tutor. Nevertheless, it is perhaps possible to view this as part of the move towards the increasingly accurate notation of music during the course of the eighteenth century, and which in Scotland is most evident in the realizations of Domenico Corri's *Select Collection* of 1779. It is this process which Donington describes in the chapter on accompaniment in his *Performer's Guide*.⁷⁹ Donington writes that "As...realizations grow in elaboration and in richly independent interest, they merge into obbligato accompaniments, provided by the

⁷⁶ Donington, Robert *A Performer's Guide to Baroque Music* (London: Faber, 1973), 234.

⁷⁷ Bach, Carl Philipp Emanuel; Mitchell, William J. ed and transl *Essay on the True Art of Playing Keyboard Instruments* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1949), 421-422.

⁷⁸ Pasquali, *Thorough-Bass*, 48.

⁷⁹ Donington, *Performer's Guide*, 208 ff.

composer as integral components of his music, and not much subject to optional variation by the performer.”⁸⁰

Pasquali also wrote another didactic work for the keyboard which he had been preparing for publication at the time of his death in 1757. Although his death was sudden, it appears that the treatise was already complete, as Bremner remarked on the title page, when he published it, that he had found it “ready for the Press,” and that he “presented to the Public without any alteration.”⁸¹

The Art of Fingering the Harpsichord was clearly a popular work, as it ran to a number of reprints after Pasquali’s death. First issued by Bremner in Edinburgh in 1758,⁸² he then reissued it c. 1765, after the Scottish publisher had established himself in London. It was advertised on the title page of Bremner’s own *Harpsichord or Spinnet Miscellany*, which the publisher brought out about the same time as *The Art of Fingering*. In a short note on the title page of the *Miscellany*, Bremner draws attention to the *Art* by stating that “N.B. Those who have not had the opportunity [*sic*] of a good Master and wou’d choose to finger properly, ought to peruse PASQUALI’S Art of Fingering the Harpsichord, where that matter is fully and clearly treated.” Pasquali’s treatise was published again: some 25 years after Bremner’s edition, in about 1790, by Preston and Son – at about the same time that they brought out their edition of *Thorough-bass Made Easy* – and then in 1795 by Longman & Broderip.

As in *Thorough-Bass Made Easy*, Pasquali begins with directions for the beginner. In the *Art of Fingering* there are “Proposals for Children, whose Fingers cannot yet reach an Octave on common Harpsichords”, where Pasquali suggests that “...Children should be first taught on Spinnets made on purpose, with narrower keys than usual...”⁸³ In this way children:

“...will be taught good Fingering at first and acquire a good Habit from their earliest Lessons. Otherwise they must learn their Lessons with wrong Fingers in their Infancy, and then learn them over again with proper Fingers in their riper Years: which, perhaps, may not be so easily done, as it is more than probable that a

⁸⁰ Donington, *Performer’s Guide*, 208.

⁸¹ Pasquali, Nicolò *The Art of Fingering the Harpsichord; Illustrated with Examples in Notes; To which is added, An approved Method of Tuning this Instrument: by Nicolo Pasquali* (Edinburgh: R. Bremner, [1758]).

⁸² No date is given on the title page, however, it is clear from contemporary newspaper advertisements that the date of publication was 1758. *EEC*, 23.11.1758.

⁸³ Pasquali, *Art of Fingering*, v.

Tincture of bad Fingering will Stick to them as long as they live. This last Assertion I can aver by the Experience I have had of some of my own Scholars.”⁸⁴

There is also advice on extending and contracting the fingers, the role of the thumb, separate sections on fingering and on “the manner of chusing the Fingers the first Time of attempting to play a Lesson”.⁸⁵ There is a plate illustrating “An approved Method of Tuning the Harpsichord” (see page 407),⁸⁶ a page on the most usual ornaments, one on “different touches”, such as legato playing, staccato, staccatissimo, “tremolato” and “sdruciolato”.⁸⁷ Of this last touch, Pasquali writes that:

“THE *Sdruciolato* is never used but in scales of natural Notes, without any short Keys interfering betwixt them. And it is performed by sliding the Nail of the Fore-finger over the Keys in ascending, or the Nail of the Thumb in descending. It is recommended here only as a Whym, which, if applied in a Lesson of Humour, may afford a pleasing Variety.”⁸⁸

There are also “Objections against playing Fugues in three or four Parts on the Harpsichord”, of which Pasquali observes:

“THIS is a Kind of Playing that forty Years ago was much more in Vogue than it is at present; but, as it has still some Partizans, it is necessary here to examine its Nature, in order to form a Judgment, whether it is fit for a Harpsichord or not.”⁸⁹

He continues:

“...many Passages in Fugues and other Compositions in three or four Parts, cannot be played on the Harpsichord, neither as they are written, nor with a good Tone...it is impossible to hold every Note its full Length, according to past Rules, as it does not admit of a Regularity of Fingers; but also by the too great Nearness of the parts, the Ear will confound the Passages of one Part with those of

⁸⁴ Pasquali, *Art of Fingering*, v-vi.

⁸⁵ Pasquali, *Art of Fingering*, contents.

⁸⁶ A copy of this “Method” was issued in Holden, James *An Essay Towards a Rational System of Music* (Calcutta: Ferris and Greenway, [1799]), see page 408. The first edition was issued in Glasgow by Robert Urie for the author in 1770. The preface of the 1799 edition states:

“This Edition is printed exactly of the same size and Form, and with the same sized Type as the first Edition...To the whole I have added an approved Method of Tuning the Harpsichord, Piano-forte, &c. somewhat altered from *Pasquali*, by which any Lady or Gentleman, possessing a good Ear, may tune their own Instruments: it is comprized in the last Plate, which I have numbered XIII; but may be cut out, if necessary, without any Injury to the Book, and fixed on a Paste-board, or on the Inside of the Cover of a Music-Book, at Discretion.”

Holden, James *An Essay Towards a Rational System of Music* (Calcutta: Ferris and Greenway, [1799]), preface, iii.

⁸⁷ “...scivolare velocemente e leggermente su una superficie levigata...”, “...to slide quickly and lightly over a smooth surface...” (author’s translation). *Dizionario Enciclopedico Italiano* (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1970-1974), XI, 66 (hereafter *DEI*).

⁸⁸ Pasquali, *Art of Fingering*, 27.

⁸⁹ Pasquali, *Art of Fingering*, 21.

another, and often reduce the Effect of four Parts to that of two. And when it so happens, that the Musick is so much interwoven, that the Ear cannot reduce it to two Parts, then it has often the Effect of meer Thorough-bass.”⁹⁰

Pasquali concludes his argument by stating that:

“UPON the whole, I really believe, that Passages with complicated Parts in the manner above mentioned, are not natural for the Instrument, and therefore ought to be avoided as much as possible...”⁹¹

It is not known whether Pasquali intended to leave Edinburgh and move back to London, or perhaps even Dublin – at the time of his death, he was only 39 years old and had been living in the Scottish capital for about five years. It is quite possible that Pasquali intended to stay in Edinburgh as, from the information there is, it is clear that he found that city a congenial place to work, perhaps more so than any of the other Italian musicians who were to visit and/or live in Edinburgh later in the eighteenth century.

Burney wrote of Pasquali that he was “...an excellent performer on the violin and a good musician”, and that in Edinburgh he lived “much respected as a professor, and beloved as a man, by all who knew him...”⁹² Echoing Burney in sentiment, Thomas Busby observed in his *History* that:

“...While London was patronising and enjoying the great talents that appealed to its taste, Edinburgh was gratified with the abilities of Lampe and Pasquali. And that city was so munificent to their merits, and its manners so agreeable to their feelings, that both remained there until the time of their death.”⁹³

Writing some sixty years after Pasquali’s death, Busby ranked Pasquali along with Veracini and Carbonelli as the foremost violinists of his day.⁹⁴ Yet Pasquali was not only a talented performer, but a gifted teacher and an able composer. While many of his works seem to have been lost – and for the history of music in Scotland it is particularly regrettable that one of these should be *The Enraged Musician* – it is clear that Pasquali influenced, and was influenced by, the musical culture of Scotland.

⁹⁰ Pasquali, *Art of Fingering*, 21-22.

⁹¹ Pasquali, *Art of Fingering*, 23.

⁹² BurneyH, IV, 672.

⁹³ Busby, Thomas A *General History of Music, from the Earliest Times to the Present; Comprising the Lives of the Eminent Composers and Musical Writers the whole accompanied with notes and observations, critical and illustrative* (London: printed for G. and W. B. Whittaker and Simpkin and Marshall, 1819), II, 513-514.

⁹⁴ “[c. 1741] Of our native violinists, Festing, Collet, and Brown were the principal; and among the Italians, Veracini, Carbonelli and Pasquali...”. Busby, *History*, II, 510.

CHAPTER 3

LESSER FIGURES c. 1720-1760

As well as Francesco Barsanti and Nicolò Pasquali there were a number of other Italian musicians and singers who travelled to Edinburgh in the forty years between 1720 and 1760. Some of these musicians remained in Edinburgh for many years, while others spent only a short period in the Scottish capital. Almost all of them appeared at the Musical Society concerts. About some of these musicians there is a considerable amount of information and they have also been the subject of a limited amount of study. Some, on the other hand, have remained somewhat obscure figures and little has been known of their activities in Edinburgh. Some, indeed, have been overlooked altogether by historians of music in this period.

i LORENZO BOCCHI

Probably one of the first Italian musicians to come to Scotland in the eighteenth century was Lorenzo Bocchi. As he was in Edinburgh in the 1720s before the Musical Society was formally constituted, and also before the newspapers carried many details regarding concerts and concert programmes, two of the usual main sources of information are rather unfruitful. His contribution to musical life in Scotland, however, was not inconsiderable, as historians of Scottish music have noted, and is particularly interesting for the way in which it has been considered by these scholars.

As indicated, little information about Lorenzo Bocchi comes from the *Minutes* of the Edinburgh Musical Society. The *Minutes* of the Society record only one payment made to Bocchi and the renowned violinist Matthew Dubourg, in the summer of 1729:

“...Messrs Duburg & Bocchi	£ 3.11.5
[total expenditure	£130.19.10 ¹ / ₂ ”]. ¹

Similarly, there is little information about Bocchi in contemporary newspapers. In January 1726, however, an advertisement appeared in the *Caledonian Mercury* announcing the publication of a volume of chamber music, that included twelve sonatas and a cantata:

¹ EMS, *Minutes*, 6.1729.

“Signior LORENZO BOCCHI has published an Opera of his own Composition, by Subscription, containing 12 Sonata’s, or Solo’s, for different Instruments, viz. a Violin, Flute, Violencello [*sic*], Viola de Gamba, and Scots Cantate; with Instrumental Parts after the Italian manner; the Words by Mr. Ramsay; with a Thorow-bass for the Harpsichord. Subscribers may have their Copies at Mr. John Steill’s, any time before the First of March ensuing. Any Person that has not subscribed, may likewise be furnished, there being more Copies cast off than will serve the Subscribers.”²

This work by Bocchi that was advertised was the *Musicall Entertainment For A Chamber*.³ Writing in his *History*, Farmer has noted the importance of this work as one of three publications that appeared in 1726 – a body comprising the first printed secular music in Scotland in the eighteenth century.⁴ Considered alongside the works of the Scottish composer, Sir John Clerk of Penicuik, the *Musicall Entertainment* not only indicates the presence of the Italian late Baroque in Edinburgh, it also confirms local interest in music of this kind.⁵ Furthermore, an examination of the last work in the *Musicall Entertainment* (the *Scotch Cantata*) reveals a fusion of Italianate and Scottish elements, the analysis of which (and no less

² CM, 1.2.1726; 3.2.1726; 22.1.1726.

³ Farmer states that there are no extant copies of this Edinburgh publication. Farmer, *History*, 292. There are, however, two different editions listed in BUCEM, 118: *A Musickall Entertainment For A Chamber. Sonatas for Violin Flute Violoncello and Six String Bass. With a Thorough bass for the Harpsicord or bass Violin. Lastly, a Scotch Cantata with the Instrumentall parts after the Italian Manner. Dedicated to his Grace James, Duke of Hamilton and Brandon. Compos'd by Lorenzo Bocchi. Opera Prima* ([London: s.n., c. 1725]) and (Dublin: John and William Neal, [1726]). Previous to this, a minuet by Bocchi had appeared in *A Second Collection of English Aires & Minuets, with Severall Favorite Air's* [*sic*] out of the Late Operas of Otho, Iulius Caesar, Vespasian, & Rodelinda; all Sett with a Bass, being Proper for the Violin, German Flute, Harpsicord or Spinett (Dublin: Neale, [1724]), see page 409. The *Dublin Musical Calendar* (41) also records the publication of *A Colection* [*sic*] of the most Celebrated Irish Tunes proper for the Violin German Flute or Hautboy PleaRar keh na Rough set [?] different divisions Bass & Corus [*sic*] As performed at the Subscription Consort by Senior Lorenzo Bocchi (Dublin: John and William Neal [1724]).

⁴ Farmer notes: “The work of Stuart [*Musick for Allan Ramsay's Collection of Scots Songs*], with Lorenzo Bocchi's twelve sonatas and a Scots cantata (Edin., 1726) and Thomas Bruce's *The Common Tunes* (Edin., 1726) which included several ballads, was the first secular music published in Scotland since the 1688 edition of Forbes' *Cantus*.” Farmer, *History*, 251. Some pages later he reiterates this: “It will be remembered that, apart from the *Cantus* of Forbes (1662, 1666, 1682), there was no printed secular music in Scotland up to the close of the first quarter of the 18th century, but in the year 1726 there were three historic publications. The first was a work by Signor Lorenzo Bocchi, containing twelve sonatas for different instruments and a Scots Cantata...”. Farmer, *History*, 292. Purser acknowledges the archaic aspect of the *Cantus*: “...The music in it [the *Cantus*] was mostly a century old or else imported and, though it was all meant to be sung in parts, only the melody line...was printed, presumably for lack of demand.” Purser *Scotland's Music* 159. Purser, however, ignores the *Musicall Entertainment* altogether and focuses entirely on John Abell and Sir John Clerk. Purser, *Scotland's Music*, 159-172.

⁵ An examination of the list of subscribers that was published in the *Entertainment* reveals a number of important Scottish patrons. On more general interest of Scotland in Baroque music in this period, see Elliott and Rimmer, *History*, 48-51.

importantly their subsequent treatment by Scottish music historians) raises a number of interesting issues.

The *Musicall Entertainment* begins with twelve sonatas: four for violin, four for “Fluto” (recorder) and four for the viola da gamba (a “Six String Bass”). The first three violin sonatas have four movements, in the slow-fast-slow-fast *sonata da chiesa* form. The last sonata has an *Affettuoso* added to the previous four movements. Only the first of the wind sonatas has this four-movement structure – the remaining sonatas are in the three-movement *sonata da camera* form. The cello and gamba sonatas are all in three movements. Within this three-movement structure, however, there is some variety of form, as the movements do not necessarily follow a fast-slow-fast sequence: *Cantabile-Allegro-Andante* in sonata VII; *Andante-Allegro-Affettuoso* in sonata XI and *Largo-Vivace-Andante* in sonata XII. The individual movements within each of the sonatas reflect a wide range of textures evident in the work of Corelli: from delicately ornamented *Cantabile* writing (III, i; IV, i; VII, i; IX, ii; see pages 410-413), to more vigorous dotted figures (XII, i; II, i; see pages 414, 425), from imitative motifs (I, ii; III, ii; see pages 415-418) to triple time dance movements (III, iv; IV, v; see pages 419-420). Most of the technical challenges in violin sonatas lie well under the hand and are confined to passages of string crossings in semiquavers (I, ii; II, ii; III, iv; IV, ii; see pages 415-416, 421-422, 419 and 423-424) and sequential passages in semiquavers made up from broken chords and scalar passages (III, ii; III, iv; IV, ii; see pages 417-419, 423-424). There are, however, passages that extend sequences up beyond third position into fourth and fifth position (II, i; II, ii; see page 425, pages 421-422) and passages which feature double stopping that goes beyond the simple combination of open strings and stopped notes found in cadential phrases (particularly III, ii, see pages 417-418). Passages that are more technically challenging are also found in the *basso* of the continuo accompaniment. While often limited to crotchet and quaver motion (II, iv; III, iv; VII, iii; see pages 426, 419, 427), the writing is occasionally more demanding, with passages of semiquaver sequences notated in tenor clef (I, ii; V, iv; see pages 415-416, 428-429) and an almost equal part to the solo instrument in the final variation of a series of increasingly technically complex variations (IX, iii; see pages 430-432). Other interesting features in the twelve

sonatas in the *Musicall Entertainment* include the “English Aire Improvis’d after an Italian manner” (XII, ii; see pages 433-434) for the viola da gamba, a gigue marked *Vivace* in which running semiquaver sequences elaborate the opening melody. They are contrasted, both in the opening melody and in the elaborations, with octave leaps in quavers and falling arpeggiac figures in quavers. These features are not limited to the viola da gamba line, as the *basso* of the continuo line also shares this material. The following movement (XII, iii; see page 435) is an *Andante* headed “In Imitation of a french Horn”, in which repeated double-stopped semiquavers on the same notes recreate the effect of the natural horn.

Most of what has been written by scholars about the *Musicall Entertainment* has focused on the *Scotch Cantata* – which is the final work included in the *Entertainment* (see pages 436-444). This is a short, four-movement cantata (recitative, *da capo* aria, recitative, *da capo* aria) which, as the original advertisement in the *Caledonian Mercury* stated, mixed Italianate instrumental writing with a text by the Scots poet Allan Ramsay:

[recitative]

Blate⁶ Jonny Faintly tell’d Fair Jeen His mind
 Jeanny took Pleasure to deny Him lang
 He thought her Scorn Came Frae a Heart unkind
 Which Gart him in despair Tune up this sang

[aria]

O’ bonny Lassie since tis sae
 That I’m dispis’d by thee
 I hate to live but O’ I’m Wae
 and uncko sweer to die
 dear Jeany think what dowy⁷ houres
 I thole⁸ by your disdain
 Ah! shou’d a Breast sae saft as youre
 Contain a Heart of stane.

[recitative]

These tender notes did a her pity Move
 with melting heart she listned to the Boy
 O’er came she smil’d and promis’d him her Love
 He in return thus sang his rising Joy

[aria]

Hence frae my breast contentious Care
 ye’ve tint⁹ the power to pine

⁶ Blate – bashful. Ramsay, *Poems*, I, 384.

⁷ Dowie – melancholy, sad, doleful. Ramsay, *Poems*, I, 386.

⁸ Thole – to endure, suffer. Ramsay, *Poems*, I, 396.

⁹ Tint – lost. Ramsay, *Poems*, I, 396.

My Jeany's good my Jeany's fair
 and a her sweets are mine
 O' spread thine Arms and gi'e me fouth¹⁰
 of dear enchanting Bliss
 A thousand Joys arround thy Mouth
 Gi'e Heav'en with ilka¹¹ kiss."¹²

The musical and dramatic structure of this work, as well as the sense of tension and timing, are well controlled by the composer. The polarization of the melody and bass line is a typical feature of the music of the period. Occasionally, however, the *basso* of the continuo line is more demanding, and mirrors the part written for violin (such as that of the closing phrase of the opening ritornello of the second aria). The writing for violin is idiomatic, with repeated phrases and sequences characteristic of the Italian late Baroque.

An interesting difference of opinion can be detected in the views of Farmer and of Johnson in their writing on the *Musicall Entertainment*. As well as acknowledging the importance of the *Entertainment* in being one of the first published secular works in Scotland in the eighteenth century, Farmer also ties the *Scotch Cantata* in with development of the ballad opera form in Scotland, up to *The Gentle Shepherd* in 1725. Farmer notes that:

"The *Edinburgh Courant* (12.7.1720) announces that these two latter individuals [a Mr Gordon and Bocchi] had arrived in Edinburgh with plans for 'consorts'. In 1722 Gordon gave a concert in Glasgow and immediately afterwards he issued 'Proposals for the improvement of music in Scotland, together with a most reasonable and easy scheme for establishing *pastoral opera* in Edinburgh.' In 1726...Bocchi was in close touch with Ramsay, when he set music to one of the latter's songs, probably *Blate Jonny*. From this it is quite evident that ballad opera was already visualized in Scotland even before *The Gentle Shepherd* (1725) and *The Beggar's Opera* (1728), and that it was Gordon probably who originally gave Ramsay the notion."¹³

More recently, Johnson has given this a slightly different slant, implying that the inspiration and energy behind the *Scotch Cantata* was Ramsay's, while Bocchi's involvement was as a result of finding himself in Edinburgh at an opportune moment.¹⁴ Writing in *Music and Society*, Johnson deals with Bocchi and the *Scotch Cantata* in his

¹⁰ Fouth - abundance, plenty. Ramsay, *Poems*, I, 388.

¹¹ Ilka - every. Ramsay, *Poems*, I, 390.

¹² Bocchi, *Musicall Entertainment*, 46-54. Johnson transcribes the text for the first recitative and aria (modernizing some of the spelling) in *Music and Society*, 191.

¹³ Farmer, *History*, 301.

¹⁴ "Ramsay decided to create a Scottish version of this genre [the cantata]; he looked round Edinburgh for a suitable composer to collaborate with. By good fortune one Bocchi, an Italian cellist, had arrived in Edinburgh in July 1720, and he agreed to take part in Ramsay's scheme." Johnson, *Music and Society*, 191.

chapter entitled “Nationalism and Xenophobia”.¹⁵ After drawing attention to the extent of Bocchi’s collaboration with Ramsay and after noting the mixture of Scottish and Italianate elements in the *Cantata*, Johnson then discusses the sentiment of another of Ramsay’s poems, the “Elegy on Patie Birnie”:

“...That beardless capons are na men,
We by their fozie¹⁶ springs might ken;
But ours, he said, could vigour len’
To men o’ weir,
And gar¹⁷ them stout to battle sten’
Withoutten fear.”¹⁸

Johnson observes that in this poem “Classical music is dismissed as utterly effeminate compared with ‘virile’ Scots folk music” and that “Allan Ramsay’s position was undecided, to say the least.”¹⁹ Pursuing this train of thought further, it is interesting to note that Ramsay alluded to this conflict between Scottish and Italian music also in ‘Health: a Poem’:

“...The whole of Nature, to a Mind thus tun’d,
Enjoying HEALTH, with Sweetness seems adorn’d.
To him the whistling Ploughman’s artless Tune,
The bleating Flocks, the Oxens hollow Crune,
The Warbling Notes of the small chirping Throng,
Delight him more than the *Italian* Song.”²⁰

This contrast is, however, viewed from a slightly different perspective than that in the “Elegy on Patie Birnie”. This time it is between the simple, uncontrived beauty of nature, the closeness of he who works the soil to nature, and the unaffected – “artless” to borrow Ramsay’s own word – simplicity of *his* music with all the opposite qualities that Ramsay implies to be part of Italian (classical) music. Ramsay himself goes on to contrast the verdant abundance of this life-enhancing countryside with the barren, choleric-inducing, arid scenery of a Catholic country, and the humble Briton with the arrogant foreigner:

“...Be grateful, *Britons*, for your temp’rate Beams,
Your fertile Plains, green Hills, and Silver Streams,
Overclad with Corns, with Groves, and many a Mead;

¹⁵ Johnson, *Music and Society*, 187. The pages concerning Bocchi are 191-192. Writing on the Grand Tour, Black has emphasised the tension between cosmopolitanism and xenophobia of travel abroad in the eighteenth century, noting that “Cultural preferences were testaments of loyalty.” Black, *Grand Tour*, 3.

¹⁶ Fozie – spungy, soft. Ramsay, *Poems*, I, 388.

¹⁷ Gar – to cause, make, or force. Ramsay, *Poems*, I, 388.

¹⁸ Ramsay “Elegy on Patie Birnie”, *cit.* Johnson, *Music and Society*, 192.

¹⁹ Johnson, *Music and Society*, 192.

²⁰ “Health: a Poem”, Ramsay, *Poems*, II, 18.

Where rise green Heights, where Herds in Millions feed.
Here useful Plenty mitigates our Care,
And HEALTH with freshest Sweets embalms the Air.

...Let the proud *Spaniard* strut on naked Hills,
And vainly trace the Plain for Christal Rills,
Starve on a Sallet, or a Garlick Head,
Pray for his daily Roots, not daily Bread,
Be sower, and jealous of his Friend and Wife,
Till want of Spleen cut short his Threed of Life.”²¹

It is interesting to note that Lorenzo Bocchi – one of the first Italian musicians who travelled to Scotland in the eighteenth century, and one about whom we have the least biographical information – should highlight so clearly a number of the issues with which historians of Scottish music have grappled. Some have overlooked Bocchi, while others have tried to assess his contribution to Scottish musical culture and to gauge the perception of what he represented.

ii SIGNOR BENEDETTO

From the *Minutes* of the Edinburgh Musical Society it emerges that a “Signor Benedetto” was one of the first star singers employed by the Society. The *Minutes* for May 1733 note that:

“The Governour and Directors have resolved that Sigr. Benedetto’s Salary of a Hunder. Guineas agreed with him before he came over be reckoned from his leaving Dublin the First of May 1732 And that after the First of May Current in place of the above Hunder. Guineas yearly he be paid monthly Ten pounds Sterline.”²²

Other than his Dublin provenance, little information about the identity of Signor Benedetto comes from the *Minutes*. Indeed, as Walsh has noted in his study of opera in Dublin in the eighteenth century, there even appears to have been some uncertainty about this singer’s exact identity.²³ Furthermore, there has been almost no mention of “Signor Benedetto” in the work of Scottish music

²¹ “Health: a Poem”, Ramsay, *Poems*, II, 24-26.

²² EMS, *Minutes*, 5.5.1733.

²³ Walsh, Thomas Joseph *Opera in Dublin 1705-1797. The Social Scene* (Dublin: Allen Figgis, 1973), 22. Walsh notes that the first four editions of *Grove* have separate entries under “Benedetti” and “Benedetto Baldassari”, while the fifth edition combines the two entries under “Benedetti”. Similarly *GroveO*, I, 285, has one entry under “Baldassari Benedetto [Benedetti]”. This entry states that he was a soprano castrato who fl. 1708-25, and gives a résumé of his career as a singer. From 1708-14 the Italian was in the service of the Elector Palatine at Dusseldorf. In 1712 he travelled to London, in 1714 he was in Rome, four years later, in 1718, he appeared in Venice, then in 1719 he was again in London.

historians.²⁴ This is possibly as a result of a number of factors – it could be that “Signor Benedetto” has been overshadowed by two other Italians who were in Edinburgh at about the same time. An examination of the work written on the Italian musicians who were in Scotland in this period reveals that scholars have concentrated their attention on Lorenzo Bocchi and the publication of his *Musicall Entertainment* and the engagement of Francesco Barsanti by the Musical Society, which took effect from 1735, the year after Signor Benedetto left the employ of the Society. Secondly, it is possible that, writing more generally on the Italian singers who appeared at the Edinburgh concert throughout the whole of the eighteenth century, scholars have focused their attention on Giusto Ferdinando Tenducci. Gray has referred to Tenducci as “The most outstanding of all the professional singers engaged by the Society...”,²⁵ while Harris, quoting Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe on Tenducci, notes that “...This was, as far as I know, the only very celebrated Italian singer who ever visited Scotland”,²⁶ for Johnson Tenducci was “...the great castrato...”,²⁷ and “The famous castrato...”.²⁸

Nonetheless, while it is necessary to refer to other sources to establish the identity of this Italian singer, the information that there is on “Signor Benedetto” in the *Minutes* of the Musical Society is valuable for a number of reasons. The *Minutes* show how much of their total yearly expenditure the Society was prepared to pay for such a performer – a figure which amounted to about a quarter of their total outgoings for the year:

“...To Mr Benedetto in full of his Salary due 1 May 1733	£105.0.0”
[total expenditure	£443.5.2 ¹ / ₂], ²⁹

“...To Mr Benedetto his Salary from May 1733 to June 1734	£130.0.0
[total expenditure	£463.16.6], ³⁰

The *Minutes* of the Musical Society relating to “Signor Benedetto” also highlight an interesting, and important, aspect of musical patronage. A note in the *Minutes* from January 1733 records that

²⁴ Benedetto’s name does not feature in Farmer *History*, nor is he mentioned in Johnson *Music and Society*.

²⁵ Gray, “The Musical Society”, 213.

²⁶ Harris, *Saint Cecilia’s Hall*, 117.

²⁷ Johnson, *Music and Society*, 13, 192.

²⁸ Johnson, *Music and Society*, 142.

²⁹ EMS, *Minutes*, 4.1732-5.1733.

³⁰ EMS, *Minutes*, 5.1733-6.1734.

employment came not only through favourable aristocratic connections, but also *via* recommendation by other musicians:

“The Governour and Directors have resolved that Signr. Putti recommended by Sigrs. Senesino & Benedetto be employed as a performer on the Fidle...and that Mr Benedetto be desired to write to him to this effect by the same post.”³¹

Little appears to be known of the music that “Signor Benedetto” performed while he was in Edinburgh. The *Minutes* of the Society for July 1733 record that the choice of vocal pieces was to be left entirely up to the singer:

“The Governour and Directors have Resolved that a plan be made...and that the plan name the person who is to play the Leading Fidle [*sic*]; But that it be left to Mr Benedetto to Sing what songs he pleases himself.”³²

It is therefore necessary to turn to other sources to try to establish the repertoire that Benedetto presented to his Edinburgh audiences. Fortunately, in this respect, the short period that Benedetto spent in the Scottish capital came at the end of a career which had begun over two decades before, and it is probable that he performed extracts from works with which he had been associated in the past. There seems to be little information about the music that Benedetto

³¹ EMS, *Minutes*, 27.1.1733. The *Minutes* show that the Musical Society also received letters enquiring about the possibility of employment directly from musicians themselves, without the help of an intermediary or recommendation:

“...A Letter from Signr Cattani of York to Mr Clerk being laid before the Directors resolved that in answer he acquaint Mr Cattani that they are willing to give him an annuall Sallary of Forty pounds Sterline [*sic*] to commence from the first of November next, and that if he agrees to the proposall he must be here on or before the said day.”

EMS, *Minutes*, 20.8.1734. This was probably the musician, teacher and composer Giuseppe Cattaneo. There do not seem to be any other references in the *Minutes* to the payment of a salary to this musician, and it is possible that Cattaneo went directly from York to London, as the *London Stage* suggests that by March 1735 he was already established in London. Very little indeed seems to be known of this musician, and even the spelling of his surname varies: the *London Stage* cites him merely as Cataneo; the *BDA* has an entry under Joseph Cattani (III, 315); *RISM* (II, 84) records two publications by Giuseppe Cattaneo. There is no record of Cattaneo in Dublin, as his name does not feature in the *Dublin Musical Calendar*. The mention of Cattaneo in the *Minutes* of the Edinburgh Musical Society seems to be one of the earliest references to him, the *London Stage* records an appearance at Drury Lane by a pupil of his in March 1735, while the *BDA* asserts that he taught music in London from 1735 to 1762. By the early years of the 1760s, Cattaneo seems to have been in some distress, as at a benefit performance of *Il Mercato di Malmantile* for Signor and Signora Paganini:

“...another Part of the aforesaid Profits will be given towards relieving old Signor Cataneo, who, during forty Years was useful to the Operas, but is now in extreme Distress; and the Manager, who is at the Expence of this Benefit, has chearfully consented to the Disposition here mentioned.”

London Stage, 14.4.1762. One presumes that Cattani, who was, as the advertisement notes, already an old man, did not live for much longer and died in the 1760s. The music composed and published by Cattaneo comprises two sets of six sonatas for *violino e basso*, *opera prima* and *opera seconda* (no date of publication is given).

³² EMS, *Minutes*, 3.7.1733.

EMS, *Minutes*, 6.1734-6.1735.

do so for the winter. The *Minutes* record both the content of Benedetto's letter and the Society's decision to release him from their employ:

"A letter from Mr Benedetto to Mr Young, was by him laid before the Directors, imparting that Mr Benedetto is not to come to Scotland this winter, but would be sure to return as soon as the Season permitts, and that at his return it would be a pleasure to him to be employed by the Society as they think proper. Resolved that Mr Benedetto be acquainted, by a Letter from the Directors that they are not to employ him any longer in the service of the Society, and that he may lose no opportunity of other business in that Expectation."³⁷

After this, Benedetto's name drops from the *Minutes* of the Society and there seems to be little information about his activities after this date. The *Biographical Dictionary of Actors* does not record any appearances after the concerts that Signor Benedetto had given in Dublin in 1725.³⁸

iii GIOVANNI ANGELO BATTISTA PUTTI

The *Minutes* of the Edinburgh Musical Society show that Signor Putti was recommended to the Society by Signor Benedetto in January 1733:

"The Governour and Directors have resolved that Signr. Putti recommended by Sigrs. Senesino & Benedetto be employed as a performer on the Fidle...and that Mr Benedetto be desired to write to him to this effect by the same post."³⁹

Also included in this minute was a note of the terms that the Society was offering:

"...[Signor Putti] be employed as a performer on the Fidle for one year, And that he have an allowance of thirty pounds Sterline for the years Service, payable as the other Masters Salarys from the time he shall be in Edinburgh, And that he have a further Allowance of Ten pounds to defray his Charges of coming to Scotland, And that Mr Benedetto be desired to write to him to this effect by the same post..."⁴⁰

From the evidence of the *Minutes* it is clear that Signor Putti did indeed accept the offer made by the Society – the *Minutes* record payments made to this musician for travelling charges as well as his salary:

³⁷ EMS, *Minutes*, 13.11.1734.

³⁸ "...In Dublin for 16 successful concerts, after which he seems to have left Great Britain. Though the date of his death is not known, Musgrave's dictionary records a Benedetti, presumably the singer, dying in England." BDA, I, 235.

³⁹ EMS, *Minutes*, 27.1.1733.

⁴⁰ EMS, *Minutes*, 27.1.1733.

"...Paid a Tavern Reckoning in Luckie Thom's	
when Sigr. Putti came down	£ 2.0.0
To another paid in Kinghorns	£ 0.12.9
Paid the Expenses of Mr Putti's coming down	
per Bills to David Baird	£ 10.5.0
...To Mr Putti a years Salary since he came down	£ 30.0.0
[total expenditure	£463.16.6]". ⁴¹

The next reference to Putti in the *Minutes* dates from the following year, 1734, when they paid him £7.10.0.⁴² After that, his name drops from the *Minutes*, and one presumes that this Italian musician left Edinburgh.

Once again, it is necessary to turn to other sources to try to gain more information on this rather obscure musician, as his name does not feature in the work of Scottish music historians;⁴³ there are, however, short entries on Putti in a number of other sources.⁴⁴ These other sources reveal that he was Giovanni Angelo Battista Putti, a violinist, harpsichord player, singer and composer originally from Lucca – the dates of his birth and of his death are not mentioned. Some of the earliest references to Putti are found in the first volume of *The Musical Entertainer* (London: G. Bickham, [1737-1738]), which included two songs by Putti (see pages 445-446). The setting of "The Melodious Songstress" was by "Sigr Putti of Cambridge". In 1738, four years after Putti's Edinburgh sojourn, Boydell has recorded the arrival of Putti in the Irish capital. Writing in the *Dublin Musical Calendar* Boydell quotes the *Dublin News-Letter* announcing the arrival of Putti, who was "...from Italy, but last from London, where he accompanied Signor Farinelli in the Opera".⁴⁵ The *Biographical Dictionary of Actors* states that there are no references to Putti in London, but that by 1755 Putti was in Bristol performing and teaching music, while Farmer notes that Putti was leader of the Aberdeen concert from November 1761 to August 1762.⁴⁶

It is possible that Putti performed some of his own compositions while he was in Edinburgh, although this is difficult to establish with any degree of certainty, as the advertisements for concerts dating from this period are rather vague in nature. The

⁴¹ EMS, *Minutes*, 5.1733-6.1734.

⁴² Total expenditure £368.9.6. EMS, *Minutes*, 6.1734-6.1735.

⁴³ Such as Farmer, *History*, or Johnson, *Music and Society*.

⁴⁴ BDA, XII, 214. Putti also features in the list of *personalia* compiled by Boydell in the *Dublin Musical Calendar*, 288.

⁴⁵ Boydell, *Dublin Musical Calendar*, 288.

⁴⁶ Farmer, *Music Making*, 45-46.

music that Putti composed and published is listed in *RISM* and *RISM RECUEILS*. These pieces are generally short chamber works included in volumes such as *The Compleat Tutor for the Violin* (London: J. Johnson [c. 1750]);⁴⁷ *Apollo's Cabinet* (Liverpool: J. Sadler, 1756); *The Universal Musician* (London: J. Smith [1737-38]); *The Musical Entertainer* (London: G. Bickham [1737-38]). In the *Dublin Musical Calendar* Boydell lists two instrumental chamber works written by Putti and published by Manwaring: *6 new Sonatas or Duets for Flutes or Violins, New duet for 2 German Flutes or Violins*.⁴⁸ Boydell also lists music composed by Putti and mentioned in an advertisement in the Irish press: a harpsichord *Lesson*, a *Concerto in Seven Parts* and a *Minuet*.

iv CRISTINA MARIA AVOGLIO

There are few biographical details about Cristina Maria Avoglio. The dates and places of her birth and death are not known.⁴⁹ It is clear, however, from the little information that there is on her, (which comes mainly from the years from 1739-1744) that she was a highly-regarded singer. The first reference to Signora Avoglio in the *Minutes* of the Edinburgh Musical Society dates from 1738-1739, when the account books of the Society record that they paid:

“...Signiora Avolio [sic] on her Bill	£ 40.0.0
[total expenditure	£402.15.3 ¹ / ₂ ”.

There are a number of subsequent references to Signora Avoglio in the *Minutes*, mostly regarding the payments of her salary, but also noting that they paid her £20.0.0 travelling charges:

“...To Mrs Avolio £7.5 which with the £40 paid to her by Mr Home makes up the £20 of travelling Charges and £27 ” 5 her Salary due 1st August pr receipt	£ 7.5.0
...To Mrs Avolio two quarters Sallary ‘till 1st Febry	£ 54.10.0
...To Mrs Avolio a quarters Salary due 1st May pr Discharge	£ 27.5.0

⁴⁷ See page 447. The same minuet by Putti, transcribed into A major, can be found in a Scottish manuscript. NLS Inglis 153. See page 448.

⁴⁸ Boydell, *Dublin Musical Calendar*, 304.

⁴⁹ The *BDA*, I, 181, merely states that she was an “Italian coloratura soprano...in London by 1740”. The *Dublin Musical Calendar* details her appearances in the Irish capital in 1741 and 1742, while the *London Stage* gives details of her performances in London between February 1743 and October 1744. Her name is cited in Deutsch, *Handel*.

⁵⁰ EMS, *Minutes*, 14.2.1739.

[total expenditure £414.15.6]”,⁵¹

and:

“...To Mrs Avolio her quarters Sallary	
‘till 1st August 1740	£ 27.5.0
...To Mrs Avolio half a years Sallary viz from	
1st August 1740 to 1st February 1741	
pr Discharge	£ 54.10.0
...To Mrs Avolio her Sallary ‘till 1st May 1741	£ 12.10.0
[total expenditure	£438.19.9½]”, ⁵²

As Signora Avoglio’s salary was £27.5.0 per quarter (over £100.0.0 *per annum*) one can assume that she was one of the Society’s star performers.⁵³ The repertoire which the Signora performed for her Edinburgh audiences is, as yet, unknown. The only other information about Avoglio that comes from the *Minutes* relates to a request for leave of absence from Edinburgh which she evidently made to the Society some time before the end of July 1741:

“At a Meeting of the Governor and Directors Upon Application from Mrs Avolio and Mr Barsanti desiring leave to be absent from the Society for two Months Resolved that they should have leave to be absent for that time without any stop of their Sallarys providing they return [?] and the first of October But in case they shall not do so Then their Sallarys shall be stoped [*sic*] from that time.”⁵⁴

Signora Avoglio did not return to Edinburgh after her leave had expired, as her name does not feature in the *Minutes* after that date. Indeed, it seems that Signora Avoglio travelled to London at some point during her leave, for in November she sang in Dublin with Handel, who noted in a letter that:

“...The Nobility did me the Honour to make amongst themselves a Subscription for 6 Nights, which did fill a Room of 600 Persons, so that I needed not to sell one single ticket at the Door. and without Vanity the Performance was received with a general Approbation. Sig.ra Avolio, which I brought with me from London pleases extraordinary...”⁵⁵

There seems to be no record of Signora Avoglio’s career after 1744; indeed, it is not known whether she remained in Britain after that date, or whether she then travelled abroad.⁵⁶

⁵¹ EMS, *Minutes*, 6.1739-6.1740.

⁵² EMS, *Minutes*, 6.1740-6.1741.

⁵³ This as compared with Signor Benedetto’s annual salary of £130.0.0.

⁵⁴ EMS, *Minutes*, 24.7.1741.

⁵⁵ Handel to Jennens. Deutsch, *Handel*, 530.

⁵⁶ The BDA notes that: “On 11 June 1744 she assisted at Ruckholt House, Essex, in ‘Alexander’s Feast’, and so far as is known this was her last appearance before a British audience. Her career outside Britain is completely obscure.” BDA, I, 181.

v SIGNOR PASQUALINO

At about the same time that the Edinburgh Musical Society engaged Signora Avoglio, the *Minutes* record that:

“...£15. Ster. be paid to Mr Pasqualino for his service through the Winter and that £20 Ster: yearly – Commencing from this 1st March...”.⁵⁷

The *Minutes* of the Society note that the directors made two further payments to Pasqualino, both made in respect of his salary from the Society:

“...To Mr Pasqualino his Sallery	£ 15.0.0
[total expenditure	£402.15.3 ¹ / ₂ ”], ⁵⁸

and:

“...To Mr Pasqualino his Salary	
due 1st Sept ^r pr discharge	£ 10.0.0
[total expenditure	£414.15.6”]. ⁵⁹

After this date, Pasqualino's name drops from the *Minute* books. This Italian musician was most probably the violoncellist and composer Pietro Pasqualino. While his activities in Edinburgh have remained rather obscure, there is some information about him to be found in other sources, and this is useful in shedding a little light on this area. The *London Stage* and the *Biographical Dictionary* record the London concerts in which Pasqualino featured in 1732 and 1733.⁶⁰ The music performed seems to have been a mixture of works by Francesco Maria Veracini, San Martini and Carlo Arrigoni, with Veracini himself performing alongside Pasqualino – who was hailed as “the famous Italian Violoncello”⁶¹ – and “several others of the most celebrated Performers”.⁶² The *London Stage* does not record any performances which Pasqualino gave in that city between 1733 and 1748, and the entry on him in the *Biographical Dictionary of Actors* suggests that he might have returned to Italy. By the mid 1730s, however, Pasqualino was in Dublin, as the *Dublin Musical Calendar* records a benefit concert in April 1736, in which he took part. The orchestra was led by Dubourg and the programme included works by Handel. The *Calendar* states that “This was probably the first occasion on which any of Handel's sacred works were heard in

⁵⁷ EMS. *Minutes*, 13.3.1739.

⁵⁸ EMS, *Minutes*, 6.1738-6.1739.

⁵⁹ EMS, *Minutes*, 6.1739-6.1740.

⁶⁰ BDA, XI, 232.

⁶¹ Advertisement from an unnamed newspaper, 5.5.1732, cit. BDA, XI, 232.

⁶² *London Stage*, 25.5.1733, benefit for Pasqualino at Hickford's Room.

Dublin.”⁶³ By the winter of 1738, the *Minutes* of the Musical Society note that Pasqualino had moved to Edinburgh. The repertoire that Pasqualino performed in Edinburgh is, as yet, unknown. It is possible that he included pieces of his own composition, as he had done for concerts in London, and perhaps included some of the pieces that were later published.⁶⁴ After leaving the employ of the Musical Society in 1740, it would seem that Pasqualino also left Edinburgh, as the *Dublin Musical Calendar* records that he played in the Irish capital in March of the following year, 1741 and then again in May 1742. It is possible that Pasqualino performed in the first performance of the *Messiah* which had taken place in that city in April 1742. The *Dublin Musical Calendar* records Pasqualino’s career in the Irish capital up to the mid 1740s, when he returned to London, where he remained until his death in 1766.

Writing in his *History*, Burney noted that:

“PASQUALINO and the elder CERVETTO, the rivals of Caporale at this time, had infinitely more hand, and knowledge of the finger-board, as well as of Music in general; but the tone of both was raw, crude, and uninteresting.”⁶⁵

Burney, however, also noted that Pasqualino, along with Andrea Caporale and Giacobbe Cervetto, were responsible for increasing the popularity of the ‘cello, as they “...brought the violoncello into favour, and made us nice judges of that instrument.”⁶⁶

vi FILIPPO PALMA

Filippo Palma is another of the Italian musicians who was employed by the Musical Society in Edinburgh during this period about whom very little seems to be known.⁶⁷ His name features

⁶³ Boydell, *Dublin Musical Calendar*, 61.

⁶⁴ These published works comprise: *Six Solos for two Violoncellos* (London: Walsh [1748]); *Six Solos for two Violoncellos...opera seconda* (London: Johnson [1751]); *Six Sonatas for the cetra or kitara with a thorough bass* (London: Johnson for the Author [c. 1740]). These are listed in *RISM* VI, 418, *BUCEM*, 764. *GroveI*, I, 326, states that the ‘cetra’ was “A term applied to the ENGLISH GUITAR until about 1800.”

⁶⁵ BurneyH, IV, 661.

⁶⁶ BurneyH, IV, 660.

⁶⁷ From the fragmentary evidence that there is, there would seem to be a number of different members of the Palma family. The *London Stage* notes that there was indeed a Filippo Palma, but also records a number of performances in which a Bernardo Palma was involved. The *BDA* (XI, 155) lists Bernardo Palma as well as Filippo Palma, and the *Dublin Musical Calendar* records performances by Bernardo in the Irish capital between 1740 and 1769. In her article on music in colonial Philadelphia, Taricani notes that the first known public concert in Philadelphia was given in January 1757 under the direction of John Palma. Taricani, Jo Ann “Music in Colonial Philadelphia: Some New Documents” *The Musical Quarterly* lxxv (2) 1979, 186-187.

briefly in the *Minutes* kept by the Society after those of Signora Avoglio and Signor Pasqualino. One assumes, therefore, that he was employed by the Society to fill the void that had been left by the departure of these two musicians.

The *London Stage* notes that Filippo Palma seems to have made his first appearance in that city at the Drury Lane Theatre in April 1736, when he was billed as "...lately arrived from Italy..." in a production of *A Grand Epithalamium*. There are no more references to Palma in the *London Stage* during this period. Palma is first mentioned in the *Minutes* of the Edinburgh Musical Society in 1741, when they note that in November of that year, the governor and directors of the Society had met together and:

"Agreed with Signor Philipppo Palma to Sing in the Concert 'till the 1st August next for £25 Sterling...ordered the Treasurer to pay him five pounds Sterling more for writing Musick...".⁶⁸

There are subsequent references to Palma in the *Minutes* when the Society paid him the amounts which they had agreed on:

"...Novr 14 To Mr Palma the Allowance given him
for writing Musick £ 5.0.0
[total transactions £423.2.0]".⁶⁹

After this, Palma's name drops from the *Minutes* and one assumes that he left Edinburgh – the *Biographical Dictionary of Actors* places him in Norwich in 1742,⁷⁰ and Deutsch records an appearance by a Palma in London in 1751 at a benefit concert for Cuzzoni in Hickford's Room.⁷¹

As with a number of the other Italian musicians in Edinburgh in this period, there is relatively little information on Palma in either the *Minutes* of the Musical Society, or in newspapers, such as the *Courant*. Indeed, there is not much information on Palma from other sources (such as the *London Stage*, the *Biographical Dictionary of Actors*, or the *Dublin Musical Calendar*) and therefore it is difficult to speculate what musical activities he may have been involved in in Edinburgh, beyond the vague assertion that he sang and composed some music there. The *Edinburgh Evening Courant* records the performance of Palma's songs in 1753 and 1756.⁷²

⁶⁸ EMS, *Minutes*, 14.11.1741.

⁶⁹ EMS, *Minutes*, 6.1741-7.1742

⁷⁰ BDA, XI, 155.

⁷¹ Deutsch, *Handel*, 709.

⁷² "[Song] Cara di questo core, by Palma", EEC, 30.1.1753 and 5.2.1753; "Song, Basta, costi [sic] ti credo, by Signor Palma", EEC, 28.2.1756.

Probably the most information on Palma is found in two early nineteenth-century sources – the multi-volume *Cyclopedia* published in London in the early nineteenth century, and Sainsbury's *Dictionary*. The entry on Filippo Palma in the *Cyclopedia* notes that he was "...a Neapolitan singing master, totally without voice that could be called tuneful, yet he sung, or seemed to sing, with such exquisite taste, as to revive the miraculous powers of music equal to those ascribed to Orpheus, Amphion, and Linus...".⁷³ The entry continues in a similar vein, giving details not only on the repertoire that Palma sang – including, interestingly, a Scots song which Palma may have learnt during his Edinburgh residence – but also providing important information on the manner of his performance and the effect that it had on audiences:

"...Gluck's celebrated air in Artamene, 'Rasserena il mesto ciglio' admirably sung by Monticelli at the opera, and encored every night, when sung by Palma without voice in private, the fine voice, figure, and action, and knowledge of Monticelli were annihilated and forgotten. A singer in a room may hazard embellishments, which, on a stage, accompanied by a powerful orchestra, would have no effect. Palma's manner of singing and varying 'The Lass of Paties Mill,' had more effect, even upon the most enthusiastic admirers of grand airs, than the performance of the greatest singers."⁷⁴

A similar account of Palma's ability to enchant his audience is found in the Sainsbury *Dictionary*. The entry on Palma notes:

"He was an excellent pianist and tenor singer, but from his dissipation he quickly exhausted the income which he derived from the different branches of his profession. It is said, that one of his creditors having waited on him, accompanied by bailiffs to seize his effects, Palma commenced singing, and so charmed his unwelcome visitor, that, instead of demanding the payment of his debt, he lent him a second sum of money. *Credat Judaeus!*"⁷⁵

⁷³ Rees, *Cyclopedia*, XXVI, unpaginated.

⁷⁴ Rees, *Cyclopedia*, XXVI, unpaginated. Burney had made a similar observation on Palma in his *History*:

"Palma, who embellished this air ['The Lass of Paties Mill'] with great taste, seems to have been more admired in singing it *without a voice* than Monticelli with one that was exquisite; a singer in a room may hazard refinements, which on a stage, accompanied by a powerful orchestra, would have no effect."

BurneyH, IV, 451, n.

⁷⁵ Sainsbury, John H. *A Dictionary of Musicians, from the earliest ages to the present time. Comprising the most important biographical contents of the works of Gerber, Choron and Fayolle, Count Orloff, Dr Burney, Sir John Hawkins &c. &c. Together with upwards of a hundred original memoirs of the eminent living musicians. And a Summary of the history of Music* (London: printed for Sainsbury & Co., 1824), II, 258. This is echoed in Rees: "Having been caught at home by surprise by some of his deepest and most enraged creditors, from whom he had long been skulking, in order to escape his gripe...Palma made no other reply...than by sitting down to the harpsichord and singing two or three of his most pleasing and touching airs to his own accompaniment: when the fury of the creditor was so softened by degrees, that at length he was entirely appeased....". Rees, *Cyclopedia*, XXVI, unpaginated. A version of this story also appeared

Both of the nineteenth-century sources cited above mention a number of compositions by Palma. The entry in the *Sainsbury Dictionary* notes that Palma was a popular and successful composer:

“...a Neapolitan composer of some Symphonies performed at the *Concert Spirituel*, in Paris, in 1752. He was a pupil of the profound Sala, and immediately on the completion of his musical education, he wrote several theatrical pieces at Naples, and in the rest of Italy, all of which were successful from their gay and *piquant* style.”⁷⁶

The entry in the *Cyclopaedia* alluded to a want of the basic skills of harmony and counterpoint, observing that:

“...[Palma] was so ignorant of counterpoint, that he could not make a base to the most simple melody. And though the airs which he composed for his own singing were universally applauded, he was so humble as to condescend to ask a young apprentice to DR. Arne to furnish a base; and yet he touched the harpsichord in so original and seemingly masterly a manner, that his apprentice would have given the world to exchange all this knowledge in counterpoint for Signior Palma’s ‘Toccatini.’”⁷⁷

A number of published compositions by Palma are also listed in *RISM*.⁷⁸ These were mostly vocal compositions with instrumental accompaniments, such as the four volumes of songs published in London under the same title, the *Sei arie con istromenti*. There were also a number of songs in English that were published separately, (such as *Adieu ye Streams that Smoothly Flow* and *A Favourite Song By an Eminent Master*, see pages 450-452), and a set of *Six Solos for the harpsichord, violin and german flute, as also a song call’d simplicetta Tortorella* issued in Edinburgh by Richard Cooper for Palma, and “A Favourite Air” published in the collection *Apollo’s Cabinet*.⁷⁹

vii SIGNOR LARINI

After Filippo Palma left Edinburgh at the beginning of the 1740s, the Society engaged another Italian whose name appears in

in Busby, *Concert room*, II, 57-58, adding that “...Palma at the time, was labouring under a severe cold...”.

⁷⁶ Sainsbury, *Dictionary*, II, 258.

⁷⁷ Rees, *Cyclopaedia*, XXVI. Also in Bowers, Garry; Klima, Slava and Grant, Kerry S., eds., *Memoirs of Dr Charles Burney 1726-1769* (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1988), 42 n. 1. Also Scholes, Percy Alfred, *The Great Dr. Burney: his life, his travels, his works, his family, his friends* (London: Oxford University Press, 1948) 31-32.

⁷⁸ *RISM*, VI, 406-407.

⁷⁹ This collection was issued in 1756. For Palma’s aria see page 449. Another edition of this “Favourite Air” was issued about four years later with the title “When First I Saw Thee. A New Song” ([London: s.n., c. 1760]), the composer, however, was named as Pasquali. This air may have been one of the pieces written by Pasquali for Caterina Ruini Galli in *L’Incostanza Delusa* of 1745. See chapter 2, note 10 and pages 358-360.

the *Minutes* for a brief period between 1742 and 1744. The *Minutes* of the Musical Society record that in March 1742:

“Ordered that Mr Larini be taken into the Societys service and be allowed a Sallary of ten pounds Sterling yearly Commencing the first of May next He being obliged for [the same?] both to perform on the violin and keep the Harpsicord in order...”.⁸⁰

This was a certain Larini, about whom there appears to be very little information indeed, either regarding his activities while he was in Edinburgh, or relating to his life before or after he appeared at the Musical Society concerts.⁸¹ It is, however, possible to draw a number of conclusions about Larini from the information recorded in the *Minutes* of the Musical Society and the payments made to Larini by the Society:

“Decr 4	To Mr Larini his Sallary till Martinmass	£ 5.0.0
...May 15	To Mr Larini his half years Sallary a new Agreement being made with him on his undertaking to put the Harpsichord in order; whereby he was to have £12 yearly	£ 6.0.0
	[total transactions	£321.0.2 ¹ / ₂ ”] ⁸²

and:

“Novr 24	To Mr Larini his Sallary ‘till Martinmass last	£ 6.0.0
March 7	To Mr Larini his half years Sallary till Whitsunday next advanced by him by order of the directors	£ 6.0.0
	[total transactions	£205.6.7 ¹ / ₂ ”] ⁸³

A number of different sources would seem to suggest that Larini was a keyboard player as well as a violinist. His yearly salary of only £12.0.0 would lead one to conclude that Larini was not one of the Society’s “star performers”. A comparison with the annual salary of Leonardo Pescatore (who was engaged by the Musical Society in 1754 at £15.0.0 *per annum*) would imply that they occupied similar positions in the Society. Furthermore, *RISM* notes one piece of published music by this Larini, which appeared in Bremner’s *Harpsichord or Spinnet Miscellany* printed in London almost twenty years after Larini had been in the service of the Musical Society.⁸⁴

⁸⁰ EMS, *Minutes*, 8.3.1742.

⁸¹ Larini’s name is not listed in the *Dublin Musical Calendar*, the *London Stage*; the *BDA*; Grove6 or Sadie, Stanley ed *The New Grove Dictionary of Opera* (London: Macmillan, 1992), hereafter GroveO.

⁸² EMS, *Minutes*, 6.1742-6.1743.

⁸³ EMS, *Minutes*, 6.1743-6.1744.

⁸⁴ *The Harpsichord or Spinnet Miscellany Being a Gradation of Proper Lessons from the Beginner to the tollerable Performer Chiefly intended to save Masters the trouble of writing for their Pupils. To which are prefixed Some Rules for Time* by Robert Bremner (London: Bremner, [c. 1761/1765]), 21-22. See pages 453-454.

From this piece it is evident that, in common with many of the other Italian musicians in Edinburgh in the eighteenth century, Larini also taught music.

viii GAETANO FILIPPO ROCHETTI

The *Minutes* of the Edinburgh Musical Society state that in the mid 1740s the governor and Directors employed another two Italian singers, Gaetano Filippo Rochetti and Girolamo Polani. Rochetti's name features in the *Minutes* of the Society for almost ten years, from 1744 to 1753. Little is known of the period that Rochetti spent in Edinburgh – while his career in London is reasonably well documented,⁸⁵ he is another of the Italian singers who has been somewhat overlooked by those who have made a study of Scottish musical history in the eighteenth century.⁸⁶

The first reference to Rochetti in the *Minutes* is found in the summer of 1744, when the Society paid his travelling expenses to Edinburgh:

“...Augt. 2 To Mr Rochetti as his travelling
Charges pr Agreeemt & Discharge £ 5.0.0
[total expenditure £306.10.1½]”.⁸⁷

From the *Minutes* kept by the Society it seems that Rocchetti was to be in their employ only until Whitsunday 1749. In the autumn of 1748 the *Minutes* record that the governor and directors of the Society had met together to discuss what should be done after Rochetti's departure:

“...The Meeting Considering That Segnr. Rochetti is engaged with the Society no longer than till Whitsunday next, And that it would be agreeable to the Society to have an other Singer, also a performer on the Violin from Italy or elsewhere, Do therefor [*sic*] Recommend to Mr John Carmichael and Mr James Clerk to write to some of their acquaintances abroad to agree with a singer and a performer on the violin for the span of five years...”.⁸⁸

Despite the Society having engaged Giuseppe and Cristina Passerini in April of the following year, 1749, Rocchetti remained in Edinburgh and the *Minutes* note that the Society continued to pay him his salary.⁸⁹ With the Society still awaiting the arrival of the

⁸⁵ See BDA, XIII, 51-52; GroveO, III, 1364. The *London Stage* records performances in which Rochetti appeared from 1724-1744.

⁸⁶ No mention of Rochetti is made in Farmer, *History*; Johnson, *Music and Society*

⁸⁷ EMS, *Minutes*, 6.1744-6.1745.

⁸⁸ EMS, *Minutes*, 15.11.1748.

⁸⁹ “...To Mr Rochetti £ 55.0.0

Signori Passerini at the beginning of November 1749, the Society decided that they should engage Rocchetti for another six months (to cover the period before the Passerini arrived):

“The Governour and Directors of the Musically Society have Engag’d Mr Rochetti for half a year from the first of November last at his former Sallary, he is also to be allowed 3 Guineas Coach Hyre and 39 Shillings for Chair Hyre formerly paid out by him”.⁹⁰

A year later the governor and directors noted that:

“...it was represented to the meeting That, as the time of Signor Passerinis coming to Edinburgh here was very uncertain it had been thought necessary to Continue Mr Rochetti till Signor Passerini shou’d come...”.⁹¹

With the arrival of the Passerini in Edinburgh in the beginning of 1751, and the subsequent well-documented lengthy disagreement between them and the Society in the *Minutes*, the only references to Rochetti in the *Minutes* are in the occasional payments made to him by the Society:

“...By Mr Rochetti for 5 ³ / ₄ [?] Candle, Wax	£ 0.17.3
...By Mr Rochetti as one years Sallary	
preceeding the 1st of May 1751	
including Chair Hire	£ 56.18.0
[total expenditure	£539.12.6]”, ⁹²

and:

“...June 12th 1751 To Error in Entring	
Mr Rochetti’s Sallary last year	£ 1.18.0
...March 1752 By Do [cash] paid to	
Mr Rochetti for 6 [?] wax candle	£ 0.15.0
...By Mr Rochetti in full of his allowance	
from the Directors	£ 27.10.0
[total expenditure	£540.5.5 ¹ / ₂]”, ⁹³

A minute in the account books kept by the Society dating from June 1752 notes that Rochetti had not received his salary from the Society for some time. Whether the Society had become enmeshed in their dealings with the Passerini and had simply overlooked the payment of Signor Rochetti’s salary is not clear. The *Minutes* record that:

“...The Governor then acquainted the meeting that Mr Rochetti for some time had had no Sallary from the Society. That besides his Discretion and Obliging manner and the merit of his being an old Servant in the Society, he might still be of use in making the Intertainment more Compleat providing a small Sum could be raised

[total expenditure £278.10.5]”,

EMS, *Minutes*, 6.1748-6.1749.

⁹⁰ EMS, *Minutes*, 7.11.1749.

⁹¹ EMS, *Minutes*, 14.11.1750.

⁹² EMS, *Minutes*, 6.1750-6.1751.

⁹³ EMS, *Minutes*, 6.1751-6.1752.

to maintain him in the place and Recommend a Voluntary Subscription for that purpose...".⁹⁴

Two weeks after this, the *Minutes* note that the Society:

"...agreed to half a Guinea Extraordinary to be paid by each member in November next [for Rochetti]...".⁹⁵

By the spring of the following year (March, 1753) the *Minutes* of the Society note that Rochetti had acquainted the Society with his wish to leave Edinburgh. Once again they show that the Society had found Rochetti courteous and obliging, and the governor and directors decided to make him a gift of some money – a sum which was over and above the amount that they had given to some of the other Italian singers and musicians for their travelling expenses to London:

"...Mr Rochetti after many years Service was now going away he hoped the Directors would give him some allowance for his Journey as his finances were very low – The Directors in Consideration of his long & obliging Services agreed to make him a present of Thirty pounds Ster.g...".⁹⁶

Subsequent minutes detailing the expenditure of the Society record that they paid Rochetti this amount and also £30.0.0 which they had previously collected for him:

"March 23...By Do [cash] paid Mr Rochetti 30£ out of the half Guineas and 30£ in a present	£ 60.0.0
...May 29 By the Assembly Room for MR Rochetti's concert	£ 2.2.0
[total transactions	£547.6.2]"

⁹⁷

After this reference Rochetti's name drops from the *Minutes* and nothing seems to be known of him after this date.⁹⁸

As with the other Italian singers and instrumentalists who travelled to Edinburgh in the course of the eighteenth century, important information regarding the music that they performed in the Scottish capital comes from contemporary newspaper advertisements. Some advertisements reveal little of the music which Rochetti sang while he was in Edinburgh, concerning themselves with the date, place and time of the concert:

⁹⁴ EMS, *Minutes*, 10.6.1752.

⁹⁵ EMS, *Minutes*, 24.6.1752.

⁹⁶ EMS, *Minutes*, 10.3.1753.

⁹⁷ EMS, *Minutes*, 6.1752-6.1753.

⁹⁸ The BDA merely states: "The *New Grove* places Rochetti in Edinburgh in the 1750s." BDA, XIII, 52. Similarly, "[Rochetti] was singing in Edinburgh in the 1750s, having apparently settled permanently in Britain." *GroveO*, III, 1364.

“ON Tuesday the 17th of January 1749, at Mary’s Chapel in
Niddery’s Wynd,⁹⁹ will be perform’d
A CONCERT of Vocal and Instrumental Musick,
For the BENEFIT of
MR. ROCHETTI,
Beginning at Six o’Clock.
Tickets...at Mr Rochetti’s Lodging at the Head of St Mary’s
Wynd.”¹⁰⁰

Some advertisements give a little more information, noting that Rochetti would sing a “duetta” with Signora Passerini,¹⁰¹ or a “Duetto...composed by the C. de St. Germin”.¹⁰² Intriguingly, in 1753 Rochetti performed a “Song...O Liberty, by Mr Handel” at a benefit for another musician, which had been organised “By the Desire of the most Worshipful Grand Master of all the Free and Accepted Masons in Scotland”.¹⁰³ The *Courant* announced productions of *Acis and Galatea* during the period that Rochetti was in Edinburgh,¹⁰⁴ and he probably sang in these, as he had sung the role of Acis in the first performance of this work in London in 1731, and again in Oxford with Handel in 1733.¹⁰⁵ Other advertisements for concerts in which Rochetti was to sing are yet more informative, giving details of the pieces that would be sung and by whom they were written:

“AT Mary’s Chapel in Niddry’s Wynd, on Monday the 3d of February 1752, will be performed, a CONCERT of Vocal and Instrumental MUSIC,
For the BENEFIT of Mr ROCHETTI.
The Instrumental Parts to be performed by the best Masters of the Musical Society.
N.B. There will be exhibited, the famous cantata of Pergolesi, called, Orpheus seeking after Eurydice.
Besides several other Songs in Italian, English and Scotch, and two French Songs composed by Monsieur Lully, and sung after the French Manner.”¹⁰⁶

Similarly:

“On Thursday the 14th of June 1753 at Mary’s Chapel in Niddery’s Wynd, will be performed, a FAREWELL CONCERT, for the Benefit of Mr ROCHETTI, with a parting SONG, To the tune, as in the Beggars Opera, *O what Pain it is to Part!* Also the Song, *The Bush aboon*

⁹⁹ See page 564.

¹⁰⁰ *EEC*, 12.1.1749, 16.1.1749. Similar advertisements appeared in the *EEC* editions on 22.1.1747; 11.1.1750; 15.1.1750.

¹⁰¹ *EEC*, 11.7.1751; 15.7.1751; 16.1.1752.

¹⁰² *EEC*, 3.2.1752.

¹⁰³ *EEC*, 22.1.1753.

¹⁰⁴ *EEC*, 30.7.1750; 14.3.1751.

¹⁰⁵ Deutsch, *Handel*, 324-325.

¹⁰⁶ *EEC*, 28.1.1752; 30.1.1752.

Traquair, and several Italian Songs. The Instrumental music to be directed by Signor Pasquali...".¹⁰⁷

For a benefit concert that Rocchetti had at the very end of his stay in Edinburgh, the *Edinburgh Evening Courant* carried details of the whole programme that was to be performed:

"For the Benefit of Mr ROCHETTI, at the Assembly-Hall, on Tuesday the 6th of February 1753, will be performed a CONCERT of Vocal and Instrumental MUSIC, being the last he is to have after nine Years Residence here.

Act I. The Overture in Ariadne, by Handel; Two Songs, viz. Cara di questo core, by Palma; Non accusarmi ingrato, by Jacomelli; and some new Tunes formerly composed by Mr Rochetti for his own Diversion, never performed in Public before.

Act II. Concerto of Geminiani; a Song, viz. Author of Peace, by Handel; a Solo on the Hautboy by Mr Crown; a Song, The Bush aboon Traquair; and some other new Tunes.

Act III. Concerto of Corelli; a Song, viz. Quando sull'erbe amene, by Lampugnani; some other new Tunes, concluding with the Free Masons Anthem.¹⁰⁸

Beginning precisely at six o'clock.

Tickets to be had at Mr Rochetti's Lodgings in Lamb's Land out of Potter-row Port, at Mr Ross's the second Shop above the Old Provost's Close, opposite to the City Guard, and at the Old and Laigh Coffee houses, at 2s. 6d. each."¹⁰⁹

ix GIROLAMO POLANI

Girolamo Polani is probably among the most obscure of the Italian musicians who travelled to Scotland in the eighteenth century.¹¹⁰ There is some information about his musical career

¹⁰⁷ EEC, 11.6.1753; 12.6.1753.

¹⁰⁸ It is possible that this was later published. BUCEM, 350, lists *The Free Masons Songs. With Chorus's in Three & Four Parts, and a Bass for the Organ or Violoncello; to which is added, some other Songs, proper for Lodges* (Edinburgh: printed for R. Bremner, [1759]).

¹⁰⁹ EEC, 30.1.1753; 1.2.1753; 5.2.1753.

¹¹⁰ Along with Polani, Signor Carusi is one of the most obscure of the Italian musicians in Edinburgh in the eighteenth century. In February 1750 the *Courant* carried the following advertisement:

"On Saturday, the 24th of February 1750, will be performed,
at Mary's Chapel in Niddery's Wynd,
SIGNOR CARUSI'S

CONCERT of Vocal and Instrumental MUSICK,
with several pieces on the SALTERIO, an Instrument
upon which none in Britain can perform but himself.
Beginning precisely at Six o'Clock.

Tickets to be had, at the Old and John's Coffee-houses, at Half a Crown each."
EEC, 22.2.1750. Carusi is mentioned in passing by Farmer (*History*, 281), who suggests that the "salterio" in the above advertisement may have been a psalter or psaltery. GroveI (III, 283) notes that the salterio was the name given to a box zither or hammered dulcimer in the Basque region and south-western France. The BDA (III, 93) records two performances in London by Caruso. In April 1748 Caruso accompanied the singer Reginelli on the "saltero", and in August 1756 he performed a solo on the violoncello. Caruso is not listed among the performers in the *Dublin Musical Calendar*. RISM (II, 76) lists a number of compositions under the name of Luigi Caruso which date from the

before he travelled to Edinburgh, but this seems to be limited to the period between 1689-1720.¹¹¹ Polani's name first appears in the *Minutes* kept by the Musical Society in 1744, when the Society paid him a small sum for his travelling charges to Edinburgh:

"...June 13 To Mr Polani for his travelling charges	£ 2.2.0
[total expenditure	£306.10.1 ¹ / ₂]", ¹¹²

The *Minutes* show that Polani was employed by the Musical Society for some ten years, until 1755. After that date his name drops from the *Minutes* and there are no further references to him. There are almost no references to Polani in the *Minutes* apart from the mention of the payments of his salary:

"...June 29 To Mr Polani...	£ 5.5.0
...Aug 7 Paid Mr Polani to compleat half a years Sallary from June last pr Discharge	£ 4.15.0
...Sept 26 To Mr Polani	£ 5.5.0
[total expenditure	£306.10.1 ¹ / ₂]", ¹¹³

"...Aug 5 '45 Paid Mr Polani in part of his first quarters Sallary pr receipt	£ 5.0.0
...Decr 23 Paid him in full of all Sallaries due preceeding Decr 15th...	£ 7.0.0
...Mar 15 '45 Paid him in full of his Sallary...	£ 5.0.0
[total expenditure	£280.4.4]", ¹¹⁴

"July 31 Paid Mr Polani in full of Sallary due the 15th June, £3 as Sallary due and 2£ farther to acconpt pr receipt	£ 5.0.0
...Novr 17 Paid Mr Polani...	£ 5.0.0
[?] Paid Mr Polani...	£ 5.0.0
[?] Paid Mr Polani...	£ 5.0.0
[total expenditure	£268.15.8]", ¹¹⁵

"...Paid Mr Polani a years Sallary	£ 20.0.0
[total expenditure	£348.11.4]", ¹¹⁶

"...To Mr Polani one years Sallary	£ 20.0.0
[total expenditure	£278.10.5]", ¹¹⁷

"...By Mr Polani's Do [one years salary] to 1st March 1751	£ 20.0.0
By Ditto for one more Quarters to 1st June	£ 5.0.0

1780s, but it seems unlikely that this was the same person as the Signor Carusi who had appeared in Edinburgh in 1750.

¹¹¹ GroveO, III, 1043-1044; BDA, XII, 47; Deutsch, *Handel*, 114-115. Burney noted that: "In 1704, Polani, Mixte, Zanettini, Manza, Coletti, and other minor composers, gave specimens of their abilities in dramatic music in Venice; but probably with little success, as we hear no more of them." BurneyH, IV, 533.

¹¹² EMS, *Minutes*, 6.1744-6.1745.

¹¹³ EMS, *Minutes*, 6.1744-6.1745.

¹¹⁴ EMS, *Minutes*, 6.1745-6.1746.

¹¹⁵ EMS, *Minutes*, 6.1746-6.1747.

¹¹⁶ EMS, *Minutes*, 6.1747-6.1748.

¹¹⁷ EMS, *Minutes*, 6.1748-6.1749.

	[total expenditure	£539.12.6]”, ¹¹⁸
“...By Mr Pollani’s Do [salary] for one year to 1st June		£ 20.0.0
	[total expenditure	£540.5.5 ¹ / ₂]”, ¹¹⁹
“...By Mr Pollanies Do [for one year] to 12 June		£ 20.0.0
	[total expenditure	£547.6.2]”, ¹²⁰
“...By Mr Pollani’s Sallary in full		£ 17.0.0
	[total expenditure	£518.4.0]”, ¹²¹

The only other mention of Polani in the *Minutes* relates to the payment of two small sums of money, the first to the Infirmary:

“By Cash to the Infirmary with Mr Pollani	£1.1.0
[total expenditure	£518.4.0]”, ¹²²

and:

“March 8...By Mr Polanie	£ 0.5.0.
[total expenditure	£557.5.2]”, ¹²³

By 1754 Polani would have been at least 65/70 years old and it is possible that he died in Edinburgh. There is almost no information on Polani from the *Courant*, and so it is very difficult to try to establish his contribution to Scottish musical culture in this period.

x GIUSEPPE & CRISTINA PASSERINI

Giuseppe and Cristina Passerini were two musicians who travelled to Edinburgh about whom there is a considerable amount of information – both from contemporary sources and in the form of more recent work by scholars on music in eighteenth-century Edinburgh.¹²⁴

The *Minutes* of the Musical Society show that in the last few months of 1748 they had begun to search for a replacement for

¹¹⁸ EMS, *Minutes*, 6.1750-6.1751.

¹¹⁹ EMS, *Minutes*, 6.1751-6.1752.

¹²⁰ EMS, *Minutes*, 6.1752-6.1753.

¹²¹ EMS, *Minutes*, 6.1753-6.1754.

¹²² EMS, *Minutes*, 6.1753-6.1754.

¹²³ EMS, *Minutes*, 6.1754-6.1755.

¹²⁴ The singer Michael Kelly noted that “My first singing masters were Signor Passerini, a native of Bologna, and Signor Peretti...”. Kelly, *Michael Reminiscences of Michael Kelly, of the King’s Theatre, and Theatre Royal Drury Lane, including a period of nearly half a century; with original anecdotes of many distinguished persons, political, literary, and musical* (London: Henry Colburn, 1826), I, 3. Harris, *Saint Cecilia’s Hall, 1722-1744*, gives details of the music that they performed while they were in Edinburgh and Gray, “The Musical Society”, 206-207, concentrates mainly on the long and protracted disagreement between Passerini and the Society regarding terms and conditions of employment. No mention of the Passerini, however, in Johnson, *Music and Society*.

Rocchetti. In November of that year the *Minutes* note that the directors had met together to discuss what should be done:

“...Considering that Segr. Rochetti is engaged with the Society no longer than till Whitsunday next And that it would be agreeable to the Society to have another Singer, also a performer on the Violin from Italy or elsewhere Do therefor [*sic*] Recommend to Mr John Carmichael and Mr James Clerk to write to some of their acquaintances abroad to agree with a Singer and a performer on the Violin for the span of five years”.¹²⁵

By April of the following year, 1749, an agreement had been reached between the Musical Society and the *Signori* Passerini, at that time resident in Saint Petersburg. A copy of the contract between these two parties is recorded in the *Minutes*,¹²⁶ and it states that the Italians were to spend three years in the employ of the Society. As part of their contract, the Passerini were to appear at the Society concerts every Friday – the Signora was to sing and Signor Passerini was to perform on the violin – for which they would receive a salary of 600 roubles a year (to be paid quarterly) and £50.0.0 Sterling to cover travelling expenses and for “...loss of time”.¹²⁷

It seems, however, that the *Signori* Passerini did not arrive in Edinburgh until January 1751 – almost two years after they had signed the contract with the Society. The *Minutes* from this period (1749-1751) are riddled with references to the Passerini, suggesting that the Society were rather concerned. In February 1750, the Society wrote the following letter to one of their contacts:

“Sir,
As we are inform’d that Segnior and Madam Passerini are preparing to Sett out for Scotland, the Governour and Directors of the Musical Society beg the favour of you to write your partner at Pettersburg, to use his utmost endeavours to get them to come by Sea, and to encourage them, desire him upon their Embarcation for Leith, to pay them £50 Ster. But if he cannot prevail on them to come by Sea, he will please only pay them £20- on their setting from Pettersburg and give them a Credit. on Hamburg or any other Seaport for the remaining £30.00, payable only on condition they go on board any Vessell bound for Scotland”.¹²⁸

By the middle of November – some seven months after the above letter – the *Signori* Passerini still had not arrived in Edinburgh. The *Minutes* of the Musical Society record payments made for the receipt of letters from Hamburg, the latter two from Passerini himself, and

¹²⁵ EMS, *Minutes*, 15.11.1748.

¹²⁶ EMS, *Minutes*, 22.4.1749.

¹²⁷ EMS, *Minutes*, 22.4.1749.

¹²⁸ “Copy of Mr Willm Douglas’ letter to Mr Thos Allan (9th Febr.y 1750) Mercht at Pettersburg” EMS, *Minutes*, 9.2.1750.

the former one either from Passerini, or possibly from contacts which the Society may have had in that city:

“...Two Soldiers attending the Concert on Good Friday & a Letter from Hamburg	£ 0.3.8
[total expenditure	£456.6.8]”, ¹²⁹

and:

“...By postage of a Letter from Mr Passerini	£ 0.2.8
By postage of a Letter from Ditto from Hamburg	£ 0.2.8
[total expenditure	£539.12.6]”, ¹³⁰

Despite these letters, the Society were still unsure of when the Italians would arrive in Edinburgh and so they decided to continue employing Rocchetti to perform at their concerts for the time being:

“...And it was represented to the meeting that, as the time of Signor Passerini coming here was very uncertain it had been thought necessary to continue Mr Rochetti till Signor Passerini shou’d come...”.¹³¹

Dating also from this period (*i.e.* before Giuseppe and Cristina Passerini arrived in Edinburgh) is a letter written by Handel to Telemann which mentions the two Italians in a brief paragraph. This letter raises a number of interesting points. Most obviously, it is clear that both Handel and Telemann thought Cristina Passerini a gifted singer. What also emerges is that the Passerini did not sail directly from Saint Petersburg to Edinburgh, as the Society preferred that they should, but travelled a more roundabout route, giving them the chance of making contacts that might prove useful to them at a later date. It also reveals that the *Signori* Passerini intended to remain in Edinburgh for only six months and then move to London. The letter written by Handel notes that:

“I was on the point of leaving the Hague for London when your most agreeable letter was delivered to me by Mr Passerini. I had just enough time to be able to hear his wife sing. Your patronage and approval were enough not only to excite my curiosity but also to serve her as sufficient recommendation; however I was soon convinced of her rare quality. They are leaving for Scotland to fulfil concert engagements there for a season of six months. There she will be able to perfect herself in the English language; after that (as they intend to remain some time in London) I shall not fail to be of service to them in all ways that may depend on me.”¹³²

¹²⁹ EMS, *Minutes*, 6.1749-6.1750.

¹³⁰ EMS, *Minutes*, 6.1750-6.1751.

¹³¹ EMS, *Minutes*, 14.11.1750.

¹³² Letter from Handel to Telemann 12.1750. A transcription of the original is found in Deutsch *Handel*, 696-697. The translation that I have used is included in Deutsch, *Handel*, 697. This letter is also cited in BDA, XI, 233.

The *Minutes* of the Edinburgh Musical Society state that the Signori Passerini arrived in Edinburgh in January 1751 – they record a payment of one shilling for refreshments: “...By Ditto [cash] paid in the Coffee house with Mr Passerini...”.¹³³ Subsequent *Minutes* disclose the content of the letters written by Passerini from Hamburg, which had been concerned with the terms of their contract with the Society. These letters marked the beginning of a long-drawn-out disagreement between Passerini and the Society that carried on for as long as these two Italian musicians were in Edinburgh. The progress of the dispute is chronicled in detail in the *Minutes*, and judging from the amount of time and space that it took up in the proceedings of the Society, it would seem that it was their main concern during this period. In January of 1752 the *Minutes* record that Signor Passerini presented a petition to the Society, which duplicated a number of demands he had made previously by letter.¹³⁴ This petition included articles regarding the length of their contract and their travelling charges:

“1st That his and his wifes Salary should commence and be allowed them from the 1st January 1750 that is a year before they arrived in Edinburgh, which was 4th Janry 1751

2d That in place of the £50 allowed him pr Contract for Travelling Charges & [£]20 more which he Received in Rotterdam, he might be allowed the farther sum of £149 on that Account

3d That his Engagement with the Society should only subsist for Two years after his Arrival in Edinr in place of Three years Stipulate by the Concert

4 That a Sum be allowed to transport them from this place when their Engagement expires, and

5 That They be allowed to go to London once a year, on account of his wifes Religion, she being a Lutheran...”.¹³⁵

As Passerini had made these demands only after he had signed the contract with the Society,¹³⁶ the Society were unwilling to agree to all of them. Instead, they decided to give both Signor and Signora Passerini three months leave from March to June to go to London

¹³³ EMS, *Minutes*, 6.1750-6.1751, dated 1.1751.

¹³⁴ “...After reading all Mr Passerinis Letters from Moscow Berlin, Hamburgh and particularly his letter from Hambourgh [sic] dated the 23rd October 1750...in which after stating his demands, which are the same as the above articles...”. EMS, *Minutes*, 1.1752.

¹³⁵ EMS, *Minutes*, 1.1752.

¹³⁶ “...[Passerini] plainly Acknowledges, that as he had not made these Demmands [sic] before he signed the Contract, he had no solid reason to make them now, and but faint hopes they would be complied with...”. EMS, *Minutes*, 1.1752.

“...without any Deduction from their Salary...”,¹³⁷ and £20.0.0 travelling charges to take them to London after their contract had been fulfilled – depending “...on their good behaviour always...”.¹³⁸ The matter, however, was not concluded, and from the evidence of the *Minutes* it is clear that the dispute between the Passerini and the Musical Society continued. Having drawn up an “obligation” for Passerini to sign, the *Minutes* record that at the beginning of March 1752:

“...went to Mr Passerini’s Lodging with the Obligation, which Lord Drummores Read and Explained at length to him and Disired [sic] him to Subscribe, But this was positively Refused because he said it would oblige him to fullfill his Contract and thereby Give up his other demands. That after Lord Drummores and He Mr Carmichael had endeavoured all they could to no purpose to prevail with Passerini to Sign it, Lord Drummores Signed the same, having first added a Clause Reserving Passerini’s Claims, and went away – Mr Carmichael also called in the afternoon with the same Success; But that Passerini had called at him that morning with the obligation signed by him, underneath a Preamble to this Purpose, That the true Intent of Signing the Obligation was that he thereby became bound to Return to Edinburgh before the first of June next and to perform his Engagement to the society for Seven Months after his Return Viz. till the End of December next, after which his said Engagement was finished, and he and his wife should be at liberty to depart from this place when and where they pleased...the Directors Refused to accept the Obligation in these terms...[went] again in the forenoon to Mr Passerini’s Lodgings and told him the same, and therefore insisted he would sign it in the shape Lord Drummores had done, which he positively refused”.¹³⁹

Not only was Passerini refusing to sign the obligation, but the Society discovered that he was planning to leave for London:

“...informed that Mr Passerini was preparing to go off for London without signing the Obligation, they should take care to have him Stopt by a Warrant from the Magistrates and in the mean time to give him no manner of Reason to Complain...”.¹⁴⁰

Again, the Society appealed to Passerini to sign the obligation, but:

“...Mr Passerini still refused to sign the Obligation, therefore in Consequence of the above resolution and in certain Information that he was going off next day...a warrant was obtained in the name of the Society...”.¹⁴¹

The *Minutes* of the Society then record that they dismissed Passerini from their service:

¹³⁷ EMS, *Minutes*, 1.1752.

¹³⁸ EMS, *Minutes*, 1.1752.

¹³⁹ EMS, *Minutes*, 2.3.1752.

¹⁴⁰ EMS, *Minutes*, 2.3.1752.

¹⁴¹ EMS, *Minutes*, 3.3.1752.

“...Mr Passerini Returned the Obligation unsigned...John Watson Procurator, who sent an officer with the Warrant to Mr Passerini's Lodging to Summond [*sic*] him to appear immediately, and to do this as Discreetly as possible the officer was ordered to put off his Officers Coat, and According went down to Mr Passerini's house and brought him before the Magistrates...he was dismissed”.¹⁴²

After this last note relating to the Passerini, there is a gap of some three months during which they went to London.¹⁴³ While the *London Stage* does not record any performances by either of the Passerini in 1752, it is possible that they used this trip to try to make new contacts and renew old ones. By June the *Signori* Passerini were back in Edinburgh – the *Minutes* note the resumption of the conflict between the Society and these two Italian musicians. The Society observed that:

“...to prevent all future debates, they agree that the term of Endurance of the Contract shall be restricted to two years, But, under these provisions, first that MR Passerini at the End of the two years shall serve the Society without any Sallary for three months in place of the three months of March April May last, when he was absent...

and 2dly That since Mr Passerini insists so positively upon a condition which the Society tho not obliged yet agree too, he shall have no further allowance for Travelling Charges than the fifty pounds paid to him at Petersburg, before his departure from thence. Mr Passerini will therefore give a direct answer to the above, That the whole may be laid before the General meeting, who alone can release him from his Contract”.¹⁴⁴

Once again, Passerini refused to agree to this,¹⁴⁵ but the *Minutes* record that by July the Society had decided that:

“...convinced that nothing would satisfie Mr Passerini without yielding to that Article he insists for Viz. of his and Madam Passerini's being free from their Engagement at the End of two years, They agreed to the Same, and accordingly deliverd [*sic*] to Mr Passerini their Resolution, which was to that purpose...with this proviso. That the said Mr & Madam Passerini should be Obligated to serve the Society for Three Months after the Expiry thereof, without any Sallary...”.¹⁴⁶

The last mention of the Passerini which is found in the *Minutes* of the Musical Society refers to the payment of their salary up to the middle of January 1753:

“...By Mr & Mrs Passerini's as $\frac{3}{4}$ Sallary

¹⁴² EMS, *Minutes*, 4.3.1752.

¹⁴³ The BDA states that: “The Passerinis arrived in London in 1752...”, BDA, XI, 233.

¹⁴⁴ EMS, *Minutes*, 9.6.1752.

¹⁴⁵ EMS, *Minutes*, 15.7.1752.

¹⁴⁶ EMS, *Minutes*, 15.7.1752.

Shortly after this, at the beginning of February, Giuseppe Passerini placed an announcement in the *Courant* declaring that:

After January 1753 there are no further notes in the *Minutes* of the Musical Society relating to the *Signori* Passerini. A couple of months after, in March 1753, the Society engaged Nicolò Pasquali to replace Giuseppe Passerini as leader of their orchestra.¹⁴⁹

"The 6th of November Signor PASSERINI will begin again his School, to teach Singing, Playing upon the Violin, and Thorow Bass upon the Harpsicord, at his House the first Turnpike below Blackfriers Wynd, from Nine o'Clock in the morning till Two Afternoon."¹⁵⁰

Newspaper advertisements are also useful in establishing the repertoire that the Passerini performed while they were in Edinburgh. An examination of the concert advertisements that were published in the *Courant* is particularly fruitful as some of the published programmes contain a considerable amount of detail. An advertisement for a concert that they gave in their first year which they spent in Edinburgh, although rather unspecific, illustrates a

¹⁵⁰ *EEC*, 2.11.1752. See page 564.

range and mixture of music also typical of concerts by other musicians living and working in Edinburgh:

"For the Benefit of Mons. and Mad. PASSERINI,

On Wednesday the 14th instant, in the Assembly-Hall, will be performed, an Extraordinary CONCERT of Vocal and Instrumental MUSICK. Madam Passerini will sing a duetto of the famous Handel, with the lines in English; besides several English and Scots Tunes, with the Songs in the said languages. Also Mr Passerini will exhibit a new Instrument, called LA VIOLE D'AMOUR, with which he is to accompany Mrs Passerini while she sings an Italian tune. – Tickets to be had at Signior Passerini's Lodgings first Turnpike below Blackfriars Wynd, at Messrs Hamilton, andd [sic] Balfour's Shop, and at Balfour's Coffee-house, at Half a Crown each.

N.B. Whereas, at the last Concert, to Mr Passerini's great Grief, some Persons could not find Room, such as have Tickets of that former Concert will, upon them, be admitted to this one."¹⁵¹

Advertisements for other concerts announce similar blend of Italian arias, Scots songs and English music – meaning extracts from the works of Handel: "...Madam Passerini will sing a Cantata of the famous Pergolese's, besides several English and Scots Airs, and a Duetta along with Mr Rochetti...";¹⁵² "...Madam Passerini will sing all choice and agreeable Songs and new Scots Airs, never performed by her before...";¹⁵³ "...Madam Passerini will sing extraordinary fine English Musick out of Acis and Galatea, and other excellent Musick...";¹⁵⁴ "...Signor Passerini will sing one of the best Cantatas of Pergolesi, never produced before in Edinburgh, besides several other new Italian, English and Scots Songs...".¹⁵⁵ The programme for one of the benefit concerts of Giuseppe and Cristina Passerini had appeared in the *Edinburgh Evening Courant* giving details of the specific pieces that the Signora was to sing:

"For the Benefit of Signor and Signora PASSERINI, at St. Mary's Chapel in Niddery's Wynd, on Tuesday the 18th instant, will be performed, an EXTRAORDINARY CONCERT. The Concert will begin precisely at Five o'Clock, and dismiss at Seven exactly, for the Convenience of such Ladies as incline to go to the Assembly after the Concert...

First Act,

Overture by Mr Handel, in Occasional Oratorio; Signora Passerini's English Song, Ye men of Gaza, in Samson; Solo upon the Violin or Viole d'Amour by M. Passerini; Mrs. Passerini's English Song, Total Eclipse, in Samson. Second Act...Solo upon the Violin or Viole

¹⁵¹ EEC, 12.8.1751.

¹⁵² EEC, 11.7.1751; 15.7.1751. A similarly-worded advertisement appeared in a later edition of the *Courant* 16.1.1752; 3.2.1752.

¹⁵³ EEC, 18.2.1752; 20.2.1752. A similarly-worded advertisement appeared in a later edition of the *Courant*: 16.6.1752; 22.6.1752; 25.6.1752.

¹⁵⁴ EEC, 17.2.1752.

¹⁵⁵ EEC, 11.8.1752; 13.8.1752.

d'Amour by M. Passerini; Mrs. Passerini, the fine Cantata of Signor Pergolesi, never produced in Edinburgh, Luce degli occhi [*sic*] miei. Third Act, Mrs. Passerini's Scots Song, Tweed-side; Sinfonia by Signor Passerini; new Duetto by Signor Araya, Ah se ti fui crudele...".¹⁵⁶

Newspaper advertisements also reveal that at the end of 1751 (the year in which they had arrived in Edinburgh) the *Signori* Passerini organised a series of six concerts under the title of "Spiritual Concerts". These concerts, which were independent of those held by the Musical Society, were paid for by subscription:

"THAT Mons. and Madam PASSERINI propose to give a SPIRITUAL CONCERT, after the manner of Oratorios.

Madam Passerini is to sing Cantatas and Music, with sacred lines, alternately, either in Latin, Italian, or English, composed by the best Masters, such as Pergolesi, Marcello, Handel, &c. with some English Songs that Madam Passerini is to intersperse, to render the whole more entertaining. Mons. Passerini is to play Solos upon the Violin and Viole d'Amour.

The said Concerts will be held twice every Month, or once every Fifteen Days, and to begin [blank space] Day of [blank space] continuing till the end of February ensuing.

Such as incline to enter into the Subscription, which is to be one Guinea, shall have Ten Tickets for those Six Concerts. And they may give in their Names to Messrs. Hamilton and Balfour; or to Mons. Passerini, the Concert-Master of the Musical Society at Edinburgh, who will be at great pains to dispose of everything after the most exact and suitable Manner. And if the said Mons. Passerini and his Spouse meet with Encouragement herein, they are hopeful afterwards to produce here at Edinburgh some Entertainments still far more accomplished...".¹⁵⁷

Subsequent advertisements show that concerts did indeed take place.¹⁵⁸ These advertisements announce that the music that was to be given at these concerts included extracts of English music. One advertisement announced that a performance would include: "...the HYMN of ADAM and EVE, out of the 5th Book of Milton's Paradise Lost, besides other English songs...",¹⁵⁹ while another advertisement proclaimed that "...Madam Passerini will sing extraordinary fine English Musick out of Acis and Galatea, and other excellent Musick."¹⁶⁰

This first series of "Spiritual Concerts" must have met with some degree of success, for shortly afterwards Signor Passerini advertised a further series of concerts in the *Courant*:

¹⁵⁶ EEC, 17.8.1752. This is quoted in Harris, *Saint Cecilia's Hall*, 273-274, n 2.

¹⁵⁷ EEC, 17.12.1751; 30.12.1751.

¹⁵⁸ EEC, 7.1.1752; 13.1.1752; 14.1.1752; 28.1.1752; 11.2.1752; 17.2.1752.

¹⁵⁹ EEC, 11.2.1752. No composer is given.

¹⁶⁰ EEC, 18.2.1752.

"THAT Mons. and Madam PASSERINI propose to give EIGHT SPIRITUAL CONCERTS during the Four Months of the Winter Session ensuing; so there will be two concerts in each of the said Months of the Session. As Mons. Passerini intends to make these Concerts more accomplished, with more Voices and Instruments; in order that he may not be exposed to any loss, he entreats all such as intend to Partake of these Amusements, to do him the Honour of signing their Names before the End of February instant; because, in the Beginning of March, he is to go to London for some weeks...".¹⁶¹

From this notice it would seem that the second series of concerts was more ambitious than the first – eight concerts instead of six, with more performers involved and the statement that:

"...if Mons. Passerini meets herein with sufficient Encouragement, he intends to produce several agreeable and elegant Entertainments unknown in this City...".¹⁶²

Another advertisement, carrying more detailed information about the terms and conditions of subscription for the series, appeared later in the year, in August (some three months before the series was to begin).¹⁶³ This advertisement also stated that:

"...This [subscription] sum will defray the necessary Expence that may occur in preparing for the said Concerts. Signor Passerini has engaged a good Voice, and a good Performer on the Violin. If he meets herein with sufficient Encouragement, he intends to bring more Voices and Performers, and produce several agreeable and elegant Entertainments unknown in this City...".¹⁶⁴

The *Courant* published detailed programmes of most of the concerts.¹⁶⁵ From these advertisements it is clear that the mixture of music that was presented by the *Signori* Passerini – pieces by Italian composers, extracts from the sacred works of Handel and arrangements of Scots songs – was the same mixture which they gave at the Musical Society concerts and which had for some time been popular with the Society audiences:

"...The Vocal Part by Signora PASSERINI and Miss MEYER. The Instrumental by some good Hands which are in Scotland. The whole to be directed by Signor Passerini...
First Part. Overture by Mr Handel, in Occasional Oratorio. English Duetto by Mr. Handel in Occasional Oratorio. Motetto by Signor Chinzer, *Datum nunc fragori*. Solo, or Concerto, set in Parts by

¹⁶¹ *EEC*, 25.2.1752.

¹⁶² *EEC*, 25.2.1752.

¹⁶³ *EEC*, 18.8.1752; 20.8.1752; 19.10.1752; 23.10.1752; 26.10.1752; 30.10.1752; 6.11.1752.

¹⁶⁴ *EEC*, 18.8.1752, and the other advertisements noted above.

¹⁶⁵ *EEC*, 13.11.1752; 27.11.1752; 28.11.1752; 4.12.1752; 5.12.1752; 8.1.1753. The advertisements in the *EEC* editions of 7.11.1752; 9.11.1752; 7.12.1752; 11.12.1752; 18.12.1752; 1.1.1753; 2.1.1753 are more general in nature.

Signor Geminiani, from the Scots Songs. English Song by Mr. Handel in Samson, accompanied by Signor Pasquali upon the Violincello. Second Part. Scots Song, Tweed-side. Grand Concert by Signor Corelli. Duetto by Signor Araya, *Ah se ti fui crudele*. Third Part. Cantata by Signor Pergolesi, *Chi non ode, e chi non vede*. Solo upon the Viole d'Amour, by Signor Passerini. Scots Song, The Bush aboon Traquair. Sinfonia by Signor Passerini. N.B. Signor Passerini has dispersed some Scots Songs, and other Music, with fine words, in such manner as to afford Diversion to everybody...".¹⁶⁶

An advertisement from the last concert in the series (dating from January 1753) illustrates the same mixture of music:

"ON Tuesday the 9th of January, will be, at the Assembly Hall, the EIGHTH and LAST CONCERT in the Manner of ORATORIOS, in which Signora PASSERINI will sing all choice and agreeable Songs.

The Instrumental Music will be such as to please every body.

...The Ladies and Gentlemen are desired to enter through the small Door, because the great will be shut to prevent Cold.

MUSIC which will be performed:

FIRST PART. Grand Overture by Sig. Madonis, composed from some Cossack Airs. English Duet, Every Joy that Wisdom knows. English Song in Acis and Galatea, Hush ye pretty warbling Choir. Signora Passerini, Scots Song, The Bush aboon Traquair, set in Parts by Sig. Geminiani.

SECOND PART. Sinfonie with a Polonish Air. Signora Passerini, English Song, Jehovah to my Word give Ear, with Violincello Solo performed by Signor Pasquali. Concerto upon the French Horns. Solos. Signora Passerini, a new extraordinary Cantata by Signor Pergolesi, never performed yet, *Nel chiuso centro*.

THIRD PART. Grand Concerto. Signora Passerini, a fine Song, with two French Horns and two German Flutes. Solo upon the Violin by Signor Schabran, with Songs harmonic [*sons harmonique*]. Signora Passerini, Scots Song, the Lass of Patie's Mill, set in Parts by Signor Geminiani. Chorus in Acis and Galatea, Happy we.

The Concert will begin exactly at Six o'Clock, and finish half an Hour after Eight."¹⁶⁷

After leaving Edinburgh in 1753 the *Signori* Passerini made their way to London where Cristina sang, and Giuseppe played and organised subscription concerts.¹⁶⁸ The *London Stage* records appearances by both Passerini at a number of the city's main musical venues with many of the leading figures of the London operatic scene between 1754 and 1761. The *Biographical Dictionary of Actors* notes that they were also involved in performances in Oxford, Bath and Bristol during these seven or so years, and there is evidence showing that they also performed in Salisbury.¹⁶⁹ In 1762,

¹⁶⁶ EEC, 13.11.1752.

¹⁶⁷ EEC, 8.1.1753.

¹⁶⁸ McVeigh, *Concert Life*, 234.

¹⁶⁹ 'Some Festival Programmes of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries 1. Salisbury and Winchester' *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle* V, 1965, 54.

the *Signori* Passerini appeared to have moved to Dublin where they remained for some time, performing, teaching and organising concerts. In his *Recollections* O'Keeffe observed that "...such was the musical encouragement in Dublin, that Passerini, with his benefit, concerts, & c. was enabled to live in a very good style."¹⁷⁰ He also heard Cristina perform, and observed that she was "...a first-rate singer".¹⁷¹

Writing in his *History*, Farmer summed up the achievements of Passerini's musical ventures in Edinburgh in the following manner:

"...it is at the concerts given by Passerini and Pasquali in the public halls that we are able to judge the type of programme that was performed. Passerini's offerings were confined to a Handel overture, with instrumental solos and songs. They were advertised as "Spiritual Concerts after the manner of Oratorios." For these joys one had to pay 2s. 6d. or 3s."¹⁷²

In his negative comment, Farmer does not mention that at these concerts the *Signori* Passerini performed also music by other composers, such as that by Marcello, Pergolesi, Geminiani and Corelli. Their energy and enterprise in setting up the two subscription series should also be noted.

More recently, however, the *Biographical Dictionary of Actors* has offered a different view, asserting that both Giuseppe and Cristina Passerini were important figures in the popularization of Handel's works outside of London,¹⁷³ while McVeigh has drawn attention to the novel and exotic repertoire that Giuseppe brought with him from the European mainland.¹⁷⁴

xi LEONARDO PESCATORE

Just after the Edinburgh Musical Society engaged Nicolò Pasquali in 1752, the *Minutes* note that the Society also engaged another Italian musician, Leonardo Pescatore. Little is known of Pescatore before he came to Edinburgh,¹⁷⁵ and although he

¹⁷⁰ O'Keeffe, John *Recollections of the Life of John O'Keeffe, written by himself in two volumes* (London: Henry Colburn, 1862), I, 57.

¹⁷¹ O'Keeffe, *Recollections*, I, 56.

¹⁷² Farmer, *History*, 317.

¹⁷³ *BDA*, XI, 233-234.

¹⁷⁴ McVeigh, *Concert Life*, 94, 113.

¹⁷⁵ The *London Stage* records one London performance in which Pescatore was involved. This was a benefit for Pescatore in March 1746, when "La Forza De L'Amore [*sic*]" was given at the Devil Tavern. No cast list is given, however, included in this performance

remained for some ten years in Edinburgh in the service of the Musical Society, Pescatore is another of those musicians who has been largely overlooked by scholars of Scottish music in this period.¹⁷⁶

The first mention of Pescatore in the *Minutes* dates from December 1753,¹⁷⁷ when the Society paid him and his two children for performing at their Saint Cecilia concert:

"Decr....By Mr Piscatore attendance on	
St. Cecilia's Concerts	£ 3.3.0
By Ditto to his Boy & Girl	£ 1.1.0
[total expenditure	£518.4.0]" ¹⁷⁸

Some nine months after this, the *Minutes* note that the Society had engaged Pescatore on a more permanent basis:

"Engaged Mr Piscatore to Perform in the Concert for fifteen pounds Sterling pr Annum".¹⁷⁹

The references to Pescatore that follow in the *Minutes* almost all concern the payment of his salary by the Society:

"...By Mr Piscatore's Salary	£ 25.0.0
By Mr Piscatore's Allowance for his Boy	£ 3.3.0
[total expenditure	£616.2.8]" ¹⁸⁰

and:

"June...By Mr Piscatore's Sallary till 1st May 1757	£ 15.0.0
[total expenditure	£634.9.9]" ¹⁸¹

While there is relatively little information concerning Pescatore in the *Minutes* of the Society, there are a number of brief references to other areas of musical activity which provide

was "...a Serenata. Music entirely new and composed by himself [Pescatore]...". *London Stage*, 14.3.1746.

¹⁷⁶ His name is mentioned in passing by Farmer, *History* and in Dalyell, *Musical Memoirs*. No mention of Pescatore, however, is found in Johnson, *Music and Society*.

¹⁷⁷ Other sources suggest, however, that Pescatore had been in Edinburgh before he appeared at the Musical Society concerts. In his *Musical Memoirs of Scotland*, published in the mid nineteenth century, Dalyell states that "In 1750 Signor Pescatore describes himself as an eminent master and composer of music, and "organist of Mr. Grant's Chapel," in Edinburgh...". Dalyell, *Musical Memoirs*, 131. This information is quoted by Farmer in his *History*, 273.

¹⁷⁸ EMS, *Minutes*, 6.1753-6.1754.

¹⁷⁹ EMS, *Minutes*, 4.9.1754.

¹⁸⁰ EMS, *Minutes*, 6.1755-6.1756.

¹⁸¹ EMS, *Minutes*, 6.1756-6.1757. Similarly:

"...MR Piscatore Do [one year] to 1st May Do [1758]	£ 15.0.0
[total expenditure	£646.17.2]"

EMS, *Minutes*, 6.1757-6.1758;

"...By Mr Piscatore pr Rect to 1st Septr 1758	£ 5.0.0
[total expenditure	£636.5.3]"

EMS, *Minutes*, 6.1758-6.1759;

"...By Mr Piscatore in full to 28 May Do [1760]	£ 15.0.0
[total expenditure	£702.7.6]"

EMS, *Minutes*, 6.1759-6.1760.

important information in helping to establish the range of his ventures in Edinburgh. From a small note in the *Minutes* dating from the very end of the period that Pescatore spent in Edinburgh, it is clear that he also taught music while he was in the Scottish capital. The *Minutes* record that the Society had decided that:

“...it was agreed to give Mr Piscatore five pounds more a year for teaching the Boys the Choruses in the Oratorios to commence the first of December last”.¹⁸²

Further evidence of Pescatore’s activity as a singing teacher is found in other sources, such as the *Courant*. An advertisement dating from the beginning of 1759, informed Pescatore’s pupils that:

“...As Signor Pescatore was obliged by indisposition, to give over the teaching of singing for some time, that being now perfectly recovered, he intends teaching to sing as formerly.”¹⁸³

From the *Courant* it emerges that Pescatore had been teaching for some time. Advertisements for concerts that appeared in this newspaper mention a number of “apprentices” that Pescatore had, and a handwritten bill, addressed to a Squair Offley (dating from the early 1750s), indicates that Pescatore was owed money for teaching:

“Hon. Sir,

Please send pr. the bearer two Guineas, that is, a Guinea and a half for eighteen times callings [*sic*] at your Lodgings, & a half a Guinea for your Book of Musick desk [handbook], in doing this you’l singularly oblige your
Most humble servant

L. Pescatore”.¹⁸⁴

Important information concerning the music that Pescatore performed while he was in Edinburgh comes from sources such as the *Edinburgh Evening Courant*. Some of the advertisements that appeared in the *Courant* for the benefit concerts that Pescatore had from the Musical Society were rather vague, concerning themselves with the date, place and time of the concert without mentioning any of the music that was to be performed:

“At the Assembly-Hall, on Tuesday the 23d January 1753, will be performed, Signor PESCATORE’S GRAND CONCERT of Vocal and Instrumental MUSIC. The Parts by Signor Rochetti, and Miss

¹⁸² EMS, *Minutes*, 24.6.1760.

¹⁸³ EEC, 3.22.1759. It is possible that illness was the cause of Pescatore’s absence from the Society later in the same year, although the *Minutes* do not record the reason for this absence, noting merely: “Mr Piscatore came back to the Concert the 28th November 1759”. EMS, *Minutes*, 28.11.1759.

¹⁸⁴ NLS MS 16877, f. 283. Note of 1752.

Clarkson, Mr Pescatore's Apprentice...the whole to be conducted by Signor Pescatore...".¹⁸⁵

Similarly:

"At Mary's Chapel in Niddry's Wynd, on Thursday next the 24th February will be performed SIGNOR PESCATORE'S CONCERT of Vocal and Instrumental MUSIC. The Vocal Parts by Mr. Bernard, being the last Time of his performing in this City...Tickets...2s. 6d.",¹⁸⁶

and:

"On Tuesday the 7th instant will performed in Mary's Chapel, in Nidry's Wynd [sic] Signor Pescatore's CONCERT of MUSICK. – The plan of the Musick may be had at the place of performance – Tickets to be had at Balfour's, John's, and the Exchange coffee-houses."¹⁸⁷

One advertisement which appeared in the *Courant* in 1755, however, listed the music which was to be performed. The pieces included compositions by Pescatore himself, along with works by the Italian composers favoured at the Society concerts, such as Corelli:

"On Tuesday the 4th of February 1755, will be performed, at St. Mary's Chapel in Niddery's Wynd,
Signor PESCATORE'S Concert of Vocal and Instrumental MUSICK.
The Vocal Parts by Mr. Harry Bernard, Signor Pescatore's Apprentice.

Act I. Grand Overture, with French Horns by Signor Pescatore.

Song, Se fosse il mio diletto, by Signor Hasse.

Song, if Truth can fix thy wavering Heart.

Act II. Concerto, on the Harpsicord, by Signor Pescatore.

Song, Se Pace tu non vuoi, by Signor Galluppi.

Song, Sweet Eccho.

Act III. Symphonia, with French Horns, by Signor Pescatore.

Song, Qual Nocchiero in mezzo al Mare, by Signor Pescatore.

Scots Song, In cooling Streams.

To conclude with the 4th of Corelli.

Tickets...at Mr. Pescatore's Lodgings at Fountain bridge. Price 2s. 6d."¹⁸⁸

It is possible that many of these works by Pescatore were only disseminated in handwritten manuscript copies and that they have subsequently been lost. *RISM* and *BUCEM* list only two printed works by Pescatore – a set of twelve vocal and instrumental duets,¹⁸⁹ and a short piece that appeared in the *Harpsichord or Spinnet Miscellany* printed by Bremner in London circa 1761.¹⁹⁰

¹⁸⁵ *EEC*, 18.1.1753.

¹⁸⁶ *EEC*, 22.2.1757.

¹⁸⁷ *EEC*, 4.3.1758. A similar advertisement is found in *EEC*, 3.2.1759.

¹⁸⁸ *EEC*, 3.2.1755.

¹⁸⁹ *Douze duos italiens divisez en deux parties, pour chanter à la promenade, ou pour deux flûtes traversières, ou pour toutes sortes d'instruments, et la basse* ([s.l.: s.n., s.a.]).

¹⁹⁰ *The Harpsichord or Spinnet Miscellany*, 24-25, see pages 455-456.

After 1762 the *Courant* does not carry any more advertisements for benefit concerts for Pescatore. On consulting the *Minutes* of the Musical Society the reason for this becomes clear, a note dating from February 1761 states that:

“The Directors considering the Insolent & Impertinent behevour [sic] of Mr Piscatore do from this day dismiss him from their Service in the Concert”.¹⁹¹

The *Minutes* record one more payment to Pescatore after this date, when the Society paid him for the money that they owed to him, and after this, Pescatore’s name drops from the *Minutes*:

“...By Mr Piscatore in full	£ 20.16.6
[total expenditure	£830.5.1/2]”. ¹⁹²

It would seem, however, that Pescatore did not leave Scotland in 1761, after his dismissal from the Society, as an advertisement dating from 1767 indicates that he was still teaching in Edinburgh:

“AS Mr PISCATORE is removed to the country for his health, he thinks it necessary to inform the Public, that he comes to town three days in the week, viz. Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays. He continues to teach the Harpsichord, Singing and Thorough bass. He teaches two for the same price as one, if they are taught in the same hour, as he has done formerly, except it be in the first month. Orders or cards for him may be left at Mr John Low’s grocer, at his shop at the head of Murdoch’s Close, opposite to Chambers’s Close, high-street, Edinburgh.”¹⁹³

These were the Italian musicians who travelled to Edinburgh to perform in that city in the forty or so years between about 1720 and 1760. From the evidence of sources, such as the *Minutes* of the Edinburgh Musical Society and contemporary newspapers such as the *Edinburgh Evening Courant*, a couple of general points emerge. Firstly, the range of their activities – as performers, teachers, composers and entrepreneurs – is clear. Secondly, the number of Italian instrumentalists and singers in Edinburgh during this period was very considerable. Writing more generally on music in Scotland in the eighteenth century, scholars have tended to concentrate on the contributions made by Francesco Barsanti, Nicolò Pasquali, to a slightly lesser extent, Lorenzo Bocchi, and perhaps also in passing to Giuseppe and Cristina Passerini. The other musicians who performed

¹⁹¹ EMS, *Minutes*, 26.2.1761.

¹⁹² EMS, *Minutes*, 6.1761-6.1762.

¹⁹³ EEC, 29.6.1767.

in Edinburgh, such as the *Signori* Benedetto, Putti, Avoglio, Pasqualino, Palma, Larini, Rochetti, Polani and Pescatore have been overlooked almost completely.

CHAPTER 4

GIUSTO FERDINANDO TENDUCCI

Of all the foreign musicians who visited Scotland in the course of the eighteenth century, one of the most famous was, without a doubt, the castrato Giusto Ferdinando Tenducci. Tenducci was principally a singer, but also a teacher and composer. Although he did not stay as long in Scotland as some of the other Italian musicians did, his contribution to the musical culture there is extremely important, and has been acknowledged as such not only in contemporary eighteenth-century accounts, but also in nineteenth- and twentieth-century sources.¹

Born in Siena circa 1735/6, Tenducci sang in theatres in Venice, Milan, Naples and Padua before travelling to London in October 1758, where he had been engaged as the *secondo uomo* by the King's Theatre.² His repertoire in Italy had included works such as *Tamerlano* by Cocchi and Pescetti, *Farnace* by Perez and Piccinni, *Temistocle* by Jommelli, and two Galuppi operas, *Demofonte* and *Ezio*. Having arrived in London, Tenducci appears to have been based there initially until 1765. His first success seems to have been in 1759 in a production of *Ciro Riconosciuto*. The entry on Tenducci in the *Cyclopaedia* notes that:

“...It was in 1759, during the reign of Cocchi's *Ciro Riconosciuto* that he became a favourite of the public: for though a young performer and only second in rank under Potenza, he had a much better voice and manner of singing than the performer to whom he gave precedence.”³

In London Tenducci sang in many of the principal venues of the city: the King's Theatre in the Haymarket, the Theatre Royal in Drury Lane, Covent Garden, the New or Little Theatre in the Haymarket, the Great Room in Dean Street, Soho, Hickford's Room, the Foundling's Hospital and the pleasure gardens at Ranelagh.⁴ It was at Ranelagh

¹ “By far the greatest of the professional singers who ever sang at St. Cecilia's Hall was GIUSTO FERDINANDO TENDUCCI.” Harris, *Saint Cecilia's Hall*, 108. Harris goes on to discuss the period that Tenducci spent in Edinburgh, 108-122. Similarly, Gray considered Tenducci “The most outstanding of all the professional singers engaged by the Society...”. Gray, “The Musical Society”, 213. Tenducci's contribution is discussed in “The Musical Society”, 213-216.

² There are summaries of Tenducci's early life in *Enciclopedia dello Spettacolo* (Rome: Unione Editoriale, 1955), IX, 819; *BDA*, XIV, 392-396.

³ Rees, *Cyclopaedia*, XXV, unpaginated. Similarly: “...It was, however, in the opera of *Ciro Riconosciuto*, set by Cocchi, performed in the beginning of 1759, that this excellent singer was first particularly noticed.” Sainsbury, *Dictionary*, II, 474.

⁴ Detailed information about the productions in London are given in the *London Stage*.

that Lydia Melford, in Tobias Smollett's *Humphry Clinker*, first heard Tenducci. She observed:

"There I heard the famous Tenducci, a thing from Italy – It looks for all the world like a man, though they say it is not. The voice, to be sure, is neither man's nor woman's; but it is more melodious than either; and it warbled so divinely, that, while I listened, I really thought myself in paradise."⁵

Tenducci's singing had a similar effect on the philosopher James Harris – when Harris heard the Italian sing one evening in Salisbury, he observed that the music "was truly fine, the first act of the *Passione* [Jommelli], the second the *Stabat Mater* [Pergolesi], in which Miss Linley and Tenducci sang like two divine beings..."⁶

During this period the Italian performed alongside many of the leading figures in the opera world in London at the time – with the singers Gaetano Quilici, Colomba Mattei, Emanuele Cornacchini, Miss Brent and Dibdin, with Abel, and with the violinists Giardini and Pinto. Tenducci appeared mostly in operas by Italian composers, but also in the enormously popular works of Arne and oratorios by Handel and Arne. Indeed, it was in a work by Arne that Tenducci gained great critical acclaim in 1762. In his *General History* Dr. Burney observed that "Tenducci's performance in *Artaxerxes* [as Arbaces] had a rapid effect upon the public taste, and stimulated to imitation all that were possessed of good ears and flexible voices."⁷ Burney attributed much of the success that the opera had to the singers, noting that:

"...Great and favourite singers only can save an Italian musical drama of any kind in this country; indeed, I can recollect no English operas in which the dialogue was carried on in recitative, that were crowned with full success, except, the *Fairies*, set by Mr Smith in 1755, and *Artaxerxes*, by Dr Arne in 1763; but the success of both was temporary, and depended so much on the singers, Guadagni and Frasi in the one, and Tenducci, Miss Brent and Peretti in the other, that they never could be called stock pieces, or, indeed, performed again, with any success, by inferior singers."⁸

Artaxerxes was given a number of times in 1762, and it continued to be staged at the Haymarket Theatre and at Covent Garden until 1765 – while Tenducci was still in London. Indeed, it was so successful, that

⁵ Smollett, Tobias *The Expedition of Humphry Clinker* (London: W. Johnston and B. Collins, 1771), I, 194.

⁶ Probyn, Clive T., *The Sociable Humanist. The Life and Works of James Harris 1709-1780* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), 224.

⁷ *BurneyH*, IV, 656.

⁸ *BurneyH*, IV, 233.

when the practice of giving half-price tickets to those arriving after the third act was stopped, a riot broke out, and it was a week before repairs were completed and performances at Covent Garden could be resumed.⁹ The songs from *Artaxerxes* were frequently performed at Ranelagh, and the most popular arias from the opera were performed alongside other vocal and instrumental favourites in concerts. This music became intimately linked with Tenducci, and he continued to sing extracts from *Artaxerxes* in concerts throughout the British Isles and Ireland for many years after.

In the summer or 1765 Tenducci moved to Ireland, where he appeared alongside Nicolò Peretti and Clementina Cremonini in performances of *The Royal Shepherd*, *L'Eroe Cinese*, and two works by Arne, *Comus* and *Artaxerxes*.¹⁰ According to the entry on Tenducci in the *Biographical Dictionary of Actors*,¹¹ the singer was critically acclaimed by the audiences there.¹² In Ireland, Tenducci married Dorothea Maunsell, one of his pupils and the daughter of a counsellor-at-law, Thomas Maunsell. The story of the marriage was narrated by Dorothea and published a few years later, in 1768.¹³ She described how they first met:

“...The first summer Tenducci came over to this kingdom, he passed a great part of his time at a gentleman’s house, a few miles from Dublin, where I frequently visited; most of which was spent in singing along with me, and in improving the early taste which I had discovered for music. He encouraged me to proceed, and cultivate this natural taste, by giving me hopes of excelling; and as our acquaintance increased, he became more and more assiduous to instruct me. As he did this without fee or reward, it prejudiced not only me, but all my family, very much in his favour. In winter, my F-- and M--- sent almost every day pressing invitations to

⁹ “A riot happened at Covent Garden Theatre occasioned by a demand being made for full price at the opera *Artaxerxes*. The mischief done was the greatest ever known on any occasion of the like kind; all the benches of the boxes and Pit being entirely tore up, the glasses and chandeliers broken, and the linings of the Boxes cut to pieces...The damages done amount to at least £2000”. *Gentleman’s Magazine*, February 1763, cit. *London Stage*, 24.2.1763.

¹⁰ Details of the performances are to be found in Walsh, *Opera in Dublin 1705-1797*.

¹¹ *BDA*, XIV, 394.

¹² When John O’Keeffe heard Tenducci sing extracts from the music that Arne had written for him, he noted that “His singing ‘Water Parted’ was the great attraction, as were the airs he sung as the first spirit in *Comus*: at his benefits there, he had thirty, forty and fifty guineas for a single ticket.” O’Keeffe continues stating that, “The frolicsome Dublin boys used to sing about the streets to the old tune of ‘Over the hills and far away’ -

‘Tenducci was a piper’s son,
And he was in love when he was young,
And all the tunes that he could play
Was ‘Water parted from the Say [sic].’”

O’Keeffe, *Recollections*, I, 139.

¹³ Tenducci, Dora “A True and Genuine Narrative of Mr. and Mrs. Tenducci in a Letter to a Friend at Bath” (London: J. Pridden, 1768).

Tenducci to dine, and pass with us as many leisure hours as he could spare. These invitations he accepted of; and, during the greatest part of the time, he and I were left alone to study music. The harpsichord, singing, and now and then, by way of relief, questions relative to the manners and customs of the foreign nations he had lived amongst, made many hours glide impenetrably away. Here I must own that I began to feel a secret pleasure in his conversation and company, which I at that time attributed to nothing else but his fine singing, his pleasing manner, and, above all, the obligations I was under to him, for the pains he had taken to instruct me in my favourite study.”¹⁴

Their marriage caused a great scandal, and various attempts were made to separate them and to persecute Tenducci. Maunsell, his relatives and magistrates colluded in trying to force the two apart, using violent (and often desperate) tactics:

“...as I was returning home from a Gentleman’s house in Corke, where I had dined with a numerous and polite company, and where I had left Tenducci, my chair was suddenly stopt, just at the door of my lodgings, by several armed men, who ordered the chairman to go instantly along with them. Upon their repeated and peremptory refusal to comply with this demand, one of those who had thus stopt my chair drew his cutlass and wounded both the chairmen most unmercifully, one of them in particular was so shockingly cut in the head, and the blood streamed down so plentifully, that, as you may well imagine, I was distracted and terrified almost out of my senses. While I was screaming aloud for assistance, one S. a tide-waiter, presented a pistol close to my breast, threatening and swearing that “he would shoot me dead if I spoke” and to compleat this scene of horror, at the thoughts of which even now my blood runs cold, I saw a near relation of my own, stand by humoured, and suffer me to be thus insulted by ruffians who he had employed to assist him in taking me.”¹⁵

They also threatened Dorothea with lifelong internment in a madhouse, imprisoned Tenducci – only releasing him when a physician swore that he was near death, they interrupted the singer’s public performances, they assaulted and wounded their servants, invaded their living quarters in the dead of night and ransacked their papers and belongings. Despite all of this, Dorothea and Tenducci remained together many years, she travelling with him, and occasionally singing in concerts in his place. She accompanied him to Scotland when Tenducci paid his first visit in 1768.

There is a considerable amount of information relating to Tenducci in the *Minutes* of the Edinburgh Musical Society, both concerning his obligations to the Society and the payment of his

¹⁴ Tenducci, *Narrative*, 4-5.

¹⁵ Tenducci, *Narrative*, 11-12.

salary from the Society. The first mention of Tenducci in the *Minutes* is found in June 1768. It notes that the Society had:

“...Mett with Tenducci and agreed with him to Sing & play on the Harpsichord in the Concert and at the Oratorios for one year from the 10th of June next for a Sallary of One hundred and fifty pounds Sterling...as Mr Tenducci had his family to bring from Ireland for which purpose he was obliged to go there but proposed being in Edinr again about the 20th of June, he therefore begg'd he might be advanced Forty pounds Sterling in part of his Sallary...”¹⁶

The *Minutes* record the payment of £40.0.0,¹⁷ and Tenducci presumably went back to Ireland. Just over three months later, in September, Tenducci lodged another request for some more money:

“...Mr Tenducci wanted a little more money tho his former advance was not yet extinguished by His attendance in the Concert...in consideration of him being yet a Stranger in the place and had not got so many Scholars as he would get in winter order'd the Treasurer to pay him Twenty or Thirty pounds on his Receipt”.¹⁸

In the following year, 1769, there is a record of a new contract between Tenducci and the Society. The *Minutes* note:

“...a new agreement with him [Tenducci] for one year and give a salary of £250 pounds Sterling & authorize Mr Douglas to Sign a new Contract to that purpose with a penalty of £500 pound Sterling”.¹⁹

The new clause, adding a penalty of £500 in the event that the contract was broken by the singer, would seem to suggest that the Society were becoming more circumspect in their dealings with Tenducci. The payments made to the singer were noted in the *Minutes*:

“...By Mr Tenducci's Ballce of his Salary to the 1st June 1769 pr Rect	£110.0.0
By Ditto...of new Contract comencing [sic] the 10th June 1769 pr Rect	£ 20.0.0
[total expenditure	£996.9.9]”. ²⁰

¹⁶ EMS, *Minutes*, 2.6.1768. This as compared with the salaries of Clementina Cremonini and Signora Doria, the previous two *prime donne*, who each had an annual income of £112 from the Society.

¹⁷ “...By Mr Tenducci to Accot of salary £ 40.0.0
[total expenditure £994.9.1]”,

EMS, *Minutes*, 6.1767-6.1768.

¹⁸ EMS, *Minutes*, 13.9.1768.

¹⁹ EMS, *Minutes*, 7.3.1769.

²⁰ EMS, *Minutes*, 6.1768-6.1769.

In June Tenducci appealed to the directors of the Musical Society “very earnestly”²¹ for more money, to which the Society agreed.²²

In August, the *Minutes* record yet another application for money:

“...Mr Tenducci was in want of money and begged [*sic*] to have a quarters Sallary advanced, the Meeting being asured [*sic*] by his [?] that Tenducci had no Intention to leave the place they ordered the Treasurer to advance Mr Tenducci a quarters Sallary comencing [*sic*] the 10th of September next”.²³

By the middle of November, however, the *Minutes* reveal that Tenducci had left Edinburgh and gone to London:

“...informed by Mrs Tenducci that her Husband was gone to London for two or three weeks begg’d his Contract might not be broken & she would Sing in the Concert in his place, to which the Directors agreed and desired the Treasurer to write her that if she would perform in the Concert till Christmas next if Mr Tenducci Returned by that time they would Still stand by their Contract, but if he did not return by that time the Contract must be void on their part”.²⁴

A month later, in mid-December, the *Minutes* record that the Society had had word that Tenducci was applying for work at the Drury Lane Theatre:

“The Earl of Kelly informed the Directors that he had Letters from London acquainting him that Tenducci had been making offer of himself at Drury Lane Theatre and at the opera to Engage for any time the[y] pleased also had produced a letter from his wife aledging [*sic*] he had leave of the Directors to stay away for a year which was Intirely false as he had gone off without their knowledge and contrary to his contract Therefore they declared the contract Void with respect to him, and Desired Mr Douglas to write Mrs Tenducci that the Contract was Concluded, and that if she inclined to sing in the Concert they would give her three guineas a week payable every week, agreeable to this Minute he wrote to her...”.²⁵

The next day, William Douglas, the Treasurer of the Society, wrote to Dora Tenducci informing her that they were releasing her husband from their employ:

“...[Mr Tenducci] went away without their knowledge but directly contrary to his obligation in his contract, which is therefore now at an End, and they dismiss him from their Service”.²⁶

The *London Stage* records an appearance by Tenducci at the Theatre Royal, Covent Garden, on the 15th of December. This was billed as being his “first appearance that [the London] stage these 4 years”.

²¹ EMS, *Minutes*, 30.6.1769.

²² “...The Directors conceding [*sic*] they authorised the Treasurer to advance Mr Tenducci the remainder of his Sallary for one quarter.” EMS, *Minutes*, 30.6.1769.

²³ EMS, *Minutes*, 28.8.1769.

²⁴ EMS, *Minutes*, 16.11.1769.

²⁵ EMS, *Minutes*, 13.12.1769.

²⁶ EMS, *Minutes*, 14.12.1769.

He sang the title role in *Amintas*, "An English Opera. Never perform'd there. The music selected from the best composers, and adapted by Tenducci...".²⁷ The final payment to Tenducci from the Edinburgh Musical Society, for the period up to December 1769, is noted in the *Minutes*:

"...By Mr Tenducci's Salary to 10 Decr 1769	
pr Accot	£105.0.0
By Mrs Tenducci pr Rects	£ 22.1.0
[total expenditure	£949.6.1]"

After this date, the *Minutes* do not record any more payments from the Musical Society to Tenducci.²⁹ While he was no longer in the employ of the Society, it is however clear from a number of sources that Tenducci did appear in Edinburgh after 1769. Newspaper advertisements, such as those that appeared in the *Edinburgh Evening Courant*, and the *Plan Books* kept by the Musical Society, show that Tenducci returned to Edinburgh a number of times – in 1779,³⁰ in the summers of 1780 and 1781,³¹ and in 1785.³² A review which appeared in the *Edinburgh Evening Courant* in August 1785, noted that Tenducci had been among the performers in a concert at Saint Cecilia's:

"A correspondent informs us, that the oratorio of Samson was performed last night in St. Cecilia's Hall, to a numerous and brilliant audience, by the most capital band, perhaps ever collected together in this country...Mr Tenducci, whose merit as a singer is well known, was a capital addition to the other vocal performers...".³³

George Thomson observed that the singer:

"...made his appearance occasionally when he came to visit the Hopetoun family, his liberal and steady patrons; and while he remained he generally gave some concert at the Hall, which made

²⁷ *London Stage*, 15.12.1769.

²⁸ EMS, *Minutes*, 6.1769-6.1770.

²⁹ Tenducci's name, however, is mentioned in a letter dated February 1770 from William Douglas, the treasurer of the Society, to Robert Bremner in London. This was correspondence relating to the engagement of Luciani by the Society: "...Luciani is still in London...I am afraid our friend Mr Tenducci has created this stop, for I fear he still retains his lodgings & keeps a servant there, this he may save himself the trouble for the Society will have nothing more to do with him on any account If they should want another singer I am sure you can tell him what sort of people he will meet with here." EMS, *Minutes*, 5.2.1770.

³⁰ EEC, 28.8.1779; 30.8.1779; 20.11.1779; 22.11.1779; 29.11.1779; 1.12.1779; 4.12.1779; 6.12.1779; 27.12.1779.

³¹ EMS, *Plan Books*, 28.7.1780; 27.7.1780.

³² EEC, 25.7.1785; 6.8.1785; 8.8.1785.

³³ EEC, 30.7.1785.

quite a sensation among the musicals. I considered it a jubilee year whenever Tenducci arrived...".³⁴

Information on the music that Tenducci sang while he was in Edinburgh comes from a number of sources. The *Plan Books* of the Edinburgh Musical Society are on occasion somewhat vague in this respect, noting only that a concert would include a "Song MR Tenducci",³⁵ or a "Song or Duet MR Tenducci".³⁶ Similarly:

"Act 1st.
6" Sinfonia Bach Op 8th. -
Song Siga. Corri
Song Sigr. Tenducci

Act 2d.
Overture in Saul. -
Song Sigr. Corri
1 Symph. Concert. di T. P. Ricci
Song Sigr. Tenducci or Duetto

Act 3d.
Song Siga. Corri
Trio Giardini
Scotch Song Sir. Tenducci
54th periodical overture",³⁷

and:

"Act 1st.
28" Periodl. Overture
Song Siga. Corri -
1" Concerto Geminiani Op 2d.

Act 2d.
Song Sigr. Tenducci. -
Quartetto Concertante Bach. -
Song Siga. Corri
Ad Libitum Mr Salomon. -

Act 3d.
Song Sigr. Tenducci
M.S. Quartetto Haydn
Song Siga. Corri. -
4" Symph. Filtz",³⁸

For a concert proposed for Christmas 1768, there is, however, a full programme in the *Plan Books*:

"Overture in Joshua
Song Doria Verrie Dorte
[Vorrei Dirti]
Song Tenducci Pious Orgies

2A: Song Tenducci Verdi Prati
Overture in Stabat Mater
Duet dread scene
Judas Maccaboeus

3A: Song Tenducci Father of Heaven
8 con. Corelli
chorus: Heer us o Lord",³⁹

Some newspaper advertisements are rather vague, giving details only of the date, time and place where the concert was to be, and not of the music that was to be performed:

"By particular desire of several persons of distinction...

³⁴ Lohead, Marion Cleland *The Scots Household in the Eighteenth Century. A Century of Scottish Domestic and Social Life* (Edinburgh: Moray Press, 1948), 286.

³⁵ EMS, *Plan Books*, 27.5.1768; 8.7.1768; 24.6.1768; 9.12.1768; 30.12.1768.

³⁶ EMS, *Plan Books*, 24.6.1768; 1.7.1768

³⁷ EMS, *Plan Books*, 28.7.1780.

³⁸ EMS, *Plan Books*, 27.7.1781.

³⁹ EMS, *Plan Books*, 23.12.1768.

On Wednesday the 25th of May 1768,
Mr TENDUCCI will give a CONCERT of VOCAL AND INSTRUMENTAL
MUSIC, at St Cecilia's Hall, Niddry's Wynd.⁴⁰ Particulars of the
Entertainment will be expressed in the bills of the day.
Tickets...2s. 6d...To begin at six o'clock precisely."⁴¹

Some advertisements, however, are more informative:

"On TUESDAY the 26th of July 1785, will be performed
In St Cecilia's Hall, Niddry's Wynd,
Mr Clark's Concert of Vocal and Instrumental
MUSIC.

To begin at half past twelve o'clock.

At the particular desire of several respectable musical friends,
some of the most approved Songs and Choruses, selected from the
Oratorios of SAMSON, and ACIS and GALATEA will be performed...

Principal Vocal Performers,

Mr TENDUCCI, Mr URBANI – And

Mr MEREDITH, Mr AITKEN."⁴²

Mr and Mrs CORRI,

Other advertisements reveal an interesting and important aspect of
the music that Tenducci sang while he was in Edinburgh. Dating
from 1769 (the first visit that Tenducci made to Edinburgh) are a
number of advertisements for the production of two operas with
which he had been particularly associated in London and in Dublin.
In January the *Edinburgh Evening Courant* announced that the
Royal Shepherd was to be given at the newly-opened Theatre Royal:

"The Serious Opera called the Royal Shepherd is now in rehearsal,
and will very speedily be performed at the Theatre Royal; the Royal
Shepherd by Mr. Tenducci; thr [sic] other principal characters by
Mr Arthur, Miss Brown, Mrs Woodman, and Mr Philips."⁴³

A fortnight later, the *Courant* informed their readers that a date had
been set for the performance of the opera:

"Mr Ross has appointed Monday the 30th inst. for the performance
of the Serious Opera, called the ROYAL SHEPHERD.

The Royal Shepherd, by Mr TENDUCCI,

Alexander, by Mrs WOODMAN,

Agenor, by Mr PHILLIPS,

Eliza, by Mrs ARTHUR,

Thamyris, by Miss BROWN.

The Scenes and Dresses to be entirely new, and suitable to the
characters of the Opera.

The Scenes invented and painted by Mr Moore.

Three New Dances, by Mrs MARCUCCI,⁴⁴ Mr ASTIER's, four Couples
more for the Country Dance.

⁴⁰ See page 564.

⁴¹ EEC, 21.5.1768. Similarly: 13.6.1768; 20.6.1768; 10.12.1768; 21.12.1768.

⁴² EEC, 25.7.1785.

⁴³ EEC, 7.1.1769.

⁴⁴ Felice Marcucci is listed in the *London Stage* and the *BDA*, X, 92. She seems to have
arrived from Italy circa 1764, spent some time performing in Dublin, and then moved

End of the First Act, a NEW TURKISH SHEPHERD'S DANCE, alluding to the Opera.

End of the Second Act, a NEW TURKISH and HUSSAR DANCE.

End of the Opera a PANTOMIME DANCE.

...Tickets to be got at the Theatre-Office, from ten till three every day, where books of the Opera may be had, price sixpence each."⁴⁵

Some months after the Edinburgh *Royal Shepherd*, the newspapers advertised a production of *Artaxerxes*. The advertisements show that the Edinburgh production was to include some Scots songs that were to be sung by Tenducci:

"THEATRE-ROYAL, Canongate,
On Monday next will be performed,
the celebrated Opera of
ARTAXERXES:

With new decorations, and some favourite Scots Airs,
by Mr TENDUCCI. – Vocal performers Mr Philips, Mr Taylor,
Mrs Collet, and Miss Alfie.

Places to be taken at the Theatre..."⁴⁶

Less than a fortnight later, another performance was advertised, noting again that the Italian would incorporate some Scots songs:

"...ARBACES, Mr TENDUCCI,
(who will introduce some favourite Scotch Airs.)
...MANDANE, by Mrs TAYLOR,
(who will introduce the song Roslin Castle,...)"⁴⁷

The inclusion and performance of these songs by Tenducci was noted by Alexander Campbell, who observed that: "he introduced, in order

to Edinburgh. She advertised dancing lessons in the *Courant*: "Signora Marcucci takes this method to acquaint the Ladies, that she teaches Dancing, and will wait on those who are pleased to employ her at their houses. She lives at Miss Hill's opposite the Briton Linen-Hall in the Canongate." *EEC*, 20.2.1769. Her performances and school were clearly successful, as a few years later, we find that: "...Encouraged by the countenance and protection of her friends, Signora Marcoucci has taken Mr Lamotte's school, and enters at Whitsunday next, where she proposes to teach dancing. – Those who are pleased to favour her with their children, may depend upon her utmost care and attention." *EEC*, 25.3.1772; 28.3.1772. By 1782, Marcucci had moved to Glasgow and married, as she advertised dancing lessons in the *Glasgow Mercury*, 6.6.1782.

⁴⁵ *EEC*, 21.1.1769.

Ten years later, in 1779, Tenducci was again in Edinburgh and appeared in *Orpheus and Eurydice* by Gluck:

"MR TENDUCCI humbly gives NOTICE,
That the so much (wished for) renowned Italian Opera of
ORPHEUS AND EURYDICE.

With Grand CHORUSES, & c. & c. & c.

Composed by the celebrated Chevalier GLUCK,

Will be performed in the course of the next month; of which proper notice will be given in the news-papers.

As this performance will be attended with a great deal of expence, Mr TENDUCCI requests those Gentlemen and Ladies who have expressed a desire to see this Opera performed here, to favour him with their names..."

EEC, 27.12.1779.

⁴⁶ *EEC*, 19.7.1769; 22.7.1769. This opera was given again in 1779 with an all-Scottish cast. *EEC*, 24.2.1779. Other performances of *Artaxerxes* were also advertised in the *EEC*, 3.8.1782 and 5.8.1782.

⁴⁷ *EEC*, 29.7.1769; 5.8.1769.

to make himself more popular, some favourite Scottish [sic] airs.”⁴⁸ This proved to be an extremely well-judged manoeuvre, as Campbell recounts that the audience “...were so charmed with his touching manner of singing the melodies of the country in which he was a stranger; that it seemed to awaken them to a sense of their transcendent simplicity and pathos”.⁴⁹ As well as including some of these songs in the performances of *Artaxerxes*, the castrato also sang them in concerts. The *Courant* announced:

“In ST. CECILIA’S HALL,
On Thursday the 23d February inst. will be performed,
Mr. FYFE’S
CONCERT
OF
Vocal and Instrumental MUSICK.

ACT I. Overture composed by the Right Hon. the Earl of Kelly. – Song, by Mr Fyfe, “An thou wert my ain thing.” – Song, by Mrs Woodman “Ellon a Roon.”

ACT II. Overture, composed by the Right Hon. the Earl of Kelly. – Song, by Mr. Tenducci, “Water parted from the sea.” – Song, by Mr Fyfe, “The Larks shrill notes,” with French Horns, &c. – Overture by Mr. Abel.

ACT III. Symphony, by Stimets. – Song, by Mr. Tenducci, “Coming through the broom.” – Song, by Mrs. Woodman, “Rise glory rise,” with trumpets, kettle drums, &c. – Overture by the Right Hon. the Earl of Kelly, with French Horns, kettle drums, &c. – Mr. Fyfe will play several favourite airs on the Musical Glasses...”.⁵⁰

Indeed, Tenducci became famous for his performances of Scots songs, and of all the Italian singers who travelled to Scotland in the eighteenth century, it was perhaps Tenducci who was most admired by those who heard him. There are a number of contemporary comments that testify to his skill as a performer of these songs. Writing in his *Dissertation on the Scottish Music*, first published in Edinburgh in 1779, William Tytler observed that:

“A Scots song can only be sung in taste by a Scots voice. To a sweet, liquid, flowing voice, capable of swelling a note from the softest to the fullest tone, and what the Italians call a *voce di petto*, must be joined sensibility and feeling, and a perfect understanding of the subject, and the words of a song; so as to know the significant word on which to swell or soften the tone, and lay the force of the note. From this want of knowledge of the language, it generally happens, that to most of the foreign masters, our melodies, at first, must seem wild and uncouth; for which reason, in their performance, they generally fall short of our expectation. We sometimes, however, find a foreign master, who, with a genius for the pathetick, and a knowledge of the subject and words, has afforded very high

⁴⁸ Campbell, *History*, 14, n.

⁴⁹ Campbell, *History*, 14, n.

⁵⁰ *EEC*, 15.2.1769. See also *EEC*, 29.11.1779; 1.12.1779; 4.12.1779; 6.12.1779.

pleasure in a Scots song. Who could not hear with insensibility, or without being moved to the greatest degree, Tenducci sing, – ‘I’ll never leave thee’, or – ‘The Braes of Ballendine’?”⁵¹

In his *Picture of Edinburgh*, published in Edinburgh in 1806, Stark recalled that:

“...The celebrated Tenducci also often appeared in St. Cecilia’s Hall, and the Scottish melodies, in his hands, received all the pathos and melting tenderness of which they are so susceptible, above the music of any other nation...”⁵²

George Thomson was also deeply moved by Tenducci’s singing and penned a number of tributes to the castrato:

“...he it was who inoculated me for Scottish song. Oh that Mrs Chambers had heard him! He would have beguiled her of tears as he oft drew mine. I have heard all the great singers of the last fifty years, and not one of them surpassed him for singing to the heart.”⁵³

Thomson, like Tytler, noted the control and skill with which Tenducci managed his voice, the “expressive simplicity” and beauty of his voice, and the clear delivery of the words of the song or aria:

“...The most judicious charmingly expressive singer of Scottish songs I ever had the pleasure of listening to was Signor Tenducci, whose passionate feeling and exquisitely touching expression of the melody was not more remarkable than his marked delivery of the words, which he spoke as effectively as a Kemble would have recited them. If I were to live ever so long I could not forget the effect of his performing ‘Roslin Castle’, ‘Lochaber’, or ‘The Braes of Ballenden’.”⁵⁴

Similarly:

“No singer I ever heard sang with more expressive simplicity or with more efficient, whether he sang the classical songs of Metastasio, or those of Arne’s ‘Artaxerxes’, or the simple melodies of Scotland. To the latter he gave such an intensity of interest by his impassioned manner and by his clear enunciation of the words, as equally surprised and delighted us. I can never forget the pathos and touching effect of his ‘Gilderoy’, ‘Lochaber no More’, ‘The Braes of Ballenden’, ‘I’ll Never Leave Thee’, ‘Roslin Castle’. These with the ‘Verdi Prati’ [*Alcina*] of Handel, ‘Fair Aurora’ from Arne’s ‘Artaxerxes’, and Gluck’s ‘Che Farò’, were all above praise”.⁵⁵

⁵¹ Tytler, *Dissertation*, 639-640.

⁵² Stark, John *Picture of Edinburgh; containing a history and a description of the city, with a particular account of every remarkable object in, or establishment connected with, the Scottish metropolis* by J. Stark (Edinburgh: printed for J. Stark, for A. Constable, 1806), 371.

⁵³ Hadden, James Cuthbert *George Thomson the Friend of Burns. His Life and Correspondence* (London: J. C. Nimmo, 1898), 21.

⁵⁴ Hadden, *Thomson*, 21.

⁵⁵ *Cit. Harris, Saint Cecilia’s Hall*, 111-112.

Indeed, Thomson noted that he was originally inspired to begin the great publishing venture that would dominate the next fifty years of his life on hearing Tenducci and *La Miniatrice* sing the melodies of his own country:

“At the St. Cecilia concerts I heard Scottish songs sung in a style of excellence far surpassing any idea which I had previously had of their beauty, and that, too, from Italians, [Signor Tenducci and Signora Corri]...Tenducci’s ‘I’ll never leave thee’ and ‘Braes of Ballenden’...so delighted every hearer that in the most crowded room not a whisper was to be heard, so entirely did they rivet the attention and admiration. Tenducci’s singing was full of passion, feeling, and taste, and, what we hear very rarely from singers, his articulation of the words was no less perfect than his expression of the music. It was in consequence of my hearing him and Signora Corri sing a number of our songs so charmingly that I conceived the idea of collecting all our best melodies and songs...”.⁵⁶

In a period when much of what was added to a piece by a performer by way of ornamentation was not notated, there is, rather remarkably, a record of this in the *Select Collection*, published by Domenico Corri in Edinburgh in 1779.⁵⁷ The preface to the *Collection* states that this work was partly intended as a didactic aid. To this end, Corri notated all that would have been added in performance by the singer, but that was actually unwritten by the composer. In this he is meticulous, transcribing ornamentation and ornamental flourishes, dynamic markings, phrasing and breath marks. So the *Select Collection* presents invaluable evidence of the different performing styles of the most important singers of the day, such as Pacchierotti, Millico, Guadagni, Rauzzini, Miss Brent and of course, Tenducci. Corri included in the *Select Collection* four arias from *Artaxerxes* – “Oh too Lovely, too Unkind”, “Fair Aurora Prithce Stay”, “Water Parted from the Sea” and “The Soldier Tir’d of Wars Alarms”, the first three of which had become particularly associated with Tenducci⁵⁸ (see pages 457-462). The transcription of the Arne arias as sung by the castrato are only lightly and subtly ornamented; the decoration almost exclusively comprising turns, trills and appoggiaturas. The cadential flourishes, when they occur, are very brief. This accords entirely with contemporary accounts of Tenducci’s singing, such as those written by Tytler or Thomson, or

⁵⁶ Hadden, *Thomson*, 20.

⁵⁷ This work is discussed in more detail in the following chapter.

⁵⁸ An advertisement in the *Courant* for a concert at the Theatre Royal stated: “...For the Benefit of Miss LATELY...who will sing the following...The Soldier Tir’d of Wars Alarms...Water Parted from the Sea, After the Manner of Tenducci...”. *EEC*, 30.11.1776.

that which appeared in the *Cyclopedia*, which described Tenducci's voice as that "of a high soprano of a clear silvery tone, which by great pains he had rendered very flexible...".⁵⁹ The entry for Tenducci in *ABCDario Musico* noted:

"TENDUCCI

An Italian, deservedly of the greatest reputation for *cantabile* singing of any castrato that has appeared in this country. His style is formed on that of Caffarelli, by whom he was instructed. Tho' his notes are few, he has not been exceeded by Egiziello, nor any other of his contemporaries. As a composer, his taste is very pleasing. The Trios (which Prince Pilferini [Giordani] purloined from him) and numberless Rondeaux which he has sung and published, are decided examples to support our opinion."⁶⁰

Those qualities in Tenducci's singing that were so admired by his contemporaries were expounded by the Italian in the *Instruction of Mr Tenducci to his Scholars*.⁶¹ The *Instruction* is divided into four sections: an address "To the Professors of Music in London", a set of "Necessary Rules for Students and Dilettanti of Vocal Music", a series of exercises focusing on different aspects of vocal technique, and a set of six short lessons incorporating various elements of technique. The "Necessary Rules" lists a number of points for the student:

"I. The first and most necessary Rule in singing, is to keep the Voice steady.

II. To form the Voice in as pleasing a Tone, as is in the Power of the Scholar.

...V. To articulate perfectly each Syllable.

VI. To sing the Scale, or Gamut, frequently; allowing each sound one BREVE, or two SEMIBREVES, 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 encreasing [*sic*] gradually to Forte, in the first part of the Time; and so diminishing gradually to the end of each Note...

XVI. That in pronouncing the Words, Care must be taken to accord with the Sentiment that was intended by the Poet.

...XVIII. That in singing, the Tones of the Voice must be united, except in the case of Staccato Notes.

XIX. 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."⁶²

The exercises for vocal technique in the *Instruction* begin with a scale in breves to practise the *messa di voce* (see page 463). This basic element of vocal control, and essential one of *bel canto* singing, was also among the very first exercises that had been

⁵⁹ Rees, *Cyclopedia*, XXXV, unpaginated.

⁶⁰ *ABCDario Musico*, 45-46.

⁶¹ (London: Longman & Broderip, [c. 1785]). The front page of this work features a portrait of Tenducci, see page 566.

⁶² Tenducci, *Instruction*, 2.

recommended by Tosi in the *Opinioni de' Cantori Antichi e Moderni*, first published in 1723, over half a century before Tenducci's *Instruction*:

"In the same lessons let him teach the art to put forth the voice, which consists in letting it swell by degrees from the softest 'piano' to the loudest 'forte', and from thence with the same art return from the 'forte' to the 'piano'. A beautiful 'messa di voce' from a singer that uses it sparingly, and only on the open vowels, can never fail of having an exquisite effect..."⁶³

Tenducci's *Instruction* also included exercises for developing the "shake"; exercises for practising intervals (ranging from a third to an octave) with and without the intervening notes; ascending scales to be practised in one breath and then also ascending and descending scales to be sung in one breath; exercises in triplets and in syncopations; a number of passages "Which frequently occur in modern Theatrical Music", and sequences "common in modern Opera Songs" and in "Dramatic Music". Tenducci recommends the daily practice of two of the six short lessons that follow (see pages 465-466).

Although the *Instruction* was published in London in the mid 1780s, some time after the singer had left the employ of the Musical Society in Edinburgh, it is clear from a number of sources that teaching had been, and continued to be, an important aspect of Tenducci's musical career.⁶⁴ Writing in his *History*, Burney noted an improvement in Tenducci's voice after this period of residence in Ireland and Scotland:

"[in the 1770-1771 season, Tenducci] who came here first...only as a singer of the second or third class, was now so much improved, during his residence in Scotland and Ireland, as not only to be well received as first man on our stage, but, afterwards, in all the great theatresof [*sic*] Italy."⁶⁵

The article on Tenducci in the *Cyclopaedia*, however, attributed the improvements that Tenducci made in his own singing to the time he dedicated to teaching while he was in Scotland:

"In Scotland he sung at the Edinburgh concerts, and gave lessons in singing; by which occupation he improved his own talents so much,

⁶³ Tosi, P. F.; Galliard trans; Pilkington, Michael ed *Observations on the Florid Song* (London: Stainer and Bell, 1987), 8. The *messa di voce* continued to be regarded as one of the most important elements of *bel canto* singing into the nineteenth century. Domenico Corri wrote that it was "The Soul of Music" and began the first lesson in his vocal treatise, *The Singer's Preceptor or Corri's Treatise on Vocal Music* (London: Silvester, [1810]) by illustrating the *messa*, see page 464.

⁶⁴ Harris, *Saint Cecilia's Hall*, 113-114.

⁶⁵ BurneyH, IV, 497. This is copied, almost *verbatim* by Busby in his *History*, II, 359.

that he returned to London a much better singer than when he left it. So true is the observation of Aristotle, that no art or science is well learned but by *teaching*, when it is necessary to give reasons for what in private practice is done mechanically.”⁶⁶

From the advertisements that were printed in the Edinburgh press, it is clear that Tenducci had announced his intention to teach music in August 1768, shortly after he had arrived in Edinburgh:

“MR TENDUCCI begs leave to inform the Public, that he intends to teach SINGING, and will attend Ladies and Gentlemen at their own houses.”⁶⁷

In October of the following year, the *Courant* carried another advertisement for singing lessons, suggesting that the Italian was becoming more established as a teacher:

“LADIES ACADEMY

THIS is to give notice, that the LADIES ACADEMY is to begin on Monday the 20th of November next. – The Subscribers are desired to send for their Tickets to Mr Tenducci’s House in Miln’s Square, first door up the Scale Stairs, Back-court;⁶⁸ and upon receiving their Tickets, to pay their Subscription.

At the same time they shall be acquainted of the place where the Academy will be held. The Subscription being almost full, it is requested that those Ladies and Gentlemen who did not answer the Circular Letters, will, before the end of this Month, acquaint Mr Tenducci of their intention, otherways their places will be filled up.”⁶⁹

Among Tenducci’s pupils in Edinburgh was Alexander Campbell, who became a musician and teacher himself, and whose pupils included the novelist Walter Scott.⁷⁰ Writing at the very end of the eighteenth century, Campbell noted that:

“[Tenducci] from time to time made visits to Scotland, to the high gratification of the lovers of song, and those who had the good fortune to become his pupils, of which I deem myself happy in having been of the number.”⁷¹

Some of the most recent analysis of Scottish musical history during this period has included a discussion of the link between the Scots poet Robert Fergusson and Tenducci. That Fergusson contributed additional poetry for the 1769 Edinburgh production of

⁶⁶ Rees, *Cyclopaedia*, XXXV, unpaginated. The article also mentions “his many scholars, and a good method of instruction”.

⁶⁷ *EEC*, 6.8.1768.

⁶⁸ See page 564.

⁶⁹ *EEC*, 14.10.1769; 16.10.1769; 18.10.1769; 21.10.1769.

⁷⁰ *DNB*, VIII, 308-309; Anderson, William *The Scottish Nation; or the Surnames, Families, Literature, Honours, and Biographical History of the People of Scotland* (Edinburgh and London: Fullarton, 1863), 576; Chambers, Robert *A Biographical Dictionary of Eminent Scotsmen* (Glasgow, Edinburgh and London: Blackie, 1867), I, 453.

⁷¹ Campbell, *History*, 14, n.

"...Such is thy power, O music! such thy fame,
That it has fabled been, how foreign song,
Soft issueing from *Tenducci's* slender throat,
Has drawn a plaudit from the gods enthron'd
Round the empyreum of Jove himself,
High seated on Olympus' airy top.
Nay, that his sev'rous voice was known to soothe
The shrill-ton'd prating of the females tongues,
Who, in obedience to the lifeless song,
All prostrate fell; all fainting died away
In silent ecstasies of passing joy..."⁷³

“On Scotia’s plains, in days of yore,
When lads and lasses *tartan* wore,
Saft music rang on ilka shore,
 In hamely *weid*;
But harmony is now no more,
 And *music* dead.

...Macgibbon's gane: Ah! waes my heart!
The man in music maist expert,
Wha cou'd sweet melody impart,
 And tune the reed,
Wi' sic a slee and pawky⁷⁴ art;
 But now he's deed.

...Now foreign sonnets bear the gree,⁷⁵
And crabbit queer variety
Of sounds fresh sprung frae *Italy*,
A bastard breed!
Unlike that saft-tongu'd melody
Which now lies dead.

...O SCOTLAND! that cou'd venge afford

⁷² Farmer, *History*, 305; Daiches, David *The Paradox of Scottish Culture: The Eighteenth Century Experience* (London: Oxford University Press, 1964), 33; Johnson, *Music and Society*, 192.

73 "The Canongate Play-House in Ruins. A Burlesque Poem", Fergusson, Robert *Poems by Robert Fergusson* (Edinburgh: W. & R. Ruddiman, 1773), 59-60.

74 Pawky – witty or sly in word or action, without any harm or bad design. Ramsay, *Poems*, I, 393.

⁷⁵ Gree – prize, victory. Ramsay, *Poems*, I, 389.

To bang the pith of Roman sword,
 Winna your sons, wi' joint accord,
 To battle speed?
 And fight till music be restor'd,
 Which now lies dead."⁷⁶

In his study of music and Scottish culture in the eighteenth century, Johnson accompanies his discussion of this poem with a verse from "The Daft-Days", also by Fergusson. While Johnson cites one verse from the "The Daft-Days" (the one beginning, "*Fidlers*, your pins in temper fix"), the whole poem is itself interesting for the images Fergusson brings to mind:

"NOW mirk⁷⁷ December's dowie⁷⁸ face
 Glours our the rigs wi' sour grimace,
 While, thro' his *minimum* of space,
 The bleer-ey'd sun,
 Wi' blinkin light and stealing pace,
 His race doth run.

From naked groves nae birdie sings,
 To shepherd's pip nae hillock rings,
 The breeze nae od'rous flavour brings,
 From *Borean* cave;
 And dwyning⁷⁹ nature drops her wings,
 Wi' visage grave.

...When merry *Yule-day* comes, I trow
 You'll scantlins find a hungry mon;
 Sma' are our cares, our stamacks foll
 O' gusty gear,
 And kickshaws, stranger to our view,
 Sin Faim year.

Ye browster⁸⁰ wives, now busk ye bra,
 And sling your sorrows far awa':
 Then come and gies the tither blaw⁸¹
 Of reaming ale,
 Mair precious than the well of *Spa*,
 Our hearts to heal.

...*Fidlers*, your pins in temper fix,
 And roset weel your fiddle-sticks,
 But banish vile Italian tricks
 From out your quorum,
 Nor *fortes* wi' *pianos* mix,
 Gie's *Tulloch Gorum*.

For nought can cheer the heart sae weil

⁷⁶ "Elegy, on the Death of Scots Music", Fergusson, *Poems*, 113-115.

⁷⁷ Mirk - dark. Ramsay, *Poems*, I, 392.

⁷⁸ Dowie - melancholy, sad, doleful. Ramsay, *Poems*, I, 386.

⁷⁹ Wasting away, falling into decline.

⁸⁰ Browster - brewer. Ramsay, *Poems*, I, 384.

⁸¹ Pull, a draught.

As can a canty⁸² Highland reel,
 It even vivifies the heel
 To skip and dance:
 Lifeless is he wha canna feel
 Its influence.”⁸³

There are a number of different contrasts in these two poems (as in some of the verses by Allan Ramsay written earlier in the century). There is the contrast between Scottish and Italian music – between that which is native to Scotland and that which is foreign, between that which is an age-old part of the Scottish people, land and culture, and that which is new, between that which is simple and unaffected and that which is artificial and contrived. The dangers of fashion were satirized by Fergusson in “Fashion. A Poem”:

“...Tremble, O Albion! for the voice of fate
 Seems ready to decree they after-fall
 By pride, by luxury, what fatal ills
 Unheeded have approach’d thy mortal frame!
 How many foreign weeds their heads have rear’d
 In thy fair garden? Hasten ’ere their strength
 And baleful vegetation taint the soil,
 To root out rank disease, which soon must spread,
 If no bless’d antidote will purge away
 Fashion’s proud minions from our sea-girt isle.”⁸⁴

Both Johnson and Daiches have discussed Fergusson in their work. Johnson considers the “Elegy” and the “Daft-Days” in a chapter on “Nationalism and Xenophobia” in *Music and Society*. The argument on Fergusson follows on from his analysis of Allan Ramsay (particularly the “Elegy on Patie Birnie”). This is prefaced by the statement that:

“The people in eighteenth-century Scotland who voiced dislike of classical music were remarkably unanimous in their opinions; they disapproved of it, not because it was expensive or socially exclusive, but simply because it was ‘Italian’: it was a symbol of foreign interference with Scottish life. This is an attitude of mind commonly called ‘xenophobia’. Paradoxically, many of them actually enjoyed classical music personally, while objecting to it on nationalistic grounds; enjoyment and disapproval coexisted in their minds...”.⁸⁵

In his article on “The Paradox of Scottish Culture” Daiches, however, has excused the sentiments expressed by Fergusson, and has stated that:

⁸² Canty – cheerful and merry. Ramsay, *Poems*, I, 385.

⁸³ “The Daft-Days”, Fergusson, *Poems*, 99-101.

⁸⁴ “Fashion. A poem”, Fergusson, *Poems*, 71-72.

⁸⁵ Johnson, *Music and Society*, 190.

“...Soon after [the 1769 production of *Artaxerxes*], the poet and the singer quarrelled, perhaps because Fergusson began to realize and to resent what Tenducci and his like were doing to Scottish music...This was not mere xenophobia on Fergusson’s part. Pretentious settings overloaded with trills and other prettifications, were destroying the native vigour and simplicity of Scots song.”⁸⁶

There seem to be relatively few portraits of any of the Italian musicians who travelled to Scotland in the eighteenth century. There were, however, a number which represented Giusto Ferdinando Tenducci. His portrait was painted by Gainsborough,⁸⁷ and he appeared alongside Farinelli, Cuzzoni and Bordoni in an engraving by Antonio Fedi showing famous singers of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Tenducci’s *Instruction* featured a portrait of the singer on the title page (see page 566), and an advertisement in the *Evening Courant* dating from 1782 reveals that the Edinburgh book and music publisher James Sibbald issued a mezzotint of the singer:

“NEW PRINTS,
Just published, and sold by J. SIBBALD, Parliament-square.
A MEZZOTINT PRINT of Mr TENDUCCI finely engraved by Dickenson,
from a painting by Beach of Bath, price 5s...”⁸⁸

Of all the Italian singers who came to Scotland in the eighteenth century, Giusto Ferdinando Tenducci seems to have been acclaimed above all others. He was a teacher and an entrepreneur, but it was as a singer that he was held in the highest esteem. Not only was Tenducci admired for the skill and control of his instrument, the “expressive simplicity” of his singing, and the beauty of his voice, but also for his ability as a performer to enchant and move his audience. While, in the eyes of some, he was used as a symbol representing Italian classical music, at the same time Tenducci was able to draw:

“...a plaudit from the gods enthron’d
Round the empyreum of Jove himself,
High seated on Olympus’ airy top.”⁸⁹

⁸⁶ Daiches, *Paradox*, 33.

⁸⁷ This portrait is undated. See page 565.

⁸⁸ *EEC*, 5.8.1782.

⁸⁹ “The Canongate Play-House in Ruins. A Burlesque Poem”, Fergusson, *Poems*, 59-60.

CHAPTER 5

DOMENICO CORRI and *LA MINIATRICE*

Alongside Giusto Ferdinando Tenducci, Domenico Corri and his wife, *La Miniatrice*,¹ were in some ways two of the most influential of the Italian musicians who visited Scotland in the years from 1720 to 1800. He was, at the same time, a respected performer, a composer of merit, a gifted teacher, a prolific publisher, an entrepreneur and a man of tremendous energy and vision. She, as well as being a highly esteemed singer, was a recognised miniature painter. There is a great deal of contemporary information relating to the period they spent in Edinburgh: from sources such as the *Minutes* and the *Plan Books* of the Edinburgh Musical Society, from advertisements and reviews that appeared in newspapers, and from accounts, comments and observations by figures such as Charles Burney. There is also a short autobiography written by Corri in English,² and a large published body of works by him. A great deal of this information relates to Domenico Corri, while slightly less is known about *La Miniatrice*.³ One reason for this is perhaps that, as she was principally a performer, the very nature of her art was more ephemeral than that of her husband. Their contribution to musical life in Edinburgh has not been overlooked, and both Domenico Corri and *La Miniatrice* have been acknowledged in the work of more recent scholars as being influential figures in a number of different areas of musical life in Edinburgh in this period.⁴

In his *Life* Corri notes that he was born in Rome on October 4th 1746, that he became interested in music from a very early age (at six years old), that he studied the violin and sol fa with Signor Capanna and Abate Luiggi⁵ [*sic*] respectively. He writes that in 1756,

¹ Research so far has not yet revealed her Christian name. In choosing to call her *La Miniatrice*, I have adopted the name that she was known by before her marriage to Domenico Corri.

² This appeared in the preface to one of his works: Corri, Domenico *The Singer's Preceptor, or Corri's Treatise on Vocal Music* (London: Silvester, [1810]). Also some biographical letters addressed to Sainsbury, University of Glasgow, MS R.d.84-89.

³ Biographical information on *La Miniatrice* is found in: BDA, III, 510. Her London performances are listed in the *London Stage*.

⁴ "During the 1770s Edinburgh managed to support three resident composers and to stimulate them to first-class work: they were a German, Johann Georg Christoff Schetky, an Italian, Domenico Corri, and a native Scot, the Earl of Kelly." Johnson, *Music and Society*, 13. "Among the vocal stars were...Domenico Corri (d.1825) and his wife Miss Bacchelli...", Farmer, *History*, 311.

⁵ The doubling of the consonant is typical of Roman pronunciation, and it is still common to this day. In Corri's elegantly written English prose, it is a touching reminder of his origins.

when he was ten years old, he began to play in the *Teatri Alibert* and *Argentina*, two of the main theatres in Rome. Unfortunately he does not mention any of the pieces that were played, or any of the performers that appeared there. To his musical studies he later added the harpsichord and composition, and describes how his works came to be played in concerts attended by “my fellow students, Rauzzini and Clementi, with whom I was on terms of the most friendly intimacy”.⁶ From Rome, Corri moved to Naples to study with the renowned composer and teacher Nicola Porpora, remaining in that city for five years, until he was 22 years old. Despite the “great expense” of this instruction, it was, as Corri himself noted, a valuable asset in gaining access to society when he returned to Rome after the death of his teacher in 1768. In a paragraph in his *Life*, Corri described how he lived for two years with Prince Charles Edward Stuart:

“...during which time he had kept entirely private, not seeing any one whatever, it being in the reign of the preceding Pope, who had refused to acknowledge the title he had assumed. In his retired life Prince Charles employed his hours in exercise and music, of which he was remarkably fond. I usually remained with him every evening, the Prince playing the Violoncello, and I the harpsichord, also composing together little pieces of music: yet these tete á tetes were of a sombre cast; the apartment in which we sat was hung with old red damask, with two candles only, and on the table a pair of loaded pistols, (instruments not at all congenial to my fancy,) which he would often take up, examine, and again replace on the table; yet the manners of this Prince were always mild, affable, and pleasing.”⁷

Corri does not mention what music they played together.⁸ It was possibly on these occasions that the Italian first became acquainted

⁶ Corri, “Life of Domenico Corri” in *Preceptor*, unpaginated. Muzio Clementi (1752-1852) pianist and composer. Venanzio Rauzzini (1746-1810), the famous singer who travelled from Italy to London in 1774, settling in Bath shortly afterwards. Burney states that Rauzzini was :“...a beautiful and animated young man, as well as an excellent musician, who not only knew his own business as a singer, but that of a composer...”. *BurneyH*, IV, 501. Similarly, Kelly (who was taught by Rauzzini in Dublin) observed that:

“...Signor Rauzzini, whose name is familiar to all who have lived in the musical world...He was a great musician, had a fine voice, was very young, and so proverbially handsome...[in London] he attained the highest reputation both as a singer and composer; and his acting in *Pyramus*, in the opera of *Pyramus and Thisbe*, was so fine, that Garrick has often complimented him on it.”

Kelly, *Reminiscences*, II, 10-11.

⁷ Corri, *Life*, unpaginated.

⁸ A brief survey of this interesting corner of Scottish history throws up some small discrepancies in the work of those who have written on Charles Edward Stuart. The following passage, by Fitzroy Maclean, is perhaps among the most neutral of those dealing with Charles Edward Stuart and Domenico Corri:

“With these [family portraits] looking down on him [Charles] from the crimson damask walls, he would sit in one or other of the nobly proportioned rooms of the Palazzo San Clemente and, either alone or with a

with the Scots songs which were to form such an important part of his and his wife's repertoire and output as a publisher in Edinburgh.

It was during this period in Rome that Corri performed for the English aristocrats and gentlemen, who were there as part of their Grand Tour. Charles Burney also heard Corri perform, and in his *Life* he quoted Burney's observation that: "Sept. 21st. 1770. – The day after my arrival at his Grace the Duke of Dorset's, I heard Signor Celestini,⁹ the principal violin here, who is a very neat and expressive performer; and he was very ably seconded by Signor Corri, who is an ingenious composer, and sings in a very good taste".¹⁰ Burney also cited Signorina Bacchelli, "commonly called the *Miniatrice*", as one of "The Roman performers, from whom I received the greatest pleasure".¹¹ In a footnote to the above comment, Burney remarked that "Her profession at this time was not music, but painting in miniature".¹² *La Miniatrice* was mentioned again a number of times by Burney in his *Music, Men, and Manners in France and Italy* of 1770. On each occasion Burney admired her singing and praised her skill:

[Rome] SUNDAY MORNING [7 October]...The D. [Duke of Dorset] took a band of music with him to Mr. Leghton's at Albano whose guests

friendly Italian musician, Domenico Corri, would play the harpsichord or the French horn or, when the mood took him, the pipes..."

Maclean, Fitzroy *Bonnie Prince Charlie* (Edinburgh: Canongate, 1995), 365-366. In the next extract, Rosalind Marshall emphasises Corri's fame as a harpsichord player:

"He kept a piper and would ask him to play 'Lochaber no more'. When he heard the mournful highland lament, the tears came to his eyes. Occasionally, he felt well enough to play his own set of bagpipes and sometimes he enjoyed the companionship of a musical friend. When Domenico Corri, the famous harpsichordist, came to call on him, he would get out his cello and they would perform duets together."

Marshall, Rosalind K. *Bonnie Prince Charlie* (Edinburgh: Her Majesty's Stationary Office, 1988), 204-205. David Daiches seems to imply that Corri was in Rome in 1784 and that he played chamber music with Charles Edward Stuart around this time:

"He was very ill again in January 1784, but once more he recovered. One of his few pleasures was still music, and the musician Domenico Corri used to spend an occasional evening with him and play the harpsichord while Charles played the 'cello."

Daiches, David *Charles Edward Stuart. The Life and Times of Bonnie Prince Charlie* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1973), 319. The most poetic is, perhaps, the following description:

"Charles would mostly play the violoncello and Corri the harpsichord, sometimes in solos, sometimes in duets. Occasionally Charles would look at the pistols to be sure they were loaded, and after reassuring himself, he would turn to playing old Gaelic tunes on the bagpipe or the French horn, the violoncello or the flageolet. Every such evening of music came to an end with *Lochaber No More*, and the King in tears. There is not a word from Corri about wine."

Mackenzie, C., *Prince Charles and his Ladies* (London: Cassell, 1934), 269.

⁹ Eligio Celestino (c. 1737-1812) violinist and composer. *BDA*, III, 129.

¹⁰ Burney, *State of Music*, cit. Corri, *Life*, unpaginated.

¹¹ Corri, *Life*, unpaginated.

¹² Corri, *Life*, unpaginated.

we were, and we had music all the evening, with delightful singing by Bacchelli, commonly called the *Mignatrice* [*sic*]. She has a very sweet voice with infinite taste – has a good shake, great flexibility, and is more free from affectation of any sort that ever I saw in an Italian singer; but though she sings so admirably, 'tis not her profession, which is that of painting. However, she is much stronger in the former than the latter. She seems a perfect mistress (has learnt 5 years) and embellishes and changes passages better and more at her ease than any female I ever met with. Upon the whole, her singing is not so much in the great style of an Opera Queen as in that which I should wish a lady of fashion or private gentlewoman to be possessed of.”¹³

Burney heard her again the evening after, and the evening after that, when he “went with Corri to the *Mignatrice*, who sung 2 or 3 songs admirably.”¹⁴ A couple of days after that, Burney was:

“...at a charming concert, to which I was invited by the D. of Dorset, there was an excellent German flute player from Saxony, a good tenor singer from Naples, Torelli Veronese, and the *Mignatrice*. They sung songs and duets most exquisitely, accompanied by Celestini, Corri etc.”¹⁵

It seems likely that it was a combination of British acquaintances in Rome, and contacts that the Edinburgh Musical Society had in that city which led the Musical Society to engage both Domenico Corri and *La Miniatrice*. Corri states in his *Life* that the Society “wanting a singer and conductor for their concerts, wrote to l'Abbe [*sic*] Grant, at Rome, desiring him, if possible, to obtain either of the two persons mentioned by Dr. Burney.”¹⁶ The *Minutes* of the Edinburgh Musical Society do indeed confirm that the Society was in need of a singer. In the early part of 1771, the contract of Domenico Luciani¹⁷ had come to an end, and although the Society had tried to entice him to stay on with the promise of a benefit concert, they seem to have been unsuccessful at first.¹⁸ The *Minutes* also reveal that it was *La Miniatrice* that they were initially interested in. The *Minutes* record that Luciani himself wrote to Hugh Forbes in Rome to enquire about a singer who could take his place:

“...recommending him to Signra Core upon the approbation of many Judges who have heard her She also has a Husband who plays the Harpsichord & Violin they both propose to come and perform their parts for Doria's Sallary which was £185 Sterling a year and asks

¹³ Burney, Charles; Poole, H. Edmund ed *Music, Men, and Manners in France and Italy 1770* (London: Folio Society, 1969), 151.

¹⁴ Poole, *Music, Men*, 152.

¹⁵ Poole, *Music, Men*, 153.

¹⁶ Corri, *Life*, unpaginated.

¹⁷ See chapter 6, vii, 204.

¹⁸ EMS, *Minutes*, 14.2.1771.

£100 for travelling Charges and £25 in advance of their Sallary to buy Musick...conclude an agreement with them for three years...".¹⁹

It was also important that the *Signori* Corri should "set out so as to be here before winter" in order to be in Edinburgh for the beginning of the new season, avoiding any delays caused by bad weather. The next mention of Corri and *La Miniatrice* is in a copy of a letter to the Abbé Grant at Rome, stating that:

"Mr Core shall perform on the Harpsichord or Violin as occasion requires...and Sigr Core shall sing such Songs as she shall be desired - and that they engage *her* [my italics] for three years - But our Gentlemen think their demand for travelling charges £100 Ster. is very high, Sigr. Doria asked nothing and had only a present of 20 Guineas...as we have agreed with Sig. Luciani for an other year ending in February next - if they will come here any time befor [sic] Winter it will answer for us - When they come here they shall have a contract made out for them to sign, you must just make them sign articles as Sig. & Sigr Doria did and let them take out what security you think proper for their performing their engagement...let it be fixed not exceeding £185 - annually betwixt them".²⁰

In common with other musicians employed by the Society, Corri and *La Miniatrice* would have been granted at least one benefit concert.²¹ There would also have been the opportunity of teaching - singing, keyboard and the violin,²² and of becoming involved with the newly-established Theatre Royal once they had established themselves in Edinburgh.²³ In return, the Society expected

¹⁹ EMS, *Minutes*, 7.5.1771.

²⁰ EMS, *Minutes*, 9.5.1771.

²¹ "...Mr Lucciani's [sic] term was out on the 24th. Instant and he proposed going away...propose giving him another Benefit in which the Society should Interest themselves and try to prevail on him to stay the Summer at Least...", EMS, *Minutes*, 14.2.1771; "...the Gentlemen of the Concert at Edinbr. were in want of a leader...the following terms (Viz: £150 - Salary and two Benefit Concerts...", EMS, *Minutes*, 27.6.1771; "...the Highest Salary we have ever given [to a leader] is Seventy Guineas a year and one Benefit...", EMS, *Minutes*, 27.7.1771.

²² "...with this [Pasquali's benefit concert] and what he had by Teaching he made a very handsome leaving [sic] for he had as many Schoalers at a Guinea and a half a month as he could attend...", EMS, *Minutes*, 18.10.1757; "...if she [Signora Barbarini] will take her chance in this place of what she can make by teaching which may be considerable...", EMS, *Minutes*, 12.1.1758; "...as you [Ferdinando Arrigoni] teach the harpsichord & Singing you may depend upon what teaching you please & Scholars alwise makes a good Benefitt...", EMS, *Minutes*, 13.11.1761.

²³ "...there is a probability of Mrs Pinto being engaged at the Theatre at Edin.r and shou'd that happen I shou'd be happy to attend the society on such Terms as your Lordship and they shall think...", EMS, *Minutes*, 27.6.1771; "...you [Thomas Pinto] may probably also lead the Band at the Theatre any evening except Friday when our Concert is held. They rarely perform at the Theatre on Friday because they know that the concert would cary [sic] away a great part of the Com.py...", EMS, *Minutes*, 27.7.1771.

attendance at their rehearsals and concerts,²⁴ and for the Signora to present a varied repertoire at their concerts.²⁵

From the *Minutes* kept by the Musical Society it is clear that the Society had been looking for a leader for their orchestra. In December 1770 the *Minutes* note that their leader "...Arrigoni is quite faln off, and we must have a first Fidle [*sic*]...".²⁶ It becomes evident that Domenico Corri was not to fill this position, as there does not seem to be any mention in the *Minutes* of the post being offered to Domenico Corri.²⁷ What the *Minutes* do contain is the correspondence between the Society and Thomas Pinto about this position in June and July of 1771,²⁸ in the period immediately after the engagement of Corri and *La Miniatrice*. While Corri was clearly a talented violinist, Pinto was probably one of the most famous violinists in Britain in this period: he was thirty two years older than Corri and therefore much more experienced, both as a soloist and as a leader – in 1757 he had taken over from Felice Giardini as the principal violinist at the King's Theatre in London.²⁹

24 "...her [Signora Mazzanti's] duty in our Society is very easie only to attend the Concert every Friday night and Sing four Songs and to attend the rehearsalls [*sic*] and perform in the Oratorio's, of which we generally have four in the year, three in Winter and one in Summer for which we would give a Sallary of £100 pounds a year...", EMS, *Minutes*, 10.11.1757; "...agreed to give him [Signor Doria] fourty [*sic*] Guineas a year for performing in the Concert on the Harpsichord and organ as he shall be desired and attending the Rehearsalls...", EMS, *Minutes*, 24.11.1763; "...Resolved that in future no leave of Absence shall be given to any of the Masters to go out of Scotland or to be absent from Edinr for more than two Weeks at a time Unless such Liberty shall be found absolutely necessary and agreed to by a Meeting of the Governor & Directors called upon two days Warning at least...Resolved that if any Performer shall absent himself from the Concerts or Rehearsalls appointed by the Treasurer That he shall forfeit half a Guinea to be stopt off his Sallary...", EMS, *Minutes*, 25.11.1774.

25 "...we must at any rate recomend [*sic*] to you [Signora Mazzanti] not only to Study over and Practise at home the Songs you are to sing every Friday, but likewise that you gett some new Songs, as a Constant repetition of a few Songs however good are tiresome...", EMS, *Minutes*, 18.3.1760.

26 EMS, *Minutes*, 13.12.1770.

27 Arnot noted that, in 1779: "The principal foreign masters at present in the service of the musical society are, first violin, Signor Puppo; second, Signor Corri; violoncello, Signor Schetky; singers, Signor and Signora Corri: All these are excellent in their different departments. They have salaries from the society according to their respective merits." Arnot, *History*, 380. The *Minutes* note:

"...Resolved That the use of the Hall is to be given for benefits to the following persons only viz

1st Mr Corrie	4th The Second Fiddle	and
2d Mrs Corri	5th Mr Schetky	The Harpsichord
3d The first Fiddle	6 Mr Macpherson	Player".

EMS, *Minutes*, 25.11.1774.

28 EMS, *Minutes*, 27.6.1771; 27.7.1771; 12.[9?]1771.

29 Grove6, XIV, 759. Thomas Busby said that Pinto: "...was a miraculous performer on the violin...[he] had a powerful hand, a quick eye; and performed, at sight, the most difficult compositions that could be placed before him." Busby, *History*, II, 446. The anonymous author of the *ABCDario* believed him to be possessed of "uncommon natural gifts", and that he was "One of the greatest performers on the violin. A bold-spirited leader, and plays at sight so familiarly, that he oftener turns the book upside down, than plays the common way." *ABCDario*, 39. While the *Courant* proclaimed "We

The *Minutes* note that "Mr & Mrs Corie arrived 25th Augt 1771 There [*sic*] Salary comences [*sic*] this date 185£ pr annum". The only mention of Corri and *La Miniatrice* for the next couple of years relates to the payments of their salaries.³⁰ The relatively few mentions of Signor and Signora Corri imply that, in the first few years of their residence in Edinburgh at least, they were adhering to the terms of their contract.

A considerable amount of information on the music that Domenico Corri and *La Miniatrice* performed while they were in Edinburgh comes from newspapers, such as the *Edinburgh Evening Courant*, and the *Plan Books* kept by the Edinburgh Musical Society. Some advertisements for concerts do not give much information beyond noting the date, time and place of the concert:

"...At ST. CECILIA'S HALL in Niddry's Wynd, will be Performed
SIGNORA CORRI'S
CONCERT of VOCAL and INSTRUMENTAL
MUSIC
With DUETTO, BUFFO, and SCOTS SONGS, &c.
To begin precisely at Six o'clock.
Tickets to be had at Balfour's coffee-house, and Mr CORRI's house,
in Ramsay's land, Leith Wynd.³¹
PRICE 2s. 6d. each."³²

Or:

"Mr CORRI'S NIGHT...
In which will be introduced several *Burlesque* SONGS, and DUETS,
&c.
Mr CORRI will play a CONCERTO upon the GREAT PIANO FORTE,
being the only one of the kind in this country
** TICKETS...Mr CORRI'S lodging, Advocate's Close...".³³

And:

hear that many favourite musical pieces are to be performed the ensuing season at our Theatre Royal. – Mr Pinto, a most capital performer on the violin, is engaged to lead the Orchestre; and Mrs Pinto, whose excellence is universally acknowledged, is engaged as the first singer." *EEC*, 14.10.1771.

- 30 "..."By Do [cash] paid for Mr & Mrs Corri's travelling charges £100.0.0
By do advanced to accot of sallary £ 25.0.0
By do remitted to Mr & Mrs Corri to a accot of their sallary
in London £ 25.0.0
...By do pd Mr & Mrs Corie to accot £ 25.0.0
[total expenditure £1288.16.4]",
EMS, Minutes, 6.1770-11.1771;
"...By Mr and Mrs Cori's Ballance of Salary to 25th August 1772 £110.0.0
[total expenditure £648.8.11]",
EMS, Minutes, 11.1771-6.1772;
"...To Mr & Mrs Corri from August 25th 1772 to 25 May last £138.15.0
[total expenditure £933.5.11½]",
EMS, Minutes, 6.1772-6.1773.

³¹ See page 564.

³² *EEC*, 18.7.1772. Similarly: 25.1.1772; 27.1.1772; 8.2.1772; 14.7.1773; 17.7.1773; 12.1.1774; 15.1.1774; 8.1.1776; 10.2.1779; 19.7.1779; 26.1.1782; 9.8.1784.

³³ *EEC*, 21.2.1775; 26.2.1775. See page 564.

"SIGNORA CORRI takes the liberty to acquaint the Public, that her BENEFIT CONCERT is to be on Tuesday the 4th of February inst. – She hopes that the Ladies and Gentlemen will honour her with their presence: She resolves to do all in her power, whilst in this country, to merit their protection. – Amongst other songs, her Husband and she are to sing a DUETTE. Tickets to be had at Balfour's Coffee-house, and at Signora Corri's lodgings, New-Street, Canongate."³⁴

Some advertisements are slightly more specific, and include a list of works that were to be given. They do not, however, give any details of the pieces that were to be performed by *La Miniatrice*, other than she would sing a "song" or "duetto".³⁵ Other advertisements still, give more details of the music that the *Signori Corri* performed:

"On TUESDAY, December 15. 1772,
At ST. CECILIA'S HALL, Niddry's Wynd,
WILL BE PERFORMED
SIGNORA CORRI'S
CONCERT of MUSIC.

ACT I. Overture. – Song, Signora Corri, Chiare Fonti. – Scots Song, Signor Corri.

ACT II. Song, Signora Corri, composed by Signor Corri, with a Violin Obligato by Mr Pinto. – Song, Signor Corri, accompanied with the Guitar by Mr Smiton. – Duet, Signor and Signora Corri, composed by Signor Corri.

ACT III. Scots Song, Signora Corri. – Song Signora Corri, with a Violoncello Obligato by Mr Schetky, composed by Signor Corri. – Duet Buffo, by Signor and Signora Corri. – Overture, composed by Signor Corri...TICKETS...Signor Corri's house in Ramsay's Land, Leith Wynd. – – Price 2s. 6d..."³⁶

Similarly:

"ST CECILIA'S HALL
...SIGNORA CORRI'S CONCERT

ACT I. ORGANO CONCERTO. – By Mr Clark. SONG – "Aure che Lusingate," by *Bertoni*. – Sung by Signior Natale Corri. GLEE – "How shall we spend our hours?" – By *Sacchini*.

ACT II. SONG – "Il Guerriero," by *Borghi*. – Sung by Signora Corri. VIOLONCELLO CONCERTO. – By Mr Schetky. SONG and RECITATIVE – "Al mio bene," with Piano Forte obligato, by *John Bach*. – Sung by Signior Corri.

ACT III. TERZETTO in "La Clemenza di Scipione," by *John Bach*. – Sung by Signior and Signora Corri, and Signior Natale Corri. SOLO on the Violin. – By Mr Reinagle. – SCOTCH SONG – "Will ye go to the ewe-bughts, Marion?" – Sung by Signora Corri. CHORUS. – By *Handel*.

³⁴ EEC, 1.2.1772; 9.2.1774.

³⁵ EEC, 4.3.1772; 18.3.1772; 27.1.1776; 8.4.1776; 16.1.1782; 24.2.1783; 26.2.1783; 17.4.1784; 3.2.1787. Similarly, EMS, *Plan Books*, 20.12.1771; 27.12.1771; 31.7.1775; 25.1.1782.

³⁶ EEC, 7.12.1772; 12.12.1772. See page 564.

Tickets, Price 3s. each, to be had at Signora Corri's Lodging, Bridge Street...".³⁷

In the summer of 1775 the *Signori Corri* also announced a performance of *Pyramus and Thysbe* by Rauzzini, which had been given in London in a couple of months earlier.³⁸

“...Signor and Signora CORRI'S NIGHT,
TO BE PERFORMED,
The SERIOUS OPERA, called,
PYRAMUS AND THYSBE.

(Last Performed at the Opera-house in London.)

N.B. Waiters will carry Lemonade, Tea and Biscuit to the Company between the Acts. – The Opera-books will be distributed at the door gratis.

The HALL is to be ILLUMINATED.

TICKETS to be had at Mr CORRI'S Lodgings, Paterson's Court, Broughton...3s...To begin at SIX o'clock.”³⁹

These programmes reveal that Corri and *La Miniatrice* performed a mixture of music that was similar to that performed by the other Italian singers and instrumentalists who had appeared at the Musical Society concerts. There were works by Italian composers, such as Pergolesi,⁴⁰ Jomelli,⁴¹ and Piccinni,⁴² and Italian arias, such as “Come patir poss io [*sic*]”,⁴³ “Sento che il cor guerriero”,⁴⁴ “Ah non sai qual pena sia”,⁴⁵ and “Pria la vittima”.⁴⁶ *La Miniatrice* also gave a number of performances of the *bravura* aria, “The Soldier Tir'd of War's Alarms” from *Artaxerxes*.⁴⁷ An important part of the repertoire that the *Signori Corri* performed in Edinburgh included the oratorios by Handel (and the extracts from these works) that were given by the Musical Society, including *Alexander's Feast*,⁴⁸

³⁷ EEC, 4.2.1784. See page 564.

³⁸ The *London Stage* lists a number of performances of this work at the King's Theatre in 1775, e.g: 16.3.1775; 23.3.1775; 22.4.1775; 6.5.1775; 13.5.1775; 20.5.1775; 27.5.1775; 10.6.1775; 24.6.1775.

³⁹ EEC, 5.8.1775; 9.8.1775; 12.8.1775; 14.8.1775. The music of Rauzzini's work was published by Bremner and advertised in the *Courant* under “New Music.” EEC, 16.8.1775. *Pyramus and Thisbe* was given again for Signora Corri's benefit in 1776. EEC, 13.1.1776; 20.1.1776; 22.1.1776.

⁴⁰ EMS, *Plan Books*, 5.5.1778; 28.4.1780 announced the cantata *Nel Chiuso Centro*. EEC, 16.2.1773 advertised a Musical Society performance of Pergolesi's *Stabat Mater*.

⁴¹ EEC, 26.3.1773 advertised a Musical Society performance of *La Passione*.

⁴² *La Buona Figliuola*, EEC, 3.3.1773; 8.3.1773. Another Musical Society performance of *La Buona Figliuola* was advertised EEC, 2.3.1774.

⁴³ EEC, 31.7.1784; 2.8.1784.

⁴⁴ EEC, 31.7.1784; 2.8.1784.

⁴⁵ EEC, 31.7.1784; 2.8.1784.

⁴⁶ EMS, *Plan Books*, 14.4.1780; 12.1.1781; 19.1.1781.

⁴⁷ EEC, 17.7.1779; 16.1.1782; 11.12.1782; 14.12.1782; 16.12.1782.

⁴⁸ EEC, 12.12.1778; 14.12.1778.

Acis and Galatea,⁴⁹ *Samson*,⁵⁰ and *Judas Maccabeus*.⁵¹ Newspapers and the *Plan Books* of the Society reveal that from shortly after they had arrived in Edinburgh, the concerts in which Corri and *La Miniatrice* performed also featured pieces that been composed by Corri. These included keyboard pieces,⁵² instrumental overtures,⁵³ a “Coro”,⁵⁴ and a song with an *obbligato* for the violoncello.⁵⁵ One of the most ambitious of these early pieces appears to have been an oratorio, *Betulia Liberata*. The wording in the advertisements that announced its performance seem to suggest that it may have been commissioned by the Musical Society: “The GOVERNOR and DIRECTORS of the MUSICAL SOCIETY have appointed a NEW ORATORIO, composed by M. CORRI, to be performed...”,⁵⁶ and “...the DIRECTORS of the MUSICAL SOCIETY have been so good as to permit SIGNORI CORRI to perform that Oratorio called *Bethulia Liberata*, composed by him for the use of the Society, at his own Concert...”.⁵⁷ The work seems to have been well-received, as a reviewer commented enthusiastically that:

“Last night the new Oratorio, called *Betulia Liberata*, a sacred drama, the poetry by the celebrated Metastasio, with a poetical English translation, and set to music by Signor Domenico Corri, composer to the Musical Society in Edinburgh, was performed in the hall of the Society, before a splendid and elegant audience with great applause. The Dilettanti in that fine science were greatly pleased with the composition, and likewise the performance: The songs and choruses were expressive, and admirable executed by the several performers: Signora Corri, particularly, sung several songs *alla bravura* to admiration: On the whole, it may be said, that music is now carried to a very great degree of excellence by the Honourable Musical Society of this place.”⁵⁸

An important part of the repertoire that the *Signori Corri* performed were the Scots Songs that they began to perform shortly after their arrival in Edinburgh.⁵⁹ *La Miniatrice*, in particular,

⁴⁹ EMS, *Plan Books*, 22.12.1780; EEC, 9.3.1782; 11.3.1782; 25.7.1785, Tenducci and Urbani also sang in this performance.

⁵⁰ EEC, 21.12.1773; 25.7.1785. EMS, *Plan Books*, 4.8.1780.

⁵¹ EMS, *Plan Books*, 5.5.1778.

⁵² EMS, *Plan Books*, 29.11.1771.

⁵³ EMS, *Plan Books*, 6.12.1771. EEC, 7.12.1772, this was played by Schetky.

⁵⁴ EEC, 18.3.1772.

⁵⁵ EEC, 7.12.1772.

⁵⁶ EEC, 9.2.1774.

⁵⁷ EEC, 26.2.1774; 5.3.1774. Johnson has stated that this was the only “home-composed oratorio [which] is known to have been performed in Edinburgh during the period.” Johnson, *Music and Society*, 65.

⁵⁸ EEC, 12.2.1774.

⁵⁹ E.g. EEC, 18.7.1772; 7.12.1772; 12.12.1772. Later advertisements list songs by their titles: “Jocky” EEC, 7.3.1778; 9.3.1778; “Roslin Castle” EEC, 23.1.1782; 26.1.1782; “Robin Gray” EEC, 20.7.1782; “Within this Breast” EEC, 25.2.1784; “Will you go to the ewe-buighs, Marion?” EEC, 9.2.1785.

became famous for her renditions of a number of these songs, and George Thomson placed her alongside Giusto Ferdinando Tenducci as excelling in performing these airs:

“...At the St. Cecilia concerts I heard Scottish songs sung in a style of excellence far surpassing any idea which I had previously had of their beauty, and that, too, from Italians, Signor Tenducci the one, and Signora Domenica [sic] Corri the other. Tenducci’s “I’ll never leave thee” and “Braes of Ballenden”, and the Signora’s “Ewe-Bughts, Marion”, and “Waly, Waly” so delighted every hearer that in the most crowded room not a whisper was to be heard, so entirely did they rivet the attention and admiration of the audience...It was in consequence of my hearing him [Tenducci] and Signora Corri sing a number of our songs so charmingly that I conceived the idea of collecting all our best melodies and songs...”.⁶⁰

Thomson noted that *La Miniatrice* had “a fine, full-toned, flexible soprano voice”,⁶¹ and that her husband had “a falsetto voice which he managed with much skill and taste...”.⁶²

Newspaper advertisements show that, as well as appearing at the Musical Society concerts, the *Signori* Corri also taught while they were in Edinburgh. Shortly after they had arrived in the Scottish capital *La Miniatrice* announced her intention to teach:

“SIGNORA CORRI, lately arrived from Italy, to sing at the Weekly Concert, being at the same time MISTRESS OF DRAWING and MINIATURE PAINTING, has been earnestly intreated by several persons of distinction, who have seen her performances, to open a SCHOOL for Teaching the POLITE ARTS to the LADIES. – In compliance with this request, she begs leave to inform the public, that she proposes setting apart three days in the week for this purpose, viz. Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday, from ten to twelve in the forenoon, and from three to five after dinner, at her house in Young’s Street. – The method she follows is a late invention at Rome, by which those who have any genius for the arts, are brought to perfection with much greater ease, and in a much shorter time than any other hitherto known. – Any person who chuses to see her performances that way, may call at her house.”⁶³

Just over a year later, *La Miniatrice* placed another advertisement in the *Courant*:

“Signora Corri begs leave to inform the Gentlemen and Ladies, that she professes MINIATURE PAINTING, of which she has already given sufficient proof, having drawn many pictures, and in particular that of his Grace the Duke of Buccleugh; therefore, if anyone wants to have his picture drawn for a bracelet or a ring, her price is two Guineas; and he who would have it larger, either for a

⁶⁰ Hadden, *Thomson*, 20.

⁶¹ Harris, *Saint Cecilia’s Hall*, 131.

⁶² Harris, *Saint Cecilia’s Hall*, 131.

⁶³ *EEC*, 2.10.1771.

snuff box or any other thing, the price will be according to its size.
 – If any Ladies are curious to learn that art, she will attend them
 five times per week, in her own lodgings at one Guinea per
 month...”.⁶⁴

Domenico Corri also taught while in Edinburgh, and his experience as a singing and instrumental teacher was later used in his *Select Collection* (published in Edinburgh in 1779) and *The Singer's Preceptor* (issued in London in 1810). Writing on Corri's activities as a teacher and on his publications, Farmer has noted that: “The prestige of Domenico Corri was high in Scotland, and it must be admitted that his publications were not only excellently presented, but they were so framed that they suited all requirements...”.⁶⁵

It is from 1774 that the *Minutes* of the Edinburgh Musical Society contain more detailed information about the activities of Domenico Corri and *La Miniatrice*. Corri noted in his *Life* that it was in the second year of his stay in Edinburgh that he was asked to compose “for the Opera House” – the King's Theatre – in London,⁶⁶ and that the Signora was asked by Bach and Abel to sing at the opening of the Hanover Square Rooms. The *Minutes* of the Edinburgh Musical Society record two applications from Corri in the autumn of 1774 to be given a leave of absence to go to London.⁶⁷ The *Minutes* note that:

“...[Corri] had received an offer of five hundred pounds Sterl to perform Twelve nights at the Pantheon at London with a Benefit which at the common sum may be estimate at very near double that Sum That the time when his attendance for these twelve nights would be necessary from the middle of December to the End of January and from the Middle of March to the Month of May...he Engages to be present at the first Concert in Febry and to remain till the middle of March and to go then to London again and return by the first of May...”.⁶⁸

Corri suggested to the Society:

“...That least the Concert should be without a singer during the time of his absence he Engages to provide and pay for one in that times or to abate his Sallary or to do any other thing which the Directors shall think proper And in this Event he declines the fixed Resolution to Continue for another year in Edinr...”.⁶⁹

⁶⁴ EEC, 7.12.1772; 12.12.1772.

⁶⁵ Farmer, *History*, 327.

⁶⁶ Terry has noted that “His invitation to write for the London stage he may have owed to Rauzzini's recommendation.” Terry, Charles Sanford *John Christian Bach* (London: Oxford University Press, 1967), 148.

⁶⁷ EMS, *Minutes*, 1.9.1774; 15.1.1774.

⁶⁸ EMS, *Minutes*, 1.9.1774.

⁶⁹ EMS, *Minutes*, 1.9.1774.

The Society agreed, as the Directors were "...of Opinion that it would be so hard and cruel to prevent any of their Band from making Twelve or fifteen hundred pounds...".⁷⁰ This was clearly an important engagement for Corri and *La Miniatrice* – not only did Corri agree to provide the Edinburgh concert with another singer for the period that they were to be absent, but also, perhaps less obviously, the *Signori* Corri were prepared to undertake the long, uncomfortable (and in winter, also very cold) journey to and from London.⁷¹

The *London Stage* records performances by *La Miniatrice* in March 1775. She sang in a command performance of Handel's *Alexander's Feast* at the King's Theatre. She is also listed as performing duets with the singer Federica Weichsel, and appearing in the same performance as the violinist Wilhelm Cramer, Giacobbe Cervetto on the violoncello, and the oboist Johann Christian Fischer.

The opera that Corri wrote for the London stage was *Alessandro nell'Indie*, to a text by Metastasio and modified by Bottarelli. It was first performed on December 3rd, 1774. Burney mentions this work briefly in his *History*, stating that Corri was in his eyes a "young composer of genius; but his name was not sufficiently blazoned to give his opera much éclat, or, indeed, to excite the attention it deserved."⁷² The author of the article on Corri in the *Dizionario Biografico* has suggested that it was the failure of *Alessandro nell'Indie* that drove Corri back to Edinburgh.⁷³ Bremner, however, published a selection of arias from the opera in London,⁷⁴ and stocked this edition in his music shop in Edinburgh.⁷⁵ A number of arias from the opera were also published by Corri

⁷⁰ EMS, *Minutes*, 1.9.1774.

⁷¹ Creech noted that this journey would have taken sixteen or eighteen days in 1763. By 1783 this had been cut to four days. Creech, *Fugitive Pieces*, 68. The *Courant* occasionally advertised the Edinburgh to London coach: Edinburgh to London in 4 days, EEC, 3.10.1772; the same journey in 4½ days, EEC, 9.10.1776.

⁷² BurneyH, IV, 501.

⁷³ "Il parziale insuccesso londinese indusse probabilmente il C. [Corri] a ritornare ad Edimburgo...". "The partial London failure probably caused Corri to return to Edinburgh...". (Author's translation.) DBI, XXIX, 515.

⁷⁴ *The favourite songs in the opera Alessandro nel [sic] Indie* (London: R. Bremner, [1774]).

⁷⁵ "NEW MUSIC

Printed since the beginning of last winter by R. BREMNER, opposite Somerset-house in the Strand London; and sold at his Music Shop in Edinburgh

...Ditto [The Favourite Songs], in *Alessandro nel Indie*, by Signor Corri...". EEC, 16.8.1775.

himself in Edinburgh in about 1779.⁷⁶ The London cast included Corri's student friend Venanzio Rauzzini, who had only recently arrived in London, and was making his debut there in the part of Poro that Corri had written for him.⁷⁷

The only mention that Corri made in his *Life* about this London trip is brief: "These proposals we were enabled to accept, through the kind indulgence of the Directors of the Edinburgh Society. After this season in London, we again returned to Edinburgh...".⁷⁸ It is clear, however, that this journey would have been influential in a number of ways. As well as there being the opportunity to perform with some of the leading singers and instrumentalists of the period, there would have been the opportunity of hearing the latest compositions and of purchasing the very latest published works.⁷⁹ There would also have been the opportunity of becoming acquainted with possible patrons.

On returning to Edinburgh, Corri noted in his *Life*, that he "...introduced, and was manager of, the Vauxhall, at Edinburgh".⁸⁰ Vauxhall was, of course, the most famous of all the London pleasure gardens in the eighteenth century. It was a place where, for the modest sum of one shilling,⁸¹ the public could stroll around amongst buildings, statues and paintings that were illuminated at night; and where it was possible to eat and drink (usually tea or coffee), watch fireworks displays, take part in masquerades and balls and listen to music performed by some of the most famous singers and

⁷⁶ Corri, Domenico, *A Select Collection of the most admired Songs, Duetts From Operas in the highest Esteem &c. and from other works in Italian, English, French, Scotch, Irish &c. In three books The first consisting of Italian Songs, Rondeaux, Duetts &c. The second of English Songs, Duetts, Terzetts &c. The third of Airs, Rondos, Canzonette, Duettini, Terzetti, Catches, Glees, etc in their respective languages* (Edinburgh: John Corri, [c. 1779-1795]). The Collection includes the recitative and arias *Lode agli Dei – Se mai turbo*, and *Digli ch'io son fedele* in volume 1.

⁷⁷ "...the first season of Rauzzini's appearing at the King's Theatre, was that also of my first Opera in England, *Alessandro nell'Indie*, which I composed for his debut." Corri, *Life*, unpaginated. "...the new season began with ALESSANDRO NELL'INDIE new set by CORRI...Rauzzini began his career on our opera stage this winter". BurneyH, IV, 501. Burney admired Rauzzini for "his taste, fancy, and delicacy, together with his beautiful person and spirited and intelligent manner of acting". BurneyH, IV, 501.

⁷⁸ Corri, *Life*, unpaginated..

⁷⁹ The *Minutes* of the Musical Society record that Corri asked for an advance of £25.0.0 from the Society in order to buy music before travelling to Edinburgh. EMS, *Minutes*, 7.5.1771. The *Minutes* also noted that at the end of the previous year they had written to Robert Bremner in London noting that: "...I see you have given us quite up now & dont [sic] think it worth your [while] to send us any new productions Either in the Overture or Concerto way or there is nothing new coming out that would answer our refined taste...". EMS, *Minutes*, 13.12.1770.

⁸⁰ Corri, *Life*, unpaginated.

⁸¹ This was the admission price until 1792. Wroth, Warwick *The London Pleasure Gardens of the Eighteenth Century* (London: Macmillan, 1896), 290.

instrumentalists of the day. It was at Ranelagh that Tobias Smollett's Lydia Melford heard Tenducci sing and thought herself "in paradise".⁸² From advertisements that appeared in the *Edinburgh Evening Courant* it is evident that there had been a pleasure garden in Edinburgh since the late 1740s:

"At the Desire of Several Persons of Distinction.

On Saturday next...will be performed, in Heriot's Garden's, a CONCERT of Vocal and Instrumental MUSICK, with French Horns &c. after the manner of the celebrated Fauxhall and Ranelagh Gardens at London.

To begin precisely at Six in the Evening, and every Person to pay a Shilling at the outer Garden-Door before Admittance.

As Signor KNERLER leaves this Place in a few Days, he was desirous to give the Ladies and Gentlemen an Entertainment of this Sort; and as it is the first that has been given here, and will be the last that he can attend, he humbly hopes they will favour him with their Company.

In case the Weather prove unfavourable, the Company will be accommodated within the Hospital."⁸³

Corri did not, however, become manager of Heriot's Gardens, but of Comely Garden, which had been advertised regularly in the *Courant* from the 1750s.⁸⁴ Captain Edward Topham, who was in Edinburgh in 1774 and 1775, visited Comely Gardens. His description of the gardens was rather lengthy but vivid:

"You will find that the Oyster Cellar is only a winter entertainment. In summer, another kind takes place. This is a humble and very distant imitation of Marybone Gardens and is held in a place called Comely Gardens;⁸⁵ not that they have any relation to the name; for there is not the least beauty about them. They are open twice a-week, from the beginning of June till the latter end of August, and the admittance is only one shilling.

⁸² Smollett, *Humphry Clinker*, I, 194.

⁸³ *EEC*, 6.8.1747. *EEC*, 5.7.1750 advertised music and refreshments at Lauriston Gardens: "...The Ladies and Gentlemen will be entertained with Coffee, Tea and Tea-bread, and a good Band...N.B. Mr THOMSON has fitted up his House in a neat and agreeable Manner, built a new large commodious Kitchen, and prepared every thing for the Reception of Company in the Tavern Way; where every one may be assured (by giving timely Notice) of a well dress'd Dinner, a bottle of neat Wine, good Cyder, Porter, Beer, &c.". Further advertisements for pleasure gardens in Edinburgh appeared: *EEC*, 13.8.1750; 20.8.1750; 21.8.1750. Farmer deals briefly with the pleasure gardens in Edinburgh, *History*, 317.

⁸⁴ *E.g.*: *EEC*, 27.5.1755; 3.6.1755; 24.6.1755; 26.6.1755; 20.9.1755; 8.6.1756; 10.6.1756; 12.6.1756; 22.6.1756; 24.6.1756; 26.8.1756, with the following statement "...and in case of bad weather, a public Room is fitted up where they may be furnished with Wine, Punch, and all kinds of Malt Liquors..."; 7.3.1757; 10.5.1757; 19.5.1757; 11.8.1757; 6.4.1758; 20.5.1758; 30.5.1758. There was also a "Comely Garden" reel in National Library of Scotland, MS Inglis 808, *A Collection of the Best and Most Favourite Tunes for the Violin. In Four Parts. Collected and Transcribed by James Gillespie*. Perth 1768, see page 467. The same reel was also published in Dow, *Daniel Twenty Minuets and Sixteen Reel or Country Dances* (Edinburgh: Author, [1773]), 30, see page 468; Dow, *Daniel Thirty-Seven New Reels and Strathspeys* (Edinburgh: N. Stewart, [c. 1790]), 10; Campbell, Joshua *A Collection of the Newest and Best Reels and Minuets* (Glasgow: J. Aird, [c. 1780]), 62.

⁸⁵ See page 564.

Having nothing to do one evening, at the end of last summer, I went there with the intention of seeing what was to be seen. I walked up and down the Gardens, but nobody appeared. I then approached the orchestra, which was in the ruins of an old pigeon house, with no other alteration but that of removing the pigeons and making room for four or five musicians, who were playing a composition, most musical, most melancholy, out of one of the windows. They continued this some time, but finding there was no one to listen to them, and that 'they were wasting their sweetness on the desert air',⁸⁶ they gave over playing, and retired for the evening.

I now find, that these Gardens are considered by the fashionable people here as a very unfashionable place, and only frequented by the *Bourgeois* [*sic*]. It is possible, that even this place under the direction of a man of taste, with proper improvements, might, in some measure, resemble the public gardens in London. But the range of diversions here is so much more moderated, and they have in general so little ready money to throw away upon articles of amusement, especially as the better sort of people are in the country at this season of the year, that I am persuaded they will never have any imitation of Vauxhall at Edinburgh."⁸⁷

It seems that Corri became involved with Comely Gardens about 1776, shortly after Topham's visit. A note in the *Minutes* of the Musical Society in June of that year records that "Reinagle, Napier, Muschet & Stewart fined in half a Guinea each for leaving the Concert in order to attend Corri's Garden".⁸⁸ In May 1777 an advertisement announced the redecoration of these gardens:

"COMELY-GARDEN

MR CORRI, having now compleated [*sic*] his Decorations of COMELY-GARDEN, in such as stile as, he flatters himself, will meet

⁸⁶ This quotation is from Gray's "Elegy written in a Country Church-Yard" of 1751:

"Full many a gem of purest ray serene
The dark unfathom'd caves of ocean bear;
Full many a flower is born to blush unseen
And waste its sweetness on the desert [*sic*] air",

Gray, Thomas *Poems by Mr Gray* (Glasgow: R. and A. Foulis, 1768), 52.

⁸⁷ Topham, *Letters*, 133-135. Compare this with the description of Ranelagh and Vauxhall in *Humphry Clinker*:

"Ranelagh looks like the enchanted [*sic*] palace of a genie, adorned with the most exquisite performances of painting, carving, and gilding, enlightened with a thousand golden lamps, that emulate the noon-day sun; glittering with cloth of gold and silver, lace, embroidery, and precious stones...the most ravishing musick, both instrumental and vocal."

Smollett, *Humphry Clinker*, I, 194;

"[at Vauxhall]...I was dazzled and confounded with the variety of beauties that rushed all at once upon my eye. Imagine...a spacious garden, part laid out in delightful walks, bouded with high hedges and trees, and paved with gravel; part exhibiting a wonderful assemblage of the most picturesque and striking objects, pavillions, lodges, groves, grottoes, lawns, temples, and cascades; porticoes, colonades, and rotundos; adorned with pillars, statues and paintings: the whole illuminated with an infinite number of lamps, disposed in different figures of suns, stars, and constellations; the place crowded with the gayest company...and animated by an excellent band of musick."

Smollett, *Humphry Clinker*, I, 195-196.

⁸⁸ EMS, *Minutes*, 14.6.1776.

Approbation, begs leave to inform the Public, That IT WAS OPENED THIS EVENING, being the 10th instant, and to continue every lawful day thereafter (FRIDAYS excepted) during the season.

The Entertainments are: A CONCERT of MUSIC, the Vocal Parts by Mrs JOHNSTON; and A BALL.

Diversions: CARDS, BILLIARDS, TROW-MADAM, &c.

The House and Garden will be Grandly Illuminated.

Admittance One Shilling each Person. Gentlemen who dance, pay an Additional Shilling.

The door will be opened at SIX, the Concert to begin at SEVEN, the Ball at HALF-AFTER EIGHT, and to end at ELEVEN o'clock.

A Subscription-Ticket, price ONE GUINEA, admits One Gentleman, or Two Ladies, the whole season; and gives them a privilege [*sic*] to walk in the Garden, and of bringing their friends along with them. Subscriptions received at the garden.

BREAK FAST, DINNERS, SUPPERS; with WINES, FRUITS,⁸⁹ &c. always ready, at the ORDINARY RATES.⁹⁰

Advertisements for the Edinburgh pleasure gardens announced a range of entertainments. There were firework displays,⁹¹ vocal concerts,⁹² plays, dances,⁹³ and background instrumental music, balls, and a wide variety of refreshments on offer.⁹⁴ One advertisement that appeared in the spring of 1778 announced:

“COMELY-GARDEN

...THE Manager begs leave to inform the Public, That next

TUESDAY EVENING...there will be

A PUBLIC GARDEN, – AND A BALL.

And, as an *additional* Entertainment, will be represented

A COMEDY, called

CIRCE and ATALA; or, the RIVAL MAGICIANS.

⁸⁹ The arrival of cargoes of imported fruits were often advertised in the local press. *E.g.*: oranges and lemons from Seville, *EEC*, 22.1.1777; 5.3.1777; 12.3.1777. Oranges, raisins, grapes and lemons from Malaga, *EEC*, 16.12.1775. Oranges, lemons, figs and almonds, *EEC*, 17.12.1777. Arnot also lists imports from various countries. Arnot, *History*, 576-582.

⁹⁰ *EEC*, 10.5.1777; a similarly-worded advertisement appeared in the *Courant* when the gardens opened for the season a couple of years later. *EEC*, 26.5.1779.

⁹¹ *EEC*, 27.7.1776; 2.6.1777; 18.6.1777; 25.6.1777 with the proviso “if the weather permits”; 9.7.1777; 2.6.1779; 16.6.1779; 19.7.1779. One such advertisement promised a “GRAND FIRE-WORK; exhibiting...the TEMPLE of the SUN...”, *EEC*, 19.5.1777.

⁹² One such advertisement (*EEC* 12.7.1777) notified the public of the engagement of Signor Rosignole, who had appeared at the Theatre Royal in the previous year as:

“...The FAMOUS SIGNOR ROSIGNOLE,
Whose Delightful and Wonderful,
IMITATIONS

OF ALL SORTS OF BIRDS,

Drew crowded and brilliant Audiences at the Theatres Royal in London and Dublin...”.

EEC, 16.3.1776. Rosignole also imitated “...the Chords of a First Violin, in a piece of music, of Bach, Abel, or any eminent composer.” *EEC*, 20.3.1776. He also performed “...with his Throat, an Entire NEW SYMPHONY, to be accompanied by Signor Puppo, and the whole Orchestre. After which, he will (for this night only) play in the most surprising manner, with his Throat, an elegant piece of music, of his own Composition...”. *EEC*, 8.4.1776; 10.4.1776.

⁹³ *EEC*, 3.8.1776; 19.8.1776.

⁹⁴ *EEC*, 3.8.1776; 19.8.1776 advertised “Tea, Coffee, Jelly, Confections, Wines, Cold Supper, &c.” *EEC*, 1.6.1776; 3.6.1776; 3.8.1776; 19.8.1776 advertised a “public breakfast”.

By the Famous FONTOCCINI.

Lately exhibited, with the greatest applause, upon the
London and Dublin Theatres.

After the First Act, there will be a DANCE by DON ALVARO and Donna CORRELLA. – After the Second, will be introduced *A Drunken Dancer* and *A Tumbler*. – After the Third, *A Flag Dancer*. – After the Fourth, *A Superb Figure*, who possesses the wonderful faculty of detaching the *Arms* and *Legs* from the *Body*, which become *Five Complete Figures*. One of them plays upon the Guittar: they will resume their *former union*.

There will be several other *Transformations*:

A Transparent Diana, elegant Scenery, Dresses, Music, and Illuminations

Also several SCOTS SONGS, by a *new Performer*.

The Garden-door will be opened at six o'clock, the Comedy to begin at seven, and the Ball at nine.

Admittance to the whole, 3s. by each person, viz. 1s. for the Garden and Ball; and the other two for the Comedy.

Subscribers pay 2s. each.

Copies of the above performance (in English) to be had at the door."⁹⁵

Some months later, the *Courant* informed the public of a:

"FETE CHAMPETRE

...A very large and elegant room, of about 80 feet square, fitted up for the occasion, is adorned with statues, paintings, mirrors, and many other ornaments. It contains likewise an artificial garden, and abounding with fruits and flowers arranged in the most fantastic manner; – part of the floor is properly laid for the dancing. – The Champetre Room is immediately adjoining the Ball-Room, and other chambers of the Comely-Garden House, in which a Card-Room and Retiring Room are provided. Every precaution has been taken to exclude the cold. – The most superb transparent illuminations will be displayed in the garden. – The doors will open at seven, the music to begin at eight, the Champetre Room will be disclosed at nine, when the ball will commence; the doors will be shut at twelve o'clock at night. – Admittance to the whole, 5s. each Non-Subscriber; 2s. 6d. each Subscriber. – N.B. During the ball, Tea, Coffee, Negus,⁹⁶ and Biscuits, will be furnished, without any additional expense."⁹⁷

It would seem that Corri's involvement with Comely Gardens lasted until 1779. A number of advertisements that appeared in the *Edinburgh Evening Courant* during 1778 and 1779, gave Corri's address as "Abbey-hill".⁹⁸ In August 1779, however, the *Courant* announced that the house and walks of Comely Gardens were to be let, "...with or without the Garden and Grass-grounds...".⁹⁹

⁹⁵ EEC, 11.4.1778.

⁹⁶ "From the name of the inventor Colonel Francis Negus d. 1732. A mixture of wine (esp. port or sherry) and hot water sweetened with sugar and flavoured." *OED*, VII, 83.

⁹⁷ EEC, 25.7.1778.

⁹⁸ EEC, 7.2.1778; 7.3.1778; 9.3.1778; 19.7.1779.

⁹⁹ EEC, 7.8.1779.

As well as Captain Topham's account of Comely Gardens from the mid 1770s, Hugo Arnot mentioned the Gardens briefly in his *History of Edinburgh*, which was published in Edinburgh in 1779. Arnot observed that it was "A wretched attempt to imitate Vauxhall, for which neither the climate nor the gardens are adapted."¹⁰⁰ The impression of Comely Gardens by Captain Topham not only confirms that by Arnot, it also adds a slightly new perspective. Having seen the pleasure gardens in London, with Vauxhall especially famed for its lavish decorations and entertainments, its Edinburgh version seemed to Topham a poor relation because, as he observed, there appeared to be "so little ready money to throw away upon articles of amusement".

It is possible that the failure of the Edinburgh Vauxhall was due to yet another factor, one not mentioned by either Arnot or Captain Topham. The London pleasure gardens were also well known as the regular haunt of pickpockets, gamblers and prostitutes, as the relatively low admission charges made the gardens accessible to a very wide range of people. They were, therefore, also places of vice and moral corruption. In contrast to Lydia Melford, in Smollett's *Humphry Clinker*, Matthew Bramble finds Vauxhall a place "...contrived to dazzle the eyes and divert the imagination...".¹⁰¹ It was a place, which in the words of one writer for the *Scots Magazine*, had the effect of "tending to unbend the thoughts".¹⁰² In *Humphry Clinker*, Bramble rejects "that eagerness in the pursuit of what is called pleasure, which now predominates through every rank and denomination of life"¹⁰³ and feels he can only "despise" the "want of taste and decorum"¹⁰⁴ which he sees in the people there.

Criticisms of this kind were remarkably similar to those voiced in Scotland, by the Kirk in particular, about the theatre. As well as being the manager of the pleasure gardens in Edinburgh, Domenico Corri also became involved with the Theatre Royal in that city.¹⁰⁵ While not much mention is made of this in his *Life*, it is clear

¹⁰⁰ Arnot, *History*, 383.

¹⁰¹ Smollett, *Humphry Clinker*, I, 187.

¹⁰² Toupee, S., *Scots Magazine*, cit. Ford, Boris ed *18th Century Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 208.

¹⁰³ Smollett, *Humphry Clinker*, I, 189.

¹⁰⁴ Smollett, *Humphry Clinker*, I, 188.

¹⁰⁵ See page 564.

from the *Minutes* of the Musical Society that this venture occupied a great deal of Corri's time.

Corri's involvement with the Theatre Royal in Edinburgh dates from 1788, the same time that he was managing the pleasure gardens. The *Minutes* of the Musical Society note that in August of that year, the directors of the Society had met together to discuss their position:

"...having taken into consideration the Agreement entered into by Mr Corri with the Lessee of the Theatre Royal, They are apprehensive that the Management of the Theatre Royal may be found incompatible with Mr Corris duty to the Musical Society...Intimate to Mr and Mrs Corri that they totally disapprove of what he has done, more especially as he has thought proper to enter in to that Agreement without consulting the Directors that it is therefore the resolution of the Directors the warning of Six Months which they look on themselves bound to give Mr & Mrs Corri before parting with them, shall be understood to commence from the 25 of the Month of August...".¹⁰⁶

The Society also decided that:

"...In case the Directors shall find, in the course of the said Six Months that his Agreement with the Lessees of the Theatre Royal proves detrimental in the service of the Musical Society...in the event of them remaining in the Service of the Musical Society the Society cannot afford to allow them a higher appointment than £200...".¹⁰⁷

From the copy of a letter in the *Minutes* from the Society to the lessee of the theatre it becomes clear that Corri had used his salary from the Musical Society as collateral for this venture:

"...We not only think it proper to acquaint you that We as Directors of the Musical Society totally disapprove of Mr Corri's present undertaking but We Judge it necessary to let you know that no Assignment of Mr Corris Sallary can be any Security to you, because their [*sic*] is no permanent Contract for a term of years between him and Us consequently the continuance of his Appointments from the Musical Society are merely arbitrary".¹⁰⁸

Advertisements in contemporary newspapers, such as those that were printed in the *Edinburgh Evening Courant*, reveal the productions that were given included a production of *Artaxerxes*,¹⁰⁹ and works that had been written by Corri:

"THEATRE-ROYAL

¹⁰⁶ EMS, *Minutes*, 8.1778.

¹⁰⁷ EMS, *Minutes*, 8.1778.

¹⁰⁸ EMS, *Minutes*, copy of a letter to "Mr Bland at York", 1778.

¹⁰⁹ EEC, 24.2.1779.

...The celebrated comedy of
 THE SCHOOL FOR SCANDAL
 ...To which will be added,
 a Musical Entertainment of One Act, called
 THE WIVES REVENG'D
 The Music composed by Mr. CORRI..."¹¹⁰

Advertisements also show that by this date, Corri had masonic links:

"BY DESIRE OF
 His Grace the Duke of BUCCLEUGH,
 And the other Officers of the South Fencibles,
 ...the celebrated COMEDY of
 THE RIVALS
 ...Before the Play will be performed, (for that night only),
 A LYRIC ODE TO PUBLIC COURAGE.
 The words by MR WOODS. – Set to Music by Mr Corri.
 In the performance of which will be a transparent representation of
 THE TEMPLE OF MARS.
 With suitable decorations.
 The whole front of the Boxes will, for that night, be ornamented
 with Military Trophies..."¹¹¹

At the Theatre Royal, Corri organized evening entertainments similar to those which he had held at Comely Gardens:

"...A *FESTINO*.
 The whole THEATRE will be elegantly decorated and illuminated, and the room rendered as spacious and convenient as possible for the purpose of dancing. On each side of the stage will be a range of shops, set out with the greatest fancy and variety, representing a fair. A floor will be laid over the pit to join the stage. No person to be admitted without a ticket, which will be delivered at the office at Half-a-Guinea each. The doors will be opened at eight. Concert of Vocal and Instrumental music will commence at nine. At ten the ball will be opened; and the doors of the Theatre will be shut at three in the morning. The slips and galleries will be opened for the reception of company. Slips at 5s. each, First gallery 4s. Upper gallery 3s. Galleries and slips to be opened at 7 o'clock..."¹¹²

"As the last *FESTINO* gave universal satisfaction, MR CORRI has been advised, by several LADIES and GENTLEMEN of the First Distinction, to repeat it..."¹¹³

By 1779 it is clear that Corri was in considerable financial difficulty. The *Courant* carried reports in April of that year that there were disputes over the payment of salaries,¹¹⁴ and two days after Corri

¹¹⁰ *EEC*, 20.1.1779. *The Wives Reveng'd* had been given at the very end of the previous year, *EEC*, 9.12.1778. Other performances of *The Wives Reveng'd* were advertised in the *EEC*, 20.2.1779; 22.3.1779; 26.4.1779.

¹¹¹ *EEC*, 6.2.1779.

¹¹² *EEC*, 27.2.1779; 3.3.1779; 10.3.1779. The 3.3.1779 advertisement also noted: "Fresh Fruits, Cakes, Sweet Meats, and Jelly, &c. &c. furnished at the common rates."

¹¹³ *EEC*, 8.3.1779.

¹¹⁴ *EEC*, 24.4.1779. This is reported in Dibdin, *Annals*, 175.

appealed to the Society about "...the embarrassed State of his affairs...".¹¹⁵ The Directors of the Society replied that they were:

"...extremely sorry for the embarrassed situation to which you are reduced; and we cannot but much approve of your resolution of doing justice to your Creditors, by appropriating your Salary from time to time for the extinction of your debts – We are concerned however, that the situation of the society's funds, does not permit us to give you any hopes of making a Salary more than £200 pr Annum – at which it is now fixed – you know likewise, that we cannot become bound for it for any limited item – as your Remaining in the employment depends entirely on the continuance of your own & Mrs Corri's attention & assiduity in the Orchestra..."¹¹⁶

The *Courant* printed a letter from "Benevolus":

"...How far an Italian musician can be a proper judge of the English drama is a paradox which is not easily solved...None will deny, that the Theatre is beneficial to the town; under good government, and proper regulations, there is no place of amusement so calculated for instruction and delight...none, either, will deny, that since the establishment of a Theatre-Royal, many polite and affluent people reside here during the winter, which, otherwise, they would pass in England: This is a saving to the country, and an increase to the riches of the city."¹¹⁷

In 1780, Domenico Corri directed his energies in another direction and set up the firm of Corri & Sutherland, music sellers and publishers in Edinburgh. It is possible that there were other reasons, as well as the question of any economic mismanagement on Corri's part, for the failure of his venture at the Theatre Royal. The attitude of the Scottish Kirk to the theatre in Scotland has already been acknowledged by a number of scholars as an important element in shaping the perceptions of and attitudes to the stage in eighteenth-century Scotland.¹¹⁸ Although towards the end of the eighteenth century attitudes had changed, and were still changing, it is striking how only very recently this change had taken place, and how fervently the Kirk had always railed against the stage.

As well as religious issues, there was the question of funding. The Theatre Royal itself was barely a decade old by 1778, as the foundation stone had been laid in 1768. It had been built on a

¹¹⁵ EMS, *Minutes*, 26.4.1779.

¹¹⁶ EMS, *Minutes*, 26.4.1779.

¹¹⁷ EEC, 28.4.1779.

¹¹⁸ Farmer, *History*, 300 ff. Johnson, *Music and Society*, 45, states: "[theatrical activity] was frowned upon, and periodically closed down by the church". He adds: "It cannot be said that the Edinburgh theatre did as much for classical music as could have been hoped. It was too chancy, too dependent for its success on the individual efforts of a few managers and star performers, to provide the solid continuity which classical music seems to need in order to flourish". Johnson, *Music and Society*, 47.

propitious site, in the New Town, but easy to reach from the Old Town across the North Bridge. In the year that the theatre opened, the first proprietor, David Ross, announced in a puff that the theatre:

“...shall vie with those of London or Dublin: There shall be five capital men-actors, one good man-singer, one second ditto; three capital women-actresses, two capital women-singers, one capital man-dancer, and one woman ditto; the rest as good as can be had: The orchestre [*sic*] shall be conducted with a good first-fiddle, as a leader, a harpsichord, and the rest of the band persons of merit.”¹¹⁹

When Captain Topham visited the theatre in Edinburgh only a few years later in the mid 1770s, he observed that:

“The ornaments are few, and in an unaffected style, which, on the whole, has a very elegant appearance. It is lighted with wax, and the scenery is well painted; though they do not excel in those *jeux de théâtre* which please and astonish the common people in London. The whole of their machinery is luckily very bad...the *deceptio visûs*, if such it could be called, was so miserable, that the poor players themselves seemed ashamed of it.”¹²⁰

It is interesting to note that while theatrical productions were advertised regularly in the *Edinburgh Evening Courant* from 1768, operatic productions were far less frequent (with the notable exceptions of *The Gentle Shepherd* and *The Beggar's Opera*). This was possibly due to a number of different reasons. In a country where there seemed to be “so little ready money to throw away upon articles of amusement”, the theatre, but particularly opera, must have seemed an inordinately expensive pleasure. Indeed, opera was perhaps the most expensive of all the arts: added to the cost of the singers, were those of the scenery and special effects, the costumes and the musicians. Of all these costs, those of the singers were by far the greatest. The Musical Society in Edinburgh regularly spent about one quarter, or more, of its total expenditure for the year on only one singer.¹²¹ The leader of an orchestra would also have been a not inconsiderable expense.¹²² David Johnson has concluded that:

¹¹⁹ *Scots Magazine*, 1768, cit. Lawson, *Scots Stage*, 131.

¹²⁰ Topham, *Letters*, 106-107.

¹²¹ “...To Mr Benedetto his Salary from May 1733 to June 1734 £130.0.0
[total expenditure £463.16.6]”,
EMS, *Minutes*, 5.1733-6.1734;
“...By Mr Passerini as one years Sallary in full to the 1st April 1752 £130.0.0
[total expenditure £540.5.5½]”,
EMS, *Minutes*, 6.1751-6.1752;
“...By Mr Luciani Salary for a year to 24 May 1771 £250.0.0
[total expenditure £996.13.10]”,
EMS, *Minutes*, 6.1770-6.1771;
“...To Mr & Mrs Corri One years Sallary to 25 May 1774 £185.0.0
[total expenditure £970.5.7]”,
EMS, *Minutes*, 6.1773-27.7.1774;

"It cannot be said that the Edinburgh theatre did as much for classical music as could have been hoped. It was too chancy, too dependent for its success on the individual efforts of a few managers and star performers, to provide the solid continuity which classical music seems to need in order to flourish".¹²³

After his involvement with Comely Gardens and the Theatre Royal, Domenico Corri set up a music selling and publishing company. This is probably the field in which one of his most important contributions to musical life in Scotland lies. In the introduction to his Italian translation of Corri's *Life*, Alfredo Obertello has noted that: "[la casa editrice] era senza dubbio tra le più importanti della Scozia e dell'Inghilterra".¹²⁴ Kirsteen McCue has similarly observed that: "The Corri business was undoubtedly one of the most influential to the Scottish trade as a whole, with the Gow family firm being the only other house of comparable size and influence."¹²⁵

Corri's publishing company had a complex and tangled history. In *Music Publishing in the British Isles*, Humphries and Smith list three of the Corri family as being involved in the business: Domenico, John and Natale.¹²⁶ Also mentioned are the six

- "...to agree with Miss Giolivetti for two years certain at £200 pr Annum...",
EMS, *Minutes*, 1.12.1792.
- 122 "...By Mr Pasquali's Salary to 1st June 1756 £ 55.0.0
[total expenditure £616.2.8]",
EMS, *Minutes*, 6.1755-6.1756;
"...By Mr Arrigoni one years sallary to 1 June 1771 £ 73.10.0.
[total expenditure £1288.16.4]",
EMS, *Minutes*, 6.1770-11.1771;
"...By Mr Stabilini 1/2 year to 7 Novr 1792 Do [stamp] 8 £ 50.0.8
[total expenditure £508.15.6]",
EMS, *Minutes*, 28.7.1792-18.1.1793.
- 123 Johnson, *Music and Society*, 47.
- 124 "The publishing company was without doubt one of the most important in Scotland and England." Obertello, Alberto 'Una Famiglia di Musicisti Italiani in Inghilterra [sic]', *Nuova Antologia*, (July, 1930), 253, n. 31.
- 125 McCue, *George Thomson*, 32.
- 126 Humphries and Smith, *Music Publishing*, 117-118. There seems to be very little biographical information about John Corri. The short entry on John Corri in the *DBI* (XXIX, 517) notes that: "...nulla si sa del primogenito JOHN (Giovanni)...si dedicò probabilmente ad altra attività poiché il suo nome non figura mai né nelle memorie del padre né appare coinvolto nelle attività musicali dei fratelli...", "...nothing is known about the first born, JOHN (Giovanni). He probably chose a different career, as his name does not feature in his father's autobiography and he does not seem to have been involved in his brother's musical activities..." (author's translation). The *Minutes* of the Edinburgh Musical Society record that the Society paid him for "writing music" (possibly copying out parts) in 1780:
"...By John Corri Accot for writing music £ 1.8.0
[total expenditure £457.7.2]",
EMS, *Minutes*, 23.6.1780-1.12.1780. John Corri may have been the "Master Corri" who sang with Urbani in concerts advertised in *EEC*, 14.3.1785 and 26.3.1785.
Natale Corri (Rome 1765-Wiesbaden 1822). Singer, singing teacher, guitarist, composer, music publisher and entrepreneur, brother of Domenico. The *DBI* (XXIX, 517) states that nothing is known of his life up to 1784, when he moved to Edinburgh. In that city, he appeared occasionally in concerts, where he played the guitar (*EEC*

different names under which the company was known in the years from 1779 to 1806. Corri's publishing enterprise was originally established under the name of Corri & Sutherland, as Domenico had gone into partnership with James Sutherland.

One of the most ambitious works that Corri published in Edinburgh was the three-volume *Select Collection*. It was issued in 1779, the year before Corri went into partnership with Sutherland, and indeed, the title page states that it was published "for John Corri, sold by him & by C: Elliot Parliament Square".¹²⁷ It is possible that the publication of the *Select Collection* may have been a way for Corri to try to recover some of the money that he had lost from his involvement with the Theatre Royal in Edinburgh or to pay off some of the money that he owed. No mention of this is made in his *Life*. The *Courant* announced:

"Dedicated (by Permission) to HER MAJESTY.

This Day is published,

Price 2l. 12s. 6d. stitched, or 3l. 3s. Half-bound, and hand-pressed,

THE LARGEST MUSICAL WORK EVER PRINTED
IN GREAT BRITAIN,
BEING A
SELECT COLLECTION
OF THE MOST-ADMIREDD
SONGS, DUETS, &c.

From Operas in the highest esteem, and from other Works in Italian, English, French, Scotch, Irish, &c.

IN THREE VOLUMES Royal Quarto

...The Music in this work is divided into phrases, as in reading, sentences are marked by points; and to each is appropriated its Graces, Cadences, &c. with accurate directions for the management of the voice in the execution of them.

A proper accompaniment is also arranged on a plan so distinct as to enable any Harpsichord player to accompany himself with ease, although unacquainted with the rules of Thorough Bass.

A copious explanation is given of the nature and design of the author's improvements, with proper examples.

14.3.1785) and sang repertoire that included extracts from the works of Paesello, Sarti and arrangements of Scots songs, which were possibly those made by Pietro Urbani (e.g.: *EEC*, 4.2.1784; 14.3.1785; *CM*, 13.4.1789; 16.4.1789; 20.4.1789; 15.2.1790; 27.2.1790; 1.3.1790; *EEC*, 12.2.1791; 31.3.1791; *CM*, 8.3.1792; 10.2.1792; 12.3.1792; 29.3.1792; 31.3.1792; 2.4.1792; 24.2.1794; 1.3.1794; 3.3.1794). Natale Corri's published *opus* is listed in *RISM*, III, 230-231; *RISM*, XI, 315.

After Domenico Corri moved to London in 1788, Natale took over the running of their shop in Edinburgh. Natale was one of the principal figure in the organization of the "Professional Concert" after the demise of the Musical Society. Natale Corri's life in Edinburgh is discussed in Cranmer, "Concert Life".

¹²⁷ Previously Corri had published: *Six Canzones for Two Voices and Bass or Guitar* (Edinburgh: John Johnson, 1772); *A First Sett of Six Sonatas for the Harpsichord, with an Accompaniment for the Flute, Violin and Violoncello* ([Edinburgh:] s.n. [c. 1773]); *A Second Sett of Six Sonatas for the Harpsichord or Piano-Forte with an Accompaniment for the Flute, Violin and Violoncello* (Edinburgh: Author (J. Johnson), [c. 1775]).

By DOMENICO CORRI.

...Edinburgh – Printed for JOHN CORRI, sole Proprietor: Sold by him and by C. Elliot, Parliament Square; G. Robinson, Pater Noster Row London; T. Haxby, York; Joseph Tylee, Bath; and Richard Moncrieff, Dublin.”¹²⁸

The list of subscribers to the *Select Collection* included a mixture of members of the nobility and members of the professional classes. There were many Scottish aristocrats: the Duke and Duchess of Buccleugh, the Duchess of Gordon, the Duchess of Hamilton and the Countess of Haddington. Some of the subscribers were members of the professional classes: “John Erskine, Esq. Advocate”, “William Grant, Esq. Advocate”, “Mr John Rae, surgeon”. Some lived in the New Town in Edinburgh and advertised themselves as being resident there: “Miss Macrae, New Town” and “Mrs Fraser, George-Street”. The Edinburgh Musical Society subscribed to the *Select Collection*,¹²⁹ as did the Society in Aberdeen. Among the musical instrument dealers, music sellers and publishers who subscribed were Robert Bremner (who subscribed to three copies), Thomas Haxby of York (who subscribed to six), James Aird of Glasgow, Neil Stewart (the Edinburgh dealer, who subscribed to eight copies) and James Sibbald (who like Stewart was based in Edinburgh). Among the musicians who subscribed were Giusto Ferdinando Tenducci, Christian Fischer “musician to the Queen”, Giuseppe Puppo (the leader of the Edinburgh Musical Society), Schetky (the German cellist of the Society), “Mr Orpin, organist, Leeds”, “Mr Tayle, organist, Bath”.

Originally issued in three volumes, the *Select Collection* was an ambitious work which brought together French, Italian and British music. It was prefaced by an “Explanation of the Nature and Design of the Work”. The first volume was dedicated to Italian arias and duets, the second to English and the third volume was a mixture of Italian, French, English and Scottish pieces. The “Explanation of the Nature and Design of the Work” included directions for the singer and for the harpsichord accompaniment. The aim of Corri’s work was clearly set out at the beginning of the *Collection*, where he noted “The object of the author being to facilitate, and at the same time render more perfect, the performance of vocal and

¹²⁸ EEC, 25.12.1782.

¹²⁹ The *Minutes* also record that they paid:

“..By Mr Corri for 3 Copies of his Book
[total expenditure
EMS, *Minutes*, 29.11.1782-27.6.1783.

£ 7.17.6
£526.0.8¹/₂]”,

instrumental music".¹³⁰ With this aim in mind Corri included a series of symbols for the singer, and a system – "Corri's New System" – for the accompanist.¹³¹ In this way:

"...[persons] not only ignorant of the Italian, French, or any other particular style of singing, but who have no knowledge of music, save only of its first rudiments, may sing all the music contained in this Collection with a degree of grace and expression, of which, without the help of the additional signs made use of, he could have no idea."¹³²

The accompanist need not be concerned "with the continual trouble of calculation"¹³³ of the figures and of the parts if the right hand of the keyboard were already written out. In this way, "every harpsichord player will be enabled, at sight, and without a single lesson on the subject, to accompany any piece of music with taste and elegance, as easily as he can play the most simple harpsichord lesson or air".¹³⁴

This "New System" described by Corri is illustrated in the engraving which prefaces the *Select Collection* (see pages 470-472). This symbolic illustration contrasts the "Old System" of figured bass, which had previously been quite literally the foundation of music, with the "New System", which is transported up to the "heights of enlightenment"¹³⁵ by a winged putto. The figure seated at the harpsichord has turned away from the "Old System" and points to the "New System" with one hand. With the other arm around a child, representing the younger generation, she communicates this intelligence. The figure kneeling at the foot of the "Old System" has her head in her hand from what seems to be abandonment and despair.

It is interesting to see the development of the idea of the "New System" through the *Collection*. As Paul Revitt has pointed out in his article on Corri's "New System", there is an "evolution" (to borrow Revitt's term) from the sometimes rather vague indication of the

¹³⁰ Corri, *Select Collection*, I, 1.

¹³¹ This "New System" is discussed in Revitt, Paul J., "Domenico Corri's 'New System' for reading Thorough-Bass" *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, XXI, 1968, 93-100. Corri also used the "New System" in other works, see for example the version of "Donald" in *A New & Complete Collection of the Most Favourite Scots Songs Including a few English & Irish with proper Graces and Ornaments peculiar to their Character, likewise the New Method of Accompaniment of Thorough-Bass by Sigr. Corri* (Edinburgh: Corri & Co., [1788]), 30. See page 469

¹³² Corri, *Select Collection*, I, 4.

¹³³ Corri, *Select Collection*, I, 6.

¹³⁴ Corri, *Select Collection*, I, 6.

¹³⁵ Revitt, *New System*, 98.

right hand part in the first volume, through an increasingly more detailed realization, which by volume four is very nearly completely written out (see pages 473-478). These realizations include a large number of broken chord figurations – in quavers, triplets and semiquavers – not because they were particularly “elegant”, Corri argued, but because they were a relatively simple solution to a problem which was as old and as complex as figured bass itself. To read figured bass with any degree of fluency a certain amount of both time and practice were needed. Not only did accompanying from the figures require a knowledge of harmony and a degree of purely mechanical skill, it also required taste in the choice of the arrangement and in the progression of the parts. Corri argued that musicians, whether amateur or professional, were not always capable of accompanying “with taste and elegance”.¹³⁶ Or, as he noted in his *Life*, “[performers] are not all alike gifted with that taste and feeling which can fully understand the composer’s meaning, or that complete knowledge which can guide them in every deviation from the precise notes in which a piece of music is written”.¹³⁷ Furthermore, in considering the arrangement of the accompaniment, Corri also stressed the importance of taking into account the vocal line, in such a manner that “the addition of such parts as are not only just according to the laws of harmony, but also selected and disposed in such a manner as may best serve to support and give effect to the vocal part or parts.”¹³⁸ The solutions which Corri proposed in the *Select Collection* were illustrated in the “Directions for the Harpsichord Accompaniment” in the preface to the *Collection* (see page 479). It is these figurations that Revitt identifies as being the ancestors of the arpeggiated song accompaniments so common in the song literature of the next century. Thus he ascribes to Corri a role of central importance, not only in the development of music in Scotland or even Britain, but in that of Europe as a whole.

While Revitt focuses on the writing for the keyboard in the *Select Collection*, an equally important aspect of this collection is the treatment of the vocal line. Corri urged a more precise notation than was generally used, as “experience has evinced, that, for want of

¹³⁶ Corri, *Select Collection*, I, 6.

¹³⁷ Corri, *Life*, unpaginated.

¹³⁸ Corri, *Select Collection*, I, 5.

such signs, the music of half a century back is in a great measure lost to the present time, even in the same country, and is at all times totally unintelligible to a foreign nation".¹³⁹ To render music more intelligible, therefore, Corri advocated the use of a number of different symbols; $\overline{\text{T}}$ to indicate a breath mark and X to help the singer "distinguish at sight the musical periods where a pause is always necessary";¹⁴⁰ — for a crescendo and — for a calando. He illustrated this with a number of musical examples taken from works of Sacchini, J.C. Bach, Thomas Linley, J. J. Rousseau and a "Scotch air" – presumably to show that his system could be applied to Italian, French, English and Scottish music equally well (see page 480).

Corri stressed the "proper use" and correct performance of ornaments, as it is these "which alone can give to song its highest degree of grace and elegance".¹⁴¹ What was essential, was that these decorations be performed well, as "if not executed with great nicety and taste, they are rather detrimental...and therefore the performance of them may be considered optional as they are in reality no part of the melody".¹⁴² Ornamentation was not as problematic for "persons regularly educated in music, and who have imbibed from their masters a thorough knowledge of all the graces and elegancies of the art"¹⁴³ as for those who had not had such an advantage. Those of the latter category "will never be able, from the mere notes, as usually marked down, to give the true spirit and meaning of any composition".¹⁴⁴ Corri argued that the inclusion of that which would not normally have been written, "all the graces and elegancies of the art", would have a didactic effect. The singer would therefore progress from what was written down, to imitation, and then finally to being able to invent his own ornamentation.

The ornamentation which Corri suggested in the *Collection* is given in small note heads, as is illustrated in the "Directions to the Singer", stressing, once again, that "These ornaments being only meant to vary a passage are optional"¹⁴⁵ (see page 481). The embellishments in the *Collection* provide extremely valuable

¹³⁹ Corri, *Select Collection*, I, 2.

¹⁴⁰ Corri, *Select Collection*, I, 2.

¹⁴¹ Corri, *Select Collection*, I, 4.

¹⁴² Corri, *Select Collection*, I, 8.

¹⁴³ Corri, *Select Collection*, I, 5.

¹⁴⁴ Corri, *Select Collection*, I, 5.

¹⁴⁵ Corri, *Select Collection*, I, 8.

evidence, in that they are not only examples of late eighteenth century ornamentation, but they were very detailed and precise transcriptions of the embellishments sung by some of the most famous performers of the day. This is stated very clearly at the top of each piece in the *Collection*, as alongside the name of the piece and the name of the composer, is the name of the performer. In volume I, therefore, there are a number of arias from Tommaso Giordani's *Artaserse* as sung by Giuseppe Millico; Gaetano Guadagni's rendering of the aria "Che Farò" from Gluck's *Orfeo*; Giuseppe Aprile's interpretation of an aria from Sarti's *Demofonte*; and Giovanni Carestini's version of the "Verdi Prati" from Handel's *Alcina*. Also included are extracts from Corri's own opera *Alessandro nell'Indie* and a number of arias from the *Le Ali D'Amore* and *Piramo e Tisbe*, two operas composed by Venanzio Rauzzini. In the second volume of the *Collection*, dedicated to English songs and duets, there is a selection of arias from Arne's *Artaxerxes*, including "O too lovely too unkind" and "Water Parted from the Sea" with the embellishments sung by Giusto Ferdinando Tenducci; there are arias sung by Miss Brent from works also by Arne – "Gentle Youth Ah" from *Love in a Village*, and "To ease his Heart" from *Thomas and Sally*; and the versions of "Say Little Foolish" from Charles Dibdin's *The Padlock*, and "The Wanton God" of Arne by Mrs Arne (Cecilia Young). In the third volume, which includes a large number of French and English airs, Scottish folk songs, *canzoni*, Venetian ariettas and some ensembles, there are far fewer of these attributions of performance, and consequently the ornamentation is reduced to appoggiaturas, some trills and a few turns.

One of the most striking features of the *Select Collection* as a whole, is how very contemporary the work was. It is evidence of the interest that Corri had for the latest compositions and performers, as well as being evidence of the close links that he nurtured with London while he was in Edinburgh. In a recent work on performance practice, Crutchfield has noted that Corri was "more reporter than advocate",¹⁴⁶ and that his intention was to show to how a number of different able and accomplished singers used the tools of their trade. Indeed, Crutchfield has stated that Corri was "the most valuable single theorist as far as the provision of practical examples

¹⁴⁶ Sadie, Stanley and Brown, Howard Mayer eds *Performance Practice. Music after 1600* (London: Macmillan, 1989), 293.

is concerned".¹⁴⁷ With the publication of the *Select Collection* in Edinburgh, Crutchfield states that publishers in London – and then in Paris too – began to follow suit, publishing music edited in this manner. It is a method of notation usually associated with Rossini, as Emilia Zanetti has observed, but which can clearly be traced back to Corri.¹⁴⁸

Writing in his *Life*, Corri noted that the *Select Collection* was greeted with "the most encouraging success".¹⁴⁹ Along with the publication of a number of other, shorter, pieces in the very early years of the 1780s,¹⁵⁰ it would seem that this enabled Corri to open a shop and deal in the sale of music and musical instruments. This was advertised in the *Edinburgh Evening Courant* in 1783:

"A New Music, Book, and Stationary Shop,
OPENED IN BRIDGE-STREET,¹⁵¹

By CORRI and SUTHERLAND,

WHO take the liberty of recommending themselves to the favour of the Public – Their study shall be to merit the same; and they flatter themselves in being able to give the utmost satisfaction to all who are pleased to honour them with their commands.

The advertisers have been at great pains in getting the best connections in Britain and Foreign Countries, in order to be supplied from the first hands with such articles as are necessary for the business they have undertaken.

The shop is at present completely furnished with all kinds of Musical Instruments, Music printed by the best authors, Books Stationary Wares, &c. &c. &c.

A circulating Library of Music on an extensive plan, a catalogue of which is preparing for the press; also Instruments hired, tuned, &c.

At the above Shop may be had, price Three Guineas bound,

CORRI'S WORKS,

In eight volumes large folio – Any of the volumes separately; or in single pieces.

¹⁴⁷ Sadie and Brown, *Performance Practice*, 293.

¹⁴⁸ "...[the vocal line] is in fact provided with terms and marks of expression, of agogic, where it is necessary to breathe, the graces are written, the coloratura is entirely written, this latter was an innovation later attributed to Rossini, but pro domo sua." Corri, Domenico; Bernardi, Paola and Nappo, Gino eds, *A Select Collection of the Most Admired Songs, Duets, &c. From Operas in the highest Esteem, And from other Works in Italian, English, French, Scotch, Irish, &c. &c.* (Bologna and Rome: Bardi, 1991), II, xi.

¹⁴⁹ It was probably for this reason that the whole collection was reissued c. 1795 by Corri, Dussek & Co., with the addition of a fourth volume, featuring music from Italy, France, England and Scotland. A facsimile of this edition has been issued by the Associazione Clavicembalistica Bolognese (Bologna and Rome: Bardi, 1990-1993).

¹⁵⁰ *Se un core annodi, or the fatal shaft. A rondo with an accompaniment for the piano forte and violoncello obligato and other instruments, the words in Italian and English. Likewise a set adapted for two voices* (Edinburgh: Corri & Sutherland [c. 1780]); *Sonata for the harpsichord or piano forte with an accompaniment for a violin* (Edinburgh: Author, John Johnson [c. 1780]); *Loch Erroch side...set for the harpsichord with variations* (Edinburgh: Corri & Sutherland [c. 1780]).

¹⁵¹ See page 564.

No.I. of a Complete Collection of the SCOTS SONGS, at 1s. – Also a variety of Lessons, Songs, Rondos, and Overtures, adapted for the Harpsichord, by the same author.

N.B. New-invented Organ Piano Fortes, Piano Forte Guittars, best Italian Catgut, fresh from the manufacturer at Italy.”¹⁵²

The music that was published by the various enterprises that Corri became involved in was, for the most part, music that was aimed at the amateur. The company issued works by Corri as well as by a number of other composers. There were instrumental tutors,¹⁵³ arrangements of Scots songs and of popular operatic arias, and instrumental works – such as sonatas or sets of variations which often used Scots songs as their themes. These were either issued as single works, or as part of a larger volume of collected works, as part of a “select collection”.¹⁵⁴

The range of music that was published and sold by Corri and Sutherland, and the range of musical instruments and accessories that they had in stock, is evident from the advertisements that appeared in the *Courant*:

“NEW MUSIC for the HARPSICHORD.

THIS DAY IS PUBLISHED,

By Corri and Sutherland, Music Sellers to Her Majesty, Bridge-Street,

1. A FAVOURITE DUET, taken from Davaux, much admired concertos, op. 7th, adapted for two performers on one harpsichord, by Signor Corri, price 2s. 6.
2. Over the Muir among the Heather, &c. with variations, by ditto, price 1s.
3. Beauties of Haydn, with accompaniments, 13s. 6d.
4. Haydn's Overtures Op. 35, 8s.
5. Favourite New Duet, 3s. 6d.
6. Opera Dances, book 1st, 2d, 3d and 4th, each 3s. 6d.

¹⁵² EEC, 23.6.1783; 28.6.1783; 16.7.1783.

¹⁵³ *The beginning & practice of fingering the harpsichord consisting of airs, minuets, marches gavots, gigs, rondos, lessons, voluntaries &c. &c., with preludes to each piece...book I* (Edinburgh: Corri & Sutherland [1784]); *A complete musical grammar, with a concise dictionary comprehending all the signs, marks and terms necessary to the practice of music; the art of fingering; the rules of thorough bass; a prelude in every key, and other various instructions, all comprehended in this board. Invented and arranged by D. Corri* (Edinburgh: Corri & Sutherland [c. 1787]).

¹⁵⁴ Particularly *A new and complete collection of the most favourite Scots songs, including a few English & Irish with proper graces and ornaments...likewise the new method of accompaniment of through bass* (Edinburgh: Corri & Sutherland [1788]). It is clear that this work met with some degree of success, as it was reissued a number of times in Edinburgh: Corri & Sutherland, c. 1790; Corri & Co., c. 1793; Natale Corri, s.a.; Neil Stewart c. 1795. A London edition was issued by George Walker, which was possibly contemporary with that of Stewart, or perhaps slightly later. George Walker, music publisher, book and music seller, c. 1795-1848. Humphries and Smith, *Music Publishing*, 319. The *New and complete collection* was not without its critics, as Alexander Campbell, however, remarked that: “Sig. Domenico Corri while he taught young ladies to sing and play on the harpsichord in Edinburgh, printed a collection of Scottish songs, in the manner he sung them. The work is poor and of little use, save to those who were his pupils”. Campbell, *History of Poetry*, 18.

7. Werrier's Dances for 1785, 1s. 6d. – Ditto Cotillons, 2s.

8. Bach's Sonatas, Op. 20, 6s.

With a great variety of New Songs, Rondos, &c. &c.

At the above shop are always kept a neat assortment of harpsichords, spinets,¹⁵⁵ piano fortes, guittars, violins, flutes, clarinets, hautboys, &c. for both sale and hire".¹⁵⁶

Similarly:

"...The New Stock of Music is likewise select, comprehending all the admired Operas of

HAYDN, PLEYEL, KOZELUCH,
MOZART, STERKEL, VANHALL, &c.

The Newest and Best English OPERAS and SONGS.

And the Favourite Scots and Italian SONGS, DUETTS, &c. &c.

...And the CIRCULATING LIBRARY will be continued as formerly...".¹⁵⁷

Also:

"...Haydn second set of 3 quartets 10s. 6d.

" adapted for the piano 3s. each

" second set of 6 canzonets 7s. 6d.

" first and second overtures, composed for and performed at Mr Salomon's concert, this season, adapted for the Piano Forte 4s. each

Giornovich's, two favourite Concertos (in which is introduced the much admired Russian air) arranged as sonatas for the Piano Forte by Dussek 7s. 6d.

" third concerto for the violin 6s.

Viotti's second and third grand Concertos, arranged for the Piano Forte, with or without additional keys, by Dussek 7s. 6d.

...Madam Dussek's second set of Sonatas for the Harp, with Scottish airs, &c. 6s...".¹⁵⁸

An important part of the music that was published and sold by Corri and Sutherland were the editions and arrangements of Scots songs. One such advertisement listed:

"...Loch Erroch side with variations	1s. 0d.
Over the Muir among the Heather	1 0
Stabilini's new Minuet and Rondo, with the variations	2 6
Highland Laddie, Tweedside, and Lochaber, with variations each	0 6
Gow's Reels and Strathspeys, a new edition	5 0

¹⁵⁵ Writing in his *Musical Memoirs of Scotland*, Dalrymple recorded that as late as 1773 James Boswell noted that he had heard: "Several tunes on a spinnet, which though made so long ago as in 1667, were still very well toned." Dalrymple, *Musical Memoirs*, 261.

¹⁵⁶ *EEC*, 30.7.1785. An advertisement listing a similar range of instruments was published *EEC*, 13.3.1786, including "...an elegant BARREL ORGAN, which plays thirty six tunes, inclusive of a few pieces of select music, and ten of the choicest Scots airs. This instrument was built in 1776, has four stops, well finished, and every way in good repair; cost originally above fifty guineas, and will be sold reasonably...". Another such advertisement *CM*, 21.6.1787: "...A Complete Assortment of MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS, Consisting of elegant Chamber and Barrel Organs, Harpsichords, grand and common Piano Fortes, Spinets, &c. &c...".

¹⁵⁷ *EEC*, 8.1.1791. Another similar advertisement *EEC*, 10.12.1791.

¹⁵⁸ *EEC*, 30.5.1796.

Corri's choice collection of songs, &c.
 3 vols, neatly bound L3 3 0
 With a great variety of English Songs, Rondos,
 Sonatas, &c. &c. &c."¹⁵⁹

The *Minutes* of the Musical Society show that the Society made a number of purchases from Corri & Sutherland's shop:

"...Decr. 3d... By Corri & Sutherlands Do [accot]	stamp 2d	£ 11.16.2
	[total expenditure	£501.5.2]", ¹⁶⁰
"...By Corri & Sutherlands Accot		£ 5.0.0
	[total expenditure	£411.16.5]", ¹⁶¹
"...By Corri & Sutherlands Accot		£ 14.14.6
	[total expenditure	£450.1.4]", ¹⁶²

These payments may have been for music, as a number of the advertisements that appeared in the *Edinburgh Evening Courant* stressed the trading links that the company had with London. This enabled Corri & Sutherland to obtain the very latest publications of music and to stock a wide range of instruments:

"NEW MUSIC & MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS, &c.

Corri and Sutherland, Music Sellers to her Majesty, beg leave to acquaint the public, That one of the partners has just returned from London, where he purchased a very large and capital assortment of Music and Musical Instruments; the former comprehends all the new publications, whether for the voice, harpsichord, or orchestras, by Haydn, Kozeluck, Clementi, Morent, Pleyel, Borghi, Sterkel, Shield, &c. &c. and are well deserving the attention of the *amateurs*: The Instruments consist of finger and barrel organs, single and double; harpsichords, with and without patent swells and different stops, upright harpsichords, grand piano fortes, ditto portable and plain, of various constructions, organised piano fortes, and others

¹⁵⁹ EEC, 13.3.1786. Other lists of music sold by Corri, Dussek & Co: EEC, 22.1.1795; 7.5.1795; 12.9.1795; 30.5.1796.

¹⁶⁰ EMS, *Minutes*, 3.12.1784-24.6.1785.

¹⁶¹ EMS, *Minutes*, 23.6.1786-1.12.1786.

¹⁶² EMS, *Minutes*, 30.11.1787-27.6.1788. After Domenico Corri had moved to London, and Natale had taken over the Edinburgh shop, the Musical Society continued to make purchases from the shop:

"...By Corri & Sutherlands Accot	£ 17.2.2
[total expenditure	£490.10.0]",

EMS, *Minutes*, 11.12.1789-25.6.1790;

"...Thirty Guineas to be paid to Messrs Corri Dussek",

EMS, *Minutes*, 8.8.1791;

"...By Messr Corri & family & Dussek pr Mr Innes	£ 31.10.0
[total expenditure	£423.3.10]",

EMS, *Minutes*, 15.7.1791-23.12.1791;

"...By Corri & Cos accot	£ 4.11.0
[total expenditure	£759.10.8½]",

EMS, *Minutes*, 23.12.1791-28.7.1892;

"...By Messrs Corri & Co Do [accot] pr Do [order]	£ 2.16.0
[total expenditure	£446.19.4]",

EMS, *Minutes*, 17.1.1794-27.6.1794.

elegantly fitted in side boards; very fine old and new violins, guitars, double and single glassadoes, &c. &c. all of which will be found upon trial to be the completest collection that ever appeared for sale in this city...".¹⁶³

Similarly:

"...NEW MUSIC AND MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS,
Arrived this day by the Diana from London,
and sold by
Corri and Sutherland, Music Sellers

...N.B. As many are of the opinion that they save money by commissioning their instruments from London (without considering the expences, such as freight, box, shipping, insurance, &c. &c.), C. and S. assure them that they are determined not only to sell at the London prices, but always keep a large stock; so that purchasers from them have the advantage of chusing for themselves...whereas those who commission from London must take their chance of whatever instrument is sent them, which often turns out very ill...".¹⁶⁴

These close links with London were maintained after Domenico Corri, *La Miniatrice* and their daughter, Sofia, left Edinburgh to go and live in London, in 1788.¹⁶⁵ It is more than likely that Domenico's younger brother, Natale, took over the management of the business in Edinburgh. Advertisements reveal that after Corri had moved to London and established himself in that city, he maintained close links with the shop in Edinburgh:

"...CORRI & Co. have now imported from LONDON, an entire new assortment of the very best MUSIC and MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS, which will be found upon the most reasonable terms...besides having a partner in London, CORRI and Co. have settled a Correspondence on the Continent...It is their intention to bring down from London, regularly every month, the New Musical Productions of Merit; at the same time, if any particular article is wanted sooner, it may be had in the course of a week, at the *extra* expense of conveyance by mail coach.

Among their NEW STOCK of INSTRUMENTS, are the following, viz - LONGMAN and BRODERIP's Patent Piano Fortes, on *quite new construction*, which for delicacy of touch and beauty of tone are thought to excel any hitherto invented...BROADWOOD's Piano Fortes, *with a new improvement*, by which the tone is rendered remarkably clear and brilliant, and a variety of other Piano Fortes. ALSO, some single and Double HARPSICHORDS at second hand, which will be sold very cheap.

¹⁶³ EEC, 30.10.1786; 4.11.1786; 11.11.1786; 18.11.1786.

¹⁶⁴ EEC, 30.11.1786.

¹⁶⁵ The date of their departure to London seems to have been the cause of some conjecture: "When his partner James Sutherland died in 1790, Domenico betook himself to London...", Farmer, *History*, 295; "...in 1790 he [Domenico Corri] and Signora Corri again moved to London...", BDA, III, 510; the date of their move to London was 1788 - "In 1788 the family left Scotland & came to settle in England" University of Glasgow, Euing collection, R.d. 84-89, 65.

And the greatest choice of VIOLINS, TENORS,
 VIOLONCELLOS, FLUTES, HAUTBOYS, GUITTARS, &c. &c...".¹⁶⁶

Similarly:

"MUSIC,
 AND
 MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS,
 Just arrived from London.
 MESSRS. CORRI & CO. North Bridge-Street, beg leave to acquaint
 their Friends and the Public, that they have just received from
 London a CAPITAL ASSORTMENT of MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS, which
 will be found particularly deserving the attention of the Public, as
 they have been chosen with the greatest care from the different
 manufactories by D. CORRI himself...".¹⁶⁷

As well as Domenico Corri sending music and instruments to
 Edinburgh his brother, Natale, also travelled to London:

"CARD.
 CORRI, DUSSEK, & Co...present their respectful compliments to the
 Public, and beg leave to inform them, that Mr NATALE CORRI, one of the
 Partners, is to be in London in the course of this Month, and will
 undertake COMMISSIONS for the PURCHASE of all sorts of MUSICAL
 INSTRUMENTS, viz. Church or Chamber Organs – Small and Grand Piano
 Fortes – Pedal Harps – Military Instruments, &c. &c. *new or second-*
hand...Just received by the last Ships, at their Shop on the North
 Bridge, a Complete Assortment of INSTRUMENTS and NEW MUSIC...".¹⁶⁸

After the death of James Sutherland in 1790,¹⁶⁹ the Edinburgh
 firm continued as Corri & Co. From about 1796 another shop was
 added to the one at the Bridges, at 8 South St. Andrew Street (in the
 New Town), which remained open until 1801. It is clear from the
Minutes of the Musical Society that *La Miniatrice*, and probably
 Domenico too, had intended to leave Edinburgh before 1788. As early
 as 1785 they had intimated their desire to do so to the Society, as a
 note in the *Minutes* from March of that year revealed:

"...having taken into consideration MRS Corris indispositions & her
 long absence from the concert and that soon she intends to leave
 this country, are of opinion that her Salary ought to be continued
 only to the Twenty fifth of May & that if she remains after that time
 in this country & is able to perform the Directors will enter into an

¹⁶⁶ *EEC*, 8.1.1791. An advertisement dating from a few years later announced "...a very large assortment of GRAND and SMALL PIANO FORTES..." including Broadwood, Longman and Broderip "... (with an additional Octave) ...", Houston and Culliford instruments. *EEC*, 30.5.1796.

¹⁶⁷ *EEC*, 10.12.1791.

¹⁶⁸ *EEC*, 4.6.1795.

¹⁶⁹ The *CM* announced a "SALE OF MUSIC AND MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS. THE Copartnership of Corri and Sutherland being Dissolved by the death of James Sutherland...the whole stock of MUSIC and MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS are now selling off by public sake, at reduced prices...As the stock must be positively disposed of, the goods will be sold at below prime cost, so that better bargains may be depended on than have ever been exposed to sale in this city." *CM*, 27.5.1790. A similar advertisement appeared in *CM*, 15.7.1790.

Engagement with her at so much a night for her performance – They are further of opinion that MR Corri should be continued at his former Salary of forty pounds Sterling if he remains in this country.”¹⁷⁰

How far Corri's financial matters played a part in this decision is unclear and open to speculation. Both Obertello and Johnson have noted that such considerations were indeed the principal reason for Corri, *La Miniatrice* and Sofia leaving Edinburgh.¹⁷¹ In his *Life* Corri gave two reasons for his leaving the Scottish capital: he noted that the health of *La Signora* was “much impaired” by the Scottish climate, and also “for an opportunity of cultivating the talents of my daughter, which at the early age of four years enabled her to play at the Edinburgh concert; and when no more that fifteen, to perform with [Luigi] Marchesi, at the Hanover-Square Rooms with unexampled success”.¹⁷² Scotland was notorious for its harsh climate,

¹⁷⁰ EMS, *Minutes*, 25.3.1785.

¹⁷¹ Obertello, *Una Famiglia*, 253, n. 32. “[Corri] started various publishing exploits in Edinburgh and then, leaving other people to tidy up the mess behind him, moved to London permanently...”. Johnson, *Music and Society*, 57.

¹⁷² Corri, *Life*, unpaginated. Sofia Giustina Corri was born in Edinburgh on 1.5.1775. In common with many children of professional musicians she was taught music, initially at least, by her parents. Her first public appearance was in Edinburgh in 1779, probably at one of the Musical Society concerts – Corri noted in his *Life* that her début was “at the Edinburgh concert”. When the family left Edinburgh in 1788, she was thirteen years old. She returned to Edinburgh in 1790, when she appeared alongside Urbani and Giornovich at Saint Cecilia's Hall. A reviewer commented:

“ST CECILIA

Miss Corri's Concert on Tuesday, attracted to ST CECILIA'S HALL, a very numerous and brilliant assembly, who were highly gratified with a selection of very charming Music. – Miss Corri certainly possess powers that must soon conduct her to a very distinguished situation in the musical world. Her manner is evidently formed on the best models of the *Italian School*; and when her voice is more expanded, we venture to say, that with the judicious instructions of her father, she cannot fail of becoming a very accomplished singer. In addition to her vocal exertions, she gave a pleasing proof of her skill on the Piano Forte, in a very beautiful Sonata, the composition of Kozeluck...”.

CM, 29.4.1790. Her London début was at the Hanover Square Rooms in a Salomon concert in 1791. The *Gazetteer* remarked that “Her voice is pleasing and flexible, and it has considerable compass. Her ear is admirably correct, and...she evinced much skill as a musician. Upon the whole Miss Corri promises to become a very distinguished ornament to the profession.” *Cit.* Fuller, *Sophie The Pandora Guide to Women Composers* (London: Pandora, 1994), 110. It is possible that Domenico Corri had met Salomon in Edinburgh, as the *Minute* books of the Musical Society record a payment of £25.0.0. to “Mr Salomon” in 1783. EMS, *Minutes*, 27.6-28.11.1783. The *Courant* advertised concerts in which Salomon would be appearing: EEC, 12.7.1783; 14.7.1783; 2.8.1783; 4.8.1783. Sofia would have been eight years old, and Salomon may have heard her sing or play, if not at a concert, perhaps in an informal setting. Simon McVeigh has stressed the importance of these professional connections in advancing the careers of musicians, and has noted that: “Much employment came via other musicians...influential musicians could always find ways into the profession for relative and apprentices.” McVeigh, *Concert Life*, 185. In the summer of 1791 Sofia Corri returned again to Edinburgh, this time with Jan Ladislav Dussek. Concerts were advertised: CM, 18.7.1791; 23.7.1791; 25.7.1791. In 1792 Sofia married Jan Ladislav Dussek. A short entry on Sofia is found in Sadie, Julie Ann and Samuel, Rhian eds *The New Grove Dictionary of Women Composers* (London: Macmillan, 1994), 151; *The International Encyclopedia of Women Composers* (New York: Cohen, 1987), I, 165-166, this includes an extensive bibliography.

and Corri and *La Miniatrice* were not the first foreign musicians who cited this as one of their reasons for leaving Scotland. The violinist Giuseppe Puppo only a few years before, had informed the Musical Society that he "...found this Climate too Severe".¹⁷³ When Daniel Defoe visited in the first half of the century, he remarked that:

"...we were welcom'd into it [Scotland] with such a Scots Gale of Wind, that, besides the Steepness of the Hill, it oblig'd us to quit our Horses, for real Apprehensions of being blown off...I can truly say, I never was sensible of so fierce a Wind, so exceedingly keen and cold, for it pierc'd our very Eyes, that we could scarcely bear to hold them open".¹⁷⁴

Writing from Edinburgh half a century later, in 1775, Edward Topham observed that:

"The natives of this Country, who have travelled much into warmer climates, tell you that Scotland is far colder than England, and that you cannot clothe yourself too warmly in winter...The weather is much more changeable than it is in England, and frequently you experience all the seasons in one day...The most particular effect which I find of this Climate, is the Winds; which here reign in all their violence, and seem indeed to claim the country as their own. A person who has passed all his time in England cannot be said to know what a wind is: he has zephyrs, and breezes, and gales, but nothing more; at least they appear so to me after having felt the hurricanes of Scotland".¹⁷⁵

In July 1788, Luigi Angiolini noted that "Non convengono dell'infelicità del loro clima; frattanto hanno un inverno d'interi nove mesi, e nei tre restanti non vi è estate che per qualche quarto d'ora del giorno, né ogni giorno."¹⁷⁶

After leaving Edinburgh, Domenico Corri, *La Miniatrice* and Sofia Corri settled in London,¹⁷⁷ where he continued in his publishing enterprises with his son-in-law, Jan Ladislav Dussek. Corri also rented a room to Lorenzo Da Ponte, who was in London in

¹⁷³ EMS, *Minutes*, 11.12.1777.

¹⁷⁴ Defoe, *Tour thro' the Whole Island of Great Britain*, III, part II, 6.

¹⁷⁵ Topham, *Letters*, 271-272. Similarly:

"At other times, the winds, instead of rushing down with impetuosity, whirl about in eddies, and became still more dreadful. On these occasions it is almost impossible to stir out of doors, as the dust and stones gathered up in these vortices not only prevent your seeing, but frequently cut your legs by the velocity with which they are driven. The Scotch have a particular appellation for this, "*The Stour*".

Topham, *Letters*, 273-274. Similarly, Matthew Bramble writes of the "northern blasts" in Scotland. Smollett, *Humphry Clinker*, III, 10.

¹⁷⁶ "They cannot comprehend how unfortunate their climate is. Winter lasts for nine whole months, and in the remaining three months, it is summer only for fifteen minutes a day - and even then, not every day." (Author's translation.) Angiolini, *Lettere*, 360.

¹⁷⁷ Their spacious house and business premises in Dean Street, Soho, can still be seen.

the last decade of the eighteenth century. Da Ponte wrote of his Italian compatriot and of Dussek in his memoirs:

“While everything smiled in my efforts and prospects I made unfortunately two mistakes which in the end brought misery and affliction into my family and reduced me to the utmost despair. My first mistake was to become entangled with Domenico Corri, a man of some musical talent, but an unstable visionary and sometimes untruthful...The need of a room large enough to contain all my books, which then numbered over 12,000, and still more the excellent position of the house which he lived in, induced me to rent part of his very large shop and finally the whole house. He composed some good music; the famous Dussek was his son-in-law and partner, and his beautiful sonatas sold very rapidly and at high prices in Corri’s shop. Notwithstanding this, both Corri and Dussek were loaded with debt and it seemed as if neither of them had sense enough to manage things properly. Taken in by good appearances and much more by their words and promises, I entered into a sort of association with them; I undertook their debts and paid them punctually. But in less than six months I found myself involved in a terrible mess from which I extricated myself only at very great cost. To be exact, I lost a thousand guineas over these two wretched fellows. Dussek, *insalutato hospite*, went to Paris, and Corri to Newgate whence he was released shortly after by an act of clemency. I was left with a bundle of bills, useful only for lighting the fire when matches were scarce.”¹⁷⁸

It was in London that Domenico Corri died in 1825. His death was recorded in *The Scots Magazine*. The entry reads:

“ – Suddenly, at Hampstead, Mr D. Corri, well known as a composer and teacher of eminence, for the last 50 years, in London and Edinburgh.”¹⁷⁹

The singer, Michael Kelly, remembered Corri and *La Miniatrice* as:

“...a very worthy man, married to a beautiful woman, a native of Rome.”¹⁸⁰

¹⁷⁸ Sheppard, Leslie Alfred ed and transl *Memoirs of Lorenzo Da Ponte. Mozart’s Librettist* (London: Routledge, 1929), 290.

¹⁷⁹ *Scots Magazine*, 7.1825.

¹⁸⁰ Kelly, *Reminiscences*, II, 74.

CHAPTER 6

LESSER FIGURES c. 1760-1784

Apart from Giusto Ferdinando Tenducci, Domenico Corri and *La Miniatrice*, there were many other Italian instrumentalists and singers who visited Edinburgh in the years between 1760 and 1784. Almost all of them were engaged to perform in Edinburgh by the Musical Society, with the notable exception of Signor and Signora Gurrini.

Some of the musicians which the Society hired came from London, such as Peralto Mazzanti, Domenico Luciani, Signor and Signora Puppo. Some (like Corri and *La Miniatrice*) were engaged to come directly from abroad – the *Signori* Doria, perhaps Clementina Cremonini also. As with the Italians discussed in chapter 3, there is a great variation in the length of their stay in Edinburgh – some stayed for only a short while, others remained in Scotland for many years. Some of these figures were well known, and have been the subject of more recent scholarship, although the information tends to relate to their activities in London/Dublin. Some of these singers and musicians, generally the women, are somewhat obscure figures and little is known of their activities before they travelled to Scotland, and even while they were in Edinburgh.

i MARTINO OLIVIERI

Martino Olivieri was employed by the Edinburgh Musical Society to lead their orchestra from 1757. There seem to be very few biographical details about his life,¹ and he does not appear to have published any music. From the records kept by the Society, it is clear that Olivieri was to fill the position that had been left vacant by Pasquali's sudden death in October of that year. The *Minutes* include

¹ Dalyell mentions Olivieri briefly; Dalyell, *Musical Memoirs*, 218, 219. Farmer, in his *History*, only mentions Olivieri's move from the Edinburgh to the Aberdeen Musical Society; Farmer, *History*, 313. While Gray dedicates six lines to him in his article on the Edinburgh Musical Society; Gray, "The Musical Society", 207; Harris, in his section on Tenducci, quotes an advertisement in the *Courant* bearing Olivieri's name; Harris, *Saint Cecilia's Hall*, 119. Olivieri's name is not cited in Johnson, *Music and Society*. Simon McVeigh has suggested that Olivieri may have been in London in 1756, having recently arrived there from Italy. There is, however, no mention of this name in the *BDA*, or the *London Stage*.

the copy of a letter which the Society addressed to a Lady Torphichen less than a week after Pasquali's death:

"...take the trouble to write about Sigr Martini Oliveri...there is a vacancy of a First Fidle to the Musicall Society at Edinr happen'd by the Death of Pasqualli...that if the place was agreeable to Oliveri your Lady had Interest with the Gentlemen to get it for him, The trouble is but small which is to attend regularly and lead the Concert once a week on Friday from Six to Eight at night and to Attend a few rehearsalls when an Oratorio is to be performed for which they gave Pasqualli a Sallary of Fifty pounds a year, he had a Benefit Concert which by his Obliging behaviour turn'd out generally from Twenty to Thirty pounds and upwards with this and what he had by Teaching he made a very handsome leaving for he had as many Schoalers at a Guinea and a half a month as he could attend...".²

The proposition was evidently acceptable to Olivieri, as less than a month later the *Minutes* record that the Society "...very Chearfully agreed to pay Sig.r Olivieri Expences on the road and give the Fifty pounds Sallary in the year as Stipulated, and the Benefit Concert...".³ It is not known where Oliveri travelled from – whether he had previously been working in London or Dublin, but the *Minutes* show that the Society paid him £12.5.6 for his travelling charges.⁴

There are few references to Olivieri in the *Minutes* which the Musical Society kept, excepting the records of the payments of his salary.⁵ While the *Minutes* demonstrate that the main preoccupation of the Society during this period was with finding a singer for their concerts,⁶ it is also clear that Olivieri was fulfilling the terms of his contract and not giving the Society any cause for concern.

Newspaper advertisements reveal that Olivieri performed in concerts with the Italian and Scottish musicians, although unfortunately no mention is made of the music that they performed:

"Mr. GILSON'S CONCERT OF MUSICK will be performed on Tuesday next, the 10th of January 1758 in the Assembly-hall. – The vocal parts to be performed by Signora Mazzanti, Miss Rodburn, Mr. Gilson, and the chorus by the boys of Heriot's hospital; the instrumental parts by Signor Olivieri, and others...The plan of the

² EMS, *Minutes*, 18.10.1757.

³ EMS, *Minutes*, 11.11.1757.

⁴ "...Mr Olivieri ½ year to 1st June
Do Traveling [sic] Charges £ 37. 5.6
[total expenditure £646.17.2]",
EMS, *Minutes*, 6.1757-6.1758. Ten years later, the Society paid Arrigoni £10.0.0 travelling charges from Dublin.

⁵ EMS, *Minutes*, 6.1757-6.1758; 6.1758-6.1759; 6.1759-6.1760; 6.1760-6.1761.

⁶ EMS, *Minutes*, 11.1757; 10.11.1757; 22.12.1757; 12.1.1758; 17.2.1758; 18.3.1760; 15.1.1761.

Musick will be delivered at the door of the Assembly-hall the night of the performance, and may be had before the concert at Mr. Gilson's house."⁷

On one occasion, however, we find an advertisement for a performance of *La Serva Padrona*:

"On Wednesday next the 14th inst. at the Assembly-hall, will be performed Signor Olivieri's concert of Musick, which is to be an opera, called LA SERVA PADRONA (composed by Pergolese) being a very fine entertainment..."⁸

As the advertisement dates from 1759, it is some four years before the *Signori* Gurrini and their company performed Pergolesi's opera in Edinburgh and is possibly the first time that an Italian comic opera was given in Scotland.

From 1761 Olivieri's name disappears temporarily from the records kept by the Edinburgh Musical Society. It seems that in that year Olivieri told the directors of the Society that he planned to return to Italy. This is recorded in the *Minutes* in the form of a letter which the Society addressed to Ferdinando Arrigoni in Dublin about the vacancy which would arise when Olivieri left – the Society wrote to Arrigoni that: "...Oliveri [*sic*] has told us privatly [*sic*] he must return to Naples in the Spring to his family..."⁹ It is not clear from the *Minutes* of the Society as to the reasons why Olivieri left, although his subsequent re-employment would lead one to conclude that he was not dismissed from service as some of the other singers and musicians were.¹⁰

In 1763 a new agreement between Olivieri and the Society is noted in the *Minute* books, at a slightly reduced salary.¹¹ After 1765, Olivieri's name disappears altogether from the Society's books, and according to Farmer's account of the Aberdeen Musical Society, Olivieri moved there in that year to lead their orchestra.¹²

The few details that there are about the period which Olivieri spent in Scotland are augmented slightly by an advertisement which

⁷ EEC, 5.1.1758. Also EEC, 31.1.1758; 2.2.1758; 25.2.1758; 23.3.1758; 30.3.1758; 22.1.1758; 16.2.1760; 6.2.1764; 26.3.1764.

⁸ EEC, 10.2.1759.

⁹ Copy of a letter to Ferdinando Arrigoni in Dublin. EMS, *Minutes*, 6.1.1761.

¹⁰ For example: "The Directors Considering the Insolent and Impertinent beheavour [*sic*] of Mr Piscatore do from this day dismiss him from their Service in the Concert". EMS, *Minutes*, 26.2.1761; "...it was necessary to acquaint Signora Mazzanti that the Society had no further occasion for her Service...", EMS, *Minutes*, 27.11.1761.

¹¹ "...Agreed to Engage Signor Oliveri [*sic*] and to allow him fourty guineas a year to play in the Concert". EMS, *Minutes*, 18.8.1763.

¹² Farmer, *Music Making*, 46. In his *History*, Farmer states that Olivieri moved from Edinburgh to Aberdeen three years later, in 1768. Farmer, *History*, 313.

appeared in the *Edinburgh Evening Courant* in the summer of 1768. This states that Olivieri was very ill and unable either to play or teach:

“For the benefit of Mr OLIVIERI (who is in a very bad state of health) on Wednesday next the 27th inst. will be performed a Grand Concert of Vocal and Instrumental MUSIC, under the direction of Mr Tenducci. Particulars of the entertainment will be expressed in the hand-bills... Mr Tenducci acquaints, that all the professors of music will not only perform that night, but exert their utmost interest for a brother professor in distress, who is not capable to wait on anybody.”¹³

From the little information that has been uncovered so far, it is evident that Olivieri was a violinist and composer of some merit, as there are several references to his skill as a performer in the *Minutes* of the Society. The *Minutes* note that “...We have got a very great performer on the Violin Signor Martino Olivieri he far excells Passerini and Pasquali, we have now a very fine Concert”.¹⁴

When Olivieri applied to the Society for an increase in his salary, they willingly obliged:

“...application made in behalf of Mr Olivieri to have his Sallary augmented to Seventy Guineas being the Sallary he formerly had and being the Sallary which Mr Arrigoni at present has, and as considering Mr Olivieri’s great merit as a performer and readiness to do everything in his power to oblige the Society Do agree...”¹⁵

Olivieri’s name was still known in the 1780s when he was mentioned alongside Nardini and Ferrari in an advertisement in the *Courant*:

“MR SKIRVING begs leave to acquaint such Gentlemen in Edinburgh as wish to learn or improve their playing on the Violin...He is possessed of a very favourite collection of manuscript solos, composed by Violinists of the first name in Europe...Among other unprinted solos in his possession are several by the celebrated Nardini, Ferrari and Olivieri, with the manner of bowing marked, agreeable to the practice of and the adagio movements embellished with the various graces peculiar to these distinguished masters...”¹⁶

ii SIGNOR & SIGNORA GURRINI

Biographical details about Signor and Signora Gurrini are very few and far between – indeed, they are among the Italian musicians who travelled to Scotland in this period about whom the

¹³ EEC, 20.7.1768.

¹⁴ EMS, *Minutes*, 12.1.1758.

¹⁵ EMS, *Minutes*, 17.1.1764.

¹⁶ EEC, 2.2.1782. Dalyell writes of William Skirving’s transcriptions that they were “all clean and accurate.” Dalyell, *Musical Memoirs*, 219.

least seems to be known.¹⁷ The importance of their contribution to cultural life in Edinburgh is, however, beyond any doubt. For Rosenfeld the *Signori Gurrini* are "The first foreign travelling opera company..."¹⁸ who visited Scotland. Furthermore, in a period when the debate between the supporters of the Kirk and the supporters of the stage was very much alive, their productions were not only very well attended, but also extremely well received.

The *Signori Gurrini* arrived in Scotland in the summer of 1763 and stayed only for a couple of months presenting productions of comic operas, including Pergolesi's *La Serva Padrona*. Their arrival in Edinburgh was advertised in the *Courant*:

"The Managers, studious to gratify the town with every new entertainment which comes within the compass of their abilities, have the pleasure of informing the public, that they have prevailed on some eminent Performers of the

ITALIAN BURLETTA;

OR

COMIC OPERA,

To visit this metropolis for a short time. This band of music will consist of the very best hands the managers can procure; and the Orchestra enlarged accordingly. The first representation will be, of that universally admired composition, called,

LA SERVA PADRONA

OR

THE MAID THE MISTRESS.

Tickets are printed for the occasion: And altho' the expenses are large, yet to gratify that curiosity which must arise, in regard to a performance never before exhibited in this country, the entertainments will be only at the *Common Price*. Books, in which the opera is translated into English, will be sold at the doors of the house..."¹⁹

Two days later, another advertisement for the *burletta* appeared in the newspaper:

"To-morrow...will be performed (for the first time in this kingdom) an

ITALIAN BURLETTA;

OR

COMIC OPERA

of two acts, called

LA SERVA PADRONA

OR

THE MAID THE MISTRESS

¹⁷ A short entry on Gurrini is found in the *BDA*, VI, 452. The Gurrini are mentioned in Rosenfeld, Sybil "Foreign Theatrical Companies in Great Britain in the 17th and 18th Centuries" *The Society for Theatre Research Pamphlet Series* 4, 1954-1955: 1-41, and their performances in Ireland are detailed in Walsh, *Opera 1705-1797*. They are not listed in Johnson, *History*, or Farmer, *History*.

¹⁸ Rosenfeld, *Foreign Theatrical Companies*, 37.

¹⁹ *EEC*, 18.6.1763.

(The music composed by PARGOLESI [*sic*]).
 With a grand overture composed by
 Signior J'OMELLI [*sic*],
 and a grand piece of music after the first act.
 The best hands in the kingdom will be added to the band. Among
 these is Signior TODI, who has never performed in this kingdom.
 The whole will be conducted, by
 SIGNIOR ARRIGONI.
 ...Books of the Burletta, translated into English, will be sold at the
 doors of the theatre.
 No person, on any account, can be admitted behind the scenes."²⁰

From the review which was printed shortly afterwards in the
Courant, the performance was both well attended and very well
 received:

"On Tuesday evening was performed at the Theatre, that famous
 Burletta of Pargolesi, [*sic*] called LA SERVA PADRONA, to a most
 crowded and polite audience. The band of music was the finest ever
 heard there; and the whole entertainment gave universal delight and
 satisfaction. The action of Signior Gurrini, who play'd the part of
 the old man, was particularly excellent; and Signora Gurrini, who
 play'd the part of his maidservant, sung several songs with
 uncommon approbation; the duets in particular were remarkably
 fine; and the last, where humour and harmony were so happily
 blended, was encored and repeated to the general applause of every
 person.
 The overtures were admirably performed. – Signor Arrigoni
 conducted the band, and Signor Santo Lapis played the harpsichord.
 It was allowed by the best judges, that no musical entertainment
 could be better executed."²¹

As the *Courant* announced a few days later that "...The ITALIAN
 BURLETTA continues to be performed with universal applause..."²²
 Gurrini's company also staged a number of other productions. There
 were performances of Carbonini's *Il Giocatore* "...The principal parts
 by Signor and Signora Gurrini. With three grand Overtures. The first
 composed by the Earl of Kelly. The second by Signor Jommelli. The
 third by Mr. Abel..."²³ There were also performances of *Il Tracollo*,²⁴
*The Beggar's Opera*²⁵ and Jommelli's *L'Uccellatrice*.²⁶

²⁰ EEC, 20.6.1763; 22.6.1763.

²¹ EEC, 22.6.1763.

²² EEC, 25.6.1763 and 27.6.1763.

²³ EEC, 25.6.1763 and 27.6.1763. Another performance of *Il Giocatore* was advertised on
 23.8.1763.

²⁴ EEC, 9.7.1763 and 11.8.1763.

²⁵ EEC, 16.8.1763.

²⁶ EEC, 18.8.1763 and 20.8.1763.

iii FERDINANDO ARRIGONI

Ferdinando Arrigoni is another of the Italian musicians who travelled to Edinburgh to perform at the Musical Society concerts about whom very little is known.²⁷ While there is some information about his activities in Edinburgh, still less is known of his background and musical training, and there even seems to have been some confusion surrounding his identity.²⁸

What is certain is that before he was employed by the Edinburgh Musical Society, Ferdinando Arrigoni had been living and working in Dublin for some years. The *Musical Calendar* states that he conducted the band at the "Great Britain-street Gardens" between 1758 and 1762, and lists a number of benefits at which Arrigoni performed, including ones at which he played some of his own compositions.

Few of Arrigoni's compositions seem to have reached print: dating from 1750 there is a little minuet, which was published by John Johnson in London in *The Compleat Tutor for the Violin*,²⁹ while a five-movement sonata for two violins and basso continuo appeared in a collection of sonatas issued by C. and S. Thomson in London some years later, in 1764, after Arrigoni had moved to

²⁷ Ferdinando Arrigoni is not to be found in contemporary eighteenth- and nineteenth-century dictionaries, such as Sainsbury, *Dictionary*. He is not listed in the *London Stage* or the *BDA*. Similarly, Arrigoni does not feature in the work of scholars of eighteenth-century Scottish music, such as Farmer, *History*; Johnson, *Music and Society*; Gray, "The Musical Society". Arrigoni is referred to only in passing in Harris, *Saint Cecilia's Hall*, 77, 221.

²⁸ This confusion appears to have come about as a result of two musicians sharing the same surname; Carlo Arrigoni and Ferdinando Arrigoni. Carlo, who seems to have received greater attention from scholars, died c. 1743, so advertisements dating from after that year which mention only a surname have caused some confusion. For example, in Deutsch:

"...On Wednesday [September 1756] will be performed, at the Cathedral, in the Morning, Mr Purcel's 'Te Deum' and 'Jubilate', with Dr Boyce's additions...The instrumental parts by Signor Arrigoni, Mr Thompson, Mr Millar, Mr Adcock, Mr Messinge."

Jackson's Oxford Journal, 4.9.1756, cit. Deutsch, *Handel*, 777. On 778 Deutsch writes: "Carlo Arrigoni, lutenist and composer, died about 1743; the leader...was probably a violinist of the name Arrizoni...". This confusion of identities is discussed briefly in Dean, Winton "An Unrecognised Handel Singer: Carlo Arrigoni" *Musical Times*, cxviii 1977, 556. On Carlo Arrigoni see: *BDA*, I, 127; Schmidl, *Carlo Dizionario Universale dei Musicisti* (Milan: Sozogno, 1937), I, 74 and suppl. 41-42; Boydell *Musical Calendar*, 271; Walsh *Opera 1705-1797*, 45; Dean, Winton "An Unrecognised Handel Singer: Carlo Arrigoni" *Musical Times* cxviii (1977), 556-558.

²⁹ *The Compleat tutor for the violin. Containing the best and easiest instructions for learners to obtain proficiency. To which is added a choice collection of the most celebrated Italian, English and Scotch tunes with several pieces for two violins* (London: Johnson [c. 1750]), see page 482.

Edinburgh³⁰ (see pages 483-491). This sonata shows that Arrigoni was, indeed, an accomplished musician – O’Keeffe called him: “...Arrigoni, the Italian prime violin...”.³¹ Unusually, it is the second violin part which has the most technically demanding material, with stretches out of first position combined with string crossings, and shifts up to sixth position mixed with string crossings in the *Vivace* first movement. The last-movement *Giga* also includes a demanding passage of string crossings. There are a number of elements in this sonata which are Italian late-Baroque in spirit. This is most immediately evident, perhaps, in the trio sonata instrumentation of two violins and continuo, and in the inclusion of such movements as the *Giga* and the *bourrée*. It is also present in the rhythmic energy and vitality of some of the movements – in particular, the opening *Vivace* and the final *Giga* – and the delicate expansiveness of the short, binary form, *Aria* (marked *Adagio*). An interesting feature of this sonata is that the second violin part is considerably more difficult than that for the first. This suggests that the second violin was intended to be played by the teacher, and the first by the pupil.

The most information about Arrigoni’s activities come from the period just before he was employed by the Edinburgh Musical Society – the two parties corresponded for some time on this matter. The Society originally intended for Arrigoni to replace Martino Olivieri, who had led the orchestra from after Nicolò Pasquali’s death in 1757:

“...we gave Pasquali £50 – however we have since given Oliveri £60 a year and you shall have the same...From what I have heard of your obliging manner and Discretion, this is the Place in the World you might Set down with Ease and Certainty, however you may advice for your Self and let us know [Sonatas?] we must look out – for Oliveri has told us privatly he must return to Naples in the Spring to his family, otherways nothing Else would make him leave the place”.³²

The *Minutes* of the Society show that the Directors were keen to entice Arrigoni over to Edinburgh – in the same letter they used the prospect of profitable teaching as a lure:

“...You desire to know what Certainty there is for the Sallary from only the Edin.r Mussical [*sic*] Society...And as to your Encouragement for Teaching such a hand by all accounts you

³⁰ *Six sonatas for two violins and a violoncello with a thorough bass for the harpsichord. Compos’d by Sigr. Zanni, Sigr. Zimmerman, Sigr. Anetti, Sigr. Rozelli & Sigr. Aragoni* (London: C. & S. Thomson, 1764).

³¹ O’Keeffe, *Recollections*, I, 295.

³² EMS, *Minutes*, 6.1.1761.

are...and with a pretty little voice plays enough on the Harpsichord to teach that Instrument and Singing if that is the Case is in my oppinion [*sic*] that you may Just have what Schoalers you please, and you know its Schoalars makes a Good Benefit, Pasqualli was a Sickly man and did not give himself much trouble in teaching, he understood the harpsichord and played a little and taught singing and by that means he always had what Schoalars he inclined to teach at a Guinea & half for 12 Lessons...".³³

A note from just over a month later, however:

"...I heave heard so much to your Advantage that I am sorry our Corospondance [*sic*] did not begin Sooner...we accepted [*sic*] the Offer of another Gentleman who is not yet arrived and we don't know what may happen before next winter you may Engage for the Summer in Dublin".³⁴

The Society's new leader seems not to have been entirely to their satisfaction, as at the end of that same year the Directors wrote again to Arrigoni, who was still in Dublin, stating that:

"...I am now at liberty to renew my proposal to you of being first fidle in our concert, our Sallary I wrote to you was £60 pounds a year and I See you askd [*sic*] £70...Il [*sic*] get the Gentlemen to give you ten pounds in a present as traviling [*sic*] Charges...as you teach the harpsichord & singing you may depend upon what teaching you please & Scholars alwise makes a good benefitt...".³⁵

Evidently there seems to have been some delay in Arrigoni's reply to this last letter, as some six weeks later the *Minutes* note: "Wrote again to Signor Aragonie in Dublin and offered him £60 a year & ten pound as Travailing Charges".³⁶ The matter had still not reached a satisfactory conclusion by April of the following year, 1762. A note in the *Minutes* of the Society reveals that:

"...I observe you have heightened your Terms a little...However I am so much Satisfied that it would make an agreeable Settlement on both sides, that I got our Gentlemen to make a Stretch and agree to yours terms [*sic*] and for three years too...we shall expect you in June if possible...I mentioned £60 of Sallary the highest ever we give to the Best Masters...".³⁷

The subsequent references to Arrigoni in the *Minutes* of the Society are all to the payments of his salary:

"...By Mr Arrigoni's	
Traveling Charges	£ 10.10.0
By Ditto Eight Months Salary	
to 1 June 1763	£ 49. 0.0

³³ EMS, *Minutes*, 6.1.1761.

³⁴ EMS, *Minutes*, 12.2.1761.

³⁵ EMS, *Minutes*, 13.11.1761.

³⁶ EMS, *Minutes*, 28.12.1761.

³⁷ EMS, *Minutes*, 17.4.1762.

[total expenditure £723.19.2]”,³⁸

“...By Mr Arrigoni’s Salary
one yeas to do [1.6.1764] £73.10.0
[total expenditure £937.4.8]”,³⁹

The *Minutes* show that they employed Arrigoni continuously until 1771. They provide little other information as to Arrigoni’s activities while he was in Edinburgh, but it may be assumed that he taught as well as performed – voice, harpsichord as well as his own instrument, the violin. Harris states that Arrigoni taught one of the Reinagle brothers,⁴⁰ and there is evidence that he owned a harpsichord at his lodgings, as it was offered up for sale in 1769:

“To all LOVERS of MUSIC
To be sold by public voluntary roup, on Tuesday the 21st curt.
between the hours of 10 and 12 before-noon, in the house of Mr
Arrigoni opposite the British Linen Company’s office, Canongate,⁴¹
AN exceedingly fine DOUBDE [*sic*] HARPSICHORD, made by Ruker,
who is reckoned by judges one of the best makers in Europe. The
Harpsichord may be seen any day before the roup, from 12 o’clock
to two, at Mr Arrigoni’s house.
Any person inclined for the same, may treat with Mr Arrigoni, for a
private bargain.”⁴²

There seems to be relatively little information from other sources as to the music which Arrigoni played while he was in the Scottish capital. From advertisements, it is clear that he led the orchestra of the Italian burletta company which brought a number of comic operas to Scotland in the early part of the 1760s. In the summer of 1763 they performed Pergolesi’s *La Serva Padrona*,⁴³ and *Il Tracollo*,⁴⁴ alongside Carbonini’s *Il Giocatore*.⁴⁵ A newspaper reviewer commented that:

“...The Overtures were admirably performed.
– Signor Arrigoni conducted the band, and Signor Santo Lapis
played the harpsichord. It was allowed by the best judges that no
musical entertainment could be better executed.”⁴⁶

³⁸ EMS, *Minutes*, 6.1762-6.1763.

³⁹ EMS, *Minutes*, 6.1763-6.1764. Similarly: 6.1764-6.1765; 6.1765-6.1766; 6.1766-6.1767; 6.1767-6.1768; 6.1768-6.1769; 6.1769-6.1770; 6.1770-6.1771.

⁴⁰ “Owing to his brother Hugh’s growing fame as a ‘celloist, Joseph relinquished his instrument, and proceeded under Aragoni and Pinto to master the viola.” Harris, *Saint Cecilia’s Hall*, 77.

⁴¹ See page 564.

⁴² EEC, 11.3.1769; 18.3.1769.

⁴³ EEC, 20.6.1763; 22.6.1763; 2.7.1763.

⁴⁴ EEC, 11.8.1763.

⁴⁵ EEC, 25.6.1763; 27.6.1763.

⁴⁶ EEC, 22.6.1763.

There is little other information about the music that Arrigoni performed in Edinburgh. In a period when the advertisements for concerts were becoming more detailed (often referring to the performance of particular songs or instrumental compositions), those announcing Arrigoni's benefit concerts do not provide much detail. A typical advertisement for one of Arrigoni's benefit concerts is unspecific in this respect, mentioning only the date and place of the concert:

"On Tuesday, the 28th of February 1764, will be performed at ST CECILIA'S HALL, Niddry's Wynd, SIGNOR ARRIGONI'S CONCERT OF VOCAL and INSTRUMENTAL MUSIC. Tickets to be had at Balfour's coffee-house, at Messrs Bremner's and Stuart's Music Shop, and at Signor Arrigoni's Lodgings at Mr. Miller's Merchant over-against the British Linen Company's office Canongate. Price 2s. 6d. each. To begin at six o'clock".⁴⁷

Also:

"On Tuesday the 12th of March...Mr GILSON'S CONCERT OF ANCIENT AND MODERN MUSIC,
Consisting of SONGS, DUETS and GLEES.
The Vocal Parts by Mr Luciani, Mr Gilson, Mr Arrigoni, Mr Smeiton, Mr Scot, and Miss Gilson."⁴⁸

By 1770, the *Minutes* show that the Society had begun to look for a replacement, writing to their London contact, Robert Bremner, that: "...Arrigoni is quite faln off, and we must have a first Fidle...".⁴⁹ After 1771 Arrigoni's name disappears from the *Minutes* of the Society, and they reveal that they had employed Pinto to replace him.

iv SIGNORA PERALTO MAZZANTI

Signora Peralto Mazzanti is another of those Italian singers who travelled to Edinburgh in the course of the eighteenth century who has remained a somewhat obscure figure. While she has been largely overlooked by historians of eighteenth-century music,⁵⁰ and

⁴⁷ EEC, 27.2.1764. Similarly: 28.1.1765; 15.1.1766; 25.1.1766; 12.1.1767; 24.1.1767; 26.1.1768; 7.1.1769; 28.1.1769; 23.1.1771; 2.2.1771.

⁴⁸ EEC, 9.3.1771.

⁴⁹ EMS, *Minutes*, 13.12.1770

⁵⁰ There seems to be little biographical information about Signora Peralto Mazzanti. There is, however, some – though admittedly, very little – information about a Ferdinando Mazzanti (who was presumably related to the Signora, perhaps her husband). Kelly evidently thought highly of Ferdinando Mazzanti, as the Irishman penned a brief, but vivid, description of Mazzanti in his *Reminiscences*:

"Amongst other friends who used to favour me with their company to dinner, was Signor Ferdinando Mazzanti, a native of Rome, who had been formerly a celebrated soprano singer in Italy and Germany...When he first came to

also by historians of music in Scotland during this period,⁵¹ her engagement by the Edinburgh Musical Society (in the latter years of the 1750s and very earliest years of the following decade) provides an interesting insight into the machinations of the Society and what the Society expected from their performers.

From the *Minutes* kept by the Society, it emerges that it was one of the Society's contacts in London (James Callender) who, at the end of 1757, wrote to the Society about a Madam Peralto after having made some enquiries regarding singers for the Society. The letter is found transcribed in the *Minutes* – it not only reveals that the Society was trying to fill the gap which the sudden death of Pasquali had created (at the beginning of the previous month, October), but also what they looked for in a singer (other than musical talent). Furthermore, there is some information relating specifically to Mazzanti – something on her background, how long she had been in England and where she had performed since she had arrived in London:

“...in the Course of my enquiries for a few performers at the Theatre I made an acquaintance with a Lady who had been Educate a Singer from her infancy sung a whole Season at the Opera and at Mr Handells Oratorios as likeways at Ranalaigh as she has a Character as a performer you will find her name in some of the Musick you practice it is Mam Peralto (Mazzanti) She had a very high Sallary from the Opera and the highest appointments given at Ranalaigh I presume upon this she has merit...But upon your late loss of Pasqualli I should imagine you might want something new for the Winter If you can learn enough of her Character as a performer to take a tryall of her for the Winter I believe her demand will be reasonable she is so circumstanced as to be contented to be in a place where she is considered in the light of the first Singer...if you will name any Sallary you please I will endeavour to make her

England he was sixty years of age, and when I knew him was turned seventy. He did not speak a word of English on his first arrival in London, yet, strange as it may appear, for a person at a period of life so advanced, in a very few years he made himself master of the English language, and was fully acquainted with most of the works of our poets and dramatic writers...Mazzanti was a most entertaining companion, possessed a fund of wit as well as information, was full of anecdote, and had a memory scarcely equalled.”

Kelly, *Reminiscences*, II, 169-170.

Ferdinando Mazzanti was still held in high regard when Sainsbury published his *Dictionary* in the second decade of the nineteenth century. The entry on him, however, is short and does not provide much information:

“MAZZANTI, (FERDINANDO) a celebrated composer, violinist and singer, resided, in 1770, at Rome, Dr. Burney speaks highly of his talent. He composed dramatic, sacred, and violin music.”

Sainsbury, *Dictionary*, II, 139.

⁵¹ Details of her employ by the Edinburgh Musical Society are examined in Gray “The Musical Society”, 207-209. No mention of her is to be found in Farmer, *History*; Harris, *Saint Cecilia's Hall*; or Johnson, *Music and Society*.

accept of it. She is an Italian Born has been in England two years and speaks the Language very tolerably She is young and has a genteel appearance and of a very Decent life and Behaviour...She is very willing to teach and I am told is capable".⁵²

The Society's reply to this (also transcribed in the *Minutes*) is equally revealing, detailing not only her duties at the Society, but that – for the salary that the Society was offering – the directors of the Society did not expect to be able to engage a singer such as Regina Mingotti, Giulia Frasi or Colomba Mattei:

"...How far Madam Mazzanti would please here I know not, as we have very good Judges but from what I hear from Severalls who know her I hope she will answer very well, to be sure we Cannot Expect a first rate Singer for what we can afford...her duty in our Society is very easie only to attend the Concert every Friday night and sing four songs and to attend the rehearsalls and perform in the Oratorio's, of which we generally have four in the year, three in Winter and one in Summer for which we wou'd give a sallary of £100 pounds a year This with her Benefit Concert and the advantage of teaching would be very Considerable: her Concert depends intirely on herself In being Descreet & Obliging which I dare say she will not be Deficient in considering the Compliance we all show to Strangers if our offers are accepted of we would beg she should be down before St. Cecilia's Concert".⁵³

At the same time that the arrangements the Society were making to engage Signora Peralto Mazzanti were underway, the *Minutes* note that the Musical Society had received a letter (this time from Bruges) recommending another singer:

"There is just now come to this place a very famous Singer called Madam Barbarini[,]⁵⁴ a Venetian who has performed here to the great Satisfaction of all the Connoisseurs in Italian Musick you know my Wife is a very good judge of Musical performances She bids me assure you that she is the best Singer she ever heard and that she far excels Avoglio, Passerini or any that ever yet appeared in Edinbr...she is a very discreet sencible [*sic*] well behaved woman, knows perfectly the thorow Base and accompanys Charmingly, she is a midle [*sic*] aged woman and married to a German who is no musician...".⁵⁵

The Society replied in January of the next year, 1758, that:

"...from your Ladys knowledge and Taste in Music we are persuaded we would have thought ourselves extreamly happy in getting her [Barbarini] to come to Edinr But near three months ago we engaged Signora Mazzanti from London who sings well and pleases extreamly

⁵² Copy of a letter from James Callender in London. EMS, *Minutes*, 11.1757.

⁵³ Copy of a letter to James Callender in London. EMS, *Minutes*, 10.11.1757.

⁵⁴ It is not known whether Barbarini did travel to Edinburgh. No mention of her is to be found in any of the editions of *Grove*. Neither is her name listed in *GroveO*, *EitnerQ*; or *FétisB*.

⁵⁵ Copy of a letter from John Stewart in Bruges. EMS, *Minutes*, 22.12.1757.

[sic] the company here so that we are not able to afford anything that may be worth Barbarini's Acceptance. Mazzanti does not play upon the Harpsicord and there are many more Scholars for the Harpsicord and Singing than can get masters here...".⁵⁶

Initially Signora Mazzanti was well received by the Society. There are references in the *Minutes* to the payment of her salary by the Society:

"...Madam Mazzanti 1/2 year to 1 June 1758	£ 50. 0.0
[total expenditure	£646.17.2]" ⁵⁷

"...By Madam Mazzanti one year to 1st June 1759	£100.0.0
[total expenditure	£636.5.3]" ⁵⁸

"...By Madam Mazzanti one years Salary to 1st June 1760	£100.0.0
[total expenditure	£702.7.6]" ⁵⁹

"...By Madam Mazzanti eleven months to 1 June 1761	£91.13.4
[total expenditure	£798.16.0]" ⁶⁰

There seems to be little information from newspaper advertisements relating to the music that Peralto Mazzanti sang while she was in Edinburgh – these advertisements are rather vague, typically giving only notice of the date, time and place of the concert:

"On Monday the 27th March, 1758, by desire of the Honourable Company of HUNTERS, Madam Mazzanti and Signor Olivieri are to have a CONCERT and public breakfast at the Assembly Hall, to begin at twelve o'clock forenoon...".⁶¹

Similarly:

"...Signor Olivieri's concert...Vocal part by Signora Mazzanti and Mrs Mozeen...".⁶²

Somewhat unusually, it is the *Minutes* of the Society which are rather more enlightening on this matter. The *Minutes* note that in March 1760, just over a year after Mazzanti's arrival in Edinburgh, the Society had received:

⁵⁶ Copy of a letter to John Stewart in Bruges. EMS, *Minutes*, 12.1.1758.

⁵⁷ EMS, *Minutes*, 6.1757–6.1758.

⁵⁸ EMS, *Minutes*, 6.1758–6.1759.

⁵⁹ EMS, *Minutes*, 6.1759–6.1760.

⁶⁰ EMS, *Minutes*, 6.1760–6.1761.

⁶¹ EEC, 23.3.1758.

⁶² EEC, 26.1.1760.

“...a Letter from Madam Mazzanti complaining of the neglect of her Benefit and sundry other grievencis [*sic*] desiring an Augmentation of her Salary and leave of absence for 10 weeks in the summer to go to York &c &c...”.⁶³

It is the response to this letter of complaint which reveal that Mazzanti had performed, and continued to perform, only the repertoire which she had brought with her from London (principally extracts from the oratorios of Handel), without learning much new repertoire, or at least enough to satisfy the audiences at the Society concerts.⁶⁴ Once again, there is a transcription in the *Minutes*, this time of the Society’s lengthy (and somewhat irate) reply to Mazzanti’s letter:

“...One reason how you have failed in this is plain, the Company who frequent [*sic*] the Concert as well as the Members are not only of the first rank in the Kingdom but People of great taste in Musick and the generality of them have heard the best Musick and the greatest Masters and singers in Europe, when they attend our Concerts they not only expect good Musick but variety, especly in the singing part. What I must observe however in Place of emproving your voice at home and learning new songs you gave the Concert every night a repetition of the same; You brought to this place about a Doz.n songs and since that you have acquired about half a Doz.n more and these we got from you over and over ~~again~~ so that every body knows what to expect, and even these are sung by you often with an unconcerned air and without any previous study by yourself which does not answer for it is Certain when a Performer does not feel it niver [*sic*] affect the Audience, all this the Publick is very Senscible [*sic*] and must Certainly be disgusted with. As for your ~~Performance~~ want of a Master we have had many good Singers here but none ever stood in need of a Master, if they did at any particular time they found one for themselves, and you have had a high Salary as any of them ever had – and for Musick we have a very great Colection [*sic*] of the finest Compositions which you know has been offer’d to you and what New Musick you want Shall be provided for you...as to your going away 10 weeks in the Summer to York – that we are sorry we Cannot take upon us to grant, our Summer Concerts are alwise well attended & a Singer we must have, its quite inconsistent with our Plan to give a Salary of £100 a year to a Singer and want her all the Summer...we must at any rate recomend [*sic*] to you not only to Study over and Practise at home the Songs you are to Sing every Friday, but likewise that you gett some new Songs, as a constant repetition of a few Songs however good are tiresome...”.⁶⁵

Despite this, it emerges from a note in the *Minutes* that Mazzanti did indeed leave Edinburgh to go and perform south:

“Edinr 5th Decr 1760

⁶³ EMS, *Minutes*, 18.3.1760.

⁶⁴ *London Stage*, 2.2.1756; 17.6.1757; 5.7.1757, and a number of other performances in June, July and August of 1757. A number of performances also listed in the *BDA*, XI, 260, entry under ‘Peralta, Signora’.

⁶⁵ EMS, *Minutes*, 18.3.1760.

Madam Mazzanties first time of performing in the Concert after her return from England.”⁶⁶

The *Minutes* of the Society also show that, some six months after they had answered Mazzanti's grievances, they wrote to one of their contacts in Europe (James Bremner, who was then in Naples) in search of another singer. In an extraordinarily candid letter on the subject the treasurer of the Musical Society noted:

“...There is one thing I must beg youl [*sic*] Endeavour to procure for us and that is a Right Singer, its needless to say what faults the present has, but we are in great want of a successer [*sic*] for her...a woman preferable to a man Good Looks you know bespeakes favour and if she had common sense it would be a great addition However these are only supplements to a Singer If she could teach and play a little on any Instrument it would be a great advantage to her and besides Employing her empty hours [would] perhaps put something in her pocket and upon the whole keep her from thinking too much on a certain Instrument which however long it may please them at first often kicks up their heels in the End – a single woman would do better, but if that would not be got a married one would do If you are oblige to have recourse to the last pray see her husband is not an Idle dron If he could but make up a [Trump?] or play on one it would always bring in something In short a Singer we must have should it be neither man nor woman...the Sallary we now give our Singer is £100. a year the proper way would be to Agree for 50 or 60. less or more as you can agree & according as we have found her merit it might be increast also you'l [*sic*] probably be obliged to allow so much for Travailing Charges...we are of Oppinion [*sic*] they would be better pleased with an agreement for 3 or 4 years as it would be a certainty to them and better for us...”⁶⁷

By the end of the year, the Society had engaged Clementina Cremonini and the Society noted that:

“...now their new Singer had come it was necessary to Acquaint Signora Mazzanti that the Society had no further occasion for her service and as She had been absent at Newcastle Since Septr last, Mr Douglas [the Society's treasurer] was desird [*sic*] to write her...”⁶⁸

From the *Minutes*, however, it seems that Signora Mazzanti returned to Edinburgh in July of 1764 – some three months after the Society had decided to release her from their service.⁶⁹ She was re-employed on a monthly basis, and the *Minutes* show that she remained in Edinburgh for almost a year – until June 1765.⁷⁰ After that date

⁶⁶ EMS, *Minutes*, 5.12.1760.

⁶⁷ Copy of a letter to James Bremner in Naples. EMS, *Minutes*, 15.1.1761.

⁶⁸ EMS, *Minutes*, 27.11.1761.

⁶⁹ “Madam Mazzanti Enterd [*sic*] to Sing in the Concert the 13th day of July 1764 at three pounds Sterling pr month” EMS, *Minutes*, 13.7.1764.

⁷⁰ “...By Signora Mazzanti Do [Salary for one year]
to Do [1st June 1765] £ 18.0.0,
[total expenditure £1019.7.3]”,
EMS, *Minutes*, 6.1764-6.1765.

Signora Mazzanti's name drops from the account books kept by the Society.

v CLEMENTINA CREMONINI

Clementina Cremonini was another Italian singer who has suffered much the same fate as befell Peralto Mazzanti, although perhaps not quite to the same extent, as there are a number of contemporary descriptions of her, and she has been the focus of some more recent scholarship.⁷¹

As Gray notes, in his article on the Edinburgh Musical Society, it is not known whether the singer that James Bremner recommended in his letter from Naples to the Society in Edinburgh was Clementina Cremonini.⁷² What does emerge from the *Minutes*, however, is that Cremonini ended up costing the Society rather more than they hoped. In their letter to Bremner in Italy, the Society had noted that they were giving their principal singer £100.0.0 *per annum*, and that "...the proper way would be to agree for 50 or 60 less or more as you can agree...you'l [*sic*] probably be obliged to allow so much for travailing charges...". The expenses that are noted in the *Minutes*, however, come to almost £300.0.0 – over a third of the Society's total yearly expenditure, which was a far greater proportion than they had hitherto spent on an Italian singer:

"By Signora Cremonini one years Salary comenced [<i>sic</i>] pr Agreement July 1761	£112.0.0
By Ditto the Society Allowed her for Travailing Charges	£100.0.0
By Ditto more which she claims as spent on her Journey stopt by Sickness on the way	£ 56.6.0
By Ditto her allowance to buy clothes at Rome	£ 25.0.0
	£293.6.0
[total expenditure	£830.5.1/2]. ⁷³

⁷¹ She is listed in the *London Stage*, the *BDA*, IV, 37-38 and *GroveO*, I, 1005. No entry on her is, however, to be found in any editions of *Grove*, *FétisB*, or *EitnerQ*. Her contribution to London musical life has been discussed in Terry, *Bach*. Similarly, the time which Cremonini spent in Ireland has been researched by Walsh, and is discussed in *Opera in Dublin 1705-1797*. Unfortunately, as with Mazzanti, Cremonini's brief stay in Scotland has largely been overlooked by writers of Scottish musical history – with the exception, perhaps, of Gray in "The Musical Society", 210-211.

⁷² Gray, "The Musical Society", 211.

⁷³ EMS, *Minutes*, 6.1761-6.1762.

Nevertheless, the Society was clearly pleased with Cremonini, as the *Minutes* note shortly after her arrival that:

“...we have heard our new Singer & I think she will do extremely well...”⁷⁴

and that;

“...we have just now got from Rome a new Singer who sings very prettily...”⁷⁵

Little information about the music that Cremonini sang while she was in Edinburgh comes from newspapers. Advertisements announce only the date, time and venue for the concert, such as the following:

“For the benefit of SIGNORA CREMONINI.

On Tuesday next the 15th inst. at six o’clock in the evening, in the ASSEMBLY-HALL, will be performed a concert of vocal and instrumental musick. Tickets to be had at Balfour’s coffee-house, and at her lodging in Mr Ross’s painters behind the Fountain Well, at 2s. 6d each.”⁷⁶

Similarly:

“On Tuesday the 26th inst. at Mary’s Chapel in Niddry’s Wynd, will be performed, for the benefit of Mr Thomson, a CONCERT of vocal and instrumental music. The vocal parts by Signora Cremonini and Mr Gilson. The instrumental by the best masters. – Tickets to be had at Mr Thomson’s house in Kinloch’s closs, opposite to the head of Niddry’s Wynd, north side of the street, at Balfour’s, John’s Exchange, and Nether-bow coffee-houses, and at Messrs. Bremner and Stewart’s music-shops, price 2s. 6d. each. To begin precisely at six o’clock”⁷⁷

and;

“By Desire of the Honourable Company of Hunters.

SIGNORA CREMONINI is to give a PUBLIC BREAKFAST, with MUSIC, in the ASSEMBLY-HALL, on Saturday the 6th of March, 1762. To begin at half and hour after ten o’clock forenoon.

Tickets to be had at Mr Bremner’s and Mr Stewart’s Music-shops, at Balfour’s and John’s Coffee-houses. and at Signora Cremonini’s Lodgings in Mrs Stewart’s, Morison’s Closs, second door, at 2s 6d each.”⁷⁸

There is also a note from Cremonini in the *Courant* relating to the transfer of the Society’s concerts from St. Mary’s Chapel to St. Cecilia’s Hall:

⁷⁴ EMS, *Minutes*, 13.11.1761.

⁷⁵ Copy of a letter from William Douglas, the Treasurer of the Society, to Ferdinando Arrigoni in Dublin. EMS, *Minutes*, 13.11.1761.

⁷⁶ EEC, 9.12.1761; 12.12.1761.

⁷⁷ EEC, 20.1.1762.

⁷⁸ EEC, 1.3.1762; 3.3.1762.

"Signora CREMONINI returns her most hearty thanks to the ladies and gentlemen who did her the honour to come to her Concert last night. She is extremely sorry, that the Assembly-hall not being got ready in time, a great many of the company could not get admittance into Mary's Chapel [*sic*], but the gentlemen of the Musical Society being so good as to allow her the use of their room for another night. She will give a Concert on Tuesday next, the 22d instant, where the tickets formerly given out will be received."⁷⁹

From the *Minutes* it seems that Cremonini did not find Edinburgh a congenial place, as just over a year after she had arrived, she left for London without permission to do so from the Society:

"...Signora Cremonini had left the place without leave and he [William Douglas] understood she was gone to London, that he had there upon wrote to Mr [Robert] Bremner to wait on her and know if she intended to return or not and he found her inclined to return but in want of money, to offer to take places in the stage coach for her & her mother and even to offer them (as from himself) a little money..."⁸⁰

The *Minutes* record that they paid Signora Cremonini £30.0.0 between June 1762 and June 1763,⁸¹ i.e., in the period which she absconded to London. It is possible that this could be the travelling expenses for the Signora and her mother which the Society were prepared to pay to bring her back to Edinburgh. Evidently, however, this was not successful, and from the *Minutes* it seems that returning to Edinburgh was not what Signora Cremonini intended to do. Less than a month after the above minute, at the beginning of December, is to be found a note ascertaining that the Society intended to take legal action against Cremonini:

"...Orderd [*sic*] the Treasurer to send Cremoninis Contract Bills & the Letters concerning her agreement to some proper person at London to prosecute her for the money of her Travailing Charges also to fullfill [*sic*] her Contract..."⁸²

This was evidently to no avail, as early into the next year, 1763, the directors of the Society decided that they should continue in their action to try to regain the money which they had lost, and also to see if they could engage somebody to replace her:

"...resolved that...should imediately [*sic*] raise a process in chancery against Cremonini for repetition of the money advanced

⁷⁹ EEC, 16.12.1761.

⁸⁰ EMS, *Minutes*, 16.11.1762.

⁸¹ "By Signora Cremonini pr Rect £ 30.0.0
[total expenditure £723.19.2]".

EMS, *Minutes*, 6.1762-6.1763.

⁸² EMS, *Minutes*, 7.12.1762.

her, but as there was no prospect of getting her back, desired Mr Douglas [the treasurer] to write Mr Grant and Accept of the Singer and Harpsicord player her husband...".⁸³

Just over a month after this note in the *Minutes*, Cremonini appeared alongside Gaetano Quilici, Giuseppe Giustinelli and Anna Lucia de Amicis at the King's Opera House in the Haymarket, in a command performance of J. C. Bach's opera of *Orione*. Between 1763 and 1765, she sang with Giusto Ferdinando Tenducci and Giovanni Manzuoli in the pasticcio *Ezio*, in productions of *The Royal Shepherd*, *Adriano in Siria* and *Antigonus*. The *London Stage* notes that Cremonini also sang in a number of benefit concerts, including one for the Mozarts who were in London in 1764 as part of their European tour.⁸⁴ In his *History* Burney wrote of her that:

"...the CREMONINI had more schooling, and attempted more than the Eberardi, as second woman; but was less amiable. Her voice, though a young woman, was in decay, and failed on all occasions of the least difficulty; which, however, did not prevent her from attempting passages that not only required more voice, but more abilities than she could boast."⁸⁵

Again, Burney commented on her lack of voice, writing of her that she was:

"...a good musician, with a modern style of singing, but almost without voice...".⁸⁶

Others were slightly more complimentary, aware of some degree of charm and physical presence:

"...her beauty and voice are by no means so unequally balanced: She has a pretty small pipe, and only a pretty little small person and share of beauty, and does not act ill".⁸⁷

On reading this, one is reminded of the Society's letter to James Bremner in Italy listing what they required from a singer – "...Good Looks you know bespeakes favour and if she had Common Sense [sic] it would be a great addition...".⁸⁸

In 1765 Cremonini travelled to Ireland, where she appeared in productions of *Comus* and *L'Eroe Cinese*, and alongside Nicolò Peretti and Tenducci in *The Royal Shepherd*. She sang the part of Mandane

⁸³ EMS, *Minutes*, 1.1.1763.

⁸⁴ *London Stage*, 5.6.1764, Theatre Royal, Covent Garden.

⁸⁵ BurneyH, IV, 479-480.

⁸⁶ BurneyH, IV, 485.

⁸⁷ Cunningham, Peter ed. *The Letters of Horace Walpole* (London: Henry G. Bohn, 1857), IV, 294, cit. Walsh, *Opera in Dublin 1705-1797*, 139.

⁸⁸ Copy of a letter from William Douglas, the treasurer of the Society, to James Bremner, in Naples. EMS, *Minutes*, 15.1.1761.

in *Artaxerxes* with Peretti and Tenducci in the parts written for them by Arne.

There appears to be no information on Cremonini after 1765.⁸⁹ It is possible that her already failing voice, noted by Burney, finally gave way, and she stopped performing. Whether she remained in Dublin or London, or returned to Italy is not known. When Sainsbury published his *Dictionary* in the 1820s, her name was still known, although the entry is not the most informative, merely relating to the period which she spent in London:

“CREMONINI, a female singer at the opera, in London, from the year 1762 to 1765.”⁹⁰

vi SIGNOR & SIGNORA DORIA

As with a number of the other Italian musicians and singers who travelled to Scotland to perform at the Edinburgh Musical Society concerts, there appears to be little information about Signor and Signora Doria.⁹¹

From the *Minutes* of the Musical Society, it would seem that the Society had received a letter from one of their continental contacts recommending a singer and her harpsichord-playing husband. After the Society had begun legal action against Clementina Cremonini, the *Minutes* record that the directors wrote

⁸⁹ The *BDA* states that records of her career stopped at 1765.

⁹⁰ Sainsbury, *Dictionary*, I, 186.

⁹¹ The various editions of *Grove* are unfruitful – as are *GroveO*; *FétisB*; *EitnerQ*; Schmidl, *Dizionario* and Sainsbury, *Dictionary* have short entries on Signor Doria (nothing on Signora Doria, however). These entries attribute a number of works to him, that in Sainsbury is brief, mentioning only his vocal tutor:

“DORIA, author of *Lessons for the Voice*, published in London at the latter end of the last century (Preston’s Cat.).”

Sainsbury, *Dictionary*, I, 214. There is little more biographical information in the *Eitner*, although it does list some more compositions by Doria:

“Doria, Felice

ein zu London Lebender Gesanglehrer, gab nach Gerber 2 um 1797 heraus:
A Suit of Lessons for Singing. London, for the author. Das br. Mus. besitzt das Werk, stellt es aber unter einem Fragezeichen ins Jahr 1740. Der Verleger würde darüber Gewissheit geben, den der kat. aber nicht verz. Die Bibl. in Darmstadt besitzt von einem Doria eine “Symphonie à gr. orch.” Ms. P. Fraglich ob es der oblige ist, oder ein Späterer dieses Namens.”

Eitner, *Quellen-Lexikon*, III, 234. The entry in Schmidl gives information about Doria while he was still in Italy:

“DORIA FELICE

Compositore, che nella prima metà del secolo XVIII visse a Roma, facendo eseguire nel Palazzo Apostolico un “Componimento pel [sic] Natale” (1740) e una “Cantata per la natività della B.V. [Beata Vergine] (1741).”

Schmidl, *Dizionario*, supp., 264. *RISM* lists (alongside the vocal tutor); 12 *sonates pour violon et basse* ([s.l: s.n., s.a.]); 6 *sonates pour violon et basse* ([s.l: s.n., s.a.]); and another set of 6 *sonates pour violon et basse* ([s.l: s.n., s.a.]).

to this contact, a Mr Grant (later referred to as Abbé Grant) in Rome: "...desired Mr Douglas to write Mr Grant and Accept of the Singer and Harpsichord player her husband...".⁹² These latest Italians to be employed by the Society were most probably Signor and Signora Doria, who performed at their concerts in Edinburgh from 1763 to 1769.

Little information about Signor and Signora Doria comes from the *Minutes* of the Society. A note at the very beginning of their Edinburgh residence, in 1763, records that:

"...Signor Doria was still unprovided in a Sallary...agreed to give him fourty Guineas a year for performing in the Concert on the Harpsichord and Organ as he shall be Desired and attending the Rehearsalls...the Directors agreed that Signor Doria's Sallary shall take place from the time of his Arrival".⁹³

Shortly after this is the first of a number of yearly payments made by the Society to Signor and Signora Doria (her salary agreed and set at the same amount as Cremonini):

"...By Signora Doria's Salary for one year to 1 June 1764	£112.0.0
By Signor Doria's Salary 9 months to do	£ 31.0.0
[total expenditure	£937.4.8]" ⁹⁴

After they had been in Edinburgh for a couple of years, the *Minutes* record that in 1766 the Society was "...to Settle a new Contract with Signor and Madam Dorias [*sic*]".⁹⁵ Negotiations underway that same month, January 1766, the directors of the Society decided that they were going "...to offer Signor & Signora Doria 170£ Sterling of Sallary annuall [*sic*] for three years to come",⁹⁶ almost £30.0.0 more than they had previously been earning after having combined their salaries. Just over a week after, however, is a note stating that the Society had "...agreed to give Signor & Signora Doria's one hundred and Eighty five pounds yearly for three years".⁹⁷ Apart from the record of the yearly payment of their salaries,⁹⁸ there is no other

⁹² EMS, *Minutes*, 1.1.1763.

⁹³ EMS, *Minutes*, 24.11.1763.

⁹⁴ EMS, *Minutes*, 6.1763-6.1764.

⁹⁵ EMS, *Minutes*, 2.1.1766.

⁹⁶ EMS, *Minutes*, 14.1.1766.

⁹⁷ EMS, *Minutes*, 24.1.1766.

⁹⁸ "...By Signor & Signora Doria's Salary
for one year to first of June 1766 £ 133.0.0
[total expenditure £1 181.6.2]",
EMS, *Minutes*, 6.1765-6.1766;
"...By Signor and Signora Doria's Salary
for one year to 1st June 1767 £185.0.0

mention of the *Signori* Doria in the *Minutes* while they were in the employ of the Society.

Little information of the music that Signor and Signora Doria performed while they were in Edinburgh comes from newspaper advertisements. They do, however, mention that Signora Doria included Scots songs in her repertoire and that she sang these alongside the Italian arias that would have been more familiar to her. Advertisements do not specify which songs these were – a typical advertisement for one of her benefit nights was still rather unspecific:

“On Tuesday the 18th of December 1764, will be performed in St Cicelia’s [*sic*] Hall, a CONCERT of Vocal and Instrumental Music for the benefit of SIGNORA DORIA. The Instrumental parts by the best performers. Italian and Scotch songs by Signora Doria. Those LADIES and Gentlemen who will honour Signora Doria with their preference may have tickets at Balfour’s coffee house, at Mess. Bremner and Stuart’s music shops, and at Signora Doria’s house, fifth floor in the first land in Chambers’s Close.”⁹⁹

Perhaps slightly more information about the music that the *Signori* Doria performed comes from the plan books of the Musical Society, which detail the programmes of the Society’s concerts from February 1768. While these plans tend not to specify which song the Signora would sing, they do give details of what purely instrumental music would be performed – and therefore what music her husband would be directing:

“5 Overture of Bach 3 Op
Song Mrs Woodman
Song Sigra Doria

2d Act
6 Overt. of Sprangenberg 7c.
Song Mr Gilson
Song Sigra Doria

3d Act

[total expenditure £955.11.2]”,
EMS, *Minutes*, 6.1766-6.1767;
“...By Mr & Mrs Doria’s Salary
for one year to 1st June 1768 pr Rect £185.0.0
[total expenditure £994.9.1]”,
EMS, *Minutes*, 6.1767-6.1768;
“...By Mr & Mrs Doria’s Salary
for one year to the 1st June 1769 pr Rect £185.0.0
[total expenditure £996.9.9]”,
EMS, *Minutes*, 6.1768-6.1769.
⁹⁹ EEC, 3.12.1764. Similar advertisements (announcing concerts but not detailing the pieces which were to be performed) also found in the EEC editions of 18.1.1764; 16.3.1765; 9.12.1765; 14.12.1765; 1.2.1766; 17.1.1767; 2.3.1767; 4.3.1767; 19.12.1767; 5.3.1768; 7.1.1767.

2 Notturmo of Martini
 Song Mrs Woodman
 Duet Sgra [Doria] & Mr Gilson
 Quatuor Lord Kelly No. 11".¹⁰⁰

Similarly:

"1 Overt of Abel op 1
 Song Mad Doria
 Song Mr Tenducci

2d Act
 [6?] Overt Gallupi [sic] &c
 Song Mad Doria
 10 Con: Corelli
 Song Mr Tenducci

3d Act
 Song Madm Doria
 3 Overture Richter 2 op
 Duett Madm Doria & Mr Tenducci".¹⁰¹

The plan for one of the December concerts from 1768 was, however, slightly different, in that it gave not only details of the purely instrumental pieces which were to be performed, but also the particular arias which the soloists (Signora Doria and Tenducci) were to sing:

"Overture in Joshua
 Song Doria Verrie Dorte [Vorre Dirti]
 Song Tenducci Pious Orgies

2 Act
 Song Tenducci Verde Prati [sic] to the words
 in the Oratorio
 Overture in Stabat Mater by Pasquali
 Duet [?] Dead Scene Judas Maccabeus

3 Act
 Song Tenducci Father of Heaven
 8 Con. Corelli –
 Chorus. Hear us o Lord".¹⁰²

The *Plan Books* also state that the Society gave a number of oratorios while the *Signori Doria* were in Edinburgh, which they would have been involved in – *Alexander's Feast*, *Judas Maccabeus* and Jommelli's *Passione*.

As well as performing at the Society concerts, there would have been opportunities for the Doria to teach music in Edinburgh. From the following advertisement, it is evident that at least Signor

¹⁰⁰ EMS, *Plan Books*, 6.5.1768.

¹⁰¹ EMS, *Plan Books*, 27.1.1769.

¹⁰² EMS, *Plan Books*, 23.12.1768.

Doria taught – the various aspects of keyboard playing thorough bass, fingering and even some (pleasurable!) technical exercises:

“At the desire and by orders of some Persons of distinction, MISS CHRISTIE teaches to play the Harpsicord after the Italian manner; she being the only person to whom the celebrated Signior Doria communicated his excellent method of teaching and fingering, not only plain lessons, but likewise his most comprehensive Scales to every tone on that Instrument for playing a Thorough Bass; these Scales being the most agreeable study that was ever taught in any place of the world for the right understanding the real grounds of music, particularly the Harpsicord...”.¹⁰³

After 1769, the name of Doria disappears from the *Minutes* – the last payment that the Society made to the *Signori* Doria was for the year from June 1768 to June 1769. The *Plan Books* reveal that the last time that the Signora sang at the Society concerts was at the end of May of that year.

The reasons why the Italians left Edinburgh are unknown, but by 1769 their three-year contract had been fulfilled. The *Minutes* show that the Society had met with Giusto Ferdinando Tenducci in June 1768 and had agreed that he should perform at the Society concerts for a salary of £150.0.0 *per annum*. It is possible that the *Signori* Doria had already intimated their desire to leave Edinburgh, and that Tenducci was to replace Signora Doria at the concert. From the *Minutes* it appears that the *Signori* returned to Italy, with some financial help from the Society for their travelling charges.¹⁰⁴ Writing to the Abbé Grant in Rome, the treasurer of the Society, William Douglas, noted that “...It gave me very great pleasure to hear of Madam Doria’s behaviour on this occasion[.] She left many friends here who have a very grateful remembrance of her. I beg to present her my best wishes...”.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰³ *EEC*, 8.1.1770; 10.1.1770. The advertisement continues:

“...As Miss Christie is well known to be come a good length in the world with a fair character, having been strictly bred up with a liberal education, besides that of Musick, it must naturally follow, that she must be more agreeably intelligible to Scots and English Ladies than Foreigners possibly can be...”.

¹⁰⁴ “...our Gentlemen think their [the *Signori* Corri] demand for travelling charges £100 Ster. is very high, Sigr. Doria asked nothing and had only a present of 20 Guineas...”, Copy of a letter from William Douglas to Abbé Grant at Rome. *EMS, Minutes*, 9.5.1771.

¹⁰⁵ Copy of a letter from William Douglas to Abbé Grant at Rome. *EMS, Minutes*, 9.5.1771.

vii DOMENICO LUCIANI

There seems to be little information about the early part of Luciani's career.¹⁰⁶ Before travelling to Britain, Luciani had resided for a number of years in Portugal singing at the royal court.¹⁰⁷ In his *History*, Burney notes that for a performance of *Alessandro nell'Indie* by Perez, "...his Portuguese Majesty had assembled together the greatest singers then existing...",¹⁰⁸ which included Caffarelli, Anton Raaf and Luciani.

In the late 1760s Luciani travelled to London, where he sang at the King's Opera House in the Haymarket in 1768 and 1769. He performed with Leopoldo Micheli, Giovanni Lovattini and Pietro Morigi and appeared in productions of *Le Donne Vendicate* by Piccinni, *Nanetta e Lubino* by Pugnani, *Lo Speciale* by Fischietti and Pallavicini, *Le Serve Rivali* by Traetta and *I Viaggiatori Ridicoli* by Guglielmi.¹⁰⁹

A review of *I Viaggiatori Ridicoli* appeared in the *Court Miscellany*. It proclaimed, somewhat harshly, that:

"...Signora Giacomazzi made her first appearance in this opera: her voice is the sweetest and most agreeable that can be imagined...But the new man [Luciani] is almost the reverse of this, indeed there is something so disgusting in his appearance that his voice could not please, was it of a kind to do so..."¹¹⁰

From the evidence of the *Minutes* kept by the Edinburgh Musical Society it appears that negotiations to secure the employ of Luciani were already underway by the very end of 1769. The *Minutes* show that by the middle of December 1769 the Society had decided to dismiss Tenducci from their service, as he had left Edinburgh without their prior knowledge and they had received news that he been seeking work in London. The *Minutes* record that in mid December the Society "...declared the Contract Void with respect to him [Tenducci], and Desir'd Mr Douglas to write Mrs Tenducci that

¹⁰⁶ No entry on Luciani is to be found in any of the various editions of *Grove*. Nor is he mentioned in *GroveO*, *Fétis*, *Biographie*, or *EitnerQ*. There are, however, some details relating to his London performances in: the *BDA*, VI, 378; *London Stage*; Terry, *Bach*.

¹⁰⁷ De Brito notes that Luciani was in Portugal from 1752. For the years from 1756-1760 there are no documented performances, and from 1761-1763 there were no names in the librettos. When the information becomes more detailed, from 1764, Luciani's name is no longer listed. De Brito, Manuel Carlos *Opera in Portugal in the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 54.

¹⁰⁸ BurneyH, IV, 571 cit. De Brito, *Opera in Portugal*, 28.

¹⁰⁹ These are listed in Terry, *Bach*.

¹¹⁰ *Court Miscellany*, 12.1768, cit. Terry, *Bach*, 115.

the Contract was Concluded...".¹¹¹ Just over a fortnight later, at the end of December, they had come to an agreement with Luciani via one of their London contacts:

"...The Earl of Kellie produced a letter from [?] acquainting his [?] that he had spoke with Signor Lucciani and told him this agreement we had with Tenducci, which he was willing to accept of...agree with Signor Lucciani at £250. pounds a year of Sallary to perform in the Concert and at the Oratorios...".¹¹²

There seems to have been some delay in Luciani's travelling to Edinburgh, however, due to a breakdown in communications. At the beginning of February 1770, there is a somewhat frantic note in the *Minutes* stating that:

"...Luciani is still in London...this Delay is owing to Mr Bath not telling distinctly [*sic*] of Lord Kellie's last letter to him, which expressly says that the Directors had agreed to his proposals & desired him to sett out directly and Immediately on his Arrival his Contract should be signed...".¹¹³

The next references to Luciani, the "celebrated" Luciani,¹¹⁴ in the *Minutes* shows that he had arrived and that, as well as helping him with his travelling expenses from London, the Society had begun to pay his salary:

"...By Mr Luciani one Qr. Salary	
to 24 May 1770 pr Accot	£ 62.10.0
...By Mr Luciani for his Serv.ts	
Chaise hyre from London	£ 5.5.0
[total expenditure	£949.6.1]"

¹¹⁵

From the *Plan Books* which the Society had only recently begun to keep, it can be seen that Luciani had begun to perform at the Society concerts at the beginning of March. This first plan is rather vague, noting only that he would perform a number of solo songs at their "St Cecelia's [*sic*] Concert" (which may have been taken form the operatic repertoire which he had sung in London):

"3 Periodical Overture Stamitz
Song Sigr Lucciani [*sic*]
Chorus O the pleasures of the Plains

¹¹¹ EMS, *Minutes*, 13.12.1769.

¹¹² EMS, *Minutes*, 29.12.1769.

¹¹³ Copy of a letter to Robert Bremner in London. EMS, *Minutes*, 5.2.1770.

¹¹⁴ "Mr THOMSON Begs leave to inform the Public, and his friends in particular, That he has postponed his CONCERT, which was advertised for Thursday the 15th of February instant, till Tuesday the sixth of March, on account of the celebrated Signor LUCIANA [*sic*], who is not yet arrived in Town, when his Concert will then begin precisely at six o'clock in the Evening. Price two shillings and sixpence each."
EEC, 12.2.1770.

¹¹⁵ EMS, *Minutes*, 6.1769-6.1770.

Act 2d

Overture in Ezio Ld Kelly
 Song Sigr Lucciani
 13 Periodical Overture
 Chorus Sing unto God

Act 3d

Written Overt Ld Kelly
 Song Sigr Lucciani
 Overture in Alessandro Bach
 Chorus the many rend the skies".¹¹⁶

From the end of Luciani's stay in Edinburgh comes a slightly more detailed programme from the *Plan Books*, which reveals that he sang a couple of arias from Jommelli's *Passione* at one of the Society's concerts:

"Dead March in Saul
 Song Mr Lucciani Vorrei Dirti La Passione
 Resurrection [*sic*] Hymn

2d Act

Grand Adagio & Musetto Handel
 Angels ever Bright Theodora Mr [Smiton?]
 Hear my Prayer – Croft Mr Gilson & Mr Scott

3d Act

8 Concert of Corelli Ending with the Adagio
 before the Minuet
 Do [*sic*] Sangue guardo giro [Dovunque il guardo giro] Mr Luciani
 La Passione
 Chorus Mourn all ye masses".¹¹⁷

Some newspaper advertisements for concerts in which Luciani performed are rather unspecific – as is the case with a number of musicians before him – mentioning only the date, time and place of a concert, and he would feature as one of the performers.¹¹⁸ Some advertisements, however, are slightly more detailed:

"...Mr GILSON'S CONCERT OF ANCIENT and MODERN MUSIC,
 consisting of SONGS, DUETS, and GLEES...";¹¹⁹

and that:

"Miss Gilson will sing with Mr Luciani the Duetto composed by
 Nicolas Picini [*sic*"]".¹²⁰

From these advertisements it is not clear whether Luciani performed any Scots songs while he was in Edinburgh. Although

¹¹⁶ EMS, *Plan Books*, 2.3.1770.

¹¹⁷ EMS, *Plan Books*, 22.11.1771.

¹¹⁸ E.g. EEC, 5.3.1770; 10.3.1770; 18.7.1770; 23.7.1770.

¹¹⁹ EEC, 9.3.1771.

¹²⁰ EEC, 28.1.1771.

Luciani was best known as a singer, it is clear from one of these newspaper advertisements that he was also a composer. His name, however, is not listed in either *BUCEM* or *RISM* and one would guess that, as with a number of other pieces written by the Italian musicians and singers who travelled to Scotland in the eighteenth century, these pieces remained in manuscript form, and were therefore more vulnerable to damage or loss:

“...MR LUCIANI takes the liberty to acquaint the Ladies and Gentlemen, that his Benefit Concert will be on Tuesday the 29th of this current month of January 1771 with Music of his own composing, of three Overtures, and likewise three New Airs with English Words, which he will endeavour to pronounce as well as his little knowledge of the language will permit. – He has also put in Music a Song of the famous Metastasio the imperial Poet, translated into English by the renowned ISAAC PECCATOS SHARD, Esq; the foresaid Mr Luciani has not the assurance to intreat the Ladies and Gentlemen to take the trouble of hearing his Music, as he does not pretend such merit, but only beg they will please to use their usual affability and goodness, so necessary for his excuse, and accept of the sincere desire he has of serving them.”¹²¹

There appears to be little information relating to Luciani’s reception while he was in Edinburgh. From the following note printed in the *Courant* it would seem that his concerts were well attended by the nobility and gentry:

“Mr LUCIANI was so well pleased, and penetrated with sentiments of gratitude, at the sign of such an honourable company of Ladies and Gentlemen at his benefit, that to severals [*sic*] who asked him if he was satisfied, he declared he thought much more of the honour they had done him, than if he had received a compliment of a thousand pound.”¹²²

When Luciani’s contract was about to come to its end (in February 1771) and he let the Society know that he intended to leave Edinburgh, the Society were reluctant to see him go. Perhaps they had been genuinely pleased with Luciani as a musician and employee, or perhaps his departure at such short notice would leave them without a “main attraction” for their concerts:

“...Mr Lucciani’s term was out the 24th Instant and he proposed going away...propose giving him another Benefit in which the Society should Interest themselves and try to prevail on him to stay the Summer at Least...”¹²³

¹²¹ *EEC*, 12.1.1771.

¹²² *EEC*, 28.7.1770.

¹²³ *EMS*, *Minutes*, 14.2.1771.

Luciani did, however, remain in Edinburgh for a while longer, until well after the summer – in the *Minutes* is the transcription of a letter in which the treasurer of the Society noted that “...we have agreed with Sig. Luciani for another year ending in February next [1772]...”.¹²⁴ At the same time the Society had begun to make enquiries for a replacement for Luciani. The *Minutes* note that:

“...when Mr Luciani has acquainted the Directors of his Intention to leave [the] place in February last he wrote to Mrs Hugh Forbes then in Rome to enquire after a Woman Singer that could supply Luciani’s place...recommending him to Sigra Core...”.¹²⁵

Although *La Miniatrice* and Domenico Corri arrived at the end of August, the *Minutes* reveal that the Society continued to pay Luciani until the end of November:

“...By Mr Lucciani’s Salary one years sallary to 24 May 1771	£ 250.0.0
...By Do [cash] Mr Lucciani’s sallary 1/2 years to 24 Novr. 71 pr rect	£ 125.0.0
[total expenditure	£1288.16.4]”. ¹²⁶

The *Plan Books* show that for the concert on December 20th 1771, Luciani was absent, and after that date his name drops from the concert programmes. A final payment was made to Luciani by the Society, and this is noted in the *Minutes*. These may have been travelling expenses to return to London, as the Society often helped musicians and singers with their travelling expenses to and from Edinburgh:¹²⁷

“...By Cash paid Mr Luciani pr Receipt	£ 15.12.6
[total expenditure	£648.8.11]”. ¹²⁸

Of this later period the *Biographical Dictionary of Actors* merely states that: “In Scotland in 1770-1771, Signor Luciani sang in numerous concerts of the Edinburgh Musical Society”,¹²⁹ and does not give any more information about Luciani after 1771. Similarly, the *London Stage* does not list any performances after Luciani left Edinburgh.

¹²⁴ Copy of a letter to Abbé Grant in Rome. EMS, *Minutes*, 9.5.1771.

¹²⁵ EMS, *Minutes*, 7.5.1771. Several months after this is a note stating that “Mr & Mrs Corie arrived 25th August 1771...”.

¹²⁶ EMS, *Minutes*, 6.1770-11.1771.

¹²⁷ Compare Luciani’s £15.12.6 with the £30.0.0 that the Society paid for Clementina Cremonini and her mother to travel to Edinburgh. EMS, *Minutes*, 16.11.1762 and 6.1762-6.1763.

¹²⁸ EMS, *Minutes*, 11.1771-6.1772.

¹²⁹ BDA, VI, 378.

viii SIGNOR & SIGNORA PUPPO

Giuseppe Puppo was engaged by the Musical Society in Edinburgh in 1774 to replace Pinto as leader of their orchestra. The *Minutes* of the Society state that they were:

“...of opinion that Mr Pinto had broke his Contract and that he had behaved so extremely unhandsomely that another Leader should be immediately Engaged in his place And they hereby Impower [sic] the Treasurer to write to Signor Poupeau at London whom they are informed is an exceedingly good Leader and to make such terms with him as are proper.”¹³⁰

Two weeks after this, the Society had secured the services of Puppo as *maestro di cappella*, at the same salary that the directors had given to Pinto. The *Minutes* of the Society record that they had: “...Entered into an Engagement with Mr Puppo for One Hundred pounds Sterling of Sallary till September next...”.¹³¹ The arrangement which Puppo entered into with the Society was therefore, initially, only for nine months. The violinist, however, remained connected to the Edinburgh Musical Society for almost ten years, being succeeded in 1784 by Girolamo Stabilini. Puppo lived in Edinburgh with his wife,¹³² a singer, who occasionally appeared at the Musical Society concerts alongside her husband, and with his brother, Stefano, who taught Italian, Portuguese and Spanish in the Scottish capital.¹³³

In the first years which the *Signori* Puppo spent in Edinburgh, the only references made to them in the *Minutes* concern the payment of his salary and a renewal of his contract for another nine-month period after the expiry of the original one:

¹³⁰ EMS, *Minutes*, 15.12.1774.

¹³¹ EMS, *Minutes*, 28.12.1774.

¹³² Musical biographies and dictionaries make little, or no, reference to Signora Puppo, with the exception, perhaps, of Harris, *Saint Cecilia's Hall*, who outlines her Edinburgh career. There is, by contrast, a considerable amount of biographical information about Giuseppe Puppo: Masutto, *Maestri*, 148; Sartori, Claudio ed. *Enciclopedia della Musica* (Milan: Ricordi, 1963), III, 504; BDA, XII, 201-202; Sainsbury, *Dictionary*, II, 315; Gray, “The Musical Society”, 221-222; FétisB, VII, 139-141; EitnerQ, VIII, 8; Grove1, III, 46; Grove3, IV, 285; Grove4, IV, 285; Grove5, VI, 996; Grove6, XV, 457.

Little mention is made of the period which Puppo spent in Edinburgh, Sainsbury merely states that: “...After quitting the conservatory, he visited several cities of Italy, the south of France, Spain, Portugal, England, Scotland, Ireland...” Sainsbury, *Dictionary*, II, 315. Puppo's name features briefly in Farmer, *History, and Music Making*, but the most information about Puppo in Edinburgh (as well as a summary of the entry in Sainsbury, *Dictionary*) is found in Harris, *Saint Cecilia's Hall*.

¹³³ EEC, 31.1.1776; 23.7.1777; 5.11.1777.

"...By Do [cash] Paid Mr Puppo half a year Sallary
from January 1775 £ 50.0.0
[total expenditure £880.1.9]",¹³⁴

and:

"...Mr Puppo half a years Sallary to 1st Sepr 1775
being engaged for £100 from the time he came here
to that period £ 50. 0.0
Do. Three Quarters Sallary
from 1st Sepr. to 1st June 1776 £ 75. 0.0
[total expenditure £1 047.13.3]",¹³⁵

The *Plan Books* kept by the Society and newspaper advertisements dating from this period – the mid to late 1770s – reveal the music that Giuseppe Puppo performed in Edinburgh. Shortly after the *Signori* had arrived, Puppo announced that he was to play:

"...A SOLO CONCERTO,
By the celebrated SIGNOR PUPPO.
As the Band of Music is strengthened by the addition of the first
Violin Performer in this kingdom, who is engaged as leader of the
Orchestre, (by desire) once more will be performed, the favourite
Musical Piece, called
THE DESERTER
To be conducted by Signor Puppo."¹³⁶

Shortly after, he was involved in giving *The Beggar's Opera*:

"On MONDAY next, the 10th of April,
Will be presented,
The BEGGAR'S OPERA.
To be conducted (for the first time) by SIG. PUPPO.
Polly, by Mrs RAMSAY,
Captain Macheath, Mr DIGGES..."¹³⁷

Some advertisements are somewhat vague, announcing only that Puppo would play: a "Violin Solo"¹³⁸ or "A FAVOURITE SOLO

¹³⁴ EMS, *Minutes*, 26.6.1774-26.6.1775.

¹³⁵ EMS, *Minutes*, 26.6.1775-2.6.1776.

¹³⁶ EEC, 25.3.1775; 27.3.1775; 29.3.1775. Newspaper advertisements from this period indicate the presence of another Italian musician in Edinburgh. In February and March 1775 the *Courant* announced that Signor Giustinelli was to sing a number of "Songs" at concerts in Edinburgh (EEC, 11.2.1775; 13.2.1775; 15.2.1775; 22.2.1775; 8.3.1775). This was Giuseppe Giustinelli, a singer and oboist who had performed in London between 1763 and 1769. The *London Stage* lists his appearances in that city alongside Gaetano Quilici, Clementina Cremonini, Giusto Ferdinando Tenducci, Regina Mingotti, Nicolò Peretti and Felice Giardini on the violin. Giustinelli sang the role of Thirsis in J. C. Bach's *Orione*, that of Temistocle in *Senocrita* by Perez and Piccinni, Pompy in *Pharnaces* by Bates and Mirza in *Almena* by Michael Arne and Battishall. Giustinelli also performed arias by Piccinni and Trajetta in concerts. It was possibly some of this repertoire that Giustinelli performed while he was in Edinburgh. After March 1775 there are no further references to this Italian performer in the *Courant*. Burney noted that "GIUSTINELLI had a good voice, and sufficient merit to supply the place of second man on our stage in the serious operas, for several years after [1762]." BurneyH, IV, 479.

¹³⁷ EEC, 5.4.1775; 8.4.1775.

¹³⁸ EEC, 27.1.1776.

CONCERTO...".¹³⁹ Others are, however, slightly more specific, announcing that the violinist would perform: "...a Favourite Solo Concerto, which was composed by La Motte, and played by him at the Pantheon, London...".¹⁴⁰ The *Plan Books* of the Society provide more details of the music which he played in Edinburgh, noting that Puppo would perform *concerti* by Borghi¹⁴¹ and by Gambini.¹⁴²

In common with practically all the other Italian musicians who had been to Edinburgh before him, Giuseppe Puppo was a teacher as well as a performer. From advertisements is evident that he gave lessons from the first winter that he was in Edinburgh:

"...he proposes to attend any Ladies who incline to be taught singing, or to have him accompany them in Songs or Harpsichord Music, in the same way he did the first winter that he was in Edinburgh. The hours of teaching are from 12 to 3 o'clock, afternoon and Mr Puppo's terms are Two Guineas the first month, and a Guinea and a half the following...".¹⁴³

The next year, 1779, Puppo placed another advertisement for his classes:

"MR PUPPO'S MUSICAL CLASSES, for Practice, three times in the week, will be opened at his house in the New Street Canongate...under the following Regulations:

1. Only Three or Four of the Gentlemen shall come at the same hour, who, with Mr Puppo, will make up a Trio, Quartetto, &c. So as none may be obliged to sit idle. What Gentlemen are to come together, and the days and hours of their attendance to be settled hereafter, as shall be most agreeable and convenient for themselves.

2. Every member shall pay One Guinea per month.

Not to be repeated."¹⁴⁴

As well as providing information about what music Puppo played while he was in Edinburgh, these advertisements also reveal that he was taken ill on two occasions. The first, in the winter of 1775/1776, was a "dangerous illness"¹⁴⁵ which led to the postponement of his benefit. This probably led Puppo to contact the Society at some point in 1777 informing them of his intention to

¹³⁹ EEC, 15.4.1775.

¹⁴⁰ EEC, 20.1.1777.

¹⁴¹ EMS, *Plan Books*, 16.1.1778.

¹⁴² EMS, *Plan Books*, 26.11.1779.

¹⁴³ EEC, 18.3.1778; 21.3.1778.

¹⁴⁴ EEC, 22.11.1779.

¹⁴⁵ "MR PUPPO being recovered from his late dangerous illness, begs leave to acquaint his friends and the public, that his CONCERT is now fixed for...the 4th of March...". EEC, 26.2.1776; 2.3.1776. The directors of the Musical Society encouraged their members to attend: "The Governors and Directors very earnestly RECOMMEND Mr PUPPO, whose concert is on Monday next, to the countenance of the Subscribers, and of such Ladies and Gentlemen as frequent the weekly concerts." EEC, 2.3.1776. In his entry on Puppo in *Grove*6, XV, 457, Chappell White states that Puppo was first in Paris and then toured Spain and Portugal in 1775.

leave Scotland and return to Italy. The *Minutes* of the Society record the treasurer's reply:

"Sir

Last time I had the pleasure to see you, you told me that you found this Climate too severe for your Constitution and that you resolved to return to Italy next Summer – As my office obliges me to have the Orchestra in our Concert always provided with proper Masters and it requires sometime to find out a good one to lead the Band, I beg you will be so good as to let me know positively whether or not you are to leave us in Summer.

I assure you we should be extremely happy to have you continue with us but if your health is in danger we cannot ask you... Be so good as put your answer in writing that I may lay it before the Directors [John Welsh]".¹⁴⁶

Puppo, however, remained in the employ of the Society, as the *Minutes* record subsequent payments of his salary by the Society:

"...Mr Puppo One years Sallary to 1st June 1777	£ 100. 0.0
[total expenditure	£1247.19.4]", ¹⁴⁷

and:

"...Mr Puppo do [a years salary] to 1st June 1778 pr do [receipt]	£ 100. 0.0
[total expenditure	£ 832.7.0]", ¹⁴⁸

In the winter of 1777/1778 newspaper advertisements show that Puppo was again ill, to the extent that he was unable to teach. In an advertisement offering his services as a teacher he noted that: "MR PUPPO having been much indisposed for a considerable time by past, was obliged to give over teaching, as he could never, while indisposed, be certain of attending punctually, or of giving the proper attention to his scholars...".¹⁴⁹

The *Minutes* also reveal that Puppo left Edinburgh on a number of occasions. Some references to this are very explicit, showing that Puppo went first to Dublin without permission to do so from the Society:

"...Intimate to Mr Puppo that they highly disapprove of his going to Dublin without liberty, and before the Vacation; and that he shall further acquaint all the Performers that none of them must presume to be absent, at any time without previously obtaining permission – Each performer absent on a Concert night to be fined half a Guinea...".¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁶ EMS, *Minutes*, 11.12.1777.

¹⁴⁷ EMS, *Minutes*, 2.6.1776-10.6.1777.

¹⁴⁸ EMS, *Minutes*, 6.1777-7.1778.

¹⁴⁹ EEC, 18.3.1778; 21.3.1778. In *Grove6*, White states that Puppo was in London in 1777.

¹⁵⁰ EMS, *Minutes*, 8.1778.

Shortly after, at the beginning of November, the Society wrote to Puppo – who was by then in Bath – instructing him to return to Edinburgh before the end of the month and offering him travelling expenses for his journey from London to Edinburgh:

“Sir

I am very sorry you have not complied with the request I made in my last that you should have returned here the beginning of this Month – I have now to desire that you may come here in time to perform at the Concert which is to be upon Friday the 27th Inst...in that case Mr Robert Bremner will give you money to bear your Expences from London to Edinr...I Expect your punctual compliance with this request. After having paid your debts you must be Sensible there is nothing due to you from the Society but on the Contrary.”.¹⁵¹

The *Minutes* of the Musical Society reveal other references to Puppo’s absence from Edinburgh. The account books show that the Society made a number of payments to Puppo in the following year which were not in the form a salary:

“...June 17 [1779]	
pd Mr Puppo pr Order to	
Mr John Sime	£ 22.0.0
[June] 18	
pd Mr Puppo pr his note	
to S. Wilm. Forbes	£ 5.0.0
[total expenditure	£656.2.7]”. ¹⁵²

Similarly:

“...By Postage of a Letter from	
Mr Puppo	£ 0.0.6
By Mr Puppo to Accot pr bill for 15£	
sent him with Exch. 1/6	£15.1.6
By Do pd him to Accot	£20.0.0
[total expenditure	£612.11.9]”. ¹⁵³

¹⁵¹ Copy of a letter to Puppo in Bath. EMS, *Minutes*, 6.11.1778. This letter was sent via Robert Bremner. The Society wrote to Bremner asking him to forward the letter and the money for Puppo’s return journey to Edinburgh:

“Dear Sir,

I am again to trouble you about Puppo as you see by the inclosed [*sic*] left open for your perusal – to send him money to Bath would be to encourage his stay there – I think Ten pounds should be sufficient to bring him from London but I would not [?] £12. Only be sure he is to sett off when you give him the money...”.

Copy of a letter to Robert Bremner. EMS, *Minutes*, 6.11.1778. The *Minutes* note that the Society paid some money to Puppo in the following month, December:

“Decr. 24th

pd for a Bill on London given
to Mr Welsh to be sent to
Mr Pupo [*sic*] for £25 & Ex. 2/6 £25.2.7”,

EMS, *Minutes*, 7.1778-undated.

¹⁵² EMS, *Minutes*, 7.1778-undated.

¹⁵³ EMS, *Minutes*, 25.6.1779-3.12.1779.

It is from this period, 1779 onwards, that Signora Puppo begins to feature in the accounts of the Musical Society. Compared with her husband, she has remained a somewhat obscure figure and very little seems to be known of her life. The *Minutes* note that the Society made payments made to her on a number of different occasions:

“...By Mrs Puppo for performing
in the Chorass’s [sic] 18 Feb.ry £ 2.2.0
[total expenditure £576.5.1]”;¹⁵⁴

“March 21
...By Mrs Puppo
for performing in
the oratorio Decr last £ 2. 2.0
[total expenditure £546.11.11]”;¹⁵⁵

“30 Novr. 1781
...By Mrs Puppo pr order £ 5.5.0
[total expenditure £592.3.8]”.¹⁵⁶

From advertisements it is clear that she occasionally appeared in benefit concerts for other musicians, such as Domenico Corri, *La Miniatrice* and Johann Schetky.¹⁵⁷ Newspaper advertisements and the *Plan Books* of the Musical Society give some idea of the music which Signora Puppo sang at the Edinburgh concerts. While some of the references to the *Signora* in the *Plan Books* of the Society are rather vague, indicating merely that she was to sing an unnamed song,¹⁵⁸ there are a number of more detailed programmes which show that her repertoire was typical of much of the music that was given by the Italian singers who travelled to Edinburgh, being a mixture of Italian arias,¹⁵⁹ Scots songs,¹⁶⁰ and extracts from the works of Handel.¹⁶¹

As with her husband, Signora Puppo also taught music while she was in Edinburgh:

“...Mrs PUPPO, who is newly returned from London, and received instructions from Sacchini while she was there, proposes also to teach Ladies Singing, and to accompany their Songs on the

¹⁵⁴ EMS, *Minutes*, 3.12.1779-13.6.1780.

¹⁵⁵ EMS, *Minutes*, 1.12.1780-22.6.1781.

¹⁵⁶ EMS, *Minutes*, 30.11.1781-28.6.1782.

¹⁵⁷ See, for example: EEC, 26.2.1776; 2.3.1776; 24.2.1779; 25.7.1778; 22.7.1782; 24.7.1782.

¹⁵⁸ “Song – Madm. Puppo”. EMS, *Plan Books*, 19.1.1781; 23.2.1781; 16.11.1781; 23.11.1781.

¹⁵⁹ “Song Sagra Puppo L’onda del Mar”, EMS, *Plan Books*, 17.5.1782.

¹⁶⁰ “Scotts Song – Mrs Puppo”, EMS, *Plan Books*, 28.4.1780. “Scots Song”, EEC, 11.12.1782; 14.12.1782; 16.12.1782. “Scots Song, ‘For the Lack of Gold she’s left me!’”, EEC, 17.7.1779.

¹⁶¹ “Song Mrs Puppo ‘My lodging is on the cold ground’”, EMS, *Plan Books*, 9.2.1781. “‘When loud the Silver Trumpet Sounds,’ (Song) Mrs Puppo”, EEC, 23.1.1782; 26.1.1782. *Acis and Galatea*, EEC, 9.3.1782; 11.3.1782

Harpsichord. – Mrs PUPPO will, if agreeable, wait on any Family in the country one day in the week...”.¹⁶²

The last payments which the Society made to Giuseppe Puppo are noted in the accounts for 1781-1782:

“30 Novr. 1781

...by Mr Puppas Do [$\frac{1}{2}$ years salary]
to 1st May 1782 £ 50.0.0
[total expenditure £592.3.8]”,¹⁶³

and:

“...By Mr Puppo Ballce of his
Salary to 1st Augt pr Rect £ 21.12.0
[total expenditure £428.13.6]”.¹⁶⁴

One final payment of £10.0.0 to the Signora was made a year later, in July 1783,¹⁶⁵ and after that the name drops from the *Minutes* of the Edinburgh Musical Society.

After leaving Edinburgh, Giuseppe Puppo seems to have returned to mainland Europe. Chappell White has written that he appeared at the *Concert Spirituel* in Paris in 1783, and the entry on Puppo in Sainsbury’s *Dictionary* states that the violinist lived for a number of years in the French capital:

“...[Puppo] settled in Paris, where he resided many years. In 1789, he directed the orchestra of the Théâtre de Monsieur there, in conjunction with Mestrino and Viotti; and, in 1799, he was *chef-d’orchestre* at the Théâtre Français. He has since retired to Italy...”.¹⁶⁶

Puppo did compose and publish some music, including the graceful and delicate minuet in the manuscript collection copied in a number of different hands that included reels, Scots songs, short pieces by the Earl of Kelly, Handel, Corelli, Stamitz and “Pasqualio’s Minuet” as well as the “Minuet by Sigr Putti”.¹⁶⁷ Opinion about Puppo’s compositions has varied slightly,¹⁶⁸ and biographers have tended not to make this the main focus of their attention. Most of what has been written about Puppo has centred principally on his ability as a performer and his skill as a violinist. In his *Dictionary*,

¹⁶² EEC, 18.3.1778; 21.3.1778.

¹⁶³ EMS, *Minutes*, 30.11.1781-28.6.1782.

¹⁶⁴ EMS, *Minutes*, 28.6.1782-29.11.1782.

¹⁶⁵ Total expenditure £363.6.4 $\frac{1}{2}$. EMS, *Minutes*, 27.6.1783-28.11.1783.

¹⁶⁶ Sainsbury, *Dictionary*, II, 315.

¹⁶⁷ NLS MS Inglis 153, 75v, see page 492.

¹⁶⁸ “His publications are few, and all instrumental.” Sainsbury, *Dictionary*, II, 315; “His published compositions are few and of no importance...” *Grove*1, III, 46; “[his publications] reflect a fine technique, with originality confined largely to bizarre titles and tempo indications.” *Grove*6, XV, 457.

published in 1827 – the year in which Puppo died, Sainsbury noted this natural musicality, writing that:

“...[Puppo] received his early musical education in the conservatory of St. Onofrio, at Naples. Here his progress in the study of composition was as brilliant as rapid; but his inclination still led him to devote his principal attention to the violin...”.¹⁶⁹

Later on in the nineteenth century one writer noted that Puppo “...possédait au plus haut degré le talent d’accompagnateur, fut recherché par les amateurs les plus distingués de cette époque...”.¹⁷⁰ One finds a similar description of the violinist in *Grove*, the author observing that: “...he was an excellent accompanist, he was much in request in musical circles...”.¹⁷¹ More recently, Chappell White has validated this opinion, asserting that Puppo: “...was admired as a soloist, and his career shows his ability as a leader. His playing, said to be at its best in soft, melancholy moods, was occasionally compared to Tartini’s...”.¹⁷²

All these Italian singers and instrumentalists who travelled to Edinburgh between c. 1760 and 1784 brought variety and energy to the local music scene. What is striking about this period is the number itself of these musicians, which continued the trend established in the years between c. 1720 and 1760. It would seem that, after 1784, fewer Italian musicians travelled to Edinburgh to perform at the Musical Society concerts, even though some important figures still worked in that city, and other renowned names were to journey there.

¹⁶⁹ Sainsbury, *Dictionary*, II, 315.

¹⁷⁰ *FétisB*, VII, 140.

¹⁷¹ *Grove5*, VI, 996.

¹⁷² *Grove6*, XV, 457.

CHAPTER 7

GIROLAMO STABILINI

The little biographical information that seems to have emerged so far about Girolamo Stabilini is sparse and much of it is anecdotal in nature.¹ There is, however, a considerable amount of information on the period that Stabilini spent in Edinburgh in the form of contemporary newspaper advertisements and reviews. His portrait appeared in John Kay's *Portraits and Caricature Etchings* (see page 567). In addition to this, there is also a small core of music composed by Stabilini and published mostly in arrangement, some by other musicians and composers.

It is clear that in his lifetime Stabilini was a well-known figure and a celebrated performer. The *Scots Magazine* published an obituary to Stabilini in the autumn of 1815 to mark his death:

“Deaths...At Edinburgh, Gerolamo Stabilini, a native of Rome, for twenty-three years past well known as the leader of the Edinburgh Concerts. This performer's execution, as well as his expression, particularly as an Adagio player on the violin, have seldom been equalled, and his loss will long be remembered with regret by the admirers of music in this metropolis.”²

Stabilini had in fact, arrived in Edinburgh in the mid 1780s to take up the position of leader of the orchestra of the Edinburgh Musical Society. The minutes of the Musical Society for March and May of 1784 detail payments of £50.16.3 and of £20.0.0 for Stabilini's journey from Italy.³ Stabilini had been employed to replace another Italian, Giuseppe Puppo, who seems to have caused considerable trouble to the directors of the Society, judging from the amount of time and space dedicated to him in their *Minutes*. Stabilini, however, is referred to fleetingly, the only mention of him being in the half-yearly record of the payment of his salary.⁴ Much less is known,

¹ No entry on Stabilini is to be found in: *Grove6*; *FétisB*; *EitnerQ*. There are, however, short entries on Stabilini in earlier editions of *Grove*, e.g: *Grove3*, V, 113; *Grove5*, VIII, 30. He does not feature in White, *From Vivaldi to Viotti*. Stabilini features briefly in Farmer, *History*, and Gray, “The Musical Society”, 222; Johnson, *Music and Society*, particularly 58-59. The most information on Stabilini is found in Harris, *Saint Cecilia's Hall*, 84-93; and Cranmer, “Concert Life”.

² *Scots Magazine*, (September, 1815), 719.

³ “March 26 To Sir Willm Forbes & Co [?] pr their
Accot. for Mr Stabilini's journey from Italy £ 50.16.3
May 15 To Ditto Rect pr order £ 20.0.0
[total transactions £534.11.9½]”,

EMS, *Minutes*, 28.11.1783-25.6.1784.

⁴ “By Mr Stabilini 2 Quarters from 7 May to 7th Novr 1784
Stamps 8 £ 50.0.8
[total transaction £439.4.3]”,

therefore, of Stabilini than of his predecessor from the *Minutes* of

EMS, <i>Minutes</i> , 25.6.1784-3.12.1784;		
"Febry 19 By Mr Stabilini 2 Quarters to 7 May 1785	Stamps 8	£ 50.0.8
	[total transactions	£501.5.2]",
EMS, <i>Minutes</i> , 3.12.1784-24.6.1785;		
"By Mr Stabilini do [a quarter] to 7 Novr 1785 Do [stamps]		£ 50.0.8
	[total transactions	£430.3.2 ¹ / ₂]",
EMS, <i>Minutes</i> , 24.6.1785-2.12.1785;		
"By Mr Stabilini ¹ / ₂ year to 7 May 1786	Stamps 8d	£ 50.0.8
	[total transactions	£430.16.0]",
EMS, <i>Minutes</i> , 2.12.1785-23.6.1786;		
"By Mr Stabilini 2 Quarters to 7 Novr	Stamps 8d	£ 50.0.8
	[total transactions	£411.16.5]",
EMS, <i>Minutes</i> , 23.6.1786-1.12.1786;		
"Feby By Mr Stabilini Do [two quarters] to 7 May Do [1787]	Stamps 8	£ 50.0.8
	[total transactions	£424.4.0]",
EMS, <i>Minutes</i> , 1.12.1786-29.6.1787;		
"By Mr Stabilini ¹ / ₂ year to 7th Novr	Do [stamps]	£ 50.0.8
	[total transactions	£328.7.5 ¹ / ₂]",
EMS, <i>Minutes</i> , 29.6.1787-30.11.1787;		
"By Mr Stabilini ¹ / ₂ year to 7th May Do [1788]	Stamps 8d	£ 50.0.8
	[total transactions	£450.1.4]",
EMS, <i>Minutes</i> , 30.11.1787-27.6.1788;		
"June 27 By Mr Stabilini ¹ / ₂ year to 7 Novr Do [stamps]		£ 50.0.8
	[total transactions	£405.8.4]",
EMS, <i>Minutes</i> , 27.6.1788-12.12.1788;		
"By Mr Stabilini ¹ / ₂ year to 7th May	Do [stamps]	£ 50.0.8
	[total transactions	£520.0.0]",
EMS, <i>Minutes</i> , 12.12.1788-26.6.1789;		
"By Mr Stabilini ¹ / ₂ year to 7 Novr	Do [stamps]	£ 50.0.8
	[total transactions	£330.16.1 ¹ / ₂]",
EMS, <i>Minutes</i> , 26.6.1789-11.12.1789;		
"By Mr Stabilini's Do [half a year] to 7 May Do [1790]	Do [stamps]	£ 50.0.8
	[total transactions	£490.10.0]",
EMS, <i>Minutes</i> , 11.12.1789-25.6.1790;		
"By Mr Stabilini ¹ / ₂ year to 7 Novr	Stamps 8d	£ 50.0.8
	[total transactions	£348.1.6]",
EMS, <i>Minutes</i> , 25.6.1790-28.1.1791;		
"By Mr Stabilini ¹ / ₂ year to 7th May Do [1791]	Do [stamps]	£ 50.0.8
	[total transactions	£447.0.4]",
EMS, <i>Minutes</i> , 28.1.1791-15.7.1791;		
"By Mr Stabilini 2 Quarters to 7th Novr Do [1791] Do [stamps] 8d		£ 50.0.8
	[total transactions	£423.3.10]",
EMS, <i>Minutes</i> , 15.7.1791-23.12.1791;		
"By Mr Stabilini ¹ / ₂ years Salry to 7th May 1792	Stamps 8d	£ 50.0.8
	[total transactions	£759.10.8 ¹ / ₂]",
EMS, <i>Minutes</i> , 12.1791-28.7.1792;		
"By Mr Stabilini ¹ / ₂ year to 7 Novr 1792	Do [stamps] 8	£ 50.0.8
	[total transactions	£508.15.6]",
EMS, <i>Minutes</i> , 28.7.1792-18.1.1793;		
"By Mr Stabilini 2 Quarters to 7th May	Do [stamps] 8d	£ 50.0.8
	[total transactions	£463.11.1 ¹ / ₂]",
EMS, <i>Minutes</i> , 18.1.1793-5.7.1793;		
"By Mr Stabilinis Do [two quarters]to 7 Novr Do[stamps] 8d		£ 50.0.8
	[total transactions	£393.19.9 ¹ / ₂]",
EMS, <i>Minutes</i> , 5.7.1793-17.1.1794;		
"By Mr Stabilini two Qrs to 17 Do [May]	Do [stamps] 8	£ 50.0.8
	[total transactions	£446.19.4]",
EMS, <i>Minutes</i> , 17.1.1794-27.6.1794;		
"By Mr Stabilini two Qr to 7 Novr	Do [stamps] 8d	£ 50.0.8
	[total transactions	£518.6.10 ¹ / ₂]",
EMS, <i>Minutes</i> , 27.6.1794-6.2.1795;		
"By Mr Stabilini Ditto [two quarters] to 7th May Do [stamps] 8d		£ 50.0.8
	[total transactions	£480.13.8]",
EMS, <i>Minutes</i> , 6.2.1795-6.7.1795.		

the Society. What the *Minutes* do tell us is that Stabilini was employed continuously by the Society, until its last minute, on the 6th July 1795, and presumably until its demise.

The reasons as to why the Society should have engaged Stabilini in the first place, become evident on reading Stark's account of the Italian's arrival in Edinburgh. Writing while Stabilini was still alive, he observed that:

"After Puppo had withdrawn himself from the weekly concerts, the directors were at no small pains to get a proper person to supply his place as leader of the orchestra. At this time [c. 1780/1781?] a young performer of promising celebrity as a violin player appeared at Rome; and the directors resolved to invite him to settle in the Scottish capital. The offer was accepted...This performer made his first essay in such a style as to gain him unqualified approbation; and he was declared not unworthy to succeed his celebrated predecessor."⁵

So far, nothing seems to be known of the early influences on Stabilini, with whom he studied the violin – and presumably composition also – or even where. It is possible that he received his early training in his native Rome: the many public and private theatres would certainly have attracted players of calibre. It is, however, also possible that as a young violinist of ability he might have gone to study in one of the famous violin centres of the North of Italy, such as Bologna or Venice: perhaps with a pupil of Tartini, or maybe of Giovan Battista Somis or Gaetano Pugnani. That Stabilini was already a violinist of considerable repute by the time he arrived in Edinburgh, aged 21, is attested by Stark's observation, and also that Stabilini brought with him to Edinburgh a 1732 Guarneri of "superior quality".⁶

It is possible that Stabilini's "first essay" in Edinburgh might have been a piece for violin written by himself. The *Plan Books* of the Musical Society record that the violinist played a concerto in D major shortly after his arrival in Edinburgh. Whether this was one of his own works is not clear:

"Overture Haydn in F
Song
Overture Occl. Oratorio

⁵ Stark, John *Picture of Edinburgh; containing a history and a description of the city, with a particular account of every remarkable object in, or establishment connected with, the Scottish metropolis* by J. Stark (Edinburgh: printed for J. Stark, for A. Constable, 1806), 372.

⁶ Dalyell, *Musical Memoirs*, 212. Dalyell also notes that: "A violin by the same maker was lately sold for £260."

Act 2d
 Quartett as Libitum
 Song
 Manuscript Overture

Act 3
 Scots Song
 Concerto in D – Mr Stabilini
 Song or a Duett
 Overture Haydn – in D minor”.⁷

Little information on the music that Stabilini performed in Edinburgh comes from the *Plan Books* of the Society. Most programmes state merely that he would play a “Solo Concerto”,⁸ or an “Ad Libitum”.⁹ Only occasionally are the *Plan Books* slightly more informative noting, for example, that Stabilini would play a “Concerto Borghi”.¹⁰

Many newspaper advertisements for concerts in which Stabilini played are also vague, reporting that the violinist would play a “Concerto”,¹¹ or “Solo”,¹² without giving details of the work or even the composer. Some advertisements are more enlightening, and it is these that reveal the repertoire of this Italian musician in Edinburgh. Stabilini performed music that was written by Pietro Urbani on a number of different occasions: a concerto and a duet for violin and viola in the same concert in 1785,¹³ another concerto in 1787,¹⁴ an “Air composed and Sung by Signor Urbani, with Violin Solo Accompaniment by Signor Stabilini”,¹⁵ “A Grand Air, composed on purpose for the occasion, with a Clarinet and Violin Solo, by Messrs. Stabilini and Mahon – Sung by Signor Urbani”,¹⁶ and a “Symph. Concertante”.¹⁷ Music by the Austrian composer Ignaz Joseph Pleyel seems to have been an important part of the music that Stabilini performed in Edinburgh, as there are a number of

⁷ EMS, *Plan Books*, 14.5.1784.

⁸ EMS, *Plan Books*, 21.5.1784; 4.6.1784; 18.6.1784; 25.6.1784.

⁹ EMS, *Plan Books*, 11.6.1784; 25.6.1784; 9.6.1786.

¹⁰ EMS, *Plan Books*, 29.4.1785; 6.5.1785; 17.6.1785.

¹¹ EEC, 9.2.1785; 24.5.1786; 29.5.1786. CM, 29.3.1788. EEC, 26.2.1791; 9.4.1791. CM, 17.2.1794; 20.2.1794; 22.2.1794. EEC, 17.1.1795; 19.1.1795; 26.1.1795; 2.2.1795; 26.2.1795; 28.2.1795; 14.3.1795; 28.3.1795; 30.3.1795; 13.2.1796; 27.2.1796; 19.1.1799; 21.1.1799; 7.2.1799; 18.2.1799; 11.3.1799; 25.3.1799; 15.4.1799. CM, 23.1.1800; 30.1.1800; 6.2.1800; 13.2.1800; 20.2.1800; 17.4.1800.

¹² EEC, 31.7.1784; 2.8.1784; 14.3.1785. Also “Violin Solo Concerto” EEC, 20.2.1786; 19.2.1791.

¹³ EEC, 26.3.1785.

¹⁴ CM, 3.2.1787.

¹⁵ EEC, 18.7.1785.

¹⁶ EEC, 25.2.1786; 27.2.1786.

¹⁷ CM, 10.3.1787; 12.3.1787.

references to this composer's works: a "New Violin Concerto – by Signor STABILINI; Composed by PLEYEL – never performed before",¹⁸ a "Quartetto Pleyel",¹⁹ the "Favourite Trio for Two Violins and Violoncello – By Mess. STABILINI, URBANI, and SCHETKY – Pleyel",²⁰ a "Concertante for Violin, Cello, Clarinet and Viola",²¹ and "A new instrumental Piece for full Band, called PLEYEL'S SERENADE, with a Violin and Violoncello Obligati [*sic*], by Mr STABILINI and Mr SCHETKY".²² The Italian violinist also performed "The Favourite Concertante of D'Avaux",²³ and a "Solo Concerto, Signor Stabilini, *Borghi*".²⁴ Advertisements reveal that from 1784, the year that Stabilini first arrived in Edinburgh, he appeared in concerts playing the mandolin, although most of the advertisements do not state the pieces that he played.²⁵ One of these pieces clearly achieved some measure of popularity as Corri & Sutherland published *The*

¹⁸ *CM*, 13.4.1789; 16.4.1789; 20.4.1789.

¹⁹ *CM*, 23.2.1788. Another performance of a string quartet by Pleyel advertised *CM*, 18.2.1792; 20.2.1792.

²⁰ *EEC*, 28.3.1795; 30.3.1795.

²¹ *CM*, 27.2.1790; 1.3.1790.

²² *EEC*, 20.2.1796.

²³ *EEC*, 4.3.1786.

²⁴ *CM*, 23.2.1789.

²⁵ "Trio with the MANDOLINO Obligato – Signor Stabilini", *EEC*, 31.7.1784; 2.8.1784. "Signor and Signora Corri's concert...Particulars are inserted in the Bills. N.B. The favourite Variation on the MANDOLINE will be performed again by Signor Stabilini", *EEC*, 9.8.1784. "Solo on the Mandolino", *EEC*, 20.2.1786; 24.5.1786; 29.5.1786; 2.3.1799; 4.3.1799. "Concerto on the Mandolino", *EEC*, 25.2.1786; 27.2.1786. *CM*, 3.2.1787; 24.2.1787. "Trio by Onosiri, for the Mandolino, Guitar, and Violoncello, by Signor Stabilini, Signor N. Corri, and Mr Schetky", *EEC*, 14.8.1785. Johnson states that "The harp and guitar did not reach Scotland until about 1810", *Music and Society*, 23. One of the first works that Domenico Corri published after his arrival in Edinburgh in 1771 was a set of *Six Canzones for Two Voices and Bass or Guitar* (Edinburgh: John Johnson, 1772). Advertisements in the *Courant* show that the guitar was played in concerts and sold in music shops in Edinburgh in the 1780s. See for example: *EEC*, 13.3.1786; 30.10.1786; 4.11.1786; 11.11.1786; 18.11.1786 "NEW MUSIC AND MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS". Also: *EEC*, 8.1.1791; 22.1.1795; 4.6.1795. Earlier in the century a Signor Bianchi had advertised guitar lessons in *EEC*, 2.1.1765:

"SIGNIOR BIANCHI,

Italian Musician, just arrived from Dublin, where he has lived nine years, teaching the Nobility and Gentry to play the GUITTAR, will teach the Nobility and Gentry in this place at their own lodgings.

SIGNIOR BIANCHI lodges at Mrs Walker's in Jack's Land, Canongate, where all Gentlemen and Ladies will be welcome to hear his performance, or he will wait on them at their own Lodgings at any time, if they will be pleased to honour him with a note when and where they will be waited upon."

Bianchi's name features briefly in Dalzell, *Musical Memoirs*, 218. The *Dublin Musical Calendar* (272) notes that Signor Bianchi also played the violin, the viola d'amore and the mandolin. The *London Stage* lists three musicians by the name of Bianchi in the index: Francesco Bianchi, a singer who appeared in London in 1748, 1769 and 1770; Francesco Bianchi Junior, a musician and composer active in the 1790s; and Giovanni Battista Bianchi, a conductor and composer working in the 1780s and 1790s. From this list it would seem that the most likely candidate for the Edinburgh Bianchi might be the first, Francesco Bianchi. The precise identity of this Italian musician who travelled to Edinburgh in the eighteenth century is still, however, uncertain.

Favorite Minuet with Variations and a Jigg as Performed on the Mandolino by Sigr Stabilini...

From the newspaper advertisements that were printed for concerts, it is clear that an important part of the music that Stabilini played in Edinburgh were the violin *concerti* in which he included Scots song melodies. These works were usually advertised in such a way as to draw attention to the Scots folk songs that they featured:

“ST CECILIA’S HALL.

MR STABILINI has the honour of acquainting his Friends and the Public, That his ANNUAL CONCERT is fixed for TUESDAY next the 11th inst.

To begin at Seven o’Clock.

PLAN OF THE CONCERT.

ACT I.

GRAND SYMPHONY, by PLEYEL.

Song, by Mr URBANI.

Concerto on the Clarinet, with the favourite Rondeau, “Up and wa’r them a’ Willy,” by Mr MAHON.

Song, by Miss GIOLIVETTI.

ACT II.

Song, by Mr URBANI.

Solo Concerto, in which will be introduced a favourite Scots Air, by Mr STABILINI.

Grand Bravura Song, by Miss GIOLIVETTI, with a

Violin Obligato, by Mr STABILINI.

Serious Duetto, by Miss GIOLIVETTI and Mr URBANI.

To conclude with a Grand NEW OVERTURE,

By MARTINI.

Mr STABILINI flatters himself, that on this occasion he shall experience the same liberal patronage with which he has been honoured by his friends and the public on former occasions.

The Concert will conclude in due time for the Assembly.

Tickets (price Three Shillings) to be had at Mr STABILINI, St James’s Square, and at the Music Shops.”²⁶

Some advertisements, such as the above, do not mention any Scots songs titles.²⁷ Many advertisements, however, refer to specific Scots song melodies: a “Concerto – Signor Stabilini, in which is introduced the Scots Song ‘Lochaber’”,²⁸ a “Violin Concerto, In which will be introduced the tune *The Broom of Cowdenknows...*”;²⁹ similarly, a “Solo Concerto, Mr STABILINI – in which will be introduced ‘The Bush aboon Traquair’, and ‘Lady Forbes’s Farewell’”,³⁰ a “Concerto

²⁶ CM, 10.2.1794.

²⁷ Also: New Solo Concerto of Jarnovick – by Mr STABILINI, in which he will introduce a favourite SCOTS TUNE”, EEC, 12.2.1791. Similarly: “Violin Concerto, in which he will introduce a Scots Air, Sig. STABILINI”, EEC, 3.3.1791. Also: CM, 8.2.1794; 10.2.1794; CM, 8.3.1794. EEC, 20.2.1796; 12.3.1796. “Concerto Violin, with Scots airs”, CM, 24.3.1800.

²⁸ EEC, 31.7.1784; 2.8.1784.

²⁹ CM, 27.2.1790; 1.3.1790.

³⁰ EEC, 7.2.1795; 9.2.1795.

Violin, in which will be introduced the air of ‘Duncan Davidson’ – Mr STABILINI”,³¹ and a “New Violin Concerto – Mr STABILINI, in which he will introduce ‘Love will Find out the Way,’ and ‘I’ll gang nae mair to yon town’”.³² From the dates of some of these advertisements it is clear that Stabilini began incorporating Scots folk song melodies into his works from the time when he first arrived in Edinburgh.

From notices and reviews it would seem that this violinist was a popular performer with audiences in Edinburgh. Stark wrote of the “unqualified approbation” of his debut in that city. A critic for the *Caledonian Mercury* noted the “...numerous and brilliant company...”³³ that had attended one of Stabilini’s concerts in 1789. Five years later, in 1794, one reviewer commented that:

“Mr Stabilini’s benefit, on Tuesday night, was attended by a large assemblage of the fashionable beautiful, and amateurs. The music, in general was well selected, and the performers did the selection ample justice. Mr Stabilini must be highly flattered, that his long attention to his professional duties seems to place him so high in the estimation of the public.”³⁴

Writing in his *Original Portraits and Caricature Etchings* published in Edinburgh in the nineteenth century, John Kay remarked that: “The musical talents of Stabilini were much admired; and although, unlike the modern Orpheus Paganini, he could not ‘discourse sweet airs’ from a single piece of catgut, his performances on the four pieces were generally admired.”³⁵

There were previously only three extant violin *concerti* by Stabilini, numbers I, II, and III – concerto number IV seems to have been lost.³⁶ The catalogue of an American antiquarian music dealer yielded a fifth concerto, which bears the autograph of the composer on the title page (see pages 493-516). Stabilini also published a minuet and rondo with variations,³⁷ and a march and quickstep. No dates of publication are given on the title pages of the *concerti*. From an advertisement for the *Fifth Concerto*, which appeared in the

³¹ *EEC*, 9.3.1799; 11.3.1799.

³² *CM*, 22.2.1800; 27.2.1800; 15.3.1800; 20.3.1800.

³³ *CM*, 19.2.1789.

³⁴ *CM*, 13.2.1794.

³⁵ Kay, John *A Series of Original Portraits and Caricature Etchings by the late John Kay, miniature painter, Edinburgh, with biographical sketches and illustrative anecdotes* (Edinburgh: Adam & Charles Black, 1877), I, 293.

³⁶ Johnson states that the rondo finale was based on “We’ll gang nae mair to yon town”. Johnson, *Music and Society*, 58. Performances of this were advertised in *EEC*, 22.2.1800; 27.2.1800; 15.3.1800; 20.3.1800. An arrangement of this work was published by Urbani & Liston and advertised in *EEC*, 21.7.1800.

³⁷ The publication of which was advertised in *EEC*, 13.3.1786, “NEW MUSIC AND MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS”.

Caledonian Mercury in 1800,³⁸ it is possible to conclude that the other *concerti* were written and published before this date.

Stylistically, the music that Stabilini composed belongs to the 1780s or 1790s. The *concerti* are in a pure classical style; elegant, yet also operatic and dramatic. Writing in *Music and Society*, David Johnson has described these pieces as “fine works”.³⁹ All, bar the first extant concerto, have three movements; there is no slow movement in this concerto, only an *Allegro Moderato* and a *Rondeau* marked *Allegretto*. The opening movements are expansive, they are well-balanced and fluent structures in sonata form, with a skilfully controlled sense of tonic-dominant tension. The themes are distinctive and incisive, as in the second and third *concerti*. The slow movements are brief, connecting movements in the Italian decorative style of the third quarter of the century. The last movements, usually marked *Rondo/Rondeau*, are rondo-gavottes of the type that were popular in *concerti* of the last quarter of the eighteenth century.

The concerti which Stabilini composed were published in a somewhat adulterated form, as they all appeared in arrangements for keyboard with accompaniment: numbers I and II as arranged for harpsichord or pianoforte with two violins and cello, and numbers III and V as arranged for the harpsichord or pianoforte with violin. It is therefore almost impossible to form any kind of opinion as to Stabilini's own strengths and merits as an orchestrator. The orchestral texture would probably have been light and unobtrusive, the solo violin being accompanied by the upper strings only, in the manner of Tartini and his other Italian contemporaries and followers. The only clues as to the original orchestration are to be found in the arrangement of the *Fifth Concerto*, such as the indications for oboes in thirds and sixths in the first movement (see pages 497 and 508). Apart from these, there are no others. The original scoring would almost certainly have included full strings and woodwind: flutes, oboes and bassoons. There may have been

³⁸ “CARD.

MR STABILINI most respectfully acquaints the Public that his
FIFTH CONCERTO

For the Piano Forte and Harpsichord,
Is just Published, to be had at his House, North St. James's Street, and at all the Music
Shops.”

CM, 17.7.1800.

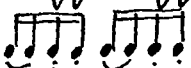
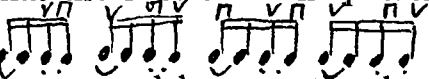
³⁹ Johnson, *Music and Society*, 58.

parts for two horns, and parts for two clarinets in the fifth concerto if the concerto was originally in Eb, and was not transposed by Urbani (see note 45). It is possible that the concerto was transposed. The choice for Eb for a violin concerto seems somewhat unusual, bearing in mind that the vast majority of eighteenth-century *concerti* for the violin tended to the sharp keys, and also considering that all the other *concerti* by Stabilini that are extant are in sharp keys.

It is evident that in the arrangements much of what was in the solo violin part has been transferred to the right hand of the keyboard part, whilst the violin is given material which was probably originally in the orchestral parts. This latter material is musically less interesting, and technically much less demanding than the upper keyboard part. It consists mostly of accompanying material, much of it harmonic rather than melodic in nature, and rarely venturing beyond third position. This is probably because the arranger felt that the solo violin part as originally written by Stabilini, would have been too demanding for the average amateur: in its range and figuration the original version is clearly virtuoso writing (the tempo marking is *Allegro con Spirito*), and it is at the same time violinistic writing. The string crossings, and passage work lie well on the fingerboard and under the player's hand. In the arrangement, it is in the keyboard part that the majority of the "solo" writing is to be found. Ornamented *cantabile* writing is contrasted with scales and arpeggios in semiquavers and triplets.

There are a number of pauses indicated in the outer movements of the *concerti*, where presumably the soloist would have had the chance of improvising a cadenza. Considering their ephemeral nature, it is not surprising that there is almost no trace of what these cadenzas were in the original version of the concerto. It is likely that the cadenza at the end of the first movement of the *concerti* would have been the longest and the most elaborate, whereas those in the last movement may only have been brief flourishes. In the arrangement of the *Fifth Concerto*, there are little written-out embellishments in two of the movements which may have been Stabilini's own: the figuration is not exclusively pianistic, and slurring the triplets together in groups of three and/or six would perhaps make it more characteristic of string phrasing.

Unfortunately, it is impossible to have any idea as to the original dynamics or articulation marks. A number of both are indicated in the arrangements of the *concerti*, including in the one arranged by Urbani. In view of this consistency, it is possible that these were indeed Stabilini's own directions for the performers. The dynamic indications are consistently detailed in all the *concerti*: at one end of the scale *pianissimo*, *piano*, *piano sempre*, *mezza voce*, *perdendosi*, *mancando*, *con espressione*, *dolcemente*, *dolce*, *dolce sempre legato*, while the frequent *sforzando*, *rinforzando* and *fortissimo* markings seem to suggest the original orchestral nature of some of the material.

There are a number of small clues as to what may have been Stabilini's own articulation. Most of these occur in semiquaver passages where the violin part has slurs marked where the keyboard part has none. In the opening ritornello of the first movement of the *Fifth Concerto*, the upper sounding part of the keyboard has no slurs, whilst in exactly the same passage the violin has two slurred and two separate semiquavers. This type of figuration is also found in other music from this period. There are two ways of phrasing this: either playing the two separate semiquavers on up bows:  or bowing everything separately, so that the first two semiquavers come on alternate down and up bows:  This has the effect of emphasising every second beat, as the down bow is naturally stronger and more emphatic. It therefore lends a certain lilt to the music, and also lengthens the phrase. In the first episode of the third-movement rondo, the first note of a group of semiquavers is played separately and the rest are slurred together. This type of figuration is also characteristic of violin writing. It seems probable then that other passages similar to the above in the original violin part of the *concerti* would have been articulated in the same way.

All of the *concerti* are dedicated to women; the first to Mrs Muir McKenzie, the second to Lady Charlotte Hay, the third to Lady Elizabeth Cunningham and the fifth to Miss Henrietta Hunter of Blackness. Only the second and fifth *concerti* bear lists of subscribers. These include a large number of musicians who were clearly amateurs – many were women, the majority of them unmarried. For these women, music fulfilled a number of different

functions. It was, at the same time, a social skill, an accomplishment and a diversion. Maria Edgeworth noted in 1798, that:

“Accomplishments, it seems, are valuable as being the objects of universal admiration. Some accomplishments have another species of admiration, as they are tickets of admission to fashionable company. Accomplishments have another, and a higher species of value, as they are supposed to increase a young lady’s chance of a prize in the matrimonial lottery. Accomplishments have also a value as resources against ennui, as they afford continual amusement and innocent occupation. This is ostensibly their chief praise; it deserves to be considered with respect.”⁴⁰

More recently, David Johnson has noted that:

“...[the] recorder, flute, violin, and cello were played only by gentlemen; gamba and keyboard instruments were played by both sexes, the latter becoming increasingly ‘female’ as the century progressed; and cittern was played only by ladies.”⁴¹

It is most likely then, that the majority of this group of subscribers would have played the keyboard. Amongst the few male subscribers to the fifth concerto are listed a number of advocates, doctors and surgeons – members of the professional classes. Most of the subscribers were from Edinburgh, and most of these from the exclusive New Town.⁴² Also listed are: Urbani; Schetky, the German cellist and composer of the Edinburgh Musical Society; Gilbert Innes of Stow, a well-known local amateur; George Thomson of the Musical Society in Edinburgh; Gow and Shepherd, the music sellers, and Corri, Dussek and Co. In all these respects, this list is typical of other music published in the same period.⁴³

⁴⁰ Edgeworth, Maria *Practical Education* (London: Printed for J. Johnson, 1798), I, 522-3, cit. Hill, Bridget *Eighteenth-Century Women: an Anthology* (London: Allen and Unwin 1987), 59. Diack Johnstone has noted that: “Ever since Elizabethan times, a modest competence in keyboard playing and in singing too had been considered a valuable, (i.e., marriageable) asset in young ladies of social standing.” Diack Johnstone, Harry and Fiske, Roger eds., *Music in Britain. The Eighteenth Century* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1990), 188.

⁴¹ Johnson, *Music and Society*, 24. Diack Johnstone has made a similar observation: “The main instruments of chamber music, violin, flute, oboe and cello (or bassoon), were played almost exclusively by men. The harpsichord [keyboard] on the other hand was essentially a female instrument...quite when or how this rigid sexual differentiation came about is not entirely clear, but it had certainly been firmly established long before the end of the 17C, and it was to continue far into the 19C as well.” Diack Johnstone, and Fiske, *Music in Britain*, 188.

⁴² For example, Miss Farquharson, No. 78 Prince’s Street; Miss Caroline Grant, Hanover Street; Miss Wilson, No. 53 Queen’s [sic] Street; Miss Young, St. James’s Square.

⁴³ E.g. Corri, *Select Collection*; Urbani, Pietro *A Select Collection of Original Scotch [sic] Airs with Select and Characteristic Scotch & English Verses the Most Part Written by the Celebrated R. Burns Arranged for the Voice with Introductory & Concluding Symphonies and Accompaniment for the Piano Forte Violin and Violoncello Humbly Dedicated by Permission to Her Grace the Dutchess of Bedford* (Edinburgh: Urbani & Liston, 1804).

Stabilini's obituary praised his "execution, as well as his expression, particularly as an Adagio player on the violin", stating that they "have been seldom equalled".⁴⁴ It is in the slow movements of the *concerti* that the grace and expression mentioned by the writer in his obituary are clearly evident.

The slow movements tend to be lyrical, expressive *Romances* in the dominant, as in the second, third and fifth *concerti*. The *Andante Cantabile* of the *Fifth Concerto* is a linking movement of only 42 bars length, compared with the weighty 437 of the first movement. The solo part is heavily ornamented with turns, chromatic appoggiaturas and runs in pure galant style. The delicate lyricism of the melodic line is underpinned, as in the second and third *concerti*, by a slow moving bass, mostly in crotchets, and quavers in the inner parts. This rocking quaver motion is constant throughout the whole of the *Andante* of this concerto, and was probably supplied by the upper strings in the original scoring. All the interest is in the melodic line, and the accompaniment is entirely chordal/homophonic. There is a brief eight-bar introduction to the movement and it is possible that this line was originally assigned to oboes, clarinets or flutes in thirds – Arnot's *History of Edinburgh*, published in 1779, notes that the Musical Society had clarinets.⁴⁵ In the arrangement of the concerto, the solo part has been transferred once again to the right hand of the keyboard, whilst the violin, for the most part, has accompanying material.

Another observer of Stabilini was Stark. He noted that: "...[Stabilini] though a respectable performer, probably from the want of rivalry in his department, has never advanced much beyond the limits to which his talents had already arrived."⁴⁶ This brief statement contains various points of interest. Most obviously, it provides another view of Stabilini from that expressed in his obituary. It is rather more objective and critical than merely laudatory. This is possibly linked to the point that Stark penned his

⁴⁴ *Scots Magazine* (September, 1815), 719.

⁴⁵ "The band [of the Musical Society] consists of a *Maestro di capella* [sic], an organist, two violins, two tenors, six or eight *ripienos*, a double or *contra-base*, and harpsichord; and occasionally two French horns, besides kettle-drums, flutes, and clarinets." Arnot, *History*, 380.

⁴⁶ Stark, *Picture*, 372.

observation while Stabilini was still alive, whilst an obituary would tend to the eulogistic.

It is interesting to note, and also most significant that, having arrived in Scotland in 1784 in his early twenties, already a violinist of some repute, Stabilini should have been prepared to spend the rest of his life here, when he clearly lacked the musical stimulation and competition to develop his talents further. In his study of *Music and Society*, David Johnson has observed that in the late eighteenth century, the majority of those who made important contributions to the Scottish musical scene were not Scottish, that most of them did not spend more than ten years in Scotland, and those who did, tended to degenerate into “second-rate musicians”.⁴⁷ It is telling that most of Stabilini’s compositions seem to date from the first sixteen years of his life in Edinburgh and that, after that, he does not appear to have published any more works.

Despite all of this, Stark also noted that Stabilini was still “...a favourite with the public; and though better performers sometimes visit the metropolis, he is still to be considered as the first resident violin player in Edinburgh.”⁴⁸ One of the “better performers” that Stark was referring to was, almost certainly, the violinist Giovanni Maria Giornovich, who appeared at Edinburgh in the 1790s.⁴⁹ Stark’s observations about Stabilini are rich in implications. That Stabilini was still “a favourite with the public” in the early part of the nineteenth century, when Stark presumably wrote his *Picture*, suggests that Stabilini was still able to earn his living as a musician in the period immediately after the demise of the Musical Society. Advertisements printed in newspapers in the last few years of the eighteenth century show that, along with Natale Corri and his wife, Urbani and Schetky, Stabilini was one of those involved in the attempt to set up a concert series which would replace the Edinburgh Musical Society. The extent of Stabilini’s involvement in the organization of the Professional Concert is unclear, and Cranmer has suggested that Natale Corri was the principal figure in its organization.⁵⁰ The Professional Concert series had been planned for 1797, but actually took place the following year:

⁴⁷ Johnson, *Music and Society*, 54.

⁴⁸ Stark, *Picture*, 372.

⁴⁹ See chapter 8.

⁵⁰ “Between 1799-1816, subscription concert series in the Scottish capital were organised by leading local musicians. Of these impresarios, Natale Corri was the most important,

"PROFESSIONAL CONCERT,
George Street Assembly Rooms.
MR and Mrs CORRI, Mr STABILINI, Mr URBANI, and Mr SCHETKY,
have the honour of announcing to the Public, that the
PROFESSIONAL CONCERT, which was proposed last season, but
prevented by the continuation of the Gentleman's Concert at St
Cecilia's Hall, is now to take place in the *George Street Assembly
Room*...The Performers beg leave to add, that every possible exertion
will be made to gratify the Public with Novelty and Variety...Those
Ladies and Gentlemen who propose to honour the Professional
Concert with their patronage, will be so obliging as to signify their
intention as soon as possible, by a note addressed to any of the
above-named Performers...".⁵¹

The series seems to have been successful at first,⁵² and a second series was planned for the next season.⁵³ The programmes of the Professional Concert bore some similarity to those that had been given at the Musical Society concerts, with vocal and instrumental arrangements of Scots songs performed alongside music by Italian composers.⁵⁴ Shortly after its institution, however, the Professional Concert was dissolved,⁵⁵ and a "New SUBSCRIPTION CONCERT"⁵⁶ was organised by Natale Corri. The advertisement for the series listed Stabilini as one of the principal performers:

"NEW SUBSCRIPTION CONCERT,
ASSEMBLY-ROOMS – GEORGE STREET.
[Natale Corri]...Anxious to merit the approbation of the Subscribers
and the Public...has engaged several New Performers from England,
at very great expense
...The Following are the principal Performers, viz:
VOCAL
Mrs [Natale] CORRI, Mr URBANI...
Mr FRIEND from Durham
INSTRUMENTAL
Mr STABILINI, Leader of the Band
Master PINTO, Violin and Piano Forte Concerto
Mess. SCHETKYS, Violoncellos
Mr FRAZER, Oboe
Miss DALE, Pedal Harp
Mr [Natale] Corri, Piano Forte

although Pietro Urbani and John Mather were active in the years 1803 and 1811-1812, respectively." Cranmer, "Concert Life", 44. Similarly, "Edinburgh's regular concert series were promoted by Natale Corri. Corri was the leading figure in their organisation...". Cranmer, "Concert Life", 45.

⁵¹ CM, 8.12.1798; 15.12.1798; 20.12.1798. A similar advertisement also appeared in the edition of 24.12.1798.

⁵² EEC, 31.1.1799 printed a very favourable review.

⁵³ EEC, 8.8.1799. The dates of the concerts were announced in CM, 11.1.1800; 18.1.1800.

⁵⁴ For examples of the programmes given at the Professional Concerts, see: EEC, 19.1.1799; 21.1.1799; 7.2.1799; 11.3.1799; 25.3.1799; 15.4.1799. CM, 23.1.1800; 30.1.1800; 6.2.1800; 20.2.1800; 3.4.1800; 17.4.1800; 24.4.1800.

⁵⁵ "...The Society of the Professional Concert being dissolved, all Persons having any claims against said Society are requested to make immediate application to Mr N. Corri, No. 37. North Bridge Street, who will satisfy all demands.
N.B. Not to be repeated." CM, 6.6.1800.

⁵⁶ CM, 6.11.1800; 15.11.1800.

...8 Violins, 2 Tenors, 2 Violoncellos, 2 Double Basses, 2 Oboes, 1 Flute, 2 Bassoons, 2 Horns, 2 Trumpets and Kettle Drums.

The Public will thus have an opportunity, (for the first time in this city) of hearing the full Pieces complete in all their parts, in a new and extended Orchestra, built for the purpose. The Symphonies, as well as the Sola [*sic*] Performance, will be varied every night, and Mr Corri is enabled, by the kindness of Mr Saloman [*sic*], to promise some of the Grand Symphonies, in Manuscript, composed for his concert, in London, by Haydn, and which cannot be heard else where out of London...".⁵⁷

It was in the nineteenth century that Michael Kelly travelled to Edinburgh, where he heard "...a young Italian, of the name of Stabilini, a first-rate violin".⁵⁸ By Stabilini's death in 1815, Robert Chambers stated that the Italian was "...much broken down."⁵⁹ The cause of this, Chambers also noted, was dissipation. The violinist had, in fact, been well known throughout his life as a *bon viveur*. John Kay described him as a "joyous creature" remarking that:

"...he was a great favourite of Skene of Skene – a gentleman of ability and genius, and who loved of all things to spend the night over his glass with his friends. Stabilini...was his frequent companion, and used to spend weeks with him in the country...While he was there it was no uncommon thing for to-morrow to dawn before the Bacchanalian orgies of the night had been concluded."⁶⁰

Another, rather enigmatic, anecdote tells us that "The tricks that he [Stabilini] played off upon the natives with his favourite spaniel, at private parties, and in particular at the public dinner in Mid-Calder, will yet be remembered by many."⁶¹ Stabilini's death was noted in a mortality register as being the result of dropsy,⁶² a disease which in the words of one eighteenth-century doctor, afflicted "those who make too free with spiritous liquors...".⁶³ He was buried in Edinburgh in St. Cuthbert's cemetery.⁶⁴

From the evidence of contemporary comments, observations, newspaper advertisements and reviews, it is clear that Girolamo

⁵⁷ CM, 3.1.1801; 5.1.1801.

⁵⁸ Kelly, *Reminiscences*, II, 75.

⁵⁹ Chambers, Robert *Traditions of Edinburgh* (Edinburgh and London: Chambers, [s.a.]), 279.

⁶⁰ Kay, John *Original Portraits*, I, 294.

⁶¹ Kay, John *Original Portraits*, I, 294.

⁶² Cit. Harris, *Saint Cecilia's Hall*, 91.

⁶³ Motherby, George *A New Medical Dictionary; or, General Repository of Physic. Containing an Explanation of the Terms, and a Description of the various particulars relating to Anatomy, Physiology, Physic, Surgery, Materia Medica, Chemistry, &c. &c. Each Article, according to its Importance, being considered in every Relation to which its Usefulness extends in the Healing Art* (London: J. Johnson, G. G. J. and J. Robinson, A. Hamilton and J. Murray, 1785), 'Hydrops'.

⁶⁴ His gravestone reads: "Memoriae Hieronymi Stabilini; Amici Moerentes Posuerunt. Romae natus; Edinae obiit; Mens. Jul. MDCCCXV. Aetat LIV". See Page 568.

Stabilini was one of the principal performers who resided in Edinburgh – not only at the Musical Society concerts, but also after the dissolution of the Society at the very end of the eighteenth century. In common with many other musicians, Stabilini was a composer as well as a performer. The published arrangements of his *concerti* are violinistic, fluent and assured works and they bear testimony to his popularity as a performer in the Scottish capital.

CHAPTER 8

GIOVANNI MARIA GIORNOVICH

The career of Giovanni Maria Giornovich¹ makes an interesting comparison, and in many ways a contrast, to that of Girolamo Stabilini on a number of different levels. These two violinists were exact contemporaries.² While Stabilini has remained a somewhat obscure figure, and is perhaps only of secondary importance in the history of European music in this period (and even in the development of the violin concerto), Giornovich, however, was one of the most celebrated violinists of his day. Giornovich, unlike Stabilini, toured widely throughout his life and his music was much published – among others by Sieber, Pleyel and Imbault in Paris, by Hummel in Berlin, by Johann André in Offenbach, by the Grand Magazin de Musique in Amsterdam, and by Longman & Broderip in London. Furthermore, since Giornovich's lifetime, his music has been studied by scholars of the development of the eighteenth-century violin concerto, and he has been recognised as one of the leading figures in the development of this genre.³

Before travelling to Scotland in the 1790s, Giornovich had appeared at the *Concert Spirituel* and the *Concert des Amateurs* in Paris, at the courts of the Crown Prince of Prussia and of Catherine II in St. Petersburg, and he also played in Moscow and in Vienna.⁴ Giornovich seems to have arrived in London in 1790,⁵ and part of

¹ The many different spellings of Giornovich's surname are listed in a number of sources, perhaps one of the most comprehensive is to be found in Schneider, Arthur "Un Virtuose Croate en France au XVIIIe Siècle: Ivan Mane Jarnovic", *Annales de L'Institut Français de Zagreb*, VI-VII (1942-43), 63-64. Giornovich is referred to as Giovanni Mane Giornovich in most printed sources. Mane, however, is not an Italian name, and it is possible that this has been based on a manuscript source – Mane being similar to Maria or Marie in handwritten text.

² In the sense that Giornovich's exact date of birth remains unknown. Chappell White states that it was between 1735 and 1745. *Grove* 6, VII, 397. Giornovich died in November 1804. His place of birth is likewise unknown, and Schneider has suggested that he was Croatian in Schneider, "Un Virtuose Croate", 64. Chappell White, however, has noted in *Grove* 6, "...Giornovich was probably Italian by preference and training if not by birth." Stabilini, it will be remembered, was born in 1761 and died in 1815.

³ See, for example: White, Chappell *From Vivaldi to Viotti. A History of the Early Classical Violin Concerto* (Pennsylvania: Gordon and Breach, 1994); White, Chappell "The Violin Concertos of Giornovich" *Musical Quarterly* LVIII (1972) 24-45; Nunamaker, Norman K. "The Virtuoso Violin Concerto before Paganini: the Concertos of Lolli, Giornovich, and Woldemar" Indiana University PhD thesis, 1968.

⁴ See for example: Schneider, "Un Virtuose Croate", 63-85; Mooser, R.-Aloys "Giovanni-Mane Giornovicchi, dit Jarnowick", *Rivista Musicale Italiana* LII (1950), 64-70.

⁵ *Biographical Dictionary*, VI, 225. Similarly, Schneider, "Un Virtuose Croate", 64, n. 2. Van der Straeten states that Giornovich's London debut was in 1791. Van Der Straeten, Edmund *The History of the Violin. Its Ancestors and Collateral Instruments from the Earliest Times to the Present Day* (London: Cassell, 1933), II, 41.

his career there is recorded in the *London Stage*. With the exception, perhaps, of that written by Harris in *Saint Cecilia's Hall*,⁶ little has been written on the visits that Giornovichi made to Edinburgh. No mention of his Edinburgh visit is found in the entry on Giornovichi in Sainsbury's *Dictionary*,⁷ and even more recent work by scholars have not established the extent of Giornovichi's activities outside London. Chappell White has merely stated that "Apparently, he toured the provinces of Great Britain and Ireland in 1792, with special success in the resort city of Bath".⁸ Similarly, Schmidl has noted that Giornovichi "peregrinó per quattro anni nelle provincie del Regno Unito, sempre ammirato...".⁹

From the evidence of the Edinburgh newspapers, such as *Caledonian Mercury* and the *Edinburgh Evening Courant*, it would seem that Giornovichi made several visits to Edinburgh in the 1790s. The *Caledonian Mercury* advertised a number of concerts in July 1790 in which Giornovichi was to perform. In the last week of this month the *Mercury* announced a concert:

"ST. CECILIA'S HALL.
MISS CORRI'S CONCERT,
IS FIXED FOR
TUESDAY, JULY 27. 1790.
IN WHICH
M. GIORNOVICKE
WILL PERFORM
A GRAND CONCERTO,
and the much-admired
RUSSIAN AIR."¹⁰

At the very end of the month, the *Mercury* carried another advertisement, this time a benefit for Giornovichi, in which the violinist and Sophia Corri were to be joined by Pietro Urbani:

"By Desire of the Governor and Directors of the
MUSICAL SOCIETY,
On Monday Evening, there will be an
EXTRAORDINARY CONCERT,
For the Benefit of
The Celebrated Mr GIORNOVICKE.

⁶ Harris, *Saint Cecilia's Hall*, 80-84.

⁷ "In 1792, we find him [Giornovichi] in London, where he played at all the great concerts till the year 1796...He next proceeded to Hamburg...". Sainsbury, *Dictionary*, I, 389.

⁸ White, *History*, 250. Similarly: "Early in 1791 he began to play regularly in London...He also played in Ireland and Edinburgh...". Grove6, VII, 397.

⁹ "He toured the provinces for four years, and was praised everywhere for his playing...". (Author's translation.) Schmidl, *Dizionario*, I, 628.

¹⁰ CM, 24.7.1790; 26.7.1790. An advertisement in the CM edition of 31.7.1790 announced another performance of this work.

The Vocal Parts by Miss SOPHIA CORRI, Mrs STEWART
and Signor URBANI.

And, with this Evening's Entertainment, the Concerts will close for
the season. The Governor and Directors, sensible of Mr
GIORNOVICKE'S uncommon merit, beg leave earnestly to recommend
him, on this occasion, to the patronage of the Public."¹¹

It would seem that Giornovich left Edinburgh shortly after, perhaps
in the early part of August, as the following note appeared in the
Mercury, and after this date there are no further references to
concerts in which he was to appear:

"CARD.

MR GIORNOVICKE offers his most respectful compliments to the
Ladies and Gentlemen who did him the honour to attend his Concert
on Monday evening, and returns his unfeigned thanks for their
patronage on that occasion. He shall ever remember, with pleasure
and gratitude, the very marked approbation which the Edinburgh
audience bestowed on his talents."¹²

Although the advertisements that were printed in newspapers
state that Giornovich was given a benefit concert from the
Edinburgh Musical Society, there is no record in the *Minutes* of the
Society of a contract between Giornovich and the Society. Neither is
there a record of any substantial sum of money paid to the violinist.
There is, however, a note in the *Minutes* stating that the Society paid
Corri £20.0.0 for Giornovich:

"...By Mr Corri for Mr Giornovicke [sic] pr order	£ 20.0.0
[total expenditure	£348.1.6]" ¹³

It is more than likely that these were travelling expenses;¹⁴ indeed,
it appears that Sophia Corri and Giornovich had travelled up from
London together, as the *Edinburgh Evening Courant* from the
following summer (July 1791) reveals:

"CARD.

MISS CORRI returns her grateful thanks to the Ladies and Gentlemen
who honoured her with their company last Thursday at her Concert.
– At the same time, as she understands some disapprobation has
been expressed on account of the tickets being raised to Five
Shillings, she takes this opportunity of explaining to the Public,
that the produce of her and Mr Jarnovick's concerts last year
scarcely defrayed the expences of the Concert and of their journey
from London..."¹⁵

¹¹ CM, 29.7.1790.

¹² CM, 7.8.1790.

¹³ EMS, *Minutes*, 25.6.1790-28.1.1791.

¹⁴ In 1778 the Musical Society had offered Giuseppe Puppo £10.0.0 for his journey from
London to Edinburgh. EMS, *Minutes*, 6.11.1778. In 1788 the Musical Society offered
Signora Sultani £10.0.0 for her journey by sea from Edinburgh to London. EMS,
Minutes, 17.5.1788.

¹⁵ EEC, 25.7.1791.

It is interesting to speculate on how far Domenico Corri was involved in arranging Giornovich's visit to Edinburgh. Corri, it will be remembered, had moved to London in 1788, along with his wife (*La Miniatrice*) and their daughter. By 1790 he had begun trading from an address in Dean Street, Soho, and it is possible that his musical connections brought him into contact with Giornovich. Whether he arranged the visit on behalf of the Musical Society, acting as one of their agents in London, is not known.

It is possible that the fee demanded by Giornovich may have been too high for the Edinburgh Musical Society to bear. Already by the very end of the previous decade the Society concerts had begun to lose ground to other entertainments offered in Edinburgh – in August 1789 the Directors of the Society noted in the *Minutes* that they resolved to “...endeavour to prevail on Ladies of fashion to honor the concert as a place of fashionable amusement”.¹⁶ The last decade of the eighteenth century has been identified not only as a period of decline for the Musical Society,¹⁷ but also as marking a change in the way that concerts were funded in Edinburgh. Newspaper advertisements relating to a visit that Giornovich made to Edinburgh in 1792 reveal that the concerts in which the Italian was to play were paid for not by the Musical Society, but by subscription:

“GIORNOVICH.

Edinburgh, Jan. 1792.

MANY Ladies and Gentlemen having expressed a wish, that the celebrated GIORNOVICH could be induced to visit Edinburgh again, it is proposed that a Subscription should be opened for that purpose, and that there shall be *Five Concerts* upon a Grand Scale, about the beginning of March. Each Subscriber to pay *One Guinea*, and to be entitled to admission to all the Concerts. – But as the plan cannot take place, unless there are at least *One Hundred Subscribers*, it is requested, that those who wish to promote the undertaking, will put down their names as early as possible. – It is intended to issue a limited number of Tickets only so as the Room may not be inconveniently crowded; and that Non-Subscribers shall pay double price for each single Concert. – No money to be paid by the Subscribers until Mr Giornovich's arrival in Edinburgh, when the Concert will be under his direction; – in the mean time, Subscriptions will be received by Mr Watlen, No 17 Princes Street, (who is appointed Manager), also at all the Music Shops in town. N.B. There are already forty Subscribers of the first rank and fashion.”¹⁸

¹⁶ EMS, *Minutes*, 7.8.1789. McVeigh (*Concert Life*, 174, 192) notes that Giornovich received £105.0.0 for twelve nights in London in 1794.

¹⁷ Cranmer, “Concert Life”, 14 ff.

¹⁸ CM, 19.1.1792.

Newspapers show that Giornovich returned to Edinburgh in 1797. The *Edinburgh Evening Courant* announced that the violinist would perform in a concert at St. Cecilia's Hall alongside Signora (Natale) Corri and Urbani. The *Courant* published the programme of the concert:

"ST. CECILIA'S HALL.

MR GIORNIVICHI [*sic*] takes the liberty of informing the Public, That, by Desire of the Directors of the Musical Society, his CONCERT is fixed for TUESDAY NEXT the 23d May, to begin at Seven o'clock.

PLAN.

ACT I.

Symphony -- HAYDN.

Song -- Mr URBANI.

Song -- Mrs CORRI.

Concerto -- Mr GIORNIVICHI, with the favourite Russian Air, by particular Desire.

Act II.

Scots Song -- Mr URBANI.

Song -- Mrs CORRI, with a Violin Obligato by Mr STABILINI.

Concerto -- Mr GIORNIVICHI, in which will be introduced the favourite Airs of *My Native Land and Rule, Britannia.*

Italian Duet -- Mrs CORRI and Mr URBANI.

FINALE.

Tickets (3s. each) to be had of Mr Giornovich, at Mrs Brown's, No. 13, Leith Terrace -- and all the Music Shops."¹⁹

A couple of days after the concert a note appeared in the *Courant* that reveals the concert had been a success:

"MR GIORNOVICH

EMbraces [*sic*] the Earliest Opportunity of expressing his Gratitude, in the warmest manner, to the Brilliant Company who did him the honour of attending his Concert on Tuesday last. -- It will be his study to exert his utmost abilities to please the Public in this place, of whose generosity he will ever retain the deepest sense.

Mr G. hopes he may be permitted to express his regret, that the company on Tuesday night were so much incommoded for want of room; and to make his acknowledgements also to the great number of Ladies and Gentlemen who were disappointed of admittance."²⁰

Some two months later, in July, the *Courant* announced another concert by the Italian violinist:

"ST. CECILIA'S HALL.

MR GIORNOVICH begs to inform the Public, That, at the request of a number of Ladies and Gentlemen, and those who could not obtain admission at his late Concert, he will give a CONCERT on TUESDAY the 1st August...

¹⁹ EEC, 18.5.1797; 20.5.1797; 22.5.1797.

²⁰ EEC, 25.5.1797.

N.B. – To prevent the company being crouded [sic], as at his late Concert the number of tickets will be limited...".²¹

Once again, the programme of the concert appeared in the newspapers, although it is somewhat vague, as it does not give specific details of the pieces that were to be performed:

"...Plan of the Concert.

Act I.

Symphony – – PLEYEL.

Song – – Mr URBANI.

Solo Concerto – Mr SCHETKY.

Song – Mrs CORRI.

New Concerto – Mr GIORNOVICH.

Act II.

Scotch Song – Mr URBANI.

Bravura Song – Mrs CORRI.

Concerto – Mr GIORNOVICH.

Italian Duett – – Mrs CORRI & Mr URBANI.

FINALE.

*Tickets (3s. each) to be had of Mr GIORNOVICH, at Mrs Brown's,
No. 13, Leith Terrace – and all the Music Shops.*

N. B. – To prevent the company being crouded, as at his late Concert, the number of tickets will be limited."²²

The visits that Giornovich made to Edinburgh in the 1790s are important for a number of reasons. While the 1790 and 1797 visits seem to be connected to the Musical Society, that proposed in 1792 was to be funded by public subscription. Writing on music in Edinburgh between 1780 and 1830, Cranmer has noted the decline of the Edinburgh Musical Society, and the shift in the way concerts were funded, and has observed that:

"Between about 1750-1790, the Musical Society had been able to entice foreign players in Edinburgh through the offer of handsome salaries and lucrative teaching opportunities. However, in the early nineteenth century, with unreliable prospects of regular employment within a much shorter concert season, few non-native musicians of excellence were persuaded to follow suit. Although many foreign musicians settled in the Scottish capital during the three decades after about 1800, they were principally instructors rather than performers."²³

The visits that Giornovich made to Edinburgh occur, therefore, during a period when the fabric of musical patronage in Edinburgh was undergoing a fundamental change. While this can be seen with the establishment of the Professional Concert towards the end of the 1790s, it is also evident earlier in the decade, with the subscription organised to bring Giornovich to Edinburgh.

²¹ EEC, 29.7.1797.

²² EEC, 31.7.1797.

²³ Cranmer, "Concert Life", 95.

There is another important aspect to the performances that Giornovich gave in Edinburgh. This is linked to the music that the violinist composed and played, and also to what he represented, to how he was perceived, by those who heard him. The comments that were made by those who heard the Italian perform in the Scottish capital conform in character to the many cited by Nunamaker in his study on the reception of this violinist.²⁴ Fifteen years before Giornovich appeared in Edinburgh, the *Mercure de France* observed that Giornovich was "...célèbre par le beau infini, par l'élégance & l'expression de son jeu...",²⁵ and that "...son jeu est brillant, fini & précieux, en même temps qu'il est sensible & animé...".²⁶ Similarly, the author of a German publication wrote of:

"...the superior skill of a Jarnowick, who knew how to draw the most magnificent silver tone out of this instrument, the violin: who held it so completely in his power, and who, with the most beautiful accenting, transformed the greatest difficulties and jumps into a noble play; whose blendings at the pauses sounded the language of tender passion."²⁷

The singer Michael Kelly heard Giornovich perform in the 1780s, and observed:

"...During my stay, I had the pleasure of hearing two of the first performers on the violin, perhaps in the world; both gave concerts, and their performance was truly exquisite, although in different styles. The first was Giornovick, who was on his way from Russia to Paris, and had been many years the first concerto player at the Court of Petersburg. He was a man of a certain age, but in the full rigour of talent; his tone was very powerful, his execution most rapid, and his taste above all alluring. No performer, in my remembrance, played such pleasing music. He generally closed his concert with a rondo, the subject of which, was some popular Russian air, to which he composed variations with enchanting taste; his performance reminded me of the celebrated La Motte, who I had often heard at the Rotunda in Dublin."²⁸

In 1794 in London, the musician William Parke also heard Giornovich perform and noted in his *Musical Memoirs* that:

"...[at the new Theatre Royal Drury Lane] I played a concerto on the oboe...another was performed on the violin by Mr. Jarnovicki...[he] displayed a fine round and sweet tone; his execution was brilliant, and his style natural and pleasing. His concerto, though difficult,

²⁴ Nunamaker, "The Virtuoso Violin Concerto," 199 f.

²⁵ *Mercure de France*, May 1775, cit. Nunamaker, "The Virtuoso Violin Concerto", 199.

²⁶ *Mercure de France*, April 1775, cit. Nunamaker, "The Virtuoso Violin Concerto", 199.

²⁷ Wolf, E. W., *Auch eine Reise aber nur eine kleine Musikalische in den Monaten Junius, Julius und August 1782* (Weimar: C. L. Hoffman, 1784), 14, cit. Nunamaker, "The Virtuoso Violin Concerto", 200.

²⁸ Kelly, *Reminiscences*, I, 229-230.

was full of melody, and he played it with great ease. He was generally and vehemently applauded".²⁹

When Giornovich appeared in Edinburgh in 1790, a reviewer effused that at:

"...ST. CECILIA'S HALL, a very numerous and brilliant assembly, who were highly gratified with a selection of very charming Music...Of the performance of *Giornovick*, it is impossible to speak with adequate praise. He astounded and enraptured all who heard him in the ever varying elegance of his modulations, and the brilliancy and delicacy of his tone."³⁰

George Thomson echoed this view, admiring not only the violinist's tone and expression, but also his presence on stage. Thomson declared that this violinist was:

"The most accomplished violin-player I ever heard, Paganini only excepted...[Giornovich] possessed in a most extraordinary degree the various requisites of his beautiful art; execution particularly brilliant and finely articulated as possible, a tone of the richest and most exquisite quality, expression of the utmost delicacy, grace, and tenderness, and an animation that commanded your most intense and eager attention."

Thomson continues:

"There [St. Cecilia's], as well as at private parties, I heard Giornovich often, and always with no less delight than I listened to Paganini. Both, if I may use the expression, threw their whole hearts and souls into their Cremonas, bows, and fingers."³¹

In his study of the virtuoso violin concerto before Paganini, Nunamaker has traced a line leading from Lolli and Giornovich in the eighteenth century to Paganini in the nineteenth. Paganini, therefore, does not appear as an isolated figure, but as inheriting a variety of technical and compositional devices from his predecessors which he then developed and extended. According to White, in his study on the violin concerto in the eighteenth century, the technical challenges posed in the *concerti* of Giornovich are limited,³² but he observes that:

²⁹ Parke, William Thomas *Musical Memoirs; comprising an Account of the General State of Music in England, from the First Commemoration of Handel in 1784 to the year 1830* (London: H. Colburn and R. Bentley, 1830), 185-186.

³⁰ *CM*, 29.7.1790.

³¹ Harris, *Saint Cecilia's Hall*, 80.

³² "...it is characteristic that the most difficult passages are climactic and brief in duration. These concertos call for exactly those qualities praised in Giornovich's performance: precision, a singing tone, and an elegant, unmannered style of playing." White, *From Vivaldi to Viotti*, 256. Similarly: "...Giornovich was not an innovator in violin technique...his repertoire of violinistic figures demand flexibility of the right arm and facile left hand, but his concertos are not nearly so continuously demanding as Lolli's, indeed, the difficulties are seldom more demanding than those in the concertos of the talented amateur Saint-Georges." White, "Concertos of Giornovich", 41-42.

"The virtuoso violinist became one of Italy's great exports, and the result was such brilliant but peripatetic careers as those of Lolli and Giornovich. The 'wave of the future' was the public concert, and the development of the solo violin concerto depended to a large extent on riding the crest of that wave."³³

Nunamaker has noted that there were at least two publishers in the eighteenth century who issued complete sets of all eighteen concertos by Giornovich.³⁴ There were also numerous editions of single works that were clearly particular favourites: five different editions of the fifth concerto,³⁵ and five of the fourteenth concerto.³⁶ This last-mentioned work was the concerto "with the much-admired Russian Air" that Michael Kelly had heard Giornovich play, and that the Italian also performed in Edinburgh in 1790 and in 1797.³⁷ Newspaper advertisements reveal that this work was issued by Corri, Dussek & Co. in an arrangement for the pianoforte by Domenico Corri's son-in-law, Jan Ladislav Dussek:

"CORRI, DUSSEK & Co.,
...Giornovich's two favourite concertos (in which is introduced the much admired Russian Air) arranged as sonatas for the Piano Forte by Dussek, 7s. 6d.

" third concerto for the violin, 6s.
Viotti's second and third grand Concertos, arranged for the Piano Forte, with or without additional keys, by Dussek, 7s. 6d.
...Madam Dussek's second set of sonatas for the Harp, with Scottish airs, & c., 6s..."³⁸

The Musical Society also owned a number of Giornovich's works, as can be seen from their *Index* – they included six of the violin concerti and some "Italian Songs."³⁹

The published arrangements of Giornovich's works may also be considered important and revealing for a number of reasons. The title pages of these publications show that the versions were

³³ White, *From Vivaldi to Viotti*, 31.

³⁴ By J. J. Hummel in Berlin and Amsterdam and Sieber in Paris. Nunamaker, "The Virtuoso Violin Concerto", 77. The various editions are listed in *RISM*, III, 258-262.

³⁵ By Sieber fils, Le Duc and Henry in Paris, by Longman & Broderip in London and one possibly by J. J. Hummel in Berlin (the title page is wanting). *RISM*, III, 258-259 and *BUCEM*, 382.

³⁶ McVeigh notes that Giornovich performed this a number of times in the early 1790s, *The Morning Herald* 19.2.1793, cit. McVeigh, *Concert Life*, 99. The various editions of this concerto were by Imbault and Sieber in Paris, by Dale and Wheatstone in London, and by Johann André in Offenbach. *RISM*, III, 260 and *BUCEM*, 382.

³⁷ *CM*, 24.7.1790; 26.7.1790; 31.7.1790; 18.5.1797; 20.5.1797; 22.5.1797. Farmer notes that this work, the "Concerto Violino, with a Russian Air", was also performed by a Mr Byrne at the Aberdeen Musical Society Concerts in March 1800. Farmer, *Music Making*, 63.

³⁸ *EEC*, 30.5.1796. This was possibly the edition cited in *RISM* and *BUCEM* of Giornovich's two favorite concertos arranged as sonatas for the piano forte, with an accompaniment for a violin, by J. L. Dussek (London: Corri, Dussek & Co. [c.1795]). *RISM*, III, 262; *BUCEM*, 382.

³⁹ *EMS*, *Index*, 8.

sometimes made by other musicians, such as Dussek, Cramer and Corri.⁴⁰ They were most probably intended for amateur, domestic music making and were likely to have been editions of particularly popular works.⁴¹ The edition of one of Giornovich's *A major concerti* that Domenico Corri issued is undated⁴² (see pages 517-524). An examination of this publication reveals that there has been a considerable amount of revision of the original by Corri. The second movement, an *Andante poco adagio*, has been omitted, and so this edition features only the first-movement *Allegro moderato* and the last-movement rondo. The individual movements are also shorter than in their original form, as Corri condenses sections by omitting the repetition of passages, either by the orchestra or the soloist (most notably, by omitting the whole second subject of the first movement). Much of the solo violin line is transferred directly to the right hand of the keyboard, with passages that were originally in the higher registers of the violin (beyond fourth position) moved down. The triplet and semiquaver passage work in the original is, in the arrangement by Corri, spread over both left and right hand in an idiomatic keyboard style. The orchestral accompaniment of the original is found reduced to a skeletal outline for the left hand (reduced mostly to alberti basses and broken octaves), which in its simplicity was clearly aimed at the proficient amateur. All the qualities which Giornovich's contemporaries so admired in his playing are still evident in the version of this concerto by Corri. The *cantabile* melodic lines (such as the opening solo) clearly suited Giornovich's "natural and pleasing" manner of performing and the exquisitely sweet quality of his tone. The triplet and semiquaver passages that occur later in the movement and in the rondo finale were suited to his fine articulation and brilliant execution.

⁴⁰ For example: *17me & 18me concertos...arrangés en sonates pour le piano-forté avec accompagnement de violon...par Dussek* (Offenbach: Johann André [s.a.]); *The celebrated concerto...arranged for the harp or piano forte with an accompaniment for violin and bass, ad libitum, by S. Dussek* (London: D. Corri & T. Jones [s.a.]); *Giornovich's two favorite concertos arranged as sonatas for the piano forte, with an accompaniment for a violin, by J. L. Dussek* (London: Corri, Dussek & Co., [c. 1795]); *Giornovich's concerto...composed for the opera concert, 1796, arranged for the pianoforte, with accompaniments for violins, alto, flutes, horns, and bass, by J. B. Cramer* (London: Corri, Dussek & Co. [1796]).

⁴¹ For example: *Two violin concertos composed & arranged by particular desire for the piano forte or harpsichord with a violin accompaniment, by Mr Giornovich* (London: Longman & Broderip, [s.a.]).

⁴² *A Violin Concerto. by Jarnowick adapted for the harpsichord by Domenico Corri* (Edinburgh: Corri & Co. [s.a.]).

Particularly interesting for a different reason is an edition of the G major concerto that was issued by Corri, Dussek & Co. in 1795.⁴³ From the title page it is clear that this concerto was a favourite in those cities mentioned, namely London, Bath and Edinburgh. Unlike the edition of the A major concerto mentioned above, this concerto was not issued as an arrangement, but in the parts in which it was originally written (solo violin with orchestral parts). Writing not specifically about this concerto, but on all of Giornovich's *concerti*, Nunamaker has observed that only three of the second movements have cadenzas for the solo violin.⁴⁴ These cadenzas are found written out, as in the second movement of the fifth concerto, where a *fermata* is indicated in the orchestral parts, while the solo violin part has a lengthy unbarred passage of arpeggios notated in crotchets and quavers. Nunamaker has also identified a similar, shorter passage, marked to be played *ad libitum*, in the second movement of the tenth concerto. The final cadenza that Nunamaker has identified is found in the second movement of the second concerto. It is not notated, but indicated by a *fermata* and the word "Capric." (*capriccio*). Corri's edition of the G major concerto corresponds with Giornovich's eighteenth concerto in Nunamaker's list. In the second movement there is a written-out passage of thirteen bars for the solo violin which is marked "Cadenza" (see page 525). It is possible that this was Corri's transcription of Giornovich's own cadenza to this work – the title page of this edition states that it was *Giornovich's Violin Concerto...as performed at most of the Concerts in London, Bath & Edinburgh...* Domenico Corri was, as has been discussed in chapter V, responsible for the detailed and careful transcriptions of the ornamentation added by singers in their performances of pieces of music that he began publishing in 1779. The difference in approach between this edition, and the edition of the A major concerto discussed above, is clear from the title pages: the A major concerto states that it was "adapted" for the harpsichord by Corri, while the G major concerto announces that this was Giornovich's concerto "as performed" by the violinist.

⁴³ *Giornovich's Violin Concerto (in G) as performed at most of the Concerts in London, Bath & Edinburgh with Accompaniments [sic] for an Orchestra. Dedicated to Charles Hankey Esqr. by the Author* (London and Edinburgh: Corri, Dussek & Co., [1795]).

⁴⁴ Nunamaker, "The Virtuoso Violin Concerto", 103.

Curiously, Giornovich seems not to have incorporated any Scots folk song melodies into his *concerti*, nor to have used them either as themes for slow or rondo movements in the way that other musicians did. Had Giornovich done so, then it seems likely that they would have been advertised as such in newspapers in the way that other resident and visiting Italian musicians did.⁴⁵ Giornovich was not, however, completely untouched by Scottish musical culture, for circa 1796 the Scottish music publishing house of Gow & Shepherd issued *Mr Jarnovich's Reel Composed by Himself and Four Favourite Tune's* [sic] (see page 526).

Along with Giusto Ferdinando Tenducci, Giovanni Maria Giornovich was probably one of the most admired Italian musicians who travelled to Edinburgh in the eighteenth century. It is interesting to note a number of similarities between them: both were principally performers who were admired for their presence and for their *sprezzatura*,⁴⁶ for the skill and command of their instrument, for the beauty and sweetness of their tone, and perhaps above all, for their taste.

⁴⁵ For example, one advertisement for a concert announced: "...New Solo Concerto of Jarnovick - by Mr STABILINI, in which he will introduce a favourite SCOTS TUNE...". *EEC*, 12.2.1791.

⁴⁶ *Sprezzatura*: display of virtuosity, elegance and grace, but showing no sign of study or effort.

CHAPTER 9

PIETRO URBANI

In his *History of Music in Scotland*, Farmer has ranked Pietro Urbani (alongside Giusto Ferdinando Tenducci, Domenico Corri and *La Miniatrice*) as one of the star singers who visited Scotland in the eighteenth century.¹ Urbani, however, was not only a highly-regarded performer, but a well-respected teacher, a prolific arranger and composer, an energetic dealer in music and musical instruments, a tireless entrepreneur and an astute publisher. Furthermore, the twenty or so years which Urbani spent in Scotland (from the end of the eighteenth century and into the first decade of the nineteenth) is one of extreme importance in the history of music in Scotland in this period, as it coincides with the decline and eventual collapse of the Musical Society.

Biographical information about the earliest part of Urbani's life is not plentiful. It has not been established where he performed or whom he sang with, or whether he composed or published any music while still in Italy. Nineteenth- and twentieth-century sources² do not provide many more details beyond those barest elements found in Urbani's obituary, which appeared in the *Scots Magazine* in 1816:

“*Lately, In South Cumberland Street, Dublin, aged 67, after a painful and tedious illness, which he bore with Christian resignation, Peter Urbani, Professor of Music, a native of Milan in Italy, where he obtained the degree of Doctor of Music. The celebrated Rontzini³ [sic] and Urbani were the only remaining two of that great school of science. They finished their studies nearly about the same time, quitted their native homes together, and arrived in London. After some years, Rontzini went to Bath, Urbani to Edinburgh, where he resided for many years with distinguished éclat. He has left an aged widow behind, a foreigner, now deprived of every thing, even the means of subsistence.*”⁴

¹ Farmer, *History*, 311.

² For example; Grove², 202; Grove³, 424; Grove⁵, 640; Grove⁶, 462; Farmer, *History*, 295-296; Harris, *Saint Cecilia's Hall*, 123-131; Masutto, *Maestri*, IV, 449; Sainsbury, *Dictionary*, 496. A number of entries give incorrect dates as to Urbani's arrival in Edinburgh: Eitner^Q, X, 12; Fétis^B, VIII, 286; Mendel, Hermann ed *Musikalisches Conversations-Lexikon. Eine Encyklopädie der Gesammten Musikalischen Wissenschaften* (Berlin: Heimann, 1870), IX, 428. No biographical information about Urbani is to be found in the BDA, the *Enciclopedia dello Spettacolo*, Johnson, *Music and Society*, Flood, ‘Eighteenth Century Italians in Dublin’, and no mention of Urbani is made in Dalyell, *Musical Memoirs*, or Purser, *Scotland's Music*.

³ This was probably Venanzio Rauzzini (1746-1810).

⁴ *Scots Magazine* 1816, 960. This is quoted in Johnson, James; Stenhouse, William ed *The Scots Musical Museum; consisting of upwards of six hundred songs, with proper basses for the pianoforte originally published by James Johnson; and now accompanied with*

Born in 1749, Urbani seems to have travelled to London some time before 1781.⁵ It is not certain how long he stayed there or whether he sang at any of the principal venues there, as his name is not listed in the *London Stage*. What the obituary does not mention is that Urbani did not go straight from London to Edinburgh (and it is from this period onwards that the information about his life becomes rather more plentiful⁶). Urbani travelled first to Dublin in 1781, appearing in Paesiello's *Innocente Fortunata* at the Smock-Alley Theatre, then moved to Glasgow where he was based from 1781 to 1784, returning to Dublin in 1782 when he appeared at the Rotunda.

In 1784 Urbani moved to Edinburgh where he settled for some twenty years performing for the Musical Society, teaching, composing, arranging and publishing music and becoming involved in the trade of music and musical instruments. Indeed, almost all of the music which Urbani arranged and composed was published from 1785-1804, which he spent in Edinburgh. After suffering financial ruin in the years following the demise of the Music Society, Urbani returned to Dublin in the first decade of the nineteenth century,⁷ where he taught and performed at concerts in that city until his death in 1816.

Urbani's name first appears in the *Minutes* of the Edinburgh Musical Society in 1785, when they agreed that they would pay him "...a Guinea a night from 11th April 1785...".⁸ From the evidence of the *Minutes* it seems likely that Urbani was hired to replace another Italian singer, *La Miniatrice*, who was one of the Society's main attractions. At the very end of the previous month, March, is a note stating the intentions which the *Miniatrice* had to leave Scotland and the employ of the Society:

copious notes and illustrations of the lyric poetry and music of Scotland, by the late William Stenhouse with additional notes and illustrations (Edinburgh and London: Blackwood, 1853), lxxviii.

⁵ If the "Rontzini" mentioned in Urbani's obituary is indeed Venanzio Rauzzini, then this would establish that year of Urbani's arrival in England (which has previously been unknown) as 1774.

⁶ For this Dublin period see, for example, Hogan, Ita Margaret *Anglo-Irish Music* (Cork: Cork University Press, 1966), 207; for the years which Urbani spent in Edinburgh, Cranmer, "Concert Life".

⁷ There seems to be some disagreement about the exact year Walsh, Thomas Joseph *Opera in Dublin 1798-1820. Frederick Jones and the Crow Street Theatre* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 32, states that it was in 1804, likewise Hogan, *Anglo-Irish Music*, 207, quoting *Falkener's Journal*. Grove⁶, 640, suggests that it was c. 1809, similarly Masutto, *Maestri*, IV, 449.

⁸ EMS, *Minutes*, 3.12.1784-24.6.1785.

“...having taken into consideration Mrs Corris indispositions & her long absence from the concert and that soon she intends to leave this country, [we] are of the opinion that her Salary ought to be continued only to the Twenty fifth of May & that if she remains after that time in this country & is able to perform the Directors will enter into an Engagement with her at so much a night for her performance...”⁹

At the end of that same year, 1785, it is clear that Urbani was to be regularly employed by the Society, as there is a notice that his salary was to be fixed at fifty guineas a year.¹⁰ There is no other information relating to a contract between Urbani and the Society, but it may be assumed that he was employed along the same terms as the other principal performers, with benefit concerts, the possibility of teaching privately through the Musical Society, as well as the prestige of being associated with the Society.

The Musical Society *Plan Books* and the advertisements which were printed in contemporary newspapers reveal the type of music which Urbani sang in concerts. More often than not, the *Plan Books* and the advertisements do not refer to specific pieces, but are rather more general, mentioning only that he would perform a “Song”¹¹ or, a “Scots Song”.¹² Occasionally, however, there are rather more detailed references to specific pieces, as is evident from the following advertisements:

“ST CECILIA’S HALL.
MR URBANI’S NIGHT
On Tuesday the 22nd inst. will be performed
A
CONCERT OF VOCAL AND INSTRUMENTAL MUSIC.
ACT I.
Grand Overture --- PLEYEL.
Italian Song by Mr URBANI from *La Passiona [sic]*, composed
by JOMELLI.
Concerto on the Grand Piano Forte by Master CLARK.
Song, “Angels ever Bright and Fair,” with an
Organ Accompaniment, by Mr CLARK, and Song by
Mr URBANI – *Handel*.
Concerto on the Violincello Mr SCHETKY, in which
he will introduce a SCOTS AIR.
ACT II.
Grand Concertante --- PLEYEL.
Song, Mr URBANI, “Whither, my Love” from the *Haunted Tower*,
composed by Sig. PAESIELLO.
Solo Concerto on the Violin – Sig. STABILINI.
THE TRIUMPH OF SCOTS MUSIC,

⁹ EMS, *Minutes*, 25.3.1785.

¹⁰ “Mr Urbani Salary is 50 Guineas a year”. EMS, *Minutes*, 5.12.1785.

¹¹ For example: EEC, 20.2.1786; 4.3.1786; 24.5.1786; 24.7.1786; 31.7.1786; 2.2.1795. EMS, *Plan Books*, 5.8.1785; 18.11.1785; 9.12.1785; 16.12.1785; 30.12.1785; 6.1.1786.

¹² See, for example: EEC, 25.2.1786; 17.1.1795; 26.1.1795; 12.3.1796.

In which will be introduced the Favourite Song "The Last Time
I came o'er the Muir;" – the words by a Gentleman, set to
music by Mr URBANI.
TO CONCLUDE WITH A
GRAND MILITARY MARCH, WITH A FULL BAND,
Composed by Mr Urbani for the occasion.
Tickets to be had at Mr Urbani's house, foot of Carruber's Close,
above St Andrew's Chapel, and at the Music Shops – N.B. The Concert
will be over in proper time, not to interfere with the Assembly."¹³

"ST CECILIA'S HALL.
MR STABILINI has the honour to acquaint his Friends and the
Public, That his CONCERT is fixed for TUESDAY the 5th of March, to
begin precisely at seven o'clock.

PLAN OF THE CONCERT.

Act First.

Grand Overture – PLEYEL.

Italian Rondo - *Nel Lasciarti Amato Bene* – Mr URBANI.

By desire, Concertante – Mr SCHETKY.

Song – Mrs CORRI.

Solo, with variations *on the Mandolino* – Mr STABILINI.

Between the acts, the SHROPSHIRE BAND will play a Manuscript
Military Piece – by GIULIANI.

Act Second.

Scotch Song – *For a'that and a'that* – Mr URBANI.

Concerto Violin – Mr STABILINI – In which he will introduce
Shepherds I have lost my Love.

Song – Mrs CORRI.

New Duet – Mrs CORRI and Mr URBANI

Le Nostre Ceneri – by PAESIELLO.

To conclude with a MARCH and QUICK STEP, by the SHROPSHIRE
BAND, composed by Mr Stabilini.

In the course of the evening will be performed the much-admir'd
Glee – *The Friar of Order Grey* – by Mrs CORRI, Mess. WALPOLE and
COOKE.

Tickets, three shillings each, to be had of Mr Stabilini, No. 3 East St
James's Street, and at all the Music Shops."¹⁴

From this, and other similar advertisements, it emerges that Urbani's repertoire included a mixture which was typical of the other singers who had appeared at the Musical Society concerts, such as *La Miniatrice* and Tenducci. Urbani sang extracts from the works (particularly the oratorios) of Handel: most notably from *Samson*,¹⁵ *Acis and Galatea*,¹⁶ *Alcina* (the aria "Verdi Prati"¹⁷) and the *Messiah*, (the recitative "Comfort ye" and the aria which follows on from it,

¹³ EEC, 19.2.1791.

¹⁴ EEC, 2.3.1799 and 4.3.1799.

¹⁵ CM, EEC, 25.7.1785.

¹⁶ CM, 25.7.1785. EEC, 25.7.1785; 9.4.1791; 13.2.1796.

¹⁷ EEC, 28.3.1795; 30.3.1795.

with which Urbani seems to have been particularly associated as he performed it on a number of different occasions¹⁸).

An important part of the repertoire which Urbani performed while he was in Edinburgh were the many arrangements of Scots songs, such as "Auld Robin Gray",¹⁹ "I'll never leave thee",²⁰ "An thou were mine",²¹ "The yellow-hair'd laddie",²² "The bush aboon Traquair",²³ "The broom of Cowdenknowes",²⁴ and "Within a mile of Edinburgh".²⁵ These were also an important part of his activities as a publisher, which are discussed later in this chapter. Urbani also sang Italian arias and duets by Paesiello,²⁶ Cimarosa,²⁷ Rauzzini,²⁸ as well as various pieces written by himself: a rondeau "senti senti, come batti",²⁹ "...A Grand Air, composed on purpose for the occasion, with a Clarinet and Violin Solo...";³⁰ a cantata with the title *Montrose Races*,³¹ and a piano sonata.³²

Particularly interesting, for a number of reasons, was a piece that Urbani composed which was based on the Siege of Gibraltar. The siege itself had lasted for a period of four years from 1779, when the French and the Spanish had combined forces against the British. The Franco-Spanish alliance was finally defeated in 1783 despite attacks on the fortress. In his *Summary of Universal History*, published in London in 1800, the author Francis Dobbs described the events, praising the:

"...courage, vigilance, and skill of General Elliot, who commanded there...So certain however at one time were the Spaniards of taking it on the sea side, by means of vessels cut down, in which guns of very heavy metal were placed, that many of the Spanish and French nobility came down to see the conquest. A number of concealed batteries now opened on them from the fortress, and by firing red hot balls, these vessels were for the most part set on fire. The

¹⁸ EMS, *Plan Books*, 23.12.1785; 21.4.1786. CM, 20.2.1786. EEC, 20.2.1786; 8.3.1788; 9.4.1791; 17.1.1795; 19.1.1795; 18.7.1795; 23.7.1795; 25.7.1795; 16.3.1799; 18.3.1799.

¹⁹ CM, EEC, 14.3.1785.

²⁰ EEC, 12.2.1791.

²¹ EEC, 26.2.1791.

²² EEC, 3.3.1791.

²³ EEC, 26.2.1795; 28.2.1795.

²⁴ EEC, 27.2.1796.

²⁵ EEC, 17.3.1796.

²⁶ CM, 31.7.1786. EEC, 31.7.1786; 12.2.1791; 7.2.1799.

²⁷ EEC, 12.2.1791.

²⁸ EEC, 3.3.1791.

²⁹ CM, EEC, 14.3.1785; 26.3.1785.

³⁰ CM, EEC, 20.2.1786; 25.2.1786; 27.2.1786.

³¹ EEC, 27.2.1796.

³² CM, 23.2.1788.

confusion that followed was tremendous. But the moment of their defeat was ascertained...".³³

As well as the above, a number of accounts describing the siege were published. The *Courant* advertised the publication of Captain Drinkwater's *An Impartial and Authentic Journal of the Interesting Transactions that Happened During the Recent, Long, and Memorable, Blockade and Siege of Gibraltar*.³⁴ The *Mercury* and the *Courant* both advertised Samuel Ancell's *An Authentic and Faithful Journal of the Late Important Blockade and Siege of Gibraltar*.³⁵ A year later, in 1787, the *Mercury* quoted part of a letter from Gibraltar "to a Gentleman in Newcastle", which described the celebrations for the victorious General Elliott on his departure from the island:

"...at night there was one of the grandest pieces of fireworks set off I ever saw; there was six artificial trees put in a square piece of ground, 500 glass lamps, of different colours placed in trees, and, being highlighted in the dark, had a fine effect."³⁶

Urbani's version of the siege was given in 1785 – in the very midst, therefore, of public awareness of the siege. It was announced as occupying the whole of the third act of a benefit concert which Urbani shared with Reinagle, another musician in the employ of the Society:

"ST CECILIA'S HALL...
On TUESDAY the 26th instant, will be performed
SIG. URBANI'S & REINAGLE'S
CONCERT OF MUSIC.
Plan of the Concert:
...ACT III.

The Siege of Gibraltar, a Burletta

The words by a Gentleman for this occasion, the music composed by Signor Urbani; in which is introduced an imitation of the Firing of Cannon from the Garrison, and the Spaniards returning the same; with a new Overture, Songs and Recitative. The whole to conclude with a Grand Chorus, with Kettle Drums and Trumpets. The orchestra will be considerably enlarged for that evening's entertainment.

A book of the burletta will be given gratis at the door. Tickets to be had of Signor Urbani, at Mrs Alexander's, first turnpike head of St Mary's Wynd...".³⁷

The Siege was given again, a couple of months later, "By particular Desire of several Persons of Distinction..."³⁸ and in the following

³³ Dobbs, Francis *A Summary of Universal History, from the Creation to the Present Time. In Letters from a Father to his Son* (London: Author, 1800), XII, 205.

³⁴ *EEC*, 25.6.1785. The *Mercury* advertised a reunion dinner for the officers who were at the siege. *CM*, 14.3.1785.

³⁵ *CM*, 18.2.1786. *EEC*, 8.2.1786.

³⁶ *CM*, 25.6.1787.

³⁷ *CM*, *EEC*, 23.4.1785.

³⁸ *CM*, *EEC*, 18.7.1785.

year, 1786, other performances were advertised "...with full accompaniments of kettle drums and trumpets...",³⁹ as well as separate renditions of the overture in other concerts.⁴⁰ After this, the *Siege* seems to have dropped out of the performing repertoire, as there do not seem to be any further advertisements of performances of it. There were other, relatively ephemeral, works in this genre, such as Urbani's *Britain's Triumph or the Dutch well Dressed. A song with Chorus, occasioned by Admiral Duncan's Victory*; Natale Corri's *The Siege and Surrender of Valenciennes* "...with additions in the Band, for the occasion, of Trumpets, Bassoons, Flageolets, Kettle-drums, &c...",⁴¹ Dussek's *The Naval Battle and Total Defeat of the Grand Dutch Fleet by Admiral Duncan on the 11th of October 1797. A Characteristic Sonata for the Piano Forte Composed and Dedicated to Viscount Duncan By J. L. Dussek*, and Kotswara's *Celebrated Battle of Prague, with Trumpets, Kettle Drums, &c.*

In his *History*, Farmer lends Urbani's *Siege* a certain degree of importance, being one of the few works written for the Scottish stage.⁴² It does not seem to have been published by Urbani, and as Johnson notes, in his article on Urbani in the *New Grove*, a number of Urbani's works appear to have been lost (in particular, the two operas which were performed in Ireland).

Most of the references to Urbani in the *Minutes* of the Edinburgh Musical Society are fleeting and almost all relate to the payments of his salary.⁴³ It may be assumed, therefore, that the

³⁹ EEC, 2.8.1786; 3.8.1786.

⁴⁰ EEC, 24.5.1786; 29.5.1786. The EMS *Plan Books* record a number of performances of an "M.S. Overture from Mr Urbani" in 1785, which may have been the overture to *The Siege*. EMS, *Plan Books*, 20.5.1785; 27.5.1785; 10.6.1785. The *Plan Books* also record a performance of the "Overture to the Siege of Gibraltar by Sigr. Urbani", EMS, *Plan Books*, 7.4.1786.

⁴¹ EEC, 13.2.1796.

⁴² "The few Scottish composers that there were in this country ignored the stage, although the Italians in the country filled the gap, as we see in Urbani's *The Siege of Gibraltar* (1785)..." Farmer, *History*, 306.

⁴³ "Decr By Mr Urbani to accot pr rect 31 Decr £ 15.0.2
By Ditto to Do 24 April 1786 £ 10.6.6
[total transactions £430.16.0]",

EMS, *Minutes*, 2.12.1785-23.6.1786;

"...By Mr Urbani's Ball.ce of his Salry to 17 Augt. £27.3.6
stamp £0.0.4

By Ditto for a Quarter to 17 Novr. stamp 2d £13.2.8 £ 40.6.6
[total transactions £411.16.5]",

EMS, *Minutes*, 23.6.1786-1.12.1786;

"...Feb'y...By Mr Urbani to do [two quarters] to 17 Do [May 1787]
Do [stamp] £ 26.5.4
[total transactions £424.4.0]",

EMS, *Minutes*, 1.12.1786-29.6.1787;

"...By Mr Urbanis Do [$\frac{1}{2}$ year] to 17 Do [November] Do [stamp] £26.5.4
[total transactions £328.7.5 $\frac{1}{2}$]",

Society was satisfied with Urbani and that he was giving them no cause for concern. Very little information about Urbani's activities in Edinburgh actually come from the *Minutes*. There are, however, a couple of brief references to other areas of activity, and the use of other sources helps give a more rounded picture of Urbani's contribution to musical life in Scotland in this period.

The *Minutes* show that in 1788 the Musical Society engaged Urbani to teach music; "...Ordered that Mr Urbani be allowed £10- pr. annum to commence from 1st Febry last for teaching Maxwell Shaw one half of which is to be paid by the Vestry of the Episcopal Chappell."⁴⁴ Urbani had, in fact, been teaching (singing,

EMS, <i>Minutes</i> , 29.6.1787-30.11.1787;		
"...By Mr Urbani ½ year to 17 Do [May 1788]	Do 4d [stamps]	£ 26.5.4
...By Mr Urbani to accot pr order 4 June	Do 2d	£ 10.0.2
	[total transactions	£450.1.4]",
EMS, <i>Minutes</i> , 30.11.1787-27.6.1788;		
"27 June...By Mr Urbanis Do [½ year] to 17 Novr	Do [stamp]	£ 26.5.4
	[total transactions	£405.8.4]",
EMS, <i>Minutes</i> , 27.6.1788-12.12.1788;		
"...By Mr Urbanis Do [½ year] to 17 Do [May]	Do [stamp]	£ 26.5.2
	[total transactions	£520.0.0]",
EMS, <i>Minutes</i> , 12.12.788-26.6.1789;		
"By Mr Urbani Do [½ year]to 17 Do [November]	Do [stamp]	£ 26.5.4
	[total transactions	£330.16.1½]",
EMS, <i>Minutes</i> , 26.6.1789-11.12.1789;		
"...By Mr Urbani Do [½ year] to 17 May Do [1790]	Do [stamp]	£ 26.5.4
	[total transactions	£490.10.0]",
EMS, <i>Minutes</i> , 11.12.1789-25.6.1790;		
"...By Mr Urbanis Do [½ year] to 17 Do [November]	Do 4d [stamp]	£ 26.5.4
	[total transactions	£348.1.6]",
EMS, <i>Minutes</i> , 25.6.1790-28.1.1791;		
"...By Mr Urbanis Do [½ year] to 17th Do [May] 1791	Do [stamp]	£ 26.5.4
	[total transactions	£447.0.4]",
EMS, <i>Minutes</i> , 28.1.1791-15.7.1791;		
"...By Mr Urbani for 2 Quarters to 17 Novr 1791	Stamps 4d	£ 26.5.4
	[total transactions	£423.3.10]",
EMS, <i>Minutes</i> , 15.7.1791-23.12.1791;		
"...By Mr Urbanis Do [½ year] to 17th Do [May 1792]	Do [stamps]	£26.5.4
	[total transactions	£759.10.8½]",
EMS, <i>Minutes</i> , 23.12.1791-28.7.1792;		
"...By Mr Urbanis Do [½ year] to 17 Ditto [November]	Do [stamps]	£26.5.4
	[total transactions	£508.15.6]",
EMS, <i>Minutes</i> , 28.7.1792-18.1.1793;		
"...By Mr Urbani 2 Quarters to 17th Do [February]	Do [stamps]	£26.5.4
	[total transactions	£463.11.1]",
EMS, <i>Minutes</i> , 18.1.1793-5.7.1793;		
"...By Mr Urbanis Do [2 Quarters] to 17th Do [November]	Do [stamps]	£26.5.4
	[total transactions	£393.19.9½]",
EMS, <i>Minutes</i> , 5.7.1793-17.1.1794;		
"...By Mr Urbani two Qr to 17 May	Do[stamps]	£ 26.5.4
	[total transactions	£446.19.4]",
EMS, <i>Minutes</i> , 17.1.1794-27.6.1794;		
"...By Mr Urbani 2 Ditto [quarters] to 17 Do [November]	Do [stamps]	£26.5.4
	[total transactions	£518.6.10½]",
EMS, <i>Minutes</i> , 27.6.1794-6.2.1795;		
"...By Mr Urbani Do [two quarters] to 17 Do [May]	Do [stamps]	£26.5.4
	[total transactions	£480.13.8]",

44 EMS, *Minutes*, 6.2.1795-6.7.1795.

EMS, *Minutes*, 27.6.1788.

harpsichord/pianoforte and thorough bass) for a number of years previously, as shortly after his arrival in Edinburgh, he had placed an advertisement in the *Courant* stating that:

“MR URBANI takes this opportunity of returning his best thanks to his friends and the public for their kind patronage at his benefit last Thursday. He begs leave to inform them, that he proposes to remain in this place as a Teacher of Music and Singing; and he flatters himself his constant attention to the business of his profession, will recommend him to some share of the public favour. He will be heard of at his house, Warriston’s Close, first stair, left hand, second door.”⁴⁵

Then, some months later:

“To the Lovers of Music

SIGNOR URBANI begs leave to acquaint his friends in particular, and the public in general, that being fixed in this place, he proposes to teach MUSIC in all its different branches. He flatters himself, that, by the mode of teaching he has adopted, young Ladies will soon acquire a proper stile of singing and playing the Harpsicord, or Piano, and at the same time a proper taste of music. Having paid particular attention to render the knowledge of thorough bass an easy acquisition to young beginners, his scholars are enabled in a short time to accompany themselves on the Harpsicord or Piano Forte, by the musical figures alone.

Sig. Urbani is now publishing Six Songs (the words Italian and English), with an Accompaniment for a Piano Forte and Violin,⁴⁶ which are adapted for young Ladies, who have made some progress in playing the Harpsicord or Piano Forte.

Subscriptions for this work are taken in at Mr Urbani’s lodgings, Warriston’s Close, first stair, left hand, 2d door, and at all the music shops.”⁴⁷

It appears that Urbani was rather successful as a teacher, as notices placed in the local papers stated that “...He continues to teach the Harpsichord and Singing, and will study to deserve a continuance of the public favour”,⁴⁸ that he “...takes the present opportunity of expressing a grateful sense of the distinguished patronage he has experienced in this city, and he hopes, by assiduity in his profession, to merit a continuation of the public favour...”.⁴⁹

In 1787, three years after he had arrived in Edinburgh, Urbani had plans to expand his teaching activities by organising a weekly concert given by his pupils in front of an audience selected and invited by them:

⁴⁵ EEC, 25.7.1785. A shorter version of this appeared in CM, 25.7.1785.

⁴⁶ The *Six favorite new Italian rondos for the voice and harpsichord with an English translation and an accompaniment for the violin* (Edinburgh: Corri & Sutherland, [c. 1786]).

⁴⁷ EEC, 14.1.1786.

⁴⁸ CM, 1.3.1787.

⁴⁹ CM, 3.11.1787.

"MR URBANI

BEGS leave to respectfully inform the Nobility and Gentry, That about the beginning of January next, he is to open A WEEKLY CONCERT, or PRACTISING OF VOCAL AND HARPSICHORD MUSIC, with a view to the improvement of the Young Ladies who are his scholars. – No company will be admitted, except such friends as the ladies themselves may wish to have present, for which purpose each lady shall receive two or more tickets for every concert. Mr Urbani will spare no pains to render this Institution not only entertaining, but highly advantageous to his scholars – And he flatters himself, that by exciting a proper emulation among them, it will be the means of accelerating greatly their musical education...".⁵⁰

One wonders how far this was not only a platform for his pupils, but also for Urbani himself – an opportunity to advertise his pupils, but also an opportunity to advertise his own skill as a teacher. From the notices which continued to appear in newspapers, it seems that he was well-appreciated as a teacher: "...Mr Urbani feels himself greatly affected with the generous encouragement and applause he met with, and will ever exert himself to deserve, on every future occasion, the countenance and encouragement of the Nobility and Gentry, who have so highly honoured him...",⁵¹ and a few years after, *circa* 1795, Urbani issued a singing instructor, *The Singer's Guide*. More recently, Masutto has noted that Urbani "...fu assai apprezzato come insegnante",⁵² and Farmer has observed that Urbani fared well as a teacher in Edinburgh.⁵³

The *Minutes* of the Musical Society state that in 1793 the Society paid Urbani for some music which he had composed:

"...By Mr Urbani for 3 Copies of his Scots Songs £1.11.6".⁵⁴

In common with almost all of the other Italian singers and musicians who had come to Scotland before him, Urbani became involved in arranging Scots songs. He also became involved in the publication of music and the sale of musical instruments – like Domenico Corri had done just over a decade before him. Although these two areas of activity were commingled and complementary to each other (Urbani published many of his own arrangements), treating them separately, and considering them from different perspectives, sheds an interesting light on his activities as an entrepreneur.

⁵⁰ CM, 3.11.1787.

⁵¹ CM, 28.2.1789.

⁵² "[Urbani] was well appreciated as a teacher". (Author's translation.) Masutto, *Maestri*, IV, 449.

⁵³ Farmer, *History*, 321.

⁵⁴ EMS, *Minutes*, 18.1.1793-5.7.1793.

Pietro Urbani was, perhaps more so than any of the other Italian composers who worked and lived in Scotland in the eighteenth century, very closely involved in the publication of the Scots song genre. Indeed, in his analysis of the Scottish culture in the eighteenth century, David Daiches has cited Urbani's name (alongside those of Domenico Corri and Giusto Ferdinando Tenducci) as part of the "flourishing" of the Scots song in this period.⁵⁵

An examination of the works published in Edinburgh by Urbani & Liston reveals that the vast majority were vocal and instrumental arrangements of Scots songs. There were songs which were issued singly: "Thou art gane awa. For two voices" (c. 1796); "My love she's but a lassie yet. A new rondo" (c. 1796); "My ain kind dearie. With new variations for the piano forte or harpsichord" (c. 1796); "Loch Erroch side. A new rondeau, set for the harp. or piano forte" (c. 1797) and "Cauld Kail in Aberdeen. A new rondo" (c. 1796).

There were also a number of collections: there was a four-volume collection issued before Urbani began trading with Liston (probably the "Scots Songs" which the Musical Society bought) with the title *A Selection of Scots Songs, harmonized, improved with simple and adapted graces* (Edinburgh: Author, [1792-c. 1794]). There was also *A favorite selection of Scots tunes...properly arranged as duettos for two german flutes or two violins* (Edinburgh: Urbani & Liston, [c. 1798]) and the *Select Collection of Original Scottish Airs* (Edinburgh: Urbani & Liston, 1792-1804).

This last-mentioned work ran to six volumes, although it was most probably originally intended as a four-volume work, as volumes one to four were published between 1792 and 1800, while the fifth and sixth volumes were both added in 1804. Furthermore, the final two volumes in the collection are distinct typographically from the first four. The first four volumes have the string parts written on separate staves within the score (see pages 531-546), while volumes five and six indicate on the title page that the songs are accompanied by a pianoforte, violin and violoncello without providing parts written on separate staves within the score (see pages 527-530).

Each volume in Urbani's *Selection* was dedicated to a different patron: volume one to the Countess of Balcarres, volume two to Lady

⁵⁵ Daiches, *Paradox*, 33.

Katherine Douglas, the third to Lady Carnegie, the fourth to Lady Lucy Ramsay, the fifth and sixth volumes to the Duchess of Bedford.

In total, there are well over one hundred and fifty songs in Urbani's *Selection*: twenty four in the first volume, twenty five in the second, twenty six in the third, twenty seven in the fourth and fifty nine in the fifth and sixth volumes. A number of the melodies are presented with alternative lyrics: the air "When she came ben she bobbed" is printed alongside four different texts by Pindar, Thomson Shenstone and Lapraik (VI, 33), similarly the melody of "Nancy's to the Greenwood gane" is suggested for texts by Allan Ramsay and Pindar (V, 6) (see pages 527-530).

The songs in the different volumes of the collection are rather unusual in their arrangement, being scored either for solo voice accompanied by two violins, viola, violoncello and keyboard, or as vocal duets with a two violin and keyboard accompaniment. The keyboard parts are fully written out – the figures realized, while the string parts generally double the keyboard. The songs are all printed with opening and closing instrumental "symphonies."

A number of the song accompaniments are based very closely on the melody line with the two violins merely doubling the vocal line in parallel thirds and sixths (for example: "Gilderoy";⁵⁶ "Lochaber";⁵⁷ "The Birks of Invermay";⁵⁸ "Tweed side";⁵⁹ see pages 531-538). There are, however, a number of songs in which these instrumental upper parts are given accompanying material which is harmonic, rather than melodic in nature (in: "O can ye sew cushions";⁶⁰ "Cauld Kail in Aberdeen";⁶¹ "Wilt thou be my dearie";⁶² "For the sake o' some body";⁶³ see pages 539-546). This type of

⁵⁶ Urbani, Pietro *A Selection of Scots Songs Harmonized, Improved with Simple and Adapted Graces. Most Respectfully Dedicated to the Right Honourable Countess of Balcarres* (Edinburgh: Urbani & Liston, [1792-c. 1794]), I, 47-47.

⁵⁷ Urbani, *Selection*, I, 42-43.

⁵⁸ Urbani, *Selection*, I, 32-33.

⁵⁹ Urbani, Pietro *A Selection of Scots Songs Harmonized, Improved with Simple and Adapted Graces. Most Respectfully Dedicated to the Honourable Lady Carnegie* (Edinburgh: Urbani & Liston, [1792-c. 1794]), III, 49-50.

⁶⁰ Urbani, Pietro *A Selection of Scots Songs Harmonized, Improved with Simple and Adapted Graces. Most Respectfully Dedicated to the Right Honourable Lady Katherine Douglas* (Edinburgh: Urbani & Liston, [1792-c. 1794]), II, 8-9.

⁶¹ Urbani, *Selection*, II, 20-21.

⁶² Urbani, *Selection*, III, 17-18.

⁶³ Urbani, Pietro *A Selection of Scots Songs Harmonized, Improved with Simple and Adapted Graces. Most Respectfully Dedicated to the Right Honourable Lady Lucy Ramsay* (Edinburgh: Urbani & Liston, [1792-c. 1794]), IV, 23-24.

material is largely based on quaver or semiquaver chordal/arpeggiated figures, often in parallel thirds and sixths.⁶⁴

In many respects, the solutions which Urbani gives to the realization of the figures in these song accompaniments are along the same lines as those which had been proposed by Domenico Corri in his *Select Collection*, the first volume of which had appeared in Edinburgh circa 1779. It is more than likely that Urbani was familiar with Corri's work: they were, after all, both in the employ of the Musical Society at the same time and they were both composers and arrangers. These written-out keyboard parts are an interesting and important aspect of this collection, and one which has been entirely overlooked by scholars of music in Scotland in this period.

A number of writers have alluded somewhat obliquely to the merits of Urbani's collection. David Fraser Harris observes that "His taste in arranging Scotch music, and even in composing imitations of it, was highly considered at Edinburgh...".⁶⁵ Similarly, for Stenhouse the collection is "a work of great merit",⁶⁶ and for Farmer, it is "...a highly meritorious piece of work...".⁶⁷

There are also a number of scholars who have considered Urbani's collection solely from a slightly different perspective. This is perhaps where the answer lies – in the way that Urbani has been considered by writers on musical culture in Scotland. David Johnson, writing in *Music and Society in Lowland Scotland in the Eighteenth Century*, labels Urbani's work "frankly commercial",⁶⁸ seeing none of the originality (and historical importance) of it beyond the inclusion of some Scots tunes which Urbani had himself composed for the collection. Purser ignores Urbani's collection completely in his *Scotland's Music*, both in the main text of his work and in the bibliography of eighteenth-century published collections. An explanation for this is perhaps to be found in a comparison of some of the settings that were made by Urbani with others of the same period. The most extreme comparison is with Johnson's *The Scots Musical Museum*. Both collections date from the same period,

⁶⁴ These string parts are relatively simple and do not present many technical challenges to the player. The first violin part of the *Thème avec Variations pour deux Violons, Viola et Violoncelle* compose's [sic] par Mr Urbani (Vienna: Artaria, [s.a.]), however, shows Urbani's knowledge and skill in writing for a solo violin. See pages 547-552.

⁶⁵ Harris, *St Cecilia's Hall*, 125.

⁶⁶ *Cit.* Harris, *St Cecilia's Hall*, 126.

⁶⁷ Farmer, *History*, 256.

⁶⁸ Johnson, *Music and Society*, 146.

Urbani's from 1792-1804, Johnson's slightly earlier, from 1787-1803. They are, however, radically different. Urbani's settings are rich in texture, stemming unavoidably (and intentionally) from the very nature of their instrumentation. Clark's settings, on the other hand, are skeletal, though perfectly adequate: they are presented on two lines (melody and unharmonized bass), there are no opening or closing symphonies and the melodic ornamentation is stripped down to a few appoggiaturas and trills. Compare, for example, Urbani's arrangement of "Cauld Kail in Aberdeen"⁶⁹ with that which appeared in the *Museum*⁷⁰ (see pages 541-542 and 553); and similarly "Wilt thou be my Dearie"⁷¹ (see pages 543-544 and 554) with "The Lass of Peaty's Mill"⁷² (see pages 555-556 and 557).⁷³

This difference of approach is clear from the very conception of the two collections. The original advertisement for Urbani's *Collection* stated that:

"THE very flattering applause bestowed on his manner of singing them, and the frequent solicitations he has had for sets of particular songs, both in Edinburgh and Glasgow, have encouraged him to publish them in the present form...N.B. Mr URBANI begs leave to inform the Public, that in the Set now to be published, will be, among many other favourite Songs, those of "*Open the door Lord Gregory,*" and "*Within a Mile of Edinburgh;*" and though these, as well as others of his Songs, have been published by others, the Sets given of them are not *his*, but very different."⁷⁴

Similarly, in the preface to the fifth volume of the *Collection* (1804), Urbani noted that "The Author flatters himself, that his late similar Publications, his frequently singing in public the Scots Music with applause, and the experience he has acquired by long residence in this Metropolis, will establish the success of his Caledonian work...".⁷⁵ When Michael Kelly heard Urbani sing Scots songs in

⁶⁹ Urbani, *Selection*, II, 20.

⁷⁰ Johnson, *Museum*, II, 170.

⁷¹ Urbani, *Selection*, III, 17; Johnson, *Museum*, V, 484.

⁷² Urbani, *Selection*, III, 43; Johnson, *Museum*, I, 21.

⁷³ Another, perhaps slightly less extreme, comparison is between Urbani's *Selection* and the large volume of Scots songs issued by William Napier in London: *A Selection of the Most Favourite Scots Songs Chiefly Pastoral Adapted for the Harpsichord with an Accompaniment for a Violin by Eminent Masters Respectfully Inscribed to Her Grace the Duchess of Gordon* (London: Napier, [1790-1794]). As the title page notes, the songs are set for voice with an accompaniment of keyboard and violin. The songs are presented without opening or closing sections and on two lines (melody and unrealized figured bass). There is, however, a separate stave for the violin part, which sometimes doubles the vocal line at the third or sixth and sometimes weaves around the melody of the song. See pages 558-563. These settings are not as austere as those in the *Scots Musical Museum*, but not as elaborate as those in Urbani's *Selection*.

⁷⁴ CM, 18.6.1792; 23.7.1792.

⁷⁵ Urbani, Pietro *A Select Collection of Original Scottish Airs with Select and Characteristic Scotch & English Verses. The Most Part of which written by the celebrated R. Burns*

Ireland, he noted that the Italian sang them "...very pleasingly, though in a falsetto voice."⁷⁶ This was, therefore, a collection which sprang from Urbani's activities as a performer – an aspect which Farmer refers to when he writes that people were "hypnotized by an unconscious conceit, imagining, when they sang a ballad that they had heard rendered by one of these stars, that they were actually giving a similar interpretation."⁷⁷

On the other hand, in the title page of the *Museum*, Johnson states that "In this publication the original simplicity of our Ancient National Airs is retained unencumbered with useless Accompaniments & graces depriving the hearers of the sweet simplicity of their native melodies."

Donald Low has noted, in his introduction to the facsimile edition of the *Museum*, that the motivation which lay behind this collection was patriotic in nature,⁷⁸ while Frances Collinson has emphasised the link between the original conception of the *Museum* and the way in which it has been considered since.⁷⁹

Urbani's *Collection* reveals that he was clearly aware of the debate which surrounded the harmonization of Scots songs. He shows not only whether they should be clothed with an accompaniment, but also that for many, their appeal – indeed, one of their essential elements – was their natural simplicity:

"...It may be objected that the simple beauty of the Caledonian Melodies needs not the complex aid of harmony; and that the mere grace and tenderness which they borrow from Nature, are lost in the laboured Accompaniments of Art, – But, whilst the air is preserved in its genuine simplicity, and the Accompaniments are executed with judgement and skilful effect, so as hardly to breathe during

Arranged for the Voice with introductory & concluding symphonies And an accompaniment for the Piano Forte Violin and Violoncello humbly dedicated by permission To her grace the Dutchess of Bedford by P. Urbani (Edinburgh: Urbani & Liston, [1804]), preface.

⁷⁶ Kelly, *Reminiscences*, II, 75.

⁷⁷ Farmer, *History*, 299.

⁷⁸ "The impulse which motivated Johnson and Burns was patriotic, rather than commercial." Johnson, James; Low, Donald A. *The Scots Musical Museum 1787-1803* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1991), 2.

⁷⁹ "...it is a weakness of *The Scots Musical Museum* that the accompaniments, which were the work of a local musician named Stephen Clark and his son, are at best rather dull, and at worst show signs of laziness and indifference; however, this aspect of the *Museum* is easily ignored. The collection at once became, and has remained ever since, the principal source book of Scottish National Song." Collinson, *National Music*, 43.

the performance of the principal part, it must heighten the relish of these melodies to every person of accomplished taste, when the *Science* of music is employed, to assist the first and simplest efforts of musical genius.”⁸⁰

Similarly, that:

“...MR URBANI shall only add further, that the simplicity, elegance, and taste of the harmony of his Scots songs is well known to the Ladies and Gentlemen who attend St Cecilia’s Hall, to whose judgement he entirely refers.”⁸¹

While in the preface to the fifth volume of the collection (1804), Urbani noted that:

“...To compose Symphonies and Accompaniments to the wild, but expressive, Caledonian melodies, is not so easy a task as many imagine. It is not enough to be quite master of the Rules of Composition, but one must be acquainted also with the true Scots national Taste; then, with these requisites, any person may undertake to harmonise Scots songs, provided he attend to that judicious delicacy, which will prevent the Production from failing of its effect.”⁸²

While it is possible to regard Urbani’s *Collection* and Johnson’s *Museum* as two (perhaps mutually exclusive) extremes, other scholars have viewed the issue from a slightly different perspective. Elliott has written that “Even the Age of Enlightenment in Scotland failed to realise that music need be none the less Scots for being European.”⁸³ Whilst David Daiches, in his *Paradox of Scottish Culture*, has noted that “Still, it is a reflection of the impoverishment of Scottish culture that the issue should have been between a native simplicity and an imported sophistication...”⁸⁴

An important part of Urbani’s activities while he was in Edinburgh was his work as a publisher. Pietro Urbani went into partnership with Edward Liston as Urbani & Liston, announcing the opening of their shop in the *Courant* in 1796:

“NEW MUSIC WAREHOUSE,
No. 10
PRINCE’S STREET.
URBANI AND LISTON

Respectfully beg leave to inform their Friends and the Public,
THAT they have OPENED SHOP with a Complete Assortment of
EVERY THING IN THE MUSICAL LINE.
...the Celebrated Stadart’s [*sic*] Grand, and Schoene and Vinson’s
Square PIANO FORTES,...

⁸⁰ CM, 18.6.1792; 23.7.1792.

⁸¹ CM, 23.7.1792.

⁸² Urbani, *Select Collection*, V, preface.

⁸³ Elliott and Rimmer, *History*, 54.

⁸⁴ Daiches, *Paradox*, 34.

Also, PIANO FORTES by Longman and Broderip, Brodwood [*sic*],
Houston and Co &c....
other Instruments, viz VIOLINS, CLARINETS, GERMAN FLUTES, &c.
&c...Musical Instruments circulated by the month, quarter, or
year. Poetical Compositions set to music - also, instruments tuned
and repaired.

Just arrived from London,
A very large assortment of all the most Fashionable SONGS, DUETS,
&c.

Just Published,
THOU'RT GANE AWA FRAE ME MARY, and I'LL NEVER LEAVE THEE,
arranged as Duetts, with an Accompaniment for the Piano Forte of
Harpsichord.

And in a few days will be published,
The First Volume of MISS ROSIGNOLI'S BALL MUSIC, arranged for
the Piano Forte or Harpsichord by P. URBANI...".⁸⁵

The company seems to have flourished, initially at least, having
contacts with London-based publishing houses and musical
instrument dealers:

"...Urbani and Liston beg leave to acknowledge past favours, and to
inform their Friends, that, from the encouragement currently
experienced, it will always be their particular study to have on
hand, for sale or hire, a COMPLETE ASSORTMENT of MUSICAL
INSTRUMENTS of every description, from the most reputable houses
in London;- and having a regular correspondence with all the
Principal Houses in the Music Line, they hope the variety of music,
both Ancient and Modern, so soon as published, and every other in
that profession, will be found worthy to merit a continuance."⁸⁶

There are a number of interesting points which spring from the two
preceding advertisements. It is clear that Urbani and Liston sold a
wide range of music, from music which was popular at a "local" level
(the Scots songs which were popular with Scottish audiences), to the
latest, most fashionable music popular in London. This is borne out
in other advertisements:

"MUSIC, JUST PUBLISHED BY
URBANI & LISTON, No. 10. Prince's Street,
Edinburgh ---
...Twenty original German Waltz, by Mozart, arranged for the Piano
Forte by Urbani
Twenty-eight Venetian Airs,
arranged for ditto by ditto, 3s. 6d.
Cauld Kail in Aberdeen,
arranged as a Rondo, by do. 1s.
I'll gang nae mair to yon town,
do. do. by do. as performed by
Mr Stabilini, at his concert, 1s. 6d.
Second set of Scots Airs,
arranged for one or two Flutes by Urbani

⁸⁵ EEC, 2.6.1796.

⁸⁶ EEC, 30.11.1799; 25.11.1799.

Bannocks o' barley meal...".⁸⁷

This range of music published and sold is also borne out in bill detailing the Marchioness of Tweeddale's custom at Urbani and Liston dating from 1796 and 1797:

"[?]	19th	To a Book of music paper	£ " 4 "
Janry.	11th	To six new Reels	£ " 1 "
		To from thee Eliza	£ " 1 "
	18th	To Periodical	
		Italian Songs No 36+46	£ " 5 "
	25th	To Roys Wife	£ " " 6
Febry.	29th	To 2 Violin 1st string	£ " 1 "
April	15th	To Hire of a violin	
		from 25th Janry.	£ " 9 "
May	3d	To Viotti's violin	
		Concerto in [G?]	£ " 7 "
		To Krumpholtz Harp Do	£ " 4 "
		To 2 Amour [?]	£ " 7 6
June	6th	To Hook's Instructions	
		Harpsd.	£ " 5 "
	14th	To Haydn's sonatas Op 70	£ " 8 "
		for a second Hand }	
		Piano Forte on Hire }	
		from Septr. 21st }	
		(one Guinea per }	
		Quarter) to Decr. 21st }	
		one Quarter }	£ 1 1 "
		To package and use	
		of case	£ " 6 "
			£ 4 " 6". ⁸⁸

It is interesting to note that Urbani and Liston's advertisements, in particular the second one, are written in the same language as those which publicised the sale of items of fashion, such as materials, dresses, jewellery and other accessories. The following extracts from advertisements are representative of those which appeared in almost every edition of the *Courant* and the *Mercury*:

"FASHIONABLE HABERDASHERY.

WILLIAM FORD, at the INDIAN PHEASANT, No. 20, West Side South Bridge, with utmost deference and gratitude for favours already conferred, does himself the honour to inform his Friends, that he has just received a complete fashionable choice of Haberdashery, Drapery, and Furriery in all their branches, from the first manufacturers in Britain...".⁸⁹

Similarly:

"NEW FASHIONS FOR WINTER.

⁸⁷ CM, 21.7.1800.

⁸⁸ NLS MS 14692, f. 69. Another bill paid to Urbani & Liston, f. 70.

⁸⁹ CM, 3.11.1798.

ARCHIBALD GIBSON has the honour of acquainting his Friends and the Public, That he is just returned from London, where he has selected a most complete and extensive choice of everything New the Fashions have produced for the WINTER TRADE...

*** ARCHIBALD GIBSON will receive regularly from his correspondents, during the season, everything New as it appears in London."⁹⁰

Urbani and Liston's advertisements, however, are not unique in style. They are, like the advertisements for Corri and Sutherland before him and other Scottish music sellers and instrument dealers, written in a similar style and language:

"MUSIC SHOP.

...J. BRYSON⁹¹ also takes the liberty of acquainting the Public, That he has just got to hand a large assortment of Music for the Harpsichord, Violin, and German Flute, &c. and an assortment of the best Roman Strings, from the warehouses of Mess. Preston & Son, and other eminent Music-Sellers in London; from whom he will have a constant supply of the newest and best songs."⁹²

"NEW MUSIC AND MUSICAL INSTRUMENT WAREHOUSE,
No. 16 George-Street, New Town.

JAMES MUIR respectfully informs the Nobility and Gentry, That he has taken every possible means to stock his Shop with INSTRUMENTS of a SUPERIOR QUALITY. They are chosen by his Agent, an Eminent Musician in London.

...He has established a connexion in London, from which he will receive regularly, the First Day in every month, EVERY PUBLICATION that has been published the preceding month in London..."⁹³

They can be seen to confirm the process of the "commercialisation of leisure" which has been described in eighteenth-century England, particularly with regard to London and the English provinces, by McKendrick and Plumb in *The Birth of a Consumer Society*.⁹⁴

During his stay in Edinburgh, Urbani also became involved in recommending other musicians to the Society – the "professional patronage" also practised by other musicians. Shortly after Urbani's arrival in Edinburgh, the *Minutes* of the Musical Society note that:

⁹⁰ CM, 10.11.1798.

⁹¹ "Music seller and publisher, Edinburgh; High Street, or South Side of Cross Well, opposite Cross Well, 1798-c.1811; 429 High Street, at the head of Bank Street, c. 1811-12; 16 Bank Street, c.1812-20. Died 1818. Successor to Robert Bremner at his Edinburgh shop, of which he was said to have been manager." Humphries and Smith, *Music Publishing*, 91.

⁹² CM, 17.10.1789.

⁹³ EEC, 28.5.1796.

⁹⁴ McKendrick, Neil; Brewer, John, and Plumb, J. H. *The Birth of a Consumer Society: The Commercialization of Eighteenth-Century England* (London: Europa, 1982), particularly chapters 2 and 6.

"Mr Urbani laid before the Meeting a Letter from Venice recommending a female Singer who is willing to come to Edinburgh on being paid Fifty pounds for the Expences of her journey and afterwards if approved of will agree to an Engagement of not more than £150- pr annum. The Directors agree to the proposal & here by Authorise Mr Sanderson to remitt a bill of £25- to Peretti⁹⁵ at Venice to be given to the Lady, & to remit £25- more to Paris to wait her arrival there...".⁹⁶

The singer that was recommended in this letter was Signora Sultani,⁹⁷ whom the *Minutes* note as having arrived in the early months of the following year. It seems that she travelled to Edinburgh together with another singer, Signor Peretti, as a minute details that the Society forwarded money for their journey:

"...Decr 4 By Sir Willm Forbes & Co.
to remitt to Signor Peretto
at Lyons Exch 2/6 £25.2.6".⁹⁸

An interesting (and logical) extension of this "professional patronage" occurred in the very last years of the eighteenth century, at the very end of the life of the Musical Society and after its dissolution. From the *Minutes* it is evident that Urbani, along with a number of other musicians (including Stabilini and Natale Corri), were in the employ of the Society until the very end of its existence. Finding themselves without the assurance of the regular income that the Society guaranteed, a number of them banded together and organised a series of subscription concerts under the title of "Professional Concerts."⁹⁹ From advertisements it is clear that Urbani, along with Schetky, Stabilini, Natale Corri and his wife (who were closely involved in the project), had intended to begin the

⁹⁵ The Society noted that:

"...By Paid for a Bill £50 & 5/ Exch. pr. W. Forbes & Co
remitted to Venice to bring a female Singer pr order. £ 50.5.0
[total expenditure £411.16.5]",

EMS, *Minutes*, 23.6-1.12.1786. For information on Peretti in Edinburgh, see chapter 10, ii, 272.

⁹⁶ EMS, *Minutes*, 28.9.1786.

⁹⁷ For information on Signora Sultani, see chapter 10, i, 269.

⁹⁸ EMS, *Minutes*, 1.12.1786-29.6.1787. One Italian musician who travelled to Edinburgh in the late eighteenth century whose name does not seem to feature in the *Minutes* of the Edinburgh Musical Society was a Signor Sozzi. His name appeared briefly in connection with one of Urbani's concerts in the early part of 1790. In February of that year the *Mercury* announced "Mr Urbani's Concert...Sig. SOZZI, late leader of the Opera at Geneva, and now first Violin to the Band belonging to his Royal Highness Prince Edward, will play a solo concerto...". CM, 13.2.1790. Two days later, the *Mercury* printed the programme of Urbani's concert in which Signor Sozzi (spelt Sozzie) would perform "For that Night Only" a "Solo Concerto on the Violin" and a "Solo on the German Flute". CM, 15.2.1790. Little else seems to be known of this musician.

⁹⁹ This is one of the aspects of music-making in late eighteenth-century Edinburgh which is treated by Cranmer, "Concert Life".

series earlier in the year, in 1798, but had been prevented by the continuation of the Musical Society concerts:

“PROFESSIONAL CONCERT,
George Street Assembly Rooms.
MR and Mrs CORRI, Mr STABILINI, Mr URBANI, and Mr SCHETKY,
have the honour of announcing to the Public, that the
PROFESSIONAL CONCERT, which was proposed last season, but
prevented by the continuation of the Gentleman’s Concert at St
Cecilia’s Hall, is now to take place in the *George Street Assembly
Room*.

The number of Concerts during the season will be EIGHT;
and for these, the terms to Subscribers, will be two Guineas; which
will entitle them to their own admission, and to Two Tickets, both of
which, in the case of Gentlemen Subscribers, will be transferable to
Ladies only; but in the case of Ladies Subscribers, one of the
Tickets will be transferable to a Gentleman, *if required*.

...The Ladies and Gentlemen who propose to honour the
Professional Concert with their patronage, will be so obliging as to
signify their intention as soon as possible, by a note addressed to
any of the above-named performers.

P. S. Subscription Books are left at all the Music Shops.”¹⁰⁰

There were both differences and similarities with the Musical Society concerts. The Professional Concerts were not held in St. Cecilia’s Hall, as the Musical Society concerts had been, but in the spacious George Street Assembly Rooms which had been opened in the heart of the New Town in 1787. The principal performers and the programmes of the Professional Concert, however, were similar to those that had been given by the Musical Society, as is evident from the following advertisements:

“GEORGE STREET ASSEMBLY ROOMS
The Subscribers and the Public are respectfully informed,
that the first
PROFESSIONAL CONCERT
Will be held on TUESDAY the 22d inst. – to begin
at 8 o’clock Precisely.
PLAN OF THE CONCERT.
ACT I.
Grand Overture – PLEYEL.
Italian Rondo – Mr URBANI.
Concerto Violoncello – Mr SCHETKEY.
Song – Mrs CORRI, accompanied on the Harp by
Mr PERRELET,
Being his first appearance in this kingdom.
ACT II.
Scotch Song – Mr URBANI.
Sonata – Harp – Perrelet – PERRELET.
Song – Mrs CORRI.
Violin Concerto – Mr STABILINI.

¹⁰⁰ CM, 13.12.1798; 15.12.1798; 20.12.1798. A similar advertisement also appeared in the 24.12.1798 edition.

Duet – Mrs CORRI and Mr URBANI.

Finale.

Subscribers will please to send for their Subscription and Transferable Tickets to No. 37, North Bridge Street [Corri and Sutherland], where Subscriptions are taken in, and where the Conditions for the remaining Concerts may be seen. – Admittance Tickets to Non-Subscribers, 5s. each; to be had at all the Music Shops, and at the door of the Assembly Rooms.”¹⁰¹

While Cranmer ascribes the role of principal impresario in Edinburgh during this period to Natale Corri, it is clear that Urbani performed frequently at the concerts from the very beginning, and one would surmise that he would have a vested interest in the success of the series. Advertisements assured audiences that “...the Performers beg leave to add, that every possible exertion will be made to gratify the Public with Novelty and Variety.”¹⁰² From notices placed in newspapers it seems that, initially at least, the series was indeed successful:

“Notwithstanding that the audience was still greater at the second Professional Concert than the first, the company made a better appearance, owing to an entire new arrangement of the seats. The company was universally pleased, and the performance executed with great spirit.”¹⁰³

“PROFESSIONAL CONCERT.

FROM the universal Approbation with which this favourite entertainment was received by the Public last season, and in compliance with the wish of a great majority of the Subscribers, it is proposed, by the Conductors of the Professional Concert, that it shall be renewed next winter on a similar plan; and they flatter themselves their anxious endeavours to please the Public will meet with the same encouragement by which they were formerly honoured...”¹⁰⁴

Only two years after it had been inaugurated, however, the Professional Concert was dissolved,¹⁰⁵ and the years immediately after witnessed a split between Corri and Urbani, with rival concert series announced in the local papers. Ultimately, Urbani was unsuccessful as an impresario – by 1803 he had alienated many of the local musicians as well as Corri, and lost considerable sums of money in performing the oratorios of Handel. Cranmer paints a forlorn picture of this period in Urbani's life, writing that:

¹⁰¹ *EEC*, 19.1.1799; 21.1.1799.

¹⁰² *CM*, 13. 12. 1798; 15.12.1798; 20.12.1798. *EEC*, 30.11.1799; 25.11.1799.

¹⁰³ *EEC*, 31.1.1799.

¹⁰⁴ *EEC*, 8.8.1799.

¹⁰⁵ *CM*, 16.6.1800.

"For Urbani, the animosity created with other professional musicians through his 1803 concerts resulted not only in financial ruin, but also in his exclusion from subsequent seasons of Corri's concerts and virtual isolation as a performer in the city. After 1803, even his annual benefit concerts were given without the assistance of the city's principal musicians who had sided with Corri."¹⁰⁶

As a final attempt to recover some money, in 1804 Urbani proposed to publish two more volumes of his *Select Collection* – some twelve years after the first volume had been issued. Urbani's precarious financial position, not to mention distress, is evident, from a brief note addressed to one of the subscribers to the *Collection* (George Kincaird):

"Mr Urbani with his most respectful compliments to Mr Kincaird, takes the liberty of presenting him the proposals of his fifth, and sixth volumes of Scots songs which will in all probability conclude the work. Having in a late unfortunate undertaking lost seven hundred pounds, it is from the reception which this publication meets with, that he is in a great measure to look for relief. He therefore hopes that a discerning public (in whose service he has had the honour to be these eighteen years past) will grant him their countenance in his personal embarrassed situation.

P.S. the favour of your name shall be received as a high honour by the Author.

no 10 Prince's Street".¹⁰⁷

This does not seem to have been enough, for in 1806, two years after the publication of the final volume of his *Select Collection*, Urbani split with Edward Liston, and shortly after this, the firm ceased trading.

From Edinburgh, Urbani returned to Ireland (no doubt in the hope of recovering his position there), advertising his arrival in the local papers:

"Mr Urbani seizes the earliest opportunity of announcing his arrival from his tour to Scotland, to the Nobility, Gentry, his Friends and the Public, and begs to inform them that all commands in his musical capacity addressed to him at 29 Nassau-street, will be punctually attended to."¹⁰⁸

While in Ireland, Urbani continued to teach music as he had done in Edinburgh, and perform the repertoire which he had sung in Edinburgh – extracts from the oratorios of Handel, pieces written by himself and Scots songs – until 1815, which Walsh gives as the date of his last appearance.¹⁰⁹ A year later, in May 1816, a benefit concert

¹⁰⁶ Cranmer, "Concert Life", 59.

¹⁰⁷ NLS MS 2980 f 38.

¹⁰⁸ Saunders' News-Letter 3.9.1806, cit. Walsh, *Opera in Dublin 1798-1820*, 32.

¹⁰⁹ Walsh, *Opera in Dublin 1798-1820*, 168.

was advertised in order to give "some assistance to lighten the adversity which a long illness has produced."¹¹⁰

Urbani died shortly after this concert, in September of that same year, 1816. His death was noted in the *Scots Magazine*, while the writer in the *Freeman's Journal* alluded to his skill as a teacher, and his knowledge of music, observing that:

"...Those who had the advantage of his instruction will sincerely regret his loss as a Master – and those who had the pleasure of his acquaintance will deplore the Man of Science, who, alas! as is too often the case, was one to whom fortune refused her smiles in the latter part of his life, when he needed them most."¹¹¹

Besides these achievements, Urbani must be remembered as a singer, as a composer and arranger of classical music and folk-song settings, and for his publishing company which, over a period of some fourteen years, issued a great number of arrangements of Scots songs.

¹¹⁰ *Freeman's Journal*, 28.5.1816, cit. Walsh, *Opera in Dublin 1798-1820*, 168. Walsh also quotes the rest of the advertisement, which stated that:

"The friends of Signor Urbani most humbly hope that a generous public will defer giving parties on the night fixed for his Concert, it being a case of real charity. Many respectable professionable persons who may not have it in their power to assist in the Orchestra, are humbly called on by those who do assist, to send the smallest donation which will be thankfully acknowledged by those appointed to manage the concert."

¹¹¹ *Freeman's Journal*, 16.9.1816, cit. Walsh, *Opera in Dublin 1798-1820*, 169.

CHAPTER 10

LESSER FIGURES c. 1784-1800

In the last few years of the 1780s, six Italian singers arrived in Edinburgh to perform at the Musical Society concerts: Signora Sultani, Nicolò Peretti, Paolo Torregiani, Signora Sestini and the *Signorine* Giolivetti. Little work has been done by scholars of music on the period which they spent in Edinburgh. Two reasons come immediately to mind for this – firstly, that most of these musicians did not spend very long in the Scottish capital, and secondly, it is possible that scholars (writing more generally about the history of music in Scotland in this period) have concentrated on figures such as Corri and Urbani, and, to a lesser extent, Stabilini and Puppo.

i SIGNORA SULTANI

Sultani was originally recommended to the Society in a letter from Italy by someone who had heard her sing there. This letter appears to have been addressed to Urbani who, in 1786, had been in Edinburgh for some three years. The *Minutes* of the Society record part of the contents of this letter and also the conditions the Society was prepared to offer:

“Mr Urbani laid before the Meeting a letter from Venice recommending a female Singer who is willing to come to Edinburgh on being paid fifty pounds for the Expences of her journey and afterwards if approved of will agree to an Engagement of not more than £150- pr. annum. The Directors agree to the proposal & here by Authorise Mr Sanderson to remitt a bill of £25- to Peretti at Venice to be given to the Lady, & to remit £25- more to Paris to wait her arrival there...”¹

They also note a number of payments made to secure the services of Signora Sultani and for her journey to Edinburgh – it is interesting to note that the Society was initially interested in Signora Sultani, while Signor Peretti seems to have acted as a chaperone:

“...By Paid for a Bill £50 & 5/ Exch.	
pr Willm Forbes & Co remitted	
to Venice to bring a	
female Singer pr order.	£ 50.5.0
[total expenditure	£411.16.5]” ²

“...Decr. 4 By Sir Willm Forbes & Co

¹ EMS, *Minutes*, 28.9.1786.

² EMS, *Minutes*, 23.6.1786-1.12.1786.

to remitt to Signor Peretto	
at Lyons Exch 2/6	£ 25.2.6
[total expenditure	£424.4.0] ”. ³

Biographical information about Signora Sultani is rather scarce, and she is one of the Italian performers who came to Scotland about whom we seem to know very little indeed. Her first name is not known, neither does there seem to be information relating to the year of her birth or death, nor to her training as a singer. Her name is not listed in either the *Biographical Dictionary of Actors*, or the *London Stage*, which would seem to suggest that she did not perform there, either before travelling to Edinburgh, or on her way back.

The *Minutes* of the Musical Society note that “Signora Sultani arrived 18 Feby 1787”. They then record payments made to her on a number of occasions:

“...Feby...By Siga Sultani pr order 19 March & 21 May	
Do [stamps] 2	£ 30.0.2
[total transactions	£424.4.0]”, ⁴

“...By Mrs Sultani pr Ballce of Salry to 18 Do [Nov]	
Do [stamps]	£ 82.10.4
...By Mrs Sultani pr Expencc of Postages &	£ 1.15.9
By Ditto pr a present to by Clothes	£ 10.0.0
[total transactions	£328.7.5 ^{1/2}], ⁵

“...By Mrs Sultani ^{1/2} year to 18 Do [May] 1788 £75	
Do [stamps] 8d & for Traveling Charges	£10 £ 85.0.8
[total transactions	£450.1.4]”, ⁶

Newspaper advertisements which appeared in the *Edinburgh Evening Courant* and the *Caledonian Mercury* give details of the pieces which she sang in Edinburgh, and with whom she performed them: “...The favourite Duetto, as sung at present in London by Storace and Morelli – to be performed by Signora SULTANI and Signor TORREGIANI...”;⁷ “...Trio, Waga *mano*, Mess. URBANI, TORREGGIANI, and Signora SULTANI...”.⁸ Occasionally, however, the pieces are unspecified, and the advertisements mention only a “...Song, with Violins obligati, Signora SULTANI...”;⁹ a “...Duetto, Signora SULTANI and Signor TORREGIANI...”.¹⁰ It is not known

³ EMS, *Minutes*, 1.12.1786-29.6.1787.

⁴ EMS, *Minutes*, 1.12.1786-29.6.1787.

⁵ EMS, *Minutes*, 29.6.1787-30.11.1787.

⁶ EMS, *Minutes*, 30.11.1787-27.6.1788.

⁷ EEC, 8.3.1788.

⁸ CM, 23.2.1788.

⁹ EEC, 8.3.1788.

¹⁰ CM, 29.3.1788.

whether she performed any Scots songs during her stay, but it seems unlikely, as these would probably have been billed as such in any advertisements.

Signora Sultani did not remain long in Edinburgh – the *Minutes* of the Society note that there seems to have been some disagreement, or rather, misunderstanding, regarding the terms of her employment with the Society. It is possible that this misunderstanding dated from shortly after her arrival in Edinburgh, as in June 1787 (only four months after she had arrived there) the *Minutes* state that:

“...Mrs Sultani’s [?] her agreement with Signor Peretti and some other papers on that Subject and agree that she shall have a Salary of £150 pr Annum from the time she came to Edinr her first performance being on the 23d Feby 1787 and also the money given to Perritti [*sic*] for the Expençe of the Journey from Italy over the £50- agreed to be given shall not be Charged to Mrs Sultani’s Account but refuse to give her a free house[,] Room[,] or furniture as mentioned in her agreement with Sigr Peretti to be at the Expençe of her journey back to Italy further than to London which they originally agreed for – The Directors agree to make her a present of £10- on condition of its being bestowed on [?] – Mr Innes or Mr Russell are desired to use their endeavours to procure an accot. from Mr Peritti of the Expençe of his & Sigra Sultani’s Journey...”.¹¹

This, along with her self-confessed homesickness, led Signora Sultani to quit Scotland just over a year after she had arrived. She announced her intention to do so in the *Courant*, writing that:

“...Signora Sultani begs Permission to say, that, as she had flattered herself her stay in this city would have been of longer duration, she has been induced, on that supposition, to incur some expenses which otherwise she would have avoided. This circumstance, together with the great distance at which she is now from her native country (to which place she means to return immediately on the close of her present engagement with the Directors of the Concert), constrain her humbly to solicit the favour and protection of a generous public on this last occasion of her having the honour to appear before them; to whom she embraces this opportunity of returning her most grateful thanks for past indulgencies...”.¹²

Three months later, in May, the Society noted:

“...considering that Sigra Sultani’s engagement with the Musical Society expires this day and that it is necessary to pay her Expençe of going to London, understanding that she intends to go by Sea, are of opinion she shou’d be allowed Ten pounds Sterling for that purpose...”.¹³

¹¹ EMS, *Minutes*, 29.6.1787.

¹² EEC, 25.2.1788.

¹³ EMS, *Minutes*, 19.5.1788.

ii NICOLO' PERETTI

Before travelling to Edinburgh in the late 1780s, Nicolò Peretti sang at a number of the principal venues in London appearing with the most famous singers of the period – Charles Dibdin, Miss Brent, Mattocks, Mrs Lampe, John Beard, Regina Mingotti, Giuseppe Giustinelli, Giusto Ferdinando Tenducci and Venanzio Rauzzini. Peretti appeared in the first performance of Arne's *Artaxerxes* in 1762. Dr Burney rated him highly, attributing much of the success which *Artaxerxes* had to the singers:

“...Great and favourite singers only can save an Italian musical drama of any kind in this country; indeed, I can recollect no English operas in which the dialogue was carried on in recitative, that were crowned with full success, except, the Fairies, set by Mr Smith in 1755, and *Artaxerxes*, by Dr Arne in 1763; but the success of both was temporary, and depended so much on the singers, Guadagni and Frasi in the one, and Tenducci, Miss Brent and Peretti in the other, that they never could be called stock pieces, or, indeed, performed again, with any success, by inferior singers.”¹⁴

Some pages later, we find Burney reiterating this, writing that: “...the talents of Tenducci, Peretti and...Miss Brent, had very great success...”.¹⁵

According to a number of sources,¹⁶ Peretti travelled to Dublin in 1764 and remained there for a few years. According to Walsh, Peretti appeared in the first Dublin production of *Artaxerxes*. He sang with Clementina Cremonini and Giusto Ferdinando Tenducci in *The Royal Shepherd*, *Comus*, *L'Eroe Cinese* and with the Signori Gurrini in the burlettas which the travelling company specialised in performing – *Gli Amanti Gelosi* and *Don Fulminone, or the Lover with Two Mistresses*. After some years away from Ireland, Peretti seems to have returned to Dublin, appearing with Vincenzo Fochetti and Giovanna Sestini in the late 1770s.

In addition to appearing on stage, Peretti also taught music whilst he was in Ireland. Among his pupils was the singer Michael Kelly, who later penned a brief description of the Italian in his *Reminiscences*:

“My first singing masters were Signor Passerini, a native of Bologna, and Signor Peretti, who was a *vero musico*. He was the

¹⁴ BurneyH, IV, 233.

¹⁵ BurneyH, IV, 673.

¹⁶ BDA, XI, 262; Walsh, *Opera in Dublin 1705-1797*, 119.

original Artaxerxes when the opera of that name was first performed at Covent Garden; he taught me the beautiful air, 'In infancy our hopes and fears,' which was composed for him, and it made an impression on my mind never to be forgotten. – He had a fine contre alto [*sic*] voice, and possessed the true portamento so little known in the present day. He also taught me the song of Arbaces, 'Amid a thousand racking woes'..."¹⁷

As Peretti seems to have travelled from Venice to Edinburgh with Signora Sultani in the latter part of 1786 (presumably arriving with her in February 1787 – although no mention of this is made in the *Minutes* of the Society), it is likely that Peretti returned to mainland Europe at some stage.

Newspaper advertisements reveal that when he appeared in Edinburgh in 1787, Peretti sang the music (including the aria which he had taught Michael Kelly) which he had performed to great success in London and Dublin:

“On Tuesday the 27th February, will be performed,
In St CECILIA'S HALL,
SIGNOR URBANI'S CONCERT.

PLAN.

ACT I.

A New Overture, HAYDN.

Song, Signor URBANI.

Concerto on the Piana Forte, Master CLARK.

ACT II.

A Comic Song, called the *Rehearsal*,

Sig. TORREGGIANI,

Being his first appearance in this kingdom.

Concerto on the Mandolina, Signor STABILINI.

Song, Signora SULTANI.

ACT III.

The favourite song of “*In Infancy*,”

from Artaxerxes,

By Signor PERRETTI, *being his first appearance in this kingdom.*

Grand Concertante, for Two Violins and a Violincello, Obligato,

composed by Signor URBANI for the occasion. The Solos will be

performed by Mess. STABILINI, URBANI and SCHETKY.

Duet, Signor URBANI and Signora SULTANI.

Overture, HAYDN.

To begin precisely at Half past six o'clock. Tickets may be had of
Sig. Urbani at his house in Warriston's Close¹⁸ and at all the music
shops.”¹⁹

After the notice of this performance Peretti's name disappears from the newspapers, and one presumes that he left Edinburgh.

¹⁷ Kelly, *Reminiscences*, I, 3-4.

¹⁸ See page 564.

¹⁹ *CM*, 24.2.1787.

iii PAOLO TORREGIANI

One of the singers mentioned in the above advertisement for Urbani's concert was Paolo Torregiani. His name does not feature very prominently in the *Minutes* of the Musical Society – there seem to be only a couple of references to him, made in the late 1780s. The first notes that the Society had received "...a letter from MR Torregiani setting forth his attendance and performance at the concert, they are of opinion he ought to be allowed twenty guineas...".²⁰ The second mention of this singer in the *Minutes* was made in respect to his appearance at the Musical Society concerts:

"...By Mr Torregiani [sic] for performing
at the Concerts pr order Stamps 4d £ 21.0.4
[total transactions £450.1.4]".²¹

Contemporary newspaper advertisements for concerts show that Torregiani had been in Edinburgh from February 1787, where his name was mentioned in connection with the benefit that Urbani had that year:

"On TUESDAY the 27th February, will be performed,
In ST CECILIA'S HALL,
SIGNOR URBANI'S CONCERT
OF VOCAL AND INSTRUMENTAL MUSIC.
The Vocal Parts by
Signora SULTANI, Sig. PERETTI, Sig. TORREGGIANI
From ITALY.
And Sig. URBANI.
To begin precisely at Half past Six o'Clock.
Tickets may be had of Sig. Urbani at his house in Warriston's Close,
and at all the Music Shops."²²

These advertisements show that while he was in Edinburgh Torregiani appeared with Signora Sultani and Urbani. Some advertisements are rather vague about the repertoire which Torregiani performed, mentioning a "Comic Song",²³ or a "Song";²⁴ a "Duetto, Signor SULTANI and Signor TORREGIANI"²⁵ or a "Terzetto – Signor URBANI; Signora SULTANI, and Signor TORREGIANI".²⁶ Others are slightly more specific: in his first concert (advertised as "...his

²⁰ EMS, *Minutes*, 19.5.1788.

²¹ EMS, *Minutes*, 30.11.1787-27.6.1788.

²² CM, 20.2.1787; 22.2.1787.

²³ EEC, 8.3.1788.

²⁴ CM, 3.3.1787; 10.3.1787; 12.3.1787; 29.3.1788.

²⁵ CM, 29.3.1788.

²⁶ CM, 29.3.1788.

After the early part of 1788, Torregiani's name seems to drop from the newspapers and one would surmise that he moved away. The *London Stage* dates Torregiani's first appearance in London as having been in January 1789 – almost a year after his last Edinburgh performance. In London, Torregiani sang at the King's Theatre and also, less frequently, at the Haymarket Theatre. He appeared with some of the most highly-regarded singers of the period: the *London Stage* lists appearances with Luigi Marchesi in productions of Cherubini's *Ifigenia in Aulide*,³⁰ Federici's *Usurpator Innocente*, and the *Olimpiade* and *Andromaca*. Torregiani also sang with Carlo Rovedino in *I Contadini Bizzarri*, a version of *Don Giovanni* by Gazzaniga, Sarti, Federici and Guglielmi, and in the enormously popular *La Frascatana*.

The *Minutes* of the Musical Society for the period from the end of 1791 to the summer of the following year record that the Society paid almost £300.0.0 to a Mrs Sestini:

This was the only payment that was made to Giovanna Sestini by the Society, and her name does not appear again in the *Minutes*. It is

31 EMS, *Minutes*, 23.12.1791-28.7.1792.

possible that, as with Sultani, Peretti and Torregiani, the brevity of Sestini's stay in Edinburgh has led to her name having been overlooked by Scottish music historians.³² It is, however, evident from a number of different contemporary sources that by the time that she appeared in Edinburgh, in the early months of 1792, she had been for some years a popular and respected singer with audiences both in England and in Ireland.

There does not seem to be any record of a contract between Sestini and the Society, although it is clear that the Society had been searching for a singer for some time (Signora Sultani had left Edinburgh in 1788). In the autumn of 1789 the Society had tried to engage the English soprano Ann Cantelo:³³

"...write to Miss Cantelo to endeavor to engage her next Winter Eight or nine months if she will come, not more than £200 if not so long at as much less as may be, failing Miss Cantelo the other female Singer in Mr Innes's list..."³⁴

There is a considerable amount of contemporary information about Sestini, as she appeared frequently on both the London and the Dublin stages. Burney stated that she came from Lisbon to London, in December 1774.³⁵ He noted that:

"When she first appeared on our stage in *La Marchesa Giardiniera* [7.3.1775], by Anfossi, her face was beautiful, her figure elegant, and her action graceful. Her voice, though by nature not perfectly clear and sweet toned, had been well directed in her studies, and she sung with considerable agility, as well as taste and expression."³⁶

For the first eight years of her career in London Sestini was involved in performing Italian operas, such as *La Buona Figliuola*, *La Frascatana*,³⁷ *La Governante*, and *Il Bacio*. She appeared with

³² Her name is not cited in Farmer, *History*; nor in Johnson, *Music and Society*; Fraser Harris, *Saint Cecilia's Hall*, nor Forbes Gray, "The Musical Society". Sestini has, however, been cited and discussed in the work of music historians dealing with the role of opera in other centres, such as Dublin, London and in Portugal. Vide Walsh, *Opera in Dublin 1705-1797*, and *Opera in Dublin 1798-1820*; Price, Milhous and Hume *Italian Opera in Late Eighteenth-Century London*; de Brito, Manuel Carlos *Opera in Portugal in the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989). Although Sestini's name does not appear in Grove6, an entry on her is, however, to be found in GroveO, IV, 333.

³³ c. 1760-1831, Grove6, III, 720; 1766-1831, BDA, VII, 146-146 - entry under her married name of Mrs Samuel Harrison.

³⁴ EMS, *Minutes*, 7.8.1789.

³⁵ BurneyH, IV, 502. Also de Brito, *Opera in Portugal*, 88, 97.

³⁶ BurneyH, IV, 502.

³⁷ BUCEM, 349-350 lists a number of arias from this opera that were published bearing Sestini's name, attesting to her popularity in this work: *Cara [sic] donne sventurate. The much admired duett, sung by Signior Pinetti and Signiora Sestini in the second act of La Fraschetana* ([Dublin:] Hibernian Magazine, 1779); *Giovinette semplicitte. A favourite song in La Fraschetana. Sung by Sigr Sestini* ([Dublin:] John Lee, [c. 1778]); *Ah*

many of the most acclaimed singers of the period – with Giovanni Lovattini, Caterina Ruini Galli, Venanzio Rauzzini, and Andrea Morigi.

Unusually for an Italian singer, Sestini ventured into singing English operas, appearing in Dublin as well as in London (at Covent Garden) in the mid 1780s. She sang in a number of Dibdin, Shield and O’Keeffe productions, such as *The Castle of Andalusia*, *Lionel and Clarissa*, *The Maid of the Mill*, *Robin Hood* and *Poor Vulcan*. On hearing her sing the part of Jessamy (a breeches role) in *Lionel and Clarissa*, in Dublin in November of 1784, a reviewer for *Faulkener’s Journal* remarked that:

“...she gave the character a fire, a life, a soul in fact, that won her every tribute of approbation which it was possible for an audience to confer.”³⁸

Also, that:

“...Sestini displayed new abilities, which possibly she does not herself know she possesses; but which, from cultivation and experience must indisputably succeed. Sestini, in short, seems a gem, whose lustre appears the greater, the more it is brought forward...”³⁹

Contemporary descriptions of Sestini emphasised her beauty, her skill as a comic actress and her popularity with audiences. The reviewer of the London-based *Morning Post* declared that:

“...Her voice is so delightful, her figure so pleasing, her delivery so full of sensibility and grace, that every note she sings, every word she utters commands the plaudits of the whole audience; the most

quegl’occhi ladroncelli. The second celebrated song. Sung by Sagra Sestini in the Italian opera of *La Frascetana* ([Dublin:] Anne Lee, [c. 1780]); *Non dubitare &c*. A celebrated song in *La Frascetana*. Sung by Sagra Sestini ([Dublin:] John Lee, [c. 1778]). Two arrangements of arias from *La Frascetana* as sung by Signora Sestini were printed by Domenico Corri in his *Select Collection*, I, 54-61, *Giovinette Semplicette* and *Non Dubitare*. *BUCEM*, 757, also lists two published arias from Paisiello’s opera *Gli Schiavi per Amore* in which Sestini performed: *Dianina tu servi un po a me*. Quartetto in the second act of *Gli Schiavi per Amore*. Sung by Sagra Storace, Sagra Sestini, Sagra Morigi, and Sagra Morelli (London: Longman & Broderip, [c. 1787]); *Ola dico*. Sung by Signoras Storace & Sestini, Signors Morelli & Morigi ([London:] Longman & Broderip, [1787]). There was also an arrangement of this opera by Domenico Corri for keyboard: *Gli Schiavi per Amore*. A comic opera in two acts...Arranged for the harpsichord or piano-forte, with graces and other ornaments by D. Corri (London: Longman & Broderip, [1787]).

³⁸ *Faulkener’s Journal*, 13-16.11.1784, cit. Walsh, *Opera in Dublin 1798-1820*, 253. Sestini seems to have acquired a certain amount of popularity in her breeches roles – writing after her performance as Colonel Epaulet in Shield and O’Keeffe’s comic opera *Fontainebleau, or Our Way in France*, a reviewer observed that “...Sestini wears the breeches so perfectly that her Irish friends are inclined to wish she would doff the petticoat entirely, in the theatre...”. *Volunteer Evening Post*, 29.1-1.2.1785, cit. Walsh, *Opera in Dublin 1798-1820*, 256.

³⁹ *Faulkener’s Journal*, 11-14.12.1784, cit. Walsh, *Opera in Dublin 1798-1820*, 254.

surprising is, the justness of her action, considering that Italian singers are most generally very bad actors.”⁴⁰

More critical observers noted a weak voice, perhaps lacking in projection. The entry on Sestini in the *ABCDario Musico* (issued some five years after the glowing reviews in the London and Dublin papers) reads:

“SESTINI

An Italian woman. Tres jolie, bien decouplée, and the best Buffa that we have had since Zamparini; but her voice is very thin, and her excellence almost entirely depends on her action.”⁴¹

One of the most critical descriptions of Sestini was penned by Richard, Earl of Mount Edgcumbe. In his *Musical Reminiscences* he acknowledged that she was indeed “...handsome, sprightly, and a good actress...”, adding, however:

“...if great exuberance of gesticulation, activity of motion, and affected Italian *smorfie* could make her one; but her voice was gritty and sharp (something like singing through a comb) and she was nothing of a singer, except for lively comic airs. Yet she was...long a favourite with the mass of the public though not with the *connoisseurs*.”⁴²

Sestini’s arrival in Edinburgh, in January 1792, was advertised in the *Mercury*.⁴³ Shortly after, advertisements appeared promoting the “Second Night of SIGNORA SESTINI’S Engagement...”,⁴⁴ while almost a month later, “...The Governor and Directors beg leave to recommend Mrs SESTINI in the warmest manner to the attention of the public...”.⁴⁵

Contemporary newspaper advertisements detail the music which Sestini sang for the short period that she was in Edinburgh. As with advertisements for concerts by other musicians, they are at times rather vague, stating simply that she would sing a “Song”.⁴⁶ Some advertisements are, however, more enlightening, announcing either the work from which the extract was taken, or the name of songs and arias. For her own benefit concert, in mid-February 1792,⁴⁷ Signora Sestini sang two unnamed songs, as well as two duets (“Conquelle [*sic*] Sue Manine” and “The Favourite Duetto – *Pichie*

⁴⁰ *The Morning Post*, 15.2.1775, cit. Walsh, *Opera in Dublin 1705-1797*, 193.

⁴¹ *ABCDario Musico*, 43.

⁴² This is cited in the *BDA*, XIII, 266.

⁴³ “SIGNORA SESTINI being arrived from LONDON...”, *CM*, 7.1.1792; 9.1.1792.

⁴⁴ *CM*, 19.1.1792.

⁴⁵ *CM*, 9.2.1792.

⁴⁶ *CM*, 13.2.1792; 20.2.1792; 25.2.1792; 27.2.1792; 24.3.1792; 31.3.1792; 2.4.1792.

⁴⁷ *CM*, 13.2.1792.

Cornacchie") probably with Pietro Urbani, who also contributed some items to the concert. For the benefit which Girolamo Stabilini had a week later,⁴⁸ Signora Sestini sang a couple of solo items: "Chi mi mostra", and "Cane [*sic*] Donne",⁴⁹ she also sang some duets with Urbani; "The favourite Comic Duet, "con quelle tue Marine [*sic*]" and "by particular desire, the much-admired Comic Duet of "Picche Cornachie [*sic*]"'. For the benefit night which Natale Corri had in March,⁵⁰ Sestini performed a solo song "Whether my Love", the "Serious Trio from Alexander, by Tarthi [*sic*]" with Urbani and Natale Corri, and "A New Comic Trio by Gulielmi [*sic*], which was performed at the Pantheon this present season, with universal applause", again, with her two compatriots.

Sestini's farewell concert, planned for the beginning of April, was advertised in the local papers:

"By appointment of the Governor and Directors of the Musical Society

On TUESDAY next, the 3d April, will be performed
AT ST. CECILIA'S HALL,
FOR THE BENEFIT OF SIGNORA SESTINI,
Being the last Night of her performance in Scotland,
A Concert of Vocal & Instrumental Music
PLAN OF THE CONCERT.

ACT I.

Overture, - SARTI.

Song, by Mr URBANI.

New Quartetto, composed by Signor TONIOLI, for Two
Violins, Tenor, and Bass.

Song, by Signora SESTINI.

Duetto, by Sig. SESTINI and Mr URBANI,

Tutto di voi dipende.

ACT II.

Scots Song, by Mr URBANI.

Concerto, by Mr STABILINI.

Song, - Signora SESTINI.

Favourite Duetto, Sig. SESTINI & Mr URBANI.

To conclude with a New Trio,

By Sig. SESTINI, Mr URBANI, & Mr N. CORRI.

Tickets, price 3s. to be had at all the Music Shops, and at Signora Sestini's lodgings, Shakespeare Square.⁵¹

Shortly before quitting Edinburgh and the employ of the Musical Society, Sestini placed the following announcement in the *Mercury*:

"...SIGNORA SESTINI, actuated by the sincerest gratitude, thinks it her duty, before she leaves Edinburgh to return her most humble

⁴⁸ CM, 18.2.1792; 20.2.1792.

⁴⁹ From the opera of *La Fraschetana*, see note 36 above.

⁵⁰ CM, 8.3.1792; 10.3.1792; 12.3.1792.

⁵¹ CM, 29.3.1792; 31.3.1792; 2.4.1792.

thanks to the Nobility, Gentry, and Public, particularly to the Gentlemen, Governor and Directors of the Musical Society, for the great indulgence bestowed on her ever since she had the honour to be employed in their service; and she begs leave to assure them the she shall ever retain the most grateful remembrance of their kind patronage.”⁵²

v SIGNORINE GIOLIVETTI

It is, of course, possible that Sestini’s engagement by the Musical Society was not intended to be more than temporary – in the same series of entries in the *Minutes* which detail the payments made to Signora Sestini, is a payment to Natale Corri for travelling expenses to Italy:

“...By Nat Corri pr order to	}	
defray his Expencc to Italy	}	
to engage a female Singer	}	£ 30. 0.0
[total transactions		£759.10.8 ¹ / ₂ ”]. ⁵³

It could be that this was the same singer which had been recommended to the Society a couple of years before by *La Miniatrice* – a note in the *Minutes* from November 1789 states: “Sir Willm Forbes to write to Mr Jenkins at Rome to enquire after the young widow recommended as a singer by Mrs Corri...”.⁵⁴ In any case, the *Minutes* of the Society record that at the very end of 1792 they were hoping to engage a singer from abroad to perform at their concerts:

“...to agree with Miss Giollivetti for two years certain at £200 pr Annum & if she is dismissed at that time to pay her & her Sisters Expencc to London but that we shall have in our power to keep her a year longer, also resolved to give occasionally some little presents to her & her Sister as they have asked £250 pr Annum and at leaving Paris seemed to expect something more that the Salary Mr Corri was impowered to give. Examined an Accot of Mr Corri’s Expencc to Paris & to Edinr with the Miss Gaolevettiis [*sic*] amounting to £69:16:6 & approve of the same & of fulfilling the other articles of the agreeement with Mr N Corri”.⁵⁵

There appears to be very little biographical information about these two sisters.⁵⁶ That they were both performers is clear from

⁵² CM, 31.3.1792. This was a similar advertisement to the one which had appeared in the *Public Advertiser* 30.3.1776 – at the very beginning of Sestini’s career on the British stage. Cit. BDA, XIII, 265.

⁵³ EMS, *Minutes*, 23.12.1791-28.7.1792.

⁵⁴ EMS, *Minutes*, 20.11.1789.

⁵⁵ EMS, *Minutes*, 1.12.1792.

⁵⁶ There is no entry for Giolivetti in the *Grove*⁶, or *Grove*. The lack of any information on the sisters in the BDA or the *London Stage* would seem to suggest that the sisters did not appear in London during the eighteenth century, either on their way to Edinburgh, or travel down once they had established themselves in Scotland. Similarly, their

contemporary newspaper advertisements. The references to "Miss Giolivetti" in the *Minutes* are all to the payment of her salary:

"...By Miss Giolivetti Ballce of her Salary to 18th Feby	£ 89.16.6
...By Miss Giolivetti one Quarter to 18th Do [May]	£ 50. 0.0
[total transactions	£463.11.11½]" ⁵⁷
"...By Miss Giolivatte's Do [two quarters] to 18 do [November]	£100. 0.0
[total transactions	£393.19.9½]" ⁵⁸

The *Minutes* also show that sometime in the six months from January to June 1794, one of the two sisters married Natale Corri:

"...By Mrs Giolivetti or Mrs N Corri two Qr to 18 May	£100.0.0
[total transactions	£446.19.4]" ⁵⁹

The few remaining *Minutes* refer to Giolivetti as Mrs Corri:

"...By Mrs Nate Corri 2 Ditto [quarters] to 18 Do [November]	£100.0.0
[total transactions	£518.6.10½]" ⁶⁰
"...By Mrs Natle Corri Do [two quarters] to 18 Do [May]	£100.0.0
...By Mrs Corri & Miss Giolivetti pr order for their performing at Funeral Concert	£ 10.0.0
[total transactions	£480.13.8]" ⁶¹

After these last payments, made for the period February to July 1795, no other payments from the Society to the two sisters seem to be recorded, although from newspaper advertisements it is clear that they remained in Edinburgh for some years.

As with other singers and instrumentalists, contemporary newspaper advertisements are useful in building up an idea of what

residence in Edinburgh has largely been overlooked by scholars of Scottish musical history, e.g: Farmer, *History*; Johnson, *Music and Society*; Gray, 'Musical Society'; Harris, *Saint Cecilia's Hall*.

⁵⁷ EMS, *Minutes*, 8.1.1793-5.7.1793.

⁵⁸ EMS, *Minutes*, 5.7.1793-17.1.1794.

⁵⁹ EMS, *Minutes*, 17.1.1794-27.6.1794. There were two children from this marriage, who were both singers: Frances (Fanny) Corri and Rosalie Corri. There seems to be slightly more information about Fanny and Rosalie Corri than about their mother, Signora Natale Corri. This information is in the form of accounts by contemporaries and later (19th/20th-century) biographies and evaluations of their careers. There appears to be some confusion as to the date of Fanny's birth - a number of sources state that it was 1801: *Grove*2, I, 610; *Grove*4, I, 732; *Grove*5, II, 457. *Fétis*B, II, 366, however, states that it was 1795. Other sources note that it was either 1795 or 1801: *DBI*, XXIX, 519, and *Grove*O, I, 960 who also notes her date of death as being after 1833. There is rather less information about Rosalie, born in Edinburgh in 1803. *DBI*, XXIX, 519, states that there seem to be "scarse notizie" on her, her date of death does not appear to be known.

⁶⁰ EMS, *Minutes*, 27.6.1794- 6.2.1795.

⁶¹ EMS, *Minutes*, 6.2.1795-6.7.1795.

repertoire the two sisters sang in Edinburgh, and of establishing what music was popular with Edinburgh audiences. In most respects, the music which Giolivetti sang while she was in Edinburgh was typical of the programmes presented by other Italian singers who had travelled to Scotland before her. Shortly after she arrived in Edinburgh, one of the sisters began to include Scots songs in her programmes:

“*ST. CECILIA’S HALL*
MADemoiselle GIOLIVETTI
 Begg leave to inform the Public, That
 HER CONCERT, by desire of the
 Governor and Directors
 of the Musical Society, is fixed for Tuesday,
 the 4th of February curt.
 PLAN OF THE CONCERT.

ACT I.

Overture, PLEYEL.

Scots Song (for the first time), Mademoiselle GIOLIVETTI.
 Concerto Violincello, in which will be introduced
 a Scots Air, Mr SCHETKY.
 Song, Mr URBANI.

ACT II.

Concerto Clarinet, Mr MAHON.
 Grand Bravura Song, Mademoiselle GIOLIVETTI, with a Violin
 Obligato, accompanied by Mr STABILINI.
 Solo Concerto, Mr STABILINI.
 Song, Softly Sweet, Mademoiselle GIOLIVETTI, with a
 Violoncello Obligato, accompanied by Mr SCHETKY.
 A New Comic Trio of Gulielmi [*sic*] by the two Demoiselles
 GIOLIVETTI and Mr URBANI.

After the Concert, the two Demoiselles Giolivetti (for that night only) will sing the French Duet which they sung at the Municipality of Boulogne sur Mer, when detained for want of passports; and also some of the most favourite French and German Duets.
 To begin at seven o’clock, and to conclude in proper time for the Assembly.

Tickets (Three Shillings), to be had at Mademoiselle Giolivetti’s, No. 31. North *Hanover Street*, and at all the Music Shops.”⁶²

It is clear from advertisements that Mademoiselle Giolivetti continued to perform Scots songs during her stay in Edinburgh. She sang a number of unspecified duets – billed in programmes as a “Scots Duet”.⁶³ She also included in her repertoire: “Roy’s Wife”;⁶⁴ a “A New Scotch Duet, ‘The Winter of Life,’ BURNS...”⁶⁵ and a “Scots Duet, ‘Gin a Body’ with new words, arranged by Mr URBANI...”⁶⁶

⁶² CM, 1.2.1794.

⁶³ EEC, 25.3.1799; CM, 6.2.1800; 17.4.1800.

⁶⁴ CM, 15.2.1794; 17.2.1794. “...for the first time, Mr URBANI and Mademoiselle GIOLIVETTI...” EEC, 2.2.1795.

⁶⁵ CM, 15.3.1800; 20.3.1800.

⁶⁶ EEC, 9.3.1799; 11.3.1799.

Along with the arrangements of Scots songs by Urbani, Giolivetti also performed works composed by him, such as the "Ode on St Cecilia's Day", which comprised "...Songs, Duettos, Choruses, & c. written by the celebrated POPE, and set to music for the purpose by Mr URBANI – to be performed by Mrs CORRI, Miss GIOLIVETTI, and Mr URBANI...".⁶⁷

In common with many of the Italian singers and musicians who visited Edinburgh in the eighteenth century, Giolivetti sang a mixture of pieces by a number of different composers. She included comic duets and trios in her concerts, such as "Tippete Tappete Ta"⁶⁸ and "Picchie, Cornacchie e Nottole [Woodpeckers, Crows and Bats]",⁶⁹ that had been so popular with Edinburgh audiences when Giovanna Sestini had been in the Scottish capital only a couple of years previously. Giolivetti performed duets by Paesiello with Pietro Urbani,⁷⁰ along with unnamed "Bravura"⁷¹ songs and extracts from the works of Handel, including: "O had I Jubal's lyre";⁷² "The Volunteers fly to Arms";⁷³ "The flocks shall leave the Mountains";⁷⁴ and "Let the bright seraphim".⁷⁵ The benefit which Giolivetti had in 1796 was typical of those given by her:

"A CONCERT.

Under the Patronage of her Grace the DUCHESS of BUCCLEUGH, and
by Desire of the Governor and Directors of the Musical Society.

Mrs CORRI's CONCERT

Is FIXED for TUESDAY the 16th inst.

In St CECILIA'S HALL.

PLAN OF THE CONCERT.

ACT I.

Grand Overture of Iphigenie, by GLUCK.

Bravura Song – Mrs CORRI.

Concerto Violoncello – Mr SCHETKY.

Song – Mr URBANI.

ACT II.

Scots Song – Mrs CORRI

⁶⁷ EEC, 14.3.1795; 16.3.1795. This work is not listed under "Urbani" in *BUCEM* or *RISM*. It is possible that this was not published and that the manuscript has since been lost.

⁶⁸ CM, 24.2.1794; 1.3.1794; 3.3.1794.

⁶⁹ CM, 15.2.1794; 17.2.1794; 20.2.1800 as "Picchie Cornichie".

⁷⁰ EEC, 28.3.1795; 7.2.1799 – "...By particular desire, the much admired Comic Duet from the Opera of La Frascatana..."; 9.3.1799; 11.3.1799; 30.1.1800 – this advertisement states that this was the "...Comic Duet from LA FRASCATANA..."; 22.2.1800, the "...Duetto – 'Le nostre Cenneri [sic]...'". CM, 30.1.1800.

⁷¹ CM, 10.2.1794; 17.2.1794; 20.2.1794; 22.2.1794. EEC, 17.1.1795; 19.1.1795; 26.1.1795; 2.2.1795; 20.2.1796; 27.2.1796

⁷² EEC, 26.2.1795; 28.2.1795.

⁷³ EEC, 17.1.1795; 19.1.1795; 2.2.1795.

⁷⁴ EEC, 17.1.1795; 19.1.1795. CM, 13.2.1800.

⁷⁵ CM, 3.7.1794; 5.7.1794; 7.7.1794; 10.7.1794.

The Siege and Surrender of Valenciennes, as originally composed by Mr N. CORRI, with additions in the Band, for the occasion, of Trumpets, Bassoons, Flageolets, Kettle-drums, & c.

Song, Mrs CORRI, with Violin Obligato [*sic*],
by Mr STABILINI.

Trio, from HANDEL, ACIS AND GALATEA, "The Flocks shall leave the Mountains," – by Mrs CORRI, Mr HOLLAND, and Mr URBANI.

To begin at Seven O'Clock, and to conclude in time for the Assembly.

Tickets (3s.) to be had at Mrs CORRI, No. 2, Shakespeare Square, and at all the Music Shops."⁷⁶

This concert was, however, perhaps slightly unusual, as it was advertised as taking place "...Under the patronage of her Grace the DUCHESS of BUCCLEUGH..."⁷⁷ with an announcement appearing in the *Courant* the week before the concert stating that:

"...We hear that Mrs CORRI'S Benefit Concert, on Tuesday next, will probably be crowded; for, besides being honoured with the patronage of the DUCHESS of BUCCLEUGH, we understand his Royal Highness the DUC d'ANGOULEME has signified his intention of being present with his suite."⁷⁸

Advertisements also reveal that at the very end of the eighteenth century, Giolivetti (by then Mrs Natale Corri) was – along with her husband, and another three musicians in the employ of the Musical Society, namely Schetky, Stabilini and Urbani – among the founding members of the Professional Concert in the Assembly Rooms on George Street:

"PROFESSIONAL CONCERT,
George Street Assembly Rooms.
MR and Mrs CORRI, Mr STABILINI, Mr URBANI, and Mr SCHETKY, have the honour of announcing to the Public, that the PROFESSIONAL CONCERT, which was proposed last season, but prevented by the continuation of the Gentlemen's Concert at St Cecilia's Hall, is now to take place in the *George Street Assembly Room*..."⁷⁹

Writing his *Reminiscences*, published during the nineteenth century, the singer Michael Kelly remembered Mrs Natale Corri and her sister, the Signorina Giolivetti, in the following manner:

"...I cannot omit mentioning the many pleasant days which I spent with Signor Natali Corri, his wife and sister. Signor Corri was the first singing master in Edinburgh; his wife and sister sang at the

⁷⁶ EEC, 13.2.1796.

⁷⁷ EEC, 13.2.1796.

⁷⁸ EEC, 11.2.1796.

⁷⁹ CM, 13.12.1798; 15.12.1798; 20.12.1798. A similar advertisement also appeared in the edition of the 24.12.1798.

Subscription Concerts, which he carried on there with great éclat. They...sang duets most pleasingly."⁸⁰

This last group of Italian musicians to travel to Edinburgh in the eighteenth century saw the demise and dissolution of the Musical Society. While some of them stayed only a short while, some remained in Edinburgh into the next century, attempting to find a different way of organizing concerts through their own association. The Musical Society had had the financial power to engage musicians from London, Dublin and from further afield. Once the Society was extinguished, this became more difficult, as the Governors and Directors of the Society had not only dealt with the financial arrangements, but had also acted as a harmonizing force.

⁸⁰ Kelly, *Reminiscences*, II, 74.

CONCLUSION

This work has been an exploration of the lives and work of many of the Italian musicians who travelled to Edinburgh in the years from c. 1720-1800. From the great wealth of contemporary information concerning these musicians it is possible to draw a number of conclusions. Some stayed in Edinburgh for only a short while, such as the Signor Benedetto, Signor Putti, Cristina Maria Avoglio, Signor Pasqualino, Filippo Palma, Signor Larini, the *Signori* Gurrini and Passerini, Clementina Cremonini, Domenico Luciani, Signora Sultani, Nicolò Peretti, Paolo Torregiani and Signora Sestini. Some Italians were based elsewhere (such as London or Dublin), and made repeated journeys to Edinburgh, such as Giusto Ferdinando Tenducci and Giovanni Maria Giornovich. Many of the Italian musicians spent five years or more in the Scottish capital, most notably Francesco Barsanti, Nicolò Pasquali, Leonardo Pescatore, Martino Olivieri, Ferdinando Arrigoni, the *Signori* Doria and Puppo, Domenico Corri, *La Miniatrice*, Pietro Urbani, Girolamo Stabilini and the *Signorine* Giolivetti. The length of their sojourn in Edinburgh, however, bears no relation to the influence which they had on Scottish musical culture: Tenducci and Giornovich, who visited Edinburgh a number of times but were based elsewhere, were enormously influential, as were Corri and *La Miniatrice*, who spent over fifteen years living in the Scottish capital.

The sheer number of these musicians in Edinburgh over the eighty years from c. 1720 is particularly striking, as is the energy and vitality with which they pursued their careers in that city. Sources such as eighteenth-century newspaper advertisements also show the enormous range of musical activities they pursued, from performing to teaching, composing and publishing music and dealing in music and musical instruments.

It is, without a doubt, as performers that the Italian musicians in Edinburgh in the eighteenth century were best known. Not only did they bring with them the latest, most popular and fashionable compositions, but contemporary comments reveal that they were praised for their skill as performers. They were admired for the technical control of their instrument, but also for their art as performers, for their ability to enchant audiences and heighten sensibilities to the beauty of the music that they were singing or

playing. The three figures that stand out above all the others in this respect are: *La Miniatrice*, Giusto Ferdinando Tenducci and Giovanni Maria Giornovich.

Evidence shows that many of the Italian musicians in Edinburgh between c. 1720-1800 were also sought-after and respected teachers. Some, such as Nicolò Pasquali, Giusto Ferdinando Tenducci, Domenico Corri and Pietro Urbani, published treatises on the various facets of their art. An examination of these works not only helps to assess the contribution that these musicians made to the musical culture of Scotland, but also to place them in a European context.

Many of the Italian musicians were also composers and arrangers of music. While some of the music that they wrote has been lost, evidence for its existence has survived in documentation. Considered alongside the music that remains, this shows that these composers were writing in almost every musical genre throughout the eighteenth century, with the obvious exception of music for the church. There is a great wealth of chamber music, such as songs and solo sonatas and ensemble sonatas. Some of these pieces are versions of the most popular works of the period and there are many that feature harmonizations of Scots folk-song melodies. There are, however, also as many works based on original material. There are also larger-scale works, such as *concerti grossi*, overtures, oratorios and works for the stage.

Domenico Corri and Pietro Urbani were dynamic publishers and entrepreneurs. The companies they founded dealt not only with the publication of music, but also with the sale of music and musical instruments. Urbani & Liston traded for over ten years, while Domenico Corri's firm continued for some twenty-five years in various incarnations. Along with Pietro Urbani, two other Italian musicians (Girolamo Stabilini and Domenico Corri's younger brother, Natale) were involved in the attempt to establish a regular concert series in Edinburgh after the demise of the Musical Society at the very end of the eighteenth century. The Italian musicians were, therefore, not only entrepreneurs but also patrons, extending the practice of "professional patronage" that had been an important feature in the lives of musicians earlier in the century.

Almost without exception, the Italian musicians in Edinburgh between c. 1720-1800 were responsive to the culture in which they

found themselves, incorporating elements of Scottish musical culture into their own. This is clear not only from the large body of published works, but also from the many newspaper advertisements for concerts that survive from the period. Italian and English classical music were performed (and published) alongside arrangements of Scots folk-songs in a mixture of music that was unique to Scotland. It is this aspect which some historians of Scottish musical culture in the eighteenth century have, perhaps inevitably, concentrated on. A study of the literature that has been written on this subject reveals a wide range of opinion, and it is therefore one of the most controversial areas for historians of Scottish music and culture of this period.

From a study of the context of the period, it is clear that there are also other elements in considering the Italian music and musicians in Scotland between c. 1720-1800. An important aspect in Edinburgh is the question of the role of the stage, and of the production of opera in particular – as almost all of the Italians were employed in stage music in some way or another before they came to Edinburgh, or after they left, either as singers or as orchestral musicians. It is interesting to consider the place of opera in Scotland, which was such an important part of Italian musical culture in the eighteenth century. Despite the strong line of influence that ran from London to Edinburgh, Edinburgh musical culture can be seen as rather distinct from that which flourished in London in this period. This is evident from the repertoire that was performed at the Musical Society concerts (which featured not only the latest and most fashionable works from London, but also pieces and composers that were well known and popular in Edinburgh) and also from the debate that centered around the place of the theatre and the stage and the issues surrounding the production of opera.

As the evidence uncovered in this thesis shows, the Italian musicians that were in Edinburgh between c. 1720-1800 were active and enormously influential in almost every aspect of musical life in that city. An extension of this work could be an analysis of the contribution of Italian musicians to the musical life and culture of other parts of Scotland, such as Aberdeen (where there was also a Musical Society in the second half of the eighteenth century), and Glasgow.

APPENDIX
TESTAMENT DATIVE AND INVENTORY OF GOODS
BELONGING TO NICOLO' PASQUALI

Brother to the defunct dated the fourteenth of
November [MVCC?] and fifty seven

14 November 1757

Testament dative }

Signior Nicholo Pasquali }

The Testament dative & Inventory of the
goods [?] debts and sums of money pertai
ning and belonging addebted and resting
owing to [?] Signior Nicolo Pasquali
Master of Musick in Edinr the time of his
decease Who deceased in Edinr upon the
thirteenth day of October [MVCC?] fifty seven
years Truthfully made and given up by
Frances alias Francesco Pasquali Musician
in London Brother [?] to the said
deceased Signior Niccolo Pasquali only
[?] nearest in kin [?] executor dative
to the said defunct And that by Decree of the
Commissarys of Edinr as the [same?] of date
the twenty fourth day of November [MVCC?] and
fifty seven years [?] [?] length
purports

In the first the said Signior Nicolo Pasquali
had pertaining and belonging to him the time
foresaid of his decease the goods & [?] after
mentioned of the severall [?] & [?]
following And which goods and [?] were
inventaryed and appreciate by Christian Bruce
one of the ordinary valuators of goods in Edinr
[?] of a Warrand from the said Commissary
bearing the date the tenth day of November [MVCC?] &
fifty /

fifty seven years years proceeding upon the appli
 cation of the ~~said~~ Margaret Simson the
 defuncts widow [?] [?] in the
 dining room six beech and one elbow chair
 one pound four shillings Item a [?]
 small dining table three shillings Item a
 small tea table with mohogany top four shills
 Item a [?] paned cupboard six shillings Item
 a fire screen three shillings Item a
 Chimney and brass fender with tongs Shuttle & [?]
 twelve shillings Item a large looking glass
 sixteen shillings Item a Carpet ten shillings
 Item four craked china bowels and a pot four
 shillings Item a set of china mugs six shills
 Item half dozen of china cups and saucers
 and a china bowel four shillings Item half
 a dozen blue and white china cups & saucers
 and a bowel three shillings and six pence Item
 six saucers and five cups blue & white one
 shilling and sixpence Item three small china
 bowels a china cup and an unclean [?] &
 broke one shilling and sixpence Item a blue
 and white China teapot and flat two shillings
 Item a sauce boat six pence Item six silver
 tea spoons ten shillings Item three [Cruets?]
 of glass one shilling and sixpence Item five
 wine glasses tenpence In the foreroom
 Item a walnot tree desk and drawers fifteen
 shillings Item a [?] chest of drawers
 five shillings Item a small looking glass
 eight/

eight shillings Item a bed stead with stript
 Curtains ten shillings Item six chairs and six
 Elbow chair with striped covers & a footstool
 fifteen shillings Item a Chimney mounted
 with brass four shillings and sixpence Item
 a feather bed bolster and [?] one pound five
 shillings a trunk three shillings Item two

pairs of linnen sheets fourteen shillings Item
 three pairs ditto one pound one shilling Item
 two pairs coarse sheets ten shillings Item
 five pairs servants sheets at two shillings &
 sixpence pr pair Twelve shillings & six pence
 Item five coarse table cloaths and two dozen of
 napkins of the same fifteen shillings Item
 seventeen pillowbers¹ five shillings Item a
 single pair of sheets five shillings Item two
 small table Cloaths three shillings Item fourteen
 yards linnen at two shillings pr yard one
 pound eight shillings Item five yards
 ditto at two shillings pr yard ten shillings
 Item a dozen of Demines² Napry uncut and
 a table Cloath three pound Item nine
 day shirts at five shillings each two pound five
 shillings Item fourteen other day shirts at
 two shillings and six pence each one pound
 fifteen shillings Item five night shirts
 five shillings Item five old [fasten?] vests two shilling
 and six pence Item five pairs cotton stockings
 four shillings Item four pairs under stockings
 one/

one shilling Item four pairs old [worset?] stockings
 two shillings Item three night caps six pence
 Item twelve [socks?] two shillings Item two pair
 weepers and two pairs mufflers one shilling
 Item a dozen pocket Napkins one shilling and
 six pence Item an old silk napkin quite torn
 three pence Item two flannel vests one shilling
 Item a green embroidered vest one pound
 Item a brown coat and gold [?] one pound
 ten shillings Item a silk coat with [several?]
 frogs fifteen shillings Item one pair old silk
 breeches and vest one shilling and six pence

¹ Pillowcases. *OED*, VII, 866.

² The *OED* records references to this fabric from 1695. *OED*, III, 194.

Item an old suit of cloaths light colour eight shillings Item two [?] coats and old laced vest and two pair of black breeches ten shills Item a suit of black cloaths three shillings Item an old coat and vest all torn one shilling and six pence Item an old red Cloak and old big coat two shillings Item a pair of black velvet cotton velvet breeches an old laced vest and night gown six shillings Item fourteen yards of coarse napry at four pence pr yard one shilling and eight pence a silver hilted sword one pound ten shillings an old silver watch three pounds three shillings Item a pair of silver shoe and knee buckles & [Stock?] buckles six shillings Item three Spindle of linnen yarn at one shilling and six pence Item a half spindle coarse ditto six pence Item/

Item eight spindle of cotton yarn at three shillings pr spindle one pound four shillings In the kitchen Item a dozen and eleven [?] [?] four Lyme³ plates and a stone one three shillings Item a dozen of pewter plates and four dishes weighing seventeen pounds weight at eight pence pr lib eleven shillings and four pence Item [?] [?] & Spitt one pound Item a small old kitchen chimney one shilling and six pence Item a drying white iron [pan?] four pence Item a copper kettle & footman four shillings Item two [?] pots two shillings and six pence Item two brass pans three shillings Item five brass Candlesticks three shillings Item a white iron oven [drained?] and skimmer two shillings Item a saltbucket skouring board frying pan and two old white iron pans a coal [?] & [coalbaiked?] one

³ Earthenware, porcelain. *SND*, VI, 82.

shilling Item a brass lamp & flesh fork
 six pence Item two window hangings six
 pence Item a kitchen tongs and fire shovell
 one shilling Item a tea bell eight pence Item
 two pair of snufflers a pepper box & white iron
 seller three pence Item four smoothing irons
 a standard and healer three shillings Item
 an old white iron tea kettle two pence Item
 a pewter bason [sic] one shilling Item thirty
 two white iron [sconces?] five shillings Item
 a Box bed and chaff bed⁴ four shillings
 Item/

Item half a dozen knives and forks one shil
 Item three kitchen chairs one shilling Item
 twelve and a half dozen of bottles at one shilling
 pr dozen twelve shillings and six pence Item
 two old tubs one shilling Item a brander four
 pence Item a cistern of lead fifteen shillings
 Item a small [?] one penny In the room
 off the kitchen Item [?] chest two shillings
 and six pence Item an old easy chair six
 shillings Item an old feather bed bolster &
 [?] small ten shillings Item a Chimney
 small tongs and pocker seven shillings
 Item seven pair of blankets at two shils
 and six pence pr pair seventeen shillings and
 six pence Item an old half blanket six pence
 Item a small old floor Cloth one shilling Item
 two old bed [?] five shillings Item another
 old half blanket six pence Item a trunk &
 old chest two shillings and six pence Item a
 watring [sic] pan and spinning wheel and [skeln?] three
 shillings Item four old Chairs two shillings
 Item a small old tea table [wainseat?] one shilling
 Item A tortoise shell snuff box seven shillings
 Item a gold ring with a single stone twelve

⁴ "...a 'bed' or mattress stuffed with chaff instad of feathers, etc." *OED*, II, 244.

shillings Item twenty yards of [?] at fifteen pence pr yard one pound five shillings All sterling money [?] the values and prices of the goods and [?] before mentioned in [?] tp the sum of forty five pounds thirteen shils and eleven pence Sterling And which were so appreciate/

appreciate by the Christian Bruce conform to her signed Estimation there of date the eleventh day of November [MVCC?] and fifty seven years Item the said defunct's musick books compleat and uncompleat together with his two fiddle and an old Spinet are appreciate [?] at the Sum of Sixty pounds sterling money conform to Robert Bremner Musick master and keeper of a Musick Shop in Edinr he signed Estimation thereof dated the twenty fourth of November [MVCC?] and fifty seven years Item follow the defuncts books [?] Folio [?] The story of the Reformation Edinr 1732 The holy Court 1630 Octavo Sheridans british Education London 1756 [Nollet's?] experimental Phylosophy Ibd 1752 Digbys [curtains?] Ibd 2 Vols 1747 [Family?] instructor Ibd 1750 [?] Ibd 1742 Shakespears plays Vol 1 Ibd 1747 Addison woks vol 1 Dublin 1735 Bysses Art of Poetry vol 2d Plays [?] French plays Torn 5 Paradise lost London 1757 Hughs poems 2 vols London 1735 Italian and French dictionary 2 vols 1659 French plays 6 volumes Augustine Meditations London 1746 And which books were valued in whole at the sum of fourteen shillings sterling conform to Gideon Crawford and James Brown Booksellers in Edinr their signed Estimation thereof dated the seventeenth day of November [MVCC?] and fifty seven Item Cash lying by the defunct [?] Eleven guineas in gold & twotwenty Shilling old bank notes [?] these two &

Articles to the sum of Thirteen pounds eleven shillings

shillings sterling And [?] the values
and prices of the household furniture musick
books fiddles books and lying money [?]
to the sum of one hundred and nineteen pounds
eighteen shillings and eleven pence Sterling &
in Scots money to the Sum of one thousand
four hundred and thirty nine pounds seven
shilling

Summa of the }

Inventory }

Follows the debts resting to the defunct Item
there was addebted resting and owing to the
said defunct the time of his decease the debts
and sums of money aftermentioned [?]

[?] the sum of one hundred pounds Sterl
lodged in the royal bank of Scotland, Mr John
Campbel Cashier his receipt to the defunct dated
the twenty second day of February [MVCC?] & fifty
five years Item the sum of thirteen pounds
fifteen shillings sterl as a quarters sallary
from the ninth day of June [MVCC?] &
fifty seven

resting to the defunct by the Gentlemen of the
Musical Society ~~to the said defunct~~ in Edinr
Item the sum of Two pounds twelve shillings
and six pence Sterling by the Gentlemen
of the musical society to the said defunct for
teaching Miss Rodburn to sing All Sterling
money [?] the debts & Sums of money
before mentioned in [?] to the sum of one
hundred and sixteen pounds seven shillings
ad six pence Sterl And in Scots money to
the Sum of one thousand three hundred and
ninty/ [sic]

ninty six pounds ten Shilling

Summa of the debt }
 resting to the defunct }

Summa of the Inventory }
 with the debts }

Mr James Leslie [?] [?] the said Francis
 alias Francesco Pasquali only executor dative
 [and?] nearest of [kin?] to the said deceast [sic] Nicolo
 Pasquall [?] & to the goods [?] debts and
 sums of money beforementioned with full
 power to him to [?] [?] auctioneers
 John James [?] in Cannongate Robert
 Brebner [sic] Musick Seller in Edinr and William
 De la Cour [linnen?] [?] & [?] dated the
 twenty fourth of Novr [MVCC?] and fifty seven

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Corri, Natale *A Selection of German, French & Italian Duettinos Dedicated by permission to the Right Honourable The Marchioness of Titchfield being specimens of the National and Popular Airs of these countries As sung by Mrs Corri and Miss Giolivetti with Translations*

or New Words written for the occasion *The Whole Arranged with Accompaniments & Symphonies for the Piano Forte* by Natale Corri (London and Edinburgh; Corri, Dussek & Co., [c. 1795])

Corri, Phillip Anthony *L'Anima di Musica, an Original Treatise upon Piano Forte Playing, in which Musical Expression & Style are Reduced to System. The Rudiments of Music, The Art of Fingering, The Nature of Touch, and Of Preluding, Are Illustrated with Suitable Examples, together with Twenty Seven Exercises, Twenty Progressive Lessons, and above Two Hundred Progressive Preludes, In Every Key & Mode, and in different Styles. So Calculated, that Variety, may be formed at Pleasure. A Dictionary Is also added, explaining every Term used in Music. The Whole written & Composed by P. Antony Corri* (London: Author, 1810)

Craig, Adam *A Collection of the Choicest Scots Tunes adapted for the harpsichord or spinnet and written within the compass of the voice violin or german flute* (Edinburgh: [s.n, c. 1730])

Dow, Daniel *Thirty-Seven New Reels and Strathspeys, for the violin, harpsichord, piano forte or German flute* (Edinburgh: N. Stewart, [c. 1790])

Dow, Daniel *Twenty Minuets and Sixteen Reels or Country Dances for the violin, harpsichord, or a German flute* (Edinburgh: Author, [1773])

Erskine, Thomas *Death is now my only Treasure* (unpublished score) edited by David Johnson, Edinburgh, 1990

Geminiani, Francesco *A Treatise of Good Taste in the Art of Musick. Dedicated to His Royal Highness Frederick Prince of Wales* by F. Geminiani (London: [s.n.,] 1749)

Geminiani, Francesco *Rules for Playing in a True Taste on the Violin German Flute Violoncello and Harpsichord particularly the Thorough Bass. Exemplify'd in a variety of Compositions on the Subjects of English, Scotch and Irish Tunes* by F. Geminiani Opera VIII (London: [s.n., c. 1739])

Giornovich, Giovanni Maria *Giornovich's Violin Concerto (in G) as performed at most of the Concerts in London, Bath, & Edinburgh with Accompaniments for an Orchestra Dedicated to Chaplin Hankey Esqr by the Author* (London and Edinburgh: Corri, Dussek & Co, [s.a.]

Giornovich, Giovanni Maria *Mr Jarnovich's Reel* (Edinburgh: Gow & Shepherd, [c. 1796])

Gow, Neil *A Second Collection of Strathspey, Reels &c. With a Bass for the Violoncello or Harpsichord* (Edinburgh: Corri, Dussek & Co., [c. 1792])

Gow, Neil *Sixth Collection of Strathspeys, Reels, and Slow Tunes for the Piano Forte, Harp, Violin, & Violoncello. Dedicated to the Most Noble the Marchioness of Huntly* (Edinburgh: Gow & Sons, [s.a.]

Holden, John *An Essay towards a Rational System of Music* (Calcutta: Ferris and Greenway, [1799])

Johnson, James; Low, Donald A. ed *The Scots Musical Museum 1787-1803* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1991)

Johnson, James; Stenhouse, William ed *The Scots Musical Museum; consisting of upwards of six hundred songs, with proper basses for the pianoforte originally published by James Johnson; and now accompanied with copious notes and illustrations of the lyric poetry and music of Scotland, by the late William Stenhouse with additional notes and illustrations* (Edinburgh and London: Blackwood, 1853)

Jomelli, Nicolò *La Passione di Nostro Signore Giesu [sic] Cristo Oratorio. Musica del Signor Jomelli Poesia del Signor Metastasio* (London: Preston & Son, [1779])

McGibbon, William *A Collection of Scots Tunes some with variations for a violin hautboy of German flute with a bass for a violoncello or harpsichord* (Edinburgh: Richard Cooper, 1742)

The Musical Entertainer (London: G. Bickham, [1737-1738])

The Musical Miscellany; being a collection of choice songs, set to the violin and flute, by the most eminent masters (London: Watts, 1729-1731)

Oswald, James A *Curious Collection of Scots Tunes* (Edinburgh: Author, 1740) .

Palma, Filippo *Adieu ye Streams that Smoothly Flow. A New Song* ([s.n: s.l., s.a.]

Pasquali, Nicolò *Sonate a Violino e Basso Composte da Nicolò Pasquali e Dedicate all'Illustrissimo Signor Giacomo Nelthorpe. Opera Prima* (London: Walsh, [1744])

Pasquali, Nicolò *Six Sonatas for Two Violins, with a Tenor and Thorough Bass for the Harpsichord or Violoncello* (London: J. Johnson, [c. 1750])

Pasquali, Nicolò *XII English Songs in Score. Collected From Several Masques and other Entertainments, Composed by Nicolo Pasquali* (London: Author, 1750)

Pasquali, Nicolò *Raccolta di Overture e Symphonie, per due Violini, e un Basso, da Raddoppiarsi a Piacimento; con un Alto Viola, Trombe, Corni da Caccia, e Tymbali di Rinforzo, nella I, III, V, IX, XI. Composte da Nicolò Pasquali, e Stampate a spese dell'Autore, con Licenza, e Privilegio di Sua Maestà Britannica* (London: Author, 1751)

Pasquali, Nicolò *The Solemn Dirge in Romeo and Juliet Composed by Nicolo Pasquali* (London: Bremner, [1771])

Pasquali, Nicolò *Thorough-Bass Made Easy: or, Practical Rules for finding and applying its various Chords with little Trouble; Together with Variety of Examples in Notes, shewing the Manner of accompanying Concertos, Solos, Songs, and Recitatives by Nicolo Pasquali* (Edinburgh: Author, 1757)

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Pasquali, Nicolò *The Art of Fingering the harpsichord; illustrated with examples in notes; to which is added an approved method of tuning this instrument* (Edinburgh: R. Bremner [1758])

Playford, Henry *The Dancing Master* ([London:] W. Godbid, [1657?])

Recueil de Trois Overtures a Plusieurs Instrumens Composées La Piemiere par Sacchini La Seconde par Corri La Troisieme par Pasquale Les Cors Sont Ad Libitum Mises au Jour par Me Lemenu (Paris: Le Menu et Boyer, [1776])

A Second Collection of English Aires & Minuets, with Severall Favorite Air's [sic] out of the Late Operas of Otho, Iulius Caesar, Vespasian, & Rodelinda; all Sett with a Bass, being Proper for the Violin, German Flute, Harpsicord or Spinett (Dublin: Neale, [1724])

Select Minuets. Second Book. Collected from the late Operas, the Balls at Court, the Masquerades, and all the Publick Entertainments for the Harpsichord, German Flute, or Violin by Mr Handel, Sigr St Martini, Sigr Pasquali, Sigr Hasse. To which are added Twenty Six Venetian Tunes (London: Walsh, [c. 1744])

A Selection of the Most Favourite Scots Songs Chiefly Pastoral Adapted for the Harpsichord with an Accompaniment for a Violin by Eminent Masters Respectfully Inscribed to Her Grace the Duchess of Gordon (London: Napier, [1790-1794])

Six Sonatas for Two Violins and a Violoncello with a Thorough Bass for the Harpsichord Compos'd by Sigr. Zanni, Sigr. Zimmerman, Sigr. Anetti, Sigr. Rozelli & Sigr. Aragoni (London: C. and S. Thompson, 1764)

Stabilini, Girolamo *To Miss Monro this Minuet & Rondo with Variations* (Edinburgh: Author, [s.a.])

Stabilini, Girolamo *New March For the Royal Edinr Volunteers with a Quick Step Composed, and Dedicated by Permission To the Right Honorable Thomas Elder Lord Provost of the City of Edinburgh And Colonel of that Corps. By G. Stabilini* (Edinburgh: Author, [c. 1800])

Stabilini, Girolamo *A Concerto Adapted for the Harpsichord or Piano Forte with Accompanyments for Two Violins and Violoncello Composed and most Respectfully dedicated to Mrs. Muir McKenzie by G. Stabilini* (Edinburgh: Author, [s.a.])

Stabilini, Girolamo *A Second Concerto Adapted for the Harpd. or Piano Forte with Accompaniments for two Violins & Violoncello Composed for And most Respectfully Dedicated to The Right Honourable Lady Charlotte Hay by G. Stabilini* (Edinburgh: Author, [c. 1797])

Stabilini, Girolamo *A Third Concerto Adapted for the Harpd. or Piano Forte with an Accompaniment for a Violin Composed for And most Respectfully Dedicated to The Right Honourable Lady Elezibeth [sic] Cunningham by G. Stabilini* (Edinburgh: Author, [s.a.])

Stabilini, Girolamo *A Fifth Concerto Adapted for the Piano-Forte or Harpsichord With a Violin Obligato by P. Urbani. Composed and most Respectfully Dedicated to Miss Henrietta Hunter of Blackness by G. Stabilini* (Edinburgh: Author, [c. 1800])

Stuart, Alexander *Musick for Allan Ramsay's Collection* (Edinburgh: Allan Ramsay, [c. 1728])

Tenducci, Giusto Ferdinando *See the purple morn arise. Tenducci's New Rondo 1779. Adapted for the Harpsichord with English Words* ([London: s.n.,] 1779)

Tenducci, Giusto Ferdinando *Not on beauty's transient pleasure. Mr Tenducci's Third Favourite Rondeau 1780. Sung by him at Messrs Bach and Abel's Concert* (London: G. Smart, 1780)

Tenducci, Giusto Ferdinando *Instruction of Mr Tenducci to his Scholars* (London: Longman & Broderip, [c. 1785])

Tessarini, Carlo *A Musical Grammar which Teaches an easy and short method of Learning to play to Perfection the Violin in Parts. Divided in Two Books. With all the necessary Figures, Lessons, Sonnets, for the use of all the Tones in Music, with the Measures and the Touches of all the Sounds that can possibly be expressed on the Violin. Humbly dedicated to the Most Illustrious Marquis Angelo Gabrielli, a Noble Roman Patrician by Carlo Tessarini Professor of the violin in the city of Urbano* (Edinburgh: Neil Stewart, [c. 1765])

Thomson, William *Orpheus Caledonius* (Pennsylvania: Folklore Associates, 1962)

Thomson, William *Orpheus Caledonius, or a collection of the best Scotch songs set to musick by William Thomson* (London: Author, [1726])

Thomson, William *Orpheus Caledonius: or, a collection of Scots songs. Set to musick by W. Thomson* (London: Author, 1733)

Urbani, Pietro *A Selection of Scots Songs Harmonized, Improved with Simple and Adapted Graces. Most Respectfully Dedicated to the Right Honourable Countess of Balcarres* (Edinburgh: Urbani & Liston, [1792-c. 1794])

Urbani, Pietro *A Selection of Scots Songs Harmonized, Improved with Simple and Adapted Graces. Most Respectfully Dedicated to the Right Honourable Lady Katherine Douglas* (Edinburgh: Urbani & Liston, [1792-c. 1794])

Urbani, Pietro *A Selection of Scots Songs Harmonized, Improved with Simple and Adapted Graces. Most Respectfully Dedicated to the Honourable Lady Carnegie* (Edinburgh: Urbani & Liston, [1792-c. 1794])

Urbani, Pietro *A Selection of Scots Songs Harmonized, Improved with Simple and Adapted Graces. Most Respectfully Dedicated to the Right Honourable Lady Lucy Ramsay* (Edinburgh: Urbani & Liston, [1792-c. 1794])

Urbani, Pietro *A Select Collection of Original Scotch Airs with Select and Characteristic Scotch & English Verses. The Most Part Written by the celebrated R. Burns. Arranged for the Voice with Introductory & Concluding Symphonies And an Accompaniment for the Piano Forte Violin and Violoncello* (Edinburgh: Urbani & Liston, [1804])

Urbani, Pietro *A Selection of Minuets, High Dances, Cottillions, Scots Airs &c. Adapted for the Piano Forte or Harpsichord by Peter Urbani* (Edinburgh: Urbani & Liston, [c. 1795])

Urbani, Pietro *A Favorite Selection of Scots Tunes. Properly Arranged as Duettos for Two German Flutes or Two Violins. By P. Urbani* (Edinburgh: Muir, Wood & Co., [c. 1798])

Urbani, Pietro *When Yellow Ceres. A favorite Song from Montrose Races* (Edinburgh: Urbani & Liston, [s.a.])

Urbani, Pietro *How Charmingly Well. First Song in Montrose Races* (Edinburgh: Urbani & Liston, [s.a.])

Urbani, Pietro *I'll Never Leave Thee. For Two Voices; Arranged by P. Urbani* (Edinburgh: Urbani & Liston, [c. 1800])

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Veracini, Francesco Maria *Sonate Accademiche a Violino Solo e Basso* (London and Florence: Author, [1744])

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