TO READERS:

This book will be periodically updated with new research outcome and data, and amended of any error detected. If you want to collaborate towards this task, please contact the author or the Asociación Luigi Boccherini:

jtorrentac@yahoo.es
info@luigi-boccherini.org

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Luigi Boccherini. Dictionary of Persons, Places and Terms is a work encompassing the difficult equilibrium and even proportion between erudition and wise divulging target. It is also a very useful reference tool allowing the reader to immediately spot and find the most relevant facts of the composer’s biography and production. Additionally, those facts are clearly placed within the historical, social, topographical and economic framework of Boccherni’s life, giving light to the rich musical and cultural environment in Spain and Italy during the second half of the 18th century. All presented with an elegant, synthetic and direct language.

But the book goes beyond the initial target designed by the author, i.e. to facilitate the reader a handy way to locate all available information about the composer, as stated in its preamble. For besides offering a thorough compilation of data, the work ultra-passes its own initial target to reach a dimension only attainable by a well consolidated specialist like Jaime Tortella, who has already delivered two previous works about the Luccan musician: Luigi Boccherini y el Banco de San Carlos. Un aspecto inédito (1998) and Boccherini un músico en la España Ilustrada (2002). In fact, he puts forth a critical reflection about the composer and his works, his role within the History of Music and most particularly within Madrid’s end-of-the-century musical life. Thus, no doubt the book constitutes a highly enriching contribution since, at the end of the day, we can revisit through the composer and from a different standpoint, the complete 18th-century environment.

Love brought Boccherini to Spain, even if it sounds too poetic. By late 1767, he was sojourning in Paris acting as a cellist together with violinist Manfredi in different intellectual cenacles, and he was in love with the Roman singer Clementina Pelliccia, a crew member of the Italian Opera Company conducted by Luigi Marescalchi, touring also the Paris area. In the spring, this company headed towards Spain and Boccherini managed to joint it, traveling to a country where he was to write the bulk of his wide catalogue and also the most representative of his works. He then settled in Spain for ever, and in Spain he died on May 28, 1805. His beloved Clementina died in 1785, so next year Boccherini would write a "Zarzuela" (or musical comedy) using her name for the title. The libretto was written by don Ramón de la Cruz and both responded to a commission by Earl-
Duchess of Benavente where both were serving. In fact, Boccherini had been contracted in
this noble house as soon as he returned from Arenas de San Pedro, right after his patron’s
death. Boccherini had been serving the Infant don Luis de Borbón, brother of King
Charles III, since 1770 and now, in 1785, he had to face a new period in his life, which
would come to be a most creative one.

When Boccherini reached Madrid he found it to be the kernel of Spanish
Enlightenment where a debate was being held between genre theater writers like don
Ramón de la Cruz, Francisco Luciano Comella or Cándido María Trigueros, and the so
called regenerationists, represented by Jovellanos, Iriarte and above all by Leandro
Fernández de Moratín, who struggled to retrieve a way to create drama not only going
back to the classical conventions but seeking not to be a sheer entertainment. They aimed
at making out of the scene a means to educate the masses.

Thus, Madrid showed the dual face of the “tonadilla”, the “sainete” and the
“zarzuela”, by genre stage writers such as Laserna, Esteve, Rosales or Rodríguez de Hita
who used to premiere their works in the popular coliseums of the Teatro de la Cruz or the
Teatro del Príncipe, in front of those who were retrieving the Italian opera, programmed
for the Teatro de los Caños del Peral since 1787, staging pieces by Paisiello, Anfossi or
Cimarosa, sang in their original language.

Boccherini was to live on Spanish soil for 37 years, creating around 580 works, as
compiled by professor Gérard, most of them of chamber music. Some of these works
belong already to the 18th-century Madrid’s musical landscape and are mostly responsible
for the general public knowledge of the composer.

Being a Dictionary, Jaime Tortella’s work offers its contents in alphabetical order
as expected. Each entry is enhanced by an specialized bibliography fully linked to primary
sources references which often enrich the text itself by incorporating the outcome of many
time yet unpublished or scarcely known research. Also a minute discography gives the
reader the opportunity to approach the actual sound of Boccherini’s output.

While compiling his Dictionary, Tortella decided to count on some of the most
reputed international specialists about Boccherini, such as Yves Gerard, Remigio Coli,
Elisabeth Le Guin or Marco Mangani, among others, who’s credits have been briefly
exposed in the author’s preamble. All those specialists have contributed with their deep
knowledge to target a wide audience who will for sure enjoy the book.
While this kind of works abound for composers such as Bach or Mozart, there was no precedent in Spanish musicology and we have no doubt the present approach will stimulate and guide futures similar works other Spanish composers deserve.

We finally want to stress our recognition to the Asociación Luigi Boccherini for the permanent support it has provided towards this Dictionary.

Begoña Lolo
Autumn 2008
Preamble

Finding data, references and details on such a wide topic as the life and works of a musician often requires time consuming hard work lacking the guarantee of a satisfactory outcome. A dictionary such as this one can become an efficient and trustworthy tool for locating the required information and references.

Biographical research needs to contrast and compare new findings with previous data, published or not, either to confirm them or to modify, amend or even discard them. But locating Persons, Places and Terms in scattered books or articles frequently calls for a huge amount of time and dedication never being absolutely certain of reaching all the available data.

The present work, headed by a brief account of the life and works of Luigi Boccherini, aims at making the search for information more efficient for readers who wish to learn about or investigate this interpreter and composer. Towards this goal, this Dictionary presents useful data about Persons, Places and Terms linked to the musician, being aware that completeness is pure utopia since new studies, discoveries, analysis and researches are constantly being carried out and released. This is why we consider this Dictionary an open work, but always a handy tool meant to help musicologists, researchers, teachers, students, music lovers and any one interested in Boccherini, his works, his time and his environment.

Obviously, Persons, Places and Terms are ranked in alphabetical order, offering basic information ample enough to allow locating them in their Boccherinian context. Some entries direct the reader to another equivalent or similar entry. For example, Letters, Correspondence and Epistolary are three interrelated entries where the reader will find the information only in the first one, the other two pointing to it.

When an entry has not been written by the author of this Dictionary it will be so stated at the beginning of the text, between brackets. In case of only a revision, the phrase "Revised by" will be included. Data or information obtained basically or primarily from a single source will be so indicated, regardless of the appropriate bibliographical references at the end of each entry.

Entry structure will generally include three sections:
a) General Information about the Person, Place or Term, always linked to Boccherini, avoiding excessively generic entries which can be found elsewhere, i.e. music encyclopedias or monograph works,

b) Specific bibliographic and document References for the entry, listing first the primary sources, including Custody Venues (archives, libraries, collections, etc., a list of which can be seen at the end of this Preamble), and then publications, by author. The bracketed abbreviation BIB indicates the complete Reference can be seen in the General Bibliography, at the end of the volume, and bracketed abbreviation IN indicates availability in InterNet,

c) A list of Related Entries, contained in the Dictionary itself.

Various 18th-century terms are today archaic, even in Spanish, and their spelling has changed making it almost impossible to find an accurate translation for them. This would be the case of the word "maravedi" a coin-value no more in use, or "Quartel", a city area comprising a number of quarters, delineated aiming at a tighter control of Madrid’s population after the riots known as the Esquilache Mutinies (1766). Whenever such terms are mentioned, the adequate pointers, by means of "See the entry..." or the list in the Related Entries section will indicate to the reader where to find a further explanation.

As for the English translation of original 18th-century texts, we must say they have been made as loyally and accurately as possible, taking into account that 18th-century spelling and abbreviation habits were very uneven, scarcely normalized and apparently capricious.

Many entries contain some sort of economic or monetary data, such as salaries, payments, share holding, costs, prices, and so on, often expressed in 18th-century currencies of different countries, but most commonly in one of the many Spanish currencies. In order to have an idea of the different monetary systems, a specific entry has been included, CURRENCY. Since the majority of economic and monetary data are expressed in copper reales (the most common currency in Spain during the 1700s), and since there is no English translation for this term, we have left it in cursive, giving an approximate equivalence in Euros and US Dollars, always taking into account that this kind of monetary correspondence risks a margin of error which can be considerably wide. Nonetheless, it gives a rough notion of the range where the data might be and also a better understanding of 18th-century standards of living, earnings, expenses, etc. It can also help
to appraise some of Boccherini’s decisions throughout his life. (Change rate of 1 euro = 1.20 US Dollars has been used, although this is constantly varying.)

Also it is worth mentioning that most of the 18th-century documents use a sign somehow similar to @ to mark the thousands (corresponding to the comma in English or the point in Latin languages), so we have reproduced it with this @ sign.

As already stated, the Dictionary offers a general Bibliography section including books, articles, papers, lectures, etc., and a Compact Disc Discography section containing the following items: pieces, interpreters, CD trade mark, recording place and date (if extant), and author of the booklet notes.

Unless otherwise indicated, all through these pages, the Opus No. of Boccherini’s works will be the one noted in Boccherini y Calonje Catalogue, in spite of its inner contradictions and manipulations, for these and the G. No. of Gérard’s Catalogue are the most commonly used and normalized reference available today.

* * *

It is always fair to thank whatever help one receives, but in this case this is especially so since those who have written entries for this Dictionary or have facilitated data, documents or sheer oral information (so not signing any entry in particular), have done it very generously and, above all, very accurately. The author of this volume must acknowledge those who have collaborated on this project, and hopes the reader will benefit from their contribution when embarking in their own research, studies, teaching, or when simply reading through these pages for pure pleasure, for they will soundly increase their knowledge of the topmost musician and interpreter of Mediterranean Classicism: Luigi Boccherini.

The alphabetic list of those collaborators (and friends), from various countries (Spain, Italy, Germany, France, United States of America and England) is:

- Josep Bassal: Born in Barcelona (Spain), is a violoncellist and violoncello teacher, founding member of the Asociación Luigi Boccherini. He premiered on May 28, 2004, in Madrid, together with her colleague Elisabeth Le Guin, the so called Sonata of Barcelona.

- Giulio Battelli: Born in Stazzema (Italy), studied Modern Letters (University of Pisa) and Musical Paleography and Philology (University of Pavia). He is librarian of the Luccan Istituto Musicale where he teaches Music History and Aesthetics. Member of
Centro Studi Luigi Boccherini’s Scientific Committee and of Associazione Musicale Lucchese's Council.

- **Gabriella Biagi Ravenni**: Born in Lucca (Italy), is a researcher and professor of Musicology at the Università di Pisa and member of the Luccan Fondazione Puccini. She has published several works on Boccherini and Boccherinian context, and is founding member and Vice-president of the Centro Studi Luigi Boccherini, and member of its Scientific Committee.

- **José Antonio Boccherini**: Born in Madrid (Spain), is a lawyer and sixth generation direct descendant of the Luccan composer, founding member and first president of the Asociación Luigi Boccherini. He has published articles, read lectures and collaborated in congresses, debates and radio broadcastings about his ancestor.

- **Carmela Bongiovanni**: Born in Faenza (Italy), graduated in Musical Paleography and Philology (University of Cremona-Pavia), in Modern Letters (University of Genoa), and Choral Music and Chorus Conducting (Padua Conservatory). She is Librarian of the Piacenza «Nicolini» Conservatory, and is now researching into 18th-century Genoa musicians and musical sources.

- **Gerhard Christmann**: Ph.D. in Economy (University of Mannheim, Germany), owns the Boccherini portrait known as "Liotard". He has by himself contributed to a more general knowledge of the composer's iconography and has generously yielded image rights to others.

- **Remigio Coli**: Doctor in medicine, born in Lucca (Italy), has dedicated great efforts to Boccherini, producing, among other contributions such as lectures and articles, a biographical series on the composer, enhanced and enlarged since 1988 until 2005. He is also Secretary and member of the Scientific Committee of the Luccan Centro Studi Luigi Boccherini and member of the Asociación Luigi Boccherini.

- **Iagoba Fanlo**: Born in San Sebastián (Spain), solo interpreter and violoncello professor at the Real Conservatorio Superior de Música (Madrid). He joined the Asociación Luigi Boccherini in 2004 and soon became a member of its Managing Board, having published some contributions on the Luccan composer and recorded some of his works.

- **Yves Gérard**: French musicologist, author of the most comprehensive Catalogue of the works by Boccherini, published in 1969 and retired professor of the Paris Conservatory. He is still active as a researcher, not only on Boccherini but also on Berlioz and Saint-Saëns, and is at present working on the updating of his Boccherinian Catalogue together and within the Scientific Committee of the Luccan Centro Studi Luigi Boccherini.

- **Carlos José Gosálvez**: Born in Madrid (Spain), Graduate in Modern History, with musical studies and Diploma in Archives and Documentation, he is Director of the Madrid Conservatory Library, and has published several works on Boccherini, being a founding member of the Asociación Luigi Boccherini and of its Managing Board.
- **Trent Hellerstein**: Born in Denver (Colorado), studied music at the University of Michigan and at the Juilliard School. He is at present double-bass soloist at the Orquesta Nacional de Cámara de Andorra and collaborates with the Orquesta Sinfónica de Barcelona, Orquesta del Gran Teatro del Liceo and Orquesta Barroca Catalana.

- **Bernat Hernández**: Born in Tarrasa (Barcelona), Ph.D. and professor of Modern History at the Universidad Autónoma de Barcelona, member of the Taller de Estudios de Historia de España, author of several works on Economic History.

- **Germán Labrador**: Born in Madrid (Spain), Ph.D. at the Universidad Autónoma de Madrid with his thesis on Gaetano Brunetti, has published several works on musical life during the Charles IV period, including various articles on Luigi Boccherini. He is founding member of the Asociación Luigi Boccherini, member of its Managing Board, and at present its Secretary.

- **Elisabeth Le Guin**: Ph.D. Associate Professor of Musicology at the University of California, Cello of the Artaria Quartet, who published in 2005 her thesis on the interpretation of Boccherini’s music. She is founding member of the Asociación Luigi Boccherini and member of its first Managing Board. She premiered on May 28, 2004 together with Josep Bassal, the so called *Sonata of Barcelona*.

- **Begoña Lolo**: Born in Madrid, Ph.D. and Professor of Musicology and History of Music at the Universidad Autónoma of Madrid, she has written and published numerous books and articles, and given lectures and read papers on music and musicians, especially for the stage (tonadillas, zarzuelas, musical comedies…) during the 18th century in Spain. She is a member of the Asociación Luigi Boccherini.

- **Josep Maria Mangado**: Born in Barcelona (Spain), guitarist and researcher, professor at the Conservatorio Municipal de Música de Manresa (Barcelona), former member of the Quartet de Guitarres de Barcelona, he is also a member of the Asociación Luigi Boccherini. His great contribution to Boccherinism has been establishing who the elusive marquis of Benavent actually was.

- **Marco Mangani**: Born in Florence (Italy), is a Ph.D. researcher and professor at the Università di Pavia-Cremona. His studies of Boccherini manuscripts, autograph sources and Catalogues have been presented in a recently published book (2005). He is a member of the Asociación Luigi Boccherini and of the Scientific Committee of the Luccan Centro Studi Luigi Boccherini.

- **Emilio Moreno**: Born in Madrid (Spain), violinist and researcher in Barcelona, leader of the **La Real Cámara** and professor at the **Escola Superior de Música de Catalunya**. He has studied Boccherini, interpreted and recorded his works, and is a founding member of the Asociación Luigi Boccherini and of its Managing Board.

- **Barbara Nestola**: Graduated in piano and in Musicology at the University of Pisa (Italy). She is a researcher at the Centre de Musique Baroque de Versailles, mainly studying the musical links between Italy and France during the 17th and 18th centuries. She has contributed to congresses and produced publications on Boccherini.
- **Timothy P. Noonan**: Born in Milwaukee (United States of America), earned his Ph.D. in musicology with a dissertation on structural aspects of Boccherini's symphonies in 1996, directed by Prof. Charles Dill. He is lecturer in music history at the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee and has participated in congresses on Boccherini.

- **Keith Pascoe**: Born in Liverpool (UK), he is the second violinist of Radio Telefís Eireann Vanbrugh Quartet and artist-in-residence at the University College Cork, National University of Ireland. He studied violin, piano and conducting in London at the Royal College of Music, and is currently engaged in a research about Boccherini and his string quintets with two cellos. His is a member of the Asociación Luigi Boccherini.

Thanks to all of them once more and thanks also to Trent Hellerstein who has gone all through the text.

It is obvious that all the works listed in the **GENERAL BIBLIOGRAPHY** and those only mentioned in the **References** section of some entries also deserve a "remote" acknowledgment, since they have contributed to this volume as well.
ACRONYMS OF ARCHIVING INSTITUTIONS

ADAM  - Archivo Diocesano of the Archbishopric of Madrid (Spain)
ADA   - Archivo Diocesano of Ávila (Spain)
ADT   - Archivo Diocesano of Toledo (Spain)
ADG   - Archivo Durazzo-Giustiniani (Genoa, Italy)
AFB   - Accademia Filarmonica di Bologna (Italy)
AGP   - Archivo General del Palacio Real (Madrid, Spain)
AHBE  - Archivo Histórico del Banco de España (Madrid, Spain)
AHC   - Arxiu Històric de la Ciutat (Barcelona, Spain)
AHN   - Archivo Histórico Nacional (Madrid and Toledo, Spain)
AHPM  - Archivo Histórico de Protocolos de Madrid (Spain)
APM-SJ - Archivo parroquial de Las Maravillas y Stos. Justo y Pastor (Madrid, Spain)
APSC  - Archivo parroquial de la Santa Cruz (Madrid, Spain)
APSG  - Archivo parroquial de San Ginés (Madrid)
APSJ  - Archivo parroquial de los Santos Justo y Pastor (Madrid-Extinguished, Spain)
APSM  - Archivo parroquial de San Martín (Madrid, Spain)
APSPNR - Archivo parroquial de San Pedro Nuevo el Real (Madrid-Extinguished, Spain)
APSS  - Archivo parroquial de San Sebastián (Madrid, Spain)
APST  - Archivo parroquial de la Santísima Trinidad (San Ildefonso, Spain)
BNM   - Biblioteca Nacional de España (Madrid, National Library of Spain)
LBC   - Library of Congress (Washington DC, USA)
ABBREVIATIONS

Ab.   Abate (Friar)
Abint⁷⁰ Abintestato (ab)intestate (no will signed)
Accad. Academy
al. altri (others)
BIB Bibliography
b.c. Before Christ
BOE State Official Bulletin (Spain)
c. circa
col. column
coll. collection
Coord.(s) Coordinator(s), Coordinated
dir./dirs. director/s
dho dicho (mentioned)
Diftº Difunto (Defunct)
dir./dirs. director/rs
Diss. Dissertation
Domº Domingo
D./Dn/Dº/Dª Don/Doña (Mr./Mrs)
Dott./Dr. Dottore/Doctor
Ed.(s)/ed.(s) Edited, Edition, Editor(s), Editorial
Esp. España (Spain)
Esno/escn/no escribano (actuary, notary)
Esª Escritura (Deed)
Excma. Excelentísima (Most Excelent)
fasc. fascicle
Fr. France, Friar
Franco Francisco
G. deest Work not included in Gérard's Catalogue
gen¹ general
gue guarde (save)
herª herederos (heirs)
introd. introduction
K. Köchel (Mozart’s Works Catalogue)
leg³/lexmos legitimo/s (legitimate)
LB Luigi Boccherini
Lib./Libr. Library
Lizª Licencia (Licence, permission)
Marª/Martª Martinez
M./MM/Mr. Monsieur/s, Mister/s
M. Morto (dead), Maria, Manuscript
m. measure
Mme. Madame
Ms. Manuscript
**Brief Biographical Account about Luigi Boccherini**

Music was the livelihood of the Boccherinis. Luigi’s father, Leopoldo, was a double bassist serving the Luccan Republican Government. Married to Maria Santa Prosperi, he had six children, but only five survived beyond childhood. Third of the five was Luigi, born on February 19, 1743. The two older children were also closely linked to music, Maria Ester, as a dancer, and Giovanni Gastone, as a librettist.

Leopoldo’s sons learned from him the basic rudiments of music, Luigi showing great ability with the violin and the violoncello. After studying in Lucca with the friar Domenico Vannuci, Luigi went to Rome to further enhance his technique with cellist Giovanni Battista Constanzi.

When Luigi had sufficiently mastered the violoncello, Leopoldo Boccherini and his three oldest children toured Austria being highly accepted by both public and Court and by the great operist Christoph Willibald Gluck as well.

During the intermediate stays in Lucca, the Government commissioned Luigi several times to write music and to perform on the cello. He also undertook musical tours through the Italian peninsula.

Upon his father’s death, in 1766, Boccherini toured again the northern part of Italian territory together with violinists Pietro Nardini and Filippo Manfredi, and the violist Giuseppe Cambini, constituting the so-called Tuscany Quartet, the first Quartet in history. Boccherini himself would be pioneer in writing for this instrumental combination.

By late 1767, Manfredi and Boccherini traveled to Paris. There they presented themselves before the public and were introduced in several intellectual cenacles, such as the one held by baron de Bagge, where they met the harpsichordist Madame Brillon de Jouy for whom Boccherini wrote his *Six keyboard and violin Sonatas* Opus 5.

Luigi became enamored with Clementina Pelliccia, a Roman singer who was linked to the Opera Company conducted by Bolognais Luigi Marescalchi. In the early spring of 1768 Boccherini joined the company and traveled to Spain. He would never abandon this kingdom again and his descendants would live in Spain ever since.

In 1769 Luigi wedded Clementina and in 1770, he entered the service of don Luis of Bourbon, younger brother of King Charles III. This employment would only end in 1875 due to don Luis’ death.
Between 1770 and 1776, Boccherini had his own house in Madrid but was linked to the municipality of Boadilla del Monte, some 12 miles west of Madrid, where the Infant don Luis had his preferred residence. In this village Luigi wrote a great amount of music. When don Luis was forced into exile because of his morganatic marriage, Boccherini followed him to live in Arenas de San Pedro, some 100 miles west of Madrid, where don Luis would die.

During the almost nine years spent in Arenas, Boccherini enlarged significantly his catalogue and his family grew to seven children, although one died early. The salary earned from the Infant and the selling of his music made of him a wealthy man able to invest in shares from the recently erected Banco Nacional de San Carlos (National Bank of Saint Charles). In this same municipality of Arenas, Boccherini met the famous painter Francisco de Goya who had been summoned by the Infant, during two summers (1783 and 1784), in order to portray his family. It is worth highlighting that Goya had also acquired shares from the Bank of Saint Charles.

Boccherini’s peaceful life was tragically interrupted by his wife’s death on April 2, 1785, leaving him to look after six very young children. That same year, in August, don Luis would also die, resulting in his servants being instructed to return to their origins.

Back in Madrid, Boccherini began to reorganize his life. He would soon start to serve the earl-dukes of Benavente-Osuna and obtain a royal pension as former cellist of don Luis, as well a salary from the king of Prussia, Friedrich Wilhelm II, as a chamber composer. In 1787, he wedded Maria Pilar Joaquina Porreti, orphan daughter of the famous cellist Domingo Porreti. She brought an important dowry to the matrimony. A fruitful decade was about to begin in which the composer’s catalogue would grow gradually and his family, now restructured, would evolve without any worry.

From 1796 on, light and shade would waylay the musician’s life. This year, his eldest daughter, Joaquina, would die, while at the same time, Boccherini established commercial trade with the printer Pleyel, with whom he would go on to edit numerous works and earn important sums. Also, although Friedrich Wilhelm II successor would discontinue the Prussian assignment in 1798, the composer was commissioned generously paid works by the Catalan marquis of Benavent, a guitarist dilettante, who wanted guitar music to produce himself before the upper class circles. This is the origin of the famous
series of *String and Guitar Quintets*. In 1799 the marquis went bankrupt and stopped commissioning music from Boccherini.

As if to compensate this loss, in early 1801, plenipotentiary Lucien Bonaparte contracted the Luccan to conduct his musical soirées in the French embassy and paid him generously.

When Bonaparte left Spain in late 1801, a period of deep sadness started for Boccherini worsened by frequent bouts of tuberculosis. The deaths of his daughters, and of his spouse Maria Joaquina sunk him into profound grief.

Death struck him on May 28, 1805, at 62 years of age, and he was inhumed in the Madrid parish of San Justo. Only two male offspring were still alive, Luis Marcos, who was a priest, and Josef Mariano, whose descendents still live in Spain, mainly in Madrid.

In 1927, more than a century after his death, Boccherini’s remains were exhumed and transferred to the Italian city of Lucca where he was born.

Boccherini’s catalogue contains basically the following musical genres: Cello and Bass Sonatas, String Trios, String Quartets and Quartets for various combinations, two cellos String Quintets and Quintets for other combinations, Sextets, Octets, Symphonies, Cello Concerts, Arias for voice and orchestra, a "zarzuela" or musical comedy, a *Stabat Mater*, two Oratories, Mass parts, two Cantatas, and some miscellaneous pieces as well, totaling some 450 works.
DICTIONARY

A, a

AFLIGIDOS, Quartel of Los (Madrid, Spain): See SAN MARCOS (Quarter of).

AIR: See ARIA

ALBERT, Heinrich (1870-1950): German guitarist and composer, author of a guitar tutor and of numerous musical works for this instrument. He was a member of the Munich Guitars Quartet between 1906 and 1920. Once he abandoned this group, he approached Boccherini’s String and Guitar Quintets, being maybe the first interpreter since the times of the marquis of Benavent (late 1700s) to publicly perform these pieces, included the one known as "del Fandango". Almost simultaneously, he edited some of these Quintets jointly with the Berlinois publishing enterprise Zimmermann.

Scholar Matanya Ophee believes it was Albert who most probably added the Ritirata di Madrid to the C Major Quintet, G. 453.

References: Ophee, M.: Luigi Boccherini’s Guitar Quintets... (BIB); Ophee, M.: Liner Notes Musicology, Part I, Editions Ophée, Columbus, 2005 (IN); Morris, Allan: Heinrich Albert and the First Guitar Quartet, Editions Orphée, Columbus, 2001 (IN).

Related Entries: Benavent, Fandango, Guitar, Quintet.

ALLA TURCA: Boccherini’s works offer many examples of how he paid good attention to rhythms and melodies he heard in his entourage or were popular at that time. One of those examples is found in the fourth movement of his E flat Major two cello String Quintet Op. 41, No. 1 (G. 346), dated August 1788 and structured as follows:

I - Alegro vivo
II - Andante con un poco di moto
III - Minueto (Trio),
IV - Allegro alla turca

The mode alla turca (Turkish) was very fashionable by late 1700s and early 1800s and not only Boccherini would use this exotic mood. Contemporary musicians such as
Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart (1756-1791) also used it in the last movement of his A Major Piano Sonata No. 13 (K. 331), of 1778, a melody exhaustively repeated and transcribed for all kinds of instrumental combinations. It is also well known how the Salzburgois surprised the Viennese conservative society with an opera of Turkish environment, although sang in German, Die Entführung aus dem Serail, K. 384, of 1782. Similarly, Beethoven included a Turkish March in his 1811 operatic piece The Ruins of Athens, Op. 113. Many other composers and playwrights used this exoticism, feeding their imagination with the wonderful luxury and fantastic beauties from a land they would never actually witness.

Boccherini’s alla turca theme of Op. 41, No. 1 Quintet is his only contribution to the fad of "Turkish" music, but by no means the only case in which he incorporated popular music to his scores.

References: Gérard, Y.: Thematic, Bibliographical and Critical Catalogue of the Works of Luigi Boccherini (BIB); Tortella, J.: "La música descriptiva o argumental en el catálogo de Luigi Boccherini" (BIB).

Related Entries: Fandango, Folia, Quintet, Seguidilla.

ALMEYDA, Giovanni-Pietro (1744-1817): Boccherini mentions "don Giovanni-Pietro Almeyda", in his letter to Pleyel dated July 13, 1797, as a composer living in Madrid, suggesting his Parisian editor to publish 14 of Almeyda’s opus (six pieces each). They were quartets and trios where Boccherini sees "very good things", a modern style and good distribution of the parts. Very prudently, the Luccan asks Pleyel to write any comment about Almeyda aside from the rest of his response, so that he can show the letter to him. Boccherini himself adds a postscript where he warns Pleyel ("between us"), that Almeyda is a mixture of Haydn, Pleyel and Boccherini,

But Almeyda is not again mentioned in their correspondence until the letter dated January 4, 1798. We know Pleyel had published at least some of Almeyda’s pieces and Boccherini complains in this letter about being blamed by Pleyel for loosing money with
this publication (as we can infer from Boccherini’s words). He adds that feeling he had the obligation to show Almeyda what he had written to Pleyel the very first time, he could not help being prudent. So he could not state clearly that Almeyda was anything but an innovative composer who’s music he already told him was nothing more than a mixture of Haydn, Pleyel and Boccherini, that is, a typical pasticheur.

And Almeyda disappears for ever from the correspondence.

Who was Almeyda?

Although Luigi della Croce (Il divino...: note 8, p. 280) and Antonio Martín Moreno: Historia de la Música Española..., pp. 253-254, say he was Carlos Francisco Almeyda, it is hardly likely that Boccherini would allude him as "Giovanni-Pietro". In fact the musician patronized by Boccherini was the Portuguese Joao Pedro Almeida Motta, born in Lisbon, who migrated to Santiago de Compostela (Spain) in 1771. By 1793 he gained a place in the Madrilienian Real Colegio de Niños Cantores (Royal School for Infant Singers), known as Los Cantorcicos (Little Singers). Excepto for some temporary leaves of absence and the turbulences due to the Independence War (1808 to 1814), Almeida remained in Madrid till his death. His works include abundant sacred pieces and for the stage, as well as chamber music.

References: Letters LB: Madrid, July 13, 1797 - Madrid, January 4, 1798; Carreira, Xoán M.: “Almeida Motta, Joao Pedro”, in Emilio Casares (dir.): Diccionario de la Música española e hispanoamericana, SGAE, Vol. 1, Madrid, 1999, pp. 302-306; Croce, L. della: Il divino Boccherini (Epistolary) (BIB); Martín Moreno, A.: Historia de la Música Española. 4. The siglo XVIII (BIB); Rothschild, G. de: Luigi Boccherini... (BIB); Saint-Foix, G. de: "La correspondance de Boccherini avec I. Pleyel" (BIB).

Related Entries: Letters, Pleyel.

ALTO: See VIOLA.

ÁLVAREZ SOLAR-QUINTES, Nicolás (1893-1967): Archivist of Asturian origin (northern Spain). He felt inclined to music and composed popular pieces and "zarzuelas" (Spanish operetta). As a musicologist, his studies spanned from Renaissance Courts to the Spanish Independence War (1808-1814). During the 1940s and 1950s, he unveiled some new Boccherinian documents and published them in unconnected and shallow articles, although they have been useful for ulterior researches.
References: Álvarez Solar-Quintes, N. and Gérard, Y.: "La bibliothèque musicale d'un amateur éclairé..." (BIB); Álvarez Solar-Quintes, N.: "Nuevas obras de Sebastián Durón y de Luigi Boccherini..." (BIB); Álvarez Solar-Quintes, N.: "Nuevos documentos sobre Luigi Boccherini" (BIB).

Related Entries: Benavente-Osuna.

**ANDREOLI, Carlo Emanuel**: Middleman between Boccherini and his Vienna editor Artaria. There exist two letters addressed by the Luccan musician to this man, both dated in Arenas de San Pedro on September 22, 1780 and June 5, 1781, respectively. In the first letter, Boccherini gives some details about his business with his Austrian editor such as the distinction he establishes between "opera grande" ("large work") and "opera piccola" ("small work"), each with its own price. This letter belongs to the manuscript section of the Vienna Stadtbibliothek.

As for the second letter, very recently unveiled by F. J. Romero Naranjo, Boccherini mentions some editions of his works by Artaria, with special emphasis on what is most likely to be his *Six Sonatas* for keyboard and violin Op. 5 (G. 25-30). This letter once belonged to Prussian Friedrich Wilhelm II Königlichen Hausbibliothek, and is kept today in the Berlin Staatsbibliothek Preussische Kulturbesitz, under the shelfmark "Mus. p. l. Boccherini 1".

References: Letters LB: Arenas, September 22, 1780 - Arenas, June 5, 1781; Croce, L. della: *Il divino Boccherini* (Epistolary) (BIB); Romero Naranjo, F. J.: "Una carta de Luigi Boccherini..." (BIB); Rothschild, G. de: *Luigi Boccherini...* (BIB); Saint-Foix, G. de: "La correspondance de Boccherini avec I. Pleyel" (BIB).


**ANGELES, Quarter of Los (Madrid, Spain)**: An area of the capital which lies close to the Royal Palace, in the Quartel called De la Plaza. The Caños del Peral can be seen in the left lower part of the illustration. This is where the famous theater was built and named after this old public lavatory, and where Boccherini premiered his *Concerto-Symphony* in C Major, Op. 7 (G. 491), of 1769. Very close to it, just out of the chart, the Royal Library was located. Its book and document patrimony made the base for the future and present Biblioteca Nacional. Today, the Teatro Real (Royal Theater) sits on the area formerly occupied by the old Royal Library.

This zone has endured profound changes, most of it forming today the Plaza de Isabel II (Isabel II Square).
Map of Los Angeles Quarter (Madrid, Spain), in the bottom left hand corner, the Caños del Peral area

References: Gonzalez, Juan Francisco: Madrid dividido en ocho quarteles con otros tantos barrios cada uno, Oficina de Miguel Escribano, Madrid, 1769.

Related Entries: Biblioteca Nacional de España, Caños del Peral, Concierto, Plaza (Quartel of the).

ARANDA, earl of (1719-1798): Pedro Pablo Abarca de Bolea inherited his nobility title as tenth earl of Aranda. He followed a military career, entered politics and took office three times as Spanish ambassador to Portugal (1755), Poland (1772) and Paris (1773). His ideas were linked to encyclopedism and he was close to the masonry. In the aftermath of the popular uprising known as the Motin de Esquilache (Esquilache Mutiny, 1766), Charles III appointed him as President of the Consejo de Castilla (Council of Castilla), the highest rank of political power under the monarch. From this post, his policies were much aligned with the so called Enlightened Despotism, giving full support to productive sectors (agriculture and manufacturing), as well as underpinning cultural development (he
abolished theater prohibition, canceled any hindrance to other popular artistic production, and firmly controlled the Inquisition). Nonetheless, he strengthened social control by restructuring urban jurisdiction and granting Quarter Mayors ample executive power, especially in Madrid.

It was in this context that Boccherini reached Madrid, in 1768, when the consequences of the 1766 turmoil were still perceptible. One of those consequences was the curfew signal the troops in Madrid played each night to impose retreat, silence and calm. Boccherini transformed this simple tune into his celebrated *Ritirata* which ends one of his most famous quintets, *La Musica Notturna delle Strade di Madrid*.

In 1773, Aranda lost the king’s favor and was assigned the post of ambassador in Paris. But he was back in 1787 to lead the opposition against the earl of Floridablanca, in power by that time.

The 1789 French revolutionary outbreak radicalized Floridablanca’s extremist attitude against France to an unbearable, almost maniacal level, so he was finally replaced by Aranda, in 1792. The new President called for lighter policies towards Spain’s northern neighbor, although he could not maintain his post long enough to thoroughly implement his ideas. The ascending star of Manuel Godoy would push Aranda away from power by the end of that same year of 1792, forcing him two years later to withdraw to his premises in Aragón, where he died in 1798.
The second period in power of Aranda (1792) must have been providential for Boccherini, since under the Floridablanca’s rule Spain had practically lost all contact with the rest of Europe and it was Aranda who would restore the situation and open the frontiers. Boccherini was able to restore his regular contacts with his employer, the King of Prussia, Friedrich Wilhelm II, and with other countries, most importantly with France.


ARANJUEZ (Spain): Municipality crossed by the river Tajo, some 30 miles south of Madrid. The Catholic Kings (Reyes Católicos, 15th and early 16th century) declared Aranjuez to be a Royal Site (Real Sitio) but it reached its highest splendor in later 16th century. It was Philip II (1527-1596) who decided to build a palace, designed by Juan de Herrera and Juan Bautista de Toledo, although its present configuration came through reforms and enhancements done basically during the rule of Philip V (1683-1746), Ferdinand VI (1713-1759) and Charles III, with architects like Pedro Caro Ydrogo, Santiago Bonavia and Francesco Sabatini. Under Charles IV (1748-1819), the still preserved gardens were projected and built. Less than two miles away from the main palace, the architect Isidro González Velázquez followed Charles IV directions to erect the so called Casa del Labrador (Farmer House), a medium size palace.

On the left side of the Royal Palace, there is wide esplanade known as Las Parejas (The Peers), where a peculiar horse parade was held in the spring (see some paragraphs ahead).

The Royal Site of Aranjuez, surrounded by dense woods and abundant fauna, suited perfectly one of the favorite leisure activities of the royal family, that is, hunting. The Court sojourned there in the spring, from the first Wednesday after Easter until the end of June or beginning of July. The river Tajo, very calm and wide in the outskirts of Aranjuez, allowed the Court and courtesans to enjoy pleasant water rides on boats especially built for this purpose. A significant part of the whole set of vessels, known as
"La esquadra del Taxo" (with this ancient spelling, which should be "La Escuadra del Tajo", or "The Tajo Fleet"), is still kept and exhibited at the Museo de Faluas (Felucca Museum), not very far from the Royal Palace. Gorgeous drawings and architectural plans as well as colorful description of acts, music, interpreters, feast, fireworks, expenses and budgets, can be seen in the second part of the book Carlo Broschi "Farinelli" wrote in 1758 (See the References section).

![The Palace of Aranjuez in the 1700s](image)

The Palace of Aranjuez in the 1700s  
(by Francesco Battaglioli, Prado Museum, Madrid, Spain)

During the spring of 1768, we spot Boccherini in Aranjuez, for the first time in the Hispanic Kingdom. He performed there the cello accompaniment of the aria Larve pallide e funeste (G. 542), written by himself for the second act of the opera L’Almeria, a stage piece by Francesco de Majo (Francisco Majo or Maio). The very same day and in the very same performance of this opera, the two sisters Maria Teresa and Clementina Pelliccia were part of the cast. Clementina would be the future first spouse of Boccherini. This information is provided by a passing but clear testimony by Giacomo Casanova, who was also in Aranjuez in the spring of 1768. (See his Mémoires.)

Two years later, also in the springtime in Aranjuez, the Infant don Luis of Bourbon hired Boccherini for his service as cellist and composer, service which would last until the Infant’s death in 1785.
Boccherini’s probable third child (second male), was born in Aranjuez, on April 25, 1774. He was baptized with the name of Luis Marcos and would become a priest in 1794.

According to the *Ordinances* (*Ordenanzas*) decreed by Philip II for the Royal Site of Aranjuez, commoners could not reside inside its perimeter, not even credited ambassadors. So, several surrounding villages and burgs, like the tiny municipality of Ontígola, lodged a crowd of people living and working in the verge of the Court during the spring royal journey. In particular, Boccherini’s mother, Maria Santa Prosperi, who had moved to Spain after her husband’s death (1766), dwelled in this little village close to Aranjuez. Living in Ontígola she would sign her will and in the Ontígola cemetery she would be buried in the spring of 1776.

One of Boccherini’s works, his D Major *Quintet* for flute and strings Op. 19, No 6 (G. 430), uses the words *Las Parejas* as a subtitle, in obvious reference to the above mentioned horse parade. This was a sort of half-military, half-sportive exhibition where four sets of cavalries paraded according to a march-like music interpreted by two small orchestras. This typical Aranjuez’s spring entertainment, accurately described by earl James Harris (British deputy ambassador) and by chronicler Luis Coloma, was no doubt seen by Boccherini receiving his inspiration for his D Major *Quintet*. Its movements, *Entrada*, *Marcha* and *Galope*, closely follow the parade sections of *Las Parejas*. Also Luigi Marescalchi, who had conducted the Compañía de los Reales Sitios (Royal Sites Company), and Gaetano Brunetti wrote a piece each on the sport of *Las Parejas*.


**Related Entries**: Boccherini (Luis Marcos), Bourbon (Luis), Brunetti (Gaetano), Charles III, Charles IV, Casanova, Royal Sites Company, Majo, Marescalchi, Ontígola, Paret, Pelliccia (Maria Teresa, Clementina), Prosperi, Parejas.
ARCHIVO GENERAL DEL PALACIO REAL (AGP, Royal Palace General Archive, Madrid, Spain): Created by Ferdinand VII (1784-1833) in 1808, it sits inside the Royal Palace premises and together with the Biblioteca de Palacio (Palace Library), holds an extraordinarily rich documentary repository. It has more than 120 million expedients dated since the 12th century until today, divided into the following sections:

- Administrativo (Administrative)
- Jurídico (Legal)
- Reinados (Kingdoms)
- Administraciones patrimoniales (Patrimonial administrations)
- Reales patronatos (Royal patronage)
- Capilla real (Royal Chapel)
- Personal (Staff)
- Planos y dibujos (Maps and drawings)
- Registros (Registers)
- Fotografía histórica (Historical photography)
- Archivo del Infante don Gabriel (Infant don Gabriel’s Archive)
- Encomiendas del infante don Antonio Pascual (Infant don Antonio Pascual’s commanderies)

Since the moment Boccherini obtains a pension as cellist, awaiting for an actual post ("fuera del numº de Planta", non staff cellist), in November of 1785, the chapel’s administration noted down every month the amount he received (1,000 reales). The payroll registers, referred to as "Borrador" (Draft, frequently tagged with a simple "B"), state those payments specifying the receiver’s name, "Dn Luis Bocherini", described as "Musico" (Musician). The payments go from December of 1785, when Boccherini received the corresponding owed amounts since don Luis’ death, until May of 1805, when his sons, Josef Mariano and Luis Marcos, collected the pension for the 28 days of this month, because Boccherini died on May 28, 1805.

All these monthly registers, recently unveiled by professor Germán Labrador, are kept in the section "Reinados" (Kingdoms) for Charles III and Charles IV, and also there are copies of the payroll "Borradores" in the "Administrativo" section.

One of the most serious errors in Boccherinian historiography comes from jumbling the September 6, 1799 will, signed before the notary Antonio Martinez Llorente, with the testimony written by a different notary, Pantaleón Zabala, on Josef Mariano Boccherini request one week after his father’s death, that is, on June 5, 1805. To this respect, the Archivo General de Palacio keeps this Zabala’s testimony, which is no more
than a summary intended to allow the hereditary clauses of the will to be executed. Bearing this testimony and the death register, Josef Mariano and Luis Marcos Boccherini called on the Royal Chapel to collect the mentioned salary corresponding to the 28 days of May his father had lived.

A view of the Royal Palace (Madrid, Spain)

References: AGP: Royal Chapel Payroll Drafts: Reinados, Charles III, Files 8-9; Charles IV, Casa, Files 29-32; AGP: Testimony: Reinados, Charles IV, File 3; Boccherini Sánchez, J. A.: "Los testamentos de Boccherini" (BIB); García Marcellán, José: Catálogo del Archivo de Música, Madrid (BIB); Labrador, G.: "Luces y sombras de una biografía: Luigi Boccherini y la música en la Corte de Carlos III y Carlos IV..." (BIB); Peris Lacasa, J. (dir.): Catálogo del Archivo de Música del Palacio Real de Madrid (BIB); "El Patrimonio musical en Palacio Real en el siglo XVIII" (BIB).

Related Entries: Boccherini (Josef Mariano, Luis Marcos), Charles III, Charles IV, Martinez Llorente, Payrolls, Royal Chapel, Will, Testimony, Zabala.

ARCHIVO HISTÓRICO DE PROTOCOLOS DE MADRID (Historical Protocol Archive of Madrid, Spain): King Charles III signed in 1765 a Royal Order creating this archive in order to put together all notarial deeds. The archive was to be administered by the Royal House, although it seated in a municipal owned site. By mid 1800s, the archive changed hands in favor of Madrid’s Town Hall, reverting to the notary guild in 1870. During the Spanish 2nd Republic (1931-36), the Protocol Archive was yielded to the Ministerio de Educación, today known as the Ministerio de Cultura (Education Ministry or Culture Ministry), although, since 1985, it is administered by the Madrid Autonomous Community.

In 1931, the Government decreed that notaries had to yield to the Historical Protocol Archive all documents 100 years old, only keeping those of lesser antiquity, so that the ad hoc building seated in number 4 of Alberto Bosch street would file them for
public use. This building, showing a red brick façade of Arabic influence, designed and erected by architect Joaquin de la Concha, by an initiative of Secretary of Gracia y Justicia (Grace and Justice), Francisco Silvela, was ready in 1886.

The archive keeps documents dated since 1504 up to 100 years ago. As far as Boccherini is concerned, its importance is extraordinary although it has been rather neglected by his biographers until very recently.

Here is the list of deeds signed by Boccherini, specifying the notary before whom he signed:

- Will, September 14, 1785, before José Perez de Aya.
- Mutual Power between Boccherini and Rafael Monreal, June 20, 1786, before Antonio Martínez Llorente.
- Power of Maria Pilar Joaquina Porreti in favour of Boccherini, April 23, 1787, before Antonio Martínez Llorente.
- Capital Deed of Maria Pilar Joaquina Porreti to Boccherini, April 26, 1787, before Antonio Martínez Llorente.
- Will, June 27, 1787, before Antonio Martínez Llorente.
- Power of Maria Pilar Joaquina Porreti to Boccherini, August 13, 1788, before Antonio Martínez Llorente.
- Power cancellation to Rafael Monreal, September 26, 1788, before Antonio Martínez Llorente.
- Dowry Letter to Maria Pilar Joaquina Porreti, November 12, 1789, before Manuel Toledo.
- Power to his son Luis Marcos Boccherini, January 29, 1790, before Antonio Martínez Llorente.
- Will, September 6, 1799, before Antonio Martínez Llorente.

As for various deeds linked to close relatives of Boccherini, the following have been found:

- Will of Boccherini’s mother, María Santa Prosperi, April 27, 1776, before Jacinto López de Lillo
- Will of Maria Pilar Joaquina Porreti, November 16, 1789, before Antonio Martínez Llorente.
- Power where his son Josef Mariano Boccherini si testimony, February 20, 1800, before Pantaleón Zabala.
- Power where his son Josef Mariano Boccherini si testimony, July 22, 1800, before Pantaleón Zabala.
- Will of Maria Pilar Joaquina Porreti, August 30, 1804, before Antonio Martínez Llorente.
- Power where his son Josef Mariano Boccherini si testimony, May 3, 1805, before Pantaleón Zabala.
- Power where his son Josef Mariano Boccherini si testimony, April 24, 1806, before Pantaleón Zabala.
- Will of his son Luis Marcos Boccherini, March 20, 1809, before Félix Rodríguez.
- Will of his grandson Fernando Boccherini y Gallicioli, April 30, 1861, before Miguel del Castillo y Alba.

All these documents, and others signed by musicians, friends, acquaintances or individuals of Boccherini’s environment make this archive a most important center for Boccherinian research.

References: Boccherini Sánchez, J. A.: "Los testamentos de Boccherini" (BIB); Duplá del Moral, Ana (Dir. and Coord.): Madrid en el Archivo Histórico de Protocolos, Comunidad de Madrid, 1990; Matilla Tascón, Antonio: El infante don Luis Antonio de Borbón y su herencia, Ayuntamiento de Madrid e Instituto de Estudios Madrileños, Madrid, 1989; Tortella, J.: Luigi Boccherini, un músico italiano... (BIB); Tortella, J.: Luigi Boccherini y el Banco de San Carlos (BIB).

Related Entries: Boccherini (Josef Mariano, Luis Marcos), Capital Deed, Dowry Letter, López de Lillo, Martínez Llorente, Monreal, Perez de Aya, Power, Porreti (Maria Pilar Joaquina), Prosperi, Rodriguez (Felix), Will, Toledo (Manuel), Zabala.

ARCHIVO HISTÓRICO DEL BANCO DE ESPAÑA (Bank of Spain Historical Archive, Madrid, Spain): The Bank of Spain is heir of the National Bank of Saint Charles (see the entry BANCO NACIONAL DE SAN CARLOS), who’s origin was a Royal Order signed by King Charles III on June 2, 1782, according to which the first Spanish bank was created, with private capital, but under royal protection.

In 1829, stock holders of the Bank of Saint Charles founded the so called Banco Español de San Fernando (Spanish Bank of Saint Ferdinand), being the only authorised bank of issue in Spain until 1844. That same year the Banco de Isabel II was created, competing with that of San Fernando, especially in paper money circulation in Madrid, although their activities were rather different, since the older one was much linked to the State, while the new one sought private capital.

Both banks merged in 1847 with the name of Banco Español de San Fernando, and within three years it began to open different branches throughout the country, finally adopting in 1856 the name of Banco de España.

Its historical archive, located within its premises in Alcalá street, number 48, cornering the fancy Paseo de Recoletos and the round square of Cibeles, was open to public researchers in 1982. It keeps modern files as well all the documents from the time of the Banco Nacional de San Carlos, among which the records related to Boccherini’s
purchasing and later reselling of 10 shares, the interests he obtained, the loan he borrowed giving three of his shares as a guarantee and the later canceling of it, all done during the year of 1785. Its files also keep accounting entries and share titles of painter Francisco de Goya, of don Luis valet and administrator, Manuel de Aristia, of his accountant, Francisco Vazquez, and of several musicians such as Cristobal Andreozzi and his wife, the singer Catalina Tordesillas, Francisco de Sierra, Nicolás Conforro, Manuel Dalp, Juan Antonio García de Carrasquedo, Juan Sessé, or Antonio Ugena.

References: Tortella, J.: Luigi Boccherini y el Banco de San Carlos (BIB); Tortella, J.: "Líneas alternativas de investigación musicológica. El caso de Luigi Boccherini cerca del Banco de San Carlos" (BIB); Tortella, Teresa: Índice de los primitivos accionistas del Banco Nacional de San Carlos, Archivo del Banco de España, Madrid, 1986; VvAa: El Banco de España, una historia económica, Banco de España, Madrid, 1970.


ARCHIVO HISTÓRICO NACIONAL (National Historical Archive, Madrid, Spain):
In order to group a series of dispersed documentary patrimonies from several canceled institutions, be it ecclesiastical, administrative, political, economical, etc., in 1866, a decision was taken to erect the National Archive to complement the so-called Archivo General Central (Central General Archive) seated in Alcalá de Henares, some 20 miles northeast of Madrid. This had been created in 1858 to file all the documents emanating from the Secretarías de Despacho (Ministries), that is, documents still active. So, the new archive would have an strict historical role, only receiving materials from the Central General Archive when they were no longer active.

Initially, the Archivo Histórico Nacional shared its Madrid headquarters with the Real Academia de la Historia (Royal Academy of History), in Del León street, moving in 1896 to the building meant to hold the Biblioteca Nacional (National Library) and the Museo Arqueológico Nacional (Archaeological National Museum). And, finally, since 1953, it sits inside the Madrilenean premises of the Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas (Scientific Research High Council), at number 115 of Serrano street.

The Archivo Histórico National patrimony is divided into four ample segments:

- State Administration (Suppressed Councils, State, Rights, Contemporaneous Files, Inquisition, etc.);
- Institutional Files;
- Private (Clergy, Mesta, Osuna, etc.);
- Collections (Silography, Codex and Cartularies).

Two of the archive’s sections are located outside of Madrid: The Archivo de la Guerra Civil Española (Spanish Civil War Archive), in Salamanca, and the Archivo de la Nobleza (Nobility Archive), in Toledo.

Within the Section State, we can find the Petition Boccherini addressed the king on September 28, 1785, after the Infant don Luis’ death, asking not to discontinue his salary and also begging for employment. This Petition had a positive response and he was assigned a pension as cellist, awaiting for the first actual post to be available in the Royal Chapel. This response is also filed in this Section of the Historical Archive.

Within the same Section, we can find the two decrees nominating Boccherini as don Luis’s chamber cellist and composer, as well as numerous documents related to the Infant, many of which are closely linked to Boccherini.

In the Nobility Section (Toledo), we can find the documents related to Boccherini’s service to the Benavente-Osuna, various payments, nominations, private orchestra, payroll, posts, etc.


Related Entries: Benavente-Osuna, Bourbon (Luis), Petition.

ARCOS, duke of (1726-1780): The dukedom of Arcos (from Arcos de la Frontera, an important crossroads town south of Spain), was established in 1493 through a concession to the Ponce de León family by the Reyes Católicos (Catholic Kings), so enhancing an old medieval marquisate. In 1763, the 10th duke of Arcos, Francisco Ponce de León, passed away and the nobility title was inherited by his brother Antonio, who held it as 11th duke of Arcos until his death in 1780. Since he was the last male of the lineage, the dukedom was finally added to other nobility titles owned by Maria Josefa Pimentel, the only living descendant from the Ponce de León lineage, and countess-duchess of Benevente, married to the duke of Osuna.

Antonio Ponce de León was one of the most wealthy men in Spain at that time. He was trusted by King Charles III and given many responsibilities. In particular he held special posts related to security and public order: he was Quarter Captain in Madrid.
during the Esquilache Mutiny (Motín de Esquilache, 1766, see the entry Charles III), and Lifeguard Captain (Guardia de Corps, 1772), being nominated Captain General by the end of that same year. He also received protocol commissions such as representing the king when his granddaughter Maria Teresa Carlota was baptized in Naples.

He had links with Boccherini’s sister in law, the roman soprano Maria Teresa Pelliccia, sister of Clementina, the first composer’s wife. Giacomo Casanova accounts in his Mémoires a peculiar incident which ended up with the duke of Arcos donating the soprano such a huge amount of money that Maria Teresa could live luxuriously for the rest of her life, even though this required on her part to accept Charles III’s order to abandon the kingdom.


Related Entries: Benavente-Osuna, Charles III, Casanova, Pelliccia (Maria Teresa and Clementina).

**ARENAS DE SAN PEDRO (Spain):** Municipality in the district of Ávila, some 100 miles west of Madrid. This urban nucleus is sheltered by the mountain range of Gredos, and presents three gradients. The main one flows down northwards to a small river called the Arenal, and the other two make up a sort of V with the main street at their intersection. The name of this street, "Triste Condesa" ("Sad Countess"), is an homage to don Alvaro de Luna’s hapless wife, doña Juana Pimentel, who retired from life after her husband was executed in 1453. This V avenue collects rain water towards the river Arenal’s small valley.

When don Luis of Bourbon had to accept his ostracism decreed by his brother the King (Charles III), after his morganatic marriage to Maria Teresa Vallabriga, in 1776, he looked for a place to live far from Court. He tried several sites (Cadalso de los Vidrios, Velada, Torrijos, Talavera de la Reina), but finally decided to settle in Arenas de San Pedro, where he was warmly welcome by the end of 1776 or early 1777. One of the main reasons to choose Arenas was the good hunting in the surrounding areas, where he could exercise his favorite hobby, even though he would have long stays in a palace owned and lent to him by the earl of Altamira, in the nearby little burg of Velada.
A crowded court of servants followed the Infant, among which were Luigi Boccherini and some other musicians, as well as secretaries, valets, doctors, painters, archivists, sculptors, cooks, grooms, horse-boys and a long etc.

Don Luis and his court lived in the center of town until the early 1780s, awaiting for the new palace to be ready. This palace was built on top a nearby hill called La Mosquera and was erected by the two brother architects Ignacio and Domingo Thomas, under their master Ventura Rodriguez’s supervision. Although the palace was never finished, most of it was usable and it must have been by the end of 1782 or early 1783 when don Luis’ family and servants moved to this so called Palacio Nuevo (New Palace) and to the service building (Casa de Oficios). They dwelled there until August 1785, when the Infant died.

A view of the town from don Luis’ Palace of La Mosquera

During the eight years and a half stay in Arenas of San Pedro, Boccherini wrote an immense amount of works: trios, quartets, quintets, symphonies, concerts, an *Stabat Mater, Nueve Villancicos (Nine Carols)*..., totaling some 100 pieces. Besides being a fecund period as far as music is concerned, his family grew up to 8 members (father, mother and six children; a seventh offspring died before the two youngest daughters were born. See the entry GENEALOGY). Also the Boccherinis amassed a little fortune which allowed them to purchase 10 shares of the newly erected Banco Nacional de San Carlos (National Bank of Saint Charles), an investment which would allow the composer to face without any difficulty the immediate future after his master’s death. Painter Francisco de
Goya, who was summoned to Arenas of San Pedro during the summers of 1783 and 1784, in order to portray the Infant’s family members, had also acquired shares from the National Bank.

In contrast with the placid previous years, 1785 came to be tragic. Before the Infant’s death, in August, Boccherini’s wife, Clementina, had passed away in April, so the musician became a widower with six orphan children. At the end of August, Boccherini had to move back to Madrid and face uncertainty although he would be wise enough to solve the situation rapidly and intelligently.

At present and since 2008, Arenas’ Municipality, together with the Asociación Luigi Boccherini, has put up an annual International Festival focused on the Luccan composer, including concerts, lectures and cello masterclasses taught by Anner Bylsma.

References: Arnáiz, J. M.: "Goya y el infante don Luis", in Junquera y Mato, Juan José, et. al.: Goya y el Infante Don Luis de Borbón. Homenaje a la "Infanta" Doña María Teresa de Vallabriga, 1996; Cruz-Uribe, C.: "Unifying Processes in Boccherini’s Stabat Mater" (BIB); Fernández de la Cuesta, I.: "El Stabat Mater de Boccherini y su obra religiosa" (BIB); Tejero Robledo, E.: La villa de Arenas en el siglo XVIII. El tiempo del infante don Luis... (BIB); Tejero Robledo, E.: Arenas de San Pedro y el Valle del Tétar... (BIB); Tortella, J.: Luigi Boccherini y el Banco de San Carlos (BIB); Tortella, J.: "Líneas alternativas de investigación musicológica. El caso de Luigi Boccherini cerca del Banco de San Carlos" (BIB); Valverde Madrid, J.: "Goya y Boccherini en la Corte de Don Luis de Borbón" (BIB).

Related Entries: Asociación Luigi Boccherini, Ávila, Banco Nacional de San Carlos, Bourbon (Luis), Cadalso de los Vidrios, Charles III, Genealogy, Goya, Mosquera, Pelliccia (Clementina), Rodriguez (Ventura), Stabat Mater, Talavera de la Reina, Thomas (Ignacio, Domingo), Torrijos, Vallabriga, Velada, Villancicos.

ARIA: Musical work or part of a musical work for a solo voice with accompaniment, although there might be exceptions written for more than just one voice. The word "aria" is of Italian origin and is the most frequently used, but it can also be seen as "air" in English or French, and "aire" in Spanish. "Aria" can be applied to certain movements purely instrumental as well.

Boccherini uses the aria form in three different ways: a) after a recitative in oratorios or other stage works of his own; b) as a piece inserted in an opera by another composer; and c) as an autonomous composition.

Of case a) we can mention the recitatives and arias in the oratorios Gioas, Re di Giudea (G. 537), or Il Giuseppe riconosciuto (G. 538), or in the "zarzuela" Clementina (G. 540), or in the cantata The confederazione dei Sabini con Roma (G. 543).
Of case b) we find two examples: chronologically first is an *Aria* (G. 542) for the opera *L’Almeria* by the Neapolitan composer Francesco De Majo. Emilio Cotarelo y Mori reproduces the playbill of its performance in Aranjuez, in the spring of 1768, in his *Orígenes y establecimiento de la ópera en España hasta 1800*, stating that "El aria final del acto segundo es compuesta y acompañada con el violoncello a solo del Sr. Luis Boccherini, luqués" (The final aria for the second act is written and accompanied with the cello a solo by Sr. Luis Boccherini, Luccan).

The second example belongs to a *Scene* for *Inés de Castro* (G. 541), of 1798, a *Recitative, Cavatina* and *Aria*, for soprano and small orchestra. The Ms. copy kept at the Conservatory of Paris (D. 14853), has a dedication "Para Mi Sª la Marqª de Benavent" (For My Lady the Marquise of Benavent), that is for the spouse of Borja de Riquer y Ros, marquis of Benavent, who’s name was Maria del Carmen Gallegos Dávalos. What seems to be the original manuscript of this piece has been very recently discovered (June, 2006) by archivist Isabel Lozano, at the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid (National Library), and has been filed as MC/4619/23.

Finally, of case c), Boccherini wrote a large series of *Concert Arias* for a solo voice and orchestra known as *Arie Accademiche* (G. 544-558), and some *Duets* for two voices with varied accompaniments (G. 559-561), of which the authenticity is not absolutely guaranteed.

**References**: Cotarelo y Mori, E.: *Orígenes y establecimiento de la ópera en España hasta 1800* (BIB); Gérard, Y.: *Thematic, Bibliographical and Critical Catalogue of the Works of Luigi Boccherini* (BIB); Lozano, I.: "La aparición de una nueva fuente de la *Scena de la Inés de Castro*..." (BIB); Lozano, I.: "Luigi Boccherini: Fondos musicales en la Biblioteca Nacional..." (BIB); Mangado, J. M.: "El marqués de Benavent (1768-1849): El aristócrata y guitarrista que encargó a Luigi Boccherini los Quintetos con guitarra" (BIB).


**ARISTIA, Miguel de**: The Infant don Luis of Bourbon’s secretary since the time he abandoned, in 1757, his ecclesiastic responsibilities. During many years, Aristia would administer don Luis’ household, and when the Infant died, he was commissioned by the earl of Floridablanca to inventory the patrimony left. According to this inventory and account summary, Aristia was the best paid of all the Infant’s servants. His salary, in 1785, was 75,000 *reales* per year (equivalent to some 225,000 euros or to 270,000 US dollars).
Since Boccherini was one of don Luis’ servants, he received his salary through Aristia, with whom he must have had a close relationship. As Boccherini and Goya and also as the Infant’s General Accountant, Francisco Vazquez, don Miguel de Aristia became a shareholder of the Bank of Saint Charles as well. At the banks premises the Infant kept his knight commandery titles of Santiago, Montesa, Calatrava and Alcántara. Aristia invested 20,000 reales (equivalent to some 60,000 euros or to some 72,000 US dollars), in order to acquire 10 shares.

**References**: Tejero Robledo, E.: *Arenas de San Pedro y el valle del Tiétar...* (BIB); Tejero Robledo, E.: *La villa de Arenas en el siglo XVIII. El tiempo del infante don Luis...* (BIB); Tortella, J.: *Luigi Boccherini, un musician italiano...* (BIB); Tortella, J.: *Luigi Boccherini y el Banco de San Charles* (BIB); Tortella, J.: "Líneas alternativas de investigación musicológica. El caso de Luigi Boccherini cerca del Banco de San Carlos" (BIB); Tortella, Teresa: *Índice de los primitivos accionistas del Banco Nacional de San Charles, Archivo del Banco de España, Madrid, 1986*; Vázquez García, F.: *El Infante Don Luis Antonio de Borbón y Farnesio* (BIB).

**Related Entries**: Arenas de San Pedro, Banco Nacional de San Carlos, Bourbon (Luis), Charles III, Floridablanca, Goya, Vazquez.

**ARTARIA e Cie. (Vienna, Austria)**: Although of Italian provenance (his founder was Giuseppe Artaria and other member of the Artaria family collaborated with him), as a Viennese editing firm dedicated to music its origins date from 1775, having previously worked in different fields within the printing sector, such as cartography and art plates. In almost 80 years of activity as editor of music, "Artaria e Cie." became a prestigious company, printing works of composers such as Haydn’s, Mozart’s and Beethoven’s, besides Boccherini’s, among many others.

Domenico Artaria, a member of the family of Viennese musical editors (Period Engraving Print)
Professional links between Boccherini and Artaria span from 1781 to 1785. First of his works to be edited was the *String Quartets* Opus 26 (G. 195-200), as Op. 32. Circa 1782, Artaria edited the *String Quartets* Opus 32 (G. 201-206), as Op. 33 (curiously enough, this very same year and with the very same opus number, Artaria released the famous Haydn *Quartets* Hoboken III, 37-42. Various authors have hinted this was a wished coincidence by the editor to bring together two of the most and better known composers of instrumental music of the late 18th century).

In 1784, Artaria printed the *Trios* for two violins and cello Opus 34 (G. 101-106), as Op. 35. Then, in 1785, the six *Sonatas* for keyboard and violin Op. 5 (G. 25-30) were released, and also the first three out of six *String Quintets* with two cellos Op. 25 (G. 295-297), as Op. 36, and a cello *Concerto* (G. 483), as Op. 34.

During 1781 and 1782, Boccherini and Franz Joseph Haydn tried to contact each other. Towards that goal, they used their common editor Artaria as intermediary, but they did not succeed. On February 1781, Boccherini asked Artaria to pay Haydn his respects ("rispetti"), avowing to be one of his most passionate admirers ("uno dei suoi più appassionati ammiratori"). On May 27th of the same year, Haydn asked Artaria for the exact address of Boccherini for he wanted to write him personally and also pay his "rispettosi complimenti". In August 1782 Haydn, complains before Artaria because he cannot write to Mister Boccherini ("per non poter al presente scrivere al Signor Boccherini") because he has to admit he has been unable to locate the site of Arenas, and asks the editor to pay the Luccan once again his "devoto rispetto". No further epistolary contacts are documented between both musicians. The letters received by Artaria for this frustrated purpose are the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Sender</th>
<th>Final Addressee</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>?-02-1781</td>
<td>Boccherini</td>
<td>Haidn [sic]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27-05-1781</td>
<td>Haydn</td>
<td>Boccherini</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?-08-1782</td>
<td>Haydn</td>
<td>Boccherini</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Artaria is the central topic of the two letters that Boccherini sent to Carlo Emanuel Andreoli, from Arenas de San Pedro (1780 and 1781).
References: Letters LB: Arenas, September 22, 1780 - Arenas, June 5, 1781; Coli, R.: Luigi Boccherini, la vita e le opere (BIB); Croce, L. della: Il divino Boccherini (Epistolary) (BIB); Gérard, Y.: Thematic, Bibliographical and Critical Catalogue of the Works of Luigi Boccherini (BIB); Mangani, M.: Luigi Boccherini (BIB); Ridgwell, R.: "Artaria’s music shop and Boccherini’s music in Viennese musical life" (BIB); Robbins Landon, H. C.: Haydn at Eszerháza (1766-1790), Bloomington, London, 1978; Romero Naranjo, F. J.: "Una carta de Luigi Boccherini..." (BIB); Rothschild, G. de: Luigi Boccherini... (BIB); Speck, Ch., Boccherinis Streichquartette (BIB). Rothschild, G. de: Luigi Boccherini... (BIB); Saint-Foix, G. de: "La correspondance de Boccherini avec I. Pleyel" (BIB).


ASOCIACIÓN LUIGI BOCCHERINI (ALB): Spanish non profit private organization having its central headquarters in Boadilla del Monte and two secondary offices in Madrid and Valldoreix (Barcelona). Its complete denomination is ASOCIACIÓN LUIGI BOCCHERINI de Investigación y Difusión Musical (Luigi Boccherini Association for Musical Research and Expansion). It was created in 2003 and legally established according to the Spanish law (Ley Orgánica of March 22, 2002). Its goals are:

research and expansion of all music, and in particular though not exclusively that of Luigi Boccherini and his contemporaries, promoting any related activity such as concerts, recitals, recordings on disc, tape or of any other kind of support, lectures, seminars, periodical or not periodical publications, studies, creation of museums, organizing exhibitions, awards, contests, etc.

as stated in Article 2 of its Statutes.

ALB owns a web page: www.luigi-boccherini.org, and an e-mail address: info@luigi-boccherini.org.

ATOCHA, street (Madrid, Spain): One of the main avenues stretching from Provincia Square until Paseo del Prado (Prado Promenade). Its name is linked to the old walkway leading to the Atocha Sanctuary. In the 18th century, it was an important urban way in Madrid where the Compañía General de Comercio de los Cinco Gremios Mayores (the
Five Great Guilds General Commerce Company) had its headquarters. This corporate institution was a basic element within the economic and industrial network at that time.

**Nuestra Señora de Atocha Sanctuary (Madrid, Spain, Period Engraving Print)**

Boccherini lived for a period of time in a house (still to be located) on this street, and it was during this period that his child, Josef Mariano, was baptized on February 4, 1776. When the Boccherinis moved to this dwelling from the previous one in Alta de Leganitos street is still unknown.

Five months after Josef Mariano’s birth, the Infant don Luis would sign his morganatic matrimony which forced him to live away from Court, so the Boccherinis, following his protector to ostracism, left the Atocha street house where they lived.


**Related Entries**: Boccherini (Josef Mariano), Bourbon (Luis), Leganitos, Madrid.

**AVIARY, Quintet Op. 11, No. 6, G. 276**: See UCCELIERA

**ÁVILA (Spain)**: City ascribed today to the Autonomous Community of Castilla-León, but it used to be a provincial capital and head of its judicial district.

Arenas de San Pedro belongs now, and also did in the 18th century, to its administrative district, so many businesses and personal transactions had to be done in Ávila, as well as many documents had to be registered and archived there. We only have to regret that atrocities and looting perpetrated by French troops during the occupation and all long the Independence War (1808-1814), as well as fires many times intentionally set to buildings and premises, which brought destruction to an immense part of the
documentary patrimony of the area. Most registers were forever lost which would have yielded important data about Boccherini and his eight and a half years stay in Arenas.

Fortunately the Archivo Diocesano (Diocesan Archive) still keeps many parish registers, such as the one corresponding to the death of Felix Luis Boccherini, possibly the second offspring of the Luccan composer (possible first male), dead in Arenas de San Pedro at an age of less than 10 ("parbulo"), in February 1780. Unfortunately, officials of the Archivo Histórico de Protocolos of Ávila (Historical Protocol Archive, Notarial) can only corroborate what archive indexes show, that is, that there does not exist a single protocol dated before 1813, due to the looting of Napoleon’s troops.


Related Entries: Arenas de San Pedro, Boccherini (Felix Luis).
B, b

**BAGGE, Charles Ernest, baron of** (1718-1791): Wealthy Parisian aristocrat, close to masonry, held intellectual salons and gatherings where he offered support to writers, artists, painters, musicians, etc. At his house in Passy musicians such as the cellists and brothers Jean-Pierre and Jean-Louis Duport had been warmly welcome, as well as composers such as François-Joseph Gossec (17234-1829) and Johann Konrad Schlick (1748-1818), this last also a reputed cellist, and also violinist-composers as Rodolphe Kreutzer (1766-1831) and Giovanni Battista Viotti, and the violinist, composer, orchestra conductor and famous fencer, Joseph Bologne, better known as Chevalier de Saint-Georges (see the entry **BOULOGNE**).

Although he considered himself a capable violinist, his deficiencies and extravagances with the instrument moved to hilarity rather than to laud, while his welcoming hospitality and protective attitude towards artists made him someone esteemed and highly valued.

Bagge’s prestige as a patron of the musical arts was so well known that when the time came to introduce in Paris, in 1775, a peculiar instrument belonging to the viola de gamba and cello family, called the baryton, to which Franz Joseph Haydn had paid a very especial attention, Bagge’s salons were selected for the event.
When Boccherini and Manfredi reached Paris, at the end of 1767 or early 1768, it was the baron de Bagge who warmly welcomed them. It is most likely that Bagge himself would have ordered the portrait of Boccherini today owned by Dr. Gerhard Christmann (see the entry LIOTARD). This picture formerly attributed to one of the two Liotard brothers, is now considered by experts as painted by an unknown French School artist.

Also it can be securely stated that it was at Bagge’s that Boccherini met Madame Brillon de Jouy (born Anne-Louise d’Hardancourt), the celebrated keyboard interpreter, highly appreciated in musical cenacles of the French capital. For her Boccherini would write his Six sonatas for "forte-piano con accompagnamento di un violino" Op. 5 (G. 25-30, 1768), which she premiered, plausibly in Bagge’s salons. (See DISCOGRAPHY.)

There is a widespread myth in Boccherini biographies and chronicles attributing to the Spanish ambassador in Paris, Joaquín A. Pignatelli, earl of Fuentes, the invitation to Boccherini and Manfredi to move to Madrid where they would be enthusiastically welcome. Since Fuentes was a regular attendant at Bagge’s gatherings, it would have been there that he had met both musicians. Then, a never proved traditional belief wants Pignatelli to have handed them some letters of recommendation to be exhibited at the Spanish Court, but those letters have never actually materialized, nor anyone has ever seen them in any archive.


BAILLEUX, Antoine (1742-1809): Violinist and composer as well as editor of music, Bailleux was active in Paris after 1765. Between 1779 and 1788, he edited 63 issues of the "Journal d’ariettes des plus célèbres compositeurs". As reported by Marco Mangani, during the "Terror" he was arrested to be freed after the coup of "Termidor".

Bailleux edited two collections of Boccherini’s works. First, the six String Trios (two violins and cello) Op. 1 (G. 77-82), as Op. 2, in 1767. On the cover Bailleux describes himself as "maître de musique".
The second work, also six *String Trios* for two violins and cello (of authenticity not fully guaranteed), was released in 1780, as Op. 28 (G. 131-136). Boccherini y Calonje’s Catalogue does not contain this work, and in Bailleux’s édition the phrase "mis au jour par Mr. Bailleux" can be read. Since such a note does not appear in the *String Trios* G. 77-82 edition, it would be sensible to infer that this second set of *Trios* could just be transcriptions from original pieces, but not actually original.

Bailleux describes himself this time as "marchand de musique ordinaire de la Chambre et Menus Plaisirs du Roi", and specifies his address: "rue St. Honoré à la Règle d’or.".


**Related Entries:** Boccherini y Calonje, Paris, Trio.

**BAILOTT, Pierre Marie François de Sales** (1771-1842): [BY KEITH PASCOE]

Violinist, composer and pedagogue. After initial training as a government official he was sent to Italy to study with Viotti and reached fame as a highly appreciated performer. His pedagogical legacy is maintained by his *L’Art du violon*, and by an earlier collaboration, *Méthode de Violoncelle et de Basse d’Accompagnement*.

His connection to Boccherini is as one of the last romantic musicians to maintain an appreciation of the Luccan composer during a period of reaction by composers such as Louis Spohr and Felix Mendelssohn, who clearly expressed their disdain towards Boccherini while admiring Baillot’s artistry. Baillot, on the contrary, eulogized Boccherini’s music and organized performances of his works even after they had become unfashionable in Paris.

It is important to highlight that Baillot had in his possession a comprehensive manuscript catalogue of the works of Boccherini, acquired from the eminent scientist Armand Seguin, This manuscript is probably a copy or a version of the document the composer himself had maintained, and which today remains missing. Baillot’s catalogue, rediscovered by the present writer, might have been copied from the one Alfredo Boccherini y Calonje had transcribed although it is more likely the reverse is true and that the Baillot catalogue is the earliest known copy of the autograph. The main difference
between both catalogues lies in the fact that Baillot’s document includes an incipit for each work, whereas Boccherini y Calonje’s contains no musical examples.

The catalogue held by Baillot encompasses 348 works and is today (since 1981) preserved at the Bibliothèque national de France, and shelfmarked: Vma. 1074 R.74707. The front cover reads: Catalogue des ouvrages composées par Luigi Boccherini. The library card gives a brief description of the document and some other data:


[Catalogue of the works of music composed by Luigi Boccherini from 1760 to 1804 - Ms. 1st quarter 19 c. - f. 31p.;255x340 mm. Thematic Catalogue. Engraved ‘Ex-libris Pierre Baillot’ - acq. 81 - 672.]

Each opera of (usually) six works bears the year of composition and lists certain publishers at the end of each page. The 348 pieces are grouped under sixty-four opera numbers and date from 1760 to 1804.


Related Entries: Boccherini y Calonje, Catalogue, Mendelssohn, Spohr, Viotti.
**BALLET**: Dance piece with music. It can be an independent work or part of an opera, operetta, "zarzuela" (Spanish operetta like musical play), or any other theater form or musical piece for the stage.

Within this genre, we find three not fully authenticated Boccherinian partitions, which could be linked with the branch of his family dedicated to ballet, that is, with his sister Maria Ester, her husband, Onorato Viganò, and their son, Salvatore, and also, in a certain way, with Luigi’s elder brother, Giovanni Gastone, who was also involved in ballet activities.

There even exists the presumption that some of these ballet pieces attributed to Luigi Boccherini, could actually have been written by Giovanni Gastone.

In any case, the Catalogue of Luigi Boccherini’s works compiled by Professor Gérard includes the following three works for under the heading “Ballets, Music for the Stage and Dance Music”:

- *Ballet Espagnol*, G. 526 (c. 1773?);
- *Cefalo e Procri*, Ballo Eroico-Tragico-Pantomimo, G. 524 (c. 1778);


**Related Entries**: Boccherini (Maria Ester, Giovanni Gastone), Viganò (Onorato, Salvatore)

**BANK OF SPAIN HISTORICAL ARCHIVE**: See ARCHIVO HISTÓRICO DEL BANCO DE ESPAÑA.

**BANCO NACIONAL DE SAN CARLOS (NATIONAL BANK OF SAINT CHARLES)**: First Spanish banking corporation erected according to Francisco Cabarrús’ proposal. This French financier persuaded King Charles III to create a bank and it was by the corresponding June 2, 1782 "Cédula de Erección" (Foundation Cedula) that the National Bank was established.

Among its main goals the bank would amortize or recover the Vales Reales (a sort of public debt documents, already very devaluated). The Bank was also meant to finance various projects backed by the throne, including the enhancement of army purveyance.
The initial capitalization was achieved by selling 150,000 nominal shares at a price of 2,000 reales each (some 6,000 euros or 7,200 US dollars), totalizing 300,000,000 reales.

Some musicians, such as Manuel Dalpe, Cristobal Andreosi, Juan Sessé, Francisco de Sierra, Nicolás Conforto, Antonio Ugena, and Luigi Boccherini were among the share holders who acquired their titles in the first Banco Nacional de San Carlos emission (primitivos accionistas or original share holders). Some other individuals linked to Boccherini were primitivos accionistas too, such as Miguel de Aristia, Francisco Vazquez o Francisco de Goya.

One of the Banco Nacional de San Carlos shares with the name of “Sr Dn Luys Boccherini” (AHBE: Box 157)

While still living in Arenas de San Pedro, in January 1785, Boccherini bought 10 shares from the National Bank investing 20,000 reales. Shortly after his wife’s death in April of that same year, Boccherini borrowed 6,000 reales from the Bank depositing 3 shares as a guarantee. After don Luis’ death, in August, and already back in Madrid, Boccherini canceled his debt and sold his shares obtaining a profit close to 25 percent (in annual
This way, by the end of August 1785, he had near 26,000 reales in cash to face the new situation (taking into account that during the late 1700s, the lowest annual salary for a person to live on would run somewhere around 2,000 reales).

In order to make transactions with the National Bank, Boccherini relied on his friend Joseph Phelipe, a Royal Chapel haute-contre (tiple or male soprano), as stated in the back of each one of the 10 nominal shares assigned to "Luys Bocherini" [sic]. These shares are filed at present at the Archivo Histórico del Banco de España (Bank of Spain Historical Archive).

References: Tortella, J.: Luigi Boccherini y el Banco of San Charles (BIB); Tortella, J.: "Líneas alternativas de investigación musicológica. El caso de Luigi Boccherini cerca del Banco de San Carlos" (BIB); Tortella, Teresa: Índice de los primitivos accionistas del Banco Nacional de San Carlos, Archivo del Banco de España, Madrid, 1986.


BANNS, marriage: See MARRIAGE.

BARCE, Ramón (1928-2008): Composer, musician and musicologist, born and dead in Madrid, where he worked most of his life. He started his secondary level studies in 1939, at the Madrilenean Instituto Cardenal Cisneros, moving to Guadalajara to begin his musical training. Back to Madrid, he completed his musical studies at the Real Conservatorio Superior de Música, while he graduated in Roman Filology. He earned his PhD in 1956.

As a composer, Barce belonged to the so called Generación del 51 (Generation of ‘51), and was president of the Asociación de Compositores Sinfónicos Españoles (Spanish Symphonic Composers Association). He created his own composing system, known as Sistema de Niveles (System of Levels, 1966), and has left a wide catalogue of more than 120 works (symphonies, quartets, concertos, etc.).

In 2000, he was appointed member of the Real Academia de San Fernando, (San Ferdinand Royal Academy), effective since the next year.
Barce’s essential contribution to Boccherinism, besides his many accounts, dictionary entries, playbills, articles, and other writings, was his brief but important book titled *Boccherini en Madrid* (see References and BIBLIOGRAPHY), the first wholly dedicated to the Luccan composer to be published in Spain, since 1879.


**Related Entries**: Boccherini y Calonje, Madrid.

**BARLI, Gaspar** (?-1826): Oboist and flutist born in Florence who immigrated to Spain during the late 1770s. He soon found a job working for the earl-dukes of Benavente-Osuna, where he would meet Boccherini, also employed by this noble house at least between 1786 and 1787.

Besides being an oboe and flute interpreter Barli carried out some administration duties for the earl-dukes, traveling through the peninsula. Years later he gained a place as bassoonist-oboist in the Royal Chapel and in the Royal Chamber, but he was fired during the Independence War (1808-1814), retrieving his two posts when Ferdinand VII sat back on the throne.

Friendship and collaboration between Barli and Boccherini were intense but not steady due to the different vicissitudes each had to face.

Boccherini very much appreciated Barli and his interpreting skills. He would once say that Barli was an "eccellente oboè" adding that "al di più di una dolcezza straordinaria,
ricava dal suo istromento de’ suoni acutissimi, rari e propri di lui" ("beyond his extraordinary sweetness, he obtains from his instrument sounds extremely acute, rare and of his own", letter to Pleyel dated in Madrid, on July 10, 1797). It is plausible to consider that the not very abundant works of Boccherini dedicated to the oboe or to the flute were written keeping in mind those qualities and good taste of Gaspar Barli’s, even if Boccherini, in the mentioned letter, was commenting on the Six Notturni Op. 38 (G. 467-472) and the Notturno from Op. 42 (G. 473), where the oboe does not have a soloist role.

References: AHN: Letter by Barli from Cadiz to earl-duchess Benavente-Osuna: Sect. Nobility (Toledo), file 387; AHN: Payrolls: Sect. Nobility, file 389; Letter LB: Madrid, July 10, 1797; Croce, L. della: Il divino Boccherini (Epistolary) (BIB); Fernández-Cortés, J. P.: La música en las casas de Osuna y Benavente (BIB); Rothschild, G. de: Luigi Boccherini... (BIB); Saint-Foix, G. de: "La correspondance de Boccherini avec I. Pleyel" (BIB).

Related Entries: Benavente-Osuna, Flute, Letters, Oboe, Pleyel, Royal Chapel.

BARRIO, Sebastian: Parson in the Madrilenean church of San Martin. Part of its parish registers have been transferred to the Archivo Diocesano of the Archbishopric of Madrid (Diocesan Archive). In 1802, Friar Barrio noted down Mariana Boccherini Pelliccia’s death, yielding us the scarce data we have about Boccherini’s sixth offspring (third female):

[Dª Mariana Bocherini, single, twenty years of age born in Arenas, Bishopric of Avila, legitimate daughter of Dⁿ Luis Bocherini, Musician Minor agregado a la Rⁿ Capilla, y de Dⁿ Clementina Pelicia. Parroquiana de esta Iglesia Calle Alta de la Madera Casa de admⁿ: habiendo recibido los Sⁿ SacramENTS fallecio sin testar, en once de Julio de mil ochozos y dos. Y con lizⁿ del Sⁿ Vicⁿ se enterró de Secrⁿ en estta Parroqⁿ y pⁿ qⁿ conste lo firmo #

Fr. Sebastian Barrio (flourish)
and two. And with the Vic’s lic. buried Secr. in this Par. and in or to attest it I sign it #

Fr. Sebastian Barrio (flourish)]


Related Entries: Arenas, Madera Alta, Pelliccia (Clementina), San Martin.

BARSOCHINI, Francesco: Luccan dilettante painter who depicted an oil portrait of Boccherini in 1871, where the composer is slightly turned to his right and dressed with gala livery.

He is holding a pen in his right hand while resting his left on a music-stand with a musical composition which reads:

1790 -- Quartetto -- L. Boccherini.

Remigio Coli reports that in the back of this painting, owned by the Istituto Musicale Luigi Boccherini of Lucca, there is an inscription telling us that Barsocchini worked this portrait taking "una piccola copia di un ritratto esistente a Madrid; il pittore copiò solo la testa di questo" ("a small copy of a portrait kept in Madrid; the painter only copied the head") as a model.

Even though the date shown in the partition could just have been invented by the painter, the sheer truth is that in 1790 Boccherini was 47 years old, an age matching perfectly well the looks shown in the portrait. On the other side, according to the Catalogue transcribed by Boccherini y Calonje, the musician had written two quartets in 1790, the two Quartetti of his Op. 43 (G. 218 and 219), grouped together with three Quintets and a Symphony. One of these two Quartetti could be the one represented in Barsocchini’s painting.
References: Coli, R.: Luigi Boccherini, la vita e le opere (BIB); Martos, V. and Tortella, J.: "El rostro de Boccherini, espejo de un alma de artista" (BIB).

Related Entries: Istituto Musicale "Luigi Boccherini", Lucca, Quartet.

BARTHÉLÉMY MM. (brothers): Intermediaries between Boccherini and Pleyel, on June 20, 1799, the musician informs his editor he has received from these gentlemen 50 doubloons (doubloons of sixty reales each, that is a total amount of 3,000 reales, being 1 real equivalent to 3 euros or 3.6 US dollars). He includes the corresponding receipt and adds he has handed the gentlemen the Opus 55 and 56 partitions, small Piano Quintets and large Piano Quintets, respectively (in his letter dated December 27, 1798, Boccherini had agreed to this transaction).

Next, Boccherini explains to Pleyel that when the Court returns to Madrid, on July 1, the French Embassy will also return to the capital and this will be the right time to sign the corresponding transferring deed which will be sent to him through "M. Barthélémy" (this time mentioned as just one individual).

This is the only known mediation by this or those gentlemen.
Among the tobacco revenue life-annuity share investors for 1783 and 1784, we find Juan José Barthelemi [sic], likely to be one of the intermediators between Boccherini and Pleyel.


**Related Entries**: Doubloon (Currency), Letters, Pleyel, Real (Currency), Quintet.

**BASILIO, Father**: See GARCÍA, Miguel.

**BASS**: A term with several musical meanings always linked to the lower tessiture, both vocal and instrumental.

In Boccherini, we find two domains we could link to the term *basso*: one, as a possible bass accompaniment for the cello, without instrumental specification, in his cello sonatas, and two, in some vocal works. But Boccherini never uses the typical baroque term *basso continuo* (this is only to be seen in some very doubtful works attributed to him).

The sonatas, the manuscripts of which (if they exist) are not guaranteed autographs, are declared to be written just for "violoncello solo" (most of them belonging to the Noseda Collection in the Milan Conservatory). Nevertheless there are enough signs both musical or even iconographic as to presume a "bass" accompaniment either by another cello, harpsichord, bassoon or even violin. In the manuscripts of both the Liverpool Collection (11 sonatas) and the Liceo Musicale Paganini of Genoa (one sonata), it is stated "con accompagnamento di basso" or else "e basso" and, in some editions or contemporary manuscript copies there is a bass line also.

As far as the solo bass voice is concerned, Boccherini uses it in several vocal works: the *Kyrie, Gloria* and *Credo* (G. 529-531), the Psalms *Dixit Domunis, Domine ad Adjuvandum* and *Laudate Pueri* (G. 533, 534 and WoG), the oratorios *Gioias, re di Giudea* and *Il Giuseppe riconosciuto* (G. 537 and 538), the *Villancicos* (Carols, G. 539), the "zarzuela" *Clementina* (G. 540), and the cantata *La Confederazione dei sabini con Roma* (G. 543).


**BATONI, Pompeo Girolamo** (1708-1787): Neoclassical painter born in Lucca, who followed the style of Guido Reni and Benedetto Luti. In 1727, he moved to Rome where he accepted several kinds of jobs in order to be able to practice and pursue his painting career. In his youth, he felt attracted by religious scenes, much influenced by classical antiquity. Later he switched to portrait painting, following the path of Raphaello (1483-1529).

![Luigi Boccherini, by anonymous painter, formerly attributed to Pompeo Batoni (National Gallery, Melbourne, Australia)](image)

Batoni reached a point where even famous painters such as Anton Raphael Mengs (1728-1779) became his followers. His reputation pervaded Europe. Not a single nobleman or wealthy bourgeois would leave Rome without his Batoni portrait, including Austrian emperor Josef II. Even Mozart was Batoni’s model in 1770.

As for Boccherini, one of his most widely known portraits had been attributed to Batoni until very recently: this portrait is of Boccherini playing his cello (*Victoria National Gallery* in Melbourne). It was previously attributed, among others, to Pietro
Longhi and then to Batoni for a long time. Now experts believe it was painted by an unknown artist ascribed to the Italian school.


Related Entries: Violoncello, Iconography, Longhi.

**BECKFORD, WILLIAM** (1759-1844): Son of an English lord with the same name, his mother descended from the Steward lineage. He always enjoyed a great fortune and received an excellent education, including music studies, having even the chance to take some piano lessons from Mozart (1756-1791).

In the late 1770s, he returned to England after a long tour around Europe and a few years later he would use the French language to write a gothic novel titled *Vathek*, located in an oriental environment. Dramatically affected by an scandal related to presumptive homosexual relations, Beckford immigrated to Switzerland in 1785 along with his wife, Lady Margaret Gordon, and their daughter, only returning to England ten years later. He died in the city of Bath where he had built for himself the Fonthill abbey in order to seek isolation.
He had also written a wide description of his European tour and when reaching Spain, Beckford narrates how he met Boccherini, by the winter of 1787-88, in a feast at a wealthy Portuguese individual’s house in Madrid called Pacheco, where the composer, lent there by the earls-dukes of Benavente-Osuna, was trying to teach the basic principles of music (see the entry PACHECO). Beckford’s description of Boccherini shows us a character rather grim but full of irony.

References: Beckford, W.: Italy; with sketches of Spain and Portugal, 1834.
Related Entries: Benavente-Osuna, Pacheco.

BENAVENT, marquis of (1768-1849): {BY JOSEP MARIA MANGADO} Borja de Riquer y Ros was the fifth marquis of Benavent, a district very close to the Catalan capital of Lérida (Spain). He studied violin and guitar since he was a child, and finally chose the latter instrument as his favorite. In fact, at the sad end of his life, he would earn his meager income giving guitar lessons.

Upon his father’s death in 1794 Borja de Riquer inherited the marquisate and its whole patrimony. The new marquis moved to Madrid two years later desiring to share the Court’s way of life and its pomp along with the highest ranks of nobility. He also aspired to enter the intellectual and artistic cenacles very active in Madrid. His marriage with an aristocrat of Peruvian origin, Maria del Carmen Gallegos Dávalos, in 1797, increased his chances to be welcome in the highbrow milieus.

He held musical academia, that is musical gatherings, at his house and attended those held at cosmopolitan sites of patricians and artists, like the painting studio of "Dº Gregorio Borghini, in the Relox street", where noblemen, intellectuals and politicians who loved music would gather periodically.

Benavent wanted also to have at his disposal some guitar pieces to perform himself before his aristocratic peers. To this end, around 1796 he ordered several works from Boccherini which utilized the guitar.

Boccherini accepted Benavent’s request and produced in 1797-1798 the famous series of Guitar and String Quartets and Quintets, although he did not create new music but transcribed pieces already written. For this purpose he resorted to old String Quartets and Quintets and also to contemporary Piano Quintets.
Some hints tell us of a series of at least of twelve Guitar Quintets (maybe more) of which only eight are extant. But Boccherini also transcribed for Benavent his two cello String Quintet Op. 10, No. 4, as a Sinfonia Concertante (G. 523) with guitar.

Six Guitar Quintets emanate from Piano Quintets Op. 56 of 1797. The only remark about these pieces can be read in a letter Boccherini sent to Pleyel, dated in Madrid on June 20, 1799, where he mentions the marquis of Benavente [sic], saying that at this aristocrat’s house, singer Pierre Jean Garat and violinist Pierre Rode had listened to "almost" all his Guitar Quintets, transcribed for exclusive use of this amateur (Benavent).

Boccherini mentions the six Guitar Quintets in another letter dated on December 27, 1798, in which he informs Pleyel he had finished one "opera" of quintets with guitar made out of transcriptions from three new quintets included in Op. 57 (with piano), and three more from works of his own for different instrumental combinations, mainly quintets and quartets.

Seven out of the eight extant Quintets (G. 445-451) have survived thanks to the French guitarist and composer François de Fossa who copied them in the eve of the Independence War (1808-1814), together with an isolated piece, "une retraite espagnole en variation par Boccherini" (mentioned in Fossa’s letter to Louis Picquot dated August 8, 1847). As for the eighth Quintet (G. 453), no information is available about how it survived after Benavent’s patrimony had completely vanished. (Gérard reserved number G. 452 in his catalogue for the set of four Guitar Quintets never retraced.) (See DISCOGRAPHY.)

It is worth highlighting that contemporarily to Fossa, another copyist copied the same quintets on another French official’s behalf, the colonel Jean Phelippe Charmon who was also acquainted to Benavent.

There are some leads that hint to the existence of at least one other guitar quintet transcribed from Piano Quintet No. 2, today in un-located private hands in Germany.

Six of the seven Quintets copied by de Fossa belong to the USA Library of Congress, when they were acquired in a 1922 auction.

Benavent’s boundless way of life in Madrid brought him to bankruptcy only to recover temporarily when Josef Bonaparte (1768-1844) was crowned as King of Spain and nominated him as his Major Beater in 1809. But soon the guerrilla warfare against the Spanish Bonapartist regime and the defeats suffered by King José I’s troops would push
the "afrancesados" (pro-French Spaniards) to flee northward, and Benavent was no exception.

Between the end of the war (1814) and 1849, when he died in Bordeaux in absolute misery, Borja de Riquer y Ros would bear a life increasingly precarious, forsaken even by his closest friends and relatives. He could only count on the scarce income from private guitar lessons. At the end, a carriage ran him over, producing such harm in all his body that he could hardly maintain his guitar lessons, so he had to live for a short time on charity, until death freed him from deep suffering.

References: Letters LB: Madrid, June 20, 1799 - Madrid, December 27, 1798; Croce, L. della: Il divino Boccherini (Epistolary) (BIB); Mangado, J. M: "El marqués de Benavent (1768-1849): El aristócrata y guitarrista que encargó a Luigi Boccherini los Quintets con guitarra" (BIB); Mangado, J. M: "Riquer y Ros, Francesc de Borja de" (BIB); Ophee, M.: Luigi Boccherini's Guitar Quintets... (BIB); Riquer, Martí de: Quinze generacions d'una família catalana, Quaderns Crema, Barcelona, 2000; Rothschild, G. de: Luigi Boccherini... (BIB); Saint-Foix, G. de: "La correspondance de Boccherini avec I. Pleyel" (BIB); Tortella, J.: Luigi Boccherini y el Banco de San Carlos (BIB).


**BENAVENTE-OSUNA, earl-dukes of:** This noble house comes as a result of the previous marriage between Pedro de Alcántara Téllez-Girón, 11th duke of Osuna, with Maria Josefa Pimentel, duchess-marquees of Benavente, when Téllez-Girón inherited the dukedom of Osuna, in 1787, upon his father Pedro Zoilo Téllez-Girón’s death.

The dukedom of Osuna was assigned to the Téllez Girón lineage in the year 1562, by Philip II’s grace, while the title of earl of Benavente was assigned since before it was bestowed to Juan Alfonso Pimentel in 1398, by the Castille King Henry III (1379-1406). Later, Henry IV (1425-1474) added the earldom to the dukedom in favor of Rodrigo Alfonso Pimentel, in 1473, in order to acknowledge his loyalty towards the throne.

Maria Josefa Pimentel, who’s second names were also Téllez-Girón, inherited the title of 15th countess and 11th duchess of Benavente upon her father Francisco Alfonso Pimentel’s death, in 1763. Maria Josefa married Pedro de Alcántara Téllez-Girón in 1771. When he inherited six years later the dukedom of Osuna, a new house of Benavente-Osuna was created with the mixed title of earl-dukes.
The Benavente-Osuna Family
(by Francisco de Goya, Prado Museum, Madrid, Spain)

The Benavente-Osunas dwelled in Madrid and they held one of the most prestigious intellectual and artistic salons in Court, competing with that of duchess of Alba. They protected painters, writers, musicians and all sort of artists, among which are Goya, Boccherini, Barli and Ramón de la Cruz. The earl-dukes had also servants such as Francisco Font, violist and old colleague of Boccherini’s at the Infant don Luis’ musical chapel.

During 1786 and 1787 the Benavente-Osuna employee payroll reflects that Boccherini was conducting their private orchestra or was head of the group of musicians at their service. There are payment entries, music orders, wardrobe acquisitions, etc., where Boccherini’s name or signature are visible, but entries vanish at the beginning of 1787, the very same year Pedro de Alcántara Téllez-Girón inherits the Osuna dukedom and the new nobility house of Benavente-Osuna is fully established. Nevertheless, several leads might indicate that Boccherini kept his links with this house in the years to come.
In 1798, the duke of Osuna and his familia left Madrid to assume the post of Spanish ambassador in Vienna.

The musical patrimony of the Benavente-Osunas has been scattered through several auctions and sales. It contained a considerable amount of Boccherini’s and Haydn’s works as well as that of many other musicians of the time. Especially dedicated to this family, Boccherini wrote in 1786 the musical score for the "zarzuela" (or musical comedy) *Clementina*, with libretto by Ramón de la Cruz.


**Related Entries:** Barli, Capricho, *Clementina*, Cruz, Font (Francisco), Goya.

**BIBLIOTECA NACIONAL DE ESPAÑA (Spanish National Library, Madrid):** Seated in number 20 of Paseo de Recoletos, the Spanish National Library shares site with the National Archaeological Museum. It contains the whole of the Spanish bibliographical patrimony, since the law forces all editing firms to send a copy of any book being published in Spain. It keeps at present more than 17 millions volumes. In 1991, it had to expand its premises with a new building located in the municipality of Alcalá de Henares, some 20 miles northeast of Madrid.

The present Spanish National Library is heir of the old Biblioteca Real (Royal Library), erected by Philip V’s decree dated January 2, 1716: "Establecimiento de la Real Biblioteca ó Librería pública de Madrid" (Erection of a Royal Library or Madrid public Book deposit), as the *Novísima Recopilacion* accounts in Law I of Title XIX of Book VIII. In spite of the term "public", the decree established the Library would be inside the Royal Palace ("colocarla dentro de mi Real Palacio de Madrid").

The Royal Library changed its name in 1836 to become Biblioteca Nacional (National Library), and stopped being managed by the Royal House to be managed by the Public Administration. At the time of the 19th-century disentailment of church properties, many ecclesiastical book and documentary repositories ended up in the Biblioteca Nacional, enlarging so much its patrimony that authorities decided it had to have a more
adequate site. Architect Francisco Jareo (1818-1892) was required to erect the so called "Palacio de Museos, Archivo y Biblioteca Nacionales" (Museums Palace, National Archive and Library). The building was finished the year of Jareo’s death, and within four years all the books and documents were brought into the new headquarters.

Today the Biblioteca Nacional also comprises the Hemeroteca Nacional (National Periodical Library), the Centro del Tesoro Documental (Document Treasury Centre), and the Instituto Bibliográfico Hispano (Spanish Bibliographical Institute).

The Servicio de Partituras de la Biblioteca (Library Scores Service) has a great amount of Boccherinian musical imprints (some not complete), and three manuscripts, the list of which we give a few lines ahead extracted from the book *Catalogo de impresos musicales...*, and the two papers "Luigi Boccherini: Fondos musicales en la Biblioteca Nacional...", and "La aparición de una nueva fuente de la Scena de la Inés de Castro..." (see the section References). The list includes the edition Opus number (if it exists), the G. number (from Gérard’s catalogue), and the name of the printer or publisher (or both) between brackets:

- *Six sonatas for two violins, and a violoncello obligato*, Op. II, G. 77-82 [R. Bremner]
- *Sei sinfonie per due violini e basso*, Op. IV, G. 83-88 [Venier, Castaud]
- Seys tryos a dos violines i baxo G. 89-94 [D. Fernando Blumenstein, J. F. Palomino]
- Six trios for two violins and a violoncello obligato, Op. IX, G. 89-94 [R. Bremner]
- Six trios for a violin, tenor and violoncello obligato, G. 95-100 [John Welcker]
- Sei trio per due violini e violoncello, Op. XXXV G. 101-106, [Artaria]
- VI quartetti per due violini, alto e violoncello, Op. VI, G. 165-170 [Venier, Castaud]
- Six quartuor a deux violons, taille e basse obligés, Op. II G. 165-170, [J. J. Hummel]
- Six quartetos for two violins, tenor and violoncello, Op. VI G. 165-170, [R. Bremner]
- Sei quartetti per due violini, alto e violoncello, Op. Xª, G. 171-176 [Boyer, Ve. Leclair]
- Sei quartetti per due violini, alto e basso, Op. XXVI, G. 183-188 [Le Duc]
- Six quartetti concertanti for due violini, alto e violoncello, Op. 27,G. 189-194 [Sieber]
- Sei quartetti per due violini, viola e violoncello, Op. XXXIII G. 201-206, [Artaria]
- Six quartuors pour deux violons, alto et basse, Op. XXXIII, G. 201-206
- Sei quintetti per due violini, alto et due violoncelli, Op. XII, G. 265-270 [Venier]
- Sei quintetti per due violini, alto et due violoncelli, Op. XII, G. 265-270 [R. Bramner]
- Six quintettos for two violins, a tenor and two violoncellos, Op. XIII, G. 271-276 [R. Bremner]
- Sei quintetti per due violini, alto et due violoncelli concertanti, Op. XX, G. 277-282 [Boyer, Naderman, Castaud]
- Six quintettos for two violins, a tenor and two violoncellos, Op. XX, G. 277-282 [R. Bremner]
- Sei quintetti per due violini, alto et due violoncelli concertanti, Op. XVII G. 283-288 [De la Chevardiere, Castaud]
- Sei quintetti per due violini, alto et due violoncelli concertanti, Op. XXIII G. 289-294 [Boyer, Naderman, Castaud]
- Tre quintetti per due violini, viola e due violoncelli, Op. XXXVI, G. 295-297 [Artaria]
- Six sestetti concertante per due violini, due viola e due violoncelli, Op. XXIV, G. 454-459 [Sieber]
- Concerto a più stromenti, concertanti, Op. VIII, G. 491 [Venier, Boyer]
- The periodical overture in 8 parts, No. LIV, G. 493 [R. Bremner]
- The periodical overture in 8 parts, No. LV, G. 494 [R. Bremner]

As far as autographs is concerned, the Biblioteca Nacional has two partitions:

- Villancicos a 4, G. 539;
- Scena de la Inés de Castro, G. 541;
and a hand-written document-catalogue with 58 musical incipits Boccherini sent to Pleyel in 1796:

- "Nota delle opere non date ancora a nessuno".


Related Entries: Catalogue, Pleyel.

BIRD-CAGE, Quintet Op. 11, No. 6, G. 276: See UCCELLIERA.

BOADILLA DEL MONTE (Spain): Municipality some 12 miles west of Madrid, close to the larger urban aggregation of Pozuelo de Alarcón.

Upon reaching Boadilla from Madrid, in the left side of the road, the Palace owned by the Infant don Luis shows its three story northern facade. In the back facade oriented southwards it has four stories due to the slope of the ground where it sits, and a wide garden is still visible belonging to the Palace premises. When the Infant bought this domain in 1761 there was an old rural house which needed to be fully refurbished. Don Luis ordered architect Antonio Machuca to carry out the works, sponsored by Ventura Rodriguez, a famous architect employed by, and also a friend of, don Luis.

Don Luis’ Palace in Boadilla del Monte (Madrid, Spain)
Chronicler don Antonio Ponz (1725-1792) wrote an interesting description of this Palace:

*Caminando desde Madrid al Poniente de la Casa de Campo, se llega á Boadilla, pueblo distante menos de tres leguas, en donde tiene el Sr. Infante D. Luis un bello Palacio con sus Jardines, y huerta, al que se ha de añadir mucha obra por los dos lados, bajo la direccion del Arquitecto D. Ventura Rodriguez. Tiene este Palacio tres puertas en su fachada principal: la del medio está adornada con quatro columnas dóricas en su primer cuerpo, y de dos jónicas en el segundo. En quasi todas sus salas, y piezas hay gran número de pinturas.*

[Walking from Madrid west of Casa de Campo, we reach Boadilla, a village three leagues* away, where the Sr. Infante D. Luis has a pretty Palace with its Gardens, and an orchard, to which much construction has to be added on both sides, under the supervision of Architecture D. Ventura Rodriguez. This Palace has three doors in its main facade: the one in the middle is decorated with four doric columns in its central body, and two ionic in the second. There are a great number of paintings in almost all the salons and rooms.]

* A league is an old length measure equivalent to the distance an average person could walk in one hour, that is close to four miles.

Upon the Infant’s death, the Palace was inherited by his daughter Maria Teresa, Countess of Chinchón, who wedded Manuel Godoy. Their only heir was their daughter Carlota, who married the Italian prince, Camilo Rúspoli. From then on, all their descendants inheriting the Palace have been Rúspolis until the last one, Enrique, who sold the Palace and its domains to the Boadilla municipality in 1998.

The use and administration of the Palace has been yielded in 2006 to the Sociedad General de Autores de España (SGAE, General Spanish Author Society), for a 100 year period and the SGAE is committed to restore and maintain the whole of the site.

Don Luis bought the manor of Boadilla in 1761, but he could not actually use it until 1765/66. Ten years later, in 1776, he had to move away from Madrid’s surroundings (Boadilla included) because of the ostracism his brother the King Charles III imposed on him as the aftermath of his morganatic marriage with Maria Teresa Vallabriga.

Consequently, since Boccherini had initiated his service to don Luis in the spring of 1770, we can infer (though not all biographers agree on this) that the Luccan composer would assiduously stay and work in this Boadilla Palace during more than six years, even though he had his own house in Madrid.
However, not a single document is extant to link Boccherini to Boadilla. The only plausible testimony would be the D Major Quintet Opus 11, No. 6, (G. 276), called \textit{L'Ucelliera} (The Aviary), of 1771, where don Luis’ favorite interests, frequently practiced in Boadilla and in other environments as well, are musically described: birds and hunting (see the entry dedicated to this \textit{Quintet, UCELLIERA}).


\textbf{Related Entries}: Bourbon (Luis), Charles III, Quintet, Rodriguez (Ventura), Uccelliera, Vallabriga.

\textbf{BOCCHERINI (family)}: The first Luccan member of the family of whom we have any trace was known as "Giovacchino Boccherini di Firenze" (G. B. of Florence). In 1663 he was at a Luccan noble house working as a coachman. That very same year he married Maddalena Partigliani, and had a child, Antonio, who would become gunner and barber, this last activity being close to surgery. Antonio married Maria Felice Teresa Mancini who gave him a son whom they baptized as Francesco Leopoldo (1713-1766), future father of Luigi (Data collected from Coli, R.: \textit{Luigi Boccherini, la vita e le opere}).

Luigi Boccherini would migrate in 1768 to the Hispanic Kingdom. Today, most of Luigi’s descendants live in Madrid.

The lineage grew following just along one single line, for until the fifth generation there were only one male to have children. Luigi (or Luis as he would usually sign after 1768) had seven children and only one married and had children. This was Josef Mariano. And this would be the case until the beginning of the 20th century when four girls Boccherini were born: Mª Adelaida, Mª del Carmen, Elisa and Mª Antonia. According to Spanish family laws and habits at the time, the name Boccherini was to be lost in the next two generations, since mother name passes as second last name to the next generation and vanishes from there on. (See the entry \textbf{GENEALOGY}.)

But some years ago there was a legal change allowing that parents can choose their offsprings last names, or adult people can switch them. Under this new rule, some of the members of Boccherini’s sixth generation opted to register bearing Boccherini as their
first last name, so to perpetuate the patronymic. This, for instance, has been the case of
José Antonio, son of José Sánchez Arroyo and Mª Adelaida Boccherini, who’s full name
was José Antonio Sánchez Boccherini, but is now José Antonio Boccherini Sánchez.

As a curious fact we can say none of Luigi Boccherini’s descendants has opted for
any kind of musical profession. The only one to approach a musical activity as a hobby
was Mª Adelaida, an excellent dilettante pianist.

References: Boccherini, J. A.: "Luigi Boccherini, el hombre" (BIB); Coli, R.: Luígi Boccherini, la vita e le
opere (BIB).

Related Entries: Genealogy, Lucca, Madrid.

BOCCHERINI, Anna Matilde (1746-?): Luigi’s sister and fourth offspring (second
female) of Leopoldo and Maria Santa Prosperi. She was born in Lucca on February 28,
1746. Where and when she died is unknown.

In 1763, she traveled to Vienna to join her mother, and her sister Maria Ester and
brother Giovanni Gastone (also younger sister Riccarda Gonzaga would join them to act
as a figurante dancer).

Remigio Coli reports that Anna Matilde married someone called Navarro of whom
no details are available.

References: Coli, R.: Luígi Boccherini, la vita e le opere (BIB).

Related Entries: Boccherini (Leopoldo, Maria Ester, Giovanni Gastone, Riccarda Gonzaga), Lucca,
Prosperi.

BOCCHERINI, Felix Luis (?-1780): No data are available about the exact birth date of
this child, probably the second offspring of Luigi and Clementina Pelliccia (likely to be
their first male child). Probably born in Madrid or in any of the Royal Sites, he died when
he was still a child less than 10 years old ("parvulo"), in Arenas de San Pedro in February
1780.


Related Entries: Arenas de San Pedro, Madrid, Pelliccia (Clementina).
BOCCHERINI, Giovanni Gastone (1742-?): {BY REMIGIO COLI} Luigi’s brother, born in Lucca on February 5. Where and when he died is unknown.

He was baptized with the same name as the eldest offspring who had died in infancy on March 19, 1739 (normally not mentioned among Leopoldo’s and Maria Santa’s children).

This second Giovanni Gastone started his career in Vienna as a figurante dancer but worked as a violinist, singer and maybe a composer as well. Nevertheless, his true goal was to become a writer and a poet. Towards this aim he offered Antonio Salieri (1750-1825) in 1769, then a debutante, a "libretto buffo" titled Le donne letterate which obtained quite a success and allowed Giovanni Gastone to become Salieri’s friend and pupil. From then on, he would write more libretti in the "opera buffa" genre, mainly for Salieri, but also for Florian Leopold Gassmann (1729-1774) and Giovanni Paisiello (1740-1816), and even an oratorio text for Franz Joseph Haydn.

In 1772 he was commissioned by an important Viennese theater to organize operas, conduct rehearsals and write three libretti for each theater season, receiving a salary of 1,200 gulden (see the entry CURRENCY). But causes not yet clear forced him in 1775 to leave the Austrian capital and look for shelter in Spain, entering the Infant don Luis’ service, actually ascribed to his wife’s retinue: "Family of her Lady: Don Juan Boquerini,
domestic in S.A. (Her Highness) house, enjoys two thousand and two hundred rs. (reales) per year" (some 6,600 euros or close to 8,000 US dollars).

However, he felt deceived not being able to become a recognized writer and librettist. So he told Salieri in a bitter letter sent from Talavera de la Reina, close to Velada, where don Luis often sojourned:

_Dear friend,
I suppose the last case which ruined my interests [in Vienna] to be known... Now my affairs in Spain have been settled... With all this, until I will manage to settle in Cadx, or in Barcellone or in another City where I can simply write Italian poetry I will consider myself as an outsider from my place and will never feel satisfied in this Kingdom.

Upon the don Luis’ death, in 1785, Giovanni Gastone remained in Arenas with the Infants’s widow, but he reappears in Madrid in 1796 linked to the theater of Los Caños del Peral, with a similar responsibility as he had had in Vienna, receiving 6,000 reales per year, to which he added the right to have a furnished dwelling. Form 1798 on all traces are lost. (6,000 reales would be some 18,000 euros or 21,600 US dollars.)


Related Entries: Boccherini (Leopoldo, Riccarda Gonzaga, Maria Ester), Bourbon (Luis), Haydn, Lucca, Prosperi, Talavera, Vallabriga, Velada.

**BOCCHERINI, Isabel** (1783-1802): Youngest child (fourth female) of Luigi and Clementina Pelliccia. She was born in Arenas of San Pedro and died in Madrid on November 27, 1802, being single and not having signed a will. At the time, the family lived in a house (still to be located) in Del Prado street. (See full text of Isabel’s death register in the entry **IRUETA**.)


Related Entries: Arenas de San Pedro, Iruela, Madrid, Monjas de Pinto (Quarter of the), Pelliccia (Clementina), Prado (street).
BOCCHERINI, Joaquina (1770-1796): Eldest child of Luigi and Clementina Pelliccia. She was born in Madrid on August 6, 1770, in No. 1 of the street of Leganitos Alta, a site owned by the Prince of Pío, who were Joaquina’s godparents.

She died single on May 8, 1796, while living with her father and her stepmother, Maria Pilar Joaquina Porreti, in No. 18 of Madera Alta street. Her death register, signed by the San Martín parishioner, don Fulgencio Lanrela, does not specify whether she signed a will or she did not. (See full text of Joaquina’s death register in the entry LANRELA.)


Related Entries: Lanrela, Leganitos, Madera Alta, Madrid, Pelliccia (Clementina), Porreti (Maria Pilar Joaquina), San Marcos (Quarter of), San Martín.

BOCCHERINI, Josef Mariano (1776-1847): Probably fourth child (third male) of Luigi and Clementina Pelliccia, born in the Royal Site of El Pardo, on February 2, 1776, and baptised two days later. The baptism register indicates his parents lived in Atocha street, but does not specify the number nor the block. Josef Mariano died on October 15, 1847, being Luigi’s only offspring to have children.

He started to work as an archivist or secretary for Countess of la Oliba de Gaitan, widow of Cerralbo, in the later years of the century (maybe in 1800). Several notarized deeds signed by the Countess before her customary notary, Pantaleón Zabala, reflect this service condition.

Although Josef Mariano was still single in 1809, as stated in his brother Luis Marcos’ will, he would later marry Maria Concepción Gallicioli y Hernández, with whom he would have a single son, Fernando, who would guarantee Boccherini’s lineage continuity.

It was Josef Mariano who visited the notary Zabala, on June 5, 1805, a week after his father’s death, to obtain a testimony from Luigi’s last will, signed in September 6, 1799, before his own customary notary, Antonio Martinez Llorente. Then, together with his brother Luis Marcos, he went to the Royal Chapel to collect his father’s pension corresponding to May. Obviously, they did not collect 1,000 reales but just 920 and 18
maravedies, according to the 28 days of the month their father had lived. The probable arithmetic operation the Royal Chapel clerk performed was as follows:

\[
\frac{12,000 \text{ reales}}{365 \text{ days}} = 32.8767 \text{ reales per day}
\]

\[
32.8767 \times 28 \text{ days} = 920.54 \text{ reales},
\]

that is 920 reales and 18 maravedies, since each real contained 34 maravedies (0.54 reales x 34 = 18 maravedies).


**Related Entries**: Atocha, Boccherini (Luis Marcos, Fernando), Currency, Madrid, Martinez Llorente, Pelliccia (Clementina), Rodriguez (Felix), Will, Testimony, Pardo (Royal Site), Zabala,

**BOCCHERINI, Leopoldo** (1713-1766): Luigi’s father. He was born in Lucca on November 16, 1713 and died on August 30, 1766. Married to Maria Santa Prosperi on October 22, 1737, he was the first member of the family to live exclusively on music. He was a doublebassist. His musical tuition and environment were where Luigi and some of his brothers and sisters began their musical pursuit. The role played by Leopoldo concerning Luigi’s career was crucial for he controlled who his teachers had to be and which learning centers the boy had to attend in order to receive the best general and musical education.

Leopoldo was employed by the Capella Palatina (Palace Chapel) of the city-state of Lucca, where he had to ask for permission to travel abroad every time he took his children Maria Ester, Giovanni Gastone, Luigi, Anna Matilde and Riccarda, to Vienna or other places. He closely watched Luigi’s progresses as a cello virtuoso until his death in 1766.

Since he belonged to the Luccan Santa Cecilia Congregation he was buried in the musicians common sepulcher of the church of San Giovanni (not extant today), where the following inscription was carved: "Musicorum ultima pausa Societatis S.te Cecilie Virginis et Martyris A.D. MDCCV". (See References section below.)

**References**: Coli, R.: Luigi Boccherini, la vita e le opere (BIB).
BOCCHERINI, Luis Marcos (1774-?): Probably third child (second male) of Luigi and Clementina Pelliccia, born in the Royal Site of Aranjuez, on April 25, 1774. When and where he died is still unknown.

On January 29, 1790, being Luis Marcos his oldest male child alive, Luigi accorded him ample powers, by means of a deed signed before the notary Antonio Martinez Llorente. These powers allowed Luis Marcos to act in the name of his father for payments and salary collection, attend justice calls or sign any document before notaries.

Luis Marcos entered priesthood in Toledo, in 1794, and signed his will in Madrid on March 20, 1809, before the notary Felix Rodriguez. In his will he points out his priest condition and leaves all the goods he might have to his brother Josef Mariano, single at that time and his only relative still alive.


Related Entries: Aranjuez, Boccherini (Josef Mariano), Pelliccia (Clementina), Martinez Llorente, Rodriguez (Felix).

BOCCHERINI, Maria Ester (1740-?): She has always been considered as the eldest child of Leopoldo and Maria Santa Prosperi, but she was actually the second one (see the entry BOCCHERINI, Giovanni Gastone). Maria Ester was born in Lucca on July 23, 1740. When and where she died is still unknown.

She started at a very young age to perform as a dancer in several theaters but her actual debut took place in Vienna in 1758. Domenico Sardini, Luccan ambassador in the Austrian capital, writes to his brother Ludovico mentioning Maria Ester and also Luigi’s success in the Lenten Accademiae, conducted by Christoph Willibald Gluck:

Vienna, March 9, 1758... His Son [Leopoldo’s] who plays the Bassetto at the Concerts of the Court Theatre, is much applauded. I am told that the daughter, a Dancer, [also Leopoldo’s] will probably enjoy the same success when she makes her bow before the Public after Easter.
The ambassador was right. Maria Ester obtained a significant success which would allow her to stay in Vienna under her mother’s close supervision, and play the role of first dancer. So, the Boccherinis would establish a permanent Viennese dwelling to which Giovanni Gastone, Anna Matilde and Riccarda Gonzaga would later move. (Information facilitated by Remigio Coli)

It was in the Austrian capital where, in 1762, Maria Ester met her future husband, the renowned dancer Onorato Viganò. The wedding took place in 1763. They had two boys, Salvatore and Giulio, both dancers, but it was Salvatore who would reach top continental fame over both his parents and his brother. In 1789 we find him in Madrid (no doubt in contact with his uncle Luigi) in the theater of Los Caños del Peral. It is most likely that Luigi wrote his Balletto spagnolo (G. 526, not inscribed in Boccherini y Calonje’s Catalogue), by the time the couple Viganò-Boccherini was in España in 1773. Luigi could also have scored the Ballo eroico-tragico-Pantomimo, titled Cefalo e Procri (G. 524) for the Viganòs. This piece was printed in Venice in 1778 for its premiere by Onorato and Maria Ester Viganò in the inland town of Mestre, neighboring Venice.

References: Coli, R.: Luigi Boccherini, la vita e le opere (BIB); Cotarelo y Mori Emilio, Origines y establecimiento de la Ópera en España (BIB); Gérard Y.: Thematic, bibliographical and critical catalogue of the works of Luigi Boccherini (BIB); Rothschild, G. de: Luigi Boccherini... (BIB).


Boccherini, Mariana (1782-1802): Sixth child (third female) of Luigi and Clementina Pelliccia, born in Arenas de San Pedro, on February 2, 1782. She died in Madrid, on July 11, 1802, being single, not having signing a will and in her minority ("Menor de edad", as stated in her death register signed by the parson of the church of San Martín, Sebastián Barrio. At that time, 20 years old was a minority age. The full text of this death register can be seen in the entry BARRIO, Sebastian). The Boccherinis lived then in No. 18 of Madera Alta street.


Related Entries: Arenas de San Pedro, Barrio (Sebastian), Madera Alta, Madrid, Pelliccia (Clementina), San Martín.
**BOCCHERINI, Riccarda Gonzaga** (1748-1780): Luigi’s younger sister (third female child), born in Lucca on October 2, 1748 and died in Ontígola (close to Aranjuez, Spain), on December 22, 1780.

When still very young, she followed her family to Vienna, acting as a figurante dancer on Viennese stages since 1769.

We find her again on September 3 of the same year in Florence, as a "Seconda Donna" singer in the Cocomero theater, where her older sister Maria Ester was first dancer and her husband Onorato Viganò choreographer and first dancer. (Information facilitated by Remigio Coli)

Some years after her father’s death, in 1766, Riccarda, her mother, Maria Santa, and probably his brother Giovanni Gastone, moved to Spain where Luigi had already settled. Maria Santa and Riccarda went to live in the small village of Ontígola, close to Aranjuez.

On August 14, 1776, only a few months after Maria Santa’s death, sometime in the spring, Riccarda acquired a share from the Royal Life-Annuities Fund (Real Fondo Vitalicio), created by a royal decree of November 1, 1769. It is most likely that Riccarda opted to invest in this way a part or the whole of what she had inherited from her mother, but we lack any documented evidence.

One week after the investment was made, that is, on August 22, a deed was written to formalize the life-annuity share. It was at notary Bernardo Ruiz del Burgo’s premises, in Madrid.

The Real Fondo Vitalicio had been created to attract private savings in order to redeem "Alhajas enagenadas de la Corona" (Alienated Royal Jewels) and it admitted anybody’s money, even from foreigners as far as they were catholic and could prove they had been baptized. The annual interest rate was a 9 percent of the investment. Since Riccarda’s deposit amounted 20,000 *reales*, she was to receive 1,800 *reales* per year for life (in two installments). This amount was, more or less, the minimum necessary for a person to live (some 5,400 euros or slightly under 6,500 US dollars).

As stated in the Fund’s stipulations, the 20,000 *reales* were not recoverable and the 1,800 *reales* income would be payable only till the day after the shareholder’s death. Representing the Royal Fund, the marquis of Hontanar, don Pedro Diaz de Mendoza and don Salvador de Querefasu, chevalier of the Charles III Order, signed the deed as
"Directores Ministros de este Establecimiento" (Managing Ministers of this Establishment). Riccarda’s signature does not appear in the document.

We are ignorant of what happened to Riccarda after 1776. We only know she died in Spain on December 22, 1780, according to the notary Ruiz del Burgo as stated on October 8, 1781, in a foot note added to the life-annuity deed, certifying that Riccarda’s share was canceled and her money passed to the Real Fondo Vitalicio. (For further data on Riccarda’s profitability with the Royal Fund, see the entry Ruiz del Burgo.)


Related Entries: Aranjuez, Boccherini (Leopoldo, Maria Ester and Giovanni Gastone), Ontígola, Prosperi, Ruiz del Burgo, Vienna, Viganó (Onorato).

BOCCHERINI, Teresa (c.1777-1804): Fourth child (second female) of Luigi and Clementina Pelliccia, born in Arenas de San Pedro, probably in 1777. She died in Madrid on July 9, 1804, single and having signed a vow of poverty, a testamentary formula to nominate heirs even though there is no heritage to be left at the very moment of signing the deed (the word "Pobre", Poor, is noted down in Teresa’s death register. See the entry VOW OF POVERTY for details of this kind of testamentary deed).

When she died, Teresa lived with her father and her stepmother, Maria Pilar Joaquina Porreti, in No. 5 of Jesús y María street, in Madrid. She was buried in the parish of San Justo. (See full text of the death register in the entry Herrera.)


Related Entries: Arenas de San Pedro, Herrera, Jesús y María, Madrid, Pelliccia (Clementina), Porreti (Maria Pilar Joaquina), San Justo, Vow of Poverty.

BOCCHERINI Y CALONJE, Alfredo (1845-1907): Elder son of Fernando Boccherini Gallicioli and Mª Narcisa Calonje, and great grandson of the Luccan composer. He was
born on November 17, 1845, and died on June 25, 1907. Out of the two of his father’s marriages he was the only son to have descendants.

Alfredo was a journalist, chronicler and short story writer. He compiled a brief biography of his great grandfather (40 pages including 13 containing a catalogue of the works of Boccherini declared to be taken from the one kept by the musician himself for his own use, but Boccherini y Calonje’s catalogue shows several contradictions, incongruences and errors. Nevertheless, although it cannot be taken as Luigi Boccherini’s autograph it is an important and useful document).

As far as the biographical text is concerned, it also contains errors and missing points but it deserves the credit for being the only Spanish book wholly dedicated to Boccherini in almost two centuries, since his death until 1992, when the composer and musicologist Ramón Barce published a short biographical book on Boccherini (See the Bibliography).

References: Boccherini y Calonje, A.: Luis Boccherini... (BIB); Mangani, M. and Coli, R.: "Osservazioni sul catalogo autografo di Luigi Boccherini..." (BIB); Mangani, M.: Luigi Boccherini (BIB), Pascoe, K.: "La reaparición del Catálogo de Baillot" (BIB); Tortella, J.: "Historia e Historiografía en torno a Boccherini..." (BIB).

Related Entries: Catalogue, Minueto.

BONA NOTTE, La (duet for two violins, in E flat Major, G. 62): "The Nocturne at first only differed from other forms of musical entertainment (divertimenti, serenades) in its specific repertory function as a piece to be performed at night, quite often out-of-doors, and, like the other forms, it bore a festive character", and Emilio Moreno further explains: "By the second half of the 18th century the Nocturne, influenced by the disturbing novelty of «Sturm und Drang», develops slowly into an intimate form of chamber music, increasingly difficult to distinguish from more eclectic forms such as the sonata, the trio, the quartet and even the symphony or the concerto. As the music was diluted in the open, the Nocturne takes refuge in musical societies, evening parties and concert halls..." (See Discography.)

This way the Madrilenean violinist and conductor places in context a singular Boccherinian piece which has no opus number but is no doubt authentic, a four part violin duet ending with a nightly popular song, showing once more how Boccherini was fond of street music:
I - Amoroso  
II - Rondo allegretto  
III - Minuetto sostenuto (Trio)  
IV - Presto assai "La Bona notte"

On the likely autograph manuscript kept in the Archivio Musicale della Capella Antonina of Padua, a handwritten phrase by Boccherini himself reads "La bona notte", for the last movement.

References: Gérard, Y.: Thematic, Bibliographical and Critical Catalogue of the Works of Luigi Boccherini (BIB); Moreno, E.: Text for the disc Luigi Boccherini - La bona notte, La Real Cámara, Barcelona, 1994, Glossa GCD 920301; Tortella, J.: "La música descriptiva o argumental en el catálogo de Luigi Boccherini" (BIB).

Related Entries: Duet.

BONACCORSI, Alfredo (1887-1971): Italian musicologist born in Barga, some 25 miles north of the city of Lucca. He graduated from the Istituto "Pacini" (today Istituto "Boccherini"), in this same city, and continued his musical education at the Hamburg Conservatory and the Hamburg University.

He taught History of Music and became librarian of the Pesaro Conservatory, founding in this same town the Centro Rossiniano di Studi, of which he was Director until 1960. As Manager of the Bolletino of this Centro and of Quaderni Rossiniani he gave a great impulse to musical life in Pesaro. He also collaborated to the series Classici italiani della musica being editor of four of its volumes which contain works by composers such as Boccherini and Brunetti (Information facilitated by Remigio Coli).

References: Bonaccorsi, A.: "L. Boccherini e il suo quartetto" (BIB); Bonaccorsi, A.: "Boccherini e il suo Stabat Mater" (BIB); Bonaccorsi, A.: "Filippo Manfredi", in Musiche italiane rare e vive da Giovanni Gabrielli a Giuseppe Verdi, Chigiana, xix, 1962; Bonaccorsi, A.: Spettacoli musicali lucchesi "Le tasche", Torino, 1933

BONAPARTE, Lucien (1775-1840): Younger brother of Napoleon (1769-1821), born in Ajaccio (Corsica) on March 21, 1775. Cultivated and intelligent, admirer of Robespierre, he joined the jacobine cause and played a crucial role towards his brother's political career as a result of the 18 Brumario coup, even though they always had differences and their mutual relationship was anything but smooth.
By the end of 1800, Napoleon sent Lucien to Spain as his ambassador in order to convince the Spanish King Charles IV and his minister Manuel Godoy to force Portugal to quit its support to England. The issue was dealt with in Extremadura (south-west Spain) by means of a short and quick military operation performed at the beginning of the summer of 1801. This operation is known as the Guerra de las Naranjas (War of the Oranges), after which Lucien Bonaparte signed a peace treaty with Portugal, who accepted all French demands. But Napoleon reacted in rage because he thought this was not enough and wanted his brother to go on with the war to take full hold of Portugal. Lucien felt himself discredited and decided to return to France by the end of the year.

But during the first half of 1801, before going to Badajoz (capital of Extremadura), Lucien lived between Madrid and Aranjuez, trying to integrate himself into the upper class social circles. He studied Spanish and organized musical soirées at the embassy, where he dwelled while in Madrid. In order to attract the social elite to the soirées, he contracted Boccherini as composer and conductor, paying him generously.

As a result of this acquaintance, Boccherini would dedicate some of his works to Lucien Bonaparte: two series of Six String Quintets (with two violas), Opus 60 (G. 391-396) and Opus 62 (G. 397-402), of 1801 and 1802, both with the phrase "data à Luciano Bonaparte", or the Stabat Mater, Opus 61 (G. 532), which according to Boccherini y Calonje’s catalogue bore the phrase "dedicato al citadino Bonaparte". Also the last String Quartets Opus 64 (G. 248-249) were dedicated to Napoleon’s brother: "composti
espressamente per il Cittadino Luciano Bonaparte" (Boccherini started to write Opus 64 in 1804 but he only completed the first Quartet and initiated the second).

The fact Boccherini would dedicate all those works to Lucien has nurtured some not fully justified perplexity.

Upon leaving Spain, Bonaparte met his brothers Napoleon and Josef in Plessis, and thanks to the journalist Enrico Tedeschi (who used the name "Ramón" as a pseudonym), who interviewed Fernando Boccherini (Luigi’s grandson) in Madrid on April 23, 1905 and had the chance to look at the musician’s archive, we now there was an "autograph letter - dated in Plessis «1.er pluvoise an 10» [January 20, 1802] - where Josef Bonaparte communicates to Boccherini the assignment of an annual pension of 3,000 francs (some 12,000 reales or 36,000 euros or over 43,000 US dollars)". This would be enough to justify why Boccherini would have dedicated those works to Lucien.


Related Entries: Aranjuez, Boccherini y Calonje, Charles IV, Madrid, Quartet, Quintet, Stabat Mater.

BONAVENTURA, Arnaldo (1862-1952): Born in Livorno, he was a violinist and a writer as well as a musicologist and biographer of Boccherini. He worked for the musical department of National Central Library of Florence, and was assistant director at the Regio Istituto Musicale of this same town. He also collaborated with the periodical "La Nazione".

Since 1917 and for the whole period between the two World Wars, Bonaventura dedicated a significant effort to the Luccan musician and published various works about him.


BORDELLO, via di (Lucca, Italy): This narrow street belonging to the San Giovanni parish has today the name of Via della Dogana.
Its mid 18th-century name (Brothel) referred to the fact that there was a brothel on it, this being before the Boccherinis lived in house near by. In fact, the Boccherinis dwelled in four different houses on this street, during different periods.

By mid 19th century a plaque was installed in this street to honor the composer but was quickly removed to avoid linking him with a seedy environment, since various brothels were active again. (Data taken from Coli, R: *Luigi Boccherini, la vita e le opere* and from Biagi Ravenni, G.: "«E pensare che il Boccherini non ha che una lapide sul muro d’un casino»...")

References: Biagi Ravenni, G.: "«E pensare che il Boccherini non ha che una lapide sul muro d’un casino»..."; Coli, R.: *Luigi Boccherini, la vita e le opere* (BIB).

Related Entries: Lucca.

**BOUCHER, Alexandre-Jean** (1778-1861): {BY BARBARA NESTOLA} French violinist and composer. The detailed data we have about his life and career come from his own abundant correspondence. Based on these documents, Gustave Vallat wrote a Boucher biography which was edited in 1890 as *Études d’histoire de moeurs et d’art musicale: Alexandre Boucher et son temps*. Besides the many anecdotes and remarks, this is a valuable account of this extravagant character. Son of a Louis XV musketeer, Alexandre...
Boucher started very young to play violin and he had important teachers such as Subrin de Sainte-Marie, Gaviniès and Guillaume Navoigille. His precocious talents soon allowed him to play both in several Parisian salons and also before the Court, where queen Maria Antonietta had the chance to admire his ability. In 1789, after joining the revolutionary cause, he participated as a National Guard soldier in the assault of La Bastille. In 1792, he was admitted to the Théâtre du Palais orchestra, and later on to that of the Théâtre Feydeau.

It is by this time that his adventurous and restless personality starts to crop up, creating for him more than one problem. In 1795 he was forced to flee from Paris because of he joined the royalist uprising of 13 Vendémiaire (October 15), so seeking refuge in Spain. In Madrid he would be warmly welcome by the royal Court of Charles IV, where he would remain as first violin until 1805. During this period, Boucher met Boccherini from whom he would receive musical instruction. His relationship with the King and his encounter with the old master musician are described by Boucher himself, as accounted by Vallat:

_The King loved Boucher very much and enjoyed his wittiness, so it was that our violinist would not miss a chance to give free way it; but he was wise enough to stop in time and above all not to hurt the sovereign’s musical self-love. He had learned from Boccherini himself, whom he had met at duke of Benavente’s house, how dear he had paid for daring to answer Charles IV’s rash conclusion about a piece saying that “before pronouncing such a judgment it is necessary to understand music”. One day Boucher, happy and honored by his relationship with this great musician to whom he professed a true veneration, asked him permission to play one of his compositions. Our impetuous violinist starts. Boccherini frowns and then his face shrinks up, as if he were feeling a violent pain; Boucher plays still harsher; the author, highly exasperated, shouts: _
- Brigand, you make my placid compositions to thunder and storm. Stop! This is too much, I cannot bear being harassed any more! 
- Master, forgive my error, said immediately Alexandre; take me as your pupil, teach me the style you wish for your works. Be good and teach me how to write music and initiate me to the secrets of that science you master so well. 
- I accept, answered Boccherini; but you will interpret a concerto by Viotti or by Kreutzer for me so that I can applaud you. You will be allowed all foolishness while playin that music; but I forbid you to play mine before I myself will allow you to. 
So, Boucher managed to write and interpret with a new style under this master’s directions, who’s energy was inexhaustible and who’s interpreting talent was of a wonderful sweetness._
(The scene where Boccherini abruptly responded to Charles IV has also been accounted by Castil-Blaze in his "Biographie de Boucher" and it has been repeated in most biographical texts about the Luccan composer.)

The following years after the Spanish sojourn prompt serious doubts whether Boccherini’s lessons succeeded to smooth down Boucher’s vigorous temperament.

Back in Paris, the violinist wedded the harp player Céleste Gallyot with whom he had payed in duo. Boucher’s extravagant and audacious character seemed not to have any bound since he convinced his wife to play piano and harp duos by herself. And among other eccentricities it is worth mentioning how Boucher had nominated himself as "The Beethoven of Interpretation" and also "The Napoleon of the Violin", taking advantage of his physical resemblance to the emperor. This resemblance would cause him serious troubles in 1815, during the period known as the "Hundred days".

In 1822, while touring central and eastern Europe with his wife, Boucher met in Austria a young Liszt (1811-1886) and, thanks to Goethe’s intermediation, he also met Ludwig van Beethoven (1770-1827) who dedicated to him his Kleine Stück for two violins WoO 34. In Germany, he also met Mendelssohn and had the chance to play with Carl Maria von Weber (1786-1826).

Boucher quit playing in public in 1859, when he played his last concerto in the Parisian Salle Pleyel.

His compositions include two violin concertos (1810 and 1844), a Grand duo concertant for two violins (1839) and a Serment napoléonien (1853).
BOULOGNE, [M.]: Boccherini mentions a certain "M. Boulogne" in seven of his letters addressed to Pleyel between 1796 and 1798 (one of those letters is actually the transcription of a notarial guarantee certificate related to the works he had sold and sent to Boulogne. This certificate specifies that Boulogne had no publishing rights over those works).

Boulogne is also referenced in the Catalogue transcribed by Alfredo Boccherini y Calonje as purchaser and receiver of 110 pieces of music between 1790 and 1791.

According to this Catalogue, the list of works sent to (and likely sold to) M. Boulogne is the following:

- Op. 21.- 6 symphonies (1775)
- Op. 25.- 6 quintets (1778)
- Op. 27.- 6 quintets (1779)
- Op. 28.- 6 quintets (1779)
- Op. 29.- 6 quintets (1779)
- Op. 30.- 6 quintets (1780)
- Op. 31.- 6 quintets (1780)
- Op. 32.- 6 quintets (1780)
- Op. 33.- 6 quintets (1781)
- Op. 34.- 6 trios (1781)
- Op. 35.- 6 symphonies (1782)
- Op. 36.- 6 quintets (1786)
- Op. 37.- 4 symphonies (1787)
- Op. 38.- 5 sextets and 1 octet (1787)
- Op. 39.- 3 quintets (1787)
- Op. 40.- 6 quintets (1788)
- Op. 41.- 1 suite of minuets, 1 symphony, 2 quintets (1788)
- Op. 42.- 4 quintets, 2 quartets, 1 octet (1789)
- Op. 43.- 3 quintets, 2 quartets, 1 symphony (1790)

totalizing 108 pieces, although Boccherini mentions 110 in his letters to Pleyel.

When Boccherini alludes to Boulogne in those seven letters, he shows a high degree of ignorance about his client’s identity. He never mentions his first name, nor does he offer any detail or particularity. He only risks some guesses about him and names him as "a certain M. Boulogne" or simply "Boulogne".

References: Castil-Blaze, F. H. J.: "Biographie de Boucher" (BIB); Vallat, Gustave: *Études d’histoire de moeurs et d’art musicale: Alexandre Boucher et son temps*, 1890.
In his letter dated October 11, 1796, he tells his editor he had sent to Boulogne a set of musical pieces, but he fathoms his client might have been a victim of the Revolution. So he states he does not know what could have happened to those scores. Next November 14, Boccherini mentions Boulogne again with a vague allusion to the musical pieces he sold him.

It’s not until June 8, 1797 that his mysterious customer shows up anew. This time is to insist that Pleyel has already all the information concerning Boulogne’s acquisition of music from Boccherini.

This same year, on July 10, Boccherini announces Pleyel he is going to send him an exclusive ownership guarantee over Boulogne’s partitions in order to protect him in front of possible claims on the part of Boulogne’s heirs, although Boccherini does not assert he knows for sure Boulogne has died. Three days later he repeats his announcement about the guarantee before eventual claims by Boulogne’s heirs. And still four days later he finally sends Pleyel a transcription of the notarial deed guaranteeing that the pieces he had sold Boulogne "vers l’an 1790" ("around 1790"), through Lorenzo Vignola, secretary of the Venice embassy, could not be published.

On December 27, 1798 Boccherini reminds Pleyel that he had already protected him against Boulogne’s potential heirs. This is the last time Boccherini mentions M. Boulogne.

Nothing in those letters allows us to know any detail about this gentleman; nothing about his life, where and when he was born, his occupation, place where he lives, family, friends...; we don’t even know whether in 1798 he was still alive or had been dead. Also not a single hint is to be found about the final destiny of those 110 (or 108) musical pieces he sold him "vers l’an 1790".

But in spite of this darkness, some years ago another great musician has emerged from the shadows of oblivion and some of his biographical traits have induced many a historian, musicologist and researcher to suggest the possibility he might be the same individual as Boccherini’s Boulogne: this "new" musician is the French-Guadalupean known as Chevalier de Saint-Georges, who’s name (with or without a "u") has put forth this possible coincidence.
Joseph Bologne, Chevalier de Saint-Georges
(Etching by Ward from the oil painting by Mather Brown, 1788)

We can still read in books, articles and discs that the Chevalier’s name was Joseph Boulogne, while his actual last name was Bologne, a confusion to add to the general fogginess pervading Boccherini’s client.

Joseph Bologne was the son of a French planter and a Senegalese slave. Even being a mulatto, he was enormously successful in France in spite of general racial prejudices. In fact, he became an admired personality in two very different disciplines: music and fencing, the bow and the sword.

As a musician he was active in three areas: composing, playing the violin and conducting. Especially this last occupation would make of him a candidate to acquire music from one of his most famous contemporary composers, Luigi Boccherini, well known in the French musical market.

On the other side, Bologne’s traces lead us to some rather tight links with Franz Joseph Haydn (both were close to masonry), and less to Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart (1756-1791, also a mason). As a matter of fact, it was Bologne who ordered from Haydn a set of six symphonies which would become known as the Paris Symphonies (Hoboken I: 82-87, dated 1785-1786). Contrarily, it seems Mozart tried to skip any direct contact with Bologne, whom he saw more as a rival than as a colleague.

As for Boccherini, not a single trustworthy lead is available to correlate him with Bologne. ("M. Boulogne" allusions in his letters and in Boccherini y Calonje’s Catalogue are nothing else than feeble suspicions.)
Additionally, it is documented that Bologne as an orchestra conductor (he led the so called Le Concert des Amateurs and later the orchestra known as Le Concert Olympique), worked with scores by Gluck, Gossec (17234-1829), Philidor (1681-1728), Cimarosa (1749-1801), Piccinni (1727-1800) and Haydn, among many others, but never has a piece by Boccherini been linked to Bologne.

To these facts (all in the negative side, so not as sound as positive evidence but obviously important), it could be added that "vers l’an 1790", when Boccherini indicates he had sent his 110 (or 108) works to Boul ogne, the Chevalier de Saint-Georges had settled in Lille, decreasing dramatically his musical activities and completely quiting by 1792. This was so ever since the revolutionary uprising, including an arrest and imprisonment during the Terror period. By 1792 Bologne was leading a regiment who fought Austrian troops to defend the Revolution.

However, it is hardly probable to find two different contemporary individuals in France, with two names so closely similar and both related to the kind of music Boccherini could produce. Bologne’s own catalogue includes regular symphonies and concertante symphonies, concerts, operas and miscellaneous vocal music, as well as abundant chamber music (sonatas for different instrumental combinations and string quartets), so they must have been fond of the same kind of music.

At the present state of knowledge and research, matching Boccherini’s Bologne to Chevalier de Saint-Georges’ Bologne is no more than a hypothesis still to be ratified or discarded.

Another possible identification for the this "mysterious" individual would be Jean-Baptiste Tavernier de Boullongne de Préminville, as proposed by Warwick Lister in a recent essay (see References).

References: Letters LB: Madrid, October 11, 1796 - Madrid, November 14, 1796 - Madrid, June 8, 1797 - Madrid, July 10, 1797 - Madrid, July 13, 1797 - Madrid, July 17, 1797 (transcription of notarial deed to guarantee the pieces sold to Boul ogne) - Madrid, December 27, 1798; Banat, Gabriel: The Chevalier de Saint-Georges Virtuoso of the Sword and the Bow, Pendragon Press, Hillsdale NY, 2006; Croce, L. della: Il divino Boccherini... (Epistolary) (BIB); Guedé, Alain: Monsieur de Saint-George, le nègre des lumières, Babel, Arles, 2001; Lister, W.: "Notes on Viotti in Paris, 1782-1792", in Sala, Massimiliano (ed.): Giovanni Battista Viotti: A Composer between the Two Revolutions, Ut Orpheus Edizioni, Bologna, 2006; Rothschild, G. de: Luigi Boccherini... (BIB); Saint-Foix, G. de: "La correspondance de Boccherini avec I. Pleyel" (BIB); Tortella, J.: "Historia e Historiografia en torno a Boccherini..." (BIB).

**BOURBON (Borbón):** For the royal members of the Spanish branch of this dynasty, see the name of the corresponding king.

**BOURBON (Borbón), Luis de (Infant) (1727-1785):** Son of Philip V (1683-1746) and Isabella of Farnesio (1692-1766), Luis reached the rank of archbishop of Toledo and Seville before his eighth birthday, and soon became primate cardinal although he was never ordained as a priest. All those ranks implied the following annual income (expressed in ducats; see the entry **CURRENCY**): Toledo’s Archbishopric: 224,238; Seville's Archbishopric: 87,845; both totalizing 312,083 ducats. On top of this, since 1734, the Royal House assigned the Infant 150,000 ducats under the heading of "food", and the Pope also assigned him 30 knight commanderies involving the administration of the following money amounts per year (in copper **reales**): 15 commanderies of Santiago: 534,892 **reales**, 5 commanderies of Calatrava: 301,600 **reales**, 6 commanderies of Alcántara: 353,473 **reales**, and 4 commanderies of Montesa: 101,416 **reales**, amounting to 11291,381 **reales**. (The total income or administering quantities, expressed in **reales**, was 61387,884 **reales** per year, a huge fortune more or less equivalent to 11600,000 euros per month, or more than 11900,000 US dollars, always taking into account the risk of this kind of equivalence).

This situation lasted until don Luis, in 1754, having reached his 27 years of age, resigned his religious posts to bear a "normal" life, which meant to do what young men do, including sexual activities (and don Luis dove into them even with excess).

The Pope accepted his resignation but decided to maintain most of his monetary assignments and even added some extra commanderies. With this income and the earnings obtained from exploiting forests around Boadilla del Monte and the near by Villaviciosa de Odón, also owned by the Infant, this 27 years old young man, still single, received and administered immense amounts of money which allowed him to keep an extremely high standard of living without any concern.

This condition was tightly connected to the fact that don Luis would be involved in many intellectual activities, such sponsoring artists (sculptors, architects, painters, writers, musicians...), including employing Boccherini during fifteen years, between the spring of 1770 until August 1785. Besides the two salaries he received (as cellist and as composer, 18,000 and 12,000 **reales** per year, respectively), Boccherini enjoyed full freedom to
market his music, and also had don Luis’ musical chapel to work and rehearse with a selected group of interpreters.

The Infant don Luis of Bourbon child  
(by Jean Ranc, Prado Museum, Madrid, Spain)

Between 1770 and 1776, Boccherini had his own dwelling in Madrid and was registered as "vecino" of the "Villa y Corte" (denizen of Madrid ). He accompanied don Luis when moving to the different Royal Sites (Aranjuez, El Pardo, San Ildefonso, etc.) and it is most likely the he called frequently to Boadilla del Monte, in that period the main lodging site of don Luis. (Although not unanimously accepted, this link to Boadilla is widely shared among biographers and historians).

When the Infant married on June 1776 and was ousted away from Court and settled in Arenas de San Pedro at the beginning of 1777, Boccherini followed him with his family until 1785. Once don Luis was dead, all his servants had to return to their original residences, therefore Boccherini returned to Madrid. He was a widower with six children, aged between 15 and 2.

During the eight years and a half sojourn of don Luis in Arenas he dwelled in several houses, lent, borrowed or of his own. First he lived in the center of town in a building known as "casa Lletget" ("Lletget House") and then in a larger edifice owned by a upper class family called Frias. This was known as the "Palacio Viejo" ("Old Palace").
Soon don Luis opted to build his own palace on a near by hill known as La Mosquera (today already inside the urban nucleus). The architects in charge were Domingo and Ignacio Thomas, two brothers who were pupils of the renowned Ventura Rodriguez. The new palace was not ready before the later months of 1782 and was not even completed when the Infant died, in 1785. One of the wings is still missing.

In Arenas, Boccherini would write a great amount of musical (Trios, Quartets, Quintets, Symphonies, Villancicos, Stabat Mater, etc.) and saved a significant monetary capital which would allow him to face the uncertain situation created after his protector’s death. In fact, Boccherini never had to suffer any lack of resources.


Related Entries: Arenas de San Pedro, Boadilla del Monte, Charles III, Ducat (Currency), Mosquera, Pelliccia (Clementina), Rodriguez (Ventura), Royal Sites, Thomas (Ignacio, Domingo), Toledo, Villaviciosa de Odón.

BOURLET, [M.]: This individual of whose first name is unknown, replaces Pierre Govey as Pleyel’s intermediator to deal with Boccherini, after Govey’s prolonged stay in Bayone. Bourlet is only mentioned in three letters, dated in Madrid on December 29, 1796, April 27, 1797 and July 13 of the same year (in the April 27 letter it appears as Burlet).

Along with the first letter, Boccherini sends to Pleyel through Bourlet a Trio which was missing in the previous shipment (Trio No. 6 of Op. 54, G. 118). In the second letter, Boccherini only refers to Burlet as a witness to the fact that he has kept for Pleyel the 110 pieces he had sold before to M. Boulogne. No details about Bourlet’s personality are given. The sole appraising comment goes in the July 13, 1797 letter where Boccherini warns Pleyel not to be cheated by people such as "Guigné, Bourlet, etc...", giving no further explanations about Bourlet’s actions, although we do know of some disloyal attitudes on the part of Guigné.
BOYER, Charles-Georges: Printer of music active in Paris since 1755. He purchased Jean-Baptiste Vénier’s editorial stocks in 1784. From then on, he would reissue a great part of Venier’s previous editions, including works by Boccherini. Later on, Boyer agreed to associate with Naderman to finally relinquish him all his stocks in 1796.


BREMNER, Robert (1713-1789): Music publisher active in Edinburgh since 1754. In 1762 he opened a branch office in London meant to become his headquarters, although always keeping the old Scottish establishment. Upon his death, the firm was acquired by Preston & Son.

References: Letters LB: Madrid, December 29, 1796 - Madrid, April 27, 1797 - Madrid, July 13, 1797; Croce, L. della: *Il divino Boccherini...* (Epistolary) (BIB); Rothschild, G. de: *Luigi Boccherini...* (BIB); Saint-Foix, G. de: "La correspondance de Boccherini avec I. Pleyel" (BIB).

Related Entries: Boulogne, Govey, Guigné, Pleyel, Trio.

Front page of Op. 8 String Quartets, edited in London, c.1775, as Op. 6
Bremner published many of Boccherini’s works, mainly chamber pieces: Trios, String Quartets and Quintets and also in the earlier 1770s the first edition of Six Sonatas for cello and bass, possibly without Boccherini’s consent and even awareness. These six sonatas are G. 13, 6, 5, 10, 1 and 4 (published in that order), a set still issued today with the arrangement of Bremner’s.

With the exception of these Six Sonatas, Bremner was never the first to publish any of Boccherini’s works.


Related Entries: Biblioteca Nacional de España, Longman & Broderip, Sonata..

BRESLAU: {BY GABRIELLA BIAGI RAVENNI} In the 1700s this town, Silesian capital, belonged to the kingdom of Prussia, in the southeastern zone, and is today a Polish city with the name of Wraclaw, midway between Warsaw and Prague, closer to the latter than to the former. King Friederich "The Great" used to inspect the troops in summertime, in a parade considered as a very relevant event. According to the evidence provided by the so-called "Breslau Letter", Luigi Boccherini was in this town on July 30, 1786, awaiting to see the King and also probably the future Friedrich Wilhelm II, his patron since a few months earlier.

The first important controversy about this letter is due to Germaine de Rothschild, who had accessed it from a previous publication, Marie Lipsius’ "La Mara" collection, indicating where the actual document was filed, the Accademia Filarmonica of Bologna. Since she was not able to see the original letter pertaining to the Masseangeli Collection of the Accademia, Rothschild could not make a firm point but by saying the letter was scarcely what we should expect from Boccherini, placed herself implicitly along the line of Alfredo Bonaccorsi who had discarded it, without any explicit rationale, as being a fraud.

In any case, we can say today that there exists a letter dated in Breslau on July 30, 1786, with an abbreviated signature "B. ni", file where La Mara had indicated - it has been checked that the letter had ended by error in a folder holding Luigi Cherubini’s autographs -. This letter does not have any sign of a falsification: the paper on which it is written is of
a kind frequently used at that time in the German area, the writing seems consistent with
other documents proven to be autographs and the sealing-wax stamp looks authentic.

The vicissitudes of this document can be read in "La «Carta de Breslau»…" (see
the References section below), where there is a physical description, an analysis of the
text and the context, as well as information about the various individuals and facts
mentioned, especially about the addressee marquis Girolamo Lucchesini and his wife (see
the entry dedicated to this nobleman, resident in Prussia during more than 25 years).

The letter reads the following:

à Monsieur
Monsieur le Marquis Lucchesini Chambellan
de Sa Majestè le Roy
à Postdam

Generosissimo Amico!

La partenza di questo Ministro d’Hoym per costì (Egli è accompagnato dal
Consigliere Mustow degno Galantuomo) mi fà disperare di più rivedere il Gran
Rè; lo speravo talmente che feci una grossa scomessa che rivederebbe questa
Provincia; la vocazione di questo Ministro decise la mia perdita.

Mi fu di vera consolazione il sentire che la Signora Marchesa avanza
felicemente nella sua Gravidanza; possa Essa regalarvi con Prole à Voi simile,
Lenisque Ilithyia tuere Matrem! Sinceramente mi compiaccio imaginandola con
fastoso Ventre ostentarvi i cari dritti che vi dà alla Paternità. Da più mesi que
non vedo La Signora Zannetta; Ell’è stata lungamente in Campagna, ed al suo
ritorno mi trovo sequestrato nella stanza da sputo frequente di sangue, e vi è più
maggiore gonfiezza di gambe accompagnati da una quasi total’estinzione di
forze.

Non ardisco importunarvi con questioni che desidererei farvi, ma non
posso ritenermi dal dirvi che o veduto in un gazettino scritto da Berlino, che
Potemkin avendo radunato 17. Regimenti che dispersi stavano nella sua divisione
si dichiarò Sovrano della Crimea e dipendenze. NB conosco il tranquill’e pacifico
Peppino. Quant’incredibile mi paja questa nuova altrettanto grato mi sarebbe il
saperla vera, poiché convincerebbe le due Signore di Czarkozelo della Lealtà del
pregiatissim’Alleatto.

Che dite di Biester e Nicolai? Che tolleranza respirano i loro scritti! Libera nos
Catholicos Domine da simili Patrioti ed Amici dell’umanità.

Mes homages très humbles à mi Señora la Marquesa
Vale mutuoque ama Tuum
Breslau le 30." Juillet 1786
P. S. Je suis enchanté de M.r le Comte
Munarrini

B.\ni
[to Monsieur
Monsieur the Marquis Lucchesini Chamberlain
of His Majesty the King
in Postdam

Most Generous Friend!

The departure there of this Minister d'Hoym (The Councilor Mustow worthy Gentleman went with him) makes me despair of ever seeing the Great King again; I had such high hope of this that I made a large wager that I would see this Province again; the recall of this Minister has decided my loss.

It is a true consolation to hear that Madam the Marquise goes happily on her Pregnancy; may God grant you the present of an Offspring resembling to you, Lenisque Ilithyia tuere Matrem! I am sincerely pleased when I imagine her haughty Belly showing the sacred rights yielded by Paternity. I have not seen Signora Zannetta for many months; She was in the Country for a long time, an upon her return I find myself confined to my room because of the frequent boold-spitting, and even worse is the great swelling of my legs accompanied by an almost loss of strength.

I don not dare to importune you with questions I would like to ask you, but I cannot refrain from telling you that I have seen in a gazette written in Berlin, that Potemkin having collected 17. Regiments which were scattered in his division declared himself Sovereign of Crimea and its dependencies. NB with the knowledge of the quiet and peaceable Peppino. Incredible as this news may seem to me it equally would please me if I knew it were true, for it would convince the two ladies of Czarkozelo [sic] (Tsarskoie Selo or Tsarskoie Palace) of the Loyalty of their priced allied.

What do you say about Biester and Nicolai? What a tolerance their writings breathe! May God free us Catholics from Patriots and Friends of humanity like those.

My most humble compliments to my Lady the Marquise.

Vale mutuoque ama Tuum
Breslau the 30.\textsuperscript{th} July 1786
P. S. I am enchanted with M.r le Comte
Munarrini

B.\textsuperscript{ni}]

This letter has many new elements and also confirms biographical data already known, although leaves open a series of problems.

First of all, this is the only known document so far with an abbreviated signature: it could give a further indication of the intimacy which obviously linked Boccherini to the marquis Lucchesini. This intimacy is clearly seen in the formal way the letter commences, in the warmth with which Boccherini foresees the happiness of fatherhood, and in the conversational way he comments on political topics, all taking into account the two
Luccan, sender and receiver, belonged in their mother land to two quite different social classes. One novelty of this letter must no doubt be found in the personality it shows: Boccherini writes as a cultivated man capable to quote in Latin, well informed about international political affairs, aware of present cultural debates.

One important confirmation of known data is to be found in the testimony of his illness: "I find myself confined to my room because of the frequent boold-spitting, and even worse is the great swelling of my legs accompanied by an almost loss of strength".

This letter would also be the only evidence of Boccherini leaving Spain. We know through Tortella’s research that Boccherini was in Madrid on June 20, 1786, since that day he signed before the notary Antonio Martinez Llorente a mutual power deed with Rafael Monreal. Forty days later, on July 30, after a quite long journey, he is in Breslau and tells his friend his hope to see the "Great King" has vanished since he had not come to inspect the parade as was his usual custom. He was right, Friederich "The Great", badly ill, would die next August 17. Boccherini actually writes "mi fa disperare de piu rivedere", which could indicate a previous audience could have taken place. The same month? In another moment? Or else, Boccherini’s expression might be interpreted differently, in the sense he will never have the chance to see him.

On the other side, Signora Zannetta’s identity is still unknown, as the phrase where she is mentioned is unclear. Being documented that Boccherini was in Madrid on June 20, and if Signora Zannetta lived in Breslau, as it seems, how could the signer say he has not seen her for many months?

Boccherini’s presence in Breslau on July of 1786 is not totally contradictory with what can be inferred from Mara Parker’s essay. All Boccherini’s autographs kept in Berlin, that is the music written during the "service" years to Friederich Wilhelm II, are on Spanish paper: this implies that Boccherini had sent them from Spain: obviously his journey to Prussia was not to move permanently.

Finally we must say that the Breslau letter is an isolated document still lacking the necessary cross confirmations.

of Prussia" (BIB); Rothschild, G. de: Luigi Boccherini... (BIB); Tortella, J.: Boccherini un músico italiano... (BIB).


BRILLON DE JOUY, Madame (1744-1824): Born Anne-Louise d’Hardancourt, she married when very young a much older man from whom she adopted her name Brillon de Jouy. Her widespread renown as harpsichordist and pianist concealed her condition as composer of songs and keyboard pieces. She kept and attended intellectual salons, especially musical ones and in particular baron de Bagge’s, where she most likely met Boccherini during the winter of 1767-68. Her first performance of Boccherini’s six keyboard and violin Sonatas Op. 5 and the fact that he dedicated the set to her have tied them together at least as far as Boccherini’s Parisian sojourn is concerned. It is worth highlighting that Madame Brillon’s heirs still keep in their private library and archive several of Boccherini’s scores.

Mark Shepheard suggest it is most likely that it was this lady who ordered the Boccherini portrait for a time attributed to Jean-Michel Liotard, where the composer appears holding some staved papers. (Dr. Gerhard Christmann’s Private Collection.)

More than ten years after Boccherini had left Paris, Madame Brillon met another great intellectual and politician as well as musician who had introduced innovative enhancements to the peculiar instrument known as glassharmonika. This was USA ambassador Benjamin Franklin (1706-1790), with whom Madame Brillon had a very especial relationship many have considered as an actual flirtation, in spite of the wide age span among them.


BRUNETTI, Gaetano (1744-1798): {BY GERMÁN LABRADOR} Composer, violinist of the Royal Chapel and master musician of the Príncipe de Asturias (heir to the crown), later to become Charles IV. Born in Fano (Italy) in 1744, Brunetti moved quite young to Madrid (Spain) with his family; at sixteen years of age he contended in 1760 to obtain a post in the Royal Chapel, and it is documented that in 1762 he was employed at the
service of Madrid’s theaters. After being a servant at the noble house of Alba, he finally enters the Royal Chapel on September, 1767. Three years later he is given a better position and his future as a composer is secured when accepted on December 9, 1770 to the service of the Príncipe de Asturias, with the title of "Musico del Quarto de Su Alteza para acompañarle en el ejercicio y uso del Violin" (Musician of His Highness Chamber to accompany him in exercising and use of the violin). From then on, Brunetti would never cease composing music for the Prince, both chamber and symphonic music, as can be seen through his violin and bass sonatas for his pupil, heir to the throne of Spain; among his wide production (76 such sonatas), at least 24 were written "espressamente per l’uso del Serenissimo Signore. Principe d’Asturias (è non altro)" (specifically for the use of the Most Serene Gentleman. Prince of Asturias [and nobody else]).

Additionally, Brunetti wrote at least 25 duos, 53 trios, 52 quartets, 66 quintets, 12 sextets, 41 symphonies and music for Las Parejas of Aranjuez, to be played by a wind instruments group. His vocal music is only for the stage (two "zarzuelas" various fragments for a comedy), and 6 scenas and arias dedicated to several members of the Madrilenean aristocracy. He also wrote abundantly for the noble house of Alba and less for the Benavente-Osunas.

Upon Charles III’s death in December of 1788, Brunetti was nominated chamber musician of Charles IV in March of the next year, with a significant salary increase. On August, 1796, after some other instrumentists were admitted to the royal service, he would be nominated Director of Music of the Royal Chamber, which implied a recognition of him above the rest of the instrumentists. Shortly after, on December 16, 1798, Brunetti dies in Colmenar de Oreja (some 26 miles south-east of Madrid), where his first wife, Saturnina de Soria, was born.

Gaetano Brunetti is probably the highest ranked musician of Charles IV court; he was until his death not only responsible for the musical life around the King (exception made of the Royal Chapel), but also his composer. Today, it is evident that Brunetti was, together with Luigi Boccherini, the most important composer of Spanish chamber music during the last third of the 1700s. Especially remarkable is his production of violin and bass sonatas, of which 76 are extant, as well as his two violas string quintets, of which 65 are extant. On the other hand, his high production of symphonies credit him as the most prolific composer at the time working in Spain.
The relationship between Brunetti and Boccherini has been presented as a rivalry since the works by Fétis and Picquot, although there does not seem to have existed any reason for such a competition. Boccherini was contracted to serve the Infant don Luis some months before Brunetti was nominated master violinist to Prince of Asturias. Also, Boccherini’s annual income was almost permanently higher than that of Brunetti, and upon don Luis’ death, King Charles III assigned the cellist, as future member of the Royal Chapel, 12,000 reales, a salary Brunetti would never reach as violinist of the same Institution.


Related Entries: Brunetti (Francisco), Charles IV, Castil-Blaze, Fétis, Parejas, Picquot, Royal Chapel.

BRUNETTI, Francisco (c.1766-?): {BY GERMÁN LABRADOR} Elder son of Charles IV’s violin teacher, Gaetano Brunetti. When still very young he traveled to Paris sponsored by the Prince of Asturias (heir), together with his brother Juan; he stayed there from February of 1782 until November of 1784 in order to enhance his training with Jean-Pierre Duport, virtuoso on the violoncello. Upon culminating his studies, Francisco produced himself before the Concert Spirituel on September 8, 1784, being introduced as a pupil of Duport, of whom he interpreted one sonata. Back from Paris he, since April 1785, was admitted as chamber musician of Prince of Asturias, future Charles IV, replacing Domingo Porreti, who had died early in 1784. Assuming Francisco was 16 years old when he left for Paris, his birth date would had been around 1766. Shortly after his return by July 1787, Francisco Brunetti is already covering a post of "violón" (cello) in the Royal Chapel especially created for him, a situation which would be further enhanced during the beginning of Charles IV kingdom, when on March 17, 1789, he was confirmed as "criado"
(servant) of the Royal Chamber, together with his father and Manuel Espinosa, doubling his salary.

His positions in Court will be the following during the next decades: member of the Royal Chapel and also of the Royal Chamber, as a servant ascribed to the King’s direct (and daily) service. Upon his father’s death by late 1798, Francisco’s influence over Charles IV’s musical life is notorious and increasing. In 1803, he is put in charge of the musical management of the Royal Chamber, introducing genres and authors up to then never known in the Palace circles, paying special attention to the violoncello, the instrument with which he was a virtuoso, according to contemporary testimonies.

He always supported himself serving the Spanish Court but was much better off with Charles IV than with his successor Ferdinand VII. While he enjoyed a privileged position until 1808, Brunetti declares he had to leave Madrid to settle in the southeastern city of Murcia, loosing all he had, because he could not serve an government of foreign occupiers (French). He would retrieve his post in June of 1814, once the Independence War was over, but as a consequence of one of the many political changes during Ferdinand’s rule, he would be suspended in November of 1823. In 1832, Francisco will be admitted again to the Royal Chapel, although he would never be as well off as when he had served Charles IV.

Some historians have considered Francisco Brunetti’s presence in Court as a possible hindrance for Luigi Boccherini’s professional promotion. The Luccan was granted since 1785 an annual salary of 12,000 reales (some 36,000 euros or more than 43,000 US Dollars), waiting for a cellist position to be available in the Royal Chapel, and as a matter of fact, no cello post was created or vacant between 1785 and 1804, the reason why Boccherini would have never been able to join the Chapel’s staff until one year before his death. As for the post created in 1787, the sheer truth is that there was a call for a competition examination to which only Francisco Brunetti agreed to. Nevertheless, Boccherini never ceased collecting his 12,000 reales until the very last month of his life, so Brunetti’s presence does not appear to have damaged Boccherini’s income. A different affair to be taken into consideration is the reported ousting of Boccherini from Charles IV’s environment which might be explained by the fact that there was only one cellist post among the musicians of the King, and this had been assigned to Francisco Brunetti upon his return from Paris.
Brunetti was virtuoso cellist who was possibly a pupil of Domingo Porreti, besides being tutored by Duport. Luigi Boccherini’s participation in his musical education must be discarded since they must not have met until 1776, when Boccherini left Madrid, because Francisco was still too young at that date. After the Independence War (1808-1814), Brunetti published in Paris two works with piano accompaniment and wrote a series of variations for cello and orchestra that are highly demanding. It is also likely that he was the first cello teacher of the Conservatorio de María Cristina, having written a tutorial for his instrument. Where and when he died is unknown.


**Related Entries:** Brunetti (Gaetano), Charles IV, *Concert Spirituel*, Duport (Jean-Pierre), Porreti (Domingo), Royal Chpel.

**BUIA, via (Lucca, Italy):** Centric street of Boccherini’s birth-town, stretching westward from Via Fillungo, one of Luccas’s principal ways.
The corner house between both streets, with its entrance on the right side of via Buia, first floor, was the Boccherinis’ dwelling when Luigi was born. On the Fillungo facade at first floor height, a plaque was nailed in 1905 showing a bas-relief profile of the Luccan composer and a long text (see it under the entry FILLUNGO).

References: Coli, R.: Luigi Boccherini, la vita e le opere (BIB); Martos, V. and Tortella, J.: "El rostro de Boccherini, espejo de un alma de artista" (BIB).

Related Entries: Fillungo, Lucca.

BUREAU D’ABONNEMENT MUSICAL, Le: This Parisian music printing and distributing firm was created in 1765 by the violinist Jean Baptiste Miroglio together with the Flemish painter Antoine de Peters. It was the first one to offer a rental service for all kinds of musical works by means of a monthly subscription rate. It was active until 1783.

In 1770, the Bureau published Boccherini’s Six Trios for two violins and cello (G. 125-130) as Op. 7, a piece who’s authenticity is not fully guaranteed, even though the simple fact of not being in Boccherini y Calonje’s Catalogue does not imply falseness. Le Bureau’s edition itself hints some doubt since it describes the set as:

\[\text{Sei conversazioni a tré per due violini e violoncello dedicati a gli amatori della musica del Sigr. Boccherini}\]

as if the publishers wanted to avoid stating its author. On his side, François Fétis opinion was that they were works by Luigi Marescalchi, opposing Louis Picquot’s view who thought they were authentic Boccherini works, Yves Gérard sharing this same belief.

Le Bureau notes down its Parisian address in this edition: "cour de l’Ancien Grand Cerf St Denis, rue des deux Portes", shared with Mr. Castaud, of Lyon.

The same 1770, Le Bureau released three Boccherinian Cello and Orchestra Concertos (G. 477, 479 and 480), and in 1771, yet another Cello Concerto (G. 481). Even though neither of the four Cello Concertos are registered in Boccherini y Calonje’s Catalogue, all of them seem to be authentic. Unlike the Trios G. 125-130, the cover of these Concerti editions declare the pieces have been "composto del Sigr (or Signor) Luigi Boccherini".
As for the address of Le Bureau, in the case of *Concerto* G. 480 is the same as the *Trios*, but for the other three Concerti it is "rue du Hazard Richelieu". In all cases Castaud, of Lyon, is credited as coeditor.


**Burney, Charles** (1726-1814): Born in the English town of Shrewsbury, initiated his musical studies very early, having Thomas Arne (1710-1778) as one of his masters. He specialised in keyboard instruments (organ and harpsichord) reaching the post of organist in Lynn (Norfolk, UK) in 1751.

He soon nurtured the idea of compiling a comprehensive history of music. Towards this goal, in 1770, Burney decided to travel through Europe collecting data not available in England. He mainly visited Geneva and Paris and several cities in the Italian peninsula, including Milan, Padua, Bologna, Rome, Venice and Naples, publishing next year his *The Present State of Music in France and Italy*. Two years later the title would be *The Present State of Music in Germany, the Netherlands and United Provinces* where he compiled his observations.

By 1776, Burney issued a first release of his *A General History of Music, from the Earliest Ages to the Present Period*, which would be enlarged in successive years. We can read the following:

*BOCCHERINI, who is still living at Madrid [1789], and whose instrument is the violoncello, though he writes but little at present, has perhaps supplied the performers on bowed-instruments and lovers of Music with more excellent compositions than any master of the present age, except Haydn. His style is at once bold, masterly, and elegant. There are movements in his works, of every style, and in the true genius of the instruments for which he writes, that place him high in rank among the greatest masters who have ever written for the violin or violoncello. There is perhaps no instrumental Music more ingenious, elegant, and pleasing, than his quintets: in which invention, grace, modulation, and good taste, conspire to render them, when well executed, a treat for the most refined hearers and critical judges of musical composition.*
Burneys musical production includes harpsichord sonatas, piano and string sonatas, pieces for flute, some keyboard concertos and concert pieces for organ, six violin concertos, anthems and other voice pieces.

One literary piece which deserves attention is the correspondence maintained between Burney and Thomas Twining, in particular their 1783 views about Haydn and Boccherini, as selected by Elisabeth Le Guin:

**Twining:** Haydn and Boccherini, spoil me for all other fiddle music. Haydn, I think, is much oftener charming than Boccherini. Yet when Boccherini is at his best, there is a force of serious expression, a pathos, that is not so much Haydn's fort, I think. I never see a smile upon Boccherini's face; he is all earnestness, and Tragedy.

**Burney:** I love Boccherini, as I have told you before very - very much, but I think I shall live to make you eat your words about his pathetic being superior to Haydn's, whose fort you say is not pathos. I will undertake to prove, however, when we meet, that you have not seen his merit in adagio and Cantabile movements, for want of reading more of his music...

Reynolds painted Burney’s portrait in 1781 (see illustration below).

![Charles Burney, in 1781](image)

**Charles Burney, in 1781**
(by Sir Joshua Reynolds, Period Engraving Print)


**Related Entries:** Haydn.
**CADALSO DE LOS VIDRIOS (Spain):** A village located on top of a hill over 32 miles west-south-west of Madrid, where don Luis de Borbón sojourned for a time while he was looking for an stable place to live after his morganatic marriage with Maria Teresa Vallabriga. His eldest son, Luis, was born in Cadalso de los Vidrios on May 22, 1777. This boy was to become cardinal and archbishop of Toledo, the highest ecclesiastical rank in Spain.

While in Cadalso, the Infant dwelled in a palace owned by marquis de Villena. It was a wide two story building erected during the 16th century and especially refurbished by architect Ventura Rodríguez to welcome don Luis and his Court. The palace is still well preserved on private hands although a part of the surrounding land was yielded to the Community in order to face municipal taxes. The yielded area has become a public park.

Don Luis’ sojourn in Cadalso de los Vidrios was gravely altered by a quarrel between one of his beaters and some local civilians who threw stones to the palace. The incident ended up in a severe and disproportionate repression against Cadalso’s civilians and don Luis headed for another place to stay. It is quite feasible that Boccherini were a witness of it all.

**References:** Tejero Robledo, E.: *Arenas de San Pedro y el valle del Tiétar*... (BIB); Tortella, J.: *Boccherini, un musician italiano in the España ilustrada* (BIB).
**CAMBINI, Giuseppe** (1746-1825): Born in Livorno, he was a pupil of Giovanni Battista Martini (1706-1784), with whom he was educated as a violinist and composer. During the year 1766, he was part of the so called *Tuscany Quartet* playing the viola with violinists Filippo Manfredi and Pietro Nardini, and with Boccherini playing the cello. But this group did not last much time after having toured Genoa, Livorno, Milan and other northwest areas of Italy.

Cambini became a priest and soon traveled to Paris, where he arrived in 1770 to live there for the rest of his life. In the French capital he soon succeeded both as interpreter, composer, and orchestra conductor, partly thanks to his joining Masonic circles, like the so-called *Loge Olympique*, but his fortune would later decline to almost oblivion.

His works include operas, oratories, hymns and sacred music, as well as symphonies (especially *symphonies conertantes*), quintets and quartets. According to François Fétis, Cambini vaunted to have written several pieces (quintets, in particular) in a Boccherinian style which he would have sold as authentic Boccherinis at a lower price.

In 1803, Cambini released a violin tutor which would become quite famous.
CAMPO, Francisco del: During don Luis’ stay in Arenas de San Pedro, Francisco del Campo was "La Señora''s (My Lady's) secretary, that is the chamber valet of Maria Teresa Vallabriga, espouse of the Infant. Del Campo earned 22,000 reales per year, the highest salary of all 35 "La Señora''s servants. (1 real would be 3 euros or 3.6 US dollars.)

During the later part of the Arenas sojourn, there was intense gossip about Francisco del Campo being Vallabriga's lover. This was underpinned by her intent to promote Del Campo and yield him personal privileges, especially since 1781, but Miguel de Aristia, don Luis’ secretary and head of the palace service, always turned them down. The rarefied situation came to be known in Madrid and Aristia was summoned to Court several times to inform about the controversy. At the end, del Campo was removed from his service and forced to return to Madrid.

Acquaintance between Francisco del Campo and Boccherini must have been intense because several notarized deeds signed by members of the Boccherini family have del Campo as executor of their wills, even many years after the Infant’s death. It is surprising, for instance, that Boccherini’s second wife, Maria Pilar Joaquina Porreti, who had not been in Arenas de San Pedro, would nominate del Campo among her executors in her will signed on November 16, 1789.

Most historians and art experts think the person Goya portrayed in his painting La Familia del Infante don Luis (Infant Don Luis’ family) looking leftwards from the observer position, third from the right, is Boccherini, but some instead think this individual is Francisco del Campo. A minority think del Campo is the smiling fellow one before last from the right. (See illustration to the entry GOYA.)
Related Entries: Arenas de San Pedro, Aristia, Bourbon (Luis), Currency, Goya, Porreti (Maria Pilar Joaquina), Vallabriga.

CANSECO, Manuelle: On December 15, 1796, Boccherini writes to Pleyel to let him know the contents of a notarized certificate (translated from Spanish), dated the day before, by which he yields him full ownership over a set of works, and stressing his commitment not to release or sell them to anyone else in France and its colonies. This certificate is signed before Boccherini’s customary notary, don Antonio Martinez Llorente, and has two witnesses: Giuseppe Nerini and Manuelle Canseco. This last individual will be mentioned in a future document accompanying a letter dated July 17, 1797 with his first name in Spanish, Manuel. In this same letter, Boccherini stated Canseco is a king’s treasury officer.

The document mentioned in this letter where Canseco’s first name has been spaniolized, is a translated deed also signed before Martinez Llorente, sent by Boccherini to Pleyel through M. Drovillet (this person is mentioned with varied spellings throughout the Boccherini-Pleyel correspondence), in order to guarantee the pieces he had sold to "M. Boulogne" through don Lorenzo Vignola, around 1790, were not meant to be edited, but were only for private use. Again Giuseppe Nerini and Manuel Canseco appear as testimonies.

References: Letters LB: Madrid, December 15, 1796 - Madrid, July 17, 1797; Croce, L. della: *Il divino Boccherini* (Epistolary) (BIB); Rothschild, G. de: *Luigi Boccherini...* (BIB); Saint-Foix, G. de: "La correspondance de Boccherini avec I. Pleyel" (BIB).


CANTATA: Vocal piece with instrumental accompaniment which can imbed different kinds of parts, like arias or recitatives with a limited number of voices or choral themes. It was very popular from the baroque period through classicism, lasting even today. The story narrated in a cantata could be religious (sacred cantata) or secular (profane cantata), or even have some social content, such as the masonic cantatas.

Boccherini did not frequent this kind of genre, only approaching it in two occasions. First when he was very young, in 1765, responding to a request by the Commune di Lucca (Lucca’s local Government) for the *Feste delle Tasche* (Balloting
Feast, see the entry Tasche). On a text by Pier Angelo Trenta inspired in Tito Livio, Boccherini wrote La conferdazione dei Sabini con Roma (G. 543), for solo voices, chorus and orchestra. Boccherini would use its overture in various ways: as Symphony (G. 490), as Overture for the oratorio Il Giuseppe riconosciuto (G. 538) and as Overture for Piccinni’s La buona figliola (G. 527).

The second and last of Boccherini’s Cantatas is lost and we only know about it from Boccherini y Calonje’s and Baillot’s Catalogues: Cantata al Santo natale di Nostro Signor Jesucristo a quattro voci abbligati, coro e strumenti, dedicata all’ Imperatore di Russia, Op. 63 (G. 535), of 1802. Picquot also mentioned this cantata lamenting his failure to find it and stating it "belonged to late Mr. Porro’s library" (p. 125). This Mr. Porro (1750-1831) was a composer and publisher.

References: Bonaventura, A.: "Una cantata inedita di Luigi Boccherini" (BIB); Gérard, Y.: Thematic, Bibliographical and Critical Catalogue of the Works of Luigi Boccherini (BIB); Picquot, L.: Notice sur la vie et les ouvrages de Luigi Boccherini... (BIB).

Related Entries: Baillot, Boccherini y Calonje, Catalogue, Oratorio, Symphony, Tasche.

Caños del Peral, theater of Los (Madrid, Spain): This was a theatre, not extant anymore, erected close to today’s Teatro Real (Royal Theater), but far enough not to be considered as its antecedent.

The Caños del Peral Theater was built during the 1730s on top of an old public lavatory dating from Arab-medieval period which is quite close to the Royal Palace. It collected underground water flows which still flow under present Isabel II Square (before known as Plaza de la Biblioteca, or Library Square).

Besides its normal use, the wide space of the lavatories was utilized by comedians, rope dancers, acrobats and puppet-players to perform their shows. Military troops would take "wild" baths there after some tiring operations. All these activities annoyed the upper social class linked to or visiting the Alcázar (antecedent of today’s Palacio Real or Royal Palace).

After some disputes between the Court and Madrid’s Municipality, a compromise solution was adopted: to build an actual theater which would be known as Teatro de los Caños del Peral, from the old name of the lavatories.
Even though this new theater was comparatively small and of mediocre quality, Madrid had since 1738 a so to say popular stage, outside of the regular Courts theatrical venues such as the one called del Buen Retiro (within the Royal Gardens of El Retiro). Additionally, Los Caños del Peral would rather present plays and comedies more to the common persons taste, and would stage more popular music programs, exempt of the rigid norms the Court used to require.

In 1769, Boccherini had finished a singular piece among his production (G. 491), transcribed by his great grandson as:

**OPERA 7ª.- Concerto grande á più stromenti obbligati, composto in Madrid per le Academie che si fecero nell' teatro chimiato de los Caños del Peral.- Stampata á Parigi á Venier.**

[OPERA 7ª.- Grand Concerto for many obbligati instruments, composed in Madrid for the Academies performed in the theater called of los Caños del Peral.- Printed in Paris by Venier.]

There is no evidence of any further link between the composer and this theater of Los Caños del Peral, except that his brother Giovanni Gastone appears to have been employed in this theater during the 1790s.

**References:** Cotarelo y Mori, E.: _Orígenes y establecimiento de la ópera en España hasta 1800_ (BIB); Fernández Muñoz, Ángel Luis: _Arquitectura teatral en Madrid. Del Corral de las Comedias al Cinematógrafo_, Ayuntamiento de Madrid, Editorial El Avapiés, 1988; González, Juan Francisco: _Madrid
CAPITAL DEED: A notarial document formally similar to the dowry letter (see this entry), customarily signed by the spouse to her husband’s favor after the wedding when he has children from a previous matrimony. This deed intends to recognize the goods owned by him at the time the matrimony is sanctioned, in order to avoid future inheritance controversy.

Maria Pilar Joaquina Porreti, Boccherini’s second wife, signed such a deed in favor of her husband at the office of their customary notary D. Antonio Martinez Llorente, on April 26, 1787, that is nine days after the wedding (the deed itself registers that the ceremony took place on April 18, although the dowry letter signed by Boccherini in favor of Porreti two years later would register the wedding date as the 17th, not the 18th).

The preamble of the deed which comes before the actual inventory of goods, specifies that half of Boccherinis’ patrimony belongs to his six living offspring (Joaquina, Luis Marcos, Josef Mariano, Maria Teresa, Mariana e Isabel), since it had been accumulated during the matrimony with his former defunct wife, Clementina Pelliccia.

The list of Boccherini’s goods is valued in reales and takes 14 pages. The total value sums up to 74,972 reales, half were his and half belonged to his children. (This amount would equal some 224,900 euros or 270,000 US dollars.)

The inventory sections is divided according to the kind of goods listed: dresses, curtains and furniture, wood furniture, kitchen equipment and copper cutlery, bed clothes, table and white clothes, jewels, and money in cash. Also there are some sums owed to Boccherini by "Dn. Rafael Monreal" (Teresa Porretis’s husband, brother in law of Maria Pilar Joaquina), and by "Señora Duquesa Condesa de Benavente Marquesa de Peñafiel" (Benavente-Osuna), this last stated in the following terms:

\[ \text{Item Diez Mesadas que le debe al dicho mi Marido la Esclentissima Señora Duquesa Condesa de Benavente Marquesa de Peñafiel que Importtan Diezmil Reales de Vellon //10@000.//} \]
[Item Ten Monthly payments owed to the mentioned my Husband by her Most Excellent Lady Duchess Countess of Benavente Marquise of Peñafiel Amounting to Ten thousand Copper Reales //10@000..//]

Item of the Capital Deed consented by J. M. Porreti in favor of Boccherini stating the Earl-Marquise of Benavente owed Boccherini 10 months salary (AHPM: Prot. 20.908, p. 107 rev., April 26, 1787)

In the jewels section ("Alajas [sic]"), there is a Stainer cello (spelled "Estainer"), a "violonchelo chico" (maybe a cello piccolo?) and a violin, as well as

\[
\text{una Caja de oro grande, esmaltada con una miniatura que representa a Julio Cesar y guarnecida con treinta y seis Brillanttes, tasada por Dn. Pedro Gonzalez Moro en seis mil reales de vellon}
\]

[a big gold Box, enamelled with a miniature representing Julio Caesar and decorated with thirty and six Jewels, priced by Dn. Pedro Gonzalez Moro in six thousand copper reales]

This box could very well be the present sent to him, in 1783, by the Prussian prince, Friedrich Wilhelm, who would reign after his uncles death, Friedrich the Great, to thank him for the Op. 33 String Quartets. Friedrich Wilhelm II would take Boccherini into his service in 1786.

It is also worth mentioning that among the wood furniture we find "una Arquetta para papeles con muchos secretos" (an small chest for papers with many secrets), possibly where Boccherini filed his documents. Most 20th-century biographers have said, after the Baroness de Rothschild, that this small chest was owned by Boccherini’s descendants but that it was lost or burned during the Spanish Civil War (1936-39). This statement is false (see the entry GENEALOGY).

As any other deed, this one had its witnesses. In this case among them we find Don Francisco del Campo, secretary in Arenas de San Pedro of Maria Teresa Vallabriga, spouse (a widow at the time this deed was signed) of the Infant don Luis.
Both wife and husband (Porreti and Boccherini) sign this capital deed.


Related Entries: Arenas de San Pedro, Bourbon (Luis), Campo (Francisco), Violoncello piccolo, Genealogy, Martínez Llorente, Porreti (Maria Pilar Joaquina), Stainer, Vallabriga.

CAPOTASTO: See THUMB position.

CAPRICHIO, el: This is the name Earl-Dukes of Benavente-Osuna gave to the medium size palace they started to build in 1787 as a second residence. It was seated in 14 hectares they acquired from Earl of Barajas, located some miles northeast from Madrid. This area, now known as "Alameda de Osuna" is close to present day Madrid-Barajas airport.

Surrounding the palace, beautiful Italian, English and French style gardens were created with many decorative elements known as “caprichos” (caprices, from which the place took its name). Among those "caprichos", we can still see a bee-hive to watch how bees behave, a false-old hermitage, a dancing ring, a wide lake designed to hold fluvial parties, a Chinese style shore, a rural lodge, numerous fountains, a labyrinth, parterres, ponds..., etc.

References: Yebes, condesa de: La condesa-duquesa de Benavente... (BIB).

Related Entries: Benavente-Osuna, Madrid.

CARMIRELLI, Pina (1914-1993): Violinist and musicologist from Piamonte (Italy). She was first violin of I Musici, international soloist and founder of the Quintetto Boccherini (1951). She was a teacher at the Roman Conservatory and at the Accademia di Santa Cecilia, also in Rome.

Her work on Boccherini was intense. She unveiled a great number of his works and between 1970 and 1985 she headed a project to publish Boccherini’s "opera omnia" together with the Istituto Italiano per la Storia della Musica di Roma. Regrettably, the project never concluded, but it was no doubt a great impulse to general knowledge of Boccherini’s works, especially his quintets. 10 volumes were edited with the first 60 string
quintets with two cellos, corresponding to opus numbers: 10, 11, 13, 18, 20, 25, 27, 28, 29 y 30, classified in Yves Gérard’s Catalogue as G. 265 to G. 324. (See the entry PAĪS for a further "opera omnia" project.)

When she died in Rome in 1993, Carmirelli owned an immense Boccherinian musical archive, today lost or dispersed.

References: Carmirelli, P. (ed.): Le opere complete di Luigi Boccherini (BIB).

Related Entries: Opera Omnia, Quintet.

CARTA DE DOTE: See DOWRY LETTER.

CARTIER, Jean-Baptiste (1765-1841): Prestigious French violinist, pupil of Giovanni Battista Viotti, much inclined towards baroque style of interpretation and composition. His L’Art du Violon (1798), included numerous sonatas and concertos for violin of that period with the edition of Tartini’s famous sonata known as Il Trino del Diablo (Devil’s trill) deserving special mention. Cartier was assistant conductor of the Orchestra of the Opera de Paris between 1791 and 1821.

According to Picquot (p. 22 or p. 71 in Saint-Foix’s edition), Cartier owned a miniature portrait of Boccherini taken as a model for an engraving. The prints made from this engraving circulated abundantly through France in part because it was used in the front page of Janet et Cotelle’s collection of Quintets.
Cartier can also be linked to another Boccherini engraving, that of Jacques-Féréol Mazas, about which he cast serious doubts because he stated that the bust Mazas took as a model was not of Boccherini but of Haydn (see the entry Mazas).

There also exists a presumptive testimony by Cartier stating that he had met Boccherini in Avignon, although the way Picquot refers to it (p. 23 or p. 73, in Saint-Foix’s edition), rises all kinds of doubts:

_Cartier prétendait avoir connu Boccherini, vers 1779, à Avignon où ce dernier serait allé visiter une de ses nièces mariée au violoniste Fischer._

[Cartier vaunted he had met Boccherini, around 1779, in Avignon where the former would have traveled to visit one of his nieces married to violinist Fischer.] since in 1779 Boccherini was dwelling in Arenas and there is no evidence he had any niece. The sole name of "Boccherini", without a first name, might also allude to Giovanni Gastone.

References: Mangani, M.: _Luigi Boccherini_ (BIB); Picquot, L.: _Notice sur la vie et les ouvrages de Luigi Boccherini..._ (BIB); Saint-Foix, G. de: _Boccherini, notes et documents nouveaux_ (BIB).

Related Entries: Boccherini (Giovanni Gastone), Janet et Cotelle, Mazas, Saint-Foix, Picquot, Viotti.

**CASA DEL DIAVOLO, La (The Devils’ House, D Minor Symphony Op. 12, No. 4, G. 506):** See GLUCK.

**CASANOVA, Giacomo** (1725-1798): Born in Venice, he traveled all over Europe, especially France, gaining the reputation of being an adventurer, libertine, intriguer, gambler and don Juan. This negative image has concealed his intellectual merits as a writer, critic of arts, philosopher and even politician. His keen chronicles, his sense of humor, the beauty of his language and his acute capacity to observe human behavior, underpinned by the complicity of the freemason community, made of him an extraordinarily valuable witness who’s information and analysis became actual reliable documents. Many persons, places and facts he had contact with are better known through his writings than through any other source.

Casanova died in Bohemia, charitably sheltered by his friend the earl Waldstein, who offered him the post of private archivist and librarian, allowing him to face the last
segment of his existence with dignity and, above all, giving him the chance to complete his main work, *Mémoires*, a meticulous account written in French about his life. Hundreds of pages procuring the reader an immense pleasure, rejoicing and interest.

Casanova visited Spain in 1768 for almost a year and met Boccherini though he never mentions his name. This was first in Aranjuez when encountering sisters Pelliccia, Teresa and Clementina.

Commenting on an opera of which he was required to write the libretto, he says about the two Roman singers:

*Composing the opera had brought me to get acquaintance with the actresses. The first was a Roman called Pelliccia [Teresa], neither pretty nor ugly, slightly cross-eyed and with a mediocre talent. She had a younger sister really good-looking, not to say beautiful [Clementina]. In spite of this difference nobody was interested in the younger one while the older one was beloved by anyone who would talk to her.*

Later in the year, Casanova met again with sisters Pelliccia and with Boccherini, this time in Valencia:

*We were having supper with her [Teresa Pelliccia], her husband, her sister [Clementina], and a celebrated first violonist who married the former some time later, (···)*
Casanova uses the French term "violoniste", obviously a violoncellist, that is, Boccherini.

Casanova knew the Infant don Luis as well. He describes him in terms both comic and accurate. Also his pages lodge other important personages such as painter Mengs, attorney Campomanes or polifacetic Olavide.


Related Entries: Aranjuez, Arcos, Madrid, Manfredi, Pelliccia (Maria Teresa, Clementina), Valencia.

CASSADÓ, Gaspar (1897-1966): Cellist and composer born in Barcelona (Spain). He started his studies with his father, but when he was 12 or 13 years old he went to Paris to receive lessons from de Pau Casals (1876-1973), starting his performing career ten years later. His prestige allowed him to share performances with highly appreciated interpreters such as Arthur Rubinstein (1886-1982) or Yehudi Menuhin (1916-1999).

Gaspar Cassadó with pianist Alicia de Larrocha

As a composer he was clearly influenced by musical impressionism in fashion during the first third of 20th century. His main works are a D minor Cello Concerto, various string quartets, several cello and piano pieces and, above all, the cello work called Requiebros (Flatteries could be a close English translation).
After his death in Madrid, his widow gave way to a legend linked to Boccherini, reported by Professor Gérard who was not much convinced, in the first pages of his Catalogue of the works by the Luccan composer (maybe this is why he presented the story as a quotation).

Briefly, the account stated that Boccherini had owned a Stradivarius cello he had to sell due to his precarious condition after the Infant don Luis’ death (1785), a condition which is no more than just another legend already discarded and lacking any entity.

In any case, that regular size instrument, known as "The Boccherini", built in the early 1700s, vanished until late 19th century, when the duke of Hernani inherited it from his uncle the Infant don Sebastián of Bourbon. Then the instrument disappeared again during the Spanish Civil War (1936-39).

Once the war was over, the composer Juan Quintero (1903-1980) acquired "The Boccherini" in an action, and finding it was rather deteriorated, he offered it to Cassadó who sent it to the renown luthier Etienne Vatelot for repair. From then on Cassadó kept it and used it in his concerts.

This story could be true except what concerns Boccherini and his never materialized ownership of the instrument. In 1787, the Luccan declared before a Madrid notary that he owned an Stainer cello and a "chico" (small) cello (see the entry CAPITAL DEED), so it is more likely that he would have preferred Stainer sonority rather than Stradivarius’, which brings us to the conclusion this is yet another of the many legends built up around Boccherini.


Related Entries: Bourbon (Luis), Capital Deed, Stainer, Violoncello.

CASTANETS: Instrument producing its sound by clashing its two halves, two shell shaped pieces of wood, metal or ivory. The clash is made on the concave side.

The interpreter’s hand holds the instrument by means of a ribbon or a string around the thumb. The rest of the four fingers are free to hit the convex part of the instrument so that it will clash against the piece, held against the palm of the hand.
Customarily, the interpreter uses both hands each with a pair of castanets, one producing a bass pitch (male) and the other a higher pitch (female). Its use was normal for dances during the 18th century, although the origins of this instrument are very remote.

![A pair of castanets](image)

The relationship of Boccherini with castanets is complex and presents multiple doubts. It has given way to abundant controversies linked to one of his Guitar and String Quintets, scored responding to the marquis of Benavent’s request: the so called Quinteto del Fandango (Fandango Quintet), in D Major, G. 448.

As with the rest of the original scores of the Guitar Quintets, the Fandango’s original partition is lost. Only a copy exists by the French guitarist and composer François de Fossa, a marquis of Benavent’s friend. He had just the time to copy seven of those quintets before fleeing to France due to the outbreak of the Spanish Independence War (1808-1814). Those copies are today archived at the Library of Congress in the United States of América.

In the case of the Fandango Quintet, the cello part has some silent measures where a written indication might suggest the use of castanets.

All chroniclers had read this indication as if the word written was castagnetes, with this neither Spanish nor French peculiar spelling. According to this presumptive indication for silent cello measures, castanets should accompany the rest of the four string instruments. Nevertheless, the word actually written is not castagnetes but castagneteo, as has been pointed out very recently. It is plausible to think that the error would be the consequence of not knowing the Spanish language (although the typical Spanish letter ñ had been replaced by gn). Obviously castagnetes is an instrument while castagneteo
means the action and effect of "castañetear" (rattling), that is, producing a sound which can be obtained by means of castanets, but also by other means such as clicking of fingers, hitting the cello’s body with the fingernails or the fist, or hitting the strings with the bow, etc.

In any case, castanets are perfectly adapted to the action and effect of castagneteo and it is perfectly legitimate and accurate to use castanets in the last movement of the *Fandango Quintet*. Accurate and legitimate among other reasons because doctrine emanated from the Academia de Baile Teatral, Música y Gesticulación (Dance, Theater, Music and Gesticulation Academy), created during the transition years between 18th and 19th centuries, stated that all dances should be accompanied by castanets. This is why, for the first time, the interpretation of Boccherini’s *Guitar Quintets* by the string group Formació de Cambra Almodis, with Ludovica Mosca playing the castanets, has included some movements, besides the *Fandango*, with this accompaniment: the *Polacca*. Tempo di Minuetto of the E Major *Quintet*, G 446, and the Allegro con vivacità of the G Major *Quintet*, G. 450, for example. (See DISCOGRAPHY.)


**Related Entries**: Benavent, Guitar, Fossa, Library of Congress, Quintet.

**CASTAUD, Jean Antoine**: French music editor who settled in Lyon in 1762, at Place de la Comédie (Comedy Square). He probably had commercial relationships with some Parisian partners who’s editions addressed their clients to Castaud. This suggests that his activities included distributing publications on behalf of different colleagues.

Related to Boccherini, Castaud appears mentioned in the following Venier editions:

- *String Trios* (two violins and cello, Op. 4, (G. 83-88) of 1768;
- *String Quartets* Op. 8 (G. 165-170) of 1769;
Also in La Chevardière’s:

*String Quartets* Op. 18 (G. 283-288) of 1775.

And finally in Le Bureau d’Abonnement Musical’s:

*String Trios* (two violins and cello (G. 125-130) of 1770; *Cello Conciertos* (G. 477, 479, 480 and 481) of 1770 and 1771.


**Related Entries**: Bureau d’Abonnement Musical, Chevardière, Concerto, Quartet, Trio, Venier.

**CATALOGUE**: The most complete and documented list available today of the works by Boccherini is the one compiled by professor Yves Gérard and published in 1969. The basis on which this list was built were of two different kinds: one, the catalogues published by Louis Picquot in 1851 and Alfredo Boccherini y Calonje, in 1879, and the other professor Gérard’s own research. But more than 35 years have elapsed since 1969 so obviously his catalogue requires today a deep reviewing and also the addition of a significant amount of works discovered since then. This reviewing has been initiated in early 2006, conducted by professor Gérard himself according to a contract signed with the *Centro Studi Luigi Boccherini*. Additional contracts are foreseen with the *Asociación Luigi Boccherini*, and maybe with some French and British institutions.

All other catalogues of Boccherini’s works are not as complete as Gérard’s, or they were not intended to be fully comprehensive, thoroughly documented or accurately dated (they all show important lacunae, either declared or simply visible).

Picquot’s catalogue is the work of a "collector" who was able to find an important amount of Boccherinian scores and to "hear" about many others he never could "see" but just have some hints or leads. He divided his catalogue in two parts, depending whether the works had been published or had remained unedited. First part contains two series, one with the editor’s opus number, and the other without it, sometimes including the date and some personal remark. Second part intends to be chronological according to the date of composition and includes movement incipits and also some personal remarks.
Referring to the dated list by Boccherini y Calonje, although he declared it was a transcription of the autograph catalogue kept by the composer himself, it contains several contradictions which deny such an statement. Furthermore, it is not a full list (only 348 pieces) since the very first page shows a note, taken probably from the composer himself, pointing out this condition:

NOTA. Non s'includono le vocali, ne i concerti e sonate a solo che l'autore ha scritto per differenti strumenti, particolarmente per il violoncello.- Rinnovato l'anno 1797

[NOTE. Vocal (works), concertos and solo sonatas written by the author for different instruments, particularly for the violoncello, are not included.- Renewed the year 1797]

This "NOTA" is scarcely explicit. First because it does not specify the reason why those works are not included; second because of this annotation "Rinnovato l'anno 1797", does not indicate in what and under which criteria the catalogue was renewed. What was missing in the catalogue prior to 1797, or what was amended? We must take into account that Boccherini initiated his commercial relationship with his editor Ignaz Pleyel by late 1796, which could hint those contacts could have had something to do with the mentioned catalogue "renewal".
This dated list does not include incipits but specifies the works destinations (or some of the destinations), be it private buyers, editors or to whom it was dedicated. Nevertheless, some of the mentioned names were post-mortem editors, which proves Boccherini y Calonje’s cannot be an exact transcription of Boccherini’s manuscript.

The catalogue kept by violinist Pierre Baillot and his descendants, today under custody in the Bibliothèque Nationale (Paris, France) filed as Vma. 1074 R.74707, also containing 348 pieces, is similar to that of Boccherini y Calonje’s, but unlike this one, it includes the incipits of the registered works.

Finally, there exists a series of segment "catalogues" written by Boccherini himself for different purposes. They are the following:

1 - A list of 56 works (with incipits), in 4 pentagram pages, with the heading phrase: "Nota delle opere non date ancora a Nessuno" (Note of the works never yielded to Anyone), signed by "Boccherini", without flourish (as usual), and the words "mano propria" (own hand) under the signature. The works are grouped according to specified years, without opus number, from 1792 until 1795, so the segmental condition of the list is made explicit. Before the signature a N.B. reads: "queste due opere saranno complete al fine del presente Anno" (these two works will be completed by the end of this year), related to the last Trio and the last Quartet of 1796, the incipits of which are obviously lacking. This catalogue is kept today in the Biblioteca Nacional of Madrid (Spain), filed as: MC 4619/22;

2 - A list Boccherini heads by the phrase: "Catalogo delle opere da me Luigi Boccherini cedute in tutta proprietà al sig. Ignazio Pleyel" (Catalogue of the works by me Luigi Boccherini yielded in full propriety to Mr. Ignazio Pleyel), belonging to the Zweig collection of the British Library, in London (UK);

3 - A list of the musical pieces that Boccherini sent to Paris the year 1790 or 1791, today filed in Bibliotèque Nationale of Paris (France). From the letter Boccherini sent to Pleyel dated December 27, 1798, it could be inferred this list of 110 works corresponds to the ones Boccherini had sent or sold to the "malheureux Boulogne" (misadventured Boulogue), an individual who’s personality is still concealed by shadowy doubts. This list contains opus numbers and is an attached document to a sales operation before a notary;

4 - A list kept in the Pierpont Morgan Library of New York. It contains opus numbers and is also attached to a commercial transaction through a notary’s office.
CASTIL-BLAZE, François Henri Joseph (1784-1857): Born in Cavaillon (southeast of Avignon, France), he settled in Paris where he became a music chronicler collaborating with the *Journal des Débats*, the *Revue de Paris* and with François Fétis’ *Revue Musicale*.

Castil-Blaze reached celebrity in the Boccherinian realm through a slightly reliable anecdote ever since repeated in all biographies. This anecdote is to be found in Castil-Blaze’s "Biographie de Boucher", published in the *Revue de Paris*, in May, 1845. According to it, Boccherini visited the future Charles IV in the Royal Palace to present him one of his most recent quintets. The Prince decided he would interpret himself the part of the first violin who’s initial measures were very simple and monotonous as if it were a sheer harmonic accompaniment, only repeating notes B and C. The Prince did not take long to explode in anger seeing himself just playing two notes and said the work was abominable, only acceptable from a beginner. Then Boccherini highlighted the role of the second violin and of the rest of the instruments, while the first violin, in this initial measures, acted as a mere background. The future king, who was extremely choleric in his youth, infuriated, censured the piece again. To this Boccherini responded that before casting an opinion it was necessary to know about music. Charles felt himself insulted and full of anger fired Boccherini out and gave instructions no to admit him ever again in the Palace and never to pronounce his name before him.

This account, real or imaginary, has been repeated in almost all biographical works about the Luccan composer.


Related Entries: Boucher, Charles IV.
CENTRO STUDI LUIGI BOCCHERINI (Lucca, Italy): A non profit private cultural association created on November 22, 2005 under the auspices of, and initially financed by, the Comitato Nazionale Luigi Boccherini.

Logotype of the Centro Studi Luigi Boccherini (Lucca, Italy)

The essence of its objectives is contained Article 2-a of its Statutes:

promuovere ogni tipo di ricerche su Luigi Boccherini e sul suo milieu cittadino, sulla musica del suo tempo (…)  

[promote any kind of research on Luigi Boccherini and his citizenship environment, on the music of his time (…)]

The Centro Studi Luigi Boccherini address is: Casermetta San Colombano - Baluardo San Colombano No. 1, Mura Urbane, 55100 Lucca (Italy), its e-mail address is: centrostudi@luigiboccherini.it; and its contact telephone number: ++ 33 0583-49-18-99.


Related Entries: Comitato Nazionale Luigi Boccherini, Lucca.

CHAPEL (ROYAL): See ROYAL CHAPEL.

CHARLES III of Bourbon (de Borbón) (1716-1788): Elder son of Philip V (1683-1746) and his second wife Isabella of Farnesio (1692-1766). He reigned in Naples from 1734 as Charles VII and in 1759, after Ferdinand VI’s death, he assumed the throne of Spain as Charles III until his death.
He was scarcely inclined to any intellectual activity and rather hated music.

In the Easter of 1766 King Charles III had to face a rebellion burst all over the peninsula, caused by high prices and shortages of basic food products, due to previous liberalization measures. These uprisings are known as Motines de Esquilache (Esquilache Mutinies) because Esquilache or Schilachio was the name of an Italian marquis who held the crown’s ministry, that is the highest political office under the king. Repression included an inquiry performed during the rest of the year and part of 1767. Many rebels were arrested and some were executed, and also as a result of the inquiry the expatriation of all the Jesuits was decreed on the grounds of being considered the instigators of the uprising. The marquis of la Ensenada, a former minister of Ferdinand VI, seen as a close collaborator of the Compañía de Jesús (Jesuits) was sent to ostracism. From then on, Charles III rapidly evolved towards despotism, applying severe controls on the population especially in Madrid, where a curfew was imposed and a deep police and administrative reform was levied.

Boccherini reached Spain when the aftermath of the Motines de Esquilache was still perceptible. This was during the spring of 1768. He soon settled in the "Villa y Corte" of Madrid where he would listen to the curfew or retreat tune played by the military patrol at the end of the day, a tune he was able to transform into an extraordinary piece of music.
in the last movement of his two cellos String Quintet Opus 30 No. 6, in C Major (G. 324), subtitled La Musica Notturna delle Strade di Madrid [The Night Music of the Streets of Madrid] or the Ritirata di Madrid [Madrid’s Retreat].

Charles III influenced Boccherini’s life in two important instances. First, when he ousted from Court his brother, the Infant don Luis, on not very clear grounds after the Infant’s marriage, in 1766. Consequently, don Luis, his wife and his court ended up living in Arenas de San Pedro, including Boccherini and his family. This ostracism lasted more than eight years until the Infant’s death in 1785.

The second instance was just after don Luis’ passing, when Boccherini, already a widower with six very young offspring, sent a Petition, dated September 28, 1785, asking the king for a new job. The king’s response was positive but restrictive, since Boccherini was granted a 12,000 reales per year pension whereas with the Infant he had been earning 30,000. (1 real would equal 3 euros or 3.6 US dollars.) The king promised to assign him first available cello place at the Royal Chapel but he did not comply. When in 1787 the Chapel had a cello vacant, Boccherini did not obtain the promised place, but this was assigned to Gaetano Brunetti’s son, Francisco. Despite of this clear favoritism towards Brunetti, Boccherini would receive the 12,000 reales for the rest of his life.


Related Entries: Brunetti (Gaetano, Francisco), Currency, La Musica Notturna delle Strade di Madrid, Madrid, Petition, Quintet, Ritirata di Madrid, Royal Chapel.
CHARLES IV of Bourbon (de Borbón) (1748-1819): Revised by Germán Labrador

Second son of Charles III y Maria Amalia de Sajonia (of Saxony, 1724-1760), but first in the successor line since the eldest was mentally handicapped and actually declared "imbecile", so unable to inherit the throne.

Future Charles IV was born in Naples, a fact some historians have taken as the reason why the King Charles III would cast out his brother, the Infant don Luis as a possible rival to his son. The explanation put forth to justify such a cruel decision is grounded on future Charles IV being born outside strict peninsular territories so, according to the Ley Sálica (Salic Law) decreed by Philip V in 1713, he could not possibly inherit the throne. But the sheer truth is that this law does not even mention such a requirement to reign in Spain, so the reasons to outcast don Luis must have been different.

Charles IV reigned from his father’s death in December 1788, but was overthrown as the aftermath of the so called Motín de Aranjuez (Aranjuez Mutiny), headed by his own son and heir in 1808. He later tried to regain the throne just before the outbreak of the Independence War (1808-1814), when he and his son Ferdinand were summoned by Napoleon to a meeting in Bayone, but finally both resigned their royal rights.

Upon the French defeat in front of the Spanish guerrilla and regular troops, Ferdinand was crowned as Ferdinand VII and he never allowed his father to return to Spain. Charles IV died in Rome eleven years later.
Contrarily to his father, Charles IV was fond of music and played violin (although according to some chroniclers, his was rather mediocre). Both both while he was Crown Prince and after sitting on the throne, he kept an important collection of musical instruments and he liked to be escorted by an increasingly crowded musical chapel where Gaetano Brunetti was the leading member. Also as his son, Francisco Brunetti, received his unconditional support. Instead, he never showed any sympathy towards Boccherini or his music. This does not mean the undocumented legend built up by Castil-Blaze about Charles IV hating the Luccan merits any credit (see the entries Castil-Blaze and Boucher).


Related Entries: Brunetti (Gaetano, Francisco), Charles III, Castil-Blaze, Royal Chapel.

Chénier, Marie-Joseph (1764-1811): French poet and playwright. He was born in Constantinoply, where his father held a diplomatic post. He died in Paris.

Chénier was a republican opposed to Robespierre, although he was always accused of having some responsibility for his own brother André’s decapitation.

In spite of his support of the Napoleonic coup of 18 Brumario, Chénier later showed clear though not radical ideological differences with Bonaparte, who was ever more and more inclined towards personal power.

Chénier was elected member of the Convention from 1792 until 1802. He promoted culture, arts and intellectual activities in all environments. He was also a member of l’Académie Française since 1803.
Luigi Boccherini addressed Chénier one only letter, dated in Madrid, July 8, 1799, where, after some considerations on the essence of music, composers and interpreters, asks him (as "cittadino Rappresentante", or Representative Citizen) to look after his opus 57, to which he states has dedicated "5 mesi di lavoro" (5 months of work). On June 20, that is, three weeks before, Boccherini had sent to Pleyel his last letter.

**References**: Letter LB: Madrid, July 8, 1799; Croce, L. della: *Il divino Boccherini* (Epistolary) (BIB); Rothschild, G. de: *Luigi Boccherini...* (BIB); Saint-Foix, G. de: "La correspondance de Boccherini avec I. Pleyel" (BIB).

**Related Entries**: Letters, Pleyel.

**CHEVARDIÈRE, Louis-Balthazard de la** (1730-1812): Printer established in Paris since 1750, La Chevardière came from a noble house, son of a cavalry official. He maintained close links with high Parisian nobility, among which the baron of Bagge, protector of Boccherini during his short stay in the French capital.

In 1780, after more than thirty years in business, La Chevardière sold his editing company (or yielded it with differed payment) to his daughter, Elisabeth Eléonore and her husband, Jean-Pierre De Roullède, who were not able to keep it profitable. Consequently, Louis-Balthazard took it over again and finally sold it in 1784 to Pierre Le Duc.

La Chevardière printed numerous Boccherinian works, some possibly spurious or non authorized by the composer in the form the editor released them to the market, or simply of doubtful authenticity, as could be the case of the *Six Sonatas* for violin solo (and bass), G. 20, printed around 1775. These are no more than sheer transpositions from the
Six Sonatas for cello and bass (G. 13, 6, 5, 10, 1 and 4) released by Bremner in 1773. Another example would be the Six String Trios for two violins and cello G. 119-124, published in 1768 as Op. 3.

Chronologically, La Chevardière’s editions of Boccherini’s works are:

1769  : Six Duets for two violins, Op. 3, G. 56-61, as Op. 5;  
1773  : Six Trios for violin, viola and cello, Op. 14, G. 95-100;  
1775  : Six Sextets for flute and string quintet, Op. 16, G. 461-466, as Op. 15;  
1775?: Six Quintets for flute and string quartet, Op. 17, G. 419-424, as Op. 21;  
1775?: Six String Quintets with two cellos, Op. 18, G. 283-285, as Op. 17;  
1776?: Six Symphonies, Op. 12, G. 503-508, as Op. 16;  

In 1781, while the firm was in the hands of the De Roullède couple, the Six Sonatas in Trio for keyboard, violin and cello, G. 143-148 were published. These pieces are not included in Boccherini y Calonje’s Catalogue but its authenticity can hardly be disputed.


CHIESA, Ruggero (1933-1993): Italian guitarist and professor at the Milanese "Giuseppe Verdi" Conservatory since 1963. A legion of guitar interpreters and composers have attended Chiesa’s lectures and instruction. He founded in 1972 the guitar magazine Il Fronimo, still in the market.

In 1973, Chiesa reviewed and edited the Boccherinian Six Quintets for string quartet and guitar kept in the USA Library of Congress, G. 445-450, to be published by Suvini-Zerboni in Milan one year later.

References: Ophee, M.: Luigi Boccherini’s Guitar Quintets... (BIB).

Related Entries: Guitar, Library of Congress, Quintet.
CHORON, Alexandre Etienne (1771-1834): French philologist, musician and pedagogue, born in Caen and dead in Paris. He was director of the Académie Royale de Musique and also for a brief period of the Parisian Opera.

Choron founded in 1817 of the Institution royale de Musique classique et religieuse, and together with François Joseph Fayolle, edited the Dictionnaire historique des musiciens artistes et amateurs, morts ou vivans (Historical Dictionary of musicians artists and amateurs, dead or alive). In this Dictionary the entry "Boccherini" gave Picquot a token to praise the Luccan composer, in particular his Adagios.


Related entries: Fayolle, Fétis, Picquot.

CLEMENTINA (G. 540): "Zarzuela" (or musical comedy or Spanish-like operetta), in two acts comprising 21 numbers. The text was written by Ramón de la Cruz and the score by Luigi Boccherini. This zarzuela is the response to a request by the dowager duchess of Benavente, and Ramón de la Cruz and Boccherini had to write it in a short lapse of time in order to have it ready in the fall of 1786. The premiere took place in the salons of the Benavente-Osuna’s residence in Madrid. This is how de la Cruz describes the genesis and presentation of Clementina:

La Clementina, que ofrece el autor al público, sólo se representó a fines del año 1786 en el coliseo de la Excelentísima Señora Duquesa viuda de Benavente, de cuya orden la escribió en el corto término de un mes.

[La Clementina, offered to the public by the author, was only performed at the end of the year 1786 in the coliseum of the Excelentísima Madame the dowager Duchess of Benavente, by who’s request he wrote it in the short term of a month.]

and he adds:

No puede negar su autor cuánto le han lisonjeado estos aplausos respectivos y distintos de los que con más justicia mereció la música del señor Maestro Boccherini; pero no serán sus satisfacciones completas hasta ver el dictámen imparcial del público;
Its author cannot deny how he has felt flattered by the respective applause, and distinct from those more justly deserved by the music of Master Boccherini; but his satisfaction will not be complete until he sees the impartial judgment of the public;

The plot includes eight characters (four women and four men, two of the four men do not sing):

Clementina - soprano (false daughter of don Clemente)
Cristeta - soprano (maiden)
Damiana - soprano (governess of don Clemente’s daughters)
Lázaro, don - bass (master of music)
Narcisa - soprano/mezzo (daughter of don Clemente)
Urbano, don - tenor (Portuguese gentleman)
Clemente, don - does not sing (head of the family)
Marquis, the - does not sing (nobleman)

The orchestra is comprised of strings and winds: two violins, viola, and bass; two flutes, two oboes, two bassoons and two horns. The overture is in three movements in Italian style.

The author of the libretto maintained the classical rules of unity of action, time and place. The story happens in a room of don Clemente’s dwelling, in a virtual time period of nine hours (the actual play is approximately one hour and a half long) and the action is based on the ignorance of Clementina’s real identity, since she believes she is don Clemente’s daughter and falls in love with don Urbano, who is finally unveiled to be her brother.

The fact that the last chorus words of the First Act, before the entr'acte are: la comida provecho nos hará [dinner will do us good], has induced to think that actors and public had actually the opportunity to have lunch, since the play was performed at the Benavente-Osuna’s house among friends and relatives, feeding the false idea that the play lasted all day.

After its fall 1786 first performance there is no evidence Clementina was ever again presented, although some vague hints might indicate it was performed in the Los Caños del Peral Theater during the later years of 18th century. The Modern revival of this stage piece begins in 1951 during the Maggio Musicale Fiorentino (Florence Musical May), using a libretto which mostly ignored that of its author’s 1788 edition. It was
presented again in 1960, in the Cuivilles Theater of Munich, in a slightly abridged version by Pina Carmirelli.

In Spain, the score was at last reconstructed by Antonio Gallego from the only extant particelle, so the play could be re-presented in 1985, during the II Festival de Otoño of Madrid (2nd Madrid Autumn Festival). Then after a long lapse of 17 years, it was programmed at the University of Barcelona, in June, 2002. The conductor was Carmen Bustamante and a video recording was made.

In the summer of 2005, conducted by Herbert Handt, Clementina was staged again in Lucca, with a peculiar transposition to modern times and translated to Italian. There is also a video recording.

A CD has been recorded without the spoken fragments and the text translated into Italian (see DISCOGRAPHY).

References: Angulo Egea, M.: "La zarzuela Clementina, de Ramón de la Cruz y Luigi Boccherini..." (BIB); Cruz, R.: "Clementina. Comedia con música en dos actos" (BIB); Cruz, R. and Boccherini, Luigi: Clementina (BIB); Gallego, A.: "La Clementina y Le noze de Figaro: Un asedio comparativo a dos obras teatrales de 1786" (BIB); Gallego, A.: "La Clementina de Boccherini" (BIB); Gérard, Y.: Thematic, Bibliographical and Critical Catalogue of the Works of Luigi Boccherini (BIB); Yebes, condesa de: La condesa-duquesa de Benavente... (BIB).

Related Entries: Benavente-Osuna, Caños del Peral, Carmirelli, Cruz.

COMADRE, Quarter of La (Madrid, Spain): A center-south quarter of Madrid where the street Jesús y María was located and where Boccherini had his dwelling when he died, in an apartment house holding one of the various numbers 5 of the street (see the entry MADERA ALTA and also the entry JESÚS Y MARIA for further discussion about the duplication of numbers in a same street during the eighteenth century. Both ends of the street are marked in the map below with an arrow point.)

The quarter of La Comadre was one of the eight quarters of the "Quartel de Lavapiés", the area where the young gang of the so called Los Manolos used to meet and have their entertainment activities. Don Ramón de la Cruz, author of the libretto for the "zarzuela" Clementina, with music by Boccherini, was a renown Manolo. Also Boccherini would evoke the Manolos in his Op. 30, No. 6 String Quintet known as La Musica Notturna delle Strade di Madrid (G. 324).
Map of La Comadre Quarter (Lavapiés Quartel, Madrid, Spain); crossing it, the street Jesús y María

References: Gonzalez, Juan Francisco: Madrid dividido en ocho quarteles con otros tantos barrios cada uno..., Oficina de Miguel Escribano, Madrid, 1769; Tortella, J.: Boccherini, un músico italiano... (BIB).

Related Entries: Clementina, Cruz, Jesús y María, La Musica Notturna delle Strade di Madrid, Madera Alta, Madrid.

COMITATO NAZIONALE LUIGI BOCCHERINI (Rome, Italy): Upon an initiative by the President of the Italian Republic and under his High Patronage, as well as upon request of the Luccan Municipal Council, the Italian Parliament, according to the Law No. 420 of December 1, 1997, "istitutiva della Consulta dei Comitati Nazionali of Edizioni Nazionali" (instituting the Consultancy for National Committees and Editions), approved in May, 2005 a decree of "Il Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali" (Ministry for Cultural Patrimony and Activities), dated April 19, which Article 1 specifies:
In occasione del bicentenario della morte di Luigi Boccherini, è costituito un Comitato Nazionale con il compito di promuovere, preparare ed attuare le manifestazioni atte a celebrare la ricorrenza.

[Upon the second centenary of Luigi Boccherini’s death, a Comitato Nazionale has been created and committed to promote, prepare and perform the foreseen performances in order to celebrate the solemnities.]

Article 2 enumerates the members of this Comitato, including political, municipal and cultural representatives as well as private individuals: Mayors of the main cities linked to Boccherini (Lucca, Madrid and Paris), Dean of the University of Pisa, various presidents of several cultural institutions such as the Asociación Luigi Boccherini (Madrid, Spain), the Istituto Musicale "L. Boccherini" (Lucca, Italy), the Accademia Nazionale di Santa Cecilia, Teatro del Giglio (Lucca), the Fondazione Lucchese per l’alta formazione e la ricerca (Lucca), the Associazione Musicale Lucchese (Lucca), etc., Directors of several entities such as the Archivio di Stato di Lucca (Lucca), the Biblioteca Statele di Lucca (Lucca), the Autunno musicale di Como (Como, Italy), the Fondazione Puccini di Lucca, (Lucca), etc., and individuals such as Gabriella Biagi Ravenni, Enrico Careri, Remigio Coli, Renato Di Benedetto, Hartmut Dorgerloh, Yves Gérard, Italo Gómez, Herbert Handt, Daniel Heartz, Marco Mangani, Catherine Massip, Pierluigi Petrobelli, Guido Salvetti, Christian Speck, Jaime Tortella and Agostina Zecca Laterza.

Nominated President and Vice-presidents are Pietro Fazzi (Mayor of Lucca at that time), and Gabriella Biagi Ravenni and Italo Gómez, respectively.

Due to its intrinsic ephemeral condition (2-3 years), in one of its initial meetings, the Managing Board of the Comitato Nazionale opted to invest 33 percent of its budget to create the Centro Studi Luigi Boccherini, seated in Lucca, towards maintaining a permanent institution consecrated to the composer.

References: Decree of the "Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali", April 19, 2005.

Related Entries: Centro Studi Luigi Boccherini.

**COMPAÑÍA DE LOS REALES SITIOS (Royal Sites Company):** Despite the hostility displayed by the catholic hierarchy and despite King Charles III’s disdain, the earl of Aranda, who wanted to restore French tragedy in Spain, decided in 1766 to authorize the
creation of two stage companies, one towards his aim in favor of French operatic endeavor, and a second one to respond to Italian comedy demand. Both companies were intended to entertain courtesans during the Reales Sitios annual journeys. To this goal, two new theaters were built, one in San Ildefonso and the other in Aranjuez, so that the Companies could start their performances by 1767.

In the second half of the 18th century, this opera company was under the direction of Luigi Marescalchi, from Bologna (Italy), and Franscete Creus, from Barcelona (Spain). Besides producing themselves in the different Royal Sites, they also toured other Spanish venues and several European countries.

During the spring of 1768, there is evidence of a performance by this Compañía in Aranjuez, documented by Emilio Cotarelo y Mori:


Almeria.- Maria Teresa Pellicia, de Roma
Alfonso.- Rosa Scañavini, turinesa.
Zaira.- Clementina Pellicia, romana.
García, general.- Dominica Lambertini, boloñesa.
Emanuelle.- Francisco Buccolini, de Roma.
Ramio.- Máximo Giuliani, boloñés.

La música, del Sr. Juan Francisco Majo, célebre maestro de capilla napolitano al actual servicio del Rey de las Dos Sicilias.

El aria final del acto segundo es compuesta y acompañada con el violoncello a solo del Sr. Luis Boccherini, luqués.

Las arias señaladas *, la sinfonia y los recitativos instrumentales, son del Sr. Luis Marescalchi, boloñés.

Los bailes son de invención y dirección del Sr. Domingo Bellucci, boloñés, con los siguientes bailarines:

Catalina Santini.     Gertrudis Marcucci.
Juan Marcucci.        Francisco Marcucci.

La poesía es del abate Marcos Coltellini, quien dice que la tomó de una tragedia inglesa.


Almeria.- Maria Teresa Pellicia, of Rome
Alfonso.- Rosa Scañavini, Turinoise.
Zaira.- Clementina Pellicia, Roman.
Garcia, general.- Dominica Lambertini, Bolognese.
Emanuelle.- Francisco Buccolini, of Rome.]
Ramio.- Máximo Giuliani, Bolognese.

The music, by Sr. Juan Francisco Majo, famous Neapolitan chapel master today in the service of the King of the Two Sicilies.

The final aria of the second act has been composed and accompanied on the cello solo by Sr. Luis Boccherini, from Lucca.

The arias marked *, the symphony and the instrumental recitatives, are by Sr. Luis Marescalchi, Bolognese.

The dances are of invention and direction by Sr. Domingo Bellucci, Bolognese, with the following dancers:

Catalina Santini. Gertrudis Marcucci.
Juan Marcucci. Francisco Marcucci.

The poetry is by presbyter Marcos Cotellini, who affirms having taken it from an English tragedy.

This playbill shows for the first time Boccherini’s presence in Spain, once he had abandoned Paris some time by the end of the winter of 1768 (maybe March). It is worth highlighting how Filippo Manfredi is not yet among the actors and musicians while he will be mentioned in November of this same year.

We can follow the tour of The Compañía de los Reales Sitios through the rest of playbills reproduced by Cotarelo y Mori:

- **January, 1768**: Palma de Mallorca (Majorca), where L’Olandese in Italia, by Marcos Ruttini, is staged, being the Company conducted by Francesc Creus.

- **Spring, 1768**: the Court moves to Aranjuez (between Easter and early days of July); the Company stages L’Almeria (see some lines above).

- **Summer, 1768**: the Company performs in San Ildefonso de La Granja, staging L’Amante di tutte, played again in El Escorial, during the fall (Clementina Pelliccia is not among the cast of characters).

- **End of November, 1768**: the Court is back to Madrid; the Company moves to Valencia (see Memoires by Giacomo Casanova), where La Schiava riconosciuta, by Piccini; L’Amante di tutte, by Galuppi; Motezuma, by Francesco Mayo; and Il Mercato di Malmantile, by Fischietti are staged. (Manfredi is seen in Spain for the first time):

Motezuma, texto de Vitorio Amedeo Cinga-Santi, turínés, música de Francisco Mayo, con el aria del 2º acto "Se amore il cor m’acende", compuesta y acompañada al violin solo del célebre signore Filippo Manfredi, di Lucca.

[Motezuma, text by Vitorio Amedeo Cinga-Santi, Turinois, music by Francisco Mayo, with the aria of the 2nd act "Se amore il cor m’acende", composed and accompanied with the violin solo by the famous signore Filippo Manfredi, from Lucca.]
- **January, 1769**: the Company stays in Valencia, performing the opera *Artaxerxes* by Sacchini, to celebrate the anniversary of the King Charles’ birth (January 20). They will later stage *El Charlatán*, by Marescalchi, *L'Olandese in Italia* and *La Buena Muchacha*, by Nicola Piccini.

- **Spring, 1769**: during this year’s courtesan sojourn in Aranjuez, *La Serva astuta*, by Alejandro Tellici; *La Calamità deicuori*, by Gallupi; *L'Astrologa*, by Piccini; and *La Buona figliola zitella*, also by Piccini, are staged.


The playbill series transcribed by Cotarelo y Mori end here. During the spring of 1770, Boccherini begins his service to the Infant don Luis.


**Related Entries**: Aranda, Aranjuez, Charles III, Creus, Majo, Manfredi, Marescalchi, Pelliccia (Maria Teresa, Clementina), San Ildefonso, Valencia.

**CONCERT SPIRITUEL**: Parisian cultural institution founded in 1725 by the also Parisian composer and oboist Anne Danican Philidor (1681-1728), aiming at performing mainly sacred music, but it later derived towards more general activities such as instrumental music basically for orchestra (concerts and symphonies), and in a lesser grade to soloist performances. *Le Concert Spirituel* closed its doors in 1791.

On March 20, 1768, a few months after their arrival to Paris, Luigi Boccherini and Filippo Manfredi gave a concerto in this institution interpreting their own instruments, cello and violin.

Critique was not unanimous but generally praised both Luccan musicians, particularly Manfredi. The violinist received warm commentaries, while Boccherini was only politely treated. But the discordant opinion came from the critic Louis Petit de Bachaumont who wrote bitter remarks about the concerto. All these reactions were compiled in the April issue of *Le Mercure de France*.

Manfredi obtained a further invitation by *Le Concert Spirituel* to play again but Boccherini did not, so he abandoned Paris during the later weeks of that winter of 1768, while his friend Manfredi remained in the French capital until the beginning of July.
CONCERTO: This term has had different meanings throughout the history of music, but since Arcangelo Corelli (1653-1713), and even more since Antonio Vivaldi (1678-1741), and particularly all long the 18th century, the idea of concerto refers most usually to a musical composition where one, two or more instruments (soloist, or concertino, or concerto grosso) dialogue or act as a counterpart of a larger set of interpreters (ripieno, or tutti, or orchestra). Occasionally and exceptionally, the concerto comprises only two dialoguing instruments, or even a unique instrument (typically a keyboard instrument), with two opposing voices.

Another particular case is to be found in the Sinfonia Concertante combining a symphonic internal structure with a dialoguing discourse between one or several instruments and the rest of the orchestra.

Besides the Concert Arias (dealt with in the ARIA entry), all Boccherini’s concertos but two match the scheme of soloist instrument and orchestra.

A great majority of his concertos are cello concerts, works most likely written during the first half of his productive life. It is hard to say how many cello concertos he wrote, since they are not included in the two basic catalogues, Boccherini y Calonje’s and Baillot’s. Nevertheless, Gérard includes as authentic, or most probably authentic, 11 Cello Concertos, G. 474-483 and G. 573, to which another one, in E flat Major, recently discovered in Naples, could be added. This last concerto’s authenticity is practically guaranteed through the high similitude or even actual coincidence with the Cello Sonata, G. 17 and with the Trio G. 95.

The two exceptions mentioned two paragraphs above which differ from the soloist and orchestra structure are the G Major Concertino for cello, piano and orchestra, G. 484, actually an arrangement from two other works, and the Concerto for two principal violins, strings and winds, G. 491, Op. 7.

The B flat Major Concerto G. 482 deserves a special mention since there exists a mystification perpetrated by Friedrich Grützmacher, a German romantic cellist, which is
more well known than the original authentic Boccherinian concerto (actually, two concertos). (See the entry GRÜTZMACHER.)

As far as other concertos with different soloist instruments, their authenticity is overall rather dubious. The two Violin Concertos, G. 485, in G Major, and G. 486, in D Major, are clearly not authentic, as is the case of the other Violin Concerto in F Major and The C Major Piano Concerto, G. 488, as well.

In contrast, the E flat Major Harpsichord Concerto, G. 487, even though the full guarantee can not be stressed, it is most likely authentic, due to the clear analogies between the keyboard parts and the Sonatas Op. 5. This fact could suggest this concerto could also have been written for Madame Brillon of Jouy.

About the two Flute Concertos included in the Catalogue by professor Gérard, the first one, in D Major, G. 489, we know today it was written by Franz Xaver Pokorny (see entry), and the D Major Concerto, G. 575, is almost surely not written by Boccherini.

In the Symphony Concertante section, Boccherini wrote (or adapted), for the marquis of Benavent, a previous piece to adopt this structure, creating his C Major Symphony for guitar and two violins, with orchestra, G. 523. The original piece was his two cello String Quintet, also in C Major, Op. 10, No. 4, G. 268.

Finally, it is worth pointing out the purchasing in 2007 by the Biblioteca Nacional de España of "An unknown Concerto attributed to Boccherini possibly corrected by the composer" in D major "A piu instrumenti", sold by the firm Otto Haas (see the entry LIEPMANNSSOHN).


Related Entries: Aria, Baillot, Benavent, Boccherini y Calonje, Brillon of Jouy, Catalogue, Grützmacher, Liepmannssohn, Pokorny; Sinfonia Concertante.

CONSERVATORY OF MADRID (Spain): {BY CARLOS JOSÉ GOSÁLVEZ} The Real Conservatorio Superior de Música of Madrid (RCSMM) was erected according to an 1830 royal decree signed by Queen Maria Cristina of Bourbon, a music lover who had acquired a sound education in her native Naples. Initially the Conservatory took its Italian and French counterparts as a model, and soon received Gioachino Rossini who was nominated honorary teacher and dedicated some works to the new institution.
Since then, the RCSMM has always been a necessary reference not only in the teaching realm but in all aspects of Spanish musical life. Most of the best Spanish musicians have been linked to the RCSMM, be it as teachers or as pupils. During the last two centuries this includes Isaac Albéniz (1860-1909), Manuel de Falla (1876-1946), Pau Casals (18761973), Jesús Monasterio (1836-1903), Tomás Bretón (1850-1923), Ramon Carnicer (1789-1855), Felip Pedrell (1841-1922), Emilio Arrieta (1821-1894), Joaquín Turina (1882-1949) and others.

It is most likely that the Madrid Conservatory nominated Francisco Brunetti as its first cello teacher. Son of Gaetano Brunetti, he obtained the post of cellist in the Royal Chapel which should had been assigned to Boccherini. The Conservatory keeps a curious manuscript cello tutorial of Francisco Brunetti. Besides the important set of modern editions, Boccherini is well represented in the documentary patrimony of the RCSMM library, with some rare 18th and 19th-century editions and fourteen manuscripts from Boccherini’s time, eleven of which can be dated in 1782, so that he was aware of their existence: no doubt they were copied by the same hand and on the same paper as the scores belonging to the Prussian King Friedrich Wilhelm II in Berlin. They could have been taken from the Infant don Luis of Bourbon’s archive. None of these scores are noted in Gérard’s Catalogue.

Madrid’s Conservatory owns what might be the most important and ample collection of Boccherinian manuscripts in Spain and even though it has been ignored by researchers, it includes unpublished sources for the following G. numbers:

- G. 26: Sonata for keyboard and y violin, Op. 5, No. 2 (1768);
- G. 77: Trio for two violins and violoncello, Op. 1, No. 1 (1760);
- G. 183-186, 188: String Quartets Op. 22, Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4 and 6 (1775);

This collection comes mostly from a donation made on September 11, 1874 by Eusebio Ruiz Rero, music professor, doctor in Law and Librarian of the Conservatory. The scores by Boccherini were included in an important collection of manuscripts and editions of various 18th-century composers.

CORRESPONDENCE: See LETTERS.

COSTANZI, Giovanni Battista (1704-1778): Prestigious Roman cellist, chapel master of Saint Peter, pupil of Giuseppe Tartini (1692-1770). He was a prolific composer, but few of his works have survived. Among those still extant we can name a dozen operas, some oratorios and sacred pieces, and instrumental chamber scores, especially for the cello.

When Leopoldo Boccherini considered, probably in 1754, that his son Luigi could not further learn anything in his own birth-town, after having received instruction in the Seminary of San Martino Cathedral, by the Luccan chapel master Domenico Francesco Vannucci, he sent him to Rome to study and improve his skills with the instrumentist and pedagogue Giovanni Battista Costanzi, kindly known as "Giovannino del Violoncello" or as "Giovannino da Roma". (Data taken from Remigio Coli; see References below).

References: Coli, R.: Luigi Boccherini, la vita e le opere (BIB).

Related Entries: Boccherini (Leopoldo), Rome, Vannucci, Violoncello.

CREMONA (Italy): Lombardoise city by the river Po, flourishing during the High Middle Ages with important roman and gothic edifices, and especially famous for her bowed string instruments ateliers, violins, violas, cellos, etc.
In the summer of 1765, after a tour around Pisa and then Venice, Leopoldo and Luigi Boccherini went to Milan, Pavia and Cremona, during the celebrations honoring the Infanta Maria Luisa, daughter of Spanish King Charles III, on her way to Innsbruck.

One of the congresses held in 2005 to commemorate the 200 anniversary of Boccherini’s death took place in Cremona.

References: Coli, R.: *Luigi Boccherini, la vita e le opere* (BIB).

Related Entries: Boccherini (Leopoldo), Charles III, Milan, Pavia, Pisa, Venice.

**CREUS, Francesc**: Opera impresario from Barcelona (Spain) who shared the Compañía de los Reales Sitios (Royal Sites Company) management with Luigi Marescalchi. He lead the Company during its tour around Majorca in 1767 and 1768, staging *L'Olandese in Italia*, by Marcos Ruttini.

References: Cotarelo y Mori, E.: *Orígenes y establecimiento de la ópera en España hasta 1800* (BIB).

Related Entries: Compañía de los Reales Sitios, Marescalchi.

**CRUZ, Ramón de la** (1731-1794): Genre writer of "sainetes" (Spanish farce plays). He was born in Madrid and baptized as Ramón Francisco Ignacio with the last names of de la Cruz Cano y Olmedilla. He lived part of his late infancy in the Spanish African province of Ceuta where his father had been assigned as a prisons clerk.

![Don Ramón de la Cruz (Period Engraving Print)](image)
Orphaned at fifteen years old, Ramón initiated his studies in Salamanca. Seeing he was only obtaining poor grades, he decided to move to Madrid and establish himself as a writer and translator, mainly of French literature. Also lacking any success in this field, he accepted in 1759 to become an attorney clerk so that he could earn enough money to marry and raise a family.

From the later years of the 1760s, he started to be better known as genre writer and his "sainetes" would soon make of him a popular author. Supported by the dukes of Alba and count-dukes of Benavente-Osuna’s protection, he reached his highest popularity during the 1780s, but health decay after a pneumonia in 1791 would cause his death in less than three years. He was then living in Madrid’s central street of Alcalá and was buried in the cemetery of the nearby San Sebastián parish.

In 1786 he had been requested by dowager duchess of Benavente to write a musical comedy (or "zarzuela") to be represented within the circle of her family and friends. Its title would be Clementina and Luigi Boccherini would write the musical numbers and an overture as well. The play was ready in a few months and was premiered during the fall of that same year. This would be the only such genre work written by the Luccan composer. (See the entry Clementina.)

References: APSS: Ramón de la Cruz’s death: Defunct Book 37, p. 290, rev., March, 5, 1794; Angulo Egea, M.: "La zarzuela Clementina, de Ramón de la Cruz y Luigi Boccherini..." (BIB); Cruz, R.: "Clementina. Comedia con música en dos actos" (BIB); Cruz, R. and Boccherini, Luigi: Clementina (BIB); Gallego, A.: "La Clementina y Le noze de Figaro: Un asedio comparativo a dos obras teatrales de 1786" (BIB); Gallego, A.: "La Clementina de Boccherini" (BIB).

Related Entries: Benavente-Osuna, Clementina.

CURRENCY: {BY BERNAT HERNÀNDEZ} The mosaic of the different European courts was in the 1700s of an extreme monetary diversity. Within each kingdom different currencies were used depending on the region, with diverse values but sharing acceptance of foreign coins. There were simultaneously "account money" (an official value system, supposedly stable) and the "species" (coins of daily use). So, the equivalence between the different European national currencies during Boccherini’s life span can only be approximate, even though in this monetary labyrinth some coins were accepted as common currency through the continent, so facilitating international transactions.
Spain used the *reales de a ocho* (a silver coin valued in 8 *reales*) and the doubloons, especially for international transactions, while in the domestic domain the system used was based on the *maravedi de vellón* (copper), valued for accounting purposes with a ratio of 1 *real* = 34 *maravedies*, and 1 *peso* = 14 *reales* and 2 *maravedies*. The main gold coin was the *escudo*, normally coined in 8 *escudos* pieces. When coined in 2 *escudos* pieces they were known as doubloons.

In France, coins had a duodecimal base, with 12 *deniers* being equivalent to one *sou*, and 20 *sous* to a *livre tournois*. Little by little, the term *franc*, as an accounting unit valued in 20 *sous tournois*, became more or less interchangeable with the term *livre*.

France imported massively Spanish coins (the gold ones, called *pistoles*, and also the silver *reales de a ocho*), sharing monetary space with the golden *louis d’or* (valued in 10 *livres* and equivalent to 1.6 Spanish *pistoles*). The *luis* replaced the old *écu d’or* (golden *escudo*), until then the main gold circulating coin. The *louis d’or* was also called *pistole*.

In the 1700s, circulating coins may be classified according to the coinage metal. The *louis* and its multiples (fourth, half, double or quadruple) were of gold; the *écu* (often called *louis blanc*, white *louis*) was of silver, as its multiples (half *écu*, also called *petit écu*, little *écu*); the *sous* were made out of an alloy; and the rest was of copper (as the *liard*, valued in a fourth of a *sou*).

To have a rough idea about currency and way of life, when in 1764 Minister Jacques Turgot surveyed statistically wealth levels, he concluded that a personal annual income around 6,000 *livres* was well-off, and an individual possessing between 15,000 and 20,000 *livres* could be considered wealthy. On the opposite side, miners lived on a 1 *livre* per day basis and urban workers on a 1 and ½ *livre* per day basis.
In 1795, when the decimal system was adopted, the franc moved from being an accounting coin to be an real daily use coin. The franc hundredth fraction, the centime, started to be coined too. On April 1803 the franc replaced by law the livre tournois.

In Austria during the 18th century, the Viennese coin was shared by many of Holy Roman Empire territories, such as Prussia. The thaler and its multiples was a sort of currency standard according to which the rest of species of the other states and kingdoms were valued. Along the Austria Empire and southern Germany, the current coin for daily transactions was the silver florin (gulden, abbreviated as fl.). Each florin was 60 crowns (kreuzer, abbreviated as kr. or x), and each kreuzer contained four pfennings (abbreviated as pf.).

During December 1757 through March 1758, Leopoldo and Luigi Boccherini received a three months salary from the Vienna German Theatre (Kärntnertor Theatre) of "25 ord[inari] duc[ati] id est 103 fl. 7 ½ kr."; and in 1758 when Luigi’s sister Maria Ester was added to their payroll, the three Boccherinis received 334 fl. and 15 kr.

We can establish that 1 Reichsthaler was equivalent to two gulden; 1 gulden was equal to 60 kreutzer; and each kreutzer contained 20 groschen.

Prussia adopted the Reichsthaler in 1750, but it’s coins were thoroughly manipulated during the 1700s due to the warfare conflicts characteristic of an expanding reign. As a general rule, the accounting monetary system at that time was based on the equivalence: 1 Reichsthaler = 24 groschen; and 1 groschen = 12 pfeninngs. The silver coin Speziesthaler was equivalent to 32 groschen.

The scattered political situation in the Italian Peninsula had its counterpart in the many monetary systems. From an accounting standpoint though, a system was articulated to yield a notable homogeneity. The lira had a duodecimal scheme, being 12 denari in a soldi and 20 soldi in each lira. In Florence, the main coins were the fiorino (florin, 5 ½ lire) and the scudo (seven lire). By 1775, the Florentine zecchino was made out of gold and was also known as the gigliato after the giglio (lily) the city symbol.

Lucca, an independent republic and Boccherini’s homeland, used to pay with Florentine scudi, as documented in some of Boccherini’s salaries of: "5 scudi", for instance, in 1764.
Venice had the golden ducat as its main coin (also known as *zecchino*), containing 24 *grossi*, and each *grosso* 12 *grossetti* (some 6 ¼ *lire*). The Milan sovereign was equivalent to 45 *lire*.

As for Great Britain, in the Boccherinian sales catalogues of London and other cities bookshops, customary money references use the traditional equivalence tables: 1 *Pound sterling* (£) contained 20 *shillings* (s.) and each *shilling* 12 *pence* (d.). The *guinea*, (at that time a golden coin) had a value of 21 *shillings*.

### European Monetary Equivalence of Some Coins by Mid 1770s

#### Spain
- **Gold:**
  - Doubloon = 60 copper *reales*
  - Doubloon = 2 *escudos* (also known as *pistola*)
  - Doubloon (post 1722) = 0.83 £ (UK)
- **Silver:**
  - *Peso* (old piece of 8; 1728-1772) = 0.23 £ (UK)
  - *Piastre* = 20 copper *reales*
  - Ducat = 11 copper *reales*
- **Copper:**
  - *Peseta* of 4 *reales* = 0.05 £ (UK)
  - *Real* = 34 *maravedies*

#### France
- **Gold:**
  - Louis = 96 copper *reales* (Sp.)
  - Louis = 1,6 *pistolas* (Sp.)
  - Louis (ante 1726) = 0.84 £ (UK)
  - Louis (post 1726) = 1.02 £ (UK)
  - *Livre tournois* = 4 copper *reales* (Sp.)

#### Empire / Prussia
- **Gold:**
  - Ducat (Empire) = 0.47 £ (UK)
  - Ducat (Empire) = 6.50 *livres* (Fr)
- **Silver:**
  - *Reichthalter* = 0.13 £ (UK)
  - *Reichthalter* = 3 *livres* (Fr)
  - *Gulden* = 60 crowns
  - 12 crowns = 15 copper *reales* (aprox., Sp.)
  - 1 *escudo* = 18 copper *reales* (aprox., Sp.)

#### Florence
- **Silver:**
  - *Escudo* = 5.68 *livres* (Fr.)

#### Great Britain
- **Gold:**
  - Guinea = 24.15 *livres* (Fr.)
- **Silver:**
  - Pound sterling = 23 *livres* (Fr.)
Cyclic form refers to the recurrence in a later movement of musical material heard in an earlier movement. In some instances, such a thematic return can be clear and unmistakable, for example, in Beethoven’s Fifth Symphony, where a theme from the scherzo (m. 19) returns at the end of the finale’s development section (m. 153). Other times, cyclic relationships are considerably more subtle and might be perceived only upon careful study. Cyclic form occurs in several works by Beethoven -- the Sonata Op. 101 and the Ninth Symphony, for example -- and becomes increasingly commonplace in later nineteenth-century music. But before Beethoven, during the period when Boccherini was composing, it was a rare technique; James Webster has noted that it occurs in just two of Haydn’s symphonies (Nos. 31 and 46; see Haydn’s "Farewell" Symphony, pp. 186 and 267). In view of the scarcity of examples in the late eighteenth century, Boccherini’s use of cyclic form, both prominently and more subtly, stands as one of the remarkable and forward-looking aspects of his creative output.

There are no fewer than three instances of cyclic form in his first set of six symphonies, Op. 12, composed in 1771, soon after his move to Spain. In two of these works, a large musical unit returns. In Op. 12 No. 4 in D minor (G. 506), the slow introduction that precedes the first movement is literally repeated as an introduction to the finale. And in Op. 12 No. 6 in A (G. 508), the first movement’s development and recapitulation recur verbatim in the finale, following a slow introduction. A similar instance occurs in the late symphony in D Op. 45 (G. 522). Here, both the first and last movements begin with a slow introduction -- they are not the same -- and then the
remainder of the finale consists of the recapitulation of the first movement. As Mass composers in the Renaissance sought to render their works coherent by various means of recall of material, so Boccherini gives the movements of these works a strong sense of belonging together. By incorporating only a portion of the movement in these cyclic recurrences, Boccherini allows the additional material, e.g., the slow introductions in G. 508 and 522, to work in tandem with the recurrent section to form a coherent whole that is of structural interest in itself. (On these cyclic relationships that appear in conjunction with a slow introduction, see Noonan, "Slow Introduction")

By contrast, the first symphony in the set, in D (G. 503), has a melodic line in the first movement (m. 151) that closely resembles one in the finale (m. 185). This relationship, while undeniable, is far less overt than the examples just cited. The symphony in A Op. 37 No. 4 (G. 518), too, contains a short musical idea that recurs. The cadence on E in the first movement (m. 47) returns, in a revised form, in the second movement (m. 34), also resolving to E. This subtler sort of recurrence only strikes the listener upon achieving considerable familiarity with the work. These cyclic returns, too, lend the work a particular coherence, allowing the listener to perceive a relationship while probably unaware of the source of this recognition.

Boccherini treated cyclic form as one of many compositional tools he could draw upon, and it may be found in many more works of various instrumental genres than we have cited here. It was a technique that later composers would draw upon frequently, perhaps due to Beethoven’s powerful influence upon the generations who followed him, but Boccherini was its pioneer.


From the letter Boccherini sent to Pleyel on July 10, 1797, we can infer that someone called M. de Dados worked as an agent on behalf of some printing firms, most likely Parisian, since he asks Pleyel to send to M. de Dados another letter, included in the same envelope, for him to be aware that a set of 110 pieces sold by Boccherini to Pleyel is not available anymore.

References: Letter LB: Madrid, July 10, 1797; Croce, L. della: Il divino Boccherini... (Epistolary) (BIB); Rothschild, G. de: Luigi Boccherini... (BIB); Saint-Foix, G. de: "La correspondance de Boccherini avec I. Pleyel" (BIB).

Related Entries: Letters, Pleyel

DÉCADA OPACA: See OPAQUE DECADE.

DECLARACIÓN DE POBRE: See VOW OF POVERTY.

DECLARATION OF POVERTY: See VOW OF POVERTY.

DECREE: Within a servitude class system and related to the Infant don Luis, the term decree alludes to a brief dated text through which the master nominates her/his servant and assigns her/him a post and a salary, but the date does not necessarily match that of the initiation of the service. More probably, the decree comes later or even much later. Additionally, the brief texts often include scarcely explicit data many times producing a certain confusion or making up ambiguous information.

Out of the many don Luis’ decrees of this kind still extant, two allude to Boccherini’s nomination for his service:

\[ D^n \text{ Luis Boquerini violon de S. A. goza } \# \text{ Diez y ocho mil } r^8 \text{ de } v^{14} \# \text{ los } # \text{ catorce mil } r^8 \text{ de ellos por Decreto de S.A. de 8 de Noviembre de 1770 en que fue } \text{ nombrado, y los } # \text{ quatro mil } r^8 \text{ restantes, por Decreto de 22 de Septiembre de 1772 } \ldots \]

[D^n Luis Boquerini violon of His Highness enjoys \# Eighteen hundred copper } r^8 \# the \# fourteen hundred } r^8 \text{ of which by Decree of His Highness of November 8, 1770 when he was nominated, and the } # \text{ four other thousand } r^8, \text{ by Decree of September 22, 1772 } \ldots \]
El mismo Boquerini goza de doce mil reales por las obras de música que hiciere en lugar de igual cantidad que se le librava separadamente según lo manifiesta en Decreto de 17 de Agosto de 1784 en que S. A. le nombra por su Compositor de música ........................................................................................................... 12.000 -

[The same Boquerini enjoys twelve thousand copper reales for the works of Music he will do instead of the equal quantity that was delivered to him separatedly according to the Decree of August 17, 1784 where His Highness nominates him as his Composer of Music ............................................ 12.000 -]

(1 real would be equivalent to 3 euros or to 3.6 US dollars.)

The first decree shows two dates, November 8, 1770, and September 22, 1772, which might indicate that after an initial two years period during which Boccherini received 14,000 reales per year as a cellist, he saw an income increase of 4,000 reales. But the date of November 8, 1770 does not match a much later document, of 1785, where Boccherini states he was nominated by don Luis "violon de Camara y Compositor de Musica" (Chamber cellist and Music Composer) with "permiso, y beneplacito verbal de V. M.", "en el año de 1770 en el real sitio de Aranjuez" (license and verbal consent of Your Magesty, the year 1770 in the Royal Site of Aranjuez). This document is the Petition Boccherini sent to the King Charles III some few weeks after don Luis’ death. If the nomination was made in Aranjuez, before "V. M." (that is, Your Magesty), it could not be November, for the Aranjuez royal sojourn was always during the spring.

On the other side, some of don Luis’ decrees even show some conflict as far a dates are concerned, as in the one nominating Antonio Font as his violin:

Antonio Font, 1º violin
7.700 ... su Rl Decreto de 10 de Septiembre de 1782 haviendole nombrado S.A. por su violin en 25 de Agosto de 1776 (⋯)

[Antonio Font, 1st violin
7.700 ... his Rl Decree of September 10, 1782 having been nominated by His Highness as his violin on August 25, 1776 (⋯)]

The September 10, 1782 decree itself declares that Antonio Font began to serve don Luis on August 25, 1776, that is, more than six years earlier.
As for Boccherini’s second decree, its actual meaning is still more unclear for it mentions a decree of August 17, 1784 being so that the composer had served the Infant for the last fourteen years, and it uses the past tense, "se le librava" (was delivered), darkening even more any possible interpretation. Had Boccherini quit as don Luis’ servant for a period of time and had resumed his work in 1784?

Anyway, we cannot take literally the phrase "Decreto de 17 de Agosto de 1784 en que S. A. le nombra por su Compositor de Musica" (Decree of August 17, 1784 where His Highness nominates him as his Composer of Music), as if Boccherini would not have covered this post of "Compositor de Musica" before that date. We have plenty of evidence to prove the opposite, among others, many musical scores. Consequently, the most likely hypothesis would be that Boccherini had left Arenas de San Pedro for a period of time (still to be determined according to the present state of research) and, upon his return, don Luis nominated him anew. But this is no more than a hypothesis.

The nomination decrees are extremely interesting documents but should be taken into consideration very cautiously.


DIRECTIONS (interpreting): {BY MARCO MANGANI} The frequency and variety of expressive interpretative directions, added to the peculiarity of some of the terms used in them, make of Boccherini a unique case among composers of the second half of the 1700s. Curiously enough, this singularity does not seem to have been emphasized outside of the strict domain of Boccherinian studies, and even the most important texts dedicated to interpretative praxis have totally omitted the Luccan composer’s name.

Boccherini’s reiteration in using expressive interpretative directions can be attributed, first, to his training as a virtuoso cellist and as such physically linked to the instrument itself, and secondly, to what we could define as his "musical interpretation philosophy", as manifested in one section of his notorious letter sent to Marie-Joseph Chénier on July 8, 1799:
...nulla otiene il compositore senza gl'esecutori: questi è necessario che siano ben affetti all'autore, poi devono sentire nel cuore tutto ciò che questi à notato; unirsi, provare, indagare, studiar finalmente la mente dell’autore, poi eseguirne le opere. Allora sì che arrivano quasi a togliere l’applauso al compositore...

[... the composer achieves nothing without the performers: they need to love the author, and also feel in their hearts all he has indicated; connect, try, search, and finally study the author’s mind, then interpret the works. Only this way they succeed in snatching the applause from the composer...]

Full understanding of Boccherinian expressive interpreting directions is not always an easy task: in fact, it is sometimes necessary to assess whether they suggest actual solutions regarding instrumental techniques (use of the bow, slides, etc.) or if they allude to the execution mode in a wider sense: in spite of his clear inclination towards instrumental production, his narrative and theatrical attitude constitutes an inevitable element in order to solve such issues. In any case, whatever intent to find true and universal solutions in this domain is bound to fail: so, it is up to researchers and interpreters to make a decision and to eventually assess the most accurate responses.

For practical reasons we shall discern here between the actual expressive directions included in a specific segment of the score, and the adjectives and phrases used to modify the heading tempo directions specified for the whole piece: as we shall see, Boccherini uses some terms in both environments. A last paragraph will be dedicated to a quite singular case of Boccherinian expressive direction, that of the adjective smorfioso.

a) Tempo directions

As clearly stated by Clive Brown (see References), for the second half of the 1700s we can identify two different views related to the Italian wording used at the beginning of a musical composition: one considers those terms as directions of an expressive nature, according to a taxonomic perspective still linked to the doctrine of affection; the other view takes the terms here dealt with in a more modern and strict way as sheer tempo directions. Paradigm of the first is 1774 Georg Simon Löhlein’s Anweisung zum Violinspiele, which provides a list of Italian terms ranked according to the sentiment the composition expresses and the consequent interpreting style it requires. The list ranges from joy (Allegro assai, Allegro di molto, Presto) to sadness (Adagio, Largo, etc.), through a series of intermediate states of mind (tenderness of the Cantabile, calm of the Andante, etc.). On their part, composers such as Johann Joachim Quantz (Versuch
einer Anweisung di Flöte traversiere zu spielen, 1752) or Daniel Gottlob Türk (Klavierschule, 1789), although not neglecting the affective implications of tempo directions, put forth examples of numeric equivalence based on pendulum or clock beating, easily transposable to modern metronome values. This last view tends to delineate a distinction between the true and actual tempo directions and the expressions used as modifiers (Amoroso, Con brio, etc.), which would rather be understood as expressive directions. Nevertheless, a proclivity to assign an exact time equivalence also to those modifiers is seen to be reinforced by the end of the 18th century, and will reach full status during the following century.

Boccherini’s attitude to this respect reveals above all a rather frequent use of uncommon adjectives and phrases used as modifiers of the tempo directions; some of these expressions can also be placed in the middle of the score, so acquiring the unequivocal value of expressive directions, often with technical and performing implications. All this, together with what we know about Boccherini’s training and about his composing criteria, suggest the Luccan to be a musician still tightly linked to the affective way to interpret the usual Italian terms (Allegro, Adagio, etc.), thus not inclined to assign to them an strict tempo correspondence.

Next, we present a list of the less customary, and most interesting, terms used by Boccherini as modifiers for the tempo directions:

- **Affettuoso**  Tempo modifiers of i.e. *Andante*, also by itself (Cello Sonata G. 4, 3rd mov.)
- **Agitato**  Aria Accademica G. 548: *Allegro agitato assai*.
- **Amoroso**  Also by itself, i.e. in Two Cello Duett G 62, 1st mov.
- **Appassionato**  Largo *Appassionato* in String Trio Op. 4 No. 4, 1st mov.
- **Bizarro**  *Allegro bizarro* in *Quartet* Op. 32 No. 4, 1st mov.
- **Brillante**  Usually a modifier of *Allegro*
- **Che appena si senta**  *Allegro che appena si senta* in *Quartet* Op. 53 No. 1, 1st mov.
- **Comodo**  Modifier of *Allegro* or *Allegretto*
- **Con espressione**  *Larghetto con espressione* in Two Cello *Quintet* Op. 13 No. 1, 2nd mov.
- **Con forza**  *Allegro con forza* in Two Cello *Quintet* Op. 10 No. 4, 1st mov., after the introduction.
- **Con imperio**  *Allegro e con imperio*, in Divertimento Op. 16 No. 2, 1st mov., after the introduction.
- **Con innocenza**  *Andantino con innocenza* in Two Cello *Quintet* Op. 51 No. 2, 2nd mov.
- **Con semplicità**  *Allegro con semplicità* in Two Cello *Quintet* Op. 43 No. 3, 1st mov.
- **Con spirito**  Modifier of movemented tempi. Also *con molto spirito* (Symphony Op. 43, 1st mov.)
- **Flebile**  \( \text{Andante flebile in } \text{Quartet Op. 41 No. 1, 3rd mov.} \) (See SELF-BORROWING)
- **Gajo**  \( \text{Modifier of Allegretto and similar tempi} \)
- **Grazioso**  \( \text{Be it as a modifier or by itself. Also Con grazia} \)
- **Imperioso**  \( \text{Allegro sostenuto e imperioso in Piano Quintet Op. 57 No. 5, 1st mov.} \)
- **Lentarello**  \( \text{Modifier of intermediate tempi. Patorale lentarello in Symphony Op. 41, 2nd mov.} \)
- **Malincolico**  \( \text{Larghetto malincolico in Quartet Op. 58 No. 2, 3rd mov.} \)
- **Militare**  \( \text{Allegro militare in Cello Sonata G. 5, 1st mov.} \)
- **Patico**  \( \text{Andantino patetico in Quartet Op. 52 No. 2, 2nd mov.} \)
- **Pausato**  \( \text{Andantino pausato in Quartet Op. 53 No. 2, 1st mov.} \)
- **Risoluto**  \( \text{Minuetto. Allegro risoluto in Two Cello Quintets Op. 60 No 5, 2nd mov. and Op. 62 No. 1, 2nd mov.} \)
- **Spiritoso**  \( \text{Allegro spiritoso in Quartet Op. 2 No. 4, 1st mov.} \)

As it can be seen, together with the most common directions, Boccherini uses less frequent or simply quaint expressions, some times highlighting a general trait of the movement to which it applies (Andantino pausato), or imbedding in the tempo directions a dynamic direction also applicable to the whole fragment (Allegro che appena si senta). Nonetheless, in general, composer’s desire to obtain the accurate flavor from the interpreter is obvious as far as the affective connotations of the piece is concerned.

**b) Expressive directions**

As already mentioned, some of the terms used by Boccherini as modifiers for the tempo directions may also appear in any section of a composition: in such cases, they assume the character of local indications, that is, relative not to the piece as a whole but to a single specific segment, as is the case of the con grazia, con semplicità, affettuoso or appassionato. (As we shall see below, this is also the case of the term "smorfia" and its derivatives.) More generally, the frequent and meticulous use of accurate formulae to indicate the correct interpretation of particular fragments is no doubt one of the most clear style traits of Boccherini who, in this and also because of his inventiveness shown when choosing his terms, appears as a herald for romantic writing. This is also true for his range of dynamic directions: as Amsterdam and Le Guin have rightly highlighted (see References below), Boccherini is meticulous above all when prescribing restrained sonorities; it is the piano, rather than the forte, what requires for him nuance and preciseness. A quick general overview on Boccherinian output evinces a range of soft sonorities including piano, pianissimo, dolce, dolcissimo, soave, con soavità, mezza voce,
sotto voce, teneramente, besides the already mentioned che appena si senta, to which we must add the sonority variances such as diminuendo, smorzando, calando, morendo. As far as the opposite sign variances is concerned, the frequent use of the rinforzando direction must be assigned to the same tendency towards subtle nuances: this is in fact, following professor Le Guin, "an ambiguous direction which can mean a momentary crescendo, a longer swell, or an accent, the manner of its execution contingent upon what the other parts are doing" (see Le Guin in References below). This general Boccherinian proclivity to specify the various graduations of delicate sonorities must be linked to the aesthetics of sensibilité, typical of those mainly French mundane environments which were the natural destiny of the bulk of Boccherinian instrumental output through his editors.

c) Smorfioso

An special case of Boccherinian expressive direction is the one where he uses some term derived from the Italian lexical root smorf-, a use of which the Luccan composer appears to be the pioneer, as the present state of research seems to indicate. In the theoretical and tutorial domain, such terms (con smorfia, smorfioso) are only to be found in L’Art du violon by Boccherini’s pupil Pierre Baillot (see References below), attributing to them the value of con semplicità, or similar meanings (quoting Boccherinian examples), and in one article by Germane composer August Ferdinand Häser (1822), who understands the terms smorfia or smorfioso as directions for glissando. Nevertheless, the first thing to be highlighted is the fact that the use by Boccherini of the root smorf- is not restricted to local expressive directions but he also uses them as modifiers for tempo directions such as Allegretto (Allegretto smorfioso), thus acquiring a role of direction for a whole movement, as it is the case in the following pieces:

- Trio for 2 violins and cello, Op. 4 No. 6, 2nd mov.
- Two Cellos String Quintet, Op. 41 No. 2, 3rd mov.
- Piano and String Quintet, Op. 56 No. 2, 1st mov.

Looking at the characteristics of the above listed pieces it is not hard to find the substantial accurateness of Baillot’s interpretation, even probably being a restrictive one, while it comes to be evident that, at least in these particular cases, that smorf- cannot be
taken as a glissando direction. In any instance, it is the right time to point out some semantic conditions of this lexical root, the history of which does not refer to earlier than the 16th century, being still excluded from the first edition of the Vocabolario della Crusca (Crusca Vocabulary, 1612). From the beginning, the term smorfia (likely to be a popular expression), alludes to two different meaning categories: on one side, "face contraction altering the normal aspect due to some unpleasant feeling", on the other, "mannered or affected gesture". Understood as a word of excessively humble linguistic range, the term smorfia and its derivatives were willingly excluded from Italian literary language until the mid 1700s and were thus relegated to the domain of stage comedy: even during the 19th century, Manzoni completely eliminated any reference to it during the revising process towards the final version of his Promessi Sposi (The fiancées, 1840). The use during the 1700s of the root smorf- (especially by Goldoni, although smorfiosa also appears in the libretto of Le Nozze di Figaro) clearly proves how the privileged meaning was that of "mannered or affected gesture", and the terms deriving from it had a clear social and gender connotation as well: they were ascribed to low social classes (or at least classes below the aristocracy) and would only express feminine attitudes (see Jerold, Mangani and Le Guin in References below).

In general, the use of the root smorf- in the expressive directions by Boccherini further confirms his meticulousness in this particular domain of composing style.


DOBLÓN (Doubloon): See CURRENCY.

DOGANA, via della (Lucca, Italy): See BORDELLO (via di).

DOUBLE-BASS: {REVISED BY TRENT HELLERSTEIN} String instrument of low tessitura. Modern double basses vary greatly as they continue to evolve from their origins as a combination of the viol and violin bass instruments. They often keep some of the characteristics of both. It is common to find a flat backed double bass (from the viols) with
violin corners. It can be over two yards high and the instrumentalist plays standing or sitting. Now it usually has four strings, but might have five or rarely three.

The bow is held either with an underhand grip, like the members of the viol family or overhand as with the violin family. The double-bass appears in the musical realm by the 16th century, normally in six or five strings version, and typically with frets. During the 18th and early 19th century there was an ever changing variety of double-basses with different tunings. Frets are gradually no longer used.

Leopoldo Boccherini was a double-bassist and it is likely that Luigi’s earliest musical education included hearing the sounds of this instrument.

According to professor Xosé Crisanto Gándara studies, the Boccherinian works where the double-bass has a singular role are the following:

- **Six Sextets** or divertimenti, Op. 16 (G. 461-466), of 1773, for flute, two violins, viola and two cellos, with bass (double-bass) ad libitum, published by La Chevardière, in 1775, as Op. 15;

- **Stabat Mater**, in two versions (1781 and Op. 61, of 1800 or 1801, G. 532), for soprano, two violins, viola, cello and double-bass (1st version) and with contralto and tenor added (2nd version). The first version remained unpublished during Boccherini’s lifetime, while the 2nd version was edited by Neapolitan printer Giuseppe Amiconi, in 1801;

- **Nueve Villancicos** (Nine Carols) (G. 539), probably of 1783, of which only the soprano, contralto, tenor, bass, two violins, viola, cello and double-bass parts are kept in the Biblioteca Nacional of Madrid. Unpublished in Boccherini’s lifetime;

- The **Sextet**, or **Notturno**, Op. 38, No. 1 (G. 467), of 1787, for violin, viola, bassoon, flute or oboe, horn and double-bass, edited by Ignaz Pleyel, as Op. 42, No. 2, in 1798;

- **Three Quintets** for two violins, viola, cello and double-bass, Op. 39, of 1787, edited by Ignaz Pleyel as Op. 37, No. 20 (1809), Op. 47, No. 4 (1813) and Op. 37, No. 23 (1811/1812), that is, a few years after the composer’s death; and

- **Escena** (Scene) for "Inés de Castro" (G. 541), for soprano, two violins, viola, cello, double-bass, two oboes, two French horns and bassoon. Unpublished during the composer’s lifetime.

Besides Boccherini’s probable nostalgic relationship with the double-bass linked to his father, it is worth noting that among the interpreters in the Benavente-Osunas service, there were two remarkable double-bassists: Ramón Monroy and Pedro Sebastián. The
former reached notoriety and it is plausible to think that Boccherini would count on him when including a double-bass in some of his pieces.

References: Gándara, X. C.: "Algunos aspectos sobre el contrabajo en la música de Luigi Boccherini" (BIB).

Related Entries: Benavente-Osuna, Boccherini (Leopoldo), Quintet, Sextet, Stabat Mater, Villancicos, Violoncello.

DOUBLOON: See CURRENCY.

DOWRY LETTER: A notarial deed, customarily signed after the marriage, by which the husband recognizes the goods and money the spouse has brought as a dowry. A formally similar deed might be signed by the wife recognizing her husband’s goods and money when he has children from a previous matrimonial. (See the entry CAPITAL DEED. In the Novisima Recopilacion, an Spanish law compilation spanning from the so called Leyes de Toro [Toro Laws, 1505] until 1804, the term Dowry is always linked to the goods and money given by their parents to females when they married, not to males.)

Luigi Boccherini consented and signed a dowry letter in favor of his second wife, Dª Maria Pilar Joaquina Porreti, for a total of 81,676 reales, with 33 maravedies, on November 12, 1789. (One real contained 34 maravedies, and 1 real would equal 3 euros or 3.6 US dollars.)

[Image: Heading of the Dowry Letter consented by Boccherini in favor of M.P.J. Porreti (AHPM: Prot. 20.771, p. 200, November 12, 1789)]

This is a long document of 24 pages signed only by Boccherini before the Madrid notary Manuel Toledo, and this is the only deed Boccherini signed before this royal clerk.
In the introductory clause, Boccherini avows being "vecino de Madrid" (Madrid denizen) and states he wedded "Dª Maria Joaquina Porreti" on April 17, 1787, but that

en aquel entonces por justas causas que ocurrieron no pude otorgar a su fabor la correspondiente Esª (escritura) de Carta de Dote en forma, por tanto y haber cesado dichas Causas q (que) lo impidieron me ha pedido la referida Dª Maria mi Mujer que por la devida Cuenta y razon en lo futuro formalice a su fabor Esª de Dote en forma y viendo ser justo he condescendido en ello y poniendolo en ejecucion otorgo por la presente Esª de Dowry Letter in form and considering it just I have condescended to it and executing it I consent and sign by the present Deed and confess to have received from the aforementioned Dª Maria Joaquina Porreti my Wife at the tpo (tiempo) and when we married and as hers the sigªs (siguientes)

[It is worth highlighting the curious fact that in the Capital Deed Porreti conceded and signed in favor of Boccherini two years earlier, she declared the wedding had taken place on April 18, 1787, not on April 17, 1787.)

Those fair causes that happened in 1787, right after the wedding, not to be able to visit the notary in order to sign the dowry letter have not been thoroughly elucidated. She did sign a Capital Deed in favor of her husband just a few days after the nuptial ceremony, so the reasons why he did not might be linked to his projected travel to Prussia, another not yet elucidated issue, since we do not know whether he traveled to visit the Prussian king or not (See the entry BRESLAU).

The 21 inventory pages within this dowry letter list and valuate in reales and maravedies the objects Porreti brought to the matrimony as well as the debts she had run into when borrowing to purchase some clothes from tradesman Dn. Domingo Gonzalez. Also she was a creditress for a certain amount of money related to the pension of her father, Dn. Domingo Porreti.

The inventory includes different objets which could be grouped according to the following criteria: paintings, frames and cornucopias, furniture and lamps, dining-room
and kitchen cutlery, curtains and decoration items, personal clothes (bedclothes and
tablecloths) and jewels (priced by an expert called Dn Eusebio Rodriguez).

Once the list is ended, Boccherini commits himself to keep under custody all those
goods "Dotales y Caudal" (dowry and monetary) "prontos por siempre y cuando que el
Matrimonio fuese disuelto, por muerte díbór cio u otro de los casos que las leyes
previenen bolberlos [devolverlos] y restituirlos..." (ready for ever and when the
matrimony would be dissolved because of death divorce or any other cause foreseen by
the law to return and restitute them...), with the bond of his own goods.

References: AHPM: Boccherini Dowry Letter to M. P. J. Porreti: Prot. 20.771, pp. 200-211, November 12,
1789, Notary: Manuel Toledo; Novísima Recopilacion de las leyes de España, mandada formar por el

Related Entries: Capital Deed, Porreti (Maria Pilar Joaquina), Toledo (Manuel).

DROUILHET, Étienne: During several months, Pleyel and Boccherini had been
negotiating, the former to purchase a set of 110 pieces of music by the latter. When they
finally reached an agreement, Boccherini sent Pleyel a receipt dated in Madrid on July 7,
1797. In this document he declares he has received, through a tradesman settled in
Madrid, called señor Drouilhet, the sum of 2,400 livres tournoises (One livre tournois was
equivalent to 4 copper reales, and 1 real would equal 3 euros or 3.6 US dollars. See the
entry CURRENCY)

M. Drouilhet will keep appearing in the Boccherini-Pleyel correspondence, every
once in a while, with a slightly different spelling, but never with his full name: Étienne
Drouilhet de Sigalas.

In the letter sent by Boccherini to Pleyel three days after having signed the above
mentioned receipt, he insists he has received that money (now expressed as 100 louises,
with equivalence in piastres, doubloons and reales; again, see the entry CURRENCY) and
also that he has sent him the set of 110 pieces of music through "Drovillet, et Comp."

Three days later, that is on July 13, Boccherini responds in length to a letter from
Pleyel where by the end he announces him in a very short lapse of time he will send him a
document, already previously promised, to safeguard him from possible claims from
Boulogne’s heirs, and he will do so through Drovillet [sic]. This guarantee document,
signed with Boccherini’s usual notary, Antonio Martinez Llorente, is dated July 17.
Integrated in his letter signed the very same day, Boccherini facilitates Pleyel a translation from Spanish of the notarial document and confirms he has sent it through Drovillet.

The following and last appearance of M. Drovillet in the Pleyel-Boccherini correspondence, on January 4, 1798, is not due to any ongoing business but because the Luccan composer wants to remind Pleyel that time ago he had sent him some pieces of music through Drovillet.

Being this name rather uncommon, it is maybe worth pointing out that among the list of first share holders of the Banco Nacional de San Carlos, there was an individual called "Juan Drouilhet" who’s name corresponds to one of the biennial managers of the Bank, who acquired 117 shares; but there was also a company named "Esteban Drouilhet y Cia", seated in Madrid, owner of 1,500 shares. Furthermore, Juan Drouilhet’s signature can be seen on the printed paper of the shares, together with the signature of the "inherent" manager of the bank, Francisco Cabarrús, that of another biennial manager, the marquis of Las Hormazas and that of the Bank’s secretary, Benito Briz.

Was Juan Drouilhet a relative of Étienne Drouilhet? Was the French first name Étienne translated into Spanish as Esteban and was the firm "Esteban Drouilhet y Cia" the one who handed Boccherini those 2,400 livres tournoises, mentioned by the musician as "Drovillet, et Comp."? It is most likely to be so.

References: Letters LB: Madrid, July 7, 1797 - Madrid, July 13, 1797 - Madrid, July 17, 1797 - Madrid, January 4, 1798; Croce, L. della: Il divino Boccherini (Epistolary) (BIB); Rothschild, G.: Luigi Boccherini... (BIB); Saint-Foix, G. de: "La correspondance de Boccherini avec I. Pleyel" (BIB).


DUC, Le: See LEDUC.

DUCAT (copper): See CURRENCY.

DUO: In principle, this is a musical composition for two interpreters (vocal or instrumental), but the term admits meanings slightly different from this basic idea. Furthermore, not all compositions for two instruments or two voices or an instrument and a voice can fit the concept of duo. This would be the case of some sonatas, some concerts for two interpreters or some pieces for voice with accompaniment, etc. Also a duo can be accompanied by a third instrument or even a set of supporting instruments or voices.
Among Boccherini’s works there are several pieces and sets of pieces designated as duos. First in time we find a set of Six Duos for two violins dated 1761, classified in Boccherini y Calonje’s Catalogue as Op. 3 (G. 56-61) but edited by La Chevardière in 1769 as Op. 5. Besides, there exists a celebrated duo, also for two violins, G. 62, known as *La bona notte*, and another series of Six Duos (G. 63-68), of almost guaranteed authenticity.

In the vocal realm, there exists a *Concert Duo* for soprano, tenor and orchestra (G. 559), "La destra ti chiedo...".

(For the pieces for two cellos grouped under G. 73, see the entry **Fugue**.)

**Related Entries:** Boccherini y Calonje, Chevardière.

**DUPORT, Jean-Louis** (1749-1819): {BY ELISABETH LE GUIN} Younger brother and student of Jean-Pierre, and also famous Parisian cellist. His first public performance took place in 1768, on the stage of the *Concert Spirituel*.

After his brother’s departure for Berlin in 1774, Jean-Louis Duport was regarded as the foremost cellist in Paris. He held a post with the Prince de Guéménée, and after 1782 was a regular partner in concerto with the great violinist Giovanni Battista Viotti. He visited England in 1783. As a consequence of the 1789 revolutionary uprising, in 1790 he moved to the Court of Prussia, where he played in the opera orchestra, taught, and wrote one of the most important cello tutors of the age, *Essai sur le doigté du violoncelle*...(1806). In 1806 Jean-Louis Duport returned to Marseilles, where he served in the exiled court of Carlos IV of Spain, finally returning to Paris in 1812.

It is quite possible that Jean-Louis Duport and Boccherini met during the latter Paris sojourn, and very likely that he had the chance to know the scores Boccherini sent regularly to Berlin as chamber composer for King Friedrich Wilhelm II.


DUPORT, Jean-Pierre (1741-1818): {BY ELISABETH LE GUIN} Older brother of Jean-Louis and the most respected Parisian cellist of his generation. His first public performance took place in 1761, on the stage of the Concert Spirituel. He was principal cellist of the orchestra of the Prince de Conti between 1763-69.

Since 1769, he embarked in a long European tour including England and Spain, then back to Paris for a year and finally to Friedrich II "The Great"'s Prussia, where he settled permanently in 1774 as cello teacher to Prince Friedrich Wilhelm. When the latter became King in 1786, Jean-Pierre Duport continued as director of the royal chamber music; among the many works premiered by him while holding this post were Beethoven’s first two cello sonatas, Op. 5. He retired in 1811.

It is quite possible that Jean-Pierre Duport and Boccherini met during the latter Paris sojourn; they may have met again, when Duport passed through Spain (although this has not been substantiated); but it is beyond a doubt that, in his position in Berlin, Jean-Pierre Duport knew Boccherini’s music very well: it is he who would have supervised Boccherini’s contract to supply music to the Prussian Court.


DYNAMICS: See DIRECTIONS (interpreting).
EDITIONS/EDITORS: Both the list of editors and printers of music, contemporary to Boccherini or active after the Luccan lifetime, who edited or distributed his music, and the list of the pieces they released are extremely long, varied and complex. Many of those editors put in the market just one or very few works, being often reprints of previous editions issued by other colleagues; sometimes this reprints kept the opus number, sometimes they did not or they presented different arrangements.

It all makes a variegated set of people, firms and editions, the synthesis of which in these pages would do nothing else than actually repeat what can be easily found in the *magna opera* by professor Yves Gérard, in Marco Mangani’s chapter "Boccherini, l’editoria francese e il mondo che cambia", and also in the article by Rudolf Rasch (see below the References section). One of Gérard’s *Catalogue* indexes is dedicated to all Boccherini’s editors, and contains cross references to the works they edited and the G. number assigned to each piece within the *Catalogue* itself; Mangani’s legislation analysis about the 1777 (Louis XVI) and 1793 (Convention) decrees on Author’s Rights helps to understand many dark issues about Boccherini’s publishers, especially Pleyel; and Rasch offers large and comprehensive tables of editions.

So, we feel it would be futile to offer here the long list of Boccherinian editors, especially because the most outstanding among them have their own individual entry in this *Dictionary* (see the list in the Related Entries section below).


EPISTOLARY: See LETTERS.

ESCORIAL, EL (San Lorenzo de, Spain): On the plane, below the mountainous Sierra de Guadarrama, some 30 miles northwest of Madrid, Philip II ordained the construction of an immense palace-monastery to glorify the victory in the battle of San Quintín, in 1557.
He summoned the architect Juan Bautista de Toledo to carry out the royal mandate, and when Toledo died Juan de Herrera took his place, in 1567, to culminate the edifice, having all along Antonio de Villacastín as a close collaborator. The monastery soon acquired the rank of Real Sitio (Royal Site) and of Kings Pantheon.

View of the Monastery of El Escorial (Spain, Period Engraving Print)

The Spanish branch of the Bourbon dynasty members never loved this monastery until Charles III spotted the excellent hunting conditions of the surroundings and included El Escorial within the annual cycle of Court journeys. By mid July he would spend one or two days in this monastery on his way from Madrid towards La Granja de San Ildefonso (See the entry SAN ILDEFONSO). Then, he made a longer stop between October and November, before setting back to Madrid.

There is no evidence of any especial link between Boccherini and the Royal Site of El Escorial beyond the fact that it was one of the venues most likely frequented by the Infant don Luis while following the Court’s annual cycle. Since don Luis used to travel with at least a part of his servants, it is most probable that Boccherini would be among them.

Related Entries: Bourbon (Luis de), Charles III, Royal Sites, San Ildefonso.
FALSE WORKS: Artists’ catalogues of works often contain false or erroneously attributed pieces. Musicians in general and Boccherini in particular are no exception. Nonetheless, false attribution, be it by error or by intention, has a value in itself, somehow helping global assessment of the artist and can be used as a measure of his level of acceptance or renown.

In Boccherini’s case, while he was alive there was an explicit desire on the part of some musicians to be assimilated to the Luccan master; also many editors of music wished to tag as "Boccherinis" some works they released to sell in the market, a fact which would hint a high level of appreciation towards the composer.

The concept of "false work" admits more than one acceptation, from a simple version of an authentic work interpreted with a different instrumentation than the one chosen by the composer, to a work completely alien to Boccherini but to him assigned. Between these two extreme meanings, there exists a wide range of intermediate cases, such as transcriptions, variations, various forms of re-elaboration or fragmentation, etc. But it should be pointed out that the line between authentic and false works permits all kinds of doubts, since some works show clear Boccherinian traits but lack actual evidence or documented base so leaving open many possibilities.

Professor Yves Gérard, when compiling the most complete and still most trustworthy thematic catalogue of Boccherini’s works, cleverly decided to assign a G. number to those non authentic or doubtful works provided they had had some sort of link to Boccherini. He consequently assigned a level of authenticity, from higher to lesser, symbolized by one, two or three question marks, so displaying a much wider panorama of Boccherini and his environment had he discarded those surely or probably false pieces.

Although after the edition of Gérard’s Catalogue (1969), new works, manuscripts and documents have been unveiled, Gérard’s criteria is still valid. A group of cello and bass sonatas being spotted by professor Christiann Speck in the Austrian Seitenstetten Monastery, symbolized with the acronym A-SEI, three of which are considered false: V529 (a minor), V530 (f minor) and V531 (c minor); the so-called Sonata of Barcelona, also for
cello and bass, being today under study to see whether it can be attributed to Boccherini; the unveiling by Isabel Lozano of a manuscript of the *Scene for Inés de Castro*, are cases which have no reason to alter Gérard’s criteria, and instead can enhance the general knowledge about the composer and also about his environment.

On the other hand, we must also stress the existence of two catalogues, or two versions of the same catalogue, the one transcribed by Alfredo Boccherini y Calonje and the one recently rediscovered in the Parisian Bibliothèque National which had been kept by Pierre Baillot, both probably copies of the one Boccherini had kept for his own use or for commercial use, which allow us to take as authentic beyond any doubt almost 350 works.

Boccherini’s works which can be taken as "false" could be classified according to the following criteria, illustrated with some examples:

- **Works which are no more than excerpts or parts of authentic or almost surely authentic works**: as the *Six Sonatas* for keyboard, G. 23, which are the keyboard parts of the *Six Trios* with violin and cello released by Roullede-La Chevardière in 1781 (G. 143-148);

- **Works only known by being mentioned but never found**: this would be the case of the f minor *String Quartet*, G. 258, only known through Louis Picquot’s brief description;

- **Works about which present knowledge does not allow for a full confirmation of authenticity**: the two violins and cello *Six Trios* G. 125-130 contemporarily attributed to Luigi Marescalchi may exemplify this category; it would also be the case of the *Six Trios* with the same instrumentation, G. 119-124, published by La Chevardière;

- **Works executed spuriously not concealing its their true origin**: paradigmatic of this would be the "famous" Minueto from Op. 11, No. 5 *Quintet*, or the Fandango from Op. 40, No. 2 *Quintet* transcribed by Boccherini himself to *Guitar Quintet*;

- **Works over which some kind of doubt has been cast**: as has been the case with some pieces lacking any autograph score or authentic copy, or because the stated author is just "Boccherini", without first name, as the *Ballet Espagnol* G. 526, or the ballet *Cefalo e Procri* G. 524, about which it has been hinted the possibility they were not by Luigi but by Giovanni Gastone Boccherini;

- **Works of an unknown author but certainly not by Boccherini**: i.e., the D Major Symphony G. 500, printed "chez Grangé" in 1767;

- **Transcriptions of authentic works without remarkable modifications**: as the *Six Sonatas* for violin and bass G. 20 taken from the six sonatas for cello and bass, released by Bremner (G. 1, 4, 5, 6, 10 y 13);
- **Transcriptions of authentic works with remarkable modifications**: as the B flat Major Concerto composed by Grützmacher based on two authentic Boccherinian concertos; this has been taken for more than a century as written by the Luccan composer, eclipsing the true G. 482 and G. 480 on both of which it was inspired;

- **Transcriptions or arrangements of parts of authentic works**: as did Marescalchi in 1775 when he orchestrated the Two Minuets, G. 502, taken from two chamber pieces to which he added two trio sections; or the edition of Three Sonatas for keyboard and violin, G. 52-54, by "Mr. Robinson" from excerpts of some authentic works;

- **Works by other composers attributed, or which were attributed, to Boccherini**: the D Major Flute Concerto by Franz Xaver Pokorny, G. 489, released in 1780 as composed by Boccherini, would be the most representative work of this category.

  Although it is not safe to try putting forth an exact figure, the number of false or doubtful works related to Boccherini would be close to 170, maybe with an error range of ± 10.


**Related Entries**: Baillot, Ballet, Boccherini (Giovanni Gastone), Boccherini y Calonje, Bremner, Chevardière, G., Grützmacher, Marescalehi, Picquot, Pokorny, Roulède, Scene, *Sonata of Barcelona*.

**FANDANGO**: Spanish traditional rhythm and dance in ternary measure of uncertain origin. During the 18th century it was usually danced on the stages as part of various theatrical genres of musical comedies, such as the "tonadillas". A couple made up of man and a woman, accompanied by castanets and other instruments, the guitar in particular, danced in a very "staccato" fashion, rhythmic and sensual, to such a degree that it alarmed church authorities who managed to have it banned.

  Giacomo Casanova’s description of the fandango dance is almost pictorial:

  \( \ldots \) following the orchestra accompanied by hand clapping, they started in pairs the most crazy dance ever imagined. It was the famous fandango, of which I thought I had an accurate idea, but I was actually a thousand leagues far from the real thing. I had seen it danced only in Italy and in France, on the stage; but dancers were wise enough not to gesticulate as they do here [in Spain] making of it the most seductive and sensual dance that ever existed. It is indescribable. Every couple, man and woman, takes only three steps, and playing the castanets following the orchestra adopts a thousand postures, makes a thousand gestures so full of lasciviousness that no comparison is possible. Love is expressed inside them, from beginning to end, from a wishful breath until the ecstasy of pleasure. I think it is impossible that after such a dance the dancing woman could refuse
anything to his partner, because the fandango brings all senses to the excitement of pleasure.

Boccherini used the rhythm of the Fandango for his D Major two cellos String Quintet Op. 40, No. 2 (G. 341), of 1788, edited posthumously around 1822. After the initial "Grave assai", the Fandango appears with a dolce (sweet) indication. The same combination of "Grave" and "Fandango" culminates the Guitar String Quintet also in D Major, (G. 448), of 1798.

Through the autograph score of G. 341 Quintet, kept in the Paris Opera Library, we can read the following:

*Mese di Aprile 1788. Quintettino imitando il fandango che suona sulla chitarra il Padre Basilio, per S.A.R. le Don Luigi Infante di Spagna, da Luigi Boccherini virtuoso di camera e compositor di musica di S.A.R.*

Curiously enough, don Luis had died three years before 1788, but Boccherini still mentions his servant condition. (About "Padre Basilio", see the entry García, Miguel.)

As for the Guitar Quintet G. 448 original manuscript, we can say it has been lost. Most likely, Boccherini handed it to the marquis of Benavent who had ordered it and paid for it. Nonetheless, the copy made by François de Fossa before fleeing to France around 1813 due to the Independence War (1808-1814), is still extant. After being owned by different book stores and editors, it was purchased by the USA Library of Congress in a 1922 auction and it is at present filed together with five more Boccherinian Guitar Quintets of the larger lot ordered by Benavent.

The peculiarity of this quintet G. 488 is to be found in the cello part where, during some silent measures, there is an indication stating "castagneteo". A wrong reading of this indication, as if it said "castagnetes", has given way to occasionally interpreting this fragment using castanets, prompting a debate as to whether this is or is not loyal to Boccherinian intention and taste.

Besides this debate, the actual indication does not point to an instrument (castanets) but to an action (rattling), which can be performed with castanets, with the
fingernails or the fist hitting the cello’s body, by the clicking of fingers, or hitting the strings with the bow, etc.

Boccherini included the Fandango tune and rhythm in other fragments such as the Allegro non molto of the A Minor two cellos String Quintet, Op. 25, No. 6 (G. 300), or the Minueto of the D minor oboe/flute Quintet, Op. 55, No. 6 (G. 436), even though this is not explicitly specified.

References: Casanova, G.: Mémoires, Bibliothèque de la Pléiade, Éditions Gallimard, 1958; Fertonani, C.: "Boccherini e la Follia" (BIB); Ophee, M.: Luigi Boccherini’s Guitar Quintets... (BIB); Pérez Díaz, P.: "Los fandangos de Boccherini y de Dionisio Aguado..." (BIB); Tortella, J.: "La música descriptiva o argumental en el catálogo de Luigi Boccherini" (BIB); Tortella, J.: "2005: A duecento dalla scomparsa, rimangono dei «buchi neri» nella biografia di Luigi Boccherini" (BIB). (See also DISCOGRAPHY)


FAYOLLE, François Joseph (1774-1852): Cellist and co-author together with Alexandre Etienne Choron of the Dictionnaire historique des musiciens artistes et amateurs, morts ou vivans (See the entry CHORON).


Related Entries: Choron, Picquot.

FERINO, [sig.r]: The "sig.r Ferino di Parigi" (Mr. Ferino from Paris) is one of the many intermediators showing up in Boccherini’s correspondence. Ferino is mentioned in his last extant letter, sent to editor Sieber and dated August 24, 1801. The composer urges the editor to close a previously suggested agreement through MM. Ferino and Vincenzo Salucci, who would be expected to execute the double operation of delivering the music and receiving the corresponding payment. The music hereby alluded to is the set of Six Piano Quintets Op. 57, and the Stabat Mater Op. 61.

References: Letter LB: Madrid, August 24, 1801; Croce, L. della: Il divino Boccherini (Epistolar) (BIB); Rothschild, G.: Luigi Boccherini... (BIB); Saint-Foix, G. de: "La correspondance de Boccherini avec l. Pleyel" (BIB).

Related Entries: Letters, Quintet, Salucci, Sieber, Stabat Mater.
**FÉTIS, François-Joseph** (1784-1871): Composer, pedagogue and musicologist born in Liège (Belgium). When he was only 16 years old, he initiated his musical studies at the Paris Conservatory with especial dedication to the piano, under the guidance of François Boieldieu (1775-1834). He later taught counterpoint and fugue in that same institution, publishing in 1824 his *Traité du contrepoint et de la fugue*.

![François-Joseph Fétis (Period Engraving Print)](image)

In 1827 he founded the *Revue Musicale*, inserting next year a very short biographical account about Boccherini, full of errors and inaccurate considerations but rather laudatory.

In 1833 Fétis left Paris to become director of the Brussels Conservatory. During this period until his death, he made important contributions to musicology, such as his unfinished historical work *Histoire générale de la musique*, which does not go beyond the early Renaissance. He also edited a wide dictionary titled *Biographie universelle des Musiciens*..., with an entry "Boccherini" which generated an academic dispute with Louis Picquot. It is in this *Biographie universelle* where Fétis narrates the visit paid by the French pianist Sophie Gail (one of Fétis’ pupils) to Boccherini, in 1803, describing the somber situation in which she found the musician. This depiction became the main ground to construe the legend about the poverty experienced by Boccherini during the last segment of his life, a legend totally discarded nowadays.

It is only fair to highlight Fétis’ didactic and divulging achievements.
**FILLUNGO, via (Lucca, Italy):** This is one of the main streets in town, full of commercial activity. In the crossroads with Via Buia, there is one of the houses where the Boccherinis had dwelled and where Luigi was born. On the Fillungo facade of this house, at first floor height, a big plaque can be seen dedicated to the Lucca composer.

![Plaque to honor Boccherini, in Via Fillungo, Lucca, Italy](image)

Under a bass-relief portrait decorated with some allegoric ornaments, a long inscription reads:

**LUIGI BOCCHERINI - N. IL XIX FEBRAIO MDCCXXXIII M. A MADRID IL XXVIII MAGGIO MDCCCV - I CONCITTADINI PERCHÉ SI ADDITI NEI SECOLI - DOVE NACQUE COLUI - CHE TRA LE AMAREZZE DI UNA VITA ERRABONDA E TRAVAGLIOSA - DI NUOVE FORME E DI SUBLIMI MELODIE - ARRICCHÌ L’ARTE MUSICALE - DI NUOVA GLORIA THE PATRIA**

[Luigi Boccherini - B(orn) XIX (19) February MDCCXXXIII (1743) D(ead) in Madrid XXVIII (28) May MDCCCV (1805) - His fellow-citizens for him to remain forever - where came to life he - who amongst the bitterness of a wandering and painful life - gave new forms and sublime melodies - enriched the musical art - gave new glory to his homeland]

**References:** Coli, R.: *Luigi Boccherini, la vita e le opere* (BIB); Martos, V. and Tortella, J.: "El rostro de Boccherini, espejo de un alma de artista" (BIB).
**FLORIDABLANCA, earl of** (1728-1808): His actual name was José Moñino. He was especially active in the repression of the Compañía de Jesús (Jesuits) when they were investigated at the aftermath of the uprising known as Motin de Esquilache (Esquilache Mutiny), in 1767. The inquiry ended up with an expulsion decree for all Jesuits residing in Spain.

Once this process was over, Moñino was nominated ambassador before the Vatican Court of Clemente XIV (1705-1774) and in 1773 he received the nobility title of earl of Floridablanca, in recognition of his services. During the late 1770s, he took office as Ministry of State, both with Charles III, until his death, and during the initial period of Charles IV.

Against the French Revolution, Floridablanca opted for an almost paranoiac attitude, seeking to seal the northern frontier and imprisoning or removing from office all his former colleagues with whom he had shared Enlightenment ideals, such as Jovellanos,
Cabarrús or Campomanes. Moñino was dismissed early in 1792 to be replaced by the earl of Aranda, who arrested and ostracized him until he was freed when Godoy took office at the end of that same year.

Nothing allows us to link Boccherini directly with the earl of Floridablanca, although there is a clear impact on the former because of the policies of the latter.

Upon the Infant don Luis’s death in August 1785, all his servants were instructed to return to where they had come from in 1776, the year don Luis had married and was forced to dwell far from Court, moving to Arenas of San Pedro. So, Boccherini, already a widower with six young children of ages between 2 or 3 and 15, returned to Madrid. Although he had savings which would have allowed him and his children to live at least two years, the loss of his protector placed him in a distressed position. In order to face the crisis, besides signing a will, he sent the king a Petition, dated September 28, 1785, where he pleaded for his salary not to be discontinued.

The response, dated November 23, informed him that he would receive the same amount he used to receive as cello interpreter (not as composer) and that he would obtain a post as a cellist (Violon) of the Royal Chapel awaiting for the first vacancy. Two notes filed at Madrid’s Archivo Histórico Nacional (National Historical Archive) reflect the decision. They were signed in the name of the king: one addressed to don Pedro de Lerena, the Secretario de Hacienda y de Guerra (Treasury and War Secretary) and the other to the Patriarca de las Indias (Indies Patriarch), responsible for the Royal Chapel. It is obvious that those notes had been supervised and approved by the State Secretary, that is, by José Moñino, so the pension Boccherini would earn for the rest of his life had probably been approved through the required mediation of the earl of Floridablanca.

References: AHN: Boccherini’s Petition, September 28, 1785 and response addressed to the Patriarca de las Indias, and to Pedro de Lerena, November 23, 1785: Sect. Estado (State Section), File 2631/12-18.


FLUTE: Wind instrument most usually made out of wood or metal (silver, gold..., but it can also be made out of cane, or plastic materials, etc.) There are different kinds of flutes: traverse or German flute, recorder, d’amore, panpipe, piston flute, etc., but Boccherini
only paid attention to the traverse version of the instrument, and not very often. He normally used it when he had flutist and oboist Garpar Barli within his reach.

The first authentic pieces including a flute are the *Six Quintets* for flute and string quartet Op. 17 (G. 419-424), of 1773, published by La Chevardière, around 1775, as Op. 21. Also from 1773 are the *Six Sextets* for flute and string quintet with two cellos, Op. 16 (G. 461-466), which can be interpreted with a bass "ad libitum". They were edited by La Chevardière in 1775, as Op. 15.

One year later, that is in 1774, Boccherini would write another set for the same instrumental combination, Op. 19 (G. 425-430), also published by La Chevardière, around 1776, as Op. 25.

Boccherini would not use the flute again until 1797 (allowing it to be replaced by an oboe). This was the *Six Flute-Oboe Quintets* with string quartet Op. 55 (G. 431-436), published by Pleyel in 1800, as Op. 45.

Another collection of six pieces with identical instrumental distribution, possibly authentic, G. 437-442, would not be edited in Boccherini’s lifetime nor during the whole of the 19th century.

In the miscellaneous Op. 38 set, partly lost, we find a flute (or an oboe) in a *Sextet*, (G. 467) and in an *Octet*, (G. 470), both of 1787 and published by Pleyel in 1798.

Only two flute concerts are registered in Gérard’s Catalogue, one (G. 489) is actually by Franz Xaver Pokorny (see the entries *Concerto* and *Pokorny*); and the other one (G. 575) includes Boccherinian nuances but cannot be attributed with full guarantee.

Boccherinian orchestral compositions such as symphonies, concerts, ballets, etc., customarily include one or two flutes.


**Related Entries:** Barli, Chevardière, Concerto, Octet, Pleyel, Pokorny, Sextet.

**FOLÍA:** The so-called *Folia de España* (Spanish Folia) is actually a rhythm originated in Portugal and Galicia (northwestern Spain) by the early Renaissance. People believed then it was useful to invoke fertility or to exorcise temporary madness, sometimes love ravings,
but later it was used to render homage to Saint Christopher, a corpulent man who helped people to cross the rivers, especially children. 

![Saint Christopher crossing a child through a river](Hieronymus Bosch School, 1500s, Francisco Godia Foundation, Barcelona, Spain)

From being a merry and lively tune it became slower and more solemn when it pervaded the Iberian Peninsula and later extended through Europe, switching to D minor tonality and into a ceremonious *Andante*.

Many composers have utilized the *Folía* as part of some of their works. Among many others, we can name Diego Ortiz (1510-1570), Mateo Flecha ‘El Joven’ (‘The Young’, 1530-1604), Bernardo Pasquini (1637-1710), Gaspar Sanz (1640-c1710), Arcangelo Corelli (1653-1713), Alessandro Scarlatti (1660-1725), Antonio Vivaldi (1678-1741), Antoni Martín i Coll (c1680-c1734), Carl Philip Emmanuel Bach (1714-1788), Antonio Salieri (1750-1825) and, obviously, Boccherini, who’s A Major two cellos *String Quintet* (Quintettino) Op. 40, No. 1 (G. 340), of February 1788, only in two movements, ends with a Minueto and Trio, the last of which is indicated "*Follia*". As a matter of fact, this is a piece perfectly linked to the rest of the composers’ versions of this peculiar
rhythm. It presents a solemn but not slow Folía, much in line with the evolution it had experienced through various centuries, since its Renaissance origin.

This is yet another example of Boccherini’s will and ability to include in his pentagrams many of the "popular" tunes he heard every day.

References: Fertonani, C.: "Boccherini e la Follia" (BIB); Gérard, Y.: Thematic, Bibliographical and Critical Catalogue of the Works of Luigi Boccherini (BIB); Tortella, J.: "La música descriptiva o argumental en el catálogo de Luigi Boccherini" (BIB).

Related Entries: Alla turca, Fandango, Quintet, Seguidilla.

FONT, Antonio: Son (probably the eldest) of Francisco and Theresa Planas, both born in Barcelona (Spain). As did his father and his two brothers, Pablo and Juan, Antonio served the Infant don Luis of Bourbon. The decree nominating him as his first violin reads::

Antonio Font, 1º violin
7.700 ... su Rº Decreto de 10 de Septiembre de 1782 haviendole nombrado S.A. por su violín en 25 de Agosto de 1776

[Antonio Font, 1st violin
7.700 ... his R¹ [Royal] Decree of September 10, 1782 having S.A. [His Highness] nominated him as his violin on August 25,1776]

The initial figure indicates a salary of 7,700 reales per year (equivalent to over 23,000 euros or 27,700 US dollars), the same amount he was receiving upon don Luis’ death in 1785, as stated in the testamentary execution and inventory made by the Infant’s secretary, Manuel Aristia.

The friendship between the Fonts and the Boccherinis, most likely initiated while at the Infant’s service, was long and lasted even beyond the composer’s death, because in 1809, that is four years after he died, his eldest male son, Luis Marcos, signed a will where he nominated his brother Josef Mariano and the three younger Font, Antonio, Juan and Pablo, as executors.

Luigi Boccherini himself had included Antonio Font among his testamentary executors in 1785, just after don Luis’ death and upon returning to Madrid:

(···) elijo, y nombro, por mis Albaceas, y testamentarios, con la calidad de in solidum, à los dhos Dº Juan Gaston Boccherini, mi hermano, Dº Joseph Pefile, y
à Dº Franço Font, y Dº Antonio Font, (…) cuyo cargo les dure el año del Albaceazgo, y muchos mas si fuese necesario, pues se le prorrogo

[(…) I choose, and nominate, as my testamentary executors, in solidum, the two mentioned Dº Juan Gaston Boccherini, my brother, Dº Joseph Phelipe, and Dº Franço Font, and Dº Antonio Font, (…) be this nomination for the Executing year and many more if it were necessary, since I extend it]

The Infant’s death and the consequent liquidation of his house and court left many of his servants without a job, among them the whole of the Fonts who endured a difficult period of meagerness. However, sometime later, all three brothers, Antonio, Juan and Pablo, obtained a post in the Royal Chapel, Antonio and Juan as violins and the third as double-bass, overcoming there precarious previous situation.

Antonio signed in July 1797 the so-called Constituciones de la Concordia Funeral (Funeral Concord Constitutions), a sort of Royal Chapel union to guarantee their families some funds for the funeral and burial of their members. Upon the foundation act of the Concordia Funeral, Antonio Font and his colleague Joseph de la Torre were elected to be Colectores de cobranzas (Fee Collectors), a real trust responsibility. As pointed out by professor Labrador, Font belonged to the Real Cámara (Royal Chamber) as a violinist between 1802 and 1807.


Related Entries: Aristia, Boccherini (Luis Marcos), Bourbon (Luis), Decree, Font (Family, Francisco, Juan and Pablo(s)).

FONT (family): Five members of this family were interpreters of music: First the two brothers Francisco and Pablo (Francesc and Pau, in Catalan, their native language). They were born in Barcelona and immigrated to Madrid. Their parents were Pablo (Pau, in Catalan) Font (of whom we do not know his occupation), and Narcisa Forns. A second group of family members who were musicians were Antonio, Juan and Pablo, string
players, all three Francisco and Theresa Planas’ children, and all three most likely born in Madrid or its province.

The fact that three members of the Font family had Pablo as their first name has created some confusion among historians and musicologists, especially related to the uncle and nephew. This mixing of personalities has been overcome upon discovering two vows of poverty signed by both brothers Francisco and Pablo Font the very same day, March 30, 1789, where some family details are unveiled.

Francisco and his three sons were Infant don Luis’ servants contemporaneously with Boccherini, with whom they established a close friendship. Since the four Font were string instrumentists (violin, viola, cello, double-bass, without a sharp specialization and probably fond of considering themselves as a family string quartet group), and taking into account that the large series of Boccherinian quintets with two cellos begins exactly when he is taken to his service by the Infant, it is only sensible to infer that the Fonts (quartet) and Boccherini (cello) would make up the appropriate instrumental formation to inspire this peculiar string quintet distribution "invented" by the Luccan composer.

References: AHPM: Vows of poverty by Francisco Font and Pablo Font: Prot. 20.909, pp. 80 and 81, respectively, Notary: Antonio Martinez Llorente, March 30, 1789; Martin Moreno, A.: Historia de la Música Española. 4. El siglo XVIII (BIB); Tortella, J.: Luigi Boccherini, un músico italiano... (BIB); Tortella, J.: Músics catalans a la "Villa y Corte". Siglo XVIII, Los Libros de la Frontera, Rubí, 2005.

Related Entries: Bourbon (Luis), Font (Antonio, Francisco, Juan and Pablo(s)), Vow of Poverty.

FONT, Francisco: Francesc in Catalan, he was a viola player, born in Barcelona (Spain) around 1720, son of Pablo Font and Narcisa Forns. He immigrated to Madrid, where we see him serving don Luis of Bourbon, probably since 1770, and until the Infant’s death, in the summer of 1785, when his salary was 9,000 reales per year (way below Boccherini’s who received two salaries: 18,000 reales as cellist and 12,000 as composer. 1 real would equal 3 euros or 3.6 US dollars).

Francisco Font’s signature in his Vow of Poverty (AHPM: Prot. 20.909, p. 80 rev., March 30, 1789)
It was during the period he served don Luis that Font and Boccherini became friends. Also they collaborated in rehearsals and academies (concerts) offered before don Luis’ private court. Francisco Font’s and Boccherini’s friendship is well documented especially through will deeds where both nominate each other as executors (see the entry FONT, Antonio for further details about this friendship).

Since 1785, Francisco Font endured a hard employment and income crisis clearly seen in the memorandum sent in June 1786 to Minister Floridablanca where he puts forth his situation:

\[
\text{\textit{(\ldots) sin hallar medio para sustentar a sus tres hijos y familia \textit{(\ldots)}, tenga presentes a \textit{él y a sus tres hijos, para las plazas de su cuerda q.\textcolor{red}{e} vayan vacando en la \textit{Rl. Capilla}, le conceda siquiera al sup.\textcolor{red}{e} sólo, el corto sueldo q.\textcolor{red}{e} gozaba del Sr. Infante Dift.\textcolor{red}{o}, para poder dar de comer (aunque sea con miseria) a sus pobres hijos, q.\textcolor{red}{e} tuvieron también la honra de ser criados de dho. Sr. Infante}}
\]

\[
\text{\textit{[\ldots] not finding the means to sustain his three children and family \textit{\ldots}, take him and his three children into consideration, for the posts of their string q.\textcolor{red}{e} (\textit{que}), which will be left available in the Rl. (Real) Royal Chapel, bestow at least only the sup.\textcolor{red}{e} (\textit{suplicante}) supplicant, the short salary q.\textcolor{red}{e} (\textit{que}) which he enjoyed from the defunct Sr. Infante Dift.\textcolor{red}{o} (\textit{Difunto}), to be able to feed (even miserably) his poor sons, q.\textcolor{red}{e} (\textit{que}) who were also honored to be servers of the dho. (\textit{dicho}) aforesaid Sr. Infant}}
\]

A year later he declares:

\[
D^{\text{a}} \text{Fran\textcolor{red}{c}o Font, Musico de Camara que fue del S\textcolor{red}{.} Infante \textit{\ldots} no habiendo logrado todavía su acomodo en la R\textcolor{red}{1} Capilla, ni otra parte, suplica á SM. se digne concederle la continuación de su sueldo}
\]

\[
[D^{\text{a}} \text{Fran\textcolor{red}{c}o Font, former Chamber Musician of S\textcolor{red}{.} Infant \textit{\ldots} not having managed yet to find a place in the R\textcolor{red}{1} (\textit{Real}) Royal Chapel, nor in any other place, supplicates SM. (\textit{His Majesty}) condescend to assign him the continuance of his salary}
\]

Despite the dramatic situation depicted, Francisco Font would enter in 1787 to the service of the noble house of Benavente-Osuna as a copyist of music. This job must have been ephemeral since his economic situation deteriorated rapidly and we see him in 1789 calling at a notarial office to sign his vow of poverty, having Boccherini’s second male child, Josef Mariano, signing as a witness. Nonetheless, among the tobacco revenue
investors of life-annuity shares, we find Francisco Font in 1797, with 15,250 *reales*, which could indicate a certain economical redressing.


**Related Entries**: Aristia, Boccherini (Josef Mariano), Bourbon (Luis), Floridablanca, Font (Antonio, Family, Juan and Pablo(s)), Vow of Poverty.

**FONT, Juan**: Son (probably the second) of Francisco and Theresa Planas, both born in Barcelona (Spain). As his father and as his two brothers Antonio and Pablo, he served the Infant don Luis of Bourbon. The decree nominating him as violin is dated September 10, 1782, receiving 4,400 *reales* per year (or some 13,200 euros or 15,800 US dollars), the same amount he was receiving upon the Infant’s death in 1785, as stated in the testamentary execution and inventory made by the Infant’s secretary, Manuel Aristia.

(About the friendship between the Fonts and Boccherini, see **FONT, Antonio**).

After the Infant’s death he, as the rest of the family, endured some years of economic difficulties until he passed an audition to enter the Royal Chapel as a violinist. On July 1797, he signed the Constitutions of the Concordia Funeral (see **FONT, Antonio** for some information about this peculiar institution).


**Related Entries**: Aristia, Bourbon (Luis), Decree, Font (Antonio, Family, Francisco and Pablo(s)).

**FONT, Pablo (son of Francisco)**: Son (probably the third) of Francisco and Theresa Planas, both born in Barcelona (Spain). As his father and as his two brothers Antonio and Juan, he served the Infant don Luis of Bourbon. The decree nominating his a violin is dated November 2, 1779, with a salary of 2,200 *reales* per year, the common Spanish currency in the 1700s, but the same decree specifies that on September 10, 1782, he gets an increase up to 5,500 *reales* per year (or some 16,500 euros or 19,800 US dollars). This
was the amount he was receiving upon the Infant’s death in 1785, as stated in the testamentary execution and inventory made by the Infant’s secretary, Manuel Aristia.

(About the friendship between the Fonts and Boccherini, see Font, Antonio).

After the Infant’s death he, as the rest of the family, endured some years of economic difficulties until he passed an audition to enter the Royal Chapel as a double-bassist. On July 1797, he signed the Constitutions of the Concordia Funeral (see Font, Antonio for some information about this peculiar institution).


Related Entries: Aristia, Bourbon (Luis), Decree, Font (Antonio, Family, Francisco and Juan and Pablo (brother of Francisco)).

Font, Pablo (brother of Francisco): Pau in Catalan (his native language) was born in Barcelona (Spain), son of Pablo Font and Narcisa Forns. He immigrated to Madrid where he entered the service to the dukes of Osuna, where the Catalan musicians Pablo (Pau) Esteve (c1730-1794), Francisco (Francesc) Torner (?-1767) and Salvador Reixach (c1725-1780) were employed. Torner died on July 25, 1767, having established in his will that Salvador Rexach and Pablo Font would be its executors.

Pablo Font endured economic difficulties which brought him to the notary to sign a vow of poverty on March 30, 1789, where he stated he was married to Ramona Manalt and had no children. This very same day, before the same notary and with a similar text, his brother Francisco (c1720-1759) signed his own vow of poverty.


FortePiano: See Piano-Pianoforte.

Fossa, François de (1775-1849): Dilettante composer and guitarist born in the city of Perpignan (South of France), from a wealthy and cultivated family. He opted for a military
career and after the French Revolution, exactly after Louis XVI’s execution in the guillotine in 1793, he fled to Spain where he enrolled in the so-called Legión de los Pirineos (Pyrenees Legion), moving around different peninsular zones. Between 1796 and 1803, he was in Mexico at viceroy Azanza’s service, returning to the Spanish metropolis during the convulsive period prior to the Independence War (1808-1814). Having reached the grade of Captain, he was imprisoned by his own fellow countrymen but finally joined the French cause and had to escape from Spain after José Bonaparte’s defeat in 1813. Again in France, he stayed in the army almost the rest of his life. He died in Paris.

François de Fossa (Period Engraving Print)

During the period between 1803 and his fleeing to France, de Fossa attended frequently Madrid’s Frenchified musical cenacles, where also Borja de Riquer y Ros, the marquis of Benavent, used to call. Being himself a pro-French guitar dilettante as well, he established some kind of companionship with Fossa.

Since Boccherini had written or transcribed for Benavent a series of Guitar and String Quintets, Fossa asked him for permission, around 1811, to copy those pieces probably for his own use, but he only had the time to copy seven out of the twelve Guitar Quintets (the series might have been even larger than twelve).

The only Guitar Quintets’ scores that have survived are the seven copied by Fossa (G. 445 to 451) and an eighth the vicissitudes of which are not accurately known (G. 453).
(A version of the *Ritirata di Madrid* was added to this last Quintet some undetermined time during the 20th century.)

The first six "de Fossa" *Quintets* (G. 445-451) belong today to the USA Library of Congress, purchased by its agents in a 1922 auction. Before that, they belonged to Fossa, then to Louis Picquot and finally to the Berlin antiquary Leo Liepmannssohn, who sold them in the mentioned auction.

**References:** Ophee, M.: *Luigi Boccherini’s Guitar Quintets...* (BIB).


**FRANCE:** Although the European mosaic has changed dramatically since the 18th century, we can allow ourselves to say that Boccherini had a close and direct relationship with four countries or European zones: Italy (not a unified state at that time), Spain (few changes in the metropolis, but its immense empire does not exist anymore), the Austrian-German Empire (radically different today), and France (maybe the country with lesser changes, although her colonies have also been liquidated as such).

The time we know for sure that Boccherini spent in France was short, just a few months, from the fall of 1767 or winter 1767-68 until the spring of 1768. He had been previously touring the northern and northwestern areas of the Italic peninsula, along with the so-called Quartetto Toscano (Tuscany Quartet: Manfredi, Nardini, Cambini and himself). The group soon split and only Manfredi and Boccherini kept the idea to visit Paris and then London. But unexpected events most probably linked to the cold critiques and reception of his musical performance, and also related to Luigi’s sentimental ties with Clementina Pelliccia, pushed Boccherini to forget his London project and head towards Madrid. He would settle in Spain to remain there for ever.

In spite of his short stay in France, links with this country were strong and for life. He published in France the bulk of his musical production, establishing commercial agreements with numerous music editors, either French or residents in France, such as Venier, Bailleux, Boyer, Le Bureau d’Abonnement Musical, Castaud, La Chevardière, Delrieu, Imbault, Leduc, Naderman, Pleyel, Sieber, only to mention some of the most active, as far as Boccherini is concerned.
Added to this intense relationship with French editors, Boccherini maintained or tried to maintain some mail contacts with the "cittadino Rappresentante" (Representative citizen) Marie-Joseph Chénier, and served Lucien Bonaparte, during the time, in 1801, he was Napoleon’s plenipotentiary in Spain.


**FRIEDRICH WILHELM II (Prussia) (1744-1797):** Successor of Friedrich II, "The Great", he reigned from 1786 until his death. A man of reactionary ideas, he opposed anything coming from the French Revolution. He aimed at consolidating his kingdom by means of stern policies of armed superiority before the neighboring states.

![Prussian King Frederick Wilhelm II (Period Medallion Print)](image)

When still a prince of known musical taste who could even play the cello with fair skill, Friedrich Wilhelm received in 1783 from the Prussian ambassador in Madrid a copy of Boccherini’s Op. 33 *String Quartets* he had listened to in the Spanish capital. The prince then sent to the composer a laudatory letter along with a golden box as a present,
and begged him to send more music. This would be the beginning of a long relationship enhanced after the Infant don Luis’ death in the summer of 1785.

Next January, Friedrich Wilhelm would sit on the throne but even before that he would send to Boccherini a certification nominating him as his Court Chamber Composer. From this moment on Boccherini served the Prussian prince, and later King, until March 1798, a few months after Friedrich Wilhelm II’s death. His son and successor, Friedrich Wilhelm III, did not prolong the contract with the musician.

During the twelve years span from 1786 to 1798, Boccherini steadily sent his music to the Prussian Court. It is still to be elucidated whether he paid a visit to his Prussian protector or if he just sent his works. (See the entry BRESLAU.)

Boccherini declares to be Chamber Composer of Prussian king in numerous scores (original autographs and autograph or printed copies). He also often mentions the Prussian king and the service he renders or has rendered him, in his correspondence, especially with Pleyel.

References: Biagi Ravenni, G.: "La Carta de Breslau’..." (BIB); Parker, M.: "Luigi Boccherini and the court of Prussia" (BIB); Parker, M.: "Boccherini’s Chamber Works for Friedrich Wilhelm II" (BIB); Rothschild, G.: Luigi Boccherini... (BIB).

Related Entries: Bourbon (Luis), Breslau, Friedrich Wilhelm III, Letters, Prussia.

FRIEDRICH WILHELM III (Prussia) (1770-1840): Upon his father’s death in 1797, he inherited the crown until he died. He tried at first to keep neutral in front of the conflicts generated by French expansive actions, but he finally had to enter war in 1806.

As the aftermath of his defeat against the French troops, his country ended up torn apart and he was forced to accept social and economic reforms. Nevertheless, as soon as the Congress of Vienna, in 1815, restored the previous situation, Friedrich Wilhelm ignored his own commitments and canceled whatever changes he had made to immediately reestablish the old system.

As far as Boccherini is concerned, the new Prussian king ordered to send a note to the composer, dated March 2, 1798, to inform him that his services were no longer necessary, so Boccherini lost one of his income sources.
Prussian King Frederick Wilhelm III

References: Rothschild, G.: Luigi Boccherini... (BIB).


Fuentes, earl of (1724-1776): His actual name was Joaquín Anastasio Pignatelli. Born in the Sicilian town of Caltanissetta, Charles III appointed him Spanish ambassador in Paris in 1763, replacing marquis of Grimaldi. He kept this office until 1773 when the earl of Aranda was nominated for this responsibility. Fuentes would die in Madrid three years later.

When Boccherini and Manfredi reached Paris, by late 1767, the earl of Fuentes was head of the Spanish diplomatic representation in the French capital and it seems he used to attend intellectual gatherings in different salons, such as the one held by baron de Bagge, where he probably met the two Luccan musicians and shared with them evening talks and art interchanges.

This likely relationship has given place to some biographical speculations, especially after the biographical accounts by Choron and Fayolle, Fétis and Picquot, and even Rothschild, Biagioni or Della Croce. According to this speculative tradition, Boccherini and Manfredi decided to go to Spain because Pignatelli convinced them that they would find in Madrid the best environment to succeed. To underpin this never
documented thesis about the ambassador’s influence over the two Lucann musicians, another unsubstantiated point has been put forth according to which the ambassador gave them some letters of recommendation to produce themselves before the Court in Madrid (Rothschild, Biagioni and Della Croce). So far, those letters have never been found in any public or private archive.

References: Biagioni, U.: Boccherini (BIB); Croce, L. della: Il divino Boccherini (BIB); Choron, A. E. et Fayolle F. J.: Dictionnaire historique des musiciens artistes et amateurs, morts ou vivans, Valade et Lenormand, Paris, 1810-1811 (2 Vols.); Fétis, F.-J.: Biographie universelle des Musiciens et bibliographie générale de la musique (BIB); Picquot, L.: Notice sur la vie et les ouvrages de Luigi Boccherini... (BIB); Rothschild, G. de: Luigi Boccherini... (BIB).


**FUGUE**: This is a complex musical form which might be a piece by itself or a part of a wider work. Many studies have been written about the *Fugue*, most for educational purposes because mastering the *Fugue* technique was traditionally considered as something essential towards the composer’s skills.

Basically, a *Fugue* starts with a theme-subject, presented by a first voice or instrument, yielding pass to a counter-theme or response by a second voice, but not necessarily silencing the first. A third voice might resume the initial theme under a different angle, overlapping with the two previous ones which will keep developing the subject and the response. The process might go on, normally until five different voices have made their entrance using the subject, the response or a recapitulation theme based on the subject.

It is generally agreed that Johann Sebastian Bach (1685-1750) reached the highest level ever attained in the field of the *Fugue*, especially but not exclusively, with his two series of *The Well-tempered Clavier* (Ist: BWV 846-869 and IInd: BWV 870-893).

Boccherini was not much of a *Fugue* writer, both in quality and in quantity, but he did not completely neglect it. As a part or movement within a piece, the scarce Boccherinian Fugues of proven authenticity appear over a 20 years period, between the early date of 1760 and the mature 1779-1780, if we include the non declared Fugue which permeate two movements in one single *Quintet* (see some lines further).

The four times Boccherini indicates the term "Fuga" are the following:

- *String Trio* for two violins and cello in D Major, Op. 1, No. 4, (G. 80),
III - Fuga-Allegro, of 1760;
III - Fuga con spirito, of 1761;
- Two cellos *String Quintet* in D Minor, Op. 13, No. 4, (G. 280),
III - Fuga-Allegro giusto, of 1772;
- Two cellos *String Quintet* in C Minor, Op. 29, No. 2, (G. 314),
IV - Fuga-Allegro giusto, of 1779.

Also the C Minor two cellos *String Quintet*, Op. 31 No. 4, (G. 328), of 1780, mentioned above starts with a "Preludio-Adagio" (resumed in the third movement) which presents a fugue-like theme.

As for the *Fugue* as a genre *per se*, Gérard’s Catalogue includes six pieces (*Six Fugues*) for two violoncellos (or two bassoons), grouped under G. 73, with a non guaranteed authenticity. The manuscript kept in the Venice Conservatory presents the name "Boccherini" clearly added, although this *Six Fugues* could be juvenile exercises by the Luccan composer.

![Incipit of the E Major Fugue G. 73, No. 6, for two cellos](image)


**Related Entries**: Quartet, Quintet, Trio.
**G, g**

**G.**: This is the initial of Gérard, last name of the French musicologist who in 1969 published a comprehensive *Thematic Catalogue* assigning a correlative number to each work by Boccherini. This number preceded by a G. has become the most common way to label those works.

Nevertheless, besides Gérard’s system, numbering Boccherini’s works usually follows two more criteria. First, the classical one according to editions, which has two drawbacks: a) a work can bear more than one opus number depending on the edition; and b) an opus number might belong to two or more works. Adding to this, a significant part of the works was never edited in Boccherini’s lifetime (some were published decades later or even centuries later, and some have never been published). Also, logically enough, editions do not respect a composition chronological order.

Second, in 1879, Boccherini’s great grandson, Alfredo Boccherini y Calonje, published a catalogue stating that all the data were taken from the catalogue the composer himself had been compiling all through his professional life, including his opus number, the date of composition and where the work had ended up, be it a publisher, an employer or someone who did not intend to publish it (as in the case of M. Boulogne), or else if the work had remained unpublished. This list has also the disadvantage that the majority of vocal works and pieces for the cello (sonatas and concertos) are not included. (Boccherini y Calonje’s catalogue is similar to that of Baillot, but contrarily to this last one, it lacks the incipits of the works.)

As it has been said, 90 years later, in 1969, professor Yves Gérard, building on top of the unnumbered Louis Picquot’s catalogue, of Boccherini y Calonje’s and, obviously, on his own research, issued his *Thematic Catalogue* containing all the works he had been able to locate, including some of doubtful authenticity and others simply false, provided they had been one time or another attributed to Boccherini. Gerard’s *Catalogue* is structured by groups according to the instrumentation, beginning with the cello sonatas and other one sole instrument pieces, then the duos, then the trios, quartets, quintets, sextets, octets, Symphonies, and so on. Within each group, professor Gérard intended to rank the works chronologically by the known (or likely) date of composition.
According to this plan, each work has a number preceded by a G. (similar to K. for Mozart’s Köchel Catalogue, or D. for Schubert’s Deutsch Catalogue, or also D. for Tartini’s Dunias Catalogue...).

According to these three criteria (editions, Boccherini-Baillot and Gérard’s), it is possible for a work by Boccherini to have three different numbers. For instance, the C Minor Quartet of 1761 might be labeled as:

- Op. 1, No. 1, according to Venier (first edition);
- Op. 2, No. 1, according to Boccherini y Calonje and to Baillot;
- G. 159, according to Gérard.

G. numbers rank from 1 to 580, in two segments:

- G. 1 to G. 561 works are numbered by Gérard according to his already mentioned grouping criteria, and
- G. 562 to G. 580 make up a Supplement with works he spotted in the later phase of his research, once assigned the previous numbering segment.

This Supplement was also grouped in four sections: a) one instrument, b) two instruments, c) orchestral, and d) three instruments.

Gérard’s is still the most exhaustive Catalogue of Boccherini’s works, even being already almost 40 years old, and G. numbering system is the most utilized in books, articles and recordings, often along with the opus number from Boccherini y Calonje and Baillot (if it exists). Since this last is chronological, contrarily to Gérard’s, it offers a useful temporal hint, even though the dates are not totally guaranteed.

It is worth mentioning that in 2006, professor Gérard and the Luccan Centro Studi Luigi Boccherini signed an agreement to update his Thematic Catalogue, bringing in the works discovered since 1969, amending some errors and adding new information. The Catalogue will be released in digital version available through Internet with all the searching tools users can take advantage of.

References: Boccherini y Calonje, A.: Luis Boccherini... (BIB); Gérard, Y.: Thematic, Bibliographical and Critical Catalogue of the Works of Luigi Boccherini (BIB); Mangani, M. and Coli, R.: "Osservazioni sul catalogo autografo di Luigi Boccherini..." (BIB); Mangani, M.: Luigi Boccherini (BIB); Mangani, M.: "Boccherini, fuente de si mismo" (BIB); Pascoe, K.: "La reparación del Catálogo de Baillot" (BIB); Picquot, L.: Notice sur la vie et les ouvrages de Luigi Boccherini... (BIB).
Related Entries: Baillot, Boccherini y Calonje, Catalogue, Centro Studi Luigi Boccherini, Picquot.

**GAIL, Sophie** (1775-1819): She was born and died in Paris. Her family name was Garre but upon her marriage when she was only 19, she took her husband’s name. Twenty years older than her, the hellenist Jean-Baptiste Gail (1755-1829), agreed to divorce in 1801.

Sophie studied harmony and counterpoint with François Fétis and became a composer of songs and stage pieces, and was also a singer and a pianist.

In October 1802, contemporarily with the wedding celebrations in Barcelona honoring the future Ferdinand VII, or maybe actually because of those celebrations, Sophie Gail sojourned in the Catalan capital, singing and playing the piano, as can be read in *Diario de Barcelona* of that time. Madame Gail’s stay in Barcelona must have been immediately before going to Madrid, where she was to visit Boccherini. The Paris Conservatory copy of Boccherini’s *Stabat Mater* bears a manuscript note by the composer saying:

*Regalato da me Luigi Boccherini alla stimabile Madama Gail*

[Given by me Luigi Boccherini to the estimable Madama Gail]
with another added manuscript remark, with different handwriting, probably Madame Gail’s, noting:

Madrid 25 février 1803

While this is a documented fact, Gail’s instructor had built up a baseless legend adding unbelievable details to the pianist’s visit to Boccherini. Fétis puts on Gail’s lips an account describing the Luccan musician in such a miserable state that he only had one room for his family and himself. When he wanted to work away from his noisy children, he withdrew with the help of a ladder to a sort of wooden gallery built out from the wall, where he had an old worm-eaten viola lacking three strings. Picquot repeated the story of the noisy children with his own words:

troublé dans ses travaux par le bruit que faisaient incessamment ses enfants
[bothered in his work because of the noise his children made continuously]

There is no substantiated report by Madame Gail to justify this "invented" description by Fétis. Professor Gérard has proven no Gail account is to be found anywhere.

Besides this, Boccherini had no "children" (enfants) around him in 1803 to bother him. His youngest "child", Teresa, was over 25 years old and he had no grandsons, so Boccherini’s misery has come out to be sheer wishful thinking.


Related Entries: Boccherini (Teresa), Fétis, Picquot.

GALLEGOS DÁVALOS, Maria del Carmen (1775-1844): {BY JOSEP MARIA MANGADO} Countess of Dávalos since 1817, she was born in Lima and was a descendant of Nicolás de Ribera "el Viejo" (The Old), conqueror and founder of Perú and the first
Mayor of Lima as well. She moved to Madrid and soon later, on May 4, 1797, married Borja de Riquer y Ros, marquis of Benavent.

The couple had seven children and bore such a high standard of living that they soon ran into bankruptcy. Among the many expenses, no doubt an important chapter was music. The marquis ordered and paid generously a series of pieces to the most in fashion musician in Madrid, that is, Luigi Boccherini.

Maria del Carmen Gallegos remained in Madrid when her husband had to go into exile to France after having been King José I’s (Bonaparte, 1768-1844) Major Beater. On top of her deep economic crisis, close to poverty, Gallegos found nothing but hostility in Court so she moved to Barcelona with her children and never again met with her husband.

The earldom of Dávalos patrimony she inherited in 1817 and part of Riquer’s patrimony as well allowed Maria del Carmen to retrieve her social and economic rank, bearing a conformable life.

References: Mangado, J. Mª: "El marqués de Benavent (1768-1849) El aristócrata y guitarrista que encargó a Luigi Boccherini los Quintetos con guitarra" (BIB); Mangado, J. Mª: "Riquer y Ros, Francesc de Borja de" (BIB); Riquer, Martí de: Quinze generacions d’una família catalana, Barcelona, Quaderns Crema, 2000.

Related Entries: Benavent.

GARAT, Pierre Jean (1762-1823): Singer born in Bordeaux (France), his voice tessitura was between baritone and tenor. Although he could have been considered a royalist, since he had often sang before the queen Maria Antonieta, he was admitted as a teacher in the Paris Conservatory since 1796, that in under the revolutionary Directory.

According to Boccherini, Garat stayed in Spain in 1799, where he used to attend the musical academies held by the marquis of Benavent. This is what the Luccan composer says in a letter to Pleyel, dated in Madrid on June 20 that same year. In fact, Boccherini alludes to Garat and to violinist Pierre Rode, as his "queridos amigos e hijos" (dear friends and sons, explaining he considered as such all talented young men). He says that both were at the marquis’ home when performing some of the Guitar Quintets he had transcribed from the Piano Quintets for the Catalan noble man’s sole use, and argues that the two young musicians, Garat and Rode, can tell Pleyel about the quality of those pieces.

This is the only known link between Garat and Boccherini.
**GARCÍA, Miguel:** Better knows as "Padre Basilio", he was a monk resident in the Convento de San Basilio among who’s musical abilities was composing for, and interpreting, the guitar and the organ. Notices of his life and works are scarce.

In the music store called Casa Sors, of Barcelona, it is possible today to purchase a copy of a manuscript containing some of "Padre Basilio"’s works, which have been very recently premiered by guitarist Carles Trepat, both in Barcelona and in Madrid. (This information has been facilitated by Josep Maria Mangado)

It has been said that Miguel García was such a great virtuoso that King Charles IV took him under his protection. He has also been credited as the 'inventor' of the seven string guitar even though the addition or suppression of strings can be hardly attributable to the initiative of a single person, at a particular time. In different periods and different places different ideas and experiments were done and some succeeded while some failed. Father Feijoo, for instance, put forth the idea for the guitar to move from five to six strings and it is most likely that Miguel García "Basilio" would have backed the idea of adding two instead of just one string.

Boccherini declared he had listened to this virtuoso when he included his own version of the fandango rhythm in one of his two cellos String Quintets (Op. 40, No. 2, G. 341, later transcribed within the Guitar Quintet G. 448). Boccherini stated he had written G. 341 Quintet "imitando il fandango che suona sulla chitarra Padre Basilio..." (imitating the fandango played on the guitar by Father Basilio).


**Related Entries:** Fandango, Guitar, Quintet.
reales, as a payment for 110 pieces of music, he indicates this money had been handed to him by M. Étienne Drouilhet on behalf of a Parisian firm named "M. Lang Lupai Gelot et Cie" (1 real would equal 3 euros or 3.6 US dollars).

This is the only time this firm is mentioned in the correspondence between Boccherini and Pleyel.

References: Letter and receipt LB: Madrid, July 7, 1797; Croce, L. della: Il divino Boccherini... (Epistolary) (BIB); Rothschild, G. de: Luigi Boccherini... (BIB); Saint-Foix, G. de: "La correspondance de Boccherini avec I. Pleyel" (BIB).

Related Entries: Drouilhet, Pleyel.

GENEALOGY: {BY JOSÉ ANTONIO BOCCHERINI SÁNCHEZ} Including Luigi Boccherini’s own generation, until today, first decade of 21st century, that is, for more than 200 years, there has been nine generations, being the last one still open. But we have some data about generations previous to the composer’s.

Luigi’s great-grandfather, Giovacchino Boccherini, migrated from Florence to Lucca and in 1663 married the Luccan Maddalena Partigliani in the church of Saints Giovanni and Reparata. They had twelve children, the ninth of which, Antonio, wedded María Felice Teresa Mancini in 1706, daughter of a Florentine, a tobacco trader, and a Luccan, María Isabetta Lena. It seems Antonio worked in two trades, occasionally as a gunner for the war batteries defending the Luccan ramparts whenever there was an armed conflict, and as a barber, which implied at that time some simple surgery practices (bleeding, tooth extraction...). His third child, Francesco Leopoldo, was born in 1713 and on October 22, 1737 he married Maria Santa Prosperi. Leopoldo was to be the initiator of musical activities within the family since he was a double-bass player. (Data obtained from Remigio Coli: Luigi Boccherini La vita e le opere.)

The couple Boccherini-Prosperi had six children, the forth of which would be Luigi. The eldest, as reported by Coli, was baptized as Giovanni Gastone but died having not even reached two years of age and this same name would be given to the following male child, born one year later, the third among the six. But before him, Maria Ester came to life being the de facto "eldest".

The fourth child would be baptized with the names of Ridolfo Luigi, but he would soon be known just as Luigi, and as such he has a place in History.
Luigi was born in a family of artists being the most renown but not the only one. His sister, María Ester, three years older than him, became a great dancer, reaching very young the rank of first dancer in the companies with which she worked. She had great successes in Vienna, before the empress Maria Theresa’s Court, and she wedded the famous dancer Onorato Viganò, forming one of the most appreciated and solicited dancing couples in Europe. Their son, Salvatore Viganò, was not just a good dancer within the lineage but even surpassed his parents.

Giovanni Gastone was also an artist, although he needed time to find his true vocation, poetry. He tried violin, dance and singing, but at last it would be become a librettist in which he would succeed from 1767 on, dedicating the rest of his life to this activity.

The other two younger sisters of the Luccan musician, Anna Matilde and Riccarda, tried in Vienna the same dancing career path as their elder sister María Ester, but they never reached much success.

Luigi Boccherini married twice, both times in Spain. His first wife, Clementina Pelliccia Hartz, was an opera singer in the soprano tessitura, the same as her sister Maria Teresa. She married Boccherini on August 17, 1769 in La Granja de San Ildefonso (see the entry SAN ILDEFONSO). She died on April 2, 1785. Luigi’s second spouse was Maria Pilar Joaquina Porreti Pradel. Her parents were the cellist and composer Domingo Porreti and Manuela Pradel. Her marriage with Boccherini took place in the Madrilean parish of San Sebastián, on April 18, 1787, and Maria Pilar Joaquina would die on January 11, 1805, just a few months before Luigi.
Clementina gave birth seven children, while Maria Pilar Joaquina had none.

Since the generation after Luigi’s until the beginning of the 20th century, the family line is a single line, that is, a single male had descendants, making up a very simple genealogical tree of Boccherini’s lineage. All descendants were born and lived in Spain, mainly in Madrid.

The eldest of Boccherini’s and Pelliccia’s seven children, Joaquina, was born in Madrid on August 6, 1770, and died single also in Madrid (25 years old), on May 8, 1796. Luis Marcos Clemente, was born in the Royal Site of Aranjuez, on April 25, 1774. He entered priesthood in Toledo, in 1794, at 20 years of age, and his death date is unknown. Probably before Luis Marcos, another male child was born, Félix Luis, who would have been Luigi’s second offspring of whom we only know for sure he died on March 1, 1780. Next, Josef Mariano is likely to have been the fourth, born in the Royal Site of El Pardo, on February 2, 1776 and would be the only one to have descendants. He served in the house of marquises of Cerralbo and he married María de la Concepción Gallicioli y Hernández after 1809. Josef Mariano died on October 15, 1847.

The other three female children of Luigi, Maria Teresa, Mariana and Isabel, were born in Arenas de San Pedro during their parent’s stay in that municipality. Their birth dates are unknown, but some hints allow us to infer that Maria Teresa must have been born between 1777 and 1781, Mariana in 1782 and Isabel in 1783. Maria Teresa died in Madrid on July 9, 1804, being between 23 and 27 years old, Mariana also died in Madrid on July 11, 1802 when she was 20 years old, and Isabel, also died in Madrid at 19 years of age, on November 27, 1802. All of Luigis’ daughters died single.

Clementina Pelliccia --- 1769 --- Luigi Boccherini --- 1787 --- M. Pilar Joaquina Porreti

| | | | | |
|Joaquina (1770-1796) | Félix Luis (?-1780) | Josef Mariano (1776-1847) | Mariana (1782-1802) | Isabel (1783-1802) |
|Luis Marcos (1774-?) | M. Teresa (?-1804) | |

We can briefly summarize: of Luigi Boccherini and Clementina Pelliccia’s seven children of which only Josef Mariano had children; the rest did not: all girls died single, one boy died being a child less than 10 years old, and the other boy became a priest.
Josef Mariano and Maria Concepción Gallicioli y Hernández had only one child, Fernando, who married twice, first to Maria Narcisa Calonje y Fenollet, with whom he had five offspring, and later with Maria Amparo Abenza y Lloret, with whom he had two more children. Only one of Fernando’s children had descendants.

Fernando Boccherini and Maria Narcisa Calonje had the following children: Maria de la Concepción, Alfredo, Maria Juliana, Luisa and Josefa. Those Fernando had with Maria Amparo Abenza were Fernando and Juan. Alfredo, journalist and writer, was the author of a brief biographical account about his great-grandfather Luigi and was the only one of his generation to have descendants.

Fernando Boccherini y Calonje (1861-1919) and Emilia Hortal had no children but this couple is significantly important from a Luigi Boccherini biographical standpoint since Emilia Hortal, once she was Fernando’s widow, was the last member of the family to keep the composer’s papers and documents. It has been erroneously reported that those papers and documents had disappeared during the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939).

Alfredo married María Ouradou y San Román and had four children: Eusebio, Maria Luisa and two twin girls who died babies. Of them, Eusebio, married to Maria Antonia Serrano, was the only one to have children, all of them girls: Maria Adelaida, Maria del Carmen, Elisa and Maria Antonia. According to the laws of that time, the following generation would bear the name Boccherini only as second last name which implied it would vanish the next generation. In order to avoid such eventuality, some
members of that family level, taking advantage of a change in the law regulating the assignment of last names, have swapped first and second last names so that today there is an abundant amount of family members bearing "Boccherini" as their first name.

Alfredo Boccherini y Calonje --- ? --- Maria Ouradou y San Román
(1847-1907) | (1848-?)

|---------------------------------------------------------------|
| M. Antonia Serrano ---1903 --- Eusebio                     | Maria Luisa           | Two twin girls
| (1883-1980) | (1875-1914) | (1877-1949) | dead still babies

|------------------------------------------------------------------|
| M. Adelaida                      M. Carmen                  Elisa               M. Antonia
| (single) | | | |

From the generation immediately after Eusebio’s, the family initiates a clear expansion in Spain. Three of his four girls have had a total of thirteen children, giving place to a certain demographic explosion with a new generation of more than thirty members and a following one still open.

M. Adelaida --1929-- José Sánchez Arroyo

José Antonio Boccherini Sánchez and three more children

Elisa --- ? --- José P. Aparicio Cabezón
(1909) | (?-1982)

seven children

M. Antonia --1941-- Gonzalo Pérez Morales

two children

It is worth pointing out that none of Luigi Boccherini’s descendants has been a musician or has had any professional relationship with music; only Maria Adelaida (1904-
1993) studied piano and was an excellent player of this instrument, although always in private.

**References:** Boccherini, J. A.: "Luigi Boccherini, el hombre" (BIB); Boccherini Sánchez, J. A.: "Los testamentos de Boccherini" (BIB); Boccherini, J. A. and Tortella, J.: "Las viviendas madrileñas de Luigi Boccherini. Una laguna biográfica" (BIB); Coli, R.: Luigi Boccherini La vita e le opere (BIB); Pérez Morales, G.: Vida de Luis Boccherini (BIB); Rothschild, G.: Luigi Boccherini... (BIB); Tortella, J.: Boccherini, un músico italiano... (BIB); Tortella, J.: "Errors, Myths and Legends around Luigi Boccherini" (BIB); Tortella, J.: "2005: A duecento dalla scomparsa, rimangono dei «buchi neri» nella biografia di Luigi Boccherini" (BIB).

**Related Entries:** Aranjuez, Arenas de San Pedro, Boccherini (Alfredo, Anna Matilde, Familia, Felix Luis, Giovanni Gastone, Joaquina, Josef Mariano, Leopoldo, Luis Marcos, Maria Ester, Maria Teresa, Mariana, Riccarda Gonzaga), Madrid, Pardo (El), Pelliccia (Clementina, Maria Teresa), Pérez Morales, San Ildefonso, Spain, Viganò (Onorato, Salvatore).

**GENOA (Italy):** {BY CARMELA BONGIOVANNI} Capital of the old state of the Republic of Genoa, in 1797 transformed into a Democratic Republic, and in 1815, after the brief napoleonic period during which it was annexed to the French Empire, linked to the Sardinian Kingdom. Located in the very center of the Gulf, Genoa has always benefited from its privileged Mediterranean situation towards commerce and interchanges, and also economic and financial agreements with its neighbors or countries with interests in the region. The 1788 census showed that Genoa had 77,563 inhabitants, a figure reaching 90,000 by 1800, placing the city among the most populated of the Italian peninsula.

Its ruling class’ activities have always had in this sense a European side. The powerful Banco di San Giorgio, erected through an extraordinary economic and financial effort by the ruling oligarchy, was in fact independent from the republican government, a true "state inside the state", as it has been defined. Thanks to its financial strength and its strategic geographic situation, the Republic of Genoa, although small and fragile in the middle of more powerful neighboring European states permanently menacing its independence, had been able to keep neutral for many centuries until the French revolutionary blow decreed its death as a state.

According to the ruling oligarchic structure of the Republic of Genoa, power and consequently the right-duty to participate in the institutional posts (first of all that of the doge, elected every two years), were in the hands of the restricted group of patricians.

No wonder most of the theater undertakings in Genoa were promoted by prominent families. This is the case of the Teatro di Sant'Agostino, erected in 1702 by nobleman
Nicolò Maria Pallavicino’s initiative; and in 1765, Giacomo Filippo Durazzo collaborated economically towards programming some stage works performed in this coliseum (in 1770, the theater would pass to be Marcellino Durazzo’s propriety). Giacomo Filippo himself paid Filippo Manfredi for a musical performance in his palace on June 2, 1764, to honor Madame de Chauvelin. Besides Manfredi, Durazzo mentions the event an in accountaniting entry to pay ten more "sonatori" (musicians), but fails to specify their names.

As far as music is concerned, the several Pallavicino family branches had a primary importance during the period Luigi Boccherini (and Filippo Manfredi) spent in Genoa: the Pallavicino senior branch exerted the patronage right over the music performed in the church of Sant'Ambrogio, being that its musical chapel was administrated and governed by Giovanni Carlo and Domenico Pallavicino all through the second half of the 1700s.

Also, during the 1760s, the presence of Boccherini’s colleague, the violinist Filippo Manfredi, is documented. He appears among the musicians frequenting this chapel and was paid as supernumerary for the private religious celebrations. From a later testimony (second half of the 1800s) we can infer that music performed in another Genoa religious institution benefited from the Pallavicino financial help: the church and oratorio of San Filippo Neri, which had a very rich musical life, as evidenced by many registers related to music kept in the accounting book of its Archive.

It was in order to perform them in Genoa’s San Filippo Neri that manuscript copies of the Boccherinian oratories Gioas and Giuseppe riconosciuto were ordered probably around 1765-1767, as can be seen on the front pages of the musical sources filed in the local Conservatory Library. The same water mark on the Genoa manuscripts of these two oratories is found in the manuscript of the aria Tornate sereni (from Metastasio’s Achille in Sciro) filed in the same Genoa Conservatory Library together with some other instrumental works by Boccherini. As stated in its front page, Boccherini wrote Tornate sereni for the male-soprano Luca Fabris, contracted by Genoa’s Teatro Sant'Agostino during the spring of 1767 to sing the Achille in Sciro by Florian Leopold Gassmann (1729-1774).

Two more Genoa testimonies of the presence of Boccherini direct us to September 1767, the second one of which is not as sound as the other one: first, an already known
and published letter of recommendation signed by Ivan Schouwallow and dated in Genoa on September 8, 1767 for Boccherini and Manfredi, addressed to Prince Galitzin of Paris, and then a note, written in a exaggerated running hand, in a private expenses entry by Giuseppe Pallavicino (the junior family branch), where he notes down a payment to "Sonatore de Bicchierini". Giuseppe Pallavicino was a second level cousin of the Genoa born Minister of the King of Spain, Gerolamo Grimaldi, who’s mother, Giovanna Pallavicino, was actually cousin of Giuseppe’s father, Paolo Gerolamo III. Giuseppe was also a member of the powerful secret fraternity of the Divino Amor (Divine Love), as were his brother Domenico and Grimaldi’s brother, Raniero, as well.

Only further research on the Pallavicino family document repositories in Genoa will eventually allow to confirm the hypothesis of a tight link between the arrival and parting periods (from Genoa to Spain) of the wide European tour undertaken in 1767 by Boccherini and his friend Filippo Manfredi.


Related Entries: Manfredi, Tuscany Quartet.

GLUCK, Christoph Willibald (1714-1787): Born in Erasbach, High Palatinate, he began his musical studies in Prague, in 1731, and four years later moved to Vienna and Italy, where he presented his first stage work, Artaserse, on a text by Metastasio. Later traveling to France and England allowed him to meet the most important musicians and premiere his own works.

In 1750 he returned to settle in Vienna where, working together with his favorite librettist Ranieri de Calzabigi (1714-1795), he would soon be a renowned composer, in spite of enduring constant criticism, especially by those who preferred Piccinni (1727-1800).
In 1761 Gluck presented his ballet *Don Juan*, a drama about the famous Spanish libertine who would finally be punished for his excesses, a victim of his own passions, forced to descend to the nether world of the dead, where those who have been defeated pay for their sins.

During his tours and journeys in Vienna, Boccherini, still very young, must have felt impressed by this ballet drama, since ten years later, already living in Madrid, he wrote a symphony imbedding an homage to the Gluckian ballet. Of the *Six Symphonies* Op. 12 (G. 503-508), No. 4, indicated "con più strumenti" (with more instruments), bears the subtitle *The Casa del Diavolo* (The Devils House), where its third and final movement, "Andante sostenuto - Allegro con moto", is a sort of a *glossa* of Gluck’s *Don Juan*. Boccherini added the following remark, in French:

*Chaconne qui représente l'Enfer et qui a été faite à l'imitation de celle de M. Gluck dans le Festin de Pierre*

[Chaconne representing Hell and which has been written imitating the one by Gluck in his Stone Banquet]
However, where Gluck goes back to Ancient Greece in search of inspiration, much in the line of Ancien Régime neoclassical style, Boccherini is rather looking forward to incipient 19th-century romanticism and uses a cyclic form more characteristic of future symphonic poems like those of Hector Berlioz (1803-1869), Cesar Frank (1822-1890) or Franz Liszt (1811-1886).

Gluck died in Vienna in 1787.

References: Dozza, B.: "Linguaggio strumentale di Boccherini nel contesto della musica europea di fine '700" (BIB).

Related Entries: Cyclic Form, Metastasio, Self-borrowing, Symphony, Vienna.

**GOYA, Francisco de** (1746-1828): Born in Fuendetodos, a nearby municipality of Zaragoza (Spain), he soon showed an enormous pictorial ability which was to be enhanced by working in José Luzán’s (1710-1785) painting atelier. Goya then moved to Madrid to follow Francisco Bayeu’s (1734-1795) instruction and also to collaborate with Rafael Mengs (1728-1779) who wanted him in 1774 to paint the famous tapestry cartons (Madrid, Prado Museum).

Goya reached full recognition in 1789, when King Charles IV nominated him as his chamber painter, although not long after that, fame and glory would be shadowed by an illness which would result in an almost total deafness. Goya felt most miserable, his mood broke down and suffering made of him a somber and bitter character.

But way before all those events, Goya had met Boccherini.

The first time we can infer they met was in the summer of 1783, when the Infant don Luis invited Goya to go to Arenas de San Pedro to paint a series of portraits of his family. Next summer Goya would be invited again. He himself explains it in one of his many letters sent to his best friend Martín Zapater (Goya’s abundant spelling mistakes are not transposed to the English translation):

Su Alteza me a ehco mil onores, he echo su retrato, el de su Señora y niño y niña con un aplauso inesperado por aber hido ya otros pintores y no aber acertado a esto. He salido dos bezes a cazar con su Alteza y tira muy bien y la ultima tarde me dijo sobre tirar a un conejo: este pintamonas aun es mas aficionado que yo.

He estado un mes continuamente con estos Señores y son unos angeles, me han regalado mil duros y una bata para mi muger toda de plata y oro que bale treinta mil reales, segun me dijeron alli los guardaropas
[His Highness has paid me a thousand honors, I have made his portrait, that of his Wife and boy and girl with an unexpected applaus because other painters had gone and had not hit the target. I have gone out twice hunting with his Highness and he shoots very well and the last afternoon he told upon shooting a rabbit: this dauber is even more hunting-fond than me.

I have been a month constantly with these Gentlemen and they are angels, they have given me one thousand duros (actually eight reales each; see below a short explanation) and a gown for my wife all in silver and gold worth thirty thousand reales, as I was told by the wardrobe keepers]

(Duro means hard, an adjective used for coins perfectly preserved, not worn out by use or by fraudulent practices. The real de a 8, that is the eight reales silver coin, was usually known as peso duro or simply duro. 1 real would equal 3 euros or 3.6 US dollars)

La familia del Infante don Luis (Infant don Luis’ Family)
by Francisco de Goya, Magnani- Rocca Foundation, Parma, Italy

Among Goya’s paintings of those two summers in Arenas, there is one oil to be highlighted: it is a large painting where the whole don Luis’ family is represented along with some servants. Also Goya himself is to be seen in the left hand side holding his
painting brushes and palette before a canvas. A total of 14 people are portrayed (Magnani-Rocca Collection, Parma, Italy. See illustration above).

In the central zone of the scene, the Infant, seated, plays ordinary Spanish cards on a table (they are not Tarot cards as has been often reported). Close to him, dressed with a white nightshirt absorbing most of the light, Mrs. Maria Teresa Vallabriga, don Luis’ spouse, being combed by a servant, and, in front of the table, watching his patron while playing cards, an individual most experts believe to be Boccherini. His marked hunchback would be characteristic of a cellist and the important place he occupies in the scene could also hint this person is His Highness’ Chamber composer.

Another proof of the likely acquaintance between Goya and Boccherini is the fact that both almost simultaneously invested in shares of the Banco Nacional de San Carlos (Saint Charles National Bank), erected in 1782. Miguel de Aristia, don Luis’ secretary, must not have been alien to this acquaintance, since he also invested in shares of that same bank.

Goya makes a comment about this financial operation in another of his letters to his friend Martín Zapater:

En el Banco Nacional he puesto quinze acciones por consejo de algunos amigos que tengo aquí [Madrid] y es regular que ponga asta beinticinco, si no se me ba todo el dinero como el humo, pues esta tierra eso tiene de malo

[In the National Bank I have put fifteen shares counseled by some friends I have here (Madrid) and it is for sure that I will put more up to twenty five, if my money does not go like smoke, because this is the bad thing of this land]

Upon don Luis’ death in 1785 and back to Madrid, Boccherini would resume his contacts with Goya. Both entered to serve the Count-dukes of Benavente-Osuna; Boccherini’s payrolls and some paintings by Goya prove their coincidence.

From 1789, when Goya is appointed as Charles IV’s official painter, his fame would grow to the highest level, never to decline. This seems to mark the end of any relationship between him and the Luccan composer. When Boccherini died in 1805, Goya would still live through important events such as the Independence War (1808-1814), a tragic inspiration source for many of his most famous paintings. At last, tired and disgusted, he retreated to his house in Carabanchel, close to Madrid, known as the "Quinta
del Sordo" (Deaf’s Manor-House) to go later in exile to Bordeaux, where he would die in 1824.

References: Arnáiz, José Manuel: "Goya y el infante don Luis", in Junquera y Mato, Juan José, et. al.: Goya y el Infante Don Luis de Borbón. Homenaje a la "Infanta" Doña María Teresa de Vallabriga, 1996; Tejero Robledo, E.: La villa de Arenas en el siglo XVIII. El tiempo del infante don Luis... (BIB); Tortella, J.: Luigi Boccherini y el Banco de San Charles (BIB); Tortella, J.: "Lineas alternativas de investigación musicológica. El caso de Luigi Boccherini cerca del Banco de San Charles" (BIB); Tortella, J.: Boccherini, un músico italiano... (BIB); Tortella, Teresa: Índice de los primitivos accionistas del Banco Nacional de San Charles, Archivo del Banco de España, Madrid, 1986; Valverde Madrid, J.: "Goya y Boccherini en la Corte de Don Luis de Borbón" (BIB); Yebes, condesa de: La condesa-duquesa de Benavente... (BIB).

Related Entries: Archivo Histórico del Banco de España, Arenas de San Pedro, Aristia, Banco Nacional de San Carlos, Bourbon (Luis), Charles IV.

GOVEY, Pierre: Scarcely known personage who mediated for a short period of time in 1796, between Ignaz Pleyel and Boccherini in their commercial and epistolary dealings. By the end of April, Govey vanished from the correspondence and Boccherini will only mention him again in his letter dated January 4, 1798, just to remind Pleyel of an old fact (see below).

Through Govey, Boccherini sends to Pleyel some certifications and deeds linked to their commercial dealings.

Dated October 10, 1796, Govey sends a letter to Pleyel, responding to his of September 26, to let him know he has received an authorization from a certain M. Spohrer to negotiate the acquiring of 213 works by Boccherini. Govey tells the editor that the corresponding notarial deed has not been yet signed because Boccherini wants first to clarify whatever might have happened with the works he had sent to M. Boulogne (110 pieces out of those 213. See the entry BOULOGNE).

On November 14, 1796, there is an intense activity: Boccherini issues a receipt for 7,200 reales, declaring he has received this sum from Govey’s hands as payment for 28 "opera grande" (large works) and 30 "opera piccola" (small works) and attaches a letter to Pleyel. He also sends him a sales deed accounting for those works, labeled as Op. 44 to Op. 54. On his part, Govey informs Pleyel he has received from Boccherini’s hands 57 pieces (actually 58), priced 7,200 reales, adding a 3 percent fee for himself and some postal expenses. (7,200 reales would equal 21,699 euros or close to 26,000 US dollars.)

Through Boccherini’s letter to Pleyel dated December 1, 1796, we learn Govey represents the editor in Madrid, although it seems this gentleman needs to spend long
sojourns in the south of France, since Boccherini mentions Govey has left to stay in Bayonne for several months. During this absent period, Boccherini and Pleyel will negotiate through someone called M. Bourlet (See the corresponding entry).

Boccherini’s April 27, 1797 letter signals the end of the Govey’s mediation of his business with Pleyel. It seems Govey’s extended sojourn in Bayonne has implied some kind of impediment, or maybe Govey never returned to Madrid, or had decided to retire or quit. The only later mention of this gentlemen comes in letter sent by Boccherini to Pleyel on January 4, 1798. He alludes to Govey as that intermediary with whom Pleyel had negotiated their first agreement, and adds that at that time, Govey had shown him a letter signed by Pleyel allowing his mediator to raise the price if so requested by Boccherini, but Boccherini stresses how he would never take advantage of the fact that he knew the contents of that letter, and opted to maintain his previously agreed prices.

The chronological list of letters and documents where Boccherini mentions Govey is the following (in brackets when location is not specified):

- Madrid, October 11, 1796 - Letter
- [Madrid], November 14, 1796 - Receipt
- Madrid, November 14, 1796 - Letter
- Madrid, December 1, 1796 - Letter
- Madrid, December 12, 1796 - Letter
- Madrid, December 29, 1796 - Letter
- Madrid, April 27, 1797 - Letter
- Madrid, January 4, 1798 - Letter

References: Croce, L. della: *Il divino Boccherini* (Epistolary) (BIB); Mangani, M.: *Luigi Boccherini* (BIB); Rothschild, G. de: *Luigi Boccherini...* (BIB); Saint-Foix, G. de: "La correspondance de Boccherini avec I. Pleyel" (BIB).

Related Entries: Boulogne, Bourlet, Letters, Opera piccola, Pleyel, Spohrer.

**GRANJA, La (Spain):** See SAN ILDEFONSO.

**GREDOS, ridge of (Spain):** East-West oriented mountainous and rocky chain spanning the provinces of Ávila, Cáceres, Toledo and Madrid. It is a real natural barrier sheltering to its southern part the river Tiétar. This river reassembles minor water streams, two of which flowing alongside of Arenas de San Pedro. This municipality lays also to the south of Gredos and some of the oils Goya painted in 1783 and 1784 show this grandiose mountainous background.
The abundant fauna living in the rugged slopes of Gredos was, no doubt, one of the reasons why the Infant don Luis chose Arenas as his permanent residence. This choice would have important consequences over Boccherini’s life and work. During the eight and a half years he lived there he wrote about one hundred pieces, among which a large series of two cellos string *Quintets*.

**References**: Tejero Robledo, E.: *Arenas de San Pedro y el valle del Tiétar...* (BIB); Tejero Robledo, E.: *La villa de Arenas en el siglo XVIII. El tiempo del infante don Luis...* (BIB).

**Related Entries**: Arenas de San Pedro, Bourbon (Luis), Goya, Quintet.

**GRÜTZMACHER, Friedrich** (1832-1903): Composer and cellist, born in the German city of Dessau, by the river Elba, north of Leipzig, where he studied. He became first cellist of this town’s famous orchestra of the Gewandhaus. He also gave lessons in its Conservatory and was to the service of the Saxon king as instrumentalist in Dresden, where he would die.

![Friedrich Grützmacher (Period Engraving Print)](image)

Among his works we can bring up concertos and chamber pieces, mainly instrumental. They are scarcely known and seldom interpreted or recorded. It has been his
B flat Major *Cello Concerto* (on themes by Boccherini) the one and only piece that has given him renown and celebrity throughout the 20th century.

This *Concerto* has always been taken as if it were by Boccherini, which is false. The Grützmacher *Concerto* is a *glossa* of, at least, two original concertos by Boccherini, with which the German composer built up his own piece. He introduced his own style, rhythm, cadenzas and modulations in a fully romantic mood, far away from Boccherini’s soul. This alien inspiration does not necessarily lessen any quality or value from the resulting music. Glossae of other musicians works is commonplace in the History of Music. Great composers have borrowed from other composers to create their own works: Only to quote a few examples we could recall Johann Sebastian Bach (1685-1750) transposing Antonio Vivaldi’s concerts; Francesco Geminiani (1687-1762), transforming Arcangelo Corelli’s sonatas to *concerto grosso* form; as well as Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart (1756-1791) piano concertos with Johann Christian Bach’s sonatas; Ludwig van Beethoven (1770-1827), rewriting W. A. Mozart’s music; Johannes Brahms (1833-1897), did the same with Niccolò Paganini (1782-1840); Maurice Ravel (1875-1937), with Modest Mussorgky (1839-1881); Arnold Schönberg (1874-1951), with Johannes Brahms; Luciano Berio (1925-2003), with Boccherini...

Confusion around Grüzmacher’s *Concerto* derives from the fact he never got any credit for it, attributing it just to the Luccan composer. This has badly damaged Boccherini’s image, already shadowed during more than a century and contaminated by this false B flat Major *Concerto* which actually belongs to Grüzmacher’s patrimony. Labeling it with Gérard’s number G. 482 has only deepened the chaos.

In fact, the true Boccherini *Concertos* taken by Grüzmacher for his own *Concerto* are B flat Major G. 482 and G Major G. 480.

First movement of Grüzmacher’s, *Allegro moderato*, comes from some parts of Boccherini’s B flat Major (G. 482) first movement (also Allegro moderato) introducing more than few melodic changes.

Second movement of Grüzmacher’s, *Adagio non troppo*, imbeds several non Boccherini elements and takes some material from Boccherini’s *Andantino grazioso* (second movement) of his G Major (G. 480) *Concerto*. 
Finally, the third movement of Grützmacher’s, *Rondo: Allegro*, transforms Boccherini’s B flat Major (G. 482) third movement (also a *Rondo: Allegro*) removing many a measure and introducing a new cadenza.

Consequently, we are before a romantic *Concerto* of faraway classical inspiration who’s author is by no mean Boccherini but Grützmacher. This is how it should be taken, interpreted and valued.


**Related Entries:** Concerto.

**GUIGNÉ, Louis:** This gentleman handed Boccherini a letter from Pleyel, dated on March 23, 1797, as indicated in Boccherini’s own response letter dated in Madrid next April 27. This is the first time Guigné, termed by Boccherini as a friend and protégé of Pleyel’s, is mentioned in their correspondence. He will be alluded to during near 10 months, until Boccherini’s letter of January 4, 1798, also from Madrid.

The role played by this gentleman and his son has nothing to do with the commercial dealings between Boccherini and Pleyel. They are simply recommended by the editor asking the musician to look after Guigné junior during his stay in Spain.

On June 22, 1797, Boccherini tells Pleyel that his letter (without an explicit date) has been redirected to MM. Guigné (father and son), who had left Madrid to go to Cadiz. Immediately after, Boccherini accuses Guigné junior of having behaved badly with him and with other people, refusing a place of first violin at the Opera Italiana. Boccherini appears to be very angry in front of young Guigné’s attitude.

A few days later, on July 3, Boccherini reassures Pleyel that his June 22 letter has been personally handed to M. Guigné junior. And again on July 13, Boccherini warns Pleyel not let himself be cheated by people as "Guigné, Bourlet, etc...".

The last letter where Boccherini mentions Guigné, dated in Madrid, on January 4, 1798, also reflects an unpleasant event where the Luccan seems to have blamed Pleyel’s protégé for not having canceled a debt run with the editor. In response, Guigné exhibited a receipt signed by Pleyel proving the debt had been actually canceled, so placing Boccherini in a very uncomfortable position.
References: Letters LB: Madrid, April 27, 1797 - June 22, 1797 - July 13, 1797 - January 4, 1798; Croce, L. della: Il divino Boccherini... (Epistolary) (BIB); Rothschild, G. de: Luigi Boccherini... (BIB); Saint-Foix, G. de: "La correspondance de Boccherini avec I. Pleyel" (BIB).

Related Entries: Bourlet, Letters, Pleyel.

**GUITAR:** String instrument played by plucking with fingers or plectrum. It has largely evolved through history but has maintained some morphological constants. Its shape is similar to the rest of string instruments, but has a peculiar profile much alike the figure 8, with a flat front and a flat back. The number of strings has not been constant, but the instrument has always been fretted.

The guitar might have evolved from old Middle East lutes or from Greek-Roman zither (or from both), being commonly considered as a typical Spanish (or Andalusian) instrument, a rather arbitrary idea even though Spain has adopted the guitar as a permanent element in its so-called "música flamenca" or gypsy-like music.

![A lady playing guitar (Period Engraving Print)](image)

While bowed string instruments have mainly been used in "classical" music, the guitar has been present in different environments, "classical" and "popular".

Since early 18th century, the guitar has been highly regarded in Spain, producing great composers and interpreters such as Santiago de Murcia (c1685-?) and Francesc Guerau (1649-1722), until Fernando Sor (1778-1839) and Dionisio Aguado (1784-1849). In a lesser degree, Boccherini had an important role within the guitar realm, with special
references to Miguel García, better known as "Padre Basilio", from whom the Luccan received his inspiration. Obviously, Boccherini's guitar cannot be separated from the nobleman and dilettante guitarist Borja de Riquer y Ros, marquis of Benavent, who ordered from Boccherini the only guitar pieces he scored in his whole career.

Today only nine guitar works by Boccherini are extant: eight *Quintets* for guitar and string quartet (G. 445-451 and 453), and a *Sinfonia Concertante* (G. 523). All nine are pieces Boccherini transcribed from previous or contemporary ones. All were ordered by the marquis of Benavent and written between 1798 and 1799.

However, we know of four more guitar and string quartet *Quintets*, grouped by professor Yves Gérard under G. 452, and unfortunately lost. It is also probable that Boccherini would have written more pieces including a guitar, but no trace of them has been found, exception made of some foggy hints about their existence.

References: Mangado, J. Mª: "El marqués de Benavent (1768-1849) El aristócrata y guitarrista que encargó a Luigi Boccherini los Quintets con guitarra" (BIB); Mangado, J. Mª: "Riquer y Ros, Francesc de Borja de" (BIB); Ophee, M.: *Luigi Boccherini's Guitar Quintets*... (BIB); Pérez Díaz, P.: "Los fandangos de Boccherini y de Dionisio Aguado..." (BIB). (See DISCOGRAPHY)


**GULDEN**: See CURRENCY.
H, h

**HARPSICHORD**: Keyboard instrument. When hitting its keys, a complex mechanism transmits the movement to a plucking device for the strings to vibrate. This mechanism, though, does not carry the strength with which the key is hit, as it happens with the pianoforte.

The origin of the harpsichord could be located sometime during the 14th century while its height would be reached during the first half of the 18th century, lasting through the later years of 1700s. From then on, it yielded to the piano and the romantic period completely neglected it. Today, the harpsichord has been retrieved and the so-called "Ancient Music" is increasingly played with "original instruments", including the harpsichord.

Boccherini’s relationship with the harpsichord (and with the keyboard, in general) is not extremely frequent, although most references to a "basso" without a precise indication can hint to an instrument of the key family. So, the "basso" part of a significant number of his *Cello Sonatas* can be safely performed with a harpsichord.

However, no Boccherini authentic solo keyboard pieces are known.

As far as the violin and keyboard *Sonatas* Op. 5 (G. 25-30), of 1768, the manuscript filed at the Biblioteca Palatina of Parma Conservatory specifies piano-forte, while Vénier’s first edition indicates "cembalo", as do most 18th-century editions, although some of them offer a possible use of a pianoforte or even a harp.

The harpsichord or cembalo (with option for a pianoforte) is also seen in the *Trio-Sonatas* G. 143-148, with violin and cello, a set not included in Boccherini y Calonje’s catalogue. This fact has given rise to some doubts to their authenticity. Nevertheless, the clear similarities linking the keyboard parts of these pieces with that of the Op. 5 *Sonatas* are enough guarantee, in spite of the twelve years lapse between Vénier’s edition of Op. 5 (1769) and that of Roullède-La Chevardière of the *Trio-Sonatas* (1781). The harpsichord part of the *Trio-Sonatas* was most likely written in Paris (1768), having in mind the pianist and harpsichordist Madame Brillon de Jouy, to whom Boccherini dedicated his Op. 5 *Sonatas*. (See DISCOGRAPHY.)
It is also plausible to think that Madame Brillon was in Boccherini’s mind when composing his B flat Major Harpsichord (or piano-forte) Concerto G. 487.

The Six harpsichord (or piano) and string Quartets G. 259 transcribed from the Six String Quartets Op. 26, (G. 195-200), regardless of their beauty, do not bear a fully guaranteed authenticity. (See DISCOGRAPHY.)


Related Entries: Brillon de Jouy, Chevardière, Piano, Roullède, Quartet, Venier.

**HAUS, [Mr.]:** In his letter dated in Madrid, March 18, 1799, Boccherini tells Pleyel that he has always been urged by Parisian agents on behalf of several editors to sell them his works, but he claims he has always given Pleyel his preference. Among those agents, there is one to whom Boccherini alludes as "Mr. Haus", who works in the name and on behalf of M. Wogt’s widow. Boccherini will never mention this agent again.

References: Letter LB: Madrid, March 18, 1799; Croce, L. della: *Il divino Boccherini...* (Epistolary) (BIB); Rothschild, G. de: *Luigi Boccherini...* (BIB); Saint-Foix, G. de: "La correspondance de Boccherini avec I. Pleyel" (BIB).


**HAYDN, Franz Joseph** (1732-1809): World renowned Austrian composer considered as the "father" of the symphony. His works are counted in the hundreds, covering almost all genres. He spent most of his active life, from 1761 to 1790, as a servant to various Princes of Esterházy, practically cloistered within his premises, but counting on a large group of musicians with whom he could rehearse and present his works. Since 1792, upon the Prince’s death, his heirs keeping his job and salary, Haydn was allowed to leave Estarháza to visit other places, particularly London, where he obtained glamorous successes performing his music.

In spite of his reduced or even null possibility to travel for almost 30 years, Haydn kept close contact with the European musical community and its output receiving and casting influences both ways, including far away musical environments such as Spanish noble houses, i.e., the Benavente-Osunas, who had collected a great amount of Haydn’s works.
As for Boccherini, he never met Haydn personally nor managed to contact him through the mail, though they both tried and both sent messages to each other through intermediaries avowing their mutual admiration.

We know of three letters which show an intent to contact through the Viennese editor Artaria. One was signed by Boccherini in Arenas de San Pedro mentioning the Austrian as "Giuseppe Haidn"; and the other two are from Haydn, referring to the Luccan as "Herr Boccherini". The dates are:

- Unknown day, February 1781 Boccherini to Haydn
- May 27, 1781 Haydn to Boccherini
- Unknown day, August 1782 Haydn to Boccherini

Additionally, Boccherini mentions Haydn twice in his correspondence with Pleyel, always from Madrid. First, in his letter dated July 13, 1797, in a Post Scriptum where he makes clear the style of his protégé composer, Giovanni-Pietro Almeyda, is a mix of Haydn, Pleyel and Boccherini; secondly, in his letter dated January 4, 1798, again about Almeyda, he reminds Pleyel he already told him that his style was a mix of Haydn, Pleyel and Boccherini.

References: Letters LB: Madrid: July 13, 1797 - Madrid: January 4, 1798; Álvarez Solar-Quintes, N. and Gérard, Y.: "La bibliothèque musicale d'un amateur éclairé..." (BIB); Croce, L. della: Il divino Boccherini (Epistolary) (BIB); Marco, T.: "Boccherini y el paradigma haydiano de la sinfonía clásica" (BIB); Rothschild, G.: Luigi Boccherini... (BIB); Saint-Foix, G. de: "La correspondance de Boccherini avec I. Pleyel" (BIB).


HERRERA, Domingo: He was parson at Madrid’s church of San Justo in the early 1800s, when he signed several death registers of members of Boccherini’s family.

Upon Teresa Boccherini’s death (Luigi’s daughter), who lived at his father’s household in number 5 of Jesús y María street, Herrera wrote and signed her death register as follows:

\[D^n \text{Teresa Bocherini de estado soltera nat de la Villa de Arenas obpd de Avila, vecina de esta Corte, hija de D^n Luis y de D^n Clementina Pelicia, murio en nueve de Julio de mil ochocientos y quatro calle Jesus Maria casa numero cinco recivio los Santos sacramentos, vive su padre, se enterro en esta de San Justo y dio a su favrica treinta y tres rlf, y lo firmé}\]
Dª Domº Herrera (flourish)

[Dª Teresa Bocherini single (nat - natural) born in Arenas (obpdo - obispado) bishopric of Avila, registered in this Court, daughter of Dº Luis and Dª Clementina Pelicia, died on July nine eighteen hundred and four Jesus Maria street house number five received Holy sacraments, her father lives, she was buried in this of San Justo and gave to its fabric thirty and three rls (reales), and I signed it

Dª Domº Herrera (flourish)]

(1 real would equal 3 euros or 3.6 US dollars.)

The margin note "Poor" should be taken as indicating that Teresa had signed a Vow of Poverty, something customary among non emancipated youth lacking a patrimony to assign as they would in an ordinary will. The Use of this formula did not mean they were actually poor.

Later, upon Maria Pilar Joaquina Porreti’s death (Boccherini’s second wife) it was also the parson Herrera who would write and sign the corresponding death register:

[Dª Maria del Pilar Joaquina Porreti, natl - natural, born and Willed and registered in this Court. Wife of Dº Luis Boccherini died on January number five, received Holy Sacraments, signed her will on August of eighteen hundred and four before Antonio Marñez Llorente (ecsno - escribano) notary of (S. M. Su Magestad) His Majesty left for her soul fifty prayed masses with alms of four (r2s) reales]
each twenty of which masses must be celebrated in this (Parroqui – Parroquial) Parrish where she were buried and nominated as her executors Dn Luis Boccherini her husband house of the deceased, Dn Luis Marcos presbyter and Dn Josef Boccherini his (lexmos - legítimos) legitimate sons and in law of (dha - dicha) the mentioned Dª Maria Porreti and others, and as heir Dn Luis Boccherini her husband. She was buried in this of Sª Justo, and gave to its fabric forty and eight (rl$^t$) reales and I signed it

Sunday January 13      Dnº Domº Herrera (flourish)  
1805

Last, it was also Herrera who would sign Boccherini’s death register:

Dn Luis Bocherini nat$^t$ de la ciudad de Luca Cabeza de su Arzobispado en la Tosca, Vezino de esta Corte, Viudo en primeras nupcias de Dª Clementina Pelicha, y en segundas de Dª Maria del Pilar Joaquín$^a$ Porreti murio en veinte y ocho de Mayo de mill ochocientos y cinco Calle Jesus maria casa numero cinco. Recivio los Santos Sacram$^t$s, testo en seis de Sep$^e$ de mill setecientos noventa y nueve ante Ant$^o$ Mart$^{nt}$ Llorente esc$^n$ de S.M. Dejó por su Alma cincuenta Misas rezadas con limosna de quatro rl$^t$. Nombró por sus testamentarios a su difunta Muger dª Maria del Pilar Joaquín Porreti a d$^n$ Luis Marcos y d$^n$ Josef Mariano Bocherini sus hijos, y por herederos Testó a los dhos D$^n$ Luis, D$^n$ Josef, y a D$^n$ Mar$^a$ Teresa, D$^n$ Mariana, y D$^n$ Isabel Bocherini y Pelicha, sus hijas, y de la referida Dª Clementina pelicha, se enterró en esta de San Justo, y dio a su fabrica treinta y tres rl$^t$ y lo firmé

Dnº Domº Herrera (flourish)

[Dn Luis Bocherini (nat$^t$ - natural) born in the city of Luca Head of its Archbishopsric in the Tosca, Registered in this Court, Widower in first marriage of Dª Clementina Pelicha, and in second of Dª Maria del Pilar Joaquín$^a$ Porreti died on May twenty and eight of eighteen hundred and five Jesus maria Street house number five. He received the Holy Sacramonts, willed on Sep$^e$ six of seventeen hundred ninety and nine before Ant$^o$ Mart$^{nt}$ Llorente (esc$^n$ - escribano) notary of (S.M. - Su Magestad) His Majesty. Left for his Soul fifty prayed Masses with alms of four (rl$^t$) reales. He nominated as executors his defunct Wife dª Maria del Pilar Joaquina Porreti d$^n$ Luis Marcos and d$^n$ Josef Mariano Bocherini his sons, and as
heirs the (dhos - dichos) mentioned Dª Luis, Dª Josef, and
Willed Dª Marª Teresa, Dª Mariana, and Dª Isabel Bocherini and Pelicha,
his daughters, and of the mentioned Dª Clementina pelicha,
he was buried in this of San Justo, and he gave to its fabric
thirty and three (r$^{1}$) reales and I signed it

Dº Domº Herrera (flourish)]

References: APSJ: Defunct Book 28 of San Justo, p. 309, rev., July 9, 1804; APSJ: Defunct Book 29 of San
Justo, p. 43, rev., and p. 44, January 11, 1805 (dated on the 13th); APSJ of Madrid: Defunct Book 29 of San

Related Entries: Boccherini (Maria Teresa), Vow of Poverty, Jesús y María, Porreti (Pilar Joaquina), San
Justo (parish).

HISTORICAL AUTOPSY: Boccherini died in Madrid, on May 28, 1805, and was buried
in the parish known today as of San Miguel. Then its name was Santa María y Santos
Justo y Pastor, located on Sacramento street which stretched from Cordon square until
Mayor street.

122 years later, that is in 1927, general Primo de Rivera’s Spanish government,
very close to Benito Mussolini’s, accepted to disentomb Boccherini’s remains to transfer
them to Lucca, where he had been born and where he was to be buried again, in the church
of San Francesco, maybe because he had stated in his 1799 will that he should be buried
dressed as a Franciscan. It is likely that Boccherini shared with Saint Francisco di Asisi
his religious ideas and sentiments, his love for people, animals and nature, in front of other
darker visions of life and creation. In fact, upon his disentombing, the Franciscan robe was
clearly seen over Boccherini’s remains.

Luccan authorities at that time (1927), wanted the temple of San Francesco to
become a sort of Pantheon for relevant city glories. So, after burying Boccherini’s remains
in a wall of the church, it came to be known, as has been reported by Remigio Coli, that
some of the musician’s relatives had also been buried there: his aunt Chiara Maria (his
father’s sister) and his grandparents Antonio Boccherini and Maria Felice Teresa Mancini.

Some decades after this new 1927 entombing, it was seen that Boccherini’s burial
niche was flooded by subterranean waters, so it was decided, in 1994, to open and clean it
and check at the same time how the remains were kept. In spite of the deteriorated state
they were found, a team of pathologists headed by professor Gino Fornaciari could carry
out a historical autopsy, finding out many interesting data about Boccherini’s anatomy,
about the illness which at last brought him to death (tuberculosis), about the skeleton deformations and other pathologies due to his activities as a cellist, etc. Fornaciari’s team even discovered what nutritional habits Boccherini had, revealing that his meals must have been those of a well off individual, very far from the false image of an impoverished man that has been cast until very recently.


Simultaneously, pathologists created a plausible model of Boccherini’s head and face. They molded tow models, one in wax and the other in chalk, based on the remaining skull and some characteristic morphological traits of people in the Luccan area. Out of those two models an stone bust was created, today visible at the Luccan Istituto Musicale "Luigi Boccherini".

Besides the mentioned skeleton deformations, this historical autopsy has allowed us to know that Boccherini, by the end of his life, only had a few dental pieces, probably presenting the image of a much older and decayed man than he actually was. This image could have influencved the sad impression the French pianist Sophie Gail would have got when she visited the composer just two years before his death.
HISTORICAL PROTOCOL ARCHIVE OF MADRID (Spain): See ARCHIVO HISTÓRICO DE PROTOCOLOS DE MADRID.

HUMMEL, Jean-Julien (Johann Julius) (1728-1798): Although Hummel is a quite common last name and some music editors bore it (Bernard Hummel, from The Hague and Amsterdam, for instance, also edited some arranged pieces by Boccherini), the most relevant printer Hummel, from the Boccherini stand point, was Jean-Julien.

He was active in Amsterdam, form the 1750s through the 1770s. His various addresses can be seen in his editions: "à Amsterdam au Grand Magazin de Musique et Aux Adresses ordinaires. No. 333", and: "à Berlin sous Privilége de sa Majesté le Roi de Prusse &c.". Besides printing Boccherini’s he also released works by Haydn, Schubert (1797-1828), Vanhal (1739-1813), Abel (1723-1787), Schmitt (1734-1791), among others.

Jean-Julien Hummel was never the first to print works by Boccherini, as he always followed his Parisian colleagues (indicated in parenthesis in the list below). Nonetheless, his contribution helped significantly the Europeans to know Boccherini. The list of his editions is the following:

c.1780: Six String Quartets Op. 2. G. 159-164, as Op. 1 (Venier);
c.1780: Six String Quartets Op. 8. G. 165-170, as Op. 2 (Venier);
c.1785: Six Trios for two violins and cello, Op. 1, G. 77-82, as Op. 4 (Bailleux);
c.1785: Six Trios for two violins and cello, Op. 4. G. 83-88, as Op. 6 (Venier);
c.1785: Six Trios for two violins and cello, Op. 6. G. 89-94, as Op. 10 (Venier);
c.1785: Six Trios for violin, viola and cello, Op. 14. G. 95-100, as Op. 9 (La Chevardière);
c.1785: Six String Quartets Op. 9. G. 171-176, as Op. 7 (Venier);
c.1785: Six String Quartets Op. 15. G. 177-182, as Op. 8 (Venier);
c.1785: Six String Quartets Op. 24. G. 189-194, as Op. 11 (Sieber);
c.1790: Six Sonatas for keyboard, violin and cello, no Op. No., G. 143-148, as Op. 11 (Roullède-La Chevardière);


Related Entries: Bailleux, Chevardière, Quartet, Roullède, Sieber, Sonata, Trio, Venier.
I, i

ICONOGRAPHY: Extant images of Boccherini are neither abundant nor scarce. Some thirty of them are to be found, oils (to him exclusively dedicated or within a pictorial group), busts, plaques, engraving prints and mortuary masks.

The composer is alone in three oils, two of them painted during his lifetime, probably posing himself as model. The oldest has been until very recently attributed to Pompeo Batoni, but today it is only said to be of the Italian school. It is exhibited at the National Gallery of Victoria, in Melbourne, and could be dated around 1765. The second had been attributed to one of the Liotard brothers, but this attribution has also been discarded in favor of just the French school. It is privately owned by Dr. Gerhard Christmann (Budenheim, Germany). Its approximate execution date could be around 1768. And the third oil where Boccherini is alone was painted during the 1800s, taking as a model the head of a little copy of a now lost portrait then extant in Madrid. It was painted by Francesco Barsocchini in 1871 and belongs to the Luccan Istituto Musicale Luigi Boccherini.

The painting where most chroniclers, biographers and critics think Boccherini is present is by Francisco de Goya. It is an oil titled *The Family of the Infant don Luis* and belongs to the Magnani-Rocca Collection, of Parma, Italy.

Another painting by venetian Pietro Longhi, of around 1767, represents the Tucany Quartet (Nardini, Manfredi, Cambini, Boccherini), with an unknown musician playing the harpsichord. As reported by Remigio Coli, it belongs to a Turin (Italy) private collection.

As for the busts, none is contemporary with the musician and all are rather modern. Two of them can be seen at the Luccan Istituto Musicale Luigi Boccherini, one carved for the 150 anniversary of Boccherini’s death (1955), and the second was made from the historical autopsy performed on his remains in 1994.

A third bust, in marble, was carved in Madrid as an homage for his 250 birth anniversary (1993), and was placed the so-called Plazuela Boccherini (Boccherini Small Square), in the higher part of the Cuesta de la Vega. Finally, there are two versions of a little porcelain bust (white and polychrome) inspired in the oil once attributed to Liotard.
As far as the mortuary masks, they were made during the historical autopsy of 1994, one with wax and the other with chalk.

Two plaques can be seen in Lucca dedicated to Boccherini. One on the façade of the house where Luigi was born, on Via Fillungo, and the other is the tombstone at San Francesco church. Also a new bronze sculpture by Mme. Daphne du Barry was disclosed on March 29, 2008, in front of the Luccan Istituto Musicale "Luigi Boccherini".

Finally, the most numerous images are the engraving prints. They could be divided in three groups: Boccherini as a young adolescent (two prints); Boccherini as a mature individual (eight prints); and Boccherini as an old man (three prints).

References: Coli, R.: Luigi Boccherini, la vita e le opere (BIB); Martos, V. and Tortella, J.: "El rostro de Boccherini, espejo de un alma de artista" (BIB); Shepheard, M.: "«Will the Real Boccherini Please Stand Up»..." (BIB).


IMBAULT, Jean-Jerôme (1753-1832): Violinist and violin teacher, he studied with the prestigious violin master Pierre Gavinies who encouraged him to start his career with a
public performance in 1770. Since then, Imbault never ceased producing himself as a violinist, frequently on the stage of the *Concert Spirituel*.


Imbault became a member of the *Société des Amis de l’Art et de l’Amitié*, and also "Marchand de Musique de leurs Majestés et musicien honoraire de leur Chapelle", active in Paris.

Initially, in 1783, he joined Jean-Georges Sieber, who was a music printer in Paris since 1770-71, but he established his own printing service the next year, possibly purchasing Parisian Leduc’s company ownership. In 1812, Imbault sold his printing patrimony to the firm Janet et Cotelle.

Imbault was never the first to published any of Boccherini’s works, but reissued several string pieces, *Cello Sonatas* transposed for violin, *Trios* and *Quartets*, as well as two collections of *String Quintets*. Boccherini never mentions Imbault in his correspondence.


**Related Entries:** Janet et Cotelle, Leduc, Sieber.
IRUETA, Juan Antonio de: Ecclesiastical administrator for the Madrid parish of San Pedro Nuevo el Real in the early 1800s. He signed Isabel (Ysabel) Boccherini’s death register in 1802.

When this young lady died, the Boccherinis dwelled in a house in del Prado Street (we ignore the house number and also the bloc number). Irueta wrote and signed her death register in the following terms:

Dª Ysabel Bocherini de edad como de diez y nueve años de estado soltera natural de la Villa de Arenas Obispado de Avila, hija legítima de Dª Luis Bocherini, y de Dª Clementina Pelicia, vivía en compañía de los referidos sus Padres Calle del Prado: recibió los Santos Sacramentos y murió en veinte y siete de Noviembre de mil ochocientos y dos, sin haber hecho Disposición alguna Testamentaria por lo que haviendose dado cuenta al señor vicario dio licencia para que se la entrase de secreto, como se executó, en esta Iglesia Parroquial: dieron de Fabrica seis ducados. Y como cura economo lo firmé=

Dr Dn Juan Anto de Irueta

Don Juan Antonio Irueta makes a mistake when, after saying that Isabel was a legitimate daughter of "Dª Luis Bocherini, and of Dª Clementina Pelicia", he states that
"she lived with the mentioned her Parents" since Clementina had died 17 years before and Boccherini lived with his second wife, Maria Pilar Joaquina Porreti.

The margin term "Abint" is a contraction of "Abintestato" which indicates that Isabel died "not having signed any Testamentary Deed", which would explain why she was buried "in secret".


Related Entries: Monjas de Pinto (Quarter of the), Pelliccia (Clementina), Porreti (Maria Pilar Joaquina), Prado (street), San Pedro Nuevo el Real.

**ISTITUTO MUSICALE "LUIGI BOCCHERINI" (Istituzione di Alta Cultura, Lucca, Italy):** {BY GIULIO BATTELLI} This institution was created in 1842 by the Duke of Lucca, Carlos Luis of Bourbon, according to a project designed by the musician Giovanni Pacini (1796-1867) to reorganize all musical teaching centers in Lucca. It aimed at creating a modern musical school taking the Paris Conservatory as a model. The Istituto Musicale was originally named after its sponsor Giovanni Pacini, but in 1943, when commemorating the second centenary of Luigi Boccherini’s birth, it was renamed after this great Luccan composer.

The Istituto’s main activity is teaching all the musical instruments, voice and composition, and since the school year of 2004-2005, it offers a curriculum to reach specialist 2nd level graduation. It also organises numerous concerts and lectures.

A very important section of the Istituto is its library, where besides the modern musical bibliographic materials, various Ancient Document Repositories are available, containing valuable printed editions and manuscripts from 17th through 19th century.

In the Istituto premises two Boccherinian busts can be seen: one was carved in 1955 for the 150 anniversary of his death; an the other was modelled out of the reconstruction made by A. Carpita after the historical autopsy performed on Boccherini’s remains in 1994, today buried in the Luccan church of San Francesco.

The library owns the following Boccherini manuscripts:

- *Stabat Mater* for 3 voices – second version (1800), G 532;
- *Six Quartets* Op. 2, G 159-163;
- *Six Quartets* Op. 9, G 171-176;
- *La Confederazione dei Sabini con Roma* (cantata), G 543;
ITALY: Within Luigi Boccherini’s context and lifetime, the term Italy constitutes an abuse of language not always accurate, since Italy as a unified state did not exist in the 18th century. The Italian peninsula or the territory of present Italy was a mosaic of states, small republics, provinces of other states or protectorates lacking a political or administrative unity and using different languages or dialects. Nevertheless, we shall use the term Italy, as this was a deeply rooted social and cultural concept.

Upon Boccherini’s birth, the city of Lucca was an independent state in itself. It had a government, social ranks, administration and exclusive legislative and judicial organs. The official language, the Tuscan, later to become the Italian language, was already in use in Lucca and in many other territories of the peninsula.

In spite of the multiplicity of states and provinces, they had a common history. Social, commercial and economic interests had long generated a feeling of sharing "something", a feeling which would underpin the future Unification reached in 1861, after a multilateral war among the states controlling part of the peninsular territory and against some local monarchs. The unifying fight was to be led by Giuseppe Garibaldi, and only the Vatican State would keep part of its old independence.

Thus, keeping this in mind, we could say that Boccherini was born and spent his first 24 or 25 years in Italy, with part time sojourns in Vienna.

He received his musical instruction in Lucca and Rome, always under his father’s supervision, but when Leopoldo Boccherini died in 1766, Luigi together with Nardini, Manfredi and Cambini, that is the Tuscany Quartet, undertook a series of tours around the northeastern peninsular zones, inside an imaginary polygon with vertexes in Milan, Genoa, Livorno, Lucca and Pisa.

After the Quartet’s split, the Luccan born Manfredi and Boccherini, traveled westwards to reach Paris, next to visit London, but at the end, they would head south to
Madrid. Boccherini would never stand on Italian soil again. He had lived there for 25 years, but would spend the rest of his life, 37 years, in Spain.

J, j

JANET ET COTELLE: Parisian editing firm with two branches in two different addresses: 123, rue St. Honoré, and 92, rue de Richelieu. Its business were not limited to music but spanned areas such as politics, history, social sciences, etc.

Although Pierre-Honoré Janet and Alexandre Cotelle began their activity around 1810, that is after Boccherini’s death, they released a great amount of his works in luxury editions using previous ones. They delivered more than 90 String Quintets and more than 50 String Trios. In 1836, the firm went bankrupt and was liquidated.


The curious contradiction from the stand point of historiography, as far as Boccherini is concerned, has been highlighted by Professor Marco Mangani: Alfredo Boccherini y Calonje, when publishing the catalogue of his great grand father’s works, declared it had being transcribed from the composer’s own catalogue, but mentions Janet et Cotelle’s editions, being so that those editions were released way after Boccherini’s death. An absolute incongruence.


Related entries: Boccherini y Calonje, Catalogue, Quintet, Trio.
**JESÚS Y MARÍA, street (Madrid, Spain):** Madrid maps designed up to mid 1800s contain three streets bearing this name: one of them would later be called Travesía del Fúcar, a second one would become Belén street, and only the third one has kept its original name of Jesús y María. It stretches from Lavapiés street to Progreso square, today named Tirso de Molina square (actually, in the 18th century there was no square in that area but a street called La Merced). The reason why this third street of Jesús y María was chosen to keep its original name is because there was in it a Sanctuary called de la Virgen y Jesús (Virgin and Jesus), owned by the Hermandad de la Vera Cruz (Brotherhood of the True Cross) also known as Del Calvario (Of the Calvary), imbedded in the Convento de San Francisco (Saint Francis Convent).

We know it was in this street and not in any of the other two that Boccherini was living when he died on May 28, 1805, because the death register was written and signed in the nearby parish of San Justo, where he was also buried. This death register, signed by parson don Domingo Herrera, stated that Bocherini: "died on May twenty and eight of eighteen hundred and five jesus maria Street house number five". (See full text in entry **HERRERA**.)

Thus, the street called Jesús y María linked to Boccherini is the one located in the Barrio de la Comadre (Comadre Quarter) of the Quartel de Lavapiés (also spelled as Abapies or Labapies). (See the entry **MADRID** for a further explanation of the term **Quartel**.)

In 1955, for the 150 anniversary of his death, a plaque was nailed to the façade of present number 5 of Jesús y María street, at first floor level. The text is the following:

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EN ESTA CASA VIVIO Y MURIO
   LUIGI BOCCHERINI
   MUSICO INSIGNE
AQUI COMPUSO ADMIRABLES OBRAS
DE RAIZ ITALIANA Y AMBIENTE MADRILEÑO
EN EL CL ANIVERSARIO DE SU MUERTE
1805 - 1955
   LUCCA Y MADRID
   FRATERNALMENTE UNIDAS
   LE OFRECEN ESTE RECUERDO
```
[In this house lived and died Luigi Boccherini outstanding musician He wrote here admirable works of Italian roots and Madrilenean taste In the CL anniversary of his death 1805-1955 Lucca and Madrid fraternaly united offer him this remembrance]

But he actually never lived in that house, for the simple reason in the 1700s it did not bear the number 5. The peculiar numbering system for houses at that time followed the block perimeter not the straight line of the streets, so Jesús y María had four houses with number 5 but none matches present number 5 where the 1955 plaques was nailed. This house was number 10, block 11, in the 1700s. (The corresponding block charts can be seen in the books of Madrid’s Planimetry, one copy of which is kept in the National Historical Archive, AHN).

The most plausible hypothesis is that number 5 of Jesús y Maria where Boccherini dwelled when he died were the present number 6, across the street, a few yards farther from Tirso de Molina square.

Present No. 6 of Jesús y María street (Madrid, Spain), most likely where Boccherini was dwelling when he died


Related Entries: Comadre, Herrera (Domingo), Santos Justo y Pastor (parish), Madrid, Planimetry.

JEW’S HARP: See SCACCIAPENSIERO.
LA MUSICA NOTTURNA DELLE STRADE DI MADRID (G. 324): This is how Boccherini subtitled the last of his Six String Quintets with two violoncellos of Op. 30. It is a C Major Quintet of 1780 (G. 324), that is, written in Arenas de San Pedro, and has an structure more of a suite than of a regular Quintet. Divided into five sections, it contains very heterogeneous musical materials but all with pictorial or almost theatrical intentions. Each movement has a title and peculiar indications:

I - Ave Maria delle Parrochie (imitando il tocco dell Ave Maria)  
[Ave Maria of the Parishes (imitating the ringing bells of Ave Maria)]

II - Minuetto de ciechi (f e squajalamente - con mala grazia)  
[Minuetto of the blind (and clumsily - with bad grace)]

III - Largo assai - Rosario (senza rigor di battuta)  
[Largo assai - Rosary (without metric rigor)]

IV - Los Manolos (Allegro vivo - pizz. -f sempre)  
[The Manolos (Allegro vivo - pizz. - always f)]

V - Ritirata (con variazioni) (flautato sul diapason)  
[Ritirata (with variations) (fluted on the diapason)].

In spite of its considerable length, Boccherini classed this work as "opera piccola" (see this entry) and even titled it as "Quintettino".

Each part describes some aspect of Madrid night life, from the bells ringing the Ave Maria until the curfew tune Boccherini had not doubt witnessed.

The bells mark the beginning of the end of the day, the blind sing their ballads while begging for their alms, the Rosary prayers are heard through the open windows, youth from the Quartel of Lavapiés known as Los Manolos go out dancing in the streets and squares, and the night ends with the curfew tune (Ritirata), the ‘Quartel’ troops play calling for silence and for the people to withdraw home: it is heard from afar, passes close to the "listener" and goes away fading into the dark.

According to the copy made by Picquot from the original manuscript, Boccherini gives some very distinct interpreting instructions for this Quintet. For instance, in the Minuetto de ciechi he advises that cellists should "hold the instrument on their knees and, using their fingernails, imitate the sound of the guitar". The pizzicato dance titled Los
Manolos is indicated to be played \textit{f sempre} (always forte), as the Quartel youth used to dance and sing.

There is an astonishing contrast between the present fame of this suite and the phrases Boccherini himself used when he sold it to his Parisian editor, Ignaz Pleyel, within a larger lot of works:

\textit{Nell’opera 30 Quintettini, troverete che uno ha per titolo «La Musica Notturna delle Strade di Madrid»; questo pezzo è totalmente inutile, ed anche ridicolo fuori di Spagna, poiché non possono gli ‘uditori giammai comprenderne il significato, né gli esecutori sonarlo come deve essere sonato;}

[In the Op. 30 Quintettini, you will find how one has the title «La Musica Notturna delle Strade di Madrid»; this piece is totally useless, and even ridiculous outside Spain, because the audience will never be able to understand its meaning, nor the interpreters play it as it should be played;]

In the same letter, dated in Madrid on July 10, 1797, Boccherini added that in order to compensate Pleyel for it, his was including a symphony for free.

\textit{La Musica Notturna} has been interpreted in many different ways, sometimes too capriciously and even unacceptably, but no doubt it has been a brilliant ‘letter of recommendation’ before the audiences and has contributed to Boccherini’s revival.

According to professor Gérard, there exists an autograph of this piece, most likely authentic or authorized by Boccherini, in the Deutsche Sataatsbibliothek of Berlin (Ms. 498), and also several manuscript copies, in separate parts, in the same institution (Mss 499 and 500), in the Bibliothèque Municipale of Mulhouse, France (4863), in the Paris Conservatoire (F. 1191), copied by Picquot, and in the Library of Congress, USA (LBC: Ms. 552).


(See \textbf{DISCOGRAPHY})

\textbf{Related Entries}: Arenas de San Pedro, Directions, Lavapiés, Letters, Picquot, Pleyel, Opera piccola, Quinteto.

\textbf{LAGARDE, [M.]}: Boccherini mentions a certain "M. Lagarde" in his letter dated in Madrid on October 2, 1800, addressed to the Parisian editor Sieber, to thank him for
establishing contact with that individual. But no other detail is to be found in order to identify this "M. Lagarde".

Following Professor Marco Mangani’s analysis, the fact that Boccherini would put pressure on Sieber to make the maximum effort in order to publish his Op. 57 Piano Quintets, dedicated to the "Nation Française", could indicate that his previous efforts towards this goal with Marie-Joseph Chénier, through his letter of July 8, 1799, had failed. This would mean that Boccherini was thinking that a person of high political rank would be the best medium to give way to his Op. 57, so this "M. Lagarde" could be Joseph-Jean Lagarde (1755-1839), Directory’s secretary general and convinced adherent to Napoleon, during the Consulate period.

Nonetheless, always following Professor Mangani, it can be that Boccherini was rather mentioning the "imprimerie Lagarde l’aîné", a printing firm very active in those years when Napoleon was reaching a high political pitch. In fact, "Lagarde l’aîné" had been closely related to Chénier, as a poet.

References: Letters LB: Madrid, July 8, 1799 - Madrid, October 2, 1800; Croce, L. della: Il divino Boccherini (Epistolary) (BIB); Mangani, M.: Luigi Boccherini (BIB); Rothschild, G. de: Luigi Boccherini... (BIB); Saint-Foix, G. de: "La correspondance de Boccherini avec I. Pleyel" (BIB).

Related Entries: Chénier, Letters, Sieber.

LANRELA, Fulgencio: Friar of Madrid parish of San Martín, a church located in front of the Monastery of Las Descalzas Reales in the Quartel where the Boccherinis lived while dwelling in Madera Alta street (1787-1802).

Continuous social and political changes during the early 1800s, including ecclesiastical assets redemption, forced this parish to move several times until settling where it is now, in number 26 of Desengaño street. Maybe because of those events, it was decided to transfer its documents and registers to the Archbishopric Archive, where they are today.

In May 1796, don Fulgencio Lanrela noted down that Joaquina Boccherini Pelliccia, Luigi’s eldest child, had died the 8th, being single and without signing a will, reason why she was buried "de secreto" (in secret).

Dª Joaquina Bocherini de estado Soltera de hedad veinte y cinco años mas ó menos, nral de esta Corte,
hija de legitimo Matrimonio de Dª Luis Bocherini, y de Dª Maria Clementina Pelicha y Hartz, el padre nreal de la Ciudad y Arzndo de Luca, en Toscana, y su Madre nreal de la ciudad de Roma: Parroquia de esta Iglesia Calle Alta de la Madera numero diez y ocho: Haviendo recibido los Santos Sacramentos, murió en ocho de Mayo de mil seízenta noventa y seis, estaba bajo de la Patria potestad de sus Padres en esta Parroquial, y para que conste lo firmo =

Fr. Fulgencio Lanrela (flourish)

[Dª Joaquina Bocherini of Single state more or less twenty and five years of age, (nral - natural) born in this Court, legitimate daughter of Matrimony of Dª Luis Bocherini, y Dª Maria Clementina Pelicha y Hartz, the father born in the city and Archbishopric of Luca, in Tuscany, and her Mother born in the city of Rome: Parishioner of this Church Alta de la Madera Street number ten and eight: Having received the Holy Sacraments, died on May eight of (mil setezenta - mil setecientos) seventeen hundred ninety and six was under her Parents Paternal jurisdiction. in this Parish, and to make it certain I sign it =

Fr. Fulgencio Lanrela (flourish)

(The margin note "hija de familia", or minor, means that Joaquina was in her minority, under paternal jurisdiction. As for the expression "under her Parents Paternal jurisdiction", we must say this is at least not fully accurate since she lived with her father but also with her step mother. Her actual mother, Clementina Pelliccia had died eleven years before.)


Related Entries: Madera Alta, Pelliccia (Clementina), San Martín.

LAVAPIÉS, Quartel of (Madrid, Spain): See COMADRE (Quarter of the).

LEDUC or LE DUC: In the 1700s, spelling rules were scarcely established, so the article Le (or La) was written both separate or together with the name (in the case of this series of editors, we shall write it together due to the fact that Duc is a word with its own meaning).

We find four Leduc linked to Boccherini: Pierre, Auguste and Pierre-Jean-Jacques (these last two were Pierre’s sons), and Alfonse. (All Alfonse Leduc’s editions of works
by Boccherini are dated by the late 1800s, so we do not list them here, only considering Pierre’s, Auguste’s and Pierre-Jean-Jacques’ editions.)

Pierre Leduc (1755-1823) was active in Paris as a music publisher since 1755 and purchased in 1783 all La Chevardière’s assets, reissuing some of his previous editions. When he died in 1823, his widow, Augustine-Julie Bernier, kept running the editing business until she went into bankruptcy in 1831.

Only one of all the editions by one member of the Leduc family was a first edition: the three *String Quintets* with two violas (G. 385-386-387) who’s creation and authenticity are far from being soundly established. They belong to a group of six transcriptions from six of the *Guitar Quintets* ordered by the marquis of Benavent. They could very well have been transcribed by Boccherini himself, but Picquot thought the viola part was commissioned by a La Rochelle professor called Garnault. It is more likely that Garnault simply supervised the edition.

These three *Quintets* were issued in Bordeaux by Pierre-Jean-Jacques Leduc (1792-1855) more than ten years after Boccherini’s death, around 1816 or maybe 1817, so they were labeled as "Oeuvres Posthumes" (Posthumous Works), announced as a twelve pieces set, although this commitment was never fulfilled beyond these first three pieces. Distribution and sales were both announced in Bordeaux "chez P.J.J. Le Duc" and in Paris "chez Auguste Le Duc".

Pierre Leduc’s editions (never premiers), are the following:

1785?: *Six Sonatas* for violin solo and bass, G. 20, no Op. number (transcriptions of unknown origin);


c.1800: *Six Quintets* for flute and string quartet, Op. 17, G. 419-424, as Op. 21 (with his son Auguste),

On his side, Auguste Leduc’s editions (never premiers), besides the already mentioned together with his father, were the following:

 c.1790: *Six Sextets* for flute and two cellos string quintet, Op. 16, G. 461-465, as Op. 15;

c.1800: *Five String Quartets*, Op. 22 (1, 2, 3, 5, 6), G. 183-184-185-187-188, as Op. 26 (1, 2, 3, 5, 6) (restamped by Imbault);


**Related Entries:** Benavent, Chevardière, Imbault, Picquot, Quartet, Quintet, Sonata.

**LEGANITOS, street of (Madrid, Spain):** Today’s environment of Leganitos street has wholly changed since the 1700s, and the street itself has been notably transformed because of profound urban renovation. In fact, 200 years ago Leganitos had two segments: Leganitos Alta (High) and just Leganitos. The "Alta" part is the one Boccherini had some links with (see the illustration corresponding to the entry SAN MARCOS).

Present squared crossroads quarter between Princesa street, Rosales promenade, and the steeply descending Parque del Oeste (West Park), was in the 1700s an immense vegetable garden encompassing block No. 557 (Madrid’s highest block number). Its northeastern border was known as Leganitos Alta or the "Street descending to Leganitos", because it was the old walk way to Leganitos. The name was not a capricious one since the word Leganitos is an etymological derivation of the Arab term "algannet", which means "the vegetable garden".

The whole block was owned by the Prince and Princes of Pio, who acted as godparents when Boccherini’s eldest child, Joaquina, was baptized. The parish register states:

\[ nació el 6 de agosto de 1770 en las casas que los Principes de Pio tenían en la calle alta de Leganitos \]

[\[she was born on August 6, 1770 in the houses owned by the Princes of Pio in the high street of Leganitos\]]

**References:** APSM-ADAM: Joaquina Boccherini Pelliccia’s baptism: Book 42 of baptisms, p. 71, rev.

**Related Entries:** Boccherini (Joaquina), San Marcos (Quarter of).

**LETTERS:** A set of letters (and one petition) is extant, sent or received by Boccherini to different destinations and of different origins, from different places. All the letters but two
mailed by Boccherini are dated in Spain. Out of those two exceptions, one is authentic and the other one is under study.

Most of the letters signed by Boccherini were addressed to the editor Ignaz Pleyel, a resident of Paris, and some of them had attached a certified payment receipt, or a notarial testimony, or a list of works.

Luigi Boccherini’s signature in Spain

It was in fact in the Pleyel Archive where those letters were found and later transcribed in biographical accounts about Boccherini. Regrettably, most of the total original letters by the Luccan have mysteriously disappeared, except some still kept in private hands, or some public library in France, Italy or Germany. Consequently we need often to revert to printed transcriptions, mainly in the works by baroness Germaine de Rothschild (GR) or Luigi della Croce (LDC), and a single photographic illustration in Yves Gérard’s Catalogue (YG); some letters, aside from those sent to Pleyel can be seen in 1931 Georges de Saint-Foix edition of Picquot’s biography (GStF); another letter was published in the Bollettino Storico Lucchese (BSL), III, 3 (1931), another is in the Conservatory of Bolonia, another in the Preussische Kulturbesitz Library of Berlin, and yet another in the Pierpont Morgan Library of New York (PM Lib).

As for the letters Pleyel would have sent to Boccherini, none is extant since Boccherini’s private files (of which we have lateral but guaranteed references) are still missing (if it has not for ever been destroyed or lost).

On the other hand, we have the texts of five letters addressed to Boccherini (received or not by the addressee): two, by Franz Joseph Haydn intended to be delivered through Viennese editor Artaria (in Pohl: J. Haydn, Breitkopf, Leipzig, 1878, and Botstiber: Haydn und Artaria: Josef Haydn und das Verlagshaus Artaria, Artaria, Vienna, 1909, according to quotes by Germaine of Rothschild); two more sent by prince Friedrich Wilhelm of Prussia, future king upon Friedrich the Great’s death (in the brief biography by Alfredo Boccherini y Calonje (ABC)), and the fifth, sent by the King of Prussia,
Friedrich Wilhelm III, kept in the Deutsches Zentralarchiv of the old German Democratic Republic (Spanish section), from Friedrich Wilhelm III’s Archive of Merseburg.

Finally, it should be mentioned the Petition sent by Boccherini to the King Charles III a few weeks after Infant don Luis’ death, and two letters from Mr. Govey to Pleyel dealing with various sales issues between Boccherini and the Parisian editor.

In order to give a general and thorough view of this boccherinian epistolary, we present the following table, divided in sections according to the place from which each letter was sent; then within this criteria, in chronological order. We have included the data of several never found letters but of which we have due knowledge because they are mentioned in other extant letters. (Double sign !? indicates lack of data, and single sign ? indicates doubt):

**EPISTOLARY OF BOCCHERINI**

### 1 - Letter sent from Lucca:

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Addressee</th>
<th>Archive/Publication</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>!? - 08-1760</td>
<td>Luccan Grand Council</td>
<td>State Archive of Lucca (GR part)</td>
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### 2 - Letters sent from Arenas de San Pedro:

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<tr>
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<td>Stadtbibliothek, Vienna (GR)</td>
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<tr>
<td>05-06-1781</td>
<td>Emanuel Andreoli</td>
<td>Preussische Kulturbesitz (Berlin)</td>
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<tr>
<td>!? - 02-1781</td>
<td>Artaria (for Haydn)</td>
<td>Pohl, Botstiber (GR part)</td>
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</table>

### 3 - Letters sent from Madrid:

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<th>Archive/Publication</th>
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<td>28-09-1785</td>
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<td>AHN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12-09-1796</td>
<td>Pleyel (with list of works)</td>
<td>Pleyel Archive (LDC, GR)</td>
</tr>
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<td>11-10-1796</td>
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<td>24-08-1801</td>
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* In Rothschild: December 24, while in Della Croce: December 27.

4 - Letter sent from Breslau: ✪

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<td>30-07-1786</td>
<td>Lucchesini</td>
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** See the entry BRESLAU and the References section.

5 - Letters to, or from, Boccherini, or related to him (lost but mentioned):

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6 - Letters addressed (never received) to Boccherini, from Esterhaza:

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7 - Letters addressed to Boccherini, from Postdam or Berlin:

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<td>Prince Friedrich Wilhelm</td>
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<td>02-03-1798</td>
<td>Friedrich Wilhelm III</td>
<td>Fried\textsuperscript{th} W. III Archive, Merseburg (GR)</td>
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</table>

8 - Letters from Pierre Govey to Ignaz Pleyel

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Date</th>
<th>Signer</th>
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<td>(receipt of works, signed LB)</td>
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</table>

References: Biagi Ravenni, G.: "La ‘Carta de Breslau’..." (BIB); Boccherini y Calonje, A.: \textit{Luís Boccherini...} (BIB); Croce, L. della: \textit{Il divino Boccherini} (Epistolary) (BIB); Gérard, Y.: \textit{Thematic, Bibliographical and Critical Catalogue of the Works of Luigi Boccherini} (BIB); Romero Naranjo, F. J.: "Una carta de Luigi Boccherini..." (BIB); Rothschild, G. de: \textit{Luigi Boccherini...} (BIB); Mangani, M.: \textit{Luigi Boccherini} (BIB); Saint-Foix, G. de: \textit{Boccherini, notes et documents nouveaux} (BIB); Saint-Foix, G. de: "La correspondance de Boccherini avec I. Pleyel" (BIB).


LIVRE TOURNOIS: See CURRENCY.

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS (USA): Within the Congress premises, in Washington, D. C., this library keeps an important bibliographical and documentary patrimony, among which the incomplete Op. 64 (the two last \textit{String Quartets} of 1804), and the partitions of the six \textit{Guitar Quintets} by Boccherini, actually the copy made by the French composer and guitarist François de Fossa in 1811, before fleeing from Spain. Although Fossa had enough time to copy seven \textit{Quintets}, the Congress Library only purchased six at an
auction held in 1922, where the Berlin dealer and antiquary Leo Liepmannssohn released different musical items he had been trying to sell since 1904. The exact date of the auction was October 19, 1922 and the USA Congress agent acquired the six Boccherinian partitions with the selling lot number 305280, at a total price of 12 dollars. Today the Guitar Quintets are kept under the manuscript shelf mark of LBC: M574.B [old M572.B65], and the general title of "Six quintéti pour 2 violons, guitare, alto et basse composés à Madrid pour Mr le Marquis of Bénavent par Boccherini".

This six Quintets correspond to Yves Gérard’s Catalogue numbers G. 445-450.

Also this Library owns a manuscript copy of La Musica Notturna delle Strade di Madrid, Op. 30, No. 6, G. 324, files as Ms. 552.

References: Ophee, M.: Luigi Boccherini’s Guitar Quintets... (BIB). (See DISCOGRAPHY.)

Related Entries: Fossa, Guitar, La Musica Notturna delle Strade di Madrid, Liepmannssohn, Quartet.

**Liepmannssohn, Leo:** Founder in 1866 of an antiquary establishment in Berlin, where he traded different products including musical partitions. He was very efficient editing catalogues of the pieces he would bring to auction every year, so his customers knew time
ahead what they would or could purchase. Liepmannssohn’s establishment soon became a basic reference for this kind of marketing and his catalogues are today a fundamental document source about European musical commerce. Curiously enough, those catalogues contain abundant information about Portuguese and Spanish music.

In 1903, Otto Haas purchased Liepmannssohn’s premises and patrimony and kept it until 1955, when he sold it to Albi Rosenthal.

In 1922, the Haas-Liepmannssohn firm auctioned six Boccherini Guitar Quintets (G. 445-450) which were acquired by the USA Library of Congress where they are filed today. The scores are the copies made from the original by French guitarist and composer François de Fossa before he had to flee out of Spain because of the Independence War (1808-1814).

Being at present Maud and Julia Rosenthal the proprietors, the firm Otto Haas has released its 2007 Catalogue #42, offering a manuscript copy of what they describe as "An unknown Concerto attributed to Boccherini possibly corrected by the composer", at a price of £ 7,500 (sterling). The piece is a D Major Concerto "A piu instrumenti", stating the name of the composer as "Bucheri ni". A seller’s remark informs this Concerto is not included in Gérard’s Catalogue of the Works of Boccherini.


LINIER, [Madame]: Almost a year had passed since Boccherini and Pleyel had started their correspondence and commerce using several intermediaries and representatives, when the Luccan sends a letter dated in Madrid on July 3, 1797, to recommend Pleyel that a lady of "great merit" take care of his affairs in Spain. Her name, "Mme. Linier", who was about to go to Paris and then return to settle in Spain.

Ten days later, on July 13, Boccherini insists that Pleyel should accept what Mme. Linier is going to put forth about his business in Spain. (In that same letter, some paragraphs ahead, Boccherini advises Pleyel no to let himself be cheated by individuals
such as Guigné, Bourlet and others.) Boccherini will not mention Mme. Linier until five months later.

In a letter dated in Madrid on January 4, 1798, the Luccan argues against Pleyel’s right to claim his exclusive ownership over his works outside France and its colonies. The arguments is related to the fact that the *Gazzetta di Milano* had published some Boccherinian works. To underpin his reasons, Boccherini says he is not dead yet, for this would be the only legal way Pleyel could take over his works, and this only for a limited period of time. (See about the laws on intellectual editing property the Chapter "Boccherini, l’editoria francese e il mondo che cambia", in Mangani, M.: *Luigi Boccherini*). Boccherini also argues, as a corollary, that he never opposed Pleyel’s printing his works to be sold all over the world and uses as evidence the ideas put forth through "Mme. Liniers" (now with an s added to her name), to make it easier to sell in Spain.

The last time "Mme. Liniers" shows up in the correspondence is in the December 24, 1798 letter, where Boccherini tells Pleyel, using a sort of complaining nuance, that he has received back through "Mme. Liniers", some of the manuscripts he had sent to him before and which he had been long requesting. Some paragraphs ahead, he uses this lady as a witness that he has been solicited by various Parisian publishers but that he has always opted to give Pleyel his priority.


**Related Entries**: Bourlet, Guigné, Letters, Pleyel.

**LIOTARD**: Two twin brothers whose last name was Liotard were born on December 22, 1702, in Switzerland. Both became painters. The most famous, Jean-Étienne, who died on June 12, 1789, has cast some shadow over his brother, Jean-Michel, who died on May 15, 1796.

Nevertheless, it was Jean-Michel who was until very recently was supposed to have portrayed Boccherini for the first time as a composer. The picture shows the model looking towards the observer, slightly leaned on his right, holding four sheets of music paper, under which an ink tank and a writing feather are seen. The pictures is an oil on
cloth measuring 81 by 65 cm, owned by Dr. Gerhard Christmann, of Budenheim, Germany. He purchased it at an auction in the early 1990s where it was presented as being a portrait of Wolfgang A. Mozart (1756-1791). Only some time later did Dr. Christmann find out it was of Boccherini.

1: Portrait of Luigi Boccherini c.1768, by unknown painter, formerly attributed to Jean-Michel Liotard (Dr. Gerhard Christmann private collection)

2: Sketch of the “Liotard” portrait showing the location of the almost concealed signature (Author’s drawing)

(The music written on the sheets held by the model is a very simple andante dance hardly attributable to Boccherini. It could be a pupil’s work or any piece copied by the painter.)

Slightly but clearly visible in an unusual place of the oil, there is a "Liotard" signature without flourish (see the sketch illustration). This signature has been submitted to expert radiological analysis yielding a evidence that it was added contemporaneously but after the picture was finished. Consequently at present the portrait is taken as by an unknown French School painter.

As far as the model is concerned, there is hardly room for any doubt that it was Boccherini, at an age around 25, that is, when he was in Paris, so it is most likely that it were the baron of Bagge who ordered the painting, as he used to do with artists he took
under his patronage. Nevertheless, Mark Shepheard hints as more likely that it were Madame Brillon de Jouy who actually ordered the portrait. (See References)

References: Martos, V. and Tortella, J.: "El rostro de Boccherini, espejo de un alma de artista" (BIB); Shepheard, M.: "Will the Real Boccherini Please Stand Up»..." (BIB).


**LOBO, street of El (Madrid, Spain):** Present Echegaray street, stretching from Carrera de San Jerónimo to Huertas street, was named El Lobo (The Wolf) until 1888. The name came from the fact that an stuffed wolf head was exhibited on top of one large gate. It belonged to a hunter’s establishment which specialized in this kind of prey, then considered a devilish predators.

Boccherini’s relationship with this street was twofold. First, because Domingo Porreti and his second wife, Manuela Pradel, parents of Boccherini’s second wife, lived in the Lobo street where their three children, Teresa, Domingo and Maria Pilar Joaquina Porreti were born. Also Manuela Pradel would die while living in that street, as stated in the defunct register kept in the nearby parish of San Sebastián’s archive.

Second, because when the couple Boccherini-Porreti left their Madera Alta street house, some time during the summer of 1802, they moved to del Prado street, crossing that of El Lobo, where elder Maria Pilar Joaquina’s sister, Teresa, still lived with her husband, Rafael Monreal, a Royal Chapel violinist and friend of Boccherini’s. The Monreal-Porreti wedding took place in the same San Sebastián parish, as stated in the corresponding Matrimony Book. It is only sensible to consider the fact that sister and brother in law lived in the zone as not alien to Boccherini-Porreti option to move to a nearby house. (Del Prado and Echegaray [Lobo] streets cross each other almost at their ends, close the Santa Ana Square. See the illustration corresponding to the entry **Monjas de Pinto**.)


Related Entries: Monjas de Pinto (Quarter of the), Monreal, Porreti (Domingo, Teresa, Maria Pilar Joaquina), Pradel, Prado (street).
L’OHEST [Mons.r]: In his letter to Pleyel, dated in Madrid on March 18, 1799, Boccherini says he has always been assaulted by Parisian agents on behalf of several editors asking him to yield his works, but he has always given his preference to Pleyel. Among those agents there is one, "Mons.r l’Ohest", mediating on behalf of Leduc (or Le Duc). Never again will Boccherini mention this agent.

References: Letter LB: Madrid, March 18, 1799; Croce, L. della: *Il divino Boccherini...* (Epistolary) (BIB); Rothschild, G. de: *Luigi Boccherini...* (BIB); Saint-Foix, G. de: "La correspondance de Boccherini avec I. Pleyel" (BIB).

Related Entries: Leduc, Letters, Pleyel.

"LONGHI", Pietro Antonio Falca (1701-1785): Painter who was born and died in Venice, son of a painter (Alessandro Falca) and father of still another painter (also Alessandro). Pietro Antonio changed his last name to Longhi when he decided to be a painter. Pupil of Antonio Balestra, he completed his training in Bologna, under the guidance of Giuseppe Crespi, better known as Spagnoletto, and he started to be known during the 1730s.

![The Tuscany Quartet, by Pietro Longhi (c.1767, Private Collection, Torino, Italy)](image)

(A fifth musician seems to be playing the bass with a harpsichord)
In a ten years time, he freed himself from the influence of Crespi-Spagnoletto, looking for models not purely religious but more popular and natural, following in this way other continental schools, particularly the French and English.

Longhi’s fame led to him being nominated a member of the painting and sculpting Venetian Academy, where Tiepolo was its director.

In 1741, he signed a picture called *Il concertino*, and by 1767 he would repeat a musical scene when he depicted a concerto performance by the Tuscany Quartet (Nardini, Manfredi, Cambini and Boccherini), plus a harpsichordist.


Related Entries: Cambini, Iconography, Manfredi, Nardini, Tuscany Quartet.

**LONGMAN & BRODERIP:** James Longman was an active London editor who founded several firms, either alone or jointly with some colleagues, during the last forty years of the 18th century. He first erected his own editing house alone in 1767. In 1771, he took a partner to create Longman & Lukey; later, in 1778, they admitted a new partner, Francis Fane Broderip, in order to enlarge the firm which came to be known as Longman, Lukey & Broderip. After a year, Lukey quit business and the two partners firm would become Longman & Broderip, ending up in bankruptcy in 1798.

From then on, Longman reached an agreement with the Italian composer and pianist Muzio Clementi (1752-1832), but, in 1802, he was working alone again. (Today the editing firm Longman Group is a wide trust rooted in the United Kingdom with branches all over the world, from New York to Singapore.)

Longman & Broderip were never pioneers in editing any of the authentic works by Boccherini, although they issued second editions of the *Six Sonatas* Op. 5 (G. 25-30) and of the two *Symphonies* (G. 504 and 506). They did publish some arranged pieces, such as the two sets of *Six Sonatas* for keyboard and violin obbligato: first, the *Sonatas* G. 34-39, declaring to be "adapted by Thomas Billington", and then the *Sonatas* G. 46-51, previously edited by Venier, now declaring to be "agiustate et messe in ordine da Mlle Le
Jeune" (adjusted and put in order by Mlle Le Jeune). Longman & Broderip declared that both sets were "composed by Luigi Boccherini".

During the Longman & Lukey period, the firm also did not issue any first edition of Boccherini’s works, but it released the *Six Sonatas* Op. 5 (G. 25-30) (the same did Clementi and Co.), four of the *Six Duets* for two violins Op. 3 (Nos. 1, 3, 4 and 6, G. 56, 58, 59 and 61), the *Six Trios* Op. 4 (G. 83-88), the *Six Quartets* Op. 8 (G. 165-170, in a different order), and the *Six Quintets* Op. 10 (G. 265-270).


**Related Entries:** Bremner, Duet, Quartet, Quintet, Symphony, Sonata, Trio.

**LOPEZ DE LILLO, Jacinto (notary):** (On notarial duties and activities, see the entry MARTINEZ LLORENTE.)

Lopez de Lillo was an Aranjuez notary who prepared Maria Santa Prosperi’s will, Leopoldo Boccherini’s widow and Luigi’s mother. The deed bears the date April 27, 1776.

Santina, as she was known within the family circle, declares to be "enferma en Cama" (ill in bed) and did not sign the testamentary deed, signing it one of the witnesses on her behalf. This "tgo [testigo] a ruego" (solicited witness) was someone called Juan Martin. The reason why Santina did not sign is clearly specified by the notary: "Y la otorgante a quién doy fée conozco no lo firma por q e dijo no saber" (And the grantor to whom I attest I know did not sign it because she said know how). It is likely that the notary went to Santina’s dwelling in Ontígola, near Aranjuez, although the deed is dated where the notary had his office.

Prosperi names as testamentary executors "Dn. Juan, y Dn. Luis Boquerini, mis dos lexittimos hijos, y del citado mi Difunto Marido residentes al presente en este dho [dicho] Rl Sittio [Aranjuez]" (Dn. Juan, and Dn. Luis Boquerini, my two legitimate sons, and of the mentioned Defunct Husband, presently residents in this mentioned Rl Site [Aranjuez]). The term "resident in" means a temporary sojourn, not a permanent stay, that is, both brothers Giovanni Gastone and Luigi had their dwelling not in Aranjuez. To indicate a permanent home she should have said "vecino" (denizen)
Maria Santa appoints as universal heirs all her living offspring Giovanni Gastone (Juan), Luigi (Luis), Maria Ester, Ana Matilde and Riccarda Gonzaga "Boquerini".

Maria Santa would die a few days (or weeks) later.

References: AHPM: Maria Santa Prosperi’s Will: Prot. 29.411, pp. 163-4, Notary: Jacinto Lopez de Lillo, April 27, 1776.

Related Entries: Aranjuez, Boccherini (Maria Ester, Giovanni Gastone, Ana Matilde, Riccarda Gonzaga), Ontígola, Prosperi.

LOST WORKS: The idea of "lost work" could be understood in various ways. For instance, if the original autograph manuscript is missing we can consider the partition as lost. If some non autograph copies formerly kept by Boccherini’s descendants have disappeared and there is no autograph manuscript, we can also class the work as lost. If only printed copies are extant but they are not underpinned by any manuscript (autograph or copy), we can also take the work as lost too, since we have no document the printed copy can be compared with... These are various levels of "lost", but we are only going to deal here with those works of which we have some reason or another to consider they existed, but no one has ever seen them and consequently no one has ever performed or listened to or has ever known its contents.

In Boccherini’s case, fortunately the list of lost works is not very long although it is considerable and lamentable. Here it is in a presumptive chronological order:

- G. 542: \textit{Aria} for the opera \textit{L’Almeria} by Francesco de Majo (1768?)
- G. 524: \textit{Cefalo e Procri}, Ballo Eroico-Tragico-Pantomimico (1778)
- G. 516: \textit{Symphony} in D Major, Op. 37, No. 2 (December 1786)
- G. 469: \textit{Sextet} in E flat Major, Op. 38, No. 3 (July 1787)
- G. 452: 4 \textit{Quintets} for guitar and string quartet (1798-99)
- G. 528: \textit{Mass}, Op. 59 (1800)

The date for the \textit{Aria} G. 542 is not guaranteed but it is only sensible to think Boccherini wrote it especially for Francesco di Majo’s opera, so it would be scored during 1768, the year the composer premiered it in Aranjuez, shortly after his arrival to the
Hispanic Kingdom, coming from Paris. It is therefore safe to state that all the lost works are "Spanish", so it is most likely that in case some day this void space of lost works could be filled, it would be in Spain where they would be retrieved, since there are leads indicating Boccherini always kept a copy of all he wrote.

References: Letter LB: Madrid, September 12, 1796; Croce, L. della: Il divino Boccherini (Epistolary) (BIB); Gérard, Y.: Thematic, Bibliographical and Critical Catalogue of the Works of Luigi Boccherini (BIB); Picquot, L.: Notice sur la vie et les ouvrages de Luigi Boccherini... (BIB); Rothschild, G. de: Luigi Boccherini... (BIB); Saint-Foix, G. de "La correspondance de Boccherini avec I. Pleyel" (BIB); Tortella, J.: "2005: A duecento dalla scomparsa, rimangono dei «buchi neri» nella biografia di Luigi Boccherini" (BIB).

Related Entries: Aria, Ballet, Cantata, Mass, Octet, Quintet, Symphony, Sextet.

LOUIS: See CURRENCY.

LUCCA (Italy): {BY REMIGIO COLI} Although located in an ancient Etruria, the most important remains and documents of Lucca are roman and they reveal it was a relevant "municipium". All through the centuries, its strategic location and its protective elements allowed the city to keep its strength and relevant role in the Lombardois realm. During the 1100s, Lucca reached the category of a free and independent "Comune", with an active silk industry and commercial network, so consolidating its sovereignty.

By the 16th century, Lucca became an aristocratic Republic, or City-State, with its own government and administration, censitaire elections (only patricians were eligible), justice tribunals, etc., and new red brick Renaissance type ramparts were erected some 15 yards high, following a kidney-bean shaped perimeter still today perfectly preserved. Its 11 stretches and 11 bastions were culminated in 1650. The municipality of Camaiore and the fishing village of Viareggio also belonged to the Luccan City-State.

A feudal pact with the Austrian Empire underpinned Luccan independence and tightened its links with Vienna, a fact which would explain why the Boccherinis selected this town for their first professional excursions.

Nonetheless, French revolutionaries expansionist policies brought Lucca in 1799 to fall under Napoleonic rule, making of the old republic a peculiar monarchy where Elisa Bonaparte would be crowned as its first (and last) queen.

Upon Napoleon’s defeat, Lucca became a Bourbon Ducat later to be integrated in Tuscany and finally to integrate the newly unified state of Italy, under Cavour and Garibaldi.
Nowadays, Lucca has overflowed the ramparts line but its old inner area still maintains its medieval, Renaissance and neo-classical flavor, full of churches, palaces, towers and monuments.

From a cultural and musical standpoint, 18th-century Lucca abounded with training and art creation institutions, producing Europe-wide famous artists such as painter Pompeo Batoni or the impromptu poetess Teresa Bandettini.

It had three seminaries, San Martino, San Michele and San Giovanni, teaching musical theory, composition and interpretation (voice, counterpoint, double-bass, cello and keyboard instruments). Luigi Boccherini was mainly linked to the San Giovanni seminar, the church of which held the Congregation of Santa Cecilia and a sepulcher especially dedicated for musicians with an inscription reading:

Musicorum ultima pausa Societatis Sf\textsuperscript{e} Cecilie Virginis et Martiris A.D. MDCCV

The musical Chapel was under governmental control and responsible for the musical performances linked to the electoral process known as \textit{Festa delle Tasche} (Feast of the Bags) after the insaculation method used to select officials (See the entry \textit{TASCHE}).
When the Boccherini lineage moved to Lucca, by mid 17th century, most of its political, social, economical and cultural life was dependent on the government, so musicians and other artists strove to be employed by it, or at least to be supernumerary. This would be the case with Leopoldo Boccherini and their children. In fact, Luigi joined the Capella Palatina in 1764 as a cellist, and there he would establish a deep friendship with violinist Filippo Manfredi.

Following Remigio Coli’s account, Boccherini’s nuclear family can be located in six Luccan dwellings, four of them in the quarter of the parish of San Giovanni, all in Via di Bordello (Brothel Way, today Via Della Dogana); another in Via Buia crossroads with Via Fillungo, ascribed to the parish of San Salvatore, where Luigi was born on February 19, 1743, and yet in another house, still to be identified, pertaining to San Martino.

In 1864, when the exact birth place of Luigi’s was still unknown, a plaque was nailed in a very visible place of Via di Bordello to honor Luigi Boccherini, but it was quickly removed because this street had a bad reputation having three brothels or houses of " Donne di malavita, Donne cattive" (women of evil life, bad women).

After locating the house where the composer had actually been born, in Via Buia, cornering Via Fillungo, a different plaque was nailed in 1905, first centenary of his death, at his birth house façade of Fillungo, a plaque perfectly preserved and visible today (see the entries BUIA and FILLUNGO).


Related Entries: Boccherini (family), Bordello, Buia, Fillungo, Manfredi, Tasche.

LUCCHESINI, Girolamo (1751-1825): {BY GABRIELLA BIAGI RAVENNI} Eldest son of Francesco and Maria Caterina Montecatini, born and died in Lucca.

The Lucchesinis had settled in Modena, where Girolamo finished his studies, but his father died in 1770 and he felt impelled to go back to Lucca to look after the family patrimony. From then on, Girolamo starts an intense correspondence with his mother through which we can punctually trace his experiences and voyages.

On May 3, 1780, Lucchesini is nominated as Friederich II’s of Prussia, “The Great”, private chamberlain, a post he would keep until the King’s death on August 17,
1786. A few days later Lucchesini resigns before the new King, Friederich Wilhelm II, handing in the keys of the library and the study in Sanssouci the former monarch had trustfully delivered to him. But the new King wants to keep him and assigns him a mission in Rome (February 1787). Upon his return, Luccherini is granted the order of the Black Eagle, the highest Prussian insignia. Girolamo had fully entered the circle of European diplomacy where he will keep a prominent role almost until the Napoleonic era. He will also be honored in Berlin when nominated member of the Academy of Science.

By late 1806, Lucchesini returns to Lucca and never leaves his home town again. In 1822, Friederich Wilhelm III, while traveling through the Italian peninsula, brings him a present: the sash Friederich II had bore in every battle during the Seven Year War. This sash would be placed in Lucchesini’s coffin at his burial.

Obviously having such a "Generosissimo amico" (most generous friend) of such a high level rank was important for Boccherini and it is most likely that links between both Luccan citizens were more intense and even closer than we can imagine today.

One evidence of this is the intimate way Boccherini speaks about the pregnancy of "Signora Marchesa" in the second paragraph of the so-called "Breslau Letter" (see the complete text in the entry BRESLAU), where he uses some terms of confidential intimacy: "Sinceramente mi compiacio imaginandola con fastoso Ventre ostentarvi li cari dritti que vi dà alla Paternità" (I am sincerely pleased when I imagine her haughty Belly showing the sacred rights yielded by Paternity), adding the expression of his best wishes: "possa Essa regalarvi con Prole à Voi simile" (may She bestow you the present of an Offspring resembling you).

As a matter of fact, Girolamo had wedded Carlotta Tarrach a few months earlier and she was in July 1786 expecting to give birth to his first child who would come to life on December 21 and would be named Francesco Federico Guglielmo.


MADERA ALTA, street (Madrid, Spain): The present street of La Madera, in the Central District of Madrid, had two segments in the 18th century, Madera Alta (High) and Madera Baja (Low). The first, and longest, stretched northeastwards from Pez until Espíritu Santo streets, and the second from La Luna until Pez streets. The name Madera (Wood) was due to a parcel in the upper part (Espíritu Santo) where various building materials and wood were stored, mainly from the nearby woods of Balsaín.

Boccherini states in two of his letters (one to Pleyel dated April 27, 1797, and the other to Sieber, dated August 24, 1801), that his address is: Number 18, Madera Alta street, "Qto Principal" (Cuarto Principal, that is, the floor above the one at street level), but he does not specify the block number.

The peculiar criteria by which the Planimetry assigned numbers to street doors, around the block perimeter, produced two Number 18s for Madera Alta. Not knowing the block number, it was impossible to solve the ambiguity. But very recently, José Antonio Boccherini Sánchez (seventh generation descendant of Luigi’s) has found a document containing some data which has allowed to establish beyond any doubt which of the two 18s was Boccherini’s house in Madera Alta: it was the one corresponding to block number 459, and by sheer chance this house bears today the number 18 of Madera street (most numbers today are different from those assigned upon the Planimetry process).

The mentioned document belongs to the priesthood ordinance file of Luis Marcos Boccherini (one of Luigi’s male childs), and states that he lived in 1794 with his father in the house of Madera Alta, using the following words:

*vive calle de la Madera Alta entrando por la del Pez mano derecha 3ª puerta casa no. 18 quarto principal*

[lives Madera Alta street arriving from that of el Pez right hand 3rd door house No. 18 (quarto principal) first floor (from street level)]

This solves any doubt. (See the illustration corresponding to the entry SAN ILDEFONSO with the street of Madera Alta in center. The block number 459 contains the house number 18 where the Boccherinis lived, very close to the corner with the street del Pez.)
But in 1992, that is, some years before this discovery, when celebrating that Madrid had been selected as European Cultural Capital, a house in Madera street was chosen with an 18th century-like design in order to nail an homage plaque which would remind passers by that Boccherini was a real Madrilenean. This plaque still visible today on number 26 façade, states that:

**EN ESTA CASA**
**VIVIÓ ENTRE 1797 Y 1803**
**EL MÚSICO**
**LUIGI BOCCHERINI**
**Y EN ELLA COMPUSO**
**SU ZARZUELA**
**«CLEMENTINA»**

Ayuntamiento de Madrid
1992

[In this house lived between 1797 and 1803 the musician Luigi Boccherini where he wrote his zarzuela «Clementina» - Madrid Municipality 1992]
Many errors in such a short statement. First, Boccherini never dwelled in present time number 26 house. Second, he did not live in Madera Alta between 1797 and 1803, but between 1787 and 1802. Third, he did not write *La Clementina* in that house but in the previous one, that is, in the one he occupied in Plazuela de San Ginés (San Ginés Small Square).

Two of the composer’s daughters died while living of Madera Alta street, the eldest, Joaquina, in 1796, and the third girl, Mariana, in 1802, as stated in their death registers, the first signed by Fr. Fulgencio Lanrela and the second by Fr. Sebastian Barrio. (See their corresponding entries.) Both registers belong to the parish of San Martín’s Archive, today kept in the Archivo del Arzobispado de Madrid (Madrid’s Archbishpriec Archive).


**MADRID (Spain):** State Capital, located at the very center of the Iberian Peninsula, by the small river Manzanares, and not far from the mountain range of Guadarrama.

Being a small rural village surrounding an old Arabic castle, it fell under Christian control in the late 11th century. Since 1561, when Madrid became Philip II’s Court, it grew fast and steadily, both economically and in population, reaching by mid 18th century the figure of 150,000 inhabitants. Nonetheless, there was enough room inside the ramparts to continue its growth, for there were many empty parcels. Although the ramparts were gradually destroyed, its line is still perceptible in present day maps.

The new ruling French Bourbon dynasty, vanquisher in the Guerra de Sucesión (Succession War, 1701-1714), selected Madrid as political and administrative capital, although the Court moved periodically through the year along a fixed Royal Sites itinerary: Aranjuez, El Escorial, El Pardo and San Ildefonso; staying in Madrid less than two months per year. This is the reason why accesses from and to Madrid from the Royal Sites were fully enhanced to facilitate the king’s frequent journeys. Additionally, the Capital was embellished with monuments, palaces and a series of reforms, i.e. ancient
waste disposal methods were banned, new sewerage was constructed, parish cemeteries were transferred out of town, lights were installed in the streets..., many times against the people’s will, for they felt over-controlled and also because they were pressed with new levied taxes.

In fact, the Bourbons embarked on profound tax reforms and Madrid was one of their primary fiscal objectives. Towards a higher tax income for the crown, a huge project was started which would inventory all buildings and void parcels, assigning each a number not extant till then. This process was to be called Planimetría de Madrid (Madrid’s Planimetry), initiated under Ferdinand VI (1713-1759) and culminated under Charles III.

1: “Plano geometrico de Madrid” (Geometric Map of 18th century Madrid, Spain)  
2: Sketch showing the Quartels in which Madrid was divided (Author’s drawing)

Besides its goal of enhancing the collection of taxes, the Planimetry aimed at a higher social control of the population, so Madrid was divided into House Blocks (a total of 557), Quarters (a total of 64) and "Quarteles" (a total of 8, with 8 Quarters each). Every Quarter and every Quartel was to have its own administration and its own police squad. The city maps and propriety registers were printed in a series of books that today have allowed historians and researchers to locate a great number of dwellings, commercial establishments, institutions and singular buildings, among which several houses where
Boccherini lived during his two Madrilenian periods: 1768-9 to 1776, and 1785 until his death in 1805.

Madrid was to become the second land of the Luccan composer.

Upon changing his mind and instead of going to London, Boccherini decided to travel to Spain late in the winter of 1768. He was seen in Aranjuez during the spring, next to follow the tour of Luigi Marescalchi’s Compañía de los Reales Sitios (Royal Sites Company), through the zone of Levante (east). In Valencia he shared a dinner with Giacomo Casanova, always with the two Pelliccia sisters, Teresa, the eldest, and Clementina, his future spouse.

In 1769, Boccherini returned to Madrid and wedded Clementina on August the 17th, in the parish of the Santísima Trinidad at the Royal Site of San Ildefonso. Next spring he would enter the Infant don Luis of Bourbon’s service. From then on, the Boccherinis dwelled in Madrid, first in the street Alta de Leganitos, where the they would have their first child, Joaquina. After that, the family moved to a house (still the exact place is to be located) in the street of Atocha, always keeping his service to his royal mentor, who’s preferred residence was the Palace of Boadilla del Monte, some 12 miles west of Madrid.

In 1776, as the aftermath of don Luis’ unequal or morganatic matrimony and his subsequent ostracism, the Boccherinis would spend more than eight years in Arenas de San Pedro. But, upon the Infant’s death, on August 1785, Boccherini, already a widower with six living children, returned to Madrid where he would live for the rest of his life. In the Capital he would establish his successive homes: first in the Plazuela de San Ginés (San Ginés Small Square), then in the street of Madera Alta, later in the street of el Prado and finally, in the street of Jesús y María, where he would die on May 28, 1805.

So, Boccherini lived in Spain his last 37 years, of which 29 in Madrid, in two intervals: 1769 to 1776 and 1785 to 1805. Although most of his seven children were born in towns or villages other than Madrid, their education, infancy, youth and adult life (except Luis Felix who died being a baby) were tightly linked to the Kingdom’s Capital and the generations to come have been Madrilenian till present times.

One of the congresses held in 2005 to commemorate the 200 anniversary of Boccherini’s death took place in Madrid.

Related Entries: Aranjuez, Atocha, Boadilla del Monte, Bourbon (Luís), Casanova, El Escorial, Jesús y María, Leganitos, Madera Alta, Marescalchi, Pardo, Pelliccia (Maria Teresa, Clementina), Planimetry, Prado, Royal Sites, San Ginés, San Ildefonso, Valencia.

**MAJO, Gian Francesco de** (1732-1770): Neapolitan composer. When still very young, he obtained the post of harpsichordist at the Court’s Theater of Naples, where he also played the organ. Nonetheless, he would reach fame and prestige as a stage composer, first with his *Ricimero, re dei Goti*, premiered in Rome in 1750. From then on, he was required to perform in different venues, including the inevitable Vienna. His early death, when he was only 38 years old, truncated a promising future.

Majo, who’s name is many times spelled as Juan Francisco Maio or Mayo in Spanish documents, was linked to Boccherini and Manfredi through the two operas *L’Almeria* and *Motezuma*.

Upon Boccherini’s arrival to Spain, his first performance was for Majo’s *L’Almeria*, presented in Aranjuez by Marescalchi’s Compañía de los Reales Sitios (Royal Sites Company). As stated in the playbill reproduced by Emilio Cotarelo y Mori, also Teresa and Clementina Pelliccia had important roles in this opera (see the entry Compañía de los Reales Sitios for the complete text of the playbill):

L’Almeria. Drama serio per musica...

*Almeria.- María Teresa Pelliccia, de Roma*

...

*Zaira.- Clementina Pelliccia, romana.*

...

*La música, del Sr. Juan Francisco Majo... El aria final del acto segundo es compuesta y acompaña con el violoncello a solo del Sr. Luis Boccherini, luqués.*

...
After being involved in the San Ildefonso summer season of 1768, the Company was in Valencia during the fall, by the Duke of Gandía’s request, who owned a private theater designed and built by the Bolognese architect Felipe Fontana. Among other performances, there was one concerning Manfredi, since he played a part in Francesco Majo’s opera titled Motezuma. This is the first time Manfredi is seen in Spain. Cotarelo y Mori reproduces the corresponding playbill:

Motezuma, texto de Vitorio Amedeo Cinga-Santi, turinés, música de Francisco Mayo, con el aria del 2º acto "Se amore il cor m'acende", compuesta y acompañada al violín solo del célebre signore Filippo Manfredi, di Lucca.

References: Cotarelo y Mori, E.: Orígenes y establecimiento de la ópera en España hasta 1800 (BIB).

Related Entries: Aranjuez, Compañía de los Reales Sitios, Manfredi, Marescalchi, Pelliccia (Maria Teresa, Clementina), Valencia.

MANFREDI, Filippo (1729-1777): Violinist and, to a lesser degree also a composer, born in Lucca, son of Carlo, horn player at the Capella del Palazzo (Palace Chapel), of the Consiglio Generale (General Council), or city-state’s government. Filippo’s brother, Vincenzo, some three years younger, was also employed at the Capella del Palazzo as flute and oboe player.

Filippo probably received his early musical training in the Seminar of San Michele parish, where registers show how he was a choir contralto between his 10 to 12 years of age. But he soon managed to leave town in order to enhance his violin instruction. This
was a normal practice and the General Council used to help fund artists in its service with the only condition being that they would later return to their posts. Manfredi’s studies in Livorno and his later return to Lucca to take part as a violinist during the so called Feste della Santa Croce are fully documented.

Carmela Bongiovanni reports how Manfredi often traveled frequently to Genoa, especially during the first half the 1760s, to cover a supernumerary violin employment at the San Ambrogio musical chapel and also probably at San Felippo Neri’s.

Obviously, Manfredi’s milieu in Lucca was the same as Boccherini’s, so they soon got acquainted, and upon Luigi’s father’s death, in 1766, the two friends met with Pietro Nardini and Giuseppe Cambini, two Livornois violinists, pupils of the famous Giuseppe Tartini (1692-1770), to form a string quartet where Cambini was to switch to play the viola. This group is known as the Tuscany Quartet, and for a short period of time they toured the northern area of the Italic peninsula: Milan, Genoa, Livorno, Pisa... This was the beginning of the longest period Manfredi would be absent from Lucca: 1766 until 1773, that is, seven years. The decree allowing him to return and regain his violin post was signed by the Consiglio Generale on October 29, 1773 (Date reported by Gabriella Biagi Ravenni).

Between 1766 and 1773, Manfredi, most of the time along with Boccherini, traveled through western Europe. First, as a member of the Tuscany Quartet, then late in
1767, once this formation was dissolved, the two Luccan friends went to Paris, intending to move later to London, although they never did. First Boccherini, and some moths later Manfredi, modified their plans and diverted towards Spain.

Manfredi’s sojourn in the French Capital probably spanned from late 1767 to the summer of 1768 (some 8-9 months), while Boccherini only stayed in Paris 4 or 5 months, heading southwards by the end of winter of 1768 (maybe March), and was seen in Aranjuez during the spring.

Manfredi remained longer in France. There is a letter he sent to his Luccan friend Lelio di Poggio dated in Paris on June 30, 1768. Only the following November, Manfredi was seen in Valencia interpreting his own violin aria within Gian Francesco Majo’s opera Motezuma.

Data about Manfredi’s Spanish period are scarce. Once he returned to Lucca to cover his violin employment, in late 1773, he would live there for four more years, until he died when he was 48 or 49 years old.

References: Biagi Ravenni, G.: "«Molti in Lucca si applicavano alla professione della musica»..." (BIB); Bongiovanni, C.: "Luigi Boccherini y Génova..." (BIB); Rothschild, G. de: Luigi Boccherini... (BIB).


MARAVEDÍ (de vellón, cooper): 34 maravedies made one real. (See CURRENCY.)

MARAVILLAS, parish of Las (Madrid, Spain): This parish is located on number 11 of the Dos de Mayo street. Its archive (APM) contains its own registers and also those from the far away already extinguished parish of Los Santos Justo y Pastor (APSJ). (We have symbolized this composite archive with the acronym APM-SJ.)

In fact, Boccherini’s registers of the time he lived in Jesús y María street (his last dwelling), are to be found in Las Maravillas parish archive. They are three death registers, all signed by don Domingo Herrera: that of Teresa (Luigi’s daughter), who died on July 9, 1804; that of Maria Pilar Joaquina Porreti (Luigi’s second wife), who died on January 11, 1805; and that of Boccherini himself, dead on May 28, 1805. (See the texts of these death registers in the entry HERRERA.)
Las Maravillas Parish today (Madrid, Spain)


Related Entries: Boccherini (Teresa), Herrera, Jesús y María, Porreti (Maria Pilar Joaquina).

MARAVILLAS, Quartel of Las (Madrid, Spain): See SAN ILDEFONSO (Quarter of).

MARESCALCHI, Luigi (1745-1812): Opera manager, composer and musical editor, Marescalchi was born in Bologna where he initiated his studies with Giovanni Battista Martini (1706-1784), and then went to Venice and Milan to complete them.

Partly because he wanted to stage his own operas, he became head of a lyric company that in Spain used the name of Compañía de los Reales Sitios (Royal Sites Company), because most of its performances took place within the various royal premises. Its programs included both stage pieces of his own and of other authors.

Marescalchi must have known Boccherini around 1767 or 1768, since the Luccan traveled to Spain as part of Marescalchi’s troupe, during the spring of 1768. Boccherini’s collaboration with the Royal Sites Company ended two years later, when he started to work for the Infant don Luis of Bourbon, in the spring of 1770.
Shortly after, Marescalchi left Spain and settled in Venice as a music editor, in association with Carlo Canobbio. Although the firm created with Canobbio was doing well, Marescalchi sold his share in 1785 and moved to Naples to start all over again. Based on new calcographic techniques imported from England, he was very innovative compared to the standards used in the Italian territories. One of the main novelties he introduced was the metal materials used for engravings, switching from copper base to a more ductile tin and lead alloy.

In spite of his success, Marescalchi had to flee from Naples in 1799 to find refuge in France because of his involvement in revolutionary activities. He would die in Marseille in 1806.

As a music editor, Marescalchi is reputed to have been the first to release an opera by Mozart in any Italian territory, but he also published works by Paisiello (1740-1816), Cimarosa (1749-1801), Guglielmi and, of course, Boccherini.

Some time around 1775, while still in Venice, Marescalchi’s editing firm released Boccherini’s D Major Symphony G. 490. On the cover of this edition, Marescalchi declared himself as being a "maestro di musica"; this same condition is repeated in a set of 24 Minuets, two of which were transcriptions of parts of a Boccherinian quartet and a...
Boccherinian trio. (Maybe Marescalchi was responsible for both transcriptions and for the added Trio sections to each.)

In second editions of the mid 1770s, also the following works were released: *Six Duets* Op. 3 (G. 56-61), *Six Trios* Op. 6 (G. 89-94) and *Six Quartets* Op. 15 (G. 177-182).

As a composer, besides his operas, Marescalchi wrote instrumental pieces among which it is worth highlighting one especially linked to Boccherini: a wind and metal score based on the horse parade of Las Parejas. (This same topic had suggested Boccherini his *Flute Quintet* Op. 19, No. 6, G. 430.) Marescalchi’s partition (see a fragment above), is bound at the end of Domenico Rossi’s book titled *Las Parejas*, containing numerous gorgeous illustrations describing the parade. This book is shelved in the Royal Palace Library, in Madrid.


**Related Entries:** Bourbon (Luis), Duo, Minueto, Parejas, Quartet, Quintet, Symphony Trio.

**Martínez Llorente, Antonio (notary):** A notary or actuary is a titled and authorized state clerk who witnesses and attests extrajudicial deeds such as powers, testaments, contracts, etc. These duties were practically the same during the 18th century but some present time deeds were not in use then, and some which were customary in the 1700s are out of use today.

During the 37 years stay of Boccherini in Spain, he called to some notarial offices in Madrid with a relative assiduity, in order to sign power deeds, testaments, dowry or capital deeds, etc., or to escort his wife to do so.

A simple look at notarial documents signed by Boccherini indicates he had Antonio Martínez Llorente as his preferred actuary, although he signed some deeds in other offices.

At Martínez Llorente’s, Boccherini signed, or was directly implied, in the following documents, ranged in chronological order:

- June 20, 1786  Mutual Power with Rafael Monreal
- April 23, 1787 Pilar Joaquina Porreti’s Power to Boccherini to collect
- June 27, 1787 Testament (second)
- August 13, 1788 Pilar Joaquina Porreti General Power to Boccherini
On her part, Maria Pilar Joaquina Porreti, besides the powers to her husband (also signed by him), called to don Antonio Martinez Llorente’s office to sign two testaments, on November 16, 1789 and on August 30, 1804.

It is also worth indicating that Francisco Font and his brother Pablo, tightly acquainted with Boccherini, selected Martinez Llorente to sign, the very same day, March 30, 1789, their vows of poverty.

Notary Antonio Martinez Llorente’s signature in 1789 M. J. Porreti’s Testament
(AHPM: Prot. 20.909, p. 195 rev., November 16, 1789)

**Related Entries**: Boccherini (Luis Marcos), Font (Francisco, Pablo [brother]), Monreal, Pleyel, Porreti (Maria Pilar Joaquina), Power, Will, Vow of poverty.

**MARRIAGE**: Boccherini married twice in Spain. First, with the roman soprano Clementina Pelliccia, on August 17, 1769, a little more than a year after he had reached the Hispanic Kingdom. The ceremony took place in the Church of the Santisima Trinidad del Real Sitio de San Ildefonso (La Granja, see the entry SAN ILDEFONSO), after the three mandatory marriage banns (announcements).

The couple had seven children (four females and three males), none of them marrying during Boccherini’s lifetime. Only Josef Mariano would marry sometime after his father’s death (1805).

Clementina died on April 2, 1785, less than 16 years after the marriage.

The second marriage of Boccherini was with the Madrilenian Maria Pilar Joaquina Porreti, and took place on April 18, 1787, in the church of San Sebastián, in Madrid, the Quartel parish corresponding to Porreti’s dwelling in El Lobo street, but the marriage
benedictions did not take place until the next 4th of July. Since the couple moved to live to No. 18 of Madera Alta street, those benedictions were celebrated in the church of San Martin, the corresponding Quartel parish. (Its registers are now in custody at the Diocesan Archive of Madrid’s Archbishopric.) Before the wedding, marriage banns were exhibited on April 15th, that is, three days before.

Within Boccherini’s nuclear family, no other marriage was celebrated.


Related Entries: Boccherini (Josef Mariano), Lobo (street), Monjas de Pinto (Quarter of the), Pelliccia (Clementina), Porreti (Maria Pilar Joaquina), San Martin.

**MASS, Op. 59 (G. 528):** Within the small group of lost Boccherini’s works there is a Mass registered in Boccherini y Calonje’s Catalogue, classified as Opus 59 and dated 1800. This could be yet a new error within this Catalogue because Boccherini mentions a Messa Solenne he is willing to sell and send to editor Naderman in a letter dated June 22, 1797, that is three years before the presumptive date of Boccherini y Calonje’s. There is no evidence to prove that both Masses are the same piece but it is most likely since Boccherini was never a prolific composer of such a kind of music and it would be rather surprising that he would write two masses in such a short time span.

In any case, accepting Boccherini y Calonje’s dating for this Mass, it would be the only composition for that year and its complete title would be "Messa a quatro con tutti strumenti obbligati" (Four Parts Mass with all the Instruments Obbligati). There are no traces of the partition and according to professor Gérard it is scarcely probable that the Mass parts Kirie, Gloria and Credo (G. 529, 530 y 531) have any relationship with the Op. 59 lost Mass, since those fragments seem to be works written when Boccherini was quite young and would not correspond neither to 1797 nor to 1800, when the Luccan was in full maturity over or around his 55 years of age.

MAZAS, Jacques Féréol (1782-1849): The name Mazas can be seen in two of Boccherini’s still extant engraving prints, showing the composer as almost an old man (see the illustration below and the two corresponding enlarged captions).

Mazas was a violinist and composer born in the Tarn department, northeast of Toulouse, France. He studied in the Paris Conservatory being a pupil of Baillot. Anecdotally, he gave his first concerto as a violinist the very same year Boccherini died, that is 1805, and soon acquired quite a renown.

During the 1810s and 1820s he traveled over Europe, including a two years sojourn in Spain. In the early 1830s he returned to France where he would follow a sound musical career, initially as first violin in the theater of the Palais Royal, then as director of the Opera Comique, and then heading the Conservatory of Cambrai, till he retired.
While in Madrid, Mazas came across a bust thought to be of Boccherini, out of which he designed an engraving ever since widely used in books, magazines, discs, etc. (right image of the illustration). Nonetheless, following Jean-Baptiste Cartier’s statement, the bust Mazas took as a model for his engraving was actually of Haydn, and not of Boccherini.

Anyhow, there are these two engraving prints considered as portraying Boccherini where Mazas is named as its designer and a bust of Boccherini stated as its model.

A slanting down inscription can be seen in the left hand image reading: ‘Lith. Numa Rolin, à Bas.’, obviously the lithograph’s atelier where it was produced.

References: Mangani, M.: Luigi Boccherini (BIB); Martos, V. and Tortella, J.: "El rostro de Boccherini, espejo de un alma de artista" (BIB).

Related Entries: Baillot, Cartier, Iconography.

**MEMORIAL:** See **PETITION**

**MENDELSSOHN, Felix** (1809-1847): Although Mendelssohn’s life time does not overlap that of Boccherini’s in a single year, nor did they share origins or musical style, maybe this radical difference is in the base of the former’s opinion about the latter, an opinion frequently repeated through biographical accounts on Boccherini.

![Felix Mendelssohn (19th-Century Anonymous Lithography)](image)

One day Mendelssohn attended a concerto given by French violinist Pierre Baillot where several Boccherinian pieces were interpreted. Right after, the German composer wrote his sister the following remarks:

*The evening at Baillot’s began with a quintet by Boccherini: a peruke, beneath which might be seen the smiling features of a kindly old man.*
The contemptuous nuances of this description show how self contemplative romantic way to consider art (music in this case) had no eyes (nor ears) except for its own outcome. If this was so in general, but in the German realm it reached a virulent climax of animadversion towards Mediterranean sensibility. (See the entry SPOHR.)

References: Rothschild, G. de: Luigi Boccherini... (BIB).

Related Entries: Baillot, Spohr.

**MERCURE DE FRANCE, Le:** A Parisian cultural magazine which by mid 18th century had become a highly considered reference for intellectual circles.

Its precedent was the Mercure galant, created by Jean Donneau de Vis and having its first issue in 1672. Its readers were mainly the upper class eager to know about literary novelties, debates, arts, stage performances and intellectual gossip.

In 1724 it was decided to change the name of the magazine and call it *Le Mercure de France*, evolving towards a more official publication and reaching its apex during the Louis XV and Louis XVI kingdoms. Napoleon would stop its publication in 1811, but it started to be edited again in 1815.

*Le Mercure de France* would finally close in 1825, although its name would be later retrieved for a different kind of periodical.

Prior to Boccherini’s arrival to Paris, *Le Mercure* had echoed the publication of some of his works (Quartets Op. 2, G. 159-164, and Symphony G. 500, of doubtful authenticity), but maybe the most important article dedicated to the Luccan composer, and also to his friend Manfredi, was published in the 1768 April issue, after their first Parisian appearance, on March 20, under the auspices of the *Concert Spirituel*.

Quoting from the English version of Rothschild’s biography of Boccherini, we can read what *Le Mercure* had to say:

> M. Manfredi then performed upon the violin a concerto of his own composition and had reason to be satisfied with the manner in which the public did justice to his talents as an artist and a composer. (···) Then M. Boccherini, already known to us by his impressive trios and quartets, performed in a masterly fashion, upon the violoncello, a sonata of his own composition.
These comments, amongst others dedicated to different artists performing the very same day, although politely praising, cannot be considered as enthusiastic, as one would expect. The fact that Manfredi was invited to give another concerto and Boccherini was not might have influenced the latter to abandon the French capital early that same spring, especially taking into account another contemporary comment by Louis Petit de Bachaumont stressing the "unharmonious" way Boccherini had "struck the ear" with his violoncello (see the entry Petit de Bachaumont). Although Petit’s criticisms often targeted not the artist commented but his own enemies within the intellectual circles realm, they probably hurt Boccherini badly.

References: Gérard, Y.: Thematic, Bibliographical and Critical Catalogue of the Works of Luigi Boccherini (BIB); Rothschild, G.: Luigi Boccherini... (BIB).


MESTRE (Italy): See VENICE.

METASTASIO (Pietro Trapassi) (1698-1782): Roman poet who reached Europe-wide renown as author of opera librettos and texts for sang pieces. He studied law, but later on he also studied music under the famous composer Nicola Porpora’s guidance. In 1724 he gained his first step of notoriety with the words for Didone abbandonata. From then on he would be selected by the Vienna Court to become its official poet.

Metastasio wrote some 30 librettos, always pervaded by the idea of the struggle between sentiment and rationality. Most of those texts were used by great composers such
as Mozart (1756-1791), Gluck, Haendel (1685-1759), Jommelli (1714-1774), Pergolesi (1710-1736), Johann Christian Bach (1735-1782) or Boccherini... But from the early 1760s, general public taste and critique’s opinions about opera began to change and soon Metastasio would be considered as a démodé.

Boccherini’s vocal works on texts by Metastasio are the following:

- Recitativo and Aria, "Si veramente io deggio" and "Ah non lasciarmi, no, bel idol mio", for soprano and tenor, and for soprano and orchestra, respectively (G. 544), from Metastasio’s Didone abbandonata;

- Recitativo and Aria, "Misera dove son" and "Ah no son io che parlo", for soprano and orchestra, (G. 548), from Metastasio’s Ezio;

- Recitativo and Aria, "Di giudice severo" and "Per quel paterno amplesso", for three voices and soprano/tenor and orchestra, respectively (G. 554), from Metastasio’s Artaserse;

- Aria, "Tornate sereni", for soprano/tenor and orchestra (G. 558), from Metastasio’s Achille;

- Aria, "Se non ti moro allato idolo del cor mio", for soprano/tenor and orchestra (G. 545), from Metastasio’s Adriano;

- Aria, "Deh respirar lasciatemi", for soprano/tenor and orchestra (G. 546), from Metastasio’s Artaserse;

- Aria, "Caro son tua così per virtu d'amor", for soprano and orchestra (G. 547), from Metastasio’s Olimpiade;

- Aria, "Care luci che regnate sugl'affetti del mio cor", for soprano/tenor and orchestra (G. 549), from Metastasio’s Issipile;

- Aria, "Numi, se giuste siete, rendente", for soprano and orchestra (G. 551), from Metastasio’s Adriano;

- Aria, "Caro Padre, a me non dei", for soprano and orchestra (G. 552), from Metastasio’s Ezio;

- Aria, "Ah che nel dir ti addio mi sento il cor dividere", for soprano and orchestra (G. 553), from Metastasio’s Issipile;

- Aria, "Tu di saper procura", for soprano and orchestra (G. 555), from Metastasio’s Olimpiade;

- Aria, "Se d’un amor tiranno, eredi di trionfar", for soprano and orchestra (G. 557), from Metastasio’s Artaserse;
- **Aria**, "Tornate sereni", for soprano/tenor and orchestra (G. 558), from Metastasio’s *Achille*;

- **Dueto**, "La destra ti chiedo", for soprano, tenor and orchestra (G. 559), from Metastasio’s *Demofoonte*;

- **Oratorio**, "Gioas, re di Giudea", for soloist voices, choir and orchestra (G. 537);

- **Oratorio**, "Il Giuseppe riconosciuto", for soloist voices, choir and orchestra (G. 538).


**Related Entries**: Aria, Duo, Oratorio, Recitative.

**MILAN (Italy)**: Capital of Lombardy, in the northern zone of Italian peninsula, by river Po valley, not far from the buttresses of the Alpine range.

![Milan Duomo Square (by Giovanni Migliara, 1785-1837)](image)

Probably founded by Gallic tribes, Milan fell to the Romans in the 3rd century b.c. and was later conquered by Hannibal. When the Carthaginian leader was defeated, the city became Roman again and was nominated *municipium*, by mid 1st century b.c. Its strategic location made it a desired military post conquered by Charlemagne in 8th century, developing an intense commercial activity based on textiles. In the 1400s, Milan had
grown extraordinarily both commercially and economically and also in population. Under
the Spanish rule, initiated in the early 1500s, the Lombard capital began its decline to
finally fall to the Austrian-Hungarians as a result of the Succession War, at the beginning
of the 18th century. Before the Italian reunification, Milan lived some brief periods of
French rule. From then on, a rapid industrialization has made Milan one of the most
influential Italian manufacturing, banking and business centers.

Leopoldo and Luigi Boccherini stayed in Milan at the end of July 1765, after a tour
in Pisa and Venice, where they had given concerts along with Filippo and Vincenzo
Manfredi. The Manfredis proceeded towards Genoa, while the Boccherinis visited Milan,
then under Austrian rule. From there, they went to Pavia and Cremona during the feasts
honoring the Spanish Infant Maria Luisa, daughter of Charles III, her way to Innsbruck.
Both in Pavia and Cremona, the Boccherinis gave concerts receiving only modest
emoluments.

Besides this traveling and performing data, Dr. Coli reports how Leopoldo played
a borrowed instrument: "un istromento di Contrabasso di ragione del Signor Giulio
Fioretti stato da esso prestato" (a Double-Bass instrument owned by Signor Giulio Fioretti
borrowed from him). It seems this double-bass was slightly damaged on its way back to
Milan.

References: Coli, R.: *Luigi Boccherini, la vita e le opere* (BIB).

Related Entries: Boccherini (Leopoldo), Cremona, Double-bass, Genoa, Manfredi, Pavia, Pisa, Venice.

MINUET: A musical rhythm and tune originated in some ancient dance forms of eclectic
tempo, neither fast nor slow, very popular in the late 1600s and the 1700s. It usually
contained a central section, called *Trio*, interpreted by three instruments. Boccherini
included hundreds of minuets in his scores, almost always as a contrast, or link, between
fast movements (*Vivace, Allegro, ...*) and slow movements (*Largo, Adagio, Grave, ...*), but
just a single one has reached such an astounding fame that it has become a serious
hindrance or "malediction" towards general knowledge of his works, since many people,
and for a long time, believed that Boccherini had just written a single minuet, "the
minuet", actually the third movement of his E Major *Quintet* Op. 11, No. 5, G. 275, of
1771. Nonetheless, this "malediction" had once its positive side. After long decades of
oblivion and forlornness, "the minuet" instigated Boccherini’s revival when it was performed in a concert hall in the second half of the 19th century.

The event is reported by Alfredo Boccherini y Calonje in his brief biographical account about his ancestor. In the ADVERTENCIA (Foreword) he tells how a concert by Mr. Bretón (Tomás, 1850-1923), given at the Apolo theater in Madrid, on May 4, 1879, had programmed music by Mercadante (1795-1870), Haydn, Meyerbeer (1791-1864), Massenet (1842-1912), Saint Saens (1835-1921), Boccherini, Gounod (1818-1893) and Strauss (no first name mentioned). The author avows he had never listened to any piece by Boccherini, "cuya musica admirada en el extranjero era solamente conocida en España en los presentes tiempos por un corto número de inteligentes" (who’s music, admired in foreign countries, was only known in Spain in present times by a short number of intelligent people), and states that the minuet was repeated twice, with big applause. After the concert, various critics asked the author, Alfredo Boccherini y Calonje, for some information towards a biography of the composer of such a minuet, giving this rise to the idea of writing himself a short book published later that same year.

The ADVERTENCIA goes on thanking Tomás Bretón for the orchestral version of the minuet, based on the piano version by Planté, interpreted around 1877, and ends with a hopeful expression:

(...) merced al infatigable Director de la Union artístico-musical, el público madrileño sabe que Boccherini compuso un minuetto! ¡Por algo se empieza!

[(...) thanks to the indefatigable Director of the Union artístico-musical, Madrilenian public knows that Boccherini composed a minuet! Everything must have a beginning!]

So, we have a two cellos String Quintet lopped off and transmuted into a piano piece, and later into an orchestral piece; but as the composer’s descendant says "Everything must have a beginning!" From that 1879 concerto until today, Boccherini’s work’s retrieval process has been spectacular, even though during a long, long time "the minuet" would still be almost the unique available work (together with the false Grützmacher concerto) by a composer who had written over 450 scores, many of them actual masterpieces and almost all extremely beautiful.
"The minuet" made its own way during most of the 1900s, finally finding again its true niche within the Quintet where it belongs. Versions for stunning instrumental combinations and weird uses have been so numerous that they could not be included in these pages. But it is maybe worth highlighting one case which has reached universal notoriety: the background music (almost protagonist) of Alexander Mackendrick’s film Lady Killers (1955), featuring Katie Johnson, Alec Guinness, Peter Sellers and Herbert Lom, in the main roles. The story is based on a train hold up plotted by five delinquents who pretend they are a String Quintet group, carrying machine guns instead of violins, viola and cellos, inside the instrument cases. In order to conceal their true intentions, they use a record player to let everybody listen to the music they pretend to be rehearsing, which is of course "the minuet" by Boccherini and only but "the minuet" by Boccherini. This choice helped, no doubt, to popularize the composer’s name.

References: Boccherini y Calonje, A.: Luis Boccherini... (BIB).

Related Entries: Quintet.

MONJAS DE PINTO, Quarter of the (Madrid, Spain): Quarter located in the Quartel of San Geronimo, in the old center of the capital.

Map of Las Monjas de Pinto Quarter (in the center-left, the street of El Lobo)
The chart above shows how the street of El Lobo (today Echegaray), where the Porretis lived, crosses that of El Prado, where the Boccherinis moved to in 1802. This is the most probable reason why they moved there and not to any other zone of Madrid (see the entries LOBO and MONREAL).

References: Gonzalez, Juan Francisco: Madrid dividido en ocho quarteles con otros tantos barrios cada uno, Oficina de Miguel Escribano, Madrid, 1769.

Related Entries: Lobo, Porreti, Prado.

MONREAL, Rafael: As a Royal Chapel violinist, Monreal was a founding member, in July 1797, of the guild fraternity known as Concordia Funeral (Funeral Concord). He belonged to the first Junta (Board of Directors) as Comisario de Enfermos (delegate to evaluate ill members claims), together with cellist Joseph Zayas.

Monreal was the son of María de la Vega and Phelipe Monreal, a violist of the Madrilenean Royal Coliseum orchestra, active during the late 1740s, as reported by Farinelli in his Fiestas Reales.

In 1775, Rafael Monreal married Teresa Porreti, daughter of the famous cellist Domingo Porreti, and sister of the future second wife of Boccherini, Maria del Pilar Joaquina. This way, Monreal and Boccherini would be brothers in law since 1787, but they were friends beforehand.

This friendship is well established through several documents, although it might have run into some kind of disturbances in 1788.

The first link between Monreal and Boccherini is to be seen in the latter’s first will, dated 1785, since Monreal is mentioned as a witness. Later, on June 1786, both signed a notarial deed to yield each other ample capacity to act on behalf of each other: receive salaries, buy and sell all kinds of goods, attend judicial calls, etc.

In 1788, a year after having married Maria del Pilar Joaquina Porreti, so becoming Monreal’s brother in law, Boccherini cancels the previously yielded powers to Monreal of 1786. This is done by means of another notarial deed where the cancellation is stated in the following apparently conciliatory words:

dejando como deja al cittado Dº Raphael Monrreal en su buena fama, y opinion y sin que sea Vistto por este acto Ynjuriarle
[leaving as he leaves the mentioned Dn Raphael Monreal in his good fame, and opinion and with no intention to be Seen by this act to Outrage him]

Still another indirect link between Monreal and Boccherini could be glimpsed through their respective wives, the sisters Porreti.

In 1802, the Boccherinis decide to move from Madera Alta street where they dwelled since 1787, to live in a house (still not exactly located), in the Prado street, close to El Lobo street (today called Echegaray), where the couple Monreal-Porreti had their residence, as reported in their wedding register. This vicinity could be the reason why Maria Pilar Joaquina would have wanted to move close to her sister.


Related Entries: Lobo, Madera Alta, Monjas de Pinto (Quarter of the), Porreti (Maria Pilar Joaquina, Teresa), Prado.

MOSQUERA, Palace of La: Northeast of Arenas de San Pedro, there is a hill called La Mosquera where the Town Hall assigned to the Infant don Luis ample grounds to build a palace. Two architects, bothers Domingo and Ignacio Thomas, designed the plan, under Ventura Rodriguez’s supervision, their mentor, also at don Luis service. The works must have been initiated by 1778 but it was never culminated because the Infant died when a whole wing was still to be built. Nevertheless, the central part and the right wing was ready to move in by 1783.

Don Luis, his familia and his Court had been lodged in several down town palaces and houses, so the Palace of La Mosquera started to be named as el Palacio Nuevo (New Palace), while the Infant’s main mansion, rented or borrowed from a rich Arenas family called Frías, was known as Palacio Viejo (Old Palace).

The New Palace (still very well preserved especially as far as its structure is concerned), has a ground level plant and two upper stories. The first of these upper stories is named as "Quarto Principal" (Main Plant) where the Infant’s family rooms, salons and
chapel floor are located (though the chapel’s lantern goes through the roof). Also a wide balcony over the entrance column porch is accessible from this "Quarto Principal".

The ground level has a voluminous and large hall giving way to an ample stone staircase towards the "Quarto Principal". There is also a big kitchen with capacious pantry, service areas and rooms. Third level story has lower ceilings but a similar distribution as the "Quarto Principal", except that it has no big salons and the rooms are smaller and consequently more numerous.

Around the Palace there were gardens and some farming areas with vegetables, fruit trees and a vineyard. Its extension was measured as "7 fanegas y media" or 5 hectares (7 fanegas and a half correspond to almost 12 acres). In the northern part of the ground, bordering a sharp deep cliff, a building known as Casa de Oficios (Workers House) was erected to lodge part of the servants, and to be used as a repository as well. The stables were set in its basement.

Don Luis and his family and servants did not move to the New Palace of La Mosquera until 1783. When the Infant died in 1785, all his Arenas premises were inherited by his daughter Teresa, Countess of Chinchón, wedded to Manuel Godoy. Godoy’s and Teresa’s heir was their daughter Carlota, who married an Italian nobleman.
called Camilo Ruspoli, who’s descendants through the 20th century have been in possession of the immense patrimony accumulated by don Luis.

After the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939), La Mosquera Palace fell in the hands of the Avila bishopric, being used as a school until the 1960s when it was abandoned. Since the late 1980s it belongs to the municipality and is presently being restored.


Related Entries: Arenas de San Pedro, Borbón (Luis), Rodríguez (Ventura), Thomas (Domingo, Ignacio).
NADERMAN, Jean-Henri (1734-1799): Harpist and prestigious harp builder who served the queen Marie Antoinette (1755-1793). He was associated with his friend and fellow harpist Jean-Baptiste Krumpholtz (1742-1790). Naderman extended his activities in 1774 to the field of music printing. Some of his editions point out he was "Luthier ordinaire de la Reine" and also "Marchand de musique du Roi". Upon his death, the business would be continued by his two sons. The youngest, Henri (1782-1846), would take care of marketing activities, while the elder, François-Joseph (1781-1835), composer and pupil of Krumpholtz, would be responsible for the actual building of harps.

Jean-Henri Naderman had Charles-Georges Boyer as a partner in the printing business, but later, in 1796, he purchased his associate’s share.

As far as Boccherini’s authentic works is concerned, Naderman only released a first edition by 1782, and this was of the *Six Trios* for two violins and cello, Op. 34 (G. 101-106), printed as Op. 35, stating his Parisian address as "Rue de la Loi, à la Clef d’or". The rest of his editions (or sales) of pieces by Boccherini would always be second editions

Before joining Boyer, Naderman would release the *Six Trios* for violin, viola and cello Op. 14 (G. 95-100), the *Six Trios* for keyboard, violin and cello (G. 143-148), and his heirs would print four *Cello Concertos* G. 477, 479, 480 and 481.

In the rest of his other non first editions there is always marked "Mr. Boyer":

- Two sets of *Six Trios* Op. 4 (G. 83-88), and Op. 6 (G. 89-94)
- Two sets of *Six Quartets* Op. 2 (G. 159-164), Op. 8 (G. 165-170)

Naderman is mentioned several times in Boccherini’s correspondence as a means to put pressure on Pleyel. The first time, in a letter dated in Madrid on June 8, 1797, Boccherini adds a post script telling Pleyel he has just received a letter from the agent "M de Sandoz", on behalf of a certain "M. de Naderman whom you ought to know", with a very interesting offer related to his music. Next June 22nd, the Lucan says again he plans on writing Naderman to offer him some of his vocal works, a *Messa Solenne*, an *Stabat*
Mater and 12 Arie Accademiche. Next July 3, he mentions once more his offer to Naderman for his vocal music.

On January 4, 1798, Naderman is again used as a menace, for Boccherini wants Pleyel to understand that doing business with him means to let pass by many better deals. The same reasoning is used in his letter dated March 18, 1799, emphasizing how his music is widely requested, among others by "Mr. Santos" and "sig.r Pignatelli", on Naderman’s behalf.

It is worth mentioning that, in the end, Naderman would never publish the vocal works mentioned by Boccherini in his June 22, 1797 letter.


References: Letters LB: Madrid, June 8, 1797 - Madrid, June 22, 1797 - Madrid, July 3, 1797 - Madrid, January 4, 1798 - Madrid, March 18, 1799; Croce, L. della: Il divino Boccherini (Epistolary) (BIB); Gérard, Y.: Thematic, Bibliographical and Critical Catalogue of the Works of Luigi Boccherini (BIB); Rasch, R.: "Luigi Boccherini and the Music Publishing Trade" (BIB); Rothschild, G. de: Luigi Boccherini... (BIB); Saint-Foix, G. de: "La correspondance de Boccherini avec I. Pleyel" (BIB).

Related Entries: Aria, Boyer, Concerto, Letters, Mass, Pignatelli, Quartet, Quintet, Sandoz, Santos, Sonata, Stabat Mater, Trio.

NARDINI, Pietro (1722-1793): Violinist and composer born in Livorno, where he received his initial musical education. He later went to Padua to study under Giuseppe Tartini’s guidance. In the early 1760s, Nardini was a violinist in the Court of
Württemberg, in Stuttgart, and by 1767, he joined Manfredi, Cambini and Boccherini to constitute the Tuscany Quartet and embark on a series of concert tours through the northern part of the Italian peninsula (Milan, Genoa, Livorno, Pisa...). Once the group decided to split up, Nardini settled in Florence as musical director for the Tuscany Duchy Court. He would die in this same town.

Among his works, several violin concertos, string quartets, sonatas, duets and trios, with especial attention given to his own instrument and also to the flute.

Among his works, several violin concertos, string quartets, sonatas, duets and trios, with especial attention given to his own instrument and also to the flute.

**Pietro Nardini (Period Medallion Print)**

**Related Entries**: Cambini, Manfredi, Tuscany Quartet.

**NATIONAL BANK OF SAINT CHARLES**: See **Banco Nacional de San Charles**.

**NATIONAL HISTORICAL ARCHIVE**: See **Archivo Histórico Nacional**

**NERINI, GIUSEPPE**: On December 15, 1796, Boccherini sends to Pleyel a letter and a translated version of a notarial certificate originally written in Spanish and dated the day before, by which he yields the editor full ownership over a set of musical pieces, adding his own commitment not to yield or sell them to anyone in France or its colonies. The
certificate is signed before Boccherini’s accustomed notary, Antonio Martinez Llorente, and names two testimonies: Giuseppe Nerini and Manuelle Canseco. In this same letter, Boccherini explains that Nerini is the secretary of the Venetian embassy.

Boccherini sent to Pleyel a second notarial deed dated on July 17, next year, also signed before Martinez Llorente, where again Giuseppe Nerini and Manuel Canseco are mentioned as witnesses. This second document, also translated from Spanish and sent through M. Drovillet (the spelling of this name varies over the whole correspondence), was meant to guarantee that the works Boccherini had sold to M. Boulogne, through don Lorenzo Vignola, around 1790, could not be edited and were only for private use.

**References**: Letters LB: Madrid, December 15, 1796 - Madrid, July 17, 1797; Croce, L. della: *Il divino Boccherini* (Epistolary) (BIB); Rothschild, G. de: *Luigi Boccherini...* (BIB); Saint-Foix, G. de: "La correspondance de Boccherini avec I. Pleyel" (BIB).

**Related Entries**: Boulogne, Canseco, Drouilhet, Letters, Martinez Llorente, Vignola.
OBOE: Double reed wind instrument, with an slightly conic tubular shape. It evolved from the flageolet and its name is a phonetic adjustment from the French term "hautbois", which combines "haut" (high), and "bois" (wood). Its timber corresponds to the contralto or tenor voices. But the oboe is not actually a unique instrument but a whole family of similar instruments among which only minor timber and morphological differences are to be seen.

The oboe came into use in Spain during the 18th century, while in other European areas it had had a longer tradition. In France, it was widely used by Jean Baptiste Loeillet (1680-1730), Jacques Hotteterre (1674-1763) and Philidor (1681-1728), etc., in England, by Haendel (1685-1759) or Purcell (1659-1695), and in the German area by Telemann (1681-1767), Quantz (1697-1773), and others. Also but not so extensively we see the use of the oboe in Venice, mainly by Vivaldi (1678-1741) and Albinoni (1671-1751).

Boccherini’s oboe is tightly linked to Gaspar Barli, of whom the Luccan would say he was an "eccellente oboè", adding that "al di più di una dolcezza straordinaria, ricava dal suo istromento de’ suoni acutissimi, rari e propri di lui" (besides an extraordinary sweetness, he draws from his instrument some very acute sounds, uncommon and with his own character) (letter to Pleyel dated in Madrid on July 10, 1797).

In fact, Boccherini’s music for oboe (or flute) is very tightly related to Barli, for whenever he was nearby, Boccherini would write for this instrument, or for flute, being one instrument replaceable by the other.

Two pieces from Op. 38 are the first oboe or flute works which are soundly authentic. These are an E flat Major Sextet for violin, viola, bassoon, oboe/flute, horn and double-bass (G. 467) and a G Major Octet for 2 violins, viola, 2 cellos, oboe/flute, horn and double-bass (G. 470), both of 1787 and published by Pleyel in 1798.

Ten years later, in 1797, we have the Six Quintets for oboe (or flute) and string quartet Op. 55 (G. 431-436), released by Pleyel, in 1800, as Op. 45.
Within orchestral works (concerts, symphonies, serenade, minuets, ballets, etc.), there is occasionally one oboe (or two oboes), according to what was customary at the time. In some scores we see the oboe included "ad libitum".

**References**: Letter LB: Madrid, July 10, 1797; Croce, L. della: *Il divino Boccherini* (Epistolary) (BIB); Gérard, Y.: *Thematic, Bibliographical and Critical Catalogue of the Works of Luigi Boccherini* (BIB); Rothschild, G. de: *Luigi Boccherini...* (BIB); Saint-Foix, G. de: "La correspondance de Boccherini avec I. Pleyel" (BIB).

**Related Entries**: Barli, Letters, Octet, Pleyel, Quintet, Sextet.

**OCTET**: The term can be taken in two ways, as a musical form and as a set of interpreters. As far as musical form is concerned, Boccherini wrote in 1787 an Octet (or Nocturne), Op. 38, No. 4 (G. 470), in G Major, for two violins, viola and two cellos, with flute or oboe, horn and bassoon, published by Pleyel in 1798 as Op. 41.

Additionally, the catalogue transcribed by Boccherini y Calonje contains a 1789 miscellaneous Opus 42 with an E flat Major "Ottetto notturno" (G. 473), regretfully lost. We can only count on the incipit of the initial *Adagio* reproduced by Picquot (page 115 of the original 1851 edition).

In Boccherini’s letter to Pleyel, dated in Madrid on September 12, 1796, he included a list of works among which a set of seven pieces described as "notturni con strumenti a vento". One of these seven pieces is the lost E flat Major Octet.

**References**: Letter LB: Madrid, September 12, 1796; Croce, L. della: *Il divino Boccherini* (Epistolary) (BIB); Gérard, Y.: *Thematic, Bibliographical and Critical Catalogue of the Works of Luigi Boccherini* (BIB); Picquot, L.: *Notice sur la vie et les ouvrages de Luigi Boccherini...* (BIB); Rothschild, G. de: *Luigi Boccherini...* (BIB); Saint-Foix, G. de: "La correspondance de Boccherini avec I. Pleyel" (BIB).


**OLÍAS DEL REY (Spain)**: Municipality some 6 miles north-northeast of Toledo where the Infant don Luis of Bourbon married Maria Teresa Vallabriga by proxy, and almost
secretly, on June 27, 1776, with no celebrations or feasts. From that day on, don Luis decided to conceal his royal status as infant and adopted a private condition as Earl of Chinchón. Additionally, clauses XI and XII of the 1776 Royal Pragmatic signed by Charles III about unequal marriages were applied to him, so that his descendants could not bear his last name and had to relinquish any successor rights.

References: Junquera y Mato, Juan José, et. al.: Goya y el Infante Don Luis de Borbón. Homenaje a la "Infanta" Doña María Teresa de Vallabriga, 1996; Novísima Recopilacion (BIB): 1776 Unequal Marriages Royal Pragmatic: Book X, Title II, Law IX; Tejero Robledo, E.: Arenas de San Pedro y el Valle del Tiétar... (BIB); Vázquez García, F.: El Infante Don Luis Antonio de Borbón y Farnesio (BIB).

Related Entries: Bourbon (Luis), Charles III, Vallabriga.

ONTÍGOLA (Spain): Small municipality a few miles southeast of Aranjuez. Because of its Royal Site condition, Aranjuez did not admit residents not strictly linked to the royal family, even if they were ambassadors or members of the nobility. So, many little surrounding villages lodged whoever wanted or needed to be close to the Court during the spring royal sojourn in Aranjuez.
Boccherini’s mother, Maria Santa (or Santina, as she was known among close relatives), settled in Ontígola, probably together with her youngest daughter Riccarda. Santina signed her will on April 27, 1776, before the Aranjuez notary don Jacinto Lopez de Lillo, who had to call to Santina’s domicile since she was ill in bed. In fact, she would die in the next few days (or maybe weeks).

References: AHPM: Maria Santa Prosperi’s Will: Prot. 29.411, pp. 163-4, Notary: Jacinto Lopez of Lillo, April 27, 1776.

Related Entries: Aranjuez, Boccherini (Riccarda Gonzaga), Lopez de Lillo, Prosperi.

OPAQUE DECADE: Historiografic term formulated the year 2002, in Boccherini, un músico italiano en la España ilustrada, to describe the up to then documentary void about Boccherini’s life during the period between 1787 and 1796. For 1787, there was only a report by William Beckford about a party in the house of a wealthy Portuguese gentleman called Pacheco, in Madrid, where Boccherini had been hired as musical instructor. After Beckford’s testimony, the Luccan composer would "disappear", only to "reappear" with the first letter sent to Pleyel, on September 12, 1796.

Some biographies skipped this opaque decade by using elusive phases. For example, In the English edition of Rothschild’s biography, we can read the following:

Between 1787 and 1796 Boccherini vanishes from sight (p. 61)
The reader will remember that from 1787 onwards we have no knowledge of where or how Boccherini was living. We find him again in 1796. (p. 65)

Also Luigi della Croce admitted that,

Il resto, per quanto riguarda il 1787 e quasi tutto il decennio successivo, bisogna dedurlo dalle opere. (p. 187)

[The rest, as far as 1787 is concerned and almost the following decade, we need to infer it from his works.]

And Ugo Biagioni declared,

Pero en esta etapa la biografía del compositor se vuelve avara en datos personales. El periodo que va de 1787 a 1796 constituye una oscura laguna (p. 118)
But in this period the composer’s biography becomes scarce in personal data. The period from 1787 to 1796 takes the form of a dark lagoon.

This biographic vacuum had pervaded other kinds of biographical works dedicated to Boccherini such as general music dictionaries or encyclopedias. A paradigmatic example is is to be found in the 1980 edition of the *New Grove*, where we read:

*No record is extant of Boccherini’s activities between 1787 and 1796.* (p. 826).

Fortunately, one item contained in the Boccherini-Pleyel correspondence and a series of documents filed in Madrilenian archives, especially that of Protocols (Madrid Protocol Historical Archive) and of some parishes, unveiled an important amount of information dated mainly during the first half of that "dark" decade:

- Winter-Spring 1787: Marriage Banns Porreti-Boccherini,
- April 18, 1787: Marriage Porreti-Boccherini,
- April 23, 1787: Power of Porreti to Boccherini to collect salaries, interests, etc.,
- April 26, 1787: Capital Deed Porreti to Boccherini,
- June 27, 1787: Will (second) of Boccherini,
- July 4, 1787: Certificate of marriage benedictions Porreti-Boccherini,
- August 13, 1788: General Power of Porreti to Boccherini,
- September 26, 1788: Cancellation of Powers to Rafael Monreal,
- November 12, 1789: Dowry Letter of Boccherini to Porreti,
- November 16, 1789: Will (first) of Maria Pilar Joaquina Porreti,
- January 29, 1790: Power of Boccherini to his son Luis Marcos,
- 1791: Boccherini sends partitions to M. Boulogne (Letter to Pleyel, 11-10-1796),
- May 8, 1796: Death of Joaquina, Boccherini’s eldest child.

The Boccherinis seem to bear a normal life, very far from the sudden change suggested by Rothschild:

*Suddenly the existence or our composer is transformed. (…) and he withdraws into something like retirement.* (p. 60)


**Related Entries:** Banns, Beckford, Boulogne, Capital Deed, Dowry Letter, Letters, Martinez Llorente, Pacheco, Pleyel, Poder, Toledo (Manuel), Will.
OPERA GRANDE (large work): See OPERA PICCOLA.

OPERA OMNIA: This expression means the complete edition of the works by an artist. In the case of Boccherini, it would be the complete edition of his music, a target full of difficulties and demanding high accurateness.

A third Boccherini Opera Omnia project has just been initiated, conducted by professor Christiann Speck. It has been scheduled to last 30 years, that is, to be culminated by the end of the 2030s. So far two volumes have been released containing the Academic Arias and the Violin Duets Op. 3.

The two previous never completed Opera Omnia projects were undertaken by Pina Carmirelli and Aldo Païs.

References: Boccherini, L.: Concert Arias G. 544-559 (BIB); Boccherini, L.: 6 Duets op. 3 G 56-61... (BIB).

Related Entries: Carmirelli, Païs.

OPERA PICCOLA (small work): In the letter sent to Andreoli, from Arenas de San Pedro, dated September 22, 1780, Boccherini shortly defines how he classifies his works according to the concepts of large (grande) and small (piccola), assigning each a different price:


[Thirty of my works are in print between Paris, Venice, Madrid, England, and Holland, to which I have never changed the price, which is 30. doubloons each large work, and 15. each small work.]

Boccherini will maintain this peculiar way of dividing his works all his life so that almost all his compositions, with very few exceptions, will be qualified as large or small, having finally a consequence as far as the selling price is concerned.

Normally, although there are some exceptions, large works are scored in three or four movements, while small works are usually structured in two, sometimes in three, movements. This creates an ambiguous or shared zone in the realm of three movements.
If we scan, only for statistical reasons, the works registered in Boccherini y Calonje’s Catalogue, we find that approximately two thirds of the pieces are classed as large, and the other third as small, this distribution being a possible hint as understand the way Boccherini worked and his commercial policies.

References: Letter LB: Arenas: September 22, 1780; Boccherini y Calonje, A.: Luis Boccherini... (BIB); Croce, L. della: Il divino Boccherini (Epistolary) (BIB); Rothschild, G. de: Luigi Boccherini... (BIB); Saint-Foix, G. de: "La correspondance de Boccherini avec I. Pleyel" (BIB).


ORATORIO: Musical piece with text but without action. Customarily, it narrates a religious story using soloist voices and orchestra (or a chamber group), and choir. Sometimes the story is also told by a narrator.

After Haendel’s and Bach’s oratorios, the genre reached a climax in the classical period with Franz Joseph Haydn, although also a young Boccherini would write two oratorios:

- Gioas, re di Giudea (G. 537), of 1765, on a text by Metastasio, for two sopranos, contralto, two tenors, bass, choir and orchestra (two violins, two violas, [bass], two flutes, two oboes and two French horns.

- Il Giuseppe riconosciuto (G. 538), of 1765, on a text by Metastasio, for two sopranos (?), contralto, two tenors, bass, choir and orchestra (two violins, viola, [bass], flute, two oboes, and two French horns.

Boccherini used the orchestral overture of Il Giuseppe riconosciuto as overture for his Cantata The confederazione dei Sabini con Roma (G. 543), later transformed to be an independent Symphony (G. 490), published by Marescalchi in Venice around 1775.


Related Entries: Cantata, Haydn, Marescalchi, Metastasio.

OSUNA, duke of: See BENAVENTE-OSUNA.
P, p

PACHECO: Facts about this personage are scarce and come to us dim and vague. We do not even know his first name. Only some details are to be extracted from an account by the English traveler and writer William Beckford who edited in 1834 a narration on his journeys in Italy, Spain and Portugal.

Beckford explains (p. 333) how he attended a feast, sometime around December of 1787 or January next year, given by this Portuguese gentleman, settled in Madrid and named Pacheco. After referring that Pacheco was a wealthy man who had come to the Spanish Kingdom protected by the Queen Bárbara de Braganza (1711-1758), also Portuguese and wedded to King Ferdinand VI (1713-1759), Beckford depicts a circumstance he had witnessed during that feast at Pacheco’s Madrilenean mansion.

There was a first performance by a troupe of Turkish musicians and Beckford himself admits he danced in a somehow uncontrolled way. Immediately after a group of Spanish guitarists entered the stage and it seemed they did not suite "Boccharini"’s [sic] taste. Beckford puts it this way:

Boccharini, who led and presided over the Duchess of Ossuna's concerts, and who had been lent to Pacheco as a special favour, witnessed these most original deviation from the established musical rule with the utmost withtemp and dismay. He said to me in a loud whisper: 'If you dance and they play in this ridiculous manner, I shall never be able to introduce a decent style into our musical world here, which I flattered myself I was on the very point of doing.'.

We could infer from this that Boccherini’s presence in this feast was part of the customary activities musicians carried on in order to complete their earnings, something which could be similar to giving musical lessons. The phrase "*If you dance and they play in this ridiculous manner, I shall never be able to introduce a decent style into our musical world here, which I flattered myself I was on the very point of doing.*", presented by Beckford as a quote, could be a hint to gather that Boccherini had been hired to 'introduce a decent style into our musical world', a goal which could be assimilated to a musical lesson.

No more details are extant about Pacheco. We could only put forth the hypothesis of a possible and remote family link between Pacheco and the 9th duke of Osuna, don
Pedro de Alcántara Tellez Girón, who’s next last name was no other than Pacheco. Also because the lineage Girón was of Portuguese origin.


Related Entries: Beckford, Benavente-Osuna.

PAĪS, Aldo: Venetian musicologist, cellist and editor of music, professor in the Conservatorio di Musica "Benedetto Marcello" in Venice and author of a tutorial on violoncello technique. His efforts towards Boccherini have been most important, especially his "opera omnia" project, initiated in 1977 with the Padovan editing firm Zanibon, following that of Pina Carmirelli’s. Although Paīs died before completing his project, he released a great amount of works by the Luccan composer within his L'edizione critica delle opere, still being a fundamental source to acquire Boccherinian partitions. This is the reason why we present here a thematic and very compressed list grouped according to Yves Gérard’s Catalogue criteria, that is, by the number of instruments involved. Often, the works were published both in its original version and in the form of reductions where the piano played the role of the whole orchestra (concerts, Stabat Mater, etc.).

The list encompasses two segments: volumes actually edited and released, and volumes projected but not yet released. Out the total 192 volumes up to now projected, 37 have not yet been released.

Works Released

Sonatas for cello (and bass) or two cellos: G. 1, 2, 2b, 4, 4b, 5, 6, 8, 9, 11, 12, 13, 16, 17, 18, 74, 75, 565, 565b, 566, 571, 572, 579, 580, without G No., or G. deest: No. 24 (G Major), No. 25 (A Major), No. 26 (E flat Major)

Sonatas for keyboard and violin: Op. 5 (G.25-30)

Notturno for two violins La Buona Notte: G.62

Six Fugues for two cellos: G.73

String Trios: Op. 14 (G.95-100)

String Quartets: Op. 8 (G.165-170), Op. 64 (No. 1 and No. 2, uncompleted, G.248-249)

Two cellos String Quintets: Op. 27 (G.301-306)


String Sextets: Op. 23 (G. 454 a G. 459)

Flute and String Sextets: Op. 16 (G.461-466)

Two Notturni-Sextets: Op. 38 (G. 467, G. 471)

Notturno-Octet: Op. 38 (G.470)

Cello Concerts: G. 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, G. 480, G. 481, 482, 483, 573, G. deest, reduced for cello and piano

Harpsichord or piano Concerto: G. 487

Symphonies: Op. 35, No. 3 (G.511), Op. 35, No. 6 (G.514), G.490 (Overture for La Confederazione dei Sabini con Roma), with guitar (G.523)

Stabat Mater: first version (1781, for a single voice and strings, G.532)

Villancicos-Carols: G.539

Scene for Inés De Castro: G.541

15 Concert Arias (Accademiche) (reduced for voice and keyboard): G. 544 to G.558

Concert Duet (Accademico): G.559

Flute Concerto: G.575

Works not published:

Sonatas for cello (and bass): G. 3, 7, 14, 15, 18, 19

Two violins Duets: Op. 3 (G. 56-61)


Related Entries: Carmirelli, Opera Omnia.

PALACIO (Quartel of): See SANTA MARIA (Quarter of).
PALOMINO, Juan Fernando (?-1793): Madrilenean printer whose works, singular no doubt in the Spanish musical printing panorama, were acknowledged by the Real Academia de San Fernando de Madrid (Royal Academy of Saint Ferdinand) nominating him Individuo de Mérito (Meritorious Individual). His father, Juan Bernabé Palomino, was also a professional printer.

Juan Fernando Palomino’s firm released the only two Spanish editions of works by Boccherini, neither of them being first editions. They were the *Six Duets* for two violins Op. 3 (G. 56-61), previously published by La Chevardière, in 1769, as Op. 5, while Palomino’s edition came out probably in the early 1770s, and he did not mention any opus number. The composer is named as "D. Luis Bocherini, Compositor de S.A.R. El Sr. Infante D. Luis".

![Cover page of the *Violin Duos* Op. 3, G. 56-61, printed by Juan Fernando Palomino without Op. number.](image)

As suggested by Carlos José Gosálvez, Palomino could have decided to print these Boccherinian works responding to an initiative of the ‘Italian’ impresario Carlo Bertazzoni, who had been seeking a royal privilege to print music in Spain, but the stubborn minded Charles III never accepted what could have been a great opportunity to improve obsolete Spanish printing techniques.
The second of Boccherini’s works issued by Palomino was the *Six Trios* for two violins and cello Op. 6 (G. 89-94), formerly published by Venier in 1771, as Op. 9. Palomino’s almost contemporary edition states: "Por Dirección de Fernando Blumenstein" (By Fernando Blumenstein’s Order), and has no opus number. The composer is mentioned as "D. Luis Boccherini Luqes".


**Related Entries**: Biblioteca Nacional de España, Duo, Chevardière, Trio, Venier.

**Pardo, El (Spain)**: Following the Royal Sites annual itinerary, Charles III’s Court sojourned at El Pardo from the Epiphany till the end of March.

El Pardo was a little village a few miles north of Madrid where the architect Francesco Sabatini (1722-1797) had renovated and widened the old palace erected by Charles V (1500-1558) and ended during the period of Philip II (1527-1598). It collapsed under the fire but was rebuilt by Philip III (1578-1621).

![Castel-Palace of El Pardo (Spain, Period Engraving Print)](image)

Within this same Royal Site the Infant don Luis owned some "casitas" [sic] (little houses), as reported in his post-mortem inventory, and upon the Infant’s death, they were purchased by his brother the King Charles III in order to enlarge his hunting territory.

If don Luis owned this "casitas" in El Pardo and the Court spent three months in this Royal Site, it is only logical to assume that the Boccherini would stay in the surroundings from the very moment he was hired by the Infant. This would explain why
his third child (second male), Josef Mariano, was born in El Pardo, as reported by his brother, Luis Marcos, in the will he signed before the notary Felix Rodriguez:

*En el Nombre de Dios todo poderoso Amen: Sea notorio que Yo Don Luis Marcos Boccherini Presbitero domiciliado en esta Villa, y Corte de Madrid, natural del Real Sitio de Aranjuez, Arzobispado de Toledo, hijo legímito de legímito matrimonio de Don Luis Boccherini (···) nombro por mi único heredero al referido mi hermano Don Josef Mariano Boccherini de estado soltero natural del real sitio del Pardo*

[In the Name of God almighty Amen: Be it noted that I Don Luis Marcos Boccherini Presbyter domiciled in this Villa, and Court of Madrid, born in the Royal Site of Aranjuez, Archbishopric of Toledo, legitimate (legitimate) son of legitimate matrimony of Don Luis Boccherini (···) I nominate as my unique heir the mentioned brother Don Josef Mariano Boccherini single born in the royal site of el Pardo]

Luis Marcos was born on April 25, 1774 and Josef Mariano on February 2, 1775. The fact they were born in Aranjuez and El Pardo, respectively, indicates the Boccherinis moved through the Royal Sites with the Court, staying long enough as to give birth to their children.


**Related Entries**: Aranjuez, Boccherini (Josef Mariano, Luis Marcos), Bourbon (Luis), Charles III, Rodriguez (Felix).

**PAREJAS, las (Peers, the)**: This is the name of an equine sport performed during the 18th century, half sport and half military parade. It is likely to have evolved from medieval tournaments, but *Las Parejas* skipped any battle-like or violent nuance to become a spectacle of rows of cavalries delineating symmetric lines according to rhythms played by two groups of musicians. The Court performed *Las Parejas* in Aranjuez during the spring in a wide square close to the Palace, a square named as the play itself: Plaza de la Parejas (Las Parejas Square. See the painting below.).

The term "Las Parejas" is a derivative of the term "Par" (Peer, not Pair) which meant "uniformity, equality and exactness", in the High Middle Ages, when this game reached its highest splendor. This is what the play demands from the four quadrigas of
horsemen performing *Las Parejas*, to move uniformly and following exactly the preset lines, as the music is performed by the double orchestra.

![The Parade of “Las Parejas” (by Luis Paret, Prado Museum, Madrid, Spain)](image)

Somehow forgotten for quite a long period, the new Spanish Bourbon dynasty wanted to retrieve the equine parade of *Las Parejas*, partly because they hoped this could replace the "wild" habit of bullfighting.

Chroniclers such as James Harris and Luis Coloma describe *Las Parejas* performed in Aranjuez in the spring of 1770 and of 1773, respectively, before more than 20,000 spectators, according to Coloma. The four quadrigas were headed by prince Charles, future Charles IV, the Infant don Gabriel, second son of the king, the Infant don Luis and the duke of Medina-Sidonia. From the high dignitary balcony, Charles III, princes of Asturias, Maria Luisa de Parma and the Infant doña Maria Josefa, watched the parade.

Boccherini’s attendance to this sport-like exhibition becomes evident since the next year (1774) he released a set of *Six Flute and String Quintets* (Op. 19), the sixth of which, in D major (G. 430) is dedicated to *Las Parejas*. Its movements are:

I - **Entrada** (Entrée: the cavalry appears before the audience)
II - Marcha y giga (March & gigue: the cavalry displays its parade)
III - Galope (Gallop: the game goes on)
IV - Marcha (March: repetition and closure)

The complete Op. 19 was published by La Chevardière approximately two years later in Paris. (See DISCOGRAPHY.)

Cover Page of the book “Las Parejas” by Domenico Rossi
(Royal Palace Library, Madrid)

Other contemporary artists took their inspiration from this same equine. There is a book dated 1781, who’s coordinator was the musician and theater impresario Domenico Rossi. This book is today in the Biblioteca del Palacio Real (Royal Palace Library) of Madrid, and contains 36 plates drawn by Carlo Vitalba, and a musical composition by Luigi Marescalchi for "two orchestras of oboes, clarions, horns and basoons", divided into
an Introduction, a First march and Gigue, and a Final March (very similar to Boccherini’s parallel piece).


Related Entries: Chevardière, Marescalchi, Paret, Quintet.

**PARET y Alcázar, Luis** (1746-1799): Outstanding Spanish neoclassical painter. He was born and studied in Madrid, but later moved to Italy to improve his technique. Around 1770 he painted a tiny picture which has become his most famous work, today exhibited at the Museo del Prado (Prado Museum) in Madrid. The scene represents the corner of a huge palace salon where Charles III is seen dining.

![La comida de Carlos III](image)

*La comida de Carlos III*

*(Charles III lunch, by Luis Paret, Prado Museum, Madrid, Spain)*

Also famous is the picture titled *La tienda del anticuario* (*The Antiquary Shop*), exhibited at the Museo Lázaro Galdiano, in Madrid. Paret was also an engraver and as such he illustrated renowned books by Cervantes and Quevedo.

Most important in Boccherinian context is Paret’s picture titled *Las Parejas reales* (exhibited at the Prado Museum), depicting this equine parade performed in the Aranjuez
Palace nearby square of Las Parejas led by four Court noblemen cavalry during the spring.

Paret must have met Boccherini, not only when attending Las Parejas performances, but also because the painter was a close friend of don Luis’ and for a time his partner when the Infant started to go out at night seeking clandestine enjoyment. When these dissolute hidden activities were finally unveiled, Paret was blamed for them and exiled to Puerto Rico for five years. Once redeemed and back in his homeland, he even reached the post of vice-president of the Academia de San Fernando.

Paret, besides being a friend of don Luis’, was also his servant, receiving a salary of 14,000 reales per year (some 42,000 euros or more than 50,000 US dollars). The Infant owned a large collection of paintings with works not only by his fellow clandestine nightlife colleague, but also by great painters such as Bayeu, Bruegel, Dürer, the Españolote, Goya, Mengs, Murillo, Rembrandt, Velázquez, Ranc, and other less well known artists such as Gregorio Ferro, Antonio González Ruiz, Francisco Sasso, and Pedro de Vos, as well.

**Related Entries:** Aranjuez, Goya, Parejas.

**PARIS (France):** Parisian L’Île de la Cité, by the river Seine, was occupied by the Celtic tribe of the parisii, being notably renovated during the Roman rule. But the most important growth came during the 5th century, when the Franc King Clovis took the throne and declared the small island as his kingdoms capital.

During the 1700s, Paris was already a large city having expanded over both sides of the river Seine and harboring an active cultural, intellectual and artistic life. In fact, Paris was already one of the most desired European venues where all artist wanted to stop, stay and thrive.

By late 1767 (or maybe early 1768), Boccherini and his friend Filippo Manfredi, having ended their tours through the northern Italian regions with the Tuscany Quartet, reached Paris bearing in mind a visit to the other important western European cultural capital, London, although at last this project would never be accomplished.

In Paris, the two Luccan musicians were welcome by the music lover and artists mentor baron of Bagge, who’s salons used to hospice intellectual and artistic cenacles. It is commonly believed that Boccherini met at Bagge’s the young harpsichordist and pianist

It is also possible that Boccherini and Manfredi would have become acquainted at Bagge’s with the earl of Fuentes, Spanish ambassador in Paris at that time. Biographical tradition lacking any documented support has stressed that Fuentes had given the two Luccan musicians some letters of recommendation addressed to the Court of Madrid, reason why both decided not to go to London and headed for the Spanish Capital. No trace has ever been spotted of those presumptive letters of recommendation.

The sheer truth is that Boccherini left Paris to travel to Spain late in the winter of 1767-8, while Manfredi remained in the French Capital until the summer, joining his friend just before the fall.

Although he had intense epistolary and commercial links with French and Parisian editors, there is no evidence that Boccherini ever went back to Paris.

**Related Entries**: Bagge, Brillon de Jouy, Fuentes, Manfredi, Tuscany Quartet, Venier.

**PAVIA (Italy)**: Lombardoise town by river Tesino, close to its confluence with river Po.
In the summer of 1765, after a tour to Pisa and then to Venice, Leopoldo and Luigi Boccherini went to Milan, Pavia and Cremona, contemporarily with the celebrations honoring the Infanta Maria Luisa, daughter of Charles III, on her way to Innsbruck.

**References:** Coli, R.: *Luigi Boccherini, la vita e le opere* (BIB).

**Related Entries:** Boccherini (Leopoldo), Charles III, Milan, Cremona, Pisa, Venecia.

**PAYROLLS:** Taking the term in a wide sense, the documented Boccherinian payrolls have three origins or payers: between 1770 and 1785, don Luis of Bourbon, between 1785 and 1805, the Royal Chapel (Charles III, 1785 to 1788, and Charles IV, 1789 to 1805), and for 1786 and 1787, the noble house of Benavente-Osuna. We do not have the documents for the salary the Prussian King Friedrich Wilhelm II assigned and paid to Boccherini, but several biographical accounts reflect the fact that the composer received 1,000 German crowns per month between 1786 and 1798 (equivalent to some 12,500 reales per year, or 37,500 euros, or 46,000 US dollars).

Evidence of the salary received from don Luis can be seen in two decrees related to Boccherini’s condition as chamber cellist and composer:

*D* Luis Boquerini violon de S. A. goza # Diez y ocho mil r$ de v$n # los # catorce mil r$ de ellos por Decreto de S.A. de 8 de Noviembre de 1770 en que fue nombrado, y los # cuatro mil r$ restantes, por Decreto de 22 de Septiembre de 1772 ............................................................14@000,, 4.000-

[The same Boquerini enjoys # twelve thousand copper reales for the works of Music he will do instead of the equal quantity that was delivered to him separated according to the Decr of August 17, 1784 where His Highness nominates him as his Composer of Music ................................................. 12.000 -]
(See the entry **DECREES** for an analysis of this brief texts, the doubts they raise and their ambiguities.)

So, most of the period spanning from 1770 to 1785, Boccherini earned two annuities, one of 18,000 *reales* (as a cellist) and 12,000 *reales* (as a composer), both ending upon the Infant’s death on August 7, 1785.

Nevertheless, back in Madrid, Boccherini signs on September 28 a Petition to the king asking for his salary not to be discontinued and he received a positive answer nominating him as a Royal Chapel cellist without an actual post, awaiting for the first vacant. As mentioned by Germán Labrador, Boccherini became a musician "fuera del numero [numero] de Planta" (outside Plant), although receiving a 12,000 *reales* annuity for life, according to two Royal Orders by Charles III dated November 23 and December 20, 1785. (See also the entry **PETITION**.)

According to Professor Labrador, between 1794 and 1796, the annuity was reduced by 4 percent due to a tax levied to finance the war against France. The tax was canceled upon the peace agreements signed in Basilea (1795). (For the documents about these payroll collection, see the entry **ARCHIVO GENERAL DEL PALACIO REAL**.)

As for the payroll from the noble house of Benavente-Osuna, evidence shows how Boccherini received 1,000 *reales* per month from March 1786 (even though the actual payment would be made the following year) until the first trimester of 1787. The delayed payment of the first ten months of 1786 is stated in the following text signed by the noble lady:

*Los claveros del Arca de la Tesorería de mi casa pagarán en virtud de este y de recibo a D. Luis Boquerini, músico Director de mi orquesta 10.000 reales de vellón importe de los diez meses contados desde Marzo de 1786 en que le admití de tal con el sueldo de un mil reales en cada uno, hasta fin de Diciembre del mismo año; tomando la razón en mi contaduría*

*Madrid, 30 abril 1787*

*La Condesa-Duquesa*

[The keepers of the key of my home Treasury will pay according to this and to a receipt from D. Luis Boquerini, musician Conductor of my orchestra 10,000 copper reales corresponding to the ten months from March 1786 when I took him as such with a salary of one thousand reales each, until the end of December of the same year; keeping note in my accounting]
Madrid, April 30, 1787
The Countess-Duchess

The actual payrolls are written in the following way and administered by Boccherini’s friend and oboist, also at the service of the noble house of Benavente-Osuna:

D. Luis Bocherini, Director de la Orquesta y compositor por su consignación de un mil rs. en cada mes .................. 1.000 rs.
Recibí por encargo; Barly.

[D. Luis Bocherini, Conductor of the Orchestra and composer for his assignment of one thousand reales. each month .................. 1.000 rs.
I received by order; Barly.]

From March 1787 on, Boccherini disappears from the Benavente-Osuna payrolls.


PELLICCIA, Clementina (1749-1785): Roman soprano, daughter of Antonio Pelliccia and Maria Luisa Hartz. She and her older sister Maria Teresa were enrolled as second and first sopranos in the Compañía de los Reales Sitios (Royal Sites Company), conducted by Luigi Marescalchi, when Boccherini decided to leave Paris to travel to Spain, by the end of the winter of 1767-68.

Both the composer and the singer were seen several times performing with Marescalchi’s troupe, first in Aranjuez, during the spring of 1768, and then in the summer, in Valencia, where Casanova tells he attended a dinner together with the two sisters Pelliccia, Teresa’s husband and Boccherini. About Clementina, Casanova says she was beautiful.
Next year, on August 17, Clementina Pelliccia and Luigi Boccherini would marry in the Church of Santísima Trinidad of San Ildefonso Royal Site. The couple would have 7 children: Joaquina, Luis Marcos, Josef Mariano, Teresa, Felix Luis, Mariana and Isabel.

Clementina and Luigi lived in Madrid from 1770, with occasional sojourns in the Royal Sites, and, probably, Boadilla del Monte and Villaviciosa of Odón, until 1776 or 1777, when they moved with don Luis’ Court to Arenas de San Pedro. Eight years later, on April 2, 1785, Clementina died because she suffered an "apoplexy", that is, a brain hemorrhage. Boccherini had to look after six children (Felix Luis had died in infancy). The eldest, Joaquina, was less than 15 years old, and the youngest, Isabel, was only 2.

The title Clementina assigned to the musical comedy (or zarzuela) Boccherini and Ramón de la Cruz prepared in 1786 was probably an homage to the composer’s wife, who had died just over a year earlier.


Related Entries: Boccherini (Felix Luis, Isabel, Joaquina, Josef Mariano, Luis Marcos, Mariana, Teresa), Aranjuez, Arenas de San Pedro, Boadilla, Casanova, Clementina, Cruz, Bourbon (Luis), Madrid, Marescalchi, Paris, Pelliccia (Maria Teresa), San Ildefonso, Valencia, Villaviciosa de Odón.

PELLICCIA, Maria Teresa: Eldest sister of Clementina, also a soprano. Both sisters met Casanova in Aranjuez, but Maria Teresa had a closer contact with the Venetian writer and adventurer. He describes her talent as a singer in terms somehow contradictory, as he says she was mediocre but that she sang with much grace:

... she was a Roman called Pelliccia, neither pretty nor ugly, a little cross-eyed and of mediocre talent. That woman did not inspire in me any love but a sincere friendship. I went to see her every day and wrote for her some verses for Roman songs, which she sang with much grace. She was for me what I was for her: a loyal friend.

Instead, about Clementina (though not mentioning her name) he praises her beauty but does not comment on her talent as a singer:

... she had a younger sister really nice, not to say beautiful.
The Pelliccia sisters were members of Marescalchi’s Compañía de los Reales Sitios (Royas Sites Company) between 1767 and 1770, touring Aranjuez and Valencia, although Clementina disappears first from the Company’s playbills, as reported by Emilio Cotarelo y Mori. The reason could be her wedding with Luigi Boccherini, while Maria Teresa had to leave Spain because of an incident narrated by Casanova also involving the duke of Arcos (see the entries Casanova and Arcos).

References: Casanova, Giacomo: Mémoires, Bibliothèque de la Pléiade, Éditions Gallimard, 1958; Cotarelo y Mori, E.: Orígenes y establecimiento de la ópera en España hasta 1800 (BIB);

Related Entries: Aranjuez, Arcos, Casanova, Pelliccia (Clementina), Valencia.

PEÑAFIEL, marquesa of: Title of nobility also held by the Duchess-Countess of Benavente (See BENAVENTE-OSUNA)

PEREZ DE AYA, Josef (notary): (On notarial duties and activities, see the entry Martinez Llorente.)

There is only one known notarial deed signed by Boccherini before this Madrilenean royal clerk: his first known will in Spain, dated September 14, 1785, upon his return to the capital, a few weeks after the Infant don Luis’ death. He hereby declares that his wife, Clementina, died on April 2, and that he had six children "Dn Marcos, Dn Joseph, Dña Joaquina, Dña Theresa, Dña Mariana, y Dña Ysabel Bocchorini [sic] y Peliccia todos menores... [all in their minority...]". He nominates his brother Giovanni Gastone and his friend and member of the Royal Chapel, Joseph Phelipe, as his children tutors, and also nominates them as well as his old partners Francisco and Antonio Font, as his testamentary executors. As customary, his six children are appointed universal heirs, one sixth each. Finally, he includes among the five testimonies the Royal Chapel violinist, Rafael Monreal, who would become his brother in law only two years later.

There exists a power deed (power of attorney) signed before the notary Josef Perez de Aya, by which Joseph Phelipe (spelled Josef instead of Joseph) gives power to the friar of the little municipality of Brias to take care of the legacy, described as "de poca entidad" (of meager entity), received upon his mother’s death.

PÉREZ MORALES, Gonzalo (1909-2005): Born in Caspe (Zaragoza), he studied at the Jesuit High School of Barcelona, then graduated as an Industrial Engineer in Madrid, specializing in railroad electrification systems. After the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939), he started to work for the nationalized Spanish Railroad Company (RENFE), where he stayed until he retired in 1974.

In 1941, he married Mª Antonia Boccherini (1912-2003), the youngest of Luigi’s fifth generation of direct descendants. The couple had a boy and a girl.

Once retired, Pérez Morales embarked on a research about Luigi Boccherini’s life. As a result, he wrote an ample biographical sketch never intended to be published, but of which he made some artisan copies to distribute among close relatives: Vida de Luis Boccherini.

Pérez Morales included a few pages Appendix containing a first draft of urban analysis about the 18th-century house numbering system (Planimetría de Madrid, Madrid Planimetry). He clearly questioned the fact that present number 5 of the street Jesús y María is the same location as the number 5 from Boccherini’s time, and put forth the hypothesis that the house still showing the homage plaque nailed in 1955 for the 150 anniversary of Boccherini’s death had never been his domicile. This first draft would be the base study for a deeper analysis undertaken years later about Boccherini’s dwellings in Madrid, fully ratifying Pérez Morales’ suspicions (see the work on this topic by José Antonio Boccherini, Pérez Morales’ nephew, and by the author of this Dictionary).

It is also worth highlighting that Pérez Morales was the first to comment that the story that Boccherini’s papers and documents had disappeared or had been burned during the Spanish Civil War was false. He additionally hinted where, when and why all trace of those documents and papers had been lost, a lead that has not yet yielded the desired harvest.

Pérez Morales passed away in Madrid the very same year of the 2nd Centenary of Boccherini’s death.
PERSUIS, Louis-Luc Loiseau de (1769-1819): Composer and violinist born in Metz (eastern France), where he studied with his father, a musician at the service of the town’s Cathedral. He then completed his instruction in Avignon and Paris, presenting himself for the first time as a violinist on the stage of Le Concert Spirituel.

Persuis became a member of the Paris Opera House, where he reached the post of director, and also a teacher at the Conservatory, where he reached the post of director. His works are mainly for the stage, that is, operas and ballets.

One of his ballets, entitled Nina ou la folle pour amour (Nina or crazy for love), in two acts, with libretto and choreography by Louis Jacques Milon, describes a woman who looses her mind when she sees her lover die. Premiered in Vienna in 1813 with a great success, Persuis admitted he had taken his inspiration from Boccherini’s last movement of his C minor String Quintet Op. 18, No. 1 (G. 283). According to Louis Picquot (Notice..., p. 74), Persuis blamed his audience for not recognizing with enough enthusiasm the sublime qualities of Boccherini’s music. Due to these facts, this Quintet Op. 18, No. 1, G. 283 is known as di Nina.

References: Picquot, L.: Notice sur la vie et les ouvrages de Luigi Boccherini... (BIB).

Related Entries: Quintet.

PETIT DE BACHAUMONT, Louis (1690-1771): Born in Paris from a noble family but educated in Versailles, he became a writer and critique of the arts, rather inclined to malicious gossip. His circle of activities was the salons of Madame Doublet de Persan, a center where echoes of scandals were scattered and venomous versions of concealed events were distilled through all kinds of printed or oral means.

A collection of those rumor-like chronicles was compiled in an anonymous series under the title of Mémoires secrets pour servir à l’histoire de la République des Lettres (Secret memories useful for the history of the Republic of Letters), where a part of the text is believed to written by Petit de Bachaumont’s malevolent pen. The series reached the
number of 36 volumes, with an uneven interest, as far a historical and literary sources is concerned.

Quoting the English version of Rothschild’s biography of Boccherini, we can read what might be attributed to Petit de Bachaumont out of the Mémoires secrets...

April 2, 1768. Various Italian masters have made their first appearance at the Concert Sipirituel. Le sieur Manfredi, a violinist of great renown, had by no means the success for which he hoped: his music was thought insipid, his execution loose and spineless, his style of playing irregular and wild. Le sieur Boccherini played the violoncello with as little applause: his notes struck the ear as harsh and his chords as unharmonious.

Petit de Bachaumont’s is the only such appraisal ever found about Manfredi and Boccherini; elsewhere they were much better valued.
PETITION (1785): Upon don Luis’s death on August of 1785, after more than eight years of stay in Arenas de San Pedro, those who had been serving the Infant were requested to return to their points of origin. For Boccherini, this meant he had to return to Madrid without his main source of income. Since his wife, Clementina Pelliccia, had also died on April 2, the musician had to look after his six living children the age range of which was 15 to 3-4 years.

Even though he had enough savings (as attested by the ten Bank of Saint Charles shares he held) so as to keep up his family during more than two years, it is obvious that Boccherini had to face a new situation full of worries. This is the reason why, upon reaching Madrid, he sold his shares, retrieving capital and significant interests, signed a will and, as most of former don Luis’ servants, wrote a Petition asking the king to keep his the salary he had been earning for the last 15 years from his mentor, the Infant. This Petition, signed on September 28, 1785, said:

Señor.

Dn. Luis Bocherini, criado del señor Infante Dn. Luis que Dios goza, P.A.L.R.P. [Puesto A Los Reales Pies] de V.M. [Vuestra Magestad] con el mayor respeto expone: Que en el año de 1770 en el Real sitio de Aranjuez, tuvo el honor, de que dicho S[eñor] con permiso y beneplacito verbal de V.M. le eligiese por su violon de Camara y Compositor de Musica, cuyo destino ha desempeñado por todo este tiempo con la exactitud, y puntualidad, que es notoria, y haviendo el Suplicante sido noticioso, de que se le cuenta para dejarle sin sueldo como a los criados modernos, en el tiempo perentorio of sei meses, siendo assi que sirvio a S.A. [Su Alteza] seis years antes de su matrimonio, y los restantes hasta su fallecimiento, como consta de documentos existentes; en esta atencion, y en la de tener seis hijos huérfanos de Madre, y quince años, que lleva expuestos de meritos, y verse quedar en la calle, y con los trabajos, que subsiguen a la indigencia, recurre a la piedad de V.M. y con la mayor sumision

Suplicante que mirandole como a tal criado, que ha sido de la Persona de vuestro Augusto Hermano, recibido con el asenso de V.M. le patrocine continuandole su sueldo, y destinandole en lo que su real animo le dicte, como lo espera el Suplicante de la magnanimidad de V. Magestad. Madrid 28 de Septiembre de 1785.

A.L.R.P de V. Magestad
Luis Boccherini (signature)
[Sir.

Dn. Luis Bocherini, servant of the most serene sir Infant Dn. Luis in God’s rejoicing, Placed At Your Majesty's Feet with the highest respect says: That in the year of 1770 in the Royal site of Aranjuez, had the honor with Your Majesty's verbal permission and consent to be chosen by the mentioned Sir as his violon of Chamber and Composer of Music, which post he has carried out all this time with the exactness, and punctuality, which is notorious, and having the Supplicant been informed he is bound to be left without his salary as the modern servants, within the peremptory time of six months, even though he served His Highness six years before his marriage, and the rest until his death, as stated in extant documents; for this reason, and because he has six Motherless children, and fifteen years, he has proven his merits, and see himself in the street, and having to pursue the labors consequence of poverty, he resorts to Your Majesty’s piety and with the greatest submission

Supplicates that considering him as the servant he has been of the Person of your August Brother, after receiving the consent of Your Majesty, will protect him by continuing his salary, and assigning him the job your royal intention will dictate you, as the Supplicant expects from Your Majesty's magnanimity. Madrid September 28, 1785.

A.L.R.P of Your Majesty
Luis Boccherini] (signature)

Response to this Petition arrived in a month’s time and was favorable for the musician for he was to become a Royal Chapel cellist awaiting for a vacancy, and receiving a pension of 12,000 reales per year, as stated in a Royal Order dated November 23, 1785. (This amount would be equivalent to some 36,000 euros or to 43,000 dollars). Boccherini would receive this pay for the rest of his life, even though he was never assigned an actual post in the Royal Chapel.


Related Entries: Arenas de San Pedro, Banco Nacional de San Carlos, Bourbon (Luis), Madrid, Pelliccia (Clementina), Royal Chapel.

PHELIPE, Joseph (c.1730-c.1795): "Tiple" singer (male soprano or contratenor), member of the Royal Chapel, at least since March 22, 1756, when he is registered as receiving an
annual salary of 9,000 reales (some 27,000 euros or 32,500 US dollars. This stipend was increased in 1758 up to 12,000 reales.

On July 13, 1762 he obtained royal license to travel to the kingdom of Naples, and on September 25, 1763 he asks for a year extension of his license. Even being away, on July 3, 1763 his salary is again increased up to 18,000 reales, and in 1769 he is promoted to cover the official post of "tiple" within the Royal Chapel. In his 1790 will (see ahead), he states he is "Musico de la R. Capilla de S.M." (Musician of His Majesty’s R. Chapel).

Farinelli reports in 1758 a list of "Los ocho cantores de la Real Capilla, que se nominaran, son los que cantan los Coros en el Real Coliseo" (The eight singers of the Royal Chapel who were nominated, they are those singing in the Choirs of the Royal Coliseum), placing Phelipe in the second lieu behind Narciso Alonso and before Carlos Reyna. The term "nominated" which should be interpreted as "hired", hints that Phelipe was not yet, in 1758, a member of the Royal Chapel. The castrato ranks the eight singers in four groups: Típles (sopranos), Contra-altos (contraltos), Tenores (tenors) and Bajos (basses).

Farinelli’s data could place Joseph Phelipe’s birth date around the early 1730s, while his 1790 will and the fact he did not sign, in 1797, the Constitutions of the Concordia Funeral (Funeral Concord; see a short account on this institution in the entry Font, Antonio), allow us to think he would die during the 1790s.

Joseph Phelipe was a good friend of Boccherini’s, as shown in many documents signed by the Luccan where he places full confidence in the contratenor.

The first time we find Phelipe linked to Boccherini corresponds to the Arenas de San Pedro period, by the winter of 1784-85, when Boccherini purchased 10 shares from the National Bank of Saint Charles. Those shares are filed today in the Archivo Histórico del Banco de España (AHBE, Bank of Spain Historical Archive), in Madrid, and they show on the back the two following inscriptions:

\[\textit{Paguese al Banco Nacional de S." Charles}\\
\textit{en birtud de poder}\\
\textit{Joseph Phelipe (flourished signature)}\\
\text{[Pay to the National Bank of S." Charles}\\}
according to power
Joseph Phelipe] (flourished signature)

Each inscription shows different handwriting and Phelipe’s signature bears a flourish. There is no date but the National Bank of Saint Charles accounting files show how Boccherini paid for the shares on January 3, 1785 (AHBE: "Libro Manuales", No. 277, p. 22). So, Phelipe was empowered by Boccherini to represent him before the National Bank in this important financial transaction where Boccherini invested 20,000 reales to purchase 10 shares (20,000 reales could equal some 72,000 US dollars).

That same year of 1785, after don Luis’ death on August 7, Boccherini returned to Madrid, and on September 14, he signed his first will where Phelipe is mentioned as Boccherini’s children’s tutor:

Y en consideracion à q e los outros mis hijos se hallan todos en la actualidad, en la menor edad, y si Dios me saca de esta vida, q e haya personas q e los cuiden, eduquen, y procuren su enseñanza, usando de las facultades q e por leyes de estos Reynos, me son conferidas, teniendo como tengo entera satisfaccion y confianza de Dª Juan Gaston Boccherini mi hermano, y de Dª Joseph Phelipe, este musico de la Rª Capilla, los elijo, y nombo, por tutores y curadores, de sus personas y bienes, relevados de toda fianza, y les doy el Poder y facultad necesaria for q e dirijan, y cuiden de sus personas, administren, y recauden, todos sus bienes, lo q e espero de sus christianos procederes, y de q e procuraran el mayor alivio y adelantamiento de dhcos mis hijos, asi en la enseñanza, como en sus colocaciones, a los destinos q e se apliquen...

[And considering that all my children are today in their minority, and if God takes me out of this life, be some people to look after them, educate them, and procure them instruction, using the faculties to me conferred by this Kingdom’s laws, having as I have full satisfaction and confidence on Dª Juan Gaston Boccherini my brother, and on Dª Joseph Phelipe, the latter musician of the Rª Chapel, I choose and nominate them as tutors and curators, of their persons and goods, free of any bail, and I give them the necesary Power and faculty to conduct and look after their persons, administrating and collecting, all their goods, which I expect from their Christian behaviors, and that they will procure the highest alleviation and advancement of my mentioned children, both in their instruction and in their pursuit, in the employment they would choose...]

In the immediate paragraph, Phelipe appears as testamentary executor:

Y para cumplir, y pagar todo lo contenido en este testamento, elijo, y nombo, por mis Albaceas, y testamentarios, con la calidad de in solidum, à los dhos Dª Juan Gaston
Boccherini, mi hermano, Dº Joseph Phelipe, y à Dº Franço Font, y Dº Antonio Font, los quales, luego qe yo fallezca, de mis bienes, cumplan y paguen, lo contenido en este testamento, cuyo cargo les dure el año del Albaceazgo, y muchos mas si fuese necesario, pues se le prorrogo.

[And to accomplish, and pay all that is stated in this will, I choose, and nominate, as my Executors, and testamentaries, with the quality of in solidum, the mentioned Dº Juan Gaston Boccherini, my brother, Dº Joseph Phelipe, and Dº Franço Font, and Dº Antonio Font, who, after my death, with my goods, should accomplish and pay, what is stated in this testament, which commission will last the year of executorship, and many more if necessary, since I extend it]

A year later, when Rafael Monreal and Boccherini signed mutual powers, Phelipe appears as a witness in the corresponding deed, giving a new proof of his friendship with Boccherini.

Joseph Phelipe signed his own will on February 20, 1790. By this deed we learn that Phelipe was born in Briaz, a municipality of the important Osma bishopric. He was a "vecino" of Madrid (resident of Madrid), son of "Josef Felipe y Mariana Andres Difuntos" (Josef Felipe and Mariana Andres Defunct).

As he leaves his belongings and goods to his sisters and nephews, we can infer he had no children; nor does he mention this eventuality, so it is most likely he was single.

It is worth highlighting that one of his testamentary executors is Basilio Sesé, presbyter and organist of the Royal Chapel and of the Madrilenean Monastery of Las Descalzas. Basilio’s father was the renowned composer Juan Sesé, chapel master of San Felipe Neri, in Madrid.

Joseph Phelipe’s signature from a deed of power in favor of Briaz parishioner
(AHPM: Prot 19.725, p. 348, August 13, 1789)

References: AHPM: Boccherini’s First Will in Spain: Prot. 19.721, pp. 262-265, September 14, 1785, Notary: Josef Perez de Aya; AHPM: Power between Monreal and Boccherini: Prot. 20.907, pp. 138, June 20, 1786, Notary: Antonio Martinez Llorente; AHPM: Phelipe’s Will: Prot. 19.726, pp. 68-71, February 20, 1790, Notary: Josef Perez de Aya; Boccherini Sánchez, J. A.: "Los testamentos de Boccherini" (BIB), Farinelli (Broschi, Carlo): Descripción del estado actual del Real Teatro del Buen Retiro. De las funciones hechas en él desde el year 1747, hasta el presente: de sus yndividuos, sueldos y encargos, según se expresa en este primer libro En el segundo se manifiestan las diversiones, que annualmente tienen los Reyes

Nrs
Sers en el Real sitio de Aranjuez Dispuesto por Dn: Charles Broschi Farinelli criado familiar de Ss. M.
Año de 1758, (Fiestas reales), Turner Libros, Madrid, 1992, (facsimil edition); Lolo, Begoña: "Las
Constituciones de la Concordia Funeraria. Una reivindicación social de los músicos de la Real Capilla a
finales del siglo XVIII", in Revista de Musicología, Vol. XXII, No. 2, SEdEM, Madrid, 1999; Martín
Moreno, A.: Historia de la Música Española. 4. El siglo XVIII (BIB); Tortella, J.: Luigi Boccherini y el
Banco de San Carlos (BIB); Tortella, J.: "Líneas alternativas de investigación musicológica. El caso de
Luigi Boccherini cerca del Banco de San Carlos" (BIB).

Related Entries: Archivo Histórico del Banco de España, Banco Nacional de San Carlos, Boccherini
(Giovanni Gastone), Font (Antonio and Francisco), Monreal, Power, Royal Chapel, Will.

PHTHISIS: See TUBERCULOSIS.

PIANO-PIANOFORTE: Keyboard instrument. Upon hitting a key, a complex mechanical
system transmits the energy to a final hammer hitting the string which produces a sound.
The strength with which the key is hit is transferred to the hammer, so that its percussion
to the strings is harder (forte) or softer (piano) according to how the key is hit (an effect
the harpsichord does not have). The term Pianoforte o Fortepiano reflects this effect. Also
the return mechanism is faster in the piano, compared to the harpsichord, so allowing a
higher frequency of key hitting.

The first percussion mechanisms by means of a keyboard are to be located in the
early 1700s, still very rudimentary. They were enhanced through the years reaching a high
level of perfection by the arrival of romanticism. Industrial production would make an
important change in piano manufacturing.

Similarly to the harpsichord, we can say piano compositions by Boccherini are not
abundant. Some can be considered as interchangeable with the harpsichord, like the
Sonatas Op. 5 (G. 25-30), with violin obbligato, or the Trio-Sonatas, with violin and cello,
G. 143-148 (see the entry HARPSCICHORD), but some are clearly conceived for the piano,
already much in fashion by the late Enlightenment century, particularly in France, where
Boccherini usually published his works. In fact, his main editor during the late 1700s and
early 1800s was Ignaz Pleyel, who would later be a piano builder.

The most characteristic pieces for piano and string quartet by Boccherini are the
two series of Six Quintets Op. 56 (G. 407-412), of 1797, released by Pleyel around 1800,
and Op. 57 (G. 413-418) of 1799, which remained unpublished during Boccherini’s
lifetime, in spite of his great effort to have some Parisian editor to print them. He even
approached or tried to approach some politicians on the grounds that he wanted to
dedicate the pieces "à la Nation Française" (see the LETTERS addressed to CHÉNIER and to SIEBER in the corresponding entries).

The oldest edition of the Six Quintets Op. 57 is dated in 1820, at a time when radical political changes had taken place, a reason why the printer Nouzou concealed the primitive dedication and wrote the following phrase in the front page: "Edition dédiée à S.A.R. Madame la Duchesse de Berri" (Edition dedicated to Her Royal Highness Madame la Duchesse de Berri).

In the orchestral realm, we can only consider two Boccherinian piano pieces: first, the E flat Major keyboard Concerto (harpsichord or possibly a piano) and orchestra, G. 487, with a plausible authenticity, since there is clear parallelism between its keyboard parts and the Sonatas Op. 5, G. 25-30. This Concerto remained unpublished. Second, the G Major Concerto for cello and piano, G. 484; but this is just an arrangement from several Boccherinian pieces of which there is a late mid 20th-century edition in Nice, by G. Delrieu. Its front page states this has been "recueilli et adapté par Pierre Ruyssen", reduced for cello and piano, without orchestra accompaniment.


PIASTRE: See CURRENCY.

PIATIGORSKY, Gregor (1903-1976): {BY YVES GÉRARD} Born in Ukraine, he played cello since he was seven, before entering the Moscow Conservatory. From 1919, he was part of the Lenin Quartet and of the Orchestra of the Bolshoi Theater.

He suddenly abandoned Russia in 1921, wandering about in Poland (Warsaw) and Germany (Leipzig) until he was recruited in 1924 by Wilhelm Furtwängler (1886-1954) as a soloist cello for the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra.

Piatigorsky started his solo career in 1928, though he never quit his activities as a chamber musician with pianist Arthur Schnabel (1882-1951) and violinist Carl Flesch (1873-1944). In December 1929, he presented himself for the first time in the United States with a great success playing with the New York Philharmonic Orchestra, and he
soon joined Vladimir Horowitz (1903-1989) and Nathan Milstein (1904-1992) to form a chamber music group.

He settled in Paris after marrying Jacqueline de Rothschild on March 1937 (see the entry **ROTHSCHILD**), but the 1939 War forced them to flee from France to finally settle in Los Angeles.

In 1949, Piatigorsky joined Arthur Rubinstein (1886-1982) and Jasha Heifetz (1901-1987) in organizing series of chamber music concerts, but he never gave up his solo activities, performing for instance concertos by Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco (1895-1969), Paul Hindemith (1901-1987) or Sergei Prokofiev (1891-1953), and conducting pieces such as William Walton’s (1902-1983) Concerto.

It was during his Spring 1957 European tour, that Piatigorsky, worried not to find good texts for Boccherini’s sonatas, lost amidst the chaotic opus numbering of chamber music editions and rightly persuaded he was performing and recording with Heifetz a duet which was not actually by Boccherini, convinced Germaine de Rothschild to delve into research about a musician Piatigorsky loved profoundly, research he always watched very closely.


Related Entries: Rothschild, Violoncello.
PICQUOT, Louis (19th century): Picquot was the author of the first large and comprehensive biography of Boccherini, including an important catalogue of his works.

Picquot was a tax collector in the municipality of Bar-le-Duc (Barleduc), not far from Verdun, in the Metz demarcation, northeastern France. So, his inclination to music in general and to Boccherini’s in particular was absolutely alien to his main occupation, though he reached general recognition among musicologists, musicians, music teachers, historians of music, editors, etc. He had a controversy with François Fétis and a part of his thesis was included in the second edition of Fétis’ *Biographie Universelle*....

Picquot’s compilation effort was intelligent and wide. He got in touch with everyone who could have any information and or documents about Boccherini, as was the case of François de Fossa (*Guitar Quintets*), or the composer’s son and grandson (Josef Mariano and Fernando), or the widow of one member of the Fonts.

![Cover of Louis Picquot's biography of Luigi Boccherini](image)

By 1850, Picquot had already written and given to the press his 135 page Boccherini biography and catalogue. The book was printed "chez PHILIPP, éditeur de musique", in 1851, with a long title (as was customary at the time), but modest at the same time, since he opted for the word "Notice" to describe it. It is impossible today to find a
copy in any book shop (even in second hand circuits) including the later edition by Georges de Saint-Foix, in 1930. Although the only way to read this work in its French original version is going to a public library, there is a very recent translation and edition in Spanish, which includes three context studies (see below).

For decades, Picquot’s work has been the backbone of Boccherinian studies and knowledge, for it was largely superior to Fétis’ Boccherini entry in his Biographie Universelle..., and no doubt to the brief review by Boccherini y Calonje.

From the early 1900s on, a timid revival of the Luccan composer was initiated. One of most significant steps of this slow recovery was the 1930 new edition of Picquot’s biography by musicologist Georges de Saint-Foix. He not only put the pioneer text in the (limited) musical market, but also included a large 45 pages introduction where he amended many an error and added new data he had harvested during his own or else’s research.

In any case, Picquot’s is still an important Boccherinian groundwork, provided the reader be aware of the inevitable lacunae and errors, and of some out-of-focus opinions. As professor Gérard puts it when commenting on the tax collector’s book, in his 1969 Catalogue of Boccherini’s works,

All later works dealing with Boccherini have done no more than reproduce, borrow from or translate this fundamental work, which, in spite of certain lacunae, must remain the starting point of all study of the Italian composer.

Today, at 21st century’s dawn, although it is obvious that Boccherinian general knowledge has grown substantially, Picquot’s Notice... still maintains a symbolic significance. This and the fact that this work cannot be found in the market has pushed the Asociación Luigi Boccherini to translate and publish a Spanish version, along with three context studies, coinciding with the 200th anniversary of Boccherini’s death, in 2005. This edition has been the first volume of a brand new series entitled Tempo de Minuetto, to encompass musical texts, classical or modern studies, partitions, biographies, etc., both Spanish or foreign (translated into Spanish), about Mediterranean musical classicism. (Given the circumstances, we believe Picquot’s biography deserves an English translation and edition).
**References**: Picquot, L.: *Notice sur la vie et les ouvrages de Luigi Boccherini*... (BIB); Picquot, L.: *Noticia de la vida y obra de Luigi Boccherini*... (BIB); Gérard, Y.: *Thematic, Bibliographical and Critical Catalogue of the Works of Luigi Boccherini* (BIB); Saint-Foix, G. de: *Boccherini, notes et documents nouveaux* (BIB); González Casado, P.: "Georges de Saint-Foix y el concepto de estilo: su prefacio y edición de la obra de Louis Picquot sobre Luigi Boccherini", in L. Picquot: *Noticia de la vida y obra de Luigi Boccherini*... (BIB); Gosálvez Lara, J. C.: "La catalogación de la obra de Boccherini y la aportación de Louis Picquot", in L. Picquot: *Noticia de la vida y obra de Luigi Boccherini*... (BIB); Ortega, J.: "Louis Picquot: *Notice sur la vie et les ouvrages de Luigi Boccherini*. Notas sobre el autor, el texto y su contexto", in Louis Picquot: *Noticia de la vida y obra de Luigi Boccherini*... (BIB).

**Related Entries**: Asociación Luigi Boccherini, Boccherini (Josef Mariano and Fernando), Catalogue, Fétis, Font (family), Fossa, Gérard, Saint-Foix, *Tempo de Minuetto*.

**PIGNATELLI, Joaquín Anastasio**: See FUENTES.

**PIGNATELLI [sig.r]**: Boccherini tells Pleyel, in a letter dated in Madrid on March 18, 1799, that he has always seen himself assaulted by Parisian agents on behalf of several editors to grant them the rights over his works, but the musician stresses how he has always given his preference to Pleyel. Among those agents there is one called sig.r Pignatelli, working in the name and on behalf of Naderman.

Boccherini will never mention this agent again.

**References**: Letter LB: Madrid, March 18, 1799; Croce, L. della: *Il divino Boccherini* (Epistolary) (BIB); Rothschild, G. de: *Luigi Boccherini*... (BIB); Saint-Foix, G. de: "La correspondance de Boccherini avec I. Pleyel" (BIB).

**Related Entries**: Letters, Naderman, Pleyel.

**PIMENTEL TÉLLEZ OF GIRÓN, Maria Josefa**: See BENAVENTE-OSUNA.

**PISTOL**: See CURRENCY.

**PLANIMETRY of Madrid**: This is both a process and its outcome, the first consisting in measuring every town block and the houses in it, assigning each a number, and the second, the printing of its results. The enormous work undertaken for this purpose was decided and ordered by means of a Royal Decree and a Royal Instruction signed by Ferdinand VI on October 22, 1749. The Royal Decree was entitled *Regalia de Aposento* (Dwelling Regalia, a medieval royal privilege) and the Royal Instruction, *Visita General* (General Visit). The Royal Regalia was an ancient royal right to levy taxes on the basis of home property. The General Visit meant a royal clerk and a team of assistants would inspect every house, measure their surface and inquiry about ownership conditions.
Consequently, the whole process was intended to document every single habitation and every single ground-plot in Madrid, including its owners and drawing a map of every block and every house it encompassed.

While the main goal of the Planimetry was to levy taxes, the huge venture had profound urban consequences.

1700s Madrid had 557 house blocks (*manzanas*), a concept who’s role was going to be crucial for the whole Planimetry undertaking. The outcome was recorded in a series of 12 books, divided into two sections, one with the Blocks, and the houses or ground-plots in them, and the other with the Entries (*asientos*) specifying the owners, their hindrances, revenues, etc. Three copies were made of the two series of books kept today in the Biblioteca Nacional (National Library, former Royal Library) of Madrid, in the Archivo de Simancas (Archive of Simancas), and in the Academia de Nobles Artes de San Fernando (Noble Arts Academy of Saint Ferdinand (today in the Archivo Histórico Nacional, Madrid).

Upon commencing the Planimetry works, the architects in charge had to adopt some criteria towards an unprecedented goal. For instance, they had to decide how they would number the house doors till then unnumbered. This was an arduous issue and they certainly did not opt for the best way, since they took the block as a base, instead of the street. This implied they would number the houses around the block perimeter, in a simple sequence 1, 2, 3, 4, ... (odd, even, odd, even...), unlike it is done today depending on the side of the road.

This generated a perverse effect, for there could be a street having the same number in more than one house (in fact there were many), being absolutely necessary to specify the block number. Failing to do so created an insurmountable confusion, and this was the case most of the time.

Related to Boccherini, the numbering duplicity of houses within a street has produced important biographical misunderstandings when trying to locate his Madrid dwellings, and some of those misunderstandings have reinforced old errors and legends lacking any documented base.

The Luccan himself included his address in some of his letters:

*Calle de la Madera Alta*
*casa no. 18 Qto Principal*
but he failed to specify the block number. On the other hand, the three death registers of his daughter Teresa, his second wife, Pilar Joaquina Porreti and his own, note their address (the same for all three, since they lived together), but also fail to indicate the block number. Boccherini’s own death register reads:

D'n Luis Bocherini nat' de la ciudad de Luca Cabeza
de su Arzobispado en la Toscana, Vezino de esta
Corte, Viudo en primeras nupcias de Dª Clementina
Pelicha, y en segundas de D'n Maria del Pilar Joaq'ma Porreti
murio in veinte y ocho de Mayo de mill ochocientos y
cinco Calle jesus maria casa numero cinco...

[D'n Luis Bocherini born in the city of Luca Head of its Archbishopric in the Toscana, Registered in this Court, Widower from first matrimony with Dª Clementina Pelicha, and from second with D'n Maria del Pilar Joaq'ma Porreti died on twenty and eight of May of eighteen hundred and five Street jesus maria house number five...]

The fact that in the late 1700s Madera Alta street had two houses numbered 18 and in Jesús y María street there were four houses numbered 5, had been ignored by most of Boccherini’s biographical historiography accepting present numbering as if it were the same as 200 years ago. But, as a matter of fact, any coincidence is no more than a random possibility, like the case of Madera Alta, number 18.

18, Madera Alta street where the Boccherinis lived matches, by pure chance, today's number 18 of Madera street (the two 1700s sequenced streets Madera Alta and Madera Baja are today one single street called just Madera), a rare case only very recently discovered (see the entry MADERA ALTA).

Instead, since present number 5 of Jesús y Maria was number 10 of block 11, in the 1700s, it has no relation whatsoever with Boccherini (see the entry JESÚS Y MARIA).

Given the penurious present state of today’s number 5 of Jesús y María, the "presentism" error mixing past and present numbers 5, has fed the old myth of Boccherini
being in a deep needy situation when he died, a myth already several times proven false but also unacceptable in view of urban criteria adopted by the Planimetria de Madrid, as far as house numbering system is concerned.


Related Entries: Jesús y María, Letters, Madera Alta, Madrid, Pleyel.

PLAZA (Quartel of the): See ANGELES (Quarter of the), and SAN GINÉS (Quarter of).

PLEYEL, Ignaz (1757-1831): Composer, printer of music and piano builder, he was born in the Austrian town of Ruppertsthal and studied with Franz Josef Haydn and Johann Baptist Vanhal. When he was 20 years old, he was nominated chapel master by earl Erdödy, but soon initiated a tour through Rome, London and, finally, Paris, where he settled in 1795.
Pleyel started his professional life in France first as printer of music, and in 1807, as a piano builder, always composing operas, symphonies, concerts, quartets and various chamber pieces.

Soon after settling in Paris, actually by the end of the summer of 1796, Pleyel contacted Boccherini in order to publish his works (the first letter sent by Boccherini to Pleyel is dated in Madrid on September 12, and clearly responds to a previous first one by the Austrian). The epistolary relationship, quite intense, was truncated early during the summer of 1799 (last letter from Boccherini is dated in Madrid on June 20). So, Boccherini and Pleyel kept in contact during almost 3 years.

In spite of their breaking up, Pleyel would keep publishing works by Boccherini until 1813, that is, until 8 years after his death.

Pleyel became the editor who had published the highest number of Boccherinian works, even though he would not always be the first nor all he edited was actually authentic. The list of first editions of authentic Boccherini released by Pleyel is the following, in chronological order:

1798 : *Six Duets* for two violins, G. 63-68, as Op. 46;  
*Sextet-Nocturne* for strings and winds, Op. 38 (1), G. 467, as Op. 42 (2);  
*Sextet-Nocturne* for strings and winds, Op. 38 (5), G. 471, as Op. 42 (1);  
*Three String Trios*, Op. 54 (4-6), G. 116-118, as Op. 44 (1-3-2);  
*Op. 41*, G. 214-215, as Op. 39 (6-5);  
*Symphony*, Op. 43, G. 521, as *Overture Op. 43*;  
*Two String Quintets* with two cellos, Op. 46 (4-6), G. 362-364, as Op. 37 (2-3);  
*Two String Quintets* with two cellos, Op. 49 (5-4), G. 369-368, as Op. 37 (5-6);  
*String Trio*, Op. 54 (1) G. 113, as Op. 44 (6);  
*Six String Quartets*, Op. 53, G. 236-241, as Op. 40 (2-3-4-6-1-5);
1798/9: Two String Quintets with two cellos, Op. 28 (4-2), G. 310-308, as Op. 37 (7-8);
String Quintet with two cellos, Op. 41 (1), G. 346, as Op. 37 (12);
Two String Quintets with two cellos, Op. 45 (3-4), G. 357-8, as Op. 47 (1) and Op. 37 (1);
String Quintet with two cellos, Op. 46 (1), G. 359, as Op. 37 (10);
Two String Quintets with two cellos, Op. 49 (1-2), G. 365-366, as Op. 37 (9-11);

Six String Quintets with two cellos, Op. 56, G. 407-412, as Op. 46 (4-1-6-3-5-2);

1802?: Two String Quintets with two cellos, Op. 28 (1-6), G. 307-312, as Op. 37 (14-15);
String Quintet with two cellos, Op. 42 (2), G. 351, as Op. 37 (13);

1804: String Quintet with two cellos, Op. 25 (5), G. 299, as Op. 37 (17);
String Quintet with two cellos, Op. 45 (1), G. 355, as Op. 37 (18);
String Quintet with two cellos, Op. 46 (3), G. 361, as Op. 37 (16);

1809: String Quintet with cellos, Op. 39 (1), G. 337, as Op. 37 (20);
String Quintet with two cellos, Op. 42 (1), G. 348, as Op. 37 (19);
String Quintet with two cellos, Op. 46 (5), G. 363, as Op. 37 (21);

1811/2: String Quintet with two cellos, Op. 39 (3), G. 339, as Op. 37 (23);
String Quintet with two cellos, Op. 41 (2), G. 347, as Op. 37 (22);
String Quintet with two cellos, Op. 51 (2), G. 377, as Op. 37 (24);

1813: Two String Quintets with two cellos, Op. 25 (4-6), G. 298-300, as Op. 47 (9-5);
Three String Quintets with two cellos, Op. 31 (1-4-6), G. 325-328-330, as Op. 48 (5), Op. 47 (10) and Op. 48 (4);
String Quintet with two cellos, Op. 39 (2), G. 338, as Op. 47 (4);
String Quintet with two cellos, Op. 42 (2), G. 349, as Op. 47 (8);
String Quintet with two cellos, Op. 43 (3), G. 354, as Op. 47 (3);
String Quintet with two cellos, Op. 45 (3), G. 357, as Op. 47 (1);
String Quintet with two cellos, Op. 46 (2), G. 360, as Op. 47 (2);
String Quintet with two cellos, Op. 49 (3), G. 367, as Op. 47 (7);
String Quintet with two cellos, Op. 51 (1), G. 376, as Op. 47 (6);

As stated, this list only comprises first editions of well proven authentic pieces, but
Pleyel edited many other works that were not authentic or had previously been published
by others.

In order to be fully aware of the Boccherini-Pleyel editing negotiations it is
necessary to revert to their correspondence (see the entry LETTERS). Also an excellent
analysis of it can be found in Mangani, M: Luigi Boccherini.


Related Entries: Duo, Letters, Octet, Quartet, Quintet, Sextet, Symphony, Trio.

PLEYEL, Camille (1788-1855): Elder son of Ignaz Pleyel, born in Strasbourgh before his
father settled in Paris. He collaborated since 1824 in both of his father’s business, the
editing firm and the piano manufacture, and inherited it all even before his father’s death.
Camille studied music and even wrote some pieces for piano. He had his friend pianist and
composer Friedrich Kalkbrenner (1785-1849) as a partner.

Boccherini does not mention his first name but alludes to Ignaze’s elder son by
saying "votre fils aîné", and asks his father, in the letter dated in Madrid on July 13, 1797,
to thank him and embrace him in his name, adding how satisfied he feels to know that
"votre fils aîné" has liked his letters.

Louis Picquot, in his Notice..., (p. 88), informs he has been at Camille Pleyel’s
home, in 1834, reviewing Boccherini’s Piano Quintets autographs.

References: Letter LB: Madrid, July 13, 1797; Croce, L. della: Il divino Boccherini (Epistolary) (BIB); Rothschild, G. de: Luigi Boccherini... (BIB). Picquot, L.: Notice sur la vie et les ouvrages de Luigi Boccherini... (BIB); Saint-Foix, G. de: "La correspondance de Boccherini avec I. Pleyel" (BIB).
POGGIO, Lelio Ignazio di: Luccan nobleman linked to the town’s Capella Palatina (Palace Chapel). Among his regular duties, he had to write musical works for the institution he served. In 1765, during the three day celebration of the feasts known as Delle Tasche (Balloting Feast, see the entry TASCHE), Boccherini was selected to present for the first celebration day his cantata La Confederazione dei Sabini con Roma (G. 543), leaving the responsibility for the other two days in the hands Giacomo Puccini and Lelio di Poggio, respectively. (Data retrieved from R. Coli, M. Mangani and G. Biagi Ravenni.)

Three years later, during Boccherini and Manfredi’s sojourn in Paris, Manfredi sent to his friend Lelio di Poggio a letter, dated June 30, 1768. This letter has been used by several biographers to locate not only Manfredi but also Boccherini in Paris by the end of June, but this is false as far as Boccherini is concerned, since he had traveled towards Spain some months earlier and was seen in Aranjuez during the spring, as a member of Marescalchi’s Compañía de los Reales Sitios (Royal Sites Company). Consequently, the mentioned letter to Poggio situates Manfredi in Paris, but not Boccherini.

References: Biagi Ravenni, G.: "«Molti in Lucca si applicavano alla professione della musica»...", (BIB); Coli, R.: Luigi Boccherini, la vita e le opere (BIB); Mangani, M.: Luigi Boccherini (BIB); Rothschild, G. de: Luigi Boccherini… (BIB).


POKORNY, Franz (Frantisek) Xaver (1728-1794): A composer born in Hradec Králové, a few miles east of Prague, who joined the so called Mannheim School. He studied under Johann Stamitz (1717-1757) and Franz Xaver Brixi’s (1709-1771) supervision.

Pokorny was a prolific composer of symphonies and concertos for wind instruments, among which there are two for clarinet, and chamber music as well.

One of his flute concertos, in D Major, had been taken as by Boccherini during almost 200 years, in spite of Louis Picquot’s advise: "This work, lacking any merit, is an speculation under Boccherini’s name" (p. 78).

The Concerto bears the number G. 489 in Gérard’s Catalogue (1969), but the French musicologist already informed that "recently" the Swiss flautist Raymond Meylan...
had unveiled this *Concerto* was by Pokorny, regardless of the fact it had been published during Boccherini’s life time, circa 1780, by the Parisian editor Frère, as Boccherini’s Op. 27.

Pokorny died in the Danubean town of Regensburg, slightly east of the ideal line linking Munich and Nuremberg.


**Related entries**: Concerto, Flute.

**Ponce de León**: See Arcos, duke of.

**Porreti, Domingo** (c.1704-1784): Born in Sora, in the kingdom of Naples, Porreti studied in Barcelona and moved to Madrid around 1734, when he was selected for the Royal Chapel because of his many merits as a cellist. The praises he deserved were highlighted by the Patriarca de las Indias (Indies Patriarch) resposible for the Royal Chapel, who said that Porreti "excede con primor à quantos han oydo de su cuerda" (surpasses exquisitely all who have heard from his strings), or Farinelli, who explains how Porreti must always call to master Nicolás Conforto’s rehearsals:

\[
\text{(quien componiendo con su violoncelo, y sus dedos toda la orchestra) no es menester de otros instrumentistas.}
\]

[(who composing with his cello, and his fingers the complete orchestra) no other interpreters are needed.]

Porreti not only managed to comply with his Royal Chapel commitments but had the ability and the time to become musical mentor for the Infants.

He had been married since 1741 to Antonia Facco, daughter of Jaime (Giacomo) Facco (1676-1753), first Royal Chapel violin, but she died in 1747, so he married again, two years later, the Madrilenean Manuela Pradel. From this second union three children would come to life, Teresa (future espouse of Rafael Monreal), Domingo, who had no relationship with music, and Maria Pilar Joaquina (future second espouse of Boccherini).

Domingo Porreti, senior, accumulated an immense fortune inherited, in three equal shares, after his death by his three children of his second marriage. This is why Maria
Pilar Joaquina had such an abundant dowry when she married Boccherini, valued in more than 80,000 copper *reales* (some 240,000 euros or 288,000 US dollars). In fact, it superseded Boccherini’s own capital, also quite considerable. The couple Boccherini-Porreti had a patrimony of goods and money which amounted more than 150,000 *reales*.

![Image](image_url)

_Domingo Porreti, first in the row of musicians, holding his cello behind the harpsichord, in the presence of King Ferdinand VI and Queen Barbara de Braganza (period drawing to illustrate Farinelli’s book *Fiestas Reales*)_

Only very recently Porreti has been rediscovered as a composer. Josep Bassal and Keith Anderson report 24 possible cello concertos and a piece for four cellos, besides an unknown number of cello sonatas. Two of those sonatas have been recorded for the first time in two different CDs, during 2005 and 2006 (see **DISCOGRAPHY**).

**References**: Farinelli (Broschi, Carlo): *Descripción del estado actual del Real Teatro del Buen Retiro. De las funciones hechas en él desde el año 1747. hasta el presente: de sus yndividuos, sueldos y encargos, según se expresa en este primer libro En el segundo se manifiestan las diversiones, que annualmente tienen los Reyes Nrs Sers en el Real sitio de Aranjuez Dispuesto por Dº: Charles Broschi Farinelº criado familiar de Sº. Mº. Año de 1758, (Fiestas reales), Turner Libros, Madrid, 1992, (Facsimile edition); Morales, N.
PORRETI, Maria Pilar Joaquina (c.1750-1805): Daughter of cellist Domingo Porreti and Manuela Pradel, she was handicapped in a leg, probable reason why she married at an age way above average (in 1787, when she was over thirty years old), and she did so with an almost 45 years old widower with six children from a previous marriage: Luigi Boccherini.

Immediately after the wedding, the family moved to Madera Alta street, number 18, "Quarto Principal" (First floor above the street level floor or "Quarto Bajo"), where they dwelled until 1802.

Also a few days after the nuptial ceremony, Maria Pilar Joaquina signed a Capital Deed to her husband’s favor where she admitted, described and valued the goods he had brought to the new household. The total amount reached the figure of 74,970 reales (some 225,000 euros or 270,000 US dollars), although Boccherini declares that half this amount belongs to his children because those were good acquired during the period he was married to Clementina Pelliccia, mother of all six children.

A year later, on November 12, 1789, Maria Pilar Joaquina yielded ample power to Boccherini to take care of whatever paperwork should be done to execute her father’s will in favor of Maria Pilar Joaquina and her brother and sister, Domingo and Teresa. The power also indicates:

_Tambien le da poder gral al cittado Dn. Luis Boccherini para que entienda en ttodos sus àsumptos Causas y negocios mobidos o por mober qe tenga o tubiese con qualesq" Person. Cabildos y Comunidades eclesiasticas ó seculares por Intrincados qe sean pareciendo en razon de ttodo ante su Mag (qe Dios gue) y señores de sus Rº consejos y demas Juezes y Junttas qe combenga y especialmº en presencia del Señor Juez qe entiende en la Insinuada testamtºia_

[She also gives general power to the mentioned Dn. Luis Boccherini related to all her affairs Causes and business initiated or to be initiated she might have with any Person ecclesiastic or secular Chapter and Communities regardless their difficulty appearing for any reason before his Majesty (God save him) and gentlemen of his Royal councils and other judges and Juntas when necessary and especially before the Judge in charge of the mentioned testamentary]
A year later, once his father’s will had been executed, Boccherini signs his dowry letter to his wife’s favor, with a detailed and valued list of all the goods she had brought to the matrimony, amounting 81,676 reales, with 33 maravedíes [1 real = 34 maravedíes] (equivalent to some 245,000 euros or 294,000 US dollars). This figure is the result of adding all her goods to some quantities she still had to collect, but subtracting specified debts Maria Pilar Joaquina had run into before the wedding.

This Dowry Letter was one of the few notarial documents the Boccherinis did not sign before notary Martinez Llorente, but instead before Manuel Toledo, maybe because this notary was a patrimonies valuation expert. Instead, only four days later, on November 16, 1789, Porreti calls to Martinez Llorente’s office to sign her first known will. Its clauses are the customary ones, and it only serves to highlight the familiar names of some of her executors (except the two unknown brothers Villa):

Don Luis Boccherini mi Marido; Don Domingo Porretti mi Hermano, Don Francisco y Don Agustin Villa, Hermanos, Dn Francisco del Campo; Don Juan y Don Pablo Font también Hermanos

[Don Luis Boccherini my Husband; Don Domingo Porretti my Brother, Don Francisco and Don Agustin Villa, Brothers, Dn Francisco del Campo; Don Juan and Don Pablo Font also Brothers]

As for her heirs, she stated that:

dejo y instituto, y nombro por mis Unicos y Uniberales herederos de los que assi fuesen, a los hijos e hijas, que Dios nro Señor me diera, y procreare durante mi Matrimonio con dho Don Luis Boccherini mi Marido; Y en defecto de estos lo dejo á el, por mi Unico y Unibersal heredero

[I leave and institute, and name as my Unique and Universal heirs of what thus may be, my sons and daughters, God our Lord would give and procure me during my Matrimony with the mentioned Don Luis Boccherini my Husband; And in defect of those I name him, as my Unique and Universal heir]

But those sons and daughters, God our Lord would give were never born.

Porreti would sign a new will just a few months before her death. In this case, she named her testamentary executors:
Maria Pilar Joaquina died almost five months earlier than Boccherini, on January 11, 1805 and parson Domingo Herrera signed her death register. (See full text in the entry HERRERA.)


**Related Entries:** Campo, Capital Deed, Dowry Letter, Font (Juan and Pablo), Herrera (Domingo), Martinez Llorente, Pelliccia (Clementina), Porreti (Domingo, Teresa), Power, Will, Toledo (Manuel).

**PORRETI, (Maria) Teresa (Engracia) (1755-?):** Daughter of cellist Domingo Porreti and Manuela Pradel, sister of Maria Pilar Joaquina, and Boccherini’s sister in law since 1787. She married the Royal Chapel violinist Rafael Monreal on December 12, 1775. Their domicile was in the Lobo street.

**References:** APSS: Teresa Porreti and Rafael Monreal’s Marriage Deed: Marriages Book 27, p. 327 rev.
Related Entries: Lobo (street), Monjas de Pinto (Quarter of the), Monreal, Porreti (Domingo and Maria Pilar Joaquina), Pradel.

PORTRAITS: See ICONOGRAPHY.

POWER (notarial deed of): A power deed is a notarial document where the grantor or granters, yields or yield the empowered (one or more people), the capacity and right to act on her/his/their behalf, in the realm of the specified functions, with or without a time limit, with or without a territorial limit. A similar deed would be used to cancel a previous empowering document.

These deeds were in the 1700s very similar to the corresponding present ones, even though some kinds of empowerment have become obsolete, like the one which allowed to sign a will on behalf of someone else.

Boccherini empowered or received power several times during his stay in Spain. Although the actual deed has not been located yet, the first time Boccherini yielded power to act on his behalf was when he purchased 10 shares from the National Bank of Saint Charles and sold them eight months later, through his friend Joseph Phelipe. This is what can be seen in the back of each of those shares:

Paye al Banco Nacional de S.º Charles  
en bultud de poder  
Joseph Phelipe

Since the power must have been signed during the winter of 1784-85, it likely was formalized before a notary of the Arenas de San Pedro area (or maybe Boccherini traveled to Madrid for this purpose).
On June 20, 1786, Boccherini and his friend and future brother in law, Rafael Monreal, interchanged at Antonio Martinez Llorente’s notarial office, ample mutual powers to act on behalf of each other, in various realms: collecting salaries from the Royal Chapel, to sell and buy, to call in front of judges and tribunals, etc. Over two years later, on September 26, 1788, Boccherini went to the same notary’s office to cancel those mutual powers interchanged with Monreal. By that time, they were already brothers in law, for Boccherini had married Maria del Pilar Joaquina Porreti, sister of Teresa, Monreal’s wife.

Twice in a less than two years span, Maria Pilar Joaquina gave powers to her husband, Luigi Boccherini, at Martinez Llorente’s office. First on April 23, 1787, exactly five days after their wedding; and second on August 13, 1788. This was an important decision since Porreti had married bringing an immense dowry.

Finally, on January 29, 1790, Boccherini called again to the same notarial office to grant full powers to his son, Luis Marcos, to collect his salaries and act on his behalf.


Related Entries: Arenas de San Pedro, Banco Nacional de San Carlos, Boccherini (Luis Marcos), Martinez Llorente, Monreal, Phelipe, Porreti (Maria Pilar Joaquina, Maria Teresa).

PRADEL, Manuela (1734-1773): Daughter of Manuel Pradel and Florencia García, Manuela was born in Madrid. She married the cellist Domingo Porreti when she was 15 years old, on December 28, 1749, in the Madrilean church of San Martín (extinguished). The couple had three children: Maria Pilar Joaquina (Boccherini’s future second wife), Teresa (violinist Rafael Monreal’s future wife), and Domingo.

Manuela died on February 1, 1773, while living in the Lobo street.


Related Entries: Lobo (street), Monjas de Pinto (Quarter of the), Monreal, Porreti (Domingo, Maria Pilar Joaquina, Teresa), San Martín.
**PRADO, street (Madrid, Spain):** It stretches between Plaza de las Cortes (Parliament Square) and Plaza del Ángel (Angel Square), although in former times its upper segment had a different name. Del Prado is the natural promenade connection between the fancy zone of el Prado de San Jerónimo and a central more popular area of the city. It is also one of the streets crossing the Lobo (Wolf) street (today Echegaray), where several members of the Porreti family had their dwelling. See the entry **MONJAS DE PINTO**.

Sometime during the summer of 1802, the Boccherinis left their house in Madera Alta, number 18, where they had lived since 1787, after Luigi wed Maria Pilar Joaquina Porreti, and moved to a house not yet located in Del Prado street. They would stay in that house no more than two years, for in the summer of 1804 they were already living in Jesús y María street, number 5.

Isabel, Boccherini’s youngest child, died while living in Del Prado street as stated in her death register signed by don Juan Antonio de Irueta (see the transcription of this death register under the entry **IRUETA**).

Regrettably, Irueta does not report the house number nor the block number so it has not yet been possible to locate where exactly did the Boccherinis live in this street during two years.


**Related Entries**: Boccherini (Isabel), Irueta, Jesús y María, Lobo (street), Madera Alta, Monjas de Pinto (Quarter of the), Porreti (Maria Pilar Joaquina).

**PROSPERI, Maria Santa (Santina) (1709-1776):** Born in Lucca, daughter of Domingo Prosperi and Angela Arbichani, also from Lucca, she married Leopoldo Boccherini, four years younger than her, on October 22, 1737. Their fourth child (third to reach adulthood) would be Luigi.

A few years after Leopoldo’s death, in 1766, Maria Santa, whom her relatives used to call Santina, moved to live in Spain, where her two sons Giovanni Gastone and Luigi had already settled. Santina traveled with her younger daughter, Riccarda, and both went to live near the Royal Site of Aranjuez, in the small municipality of Ontígola.
Santina, already ill, signed her will on April 27, 1776, not long before dying. The notary, don Jacinto Lopez de Lillo, reflected her health condition:

_Estando enferma en Cama de la qe Dios nro Sor a sido servido darme; pero por su infinita misericordia en mi entero juicio memoria y entendimiento natural_

[Being ill in Bed which God our Lord has willed to give me; but by his infinite mercifulness in my entire sense memory and natural understanding]

She names as her testamentary executors "Dn Juan, and Dn Luis Boquerini, my two legitimate sons" (Giovanni Gastone and Luigi), indicating they are "residentes al presente en este dho [dicho] Rl Sittio" (presently residents in this mentioned Royal Site), that is, they are only temporarily in Aranjuez (at least, Luigi was registered in Madrid).

Then she names her unique and universal heirs to be all her living offspring, with equal shares of her patrimony: "Dn Juan, Dn Luis, Dn Maria Ester, Dn Ana Matilde, and Dn Riccarda Gonzaga Boquerini my five legitimate sons (in Spanish the word ‘hijo’, son, encompasses both male and female) and of the mentioned Dn Leopoldo Boquerini my Defunct Husband".

Santina did not sign her will because she was illiterate, as stated by the notary, so one of the testimonies, Juan Martín, signs it on her behalf ("a ruego").

**References:** Coli, R.: _Luigi Boccherini, la vita e le opere_ (BIB); AHPM: Maria Santa Prosperi’s will: Prot. 29.411, pags 163-4, Notary: Jacinto Lopez de Lillo, April 27, 1776.

**Related Entries:** Aranjuez, Boccherini (Leopoldo, Maria Ester, Giovanni Gastone, Ana Matilda, Riccarda Gonzaga), Lopez de Lillo, Ontígola, Will.

**Prussia:** Extinguished German state ended as a result of the Second World War (1939-1945). It reached its highest points during Friedrich II "The Great"’s kingdom (1740-1786) and a century later under the rule of Otto-Leopold Bismark (1815-1898), since 1862 until his differences with Kaiser Wilhelm II (1890). Already after the First World War (1914-1918), Prussia endured several territorial and power loses as a result of which the country was fractionated in favor of the different neighboring nations.
In 1783, still under Friedrich "The Great", his nephew and heir Friedrich Wilhelm contacted Boccherini through the Prussian ambassador before the Spanish Court. The ambassador had sent to the prince Boccherini’s *String Quartets* Op. 33 and they were highly appreciated by the future king.

Three years later, prince Friedrich Wilhelm nominated Boccherini as his Prussian Court Chamber Composer, a post he kept until March, 1798, that is, until a few months after Friedrich Wilhelm II’s death. His son and heir, Friedrich Wilhelm III discontinued Boccherini’s nomination.

During the twelve years spanning from 1786 to 1798, Boccherini sent regularly his music to his Germanic mentor, but historians and biographers have not yet agreed whether Boccherini did actually visit the Prussian kingdom or not. Several leads indicate he did, and others indicate he did not. This is maybe the darkest spot in Boccherini’s historiography.

**References:** Biagi Ravenni, G.: "La ‘Carta de Breslau’..." (BIB); Parker, M.: "Luigi Boccherini and the court of Prussia" (BIB); Parker, M.: "Boccherini’s Chamber Works for Friedrich Wilhelm II" (BIB).

**Related Entries:** Breslau, Friedrich Wilhelm II, Friedrich Wilhelm III
PUCCINI, Giacomo (senior) (1712-1781) {by Gabriella Biagi Ravenni} Head of the musicians lineage which would end with his homonymous great-great-grandson Giacomo (1858-1924). Born in the little village of (Pescaglia, Lucca, Italy) in Val di Roggio, upon his father’s death Giacomo moved to Lucca where he could live thanks to his uncle, a local clergyman. He finished his studies in Bologna, at Giuseppe Carretti’s school, and even after his return to his home land, Puccini kept in contact with Bolognese’s circles thanks to being admitted in the Accademia Filarmonica (1743) and also thanks to his links to father Martini (a correspondence is still extant). In 1739 he was nominated master at the Cappella di Palazzo (Palace Chapel) and next year organist at the San Martino cathedral; added to these two commissions which he would keep all his life, he would have many others in the many Luccan churches.

This way, Puccini would develop a very intense professional activity as composer, organizer and concertist. Of it all, he would note down a sort of diary he titled Libro delle
musiche annue ed avventizie (Book of the annual and occasional music), a major source to follow musical life in Lucca during the second half of the 1700s.

Puccini was a prolific composer, especially of sacred music related to the rich religious life in the City-State and also related to the important Luccan celebrations of the Santa Croce feasts. He also wrote profane pages, dramas in the form of cantata or "serenate politiche" (political serenades), written for the feasts delle Tasche (Balloting Feast), a solemn celebration held for the election of the magistrates and Government members of the Luccan Republic.

It was actually for this electoral feast, on which Puccini held a great responsibility, that in 1765 Boccherini was commissioned a piece to be premiered the first day of the ceremonial events and he presented his cantata La Confederazione dei Sabini con Roma (G. 543).

Puccini’s contact with Luccan musicians in general is permanent and with the Boccherinis in particular. Remigio Coli reports on the most important Puccini’s entries related to their service and also to their absences. Of course, Luigi’s friend, Filippo Manfredi is also present in Puccini’s book.

No doubt Puccini considered Boccherini an important soloist: on August 4, 1756, feast of San Domenico, he commissioned him his first concert in Lucca immediately after his return from Rome. In the following years, before Boccherini left Lucca forever, Puccini would not cease his commissions from him, and we should not forget that, since 1764, Boccherini was part of the Cappella di Palazzo of which Puccini was its master.

In 1772, Puccini would obtain from the Luccan Government the nomination of his son Antonio (1747-1832) to inherit his post of Master of the Cappella di Palazzo, and in 1779 he would get from the Opera of Santa Croce the same kind of "succession" also for the post of organist.


Related Entries: Boccherini (Leopoldo), Cantata, Manfredi, Tasche.
PUPPO, Giuseppe (1749-1827): Precocious violinist born in Lucca. He studied in the Naples Conservatory and traveled during the 1770s through France, England and Spain, meeting Boccherini from time to time. He wrote some violin concertos and chamber works for various instrumental combinations, always with a violin among them.

Besides the ever repeated phrase, attributed to Puppo by Choron and Fayolle, that "Boccherini is the wife of Haydn", Boccherini only mentioned "Pupo" (*sic*, with a single p), once in his correspondence, exactly in his letter to Pleyel, dated in Madrid on June 20, 1799. The reason to name him is simply to ask Pleyel to tell Puppo he has already sent his letter to the Lisbon Court musical director and that he wishes he will receive a positive answer, but does not enter into further details.


**Related Entries:** Letters, Pleyel.
QUARTET: This term can be understood in two ways, as a musical form and as a set of interpreters (for this second meaning, see the entry TUSCANY QUARTET).

Any musical score for four instruments can be considered as a quartet, but as far as Boccherini is concerned there are only 4 kinds of quartet pieces, of which only the first includes works of proven authenticity:

a - for strings (two violins, viola and cello) (G. 159-258),
b - for flute and strings (violin, viola and cello) (G. 260-261),
c - for keyboard and strings (violin, viola and cello) (G.259),
d - for winds (clarinet, flute, horn and bassoon) (G. 262-264).

Professor Gérard’s Catalogue includes 105 string quartets (G. 159 to G. 258), one being incomplete. Out of those 105 quartets, 90 plus the incomplete are authentic beyond any doubt, six are probable arrangements by Boccherini himself and the rest have no guarantee. (See DISCOGRAPHY.)

Boccherini started his string quartets series in 1761, when he was just 18 or 19 years old, creating a first set of six pieces by him numbered as Op. 2 (Boccherini y Calonje Catalogue). His last string quartet series, the Op. 64 of 1804, was left unfinished, for he only scored number 1 and first movement of number 2.

References: Gérard, Y.: Thematic, Bibliographical and Critical Catalogue of the Works of Luigi Boccherini (BIB); Gosálvez, C. J.: "Els quartets de corda, parcel·la cabdal en l’obra de Boccherini" (BIB); Pincherle, Marc: Les instruments du quatuor, Presses Universitaires of France, troisième édition mise a jour, Paris, 1970; Speck, Ch.: "Boccherini Streichquartette..." (French version: "Les Quatuors à cordes de L. Boccherini” (BIB); Speck, Ch.: "On the changes in the four-part writing in Boccherini's string quartets” (BIB); Speck, Ch.: "Boccherinis «Preussisches» Quartette” (BIB).


QUINTET: This term can be understood in two ways, as a musical form and as a set of interpreters. Besides the illustration below, we are here interested in the first meaning.

Professor Gérard’s Catalogue includes 192 quintets for different instrumental combinations according to the following distribution:

114 for strings with two cellos (G. 265-378)
28 for strings with two violas (G. 379-406)
12 for piano and strings (G. 407-418)
26 for flute/oboe and strings (G. 419-444)
12 for guitar and strings (G. 445-453) (4 of them lost, G. 452)

but not all of them are authentic.

In the group of 114 String Quintets with two cellos, the last one is a modern "construction" made of several authentic fragments.

As for the set of two violas String Quintets, some doubts have been cast about the authenticity of the first 12 (G. 379-390), actually transcriptions from the 12 contemporary piano and string quintets (G. 407-418).

Of the last two violas Quintet (G. 406), there is only Louis Picquot’s vow stating he had owned a transcription for this quintet formation, made by Boccherini himself from some sections of his String Trio Op. 14, No. 5, but the score has disappeared. A for the previous three quintets (G. 403-405), they are someone else’s transcriptions.

The first 18 flute/oboe and string Quintets are authentic. Doubts about the following 6 pieces (G. 437-442) are not very sound and they are most likely authentic, even though we do not have the autograph scores. Instead, the last 2 quintets (G. 443-444) are most likely erroneously attributed.

No doubts can be held about 7 of the 12 Guitar Quintets (G. 445-451), although only François de Fossa’s copies are extant. This French composer and guitarist made those
copies directly from Boccherini’s autograph partitions during the last part of the Spanish Independence War (1808-1814) and before fleeing to France.

Contrarily, *Guitar Quintet* G. 453 could be a mixture of three authentic movements (the first three), and an added version of the Variations on the *Ritirata di Madrid*, made during the 1920s, maybe by German guitarist Heinrich Albert.

Professor Gérard grouped under G. 452 the 4 lost *Guitar Quintets*, those F. de Fossa had no time to copy.

**References:** Gérard, Y.: *Thematic, Bibliographical and Critical Catalogue of the Works of Luigi Boccherini* (BIB); Grossato, E.: "Eleganza compositiva, ricerca timbrica e descrittiva nei quintetti per archi di Luigi Boccherini" (BIB); Mangani, M. and Coli, R.: "Osservazioni sul catalogo autografo di Luigi Boccherini..." (BIB); Picquot, L.: *Notice sur la vie et les ouvrages de Luigi Boccherini*... (BIB).

**Related Entries:** Albert, Benavent, Carmirelli, Catalogue, Flute, Fossa, Gérard, Guitar, Lost Works, Oboe, Piano.
Raguès, [M.] At the very beginning of his correspondence with Pleyel, Boccherini mentions "M. Raguès de Paris" as having asked him for his music to be edited. This is so in a letter sent by Boccherini dated in Madrid on September 12, 1796, clearly responding to a previous one sent by Pleyel, who seems to have initiated the mutual contact.

Boccherini uses M. Raguès’ economically better proposal to put some pressure on Pleyel, although he always claims he prefers to deal with him.

In this September 12 letter, Boccherini includes a list of 213 musical scores: 119 large pieces ("opera grande") and 94 small pieces ("opera piccola"), specifying that large ones have a price of 15 doubloons (of 60 copper reales each, being 1 real some 3 euros or 3.6 US dollars), and the small ones, 10 doubloons. The copies would go at Boccherini’s expenses and the mailing cost at Pleyel’s. In order to wrap up the agreement, Boccherini asks Pleyel to select someone to carry the partitions to Paris and pay in cash upon receiving them, not in any delayed or promissory document.

The selected agent is someone called Pierre Govey, who would also mention M. Raguès next October 10, in a letter sent to Pleyel in order to close the selling of the 213 pieces. Govey ratifies what Boccherini had told Pleyel, stating that the musician has showed his two letters from Raguès urging him to yield ownership over all his works.

On October 11, probably ignoring that Govey has already been commissioned by Pleyel to purchase the 213 pieces, Boccherini warns Pleyel again that M. Raguès has offered him better conditions, but claiming once more that he prefers to deal with him. In case Pleyel would not come to terms, Boccherini will feel free to negotiate with Raguès.

This affair comes up again one month later, in the November 14 letter when Pleyel seems to have risen his suspicions about the partitions Boccherini had sent before to M. Boulogne. Boccherini reacts warning the editor he might write Raguès to offer him all the works he had sent to Boulogne, because Raguès was prepared to pay 20 doubloons, instead of 15, for the large works. Boccherini insists, though, that he prefers to deal with Pleyel.

In the letter dated December 12, just a month later, the same argument continues based on M. Raguès’ proposal. Boccherini says he is awaiting for some news from this
individual in the following 15 days, but just a few days later, Pleyel decided to purchase the whole lot of works, so M. Raguès vanishes from the correspondence until the letter dated in Madrid on January 4, 1798. Raguès role is still now the same it had been in the past. The only difference is the group of works dealt with, and the fact some other imprint firms are also involved, such as Naderman and Wogt, who Boccherini claims are asking him for his works.

The list of letters where M. Raguès is mentioned is the following:

- Madrid, September 12, 1796 - Boccherini to Pleyel
- Madrid, October 10, 1796 - Govey to Pleyel
- Madrid, October 11, 1796 - Boccherini to Pleyel
- Madrid, November 14, 1796 - Boccherini to Pleyel
- Madrid, December 12, 1796 - Boccherini to Pleyel
- Madrid, January 4, 1798 - Boccherini to Pleyel.

Rasch (see References) hints the hypothesis that this M. Raguès might be the “French amateur harp player and composer” Louis-Charles Ragué.

References: Croce, L. della: Il divino Boccherini (Epistolary) (BIB); Rothschild, G. de: Luigi Boccherini... (BIB); Rasch, R.: "Luigi Boccherini and the Music Publishing Trade" (BIB); Saint-Foix, G. de: "La correspondance de Boccherini avec I. Pleyel" (BIB).

Related Entries: Boulogne, Govey, Letters, Naderman, Pleyel, Wogt.

**REAL (de vellón, copper):** See CURRENCY.

**RECITATIVE:** This is a kind of almost recited piece where the rhythmic constraints of the text prevail over those of the music. It is usually scored for a single soloist voice and during the 1700s, almost always pairing one or several arias, used as a preamble or as a linkage.

Boccherini’s Catalogue does not contain many recitatives. Third versicle of the *Stabat Mater* (G. 532), "Quis est homo", is an isolated recitative, and the very kernel of each of the two oratorios, *Gioas, re di Giudea* (G. 537) and *Il Giuseppe riconosciuto* (G. 538), and also of the cantata *The confederazione dei sabini with Roma* (G. 543), are, as customary, actual sequences of recitatives. Three more examples of this vocal genre are to be found in the *Villancicos al nacimiento de Nuestro Señor Jesucristo* (G. 539) (Carols to Our Lord Jesus Christ birth).
Boccherini included a recitative in several miscellaneous pieces, such as the Escena para la Inés de Castro (G. 541) (Scene for Inés de Castro), structured into: Recitative, Cavatina and Aria, and also in the arias G. 544, G. 548 and G. 554, where the recitative plays the role of a preamble.


Related Entries: Aria, Cantata, Oratorio, Stabat Mater, Villancicos.

RIQUER I ROS, Borja de: See BENAVENT.

RITIRATA DI MADRID: The actual translation of this term should be Madrid’s Retreat, that is, a military curfew tune for the town inhabitants to return home, and this is the meaning and origin of the fifth movement of Boccherini’s C Major two cellos String Quintet Op. 30, No. 6 (G. 324), known as La Musica Notturna delle Strade di Madrid (Night Music of Madrid’s Streets). After depicting the evening bell ringing, the blind beggars’ minuets and street dances, and the evening preaching and praying, Boccherini evokes Madrid’s curfew tune calling for an ordered and controlled closing of the day.

The composer gives the following indication, in the heading of this singular partition, dated in 1780:

La ‘guardia notturna’, che si avvicina da lontano e che perciò appena si deve udire, diventa sempre più rumorosa e poi, mentre si allontana, il suono di nuovo attutisce.

[The ‘night guard troop’, which is coming closer from far away and which for this reason must scarcely be heard, becomes more and more audible and then, while it goes away, the sound vanishes again.]

Boccherini will revisit the melody of the Ritirata, with slight alterations, three more times: one guaranteed authentic, and the other two somewhat doubtful. All three are transcriptions from the primitive Ritirata of Op. 30, No. 6 and are imbedded in quintets for different instrumental combinations. All are dated in 1799:

- for guitar and string quartet (G. 453), for the marquis of Benavent,
- for piano and string quartet (G. 418), dedicated to ‘La Nation Française’, and
- for strings with two violas (G. 390).
The Piano and String Quintet G. 418 is authentic beyond any doubt, but its transcription for two violas has been questioned even though it is most likely Boccherini’s own adaptation for lucrative reasons, since the two violas quintet formation was the most common string combination in France and in the rest of Europe.

As for the Guitar Quintet G. 453, all leads point to a genuine Boccherinian transcription of the three first movements, while the added Variations on the Ritirata di Madrid would respond to German guitarist Heinrich Albert’s interest to exhibit his performing excellencies by means of a wider and brighter quintet.

References: Giuggioli, M.: La musica notturna delle strade di Madrid (BIB); Ophee, M.: Luigi Boccherini’s Guitar Quintets... (BIB); Tortella, J.: "La música descriptiva o argumental en el catálogo de Luigi Boccherini" (BIB). (See DISCOGRAPHY)

Related Entries: Albert, Benavent, Guitar, La musica notturna delle strade di Madrid, Piano, Quintet.

RODE, Pierre (1774-1830): Violinist and composer, born in Bordeaux. He studied in Paris with Giovanni Battista Viotti, of whom he interpreted many works. After traveling through Europe, he returned to Paris to become a teacher at the Conservatory, together with his friend and fellow-citizen Pierre Jean Garat. Nevertheless, he did not quit touring the continent, reaching faraway places like Saint Petersburg, and also Vienna. Beethoven finished in 1812 a series of violin and piano sonatas, of which, the last, number 10, Op. 96, although dedicated to the archduke Rudolf, had been written for Pierre Rode.

According to Boccherini’s testimony, Rode was in Spain in 1799, where he must have attended the academies at marquis of Benavent’s house in Madrid. Boccherini mentions this circumstance in his letter to Pleyel dated in Madrid on June 20 of that year. Actually Boccherini writes about violinist Rode and singer Garat, whom he considers dear friends and sons (he immediately explains how he calls this way all young talented people). Rode and Garat were at Benavent’s in one occasion when some Boccherini’s Guitar Quintets were interpreted and explains to Pleyel how these two young musicians can tell him about the quality of the pieces.

This is the only time a link between Rode and Boccherini can be documented.

References: Letter LB: Madrid, June 20, 1799; Croce, L. della: Il divino Boccherini (Epistolary) (BIB); Rothschild, G. de: Luigi Boccherini... (BIB); Saint-Foix, G. de: "La correspondance de Boccherini avec I. Pleyel" (BIB).
**Rodríguez, Ventura** (1717-1785): Prototype architect of Spanish neoclassicism. Among his early works were the parishes of Santos Justo y Pastor and of San Marcos, in Madrid. He also refurbished the basilica of El Pilar, in Zaragoza, and collaborated in designing and building the Palace of San Ildefonso and the immense church of San Francisco el Grande and the palaces of Liria and Altamira, in Madrid. He was also a sculptor and decorator.

Rodríguez served don Luis of Bourbon, receiving, according to the payroll registers, an annual salary of 18,000 *reales* (some 54,000 euros or 65,000 US dollars).

One of the important works Rodriguez did for don Luis, in a certain way related to Boccherini, was to supervise and give technical and artistic advise to the architect don Antonio Machuca in the reconstruction of the Palace of Boadilla del Monte to refurbish and enhance the old edifice.

Antonio Ponz, a politician, traveler and writer, described the new don Luis’ Palace in the following terms:

*Caminando desde Madrid al Poniente de la Casa de Campo, se llega á Boadilla, pueblo distante menos de tres leguas, en donde tiene el Sr. Infante D. Luis un bello Palacio con sus Jardines, y huerta, al que se ha de añadir mucha obra por los dos lados, baxo la direccion del Arquitecto D. Ventura Rodriguez.*

[With walking from Madrid west of Casa de Campo, we reach Boadilla, a village three leagues away, where the Sr. Infant D. Luis has a pretty Palace and its Gardens, and orchard, to which much work has to be added on both sides, under the supervision of Architecture D. Ventura Rodriguez.]

* A league is an old length measure equivalent to the distance an average person could walk in one hour, that is close to four miles.

Ventura Rodriguez also worked to ameliorate the Palacio Villena, in Cadalso de los Vidrios, one of the places don Luis took into consideration when looking for a place to live after being exiled by his brother, the King Charles III. The Infant and his court did not move to this village before Rodriguez had finished the works for this 16th century palace to be ready.
Once settled in Arenas de San Pedro, don Luis decided to build the so called Palace of La Mosquera. Although the official architect was don Domingo Thomas with the help of his brother Ignacio, Ventura Rodriguez gave his advise and designed the ground floor. Brothers Thomas were fully responsible for the building from 1780.

![Palace of Liria in Madrid, Spain, built by Ventura Rodriguez](image)

It is most likely that the rightmost personage in Goya’s picture of don Luis’ family (1784, Magnani-Rocca Collection, Parma, see the image under the entry GOYA) be Ventura Rodriguez for he very much resembles a background figure in the portrait where Goya portrayed the earl of Floridablanca (1783, Bank of Spain Collection, see it under the entry FLORIDABLANCA), and is also very much alike the architect Goya depicted presenting the Boadilla del Monte refurbishing project (1784, Stockholm National Museum). All three Goya paintings are almost contemporary.


Related Entries: Arenas de San Pedro, Boadilla, Bourbon (Luis), Cadalso de los Vidrios, Floridablanca, Goya, Mosquera, San Ildefonso, Thomas (Domingo, Ignacio).

**RODRIGUEZ, Felix (notary):** (On notarial duties and activities, see the entry MARTINEZ LLORENTE.)
Although Luigi Boccherini never called to Felix Rodriguez’s Madrid office, his son Luis Marcos did in order to sign his will in 1809, that is, four years after his father’s death, when only two members of the family were still alive, Luis Marcos himself and his brother Josef Mariano.

This will is dated March 20, 1809, and Luis Marcos declares he is a presbyter, born in Aranjuez, but denizen of Madrid.

From the very heading of the deed, Luis Marcos states "q e deja hered o a su herm o Dª Josef Mar o" (that he names his bro’ [brother] Dª Josef Mar o as his heir), and this is ratified within the hereditary clause by saying he nominates

\[
\text{mi unico heredero al referido mi hermano Dª Josef Mariano Boccherini de estado soltero natural del real sitio del Pardo, y por su falta a sus hijos e hijas, y descendientes si llegase a tenerlos.}
\]

[my only heir the mentioned my brother Dª Josef Mariano Boccherini single and born in the royal site of el Pardo, and in case he dies, his sons and daughters, and descendants if he would have them.]

It is also worth highlighting his executors choice:

\[
\text{mis testamentarios Alvaceas a mi hermano Dª Josef Mariano Boccherini, y a los señores Dº Antonio Font y sus hermanos Dº Pablo y Dº Juan Font, vecinos de esta Corte.}
\]

[my testamentary Executors my brother Dº Josef Mariano Boccherini, and mister Dº Antonio Font and his brothers Dº Pablo and Dº Juan Font, denizens of this Court (Madrid).]


Related Entries: Aranjuez, Boccherini (Josef Mariano, Luis Marcos), Font (Antonio, Juan, Pablo), Madrid.

ROMANÍ, R (paper and watermark): {BY GERMÁN LABRADOR} Music paper used well up into the 20th century was manufactured by artisan means so that it bore peculiar watermarks depending on the manufacturer and also depending on the year it was produced. Obviously, an accurate analysis of those watermarks allows to establish the origin of a manuscript or an edition. This is the case, for instance, of the Trios Lab. 109-114 by Gaetano Brunetti, dedicated to the Infant don Luis of Bourbon in 1771. Although
they were printed in Paris, the paper used clearly shows it was a Spanish edition. Following this method, even an approximate chronology can be established in order to date a manuscript, since it is possible to know the time span when a certain kind of paper began to circulate and until when.

This idea, already hinted by Vallet-Viriville in 1859, has been used for the most common paper used for music writing in the 1700s in Spain: the one manufactured in the paper mills of Ramón Romání, in Capellades (Barcelona). This is the paper used by Luigi Boccherini while he lived in Spain and, most important of all, taking into account the scarce number of his original manuscripts, the Romání paper comes up to be by large the most frequently used for manuscript copies of his works. This fact allows for an easy approximate dating of this kind of source, implying a very important ground to set up a sound relative chronology for the different copies of a single work. The *String Quartets* G. 183-188 kept in the Conservatory of Madrid make up an interesting example; although the front page reflects they are dated in 1775, the copy filed in this institution was made in a later time, actually in 1782; a different case is the copy of the *Symphonies* G. 509-514 filed in this same institution, which bears the real composition date of 1782 and the paper is also from 1782, indicating this must be an early copy.

The study of the R. Romání watermarks spans from 1775 to 1800 and the paper output can be categorised into 10 subtypes. Thus, establishing the subtypes in a document, an *ante quem* date can be put forth about its existence, since the manuscript could not have been written before the sheer existence of the paper it is written on. Similarly, we can also indicate the date when the paper ceased to be available, when a similar but different one came to replace it. Due to the manufacturing process, the paper experienced continuous and imperceptible changes during a few years until a new subtype was released caused by the wearing out of the manufacturing tools or its replacement.

This way, in the case of the R. Romání paper it has been possible to establish intervals of circulation for ten paper subtypes which go from two to five years, so that a quite precise dating can be put forth for the manuscripts written on this support. Consequently the study of its watermarks allows to suggest the Spanish origin of the extant copies of Luigi Boccherini’s works and also an approximate dating, a fact of relevant importance in his case because most of the original manuscripts have been lost.

Related Entries: Breslau, Catalogue, Conservatory of Madrid.

ROME (Italy): Located in a central zone of the Italic peninsula, in the Lacio territory, Rome was enhanced when the pope decided to move to this town in the early 1400s. This favored economic growth, and the attraction of wealth and culture. In the early 1700s, Rome had some 150,000 inhabitants.

As expected, as a result of the 19th century political reunification, the old Imperial Capital became the capital of the new Republic (1861) also.

By the end of 1753, when Boccherini was 10 years old, his father asked permission to take his son to Rome in order to pursue his studies and ameliorate his playing technique with the cello under the famous Giovanni Battista Costanzi’s guidance. Luigi’s sojourn in Rome was probably prolonged up to two years, without interruption, until early in 1756, when his father went to bring him back to Lucca.
There is no proven testimony that Boccherini ever returned to Rome although, as hinted by Remigio Coli, it is by no means impossible he would have stayed there during the first part of the Tuscany Quartet 1766 tour. The group might have even reached Naples with a short intermediate sojourn in Rome.

**Interior of Saint Peter (Rome, Italy, 18th Century Engraving Print)**

**References:** Coli, R.: *Luigi Boccherini, la vita e le opere* (BIB).

**Related Entries:** Boccherini (Leopoldo), Costanzi, Tuscany Quartet.

**ROTHSCHILD, Germaine de** (1884-1975): {BY YVES GÉRARD} Born into a family of bankers, her maiden name was Germaine Halphen. She married baron Edouard de Rothschild (1868-1949) on March 1, 1905. As usual at that time, she was educated in her private milieu where reading and music appreciation was highly valued, and so she educated her two daughters. Jacqueline de Rothschild who studied piano under Alfred Cortot’s (1877-1962) tuition and married the cellist Gregor Piatigorsky (see the corresponding entry); and her sister Bethsabée sustained the school and ballet of Martha Graham (1894-1991) in the United States before founding the Batsheva Dance Company, later to become Israel’s National Ballet.

While forced to stay in the United States during the war between 1940 and 1944, Germaine de Rothschild committed herself to child pedagogy, so, back in France, she translated Dr. Bert Beverley’s work *Pour comprendre nos enfants, mettons-nous à leur place* (Paris, Aubier, 1952). In collaboration with Serge Grandjean, museum keeper, she embarked into some research about Bernard Palissy, publishing *Vie de Bernard Palissy*.

By autumn of 1956, Madame Rothschild contacted Pina Carmirelli (she would later invite her to her house together with Carmirelli’s Quartet) in order to initiate her research on Boccherini and before recruiting, on December 1956, the author of these lines, by that time a musicology student at the Paris Conservatory. She published a biography of the composer, *Luigi Boccherini. Sa vie, son œuvre*, with a *Préface* by Norbert Dufourcq, first in French (Paris, Plon, 1962) and then in an slightly modified version translated into English by Andreas Mayor (London, Oxford University Press, 1965), including for the first time Boccherini’s correspondence with Pleyel (today the manuscripts have disappeared). At the same time, Rothschild supported the edition, in 1969, of the *Thematic, Bibliographical and Critical Catalogue* of the works by Boccherini (see References below).

**References**: Gérard, Y.: *Thematic, Bibliographical and Critical Catalogue of the Works of Luigi Boccherini* (BIB); Rothschild, G. de: *Luigi Boccherini...* (BIB).

**Related entries**: Carmirelli, Catalogue, Letters, Piatigorsky, Pleyel.

**ROULLEDE, Jean-Pierre de**: Parisian editor, son in law of editor Louis-Balthazard de La Chevardière. In 1780, the young couple De Roullède (him and La Chevardière’s daughter, Elisabeth Eléonore) started to purchase on credit La Chevardière’s firm, initiating their own not only music editing activities, but they soon realized they would not fulfill their expectancies, so they discontinued in 1783 the purchasing operation. This way the veteran editor La Chevardière retrieved his old business only to soon sell it again to Pierre Leduc.

During the brief three year interval they were active, La Chevardière’s daughter and son in law only published one work by Boccherini, a set of *Six Trio-Sonatas* for keyboard with violin and cello accompaniment, G. 143-148, not registered in Boccherini y Calonje’s catalogue.

Louis Picquot cast some shadow over the authenticity of these pieces, but first Georges of Saint-Foix and later Gérard consider they are genuine Boccherini partitions. Today practically no one doubts they are authentic, based of the fact that the keyboard
parts of these *Trio-Sonatas* show a clear link with their corresponding parts of the Op. 5 *Sonatas* (G. 25-30). (See **DISCOGRAPHY**.)


Related Entries: The Chevardière, Leduc, Trio.

**ROYAL CHAPEL:** {BY GERMÁN LABRADOR} The Royal Chapel was the institution to guarantee the adequate solemnity in the Spanish court religious celebrations; as such, its history can be traced back to the time of John II (15th century). Its administrative structure was ruled by *constitutions* since 1436, later several times wholly or partially modified; in 1749 a new regulation (planta) would be settled which would be replaced by a similar one in 1756, lasting without any substantial variation until 1787. By the early 1800s, José I (Bonaparte) will introduce new important changes to it. Among the posts integrating the Chapel "planta" in 1756, we should distinguish various levels: church (44 posts), administrative (one post), law (4 posts), miscellaneous (9 posts), voice musicians (15 posts) and instrument musicians (38 posts); among the last group there were three cellos, increased up to four in 1787 in order to lodge Francisco Brunetti.

Since the 16th century the Royal Chapel administered a Child Singers School in order to guarantee having high tessitura voices.

The Chapel was in Madrid in order to solemnise the Royal Palace worship events and also the religious celebrations in the city churches and temples, especially whenever the King himself appeared in public. During the time span Boccherini was in España (1768-1805), although most liturgical celebrations were held while the court was on its journeys in whatever Royal Site, the Royal Chapel still was in the capital, where the bulk of celebrations requiring its services took place, more than 300 per year by late 1700s. In some occasions, like Easter or Corpus Christi, a section of the Royal Chapel moved with the Court to give the necessary solemnity to the liturgical celebrations. Charles IV increasingly neglected the Royal Chapel as can be seen in the use he made of this institution, transferring musicians for his own private service and even assigning the Chapel posts at his will, ignoring the contest system generally used as a means to recruit its members.
Luigi Boccherini’s relationship with the Royal Chapel was somehow marginal, although based on the law. By his Royal Order on November 23, 1785, Charles III assigned him 12,000 reales per year until a "violón" (cello) vacancy would be available which would be assigned to him without any contest. So, Boccherini some time since 1786, when he began to receive this salary, presented himself as a servant of Charles III or as a member of the Royal Chapel, although he never produced himself before the Court, for the simple reason that he was never assigned an actual position. In spite of this, the cellist collected 1,000 reales every month without interruption from December of 1785 until the very day of his death. In fact, the Royal Order specified his condition rather as former servant of the Infant don Luis than as a member of the Royal Chapel.

When analyzing Boccherini’s relationship with the Spanish Court and with the Royal Chapel the possible grievance as a result of not having reached an actual post in the Institution should be taken into account.

As a matter of fact, at best, had he reached the post of first cello (only possible through the years), he would have earned the same amount he received from Charles III since 1785: 12,000 reales per year. Nevertheless, had he actually entered the Royal Chapel in 1783, upon Domingo Porreti’s death, he would have earned 8,000 reales only, as corresponding to the last staff post (this was the case of Joaquin Samaranch, who replaced Porreti), or in 1787, when Francisco Brunetti obtained his post he would have earned 7,000 reales only. It is true that Luigi Boccherini was not taken into account in neither of the occasions, but it also clear that this was to his benefit, as his living conditions were much dependent (especially during his last years) on the privilege granted by Charles III and Charles IV, who kept paying him for nothing.


Related Entries: Brunetti (Francisco), Charles III, Charles IV, Porreti (Domingo), Royal Sites.
ROYAL PALACE GENERAL ARCHIVE: See ARCHIVO GENERAL DEL PALACIO REAL.

ROYAL SITES (Reales Sitios): The chain of palaces and repose or leisure lodgings, and their outbuildings owned by the royal family and used as temporary residence are known as Royal Sites (Reales Sitios). In the case of the Spanish Bourbon dynasty in the 1700s, the Royal Sites network included El Escorial, San Ildefonso (La Granja), Aranjuez and El Pardo, where the Court journeyed according to an strict annual scheme. As registered by earl Fernán-Núñez in his biography of Charles III, the scheme was:

- January 7 - to El Pardo from Madrid (some 3 months stay)
- Easter Saturday - to Madrid (10 days stay)
- Ash Wednesday - to Aranjuez (some 3 months stay)
- July 1 (approx.) - to Madrid (18 to 20 days stay)
- July 17/18 - to El Escorial (1 hunting day)
- July 19 - to San Ildefonso (2 months and 20 days stay)
- October 7/8 - to El Escorial (1 month and 20 days stay)
- Nov 30/Dec 2 - to Madrid (40 days stay)

The royal family, the court, accredited diplomatic staff, guests, accompanying officers and servants moved through the Royal Sites circuit following this rigid plan every year. Don Luis of Bourbon, the king’s younger brother, single until the age of 50, his servant crew, among which was Luigi Boccherini since 1770, used to follow the Royal Sites journeys even though both don Luis and Boccherini had there own dwellings.

During those royal journeys, the eldest male child of Boccherini’s, Luis Marcos, was born in Aranjuez, on April 25, 1774, and his brother, Josef Mariano, was brought into this world in El Pardo on February 2, 1776.

As a consequence of his marriage in June of that same year 1776, don Luis was forced to live away from Court and his family banned him even to step foot in Madrid, so all his servants, Boccherini included, would not follow the Royal Sites journeys anymore.


Related Entries: Aranjuez, Boccherini (Luis Marcos, Josef Mariano), Bourbon (Luis), Charles III, El Escorial, El Pardo, Madrid, San Ildefonso.

ROYAL SITES COMPANY: See COMPAÑÍA DE LOS REALES SITIOS.
Ruiz del Burgo was the Madrilenean notary who prepared on August 22, 1776 a Real Fondo Vitalicio (Royal Life-Annuities Fund) deed registering the purchase operation of a share by Riccarda Gonzaga Boccherini, Luigi’s younger sister. The price she paid was 20,000 reales (equivalent to some 60,000 euros or 72,000 US dollars). By this means, she would receive an annual rent of 1,800 reales, a 9 per cent of the invested capital, but relinquishing the mentioned capital in favor of the Fund.

The Royal Life-Annuities Fund’s stipulations stated that the rent would be extinguished the day after the share owner’s death and the capital would revert to the Fund. The deed was signed, on the Fund’s behalf, by marquis of Hontanar, don Pedro Diaz de Mendoza, and by don Salvador de Querefasu, chevalier of the Charles III Order, as "Directores Ministros de este Establecimiento" (Managing Ministers of this Establishment). Riccarda did not sign the deed.

As an added foot note to the 1776 deed, notary Ruiz del Burgo certified Riccarda’s death in 1781 and the subsequent extinction of the rent. The 20,000 reales reverted to the Fund’s patrimony.

It is worth noting how profitable the whole operation was for the Royal Fund since it received 20,000 reales while Riccarda’s rent amounted less than 10,000 (1,800 reales per year during less than five and a half years).


Related Entries: Boccherini (Riccarda Gonzaga).
SAINT-FOIX, Georges de (1874-1954): A student of the Schola Cantorum of Paris, where he studied violin and Theory of Music with Vincent D’Indy (1851-1931), Saint-Foix became one of the most brilliant musicologists of the first half of the 20th century, with a specialization in 1700’s Enlightenment. It is worth highlighting his studies on Wolfgang A. Mozart (1756-1791), Luigi Cherubini (1760-1842), Johann Sebastian Bach (1685-1750), Muzio Clementi (1752-1832), Christoph Willibald Gluck, etc., and, obviously on Boccherini.

The greatest contribution (among others) by Saint-Foix’s to boccherinism is contained in the new 1930 edition of 1851 Louis Picquot’s basic biography. He added to it a 45 pages preliminary "Notes et documents nouveaux" (Notes and new documents), where he amended many biographic and catalogue errors, and some very interesting analytical remarks with an important corpus of foot notes.

The fact Saint-Foix also included erroneous or doubtful annotations does not deprive his work from being meritorious. Given the state of Boccherinian research at that time, it is only logical he would say that:

Dépourvu de moyens d’existence après la mort de l’Infant don Luis, Boccherini, cela est certain, a quitté l’Espagne pour se rendre en Prusse, et son séjour dans ce dernier pays a pu se prolonger, peut-être pendant plusieurs années.

[Lacking living resources after the Infant don Luis’ death, Boccherini did for sure leave Spain to move to Prussia and his sojourn there might have been prolonged for several years.]

but we know today that Boccherini never lacked living resources around 1785 and also that he could not have left Spain further than a few months (if ever he did), since many documents signed by him in Madrid during the decade between 1785-6 and 1796 have been recently discovered. (See the entry OPAQUE DECADE.)

In spite of Saint-Foix’s understandable errors, we only have to regret that his 1930 Picquot new release and preliminary study is today impossible to find on the book market, especially because of its very limited edition, as stated in the credits page: "Il a été tiré de cet ouvrage 200 examplaires... numérotés of 1 à 200, plus 25 exemplaires hors commerce.
sous désignation alphabétique (A à Z)" [200 copies have been printed of this work… numbered from 1 to 200, plus 25 copies not available for sale alphabetically designated (A to Z)].

References: González Casado, P.: "Georges de Saint-Foix y el concepto de estilo: su prefacio y edición de la obra de Louis Picquot sobre Luigi Boccherini", in L. Picquot: Noticia de la vida y obra de Luigi Boccherini, Spanish edition of Picquot, L.: Notice sur la vie et les ouvrages de Luigi Boccherini...(BIB); Saint- Foix, G. de: Boccherini, notes et documents nouveaux (BIB); Saint-Foix, G. de "La correspondance de Boccherini avec I. Pleyel" (BIB).

Related Entries: Bourbon (Luis), Madrid, Opaque decade, Picquot, Prussia.

SALUCCI, Vincenzo: "Sig.r Vincenzo Salucci" was an "amico" (friend) of Boccherini’s, living in Madrid and correspondent of "sig.r Ferino di Parigi", both mediators between the composer and his editor Jean-Georges Sieber, as stated in Boccherini’s letter dated on August 24, 1801, the last one we know of him.

The 1801 edition of the Stabat Mater, Op. 61 (G. 531) by Neapolitan imprint of Giuseppe Amiconi is dedicated to "Sigr. Vincenzo Salucci".

References: Letter LB: Madrid, August 24, 1801; Croce, L. della: Il divino Boccherini (Epistolary) (BIB); Rothschild, G. de: Luigi Boccherini... (BIB); Saint-Foix, G. de: "La correspondance de Boccherini avec I. Pleyel" (BIB).

Related Entries: Ferino, Sieber, Stabat Mater.

Sammartini, Giovanni Battista (1700-1775): Son of French oboist Alexis Saint-Martin who moved to Milan, and brother of Giuseppe, also a composer and oboist. Giovanni Battista started his career as an interpreter and not before he was almost 30 did he become a known composer, when he reached the level of Chapel Master in several churches of the Lombard capital.

Since 1730, his fame spread over Europe through his symphonies, concerts operas and chamber works, so he was admired by musicians such as Gluck and Mozart, and also Boccherini, who traveled to Milan in 1765 and played his cello in an orchestra conducted by Sammartini.

Labeling fashions have led some to "nominate" Sammartini as the "father of symphony", and Haydn and Boccherini as two of his "offspring", in a more than exaggerated simplification. As highlighted by Remigio Coli, both Haydn and Boccherini...
were influenced "di una pluralità di impulsi" (by a plurality of tendencies). In fact, it is most likely that Sammartini himself would not accept such a paternity, which does not mean Boccherini did not learn a lot from Sammartini and his influence is evident.

![Giovanni Battista Sammartini (Period Engraving Print)](image)

**Related Entries**: Gluck, Haydn, Milan, Symphony.

**SAN FRANCESCO, parish of (Lucca, Italy)**: Luccan church where Boccherini’s remains were buried in 1927, after they had been exhumed from the Madrilenean parish of Santa María and Santos Justo y Pastor (today parish of San Miguel).

The built-in niche is in the left side wall of the church and a stone plaque was installed with a bas-relief profile of the composer’s face in the upper section. Below a long text reads:

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LUIGI BOCCHERINI
COSCIENZA DIGNITOSA E PVRA ANIMA D’ARTISTA
APRI VN’ERA NVOVA
ALLA MUSICA STRUMENTALE DA CAMERA
ONORÓ FVORI D’ITALIA
L’ITALIA
LUCCA MEMORE
IN QUESTO TEMPO SACRO ALLE GLORIE CITTADINE
RICONDUSSE LE CENERI VENERATE
RIMASTE PER OLTRE VN SECOLO IN TERRA STRANIERA
--------
N A LUCCA IL 19 FEBBRAIO 1743  IL COMUNE DI LUCCA
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Luigi Boccherini, meritorious and pure artist soul opened a new era for instrumental chamber music, he honored Italy out of Italy, Luccan memories at this sacred time of the city’s glories brought the venerated ashes that remained for more than a century in foreign land --- B in Lucca on February 19, 1743, D in Madrid on May 28, 1805 --- The Luccan Municipality – Mayor Lorenzo Grossi October 3, 1927, Vth year

During the 1990s, after the sanitary cleaning and drying of Boccherini’s tomb and the pathological analysis and autopsy of his remains, they were again inhumed and a new stone plaque was placed on the wall with the following text:

SU INTERVENTO DEL COMUNE DI LUCCA
E DELL’ISTITUTO STORICO LUCCHESCO
LIBERATE DELL’ACQUA E DEL FANGO
LE OSSA DI LUIGI BOCCHERINI
VENNERO QUI RICOMPOSTE
A ETERNA MEMORIA
DEL GRANDE COMPOSITORE CITTADINO
LUCCA 21 APRILE 1999

Freed from water and mud by the action of the Luccan Municipality and of the Luccan History Institute, Luigi Boccherini’s remains were here recomposed to the eternal memory of the great citizen Composer – Lucca, April 21, 1999
SAN GERONIMO, Quartel of (Madrid, Spain): See MONJAS DE PINTO (Quarter of the).

SAN GINÉS, Plazuela de (Small Square of, Madrid, Spain): This is a tiny square in the quarter of San Martín, between the streets of Bordadores and Coloreros and the passageway of San Ginés, behind the parish bearing the same name, near the Royal Palace. (See it in the very center of the illustration of the previous entry, between blocks numbers 387, 388 and 389.)

Upon the Infant don Luis’ death, in Arenas de San Pedro, the Boccherinis (father and his six children), as the rest of the Infant’s servants, were ordered to return to where they had come from, in Boccherini’s case to Madrid. He found a house in this centric Madrilenean square, as can be seen in the census register book of the parish of San Ginés:

Los Boquerini, habitantes de la casa de los Padres del Salvador, número 21, piso 3°, de la manzana 388

[The Boquerinis, living in the house of the Fathers of El Salvador, number 21, 3rd floor, of block 388]

listing all the members of the family unit:
The signs besides the names mean: Vº = viudo-widower (Luis), Så = soltera-single (Joaquina and the two Garcia), Sº = soltero-single (Marcos and Joseph), and Pª = párvula-small child (Mª Teresa, Mariana and Isabel). The García sisters were servants.

Boccherini’s stay in this house must have been short, for he was no longer listed in 1787 among San Ginés’ residents. This matches the fact that he married Maria Pilar Joaquina Porreti, on April 18 of that year and they moved to live in the street of La Madera Alta.

During the short two years the composer spent in San Ginés dwelling (1785-86), many events took place. He sold his Bank of Saint Charles shares only acquired in January 1785, and he reimbursed the loan he had borrowed from the same bank after his first wife Clementina’s death; he sent to the king a request (Petition) asking not to discontinue the salary he had been receiving from the Infant don Luis and also to be assigned a workplace. Most part of his Petition was positively responded. He would receive a per life annuity of 12,000 reales (some 36,000 euros or 43,200 US Dollars), and a Royal Chapel cello post awaiting for the first vacant; he received a letter from the Prussian Prince (soon to become King Friedrich Wilhelm II) nominating his as his chamber composer with an annual salary of 1,000 crowns (more or less equivalent to the previous mentioned salary from the Spanish King); he was also nominated as conductor for the private earl-dukes of Benavente-Osuna’s orchestra, with still another annual salary of 12,000 reales. He also signed his first known will.

From the musical point of view, Boccherini wrote while living in this house his only "zarzuela" or musical comedy, Clementina, on a text by Ramón de la Cruz. This was premiered during the 1786 Christmas celebrations.


Related Entries: Arenas de San Pedro, Banco Nacional de San Carlos, Benavente-Osuna, Bourbon (Luis), Clementina, Cruz (Ramón de la), Friedrich Wilhelm II, Madrid, Petition, Porreti (Maria Pilar Joaquina), Royal Chapel, San Ginés (Quarter of), Will.
SAN GINÉS, Quarter of (Madrid, Spain): A triangular shaped central area of Madrid having its vertexes in the Puerta del Sol, in the square of the lavatories of the Caños del Peral, and a middle point of the Mayor street, all within the Quartel of La Plaza.

![Map of the San Ginés Quarter (Quartel of La Plaza, Madrid, Spain), with the San Ginés Square in the center](image)

It is worth pointing out that the map of this quarter, designed by don Juan Francisco Gonzalez, has an error: number 388 block appears as divided into two portions, but the portion between the street of El Arenal and the little square of San Ginés (in the sheer center of the quarter, between blocks 387, 388 y 389), actually belongs to block number 387, to which it is linked by a sort of bridge (not visible in the image) over the so-called Pasadizo de San Ginés (alley of San Ginés, almost a J form little road ending up in the street of El Arenal, still extant today).

The Boccherinis lived in Plazuela de San Ginés number 21 just upon returning from Arenas de San Pedro, between late 1785 and early 1787 (see the entry SAN GINÉS, plazuela de).

References: Gonzalez, Juan Francisco: *Madrid dividido en ocho quarteles con otros tantos barrios cada uno*, Oficina de Miguel Escribano, Madrid, 1769.

Related Entries: Arenas de San Pedro, Caños del Peral, Madrid, Plaza (Quartel of the), San Ginés (plazuela de).
SAN GIOVANNI, parish of (Lucca, Italy): Roman church (12th century) located in the square of equal name, side by side with the square of San Martino, where the cathedral sits. Since the Boccherinis lived in four different dwellings in that zone, actually in the close by Via Bordello, San Giovanni was their parish, and in a teaching center at San Giovanni square it is most likely that the two young boys, Giovanni Gastone and Luigi had followed their basic schooling.

San Giovanni Church (Lucca, Italy)

As stated by R. Coli, San Giovanni held a musical seminar where the two Boccherinis received the basics of interpretation and singing, besides what their father Leopoldo could have taught them.

The church has endured many reforms and restorations, so an old sepulcher dedicated to Luccan musicians has disappeared. It had a Latin inscription reading the following: "Musicorum ultima pausa Societatis S.te Cecilie Virginis et Martyris A.D. MDCCV". (Data from R. Coli.)

References: Coli R.: Luigi Boccherini, la vita e le opere (BIB).
Related Entries: Boccherini (Giovanni Gastone, Leopoldo), Bordello, San Martino.

SAN ILDEFONSO, Quarter of (Madrid): The Boccherinis lived in a house of this quarter for more than 15 years, in number 18 of the street of La Madera Alta, Block
number 459, third house on the right coming from the street of El Pez. (The illustration map could be interpreted as if number 18 were the second house, the reason being that there was between numbers 17 and 18 another house with the door to the back street of El Molino Viejo, at the other side of the block).

Map of San Ildefonso Quarter (Las Maravillas Quartel, Madrid, Spain), crossing it, the street of La Madera Alta

The fact that the contiguous block (number 460) had also a house number 18 (first on the right from the street of El Escorial, not the second one as could be inferred from the illustration map, since number 17 actually opens to El Escorial), had till recent times prevented sorting out which had been the Boccherinis home between 1787 and 1802.
Fortunately, José Antonio Boccherini Sanchez spotted in Toledo’s Diocesan Archive the Ordinance Deed of Luigi’s son, Luis Marcos, describing the family residence:

*vive calle de la Madera Alta entrando por la del Pez mano derecha 3° puerta casa n° 18 quarto principal*

[he lives street of la Madera Alta coming from the street of el Pez right hand 3rd door house No. 18 first floor]

This allowed to establish without any doubt which was the house dwelled by the Boccherinis.

**References:** ADT: Luis Marcos Boccherini’s Ordinance Deed: File 1358, of 1794; Boccherini, J. A. and Tortella, J.: "Las viviendas madrileñas de Luigi Boccherini..." (BIB).

**Related Entries:** Boccherini (Luis Marcos), Madera Alta.

**SAN ILDEFONSO, La Granja de (Spain):** In 1720 Philip V acquired in the zone known as Peñalara a small convent where he would build a palace intended to be his retirement dwelling. The works were designed by the architect Filippo Juvara having Ventura Rodriguez’s collaboration, while the gardens were by Esteban Boutelou.

![Wooden model of the Palace of La Granja de San Ildefonso (Spain)](image)

Within the annual Royal Sites journeys, the Court stayed in San Ildefonso during July, August and September, where many artists, painters, musicians, interpreters, theater
managers and companies (like Luigi Marescalchi and his Royal Sites troupe), were summoned, as well as an ample service crew.

In 1769, Boccherini wedded Clementina Pelliccia, on August 17, in the San Ildefonso parish of La Santísima Trinidad.


**Related Entries**: Compañía de los Reales Sitios (Royal Sites Company), Marescalchi, Pelliccia (Clementina), Rodriguez (Ventura).

**SAN LORENZO DE EL ESCORIAL (Spain)**: See ESCORIAL, EL.

**SAN MARCOS, Quarter of (Madrid, Spain)**: Owned by the Princes of Pío, this quarter stretched over the northwest zone of town in an area scarcely urbanized and mostly dedicated to farms and gardens. It belonged to the Quartel of the Afligidos, encompassing the highest numbered block, that is the 557th, assigned by the Planimetria of Madrid.
The quarter was crossed by the street Alta de Leganitos. In number 1 of that street (block 557) is where the eldest child of Luigi Boccherini y Clementina Pelliccia, Joaquina, was born on August 6, 1770. This was a house owned by the Princes of Pío, as stated in the baptism register:

\[nació el 6 de agosto de 1770 en las casas que los Principes de Pío tenían en la calle alta de Leganitos\]

[she was born on August 6, 1770 in the houses owned by the Princes of Pío in the street high of Leganitos]

The whole area of the quarter of San Marcos is now completely different from what it was in the 1700s.


Related Entries: Boccherini (Joaquina), Leganitos, Pelliccia (Clementina), Planimetry.

SAN MARTÍN, parish of (Madrid, Spain): This parish was originally in the square of the same name, in front of Las Descalzas Reales Monastery, fairly close to the street of La Madera Alta, but today it sits on the street of Desengaño, number 26.
A significant part of its registers have been transferred to the Archivo Diocesano (Diocesan Archive) of Madrid’s Archbishopric (ADAM), near the Royal Palace.

Deaths registers of Joaquina and Mariana Boccherini (daughters), were signed in this parish, while they were living in the Madera Alta street, number 18, and they were certified by friars Lanrela and Barrio, respectively. (To see these registers transcriptions, refer to the entries BARRIO and LANRELA.)


Related Entries: Barrio, Boccherini (Joaquina, Mariana), Lanrela, Madera Alta.

SAN MARTINO, cathedral of (Lucca, Italy): Roman church in Lombard style (12th century) with a brick built Offices House to its side. The complex is located in the Luccan square of San Martino. The facade of the church, built in close resemblance to that of Pisa, shows an sculpture of Saint Martin on horse back sharing his cape with a beggar.
The Boccherinis lived in a house, still to be located, inside the San Martino parish demarcation.

Within the ample ecclesiastical premises there was an important musical seminar traditionally linked to Luigi because he is supposed to have attended there the lessons given by its chapel master Friar Domenico Francesco Vannucci. It is also reported that these lessons did not last very long because Vannucci soon realized his pupil would not learn from him too much more than he already knew. As a consequence, his father, Leopoldo, decided to take his son to Rome in order to enhance his musical knowledge with the famous cellist Giovanni Battista Costanzi.

One of the most relevant individuals of Luccan musical life during the 18th century, Giacomo Puccini, was San Martino’s organist until he died in 1781.

References: Biagi Ravenni, G.: "«Molti in Lucca si applicavano alla professione della musica»..." (BIB); Coli, R.: Luigi Boccherini, la vita e le opere (BIB); Rothschild, G. de: Luigi Boccherini... (BIB).

Related Entries: Costanzi, Lucca, Puccini, Vannucci.

SAN PEDRO NUEVO EL REAL, parish of (Madrid, Spain): Parish which no longer exists as a result of the "arreglo parroquial" (parish arrangement) initiated in Madrid in 1891. Its parochial books were transferred to the parish of San Sebastián, where they are presently. But San Pedro Nuevo el Real was the actual parish of the Boccherinis while they lived on the street of El Prado, where Isabel Boccherini’s death, daughter of Luigi’s, was registered and signed by the parson don Juan Antonio de Irueta. (To see the register transcription, refer to the entry Irueta).

References: Isabel Boccherini’s Death Register: APSS-APSPNR: Defunct Single Book of San Pedro Nuevo el Real, p. 97, November 27, 1802.

Related Entries: Boccherini (Isabel), Irueta, Monjas de Pinto (Quarter of the), Prado (street del), San Sebastián (parish).

SAN SEBASTIÁN, parish of (Madrid, Spain): Parish located between the streets Las Huertas, Núñez de Arce and Atocha. Its archive has in custody its own registers and also those of the extinguished parish of San Pedro Nuevo el Real.
In the latter the death of Isabel Boccherini was registered while the family lived in the street of El Prado. Also the deaths of cellist Domingo Porreti and his second wife, Manuela Pradel, parents of Maria Pilar Joaquina and Teresa, were registered while living in the street of El Lobo, as well as Teresa Porreti and Rafael Monreal’s wedding.

Baptisms of Domingo Porreti’s children with his first wife Antonia Facco were also registered and filed in San Sebastián parish archive (Baptism Books 36 and 37).

San Sebastián Parish today (Madrid, Spain)


Related Entries: Boccherini (Isabel), Irueta, Lobo, Monjas de Pinto (Quarter of the), Monreal, Porreti (Domingo, Teresa), Pradel, Prado (street of El), San Pedro Nuevo the Real.

SANTA MARIA, Quarter of (Madrid, Spain): The Quartel to which the quarter of Santa Maria belonged contained the zone of the Royal Palace, its outbuildings and gardens together with the complex square of the Stables (Caballerizas), reason why it was named the Palace Quartel (Quartel de Palacio).
In the bottom left hand corner the Puerta de la Vega can be seen, a city door giving way to the steep descending road of La Cuesta de la Vega, where the earl-dukes of Benavente-Osuna had their residence in Madrid, in which salons the stage-play *Clementina* was premiered by late 1786; this was the only such work, a so-called "zarzuela", written by Boccherini. The libretto was by don Ramón de la Cruz.

**References:** Gonzalez, Juan Francisco: *Madrid dividido en ocho quarteles con otros tantos barrios cada uno*, Oficina de Miguel Escribano, Madrid, 1769.

**Related Entries:** Benavente-Osuna, Clementina, Cruz (Ramón de la), Vega (Cuesta de la).

**SANTOS JUSTO Y PASTOR, parish of Los (Madrid, Spain):** Extinguished parish of the Lavapiés quarter, close to Boccherini’s last dwelling, in the street of Jesús y María, number 5. Its registers are filed today in the archive of the so-called parish of Las
Maravillas y Santos Justo y Pastor (APM-SJ), in the street of Dos de Mayo, number 11, very far from its origin but by chance in the quarter where the street of La Madera (Alta and Baja) belongs, where the Boccherini’s had lived some years earlier.

In this extinguished parish the death of three members of the Boccherini family were registered: Teresa’s (Luigi’s daughter), Maria Pilar Joaquina Porreti’s (second wife of Luigi’s) and that of Boccherini himself, while they were living in the street of Jesús y María, all signed by the parson don Domingo Herrera. (To see the death registers transcriptions, refer to the entry HERRERA.)


**Related Entries**: Boccherini (Teresa), Comadre (Quarter of), Herrera (Domingo), Jesús y María, Madera Alta, Maravillas, Porreti (Maria Pilar Joaquina).

**SANDOZ, [M.]** : The first time Boccherini mentioned "M. de Sandoz" is in his letter to Pleyel dated in Madrid on April 27, 1797. This is to say he has received a letter from Sandoz saying he had listened to his music at Pleyel’s and he had not disliked it at all. Nonetheless, M. Sandoz will soon reappear as editor Naderman’s agent.

In Boccherini’s post scriptum to his letter to Pleyel dated in Madrid next June 8, he says he has received an excellent offer for his music by mister Sandoz on behalf of "a certain M. de Naderman", who being an editor, Pleyel might possibly know.

As usual, Boccherini reassures Pleyel his preference, but urges him "not to loose any more time" and to make up his mind, for he cannot and wants not let pass by such good opportunities.

Slightly less than a month later, on July 3rd, Boccherini communicates to Pleyel he is going to write "just today" to mister Sandoz to offer Naderman only his vocal music since he will keep his instrumental music for Pleyel, provided he receives an indication in this sense, as he waits for this indication "any day now".

Six months will pass before mister Sandoz will show up again in the Pleyel-Boccherini correspondence. This will be on January 4, 1798.

As customary, Boccherini responds to some blaming by Pleyel in the sense that the music the editor bought from Boccherini does not interest him. This music is the set of "12 rondos" Boccherini was going to offer Naderman through Sandoz, but which Pleyel
claimed immediately. Boccherini quotes what Pleyel wrote to him: ‘I take the 12 rondos at the price indicated by mister Sandos [sic]’, so he feels free from any responsibility.

Finally, Sandoz is mentioned in the letter sent by Boccherini to Marie-Joseph Chénier, dated in Madrid on July 8, 1799, once he had broken any relationship with Pleyel. This time he alludes to "Mons.r de Sandoz", to tell the "cittadino Rappresentante" (Chénier) that he knows through this gentleman that he likes his music, reason why he is asking him to do whatever to have his Op. 57 Piano Quintets edited in France. The scores are dedicated to the "Nazione Francese" and Boccherini says he has handed them to the Republic’s ambassador in Spain, so he hopes Chénier will take them "sotto la vostra ombra" (under your care), a hope never satisfied.

The list of letters where Boccherini mentions M. Sandoz is the following:

- Madrid, April 27, 1797 - To Pleyel
- Madrid, June 8, 1797 - To Pleyel
- Madrid, July 3, 1797 - To Pleyel
- Madrid, January 4, 1798 - To Pleyel
- Madrid, July 8, 1799 - To Chénier

References: Croce, L. della: Il divino Boccherini (Epistolary) (BIB); Rothschild, G. de: Luigi Boccherini... (BIB); Saint-Foix, G. de: "La correspondance de Boccherini avec I. Pleyel" (BIB).

Related Entries: Chénier, Letters, Naderman, Pleyel.

SANTA MARIA DEL PÍ, parish of (Barcelona, Spain): See SONATA OF BARCELONA.

SANTOS [Mr.]: Boccherini tells Pleyel, in his letter dated in Madrid on March 18, 1799, that he has always been assaulted by Parisian agents on behalf of different editors to publish his works, but he has always given his preference to Pleyel. Among those agents, one called "Mr. Santos" works on behalf of Naderman's widow.

This is the only time Boccherini alludes to this agent, provided "Santos" and "Sandoz" were not the same person, a more than likely possibility, since Sandoz was also mentioned as "Sandos", also on behalf of Naderman.

References: Letter LB: Madrid, March 18, 1799; Croce, L. della: Il divino Boccherini (Epistolary) (BIB); Rothschild, G. de: Luigi Boccherini... (BIB); Saint-Foix, G. de: "La correspondance de Boccherini avec I. Pleyel" (BIB).

Related Entries: Letters, Naderman, Pleyel, Sandoz.
**SARDINI, Giovanni Battista Domenico:** During the period in which the Boccherinis traveled to Austria, the nobleman Domenico Sardini was the Luccan ambassador in Vienna’s court and as part of his regular activities he attended the theaters when his compatriots acted, and also tried to give them help and support.

G. Rothschild and R. Coli report about a letter, dated March 9, 1758, Sardini sent to his brother Ludovico, resident in Lucca, commenting on the Easter events, concerts and plays, and has a word about Leopoldo Boccherini’s daughter and son, Maria Ester and Luigi:

*Il Suo Figlio che suona di Bassetto nelle Concerti del Teatro di Corte è molto applaudito. Ho inteso che incontrerà forse un eguale applauso la Figlia Ballarina subito che abbi occasione di presentarsi al Pubblico come seguirà dopo Pasqua.*

[His son, who plays the Bassetto at the concerts of the Court Theatre, is much applauded. I am told that the daughter, a Dancer, will probably enjoy the same success when she makes her bow before the public after Easter]

**References:** Coli, R.: *Luigi Boccherini, la vita e le opere* (BIB); Rothschild, G. de: *Luigi Boccherini*... (BIB).

**Related Entries:** Boccherini (Leopoldo, Maria Ester), Vienna.

**SCACCIAPENSIERO:** This is an Italian term with two possible meanings: a) an entertainment to get away from bad thoughts or worries, b) a very simple instrument, almost a toy, known in English as Jew’s Harp.

A sketch of a Scacciapensiero (or Jew's harp)
For the first movement of Op. 36, No. 6 two cellos *String Quintet* (G. 336), Boccherini indicated a first section in "Lento e amoroso", and then an "Allegro giusto «dello Scacciapensiero»".

It is plausible that Op. 36 Quintets were initially drafted in Arenas de San Pedro and later reviewed in 1786, after the Infant don Luis’ death and upon Boccherini’s return to Madrid. In this second possible version the Jew’s Harp section was suppressed but the title did not disappear from the whole Quintet. Nevertheless, there are two manuscripts of this work, one with the Jew’s Harp segment (M. 512 of the Berlin Deutsche Staatsbibliothek), and another without this segment (Réserve 508 [11], of the Paris Opera Library).

The Jew’s Harp or «scacciapensiero» was originally a little gadget commonly used in Sicily, especially by children, made of flexible metal or cane or wooden stripe solidly stuck or glued to the ends of two bars of the same material forming an angle. The gadget is tightly hold in the mouth, with the teeth, so that vibrating the strip with a finger different sounds and musical notes can be obtained varying the mouth volume. Later on, during the 1700s the angled base was enhanced becoming a piece like a lyre or a horseshoe or hairpin shaped frame, at the end of which the flexible stripe is welded. This is probably the kind of Jew's Harp Boccherini knew when he was a boy.

(This is a seldom used instrument but not totally ignored. The Viennese Johann Georg Albrechtsberger (1736-1809), for example, who had Beethoven (1770-1827) as one of his pupils and was exactly contemporary to Boccherini, wrote during the 1770s, various pieces with a Jew’s Harp. Three are extant today and at least two of them have already been recorded in CD: *Concerto for Jew’s Harp and Mandora in F Major*, and *Concerto for Jew's Harp and Mandora in E Major*.)

**References**: Gérard, Y.: Thematic, Bibliographical and Critical Catalogue of the Works of Luigi Boccherini (BIB). (See DISCOGRAPHY)

**Related Entries**: Arenas de San Pedro, Bourbon (Luis), Quintet.

**SCENE**: Imbedded within an staged musical work, a scene is a section of it, a short action segment of the whole piece. It was rather customary during the 1700s to insert short pieces by different composers inside the main author’s scenic work, and Boccherini was no exception. He would write various such brief compositions, arias or intermezzi.
The only such case of a Boccherinian composition titled with the term *Scene* is the *Escena de la Ynés de Castro* (Scene for Ynés de Castro), G. 541, structured into *Recitado*, *Cavatina* and *Aria*, for soprano and orchestra, of 1798.

It is most likely that Boccherini was requested to write an “escena” on the tragic love story of Inés de Castro with the Portuguese King Pedro I, who in spite of her premature death crowned her as queen of Portugal, since several works based on this topic were being staged in Madrid by that time, like the one by Luciano Francisco Comella with music by Blas de Laserna, or the retrieved Luis Vélez de Guevara’s comedy titled *Reinar después de morir* (*Reigning after death*, c. 1640).

Until very recently a unique copy of this Boccherinian piece was known, that of the Paris Conservatory, filed under D. 14853, and bearing a dedication "Para Mi Sª la Marqª de Benavent. Mese di Aprile 1798" (For Milady Marquee of Benavent), which would hint Boccherini had wanted to honor marquis of Benavent’s wife, Dª Carmen Gallegos Dávalos. But since June 2006, we have a new original autograph of the *Escena de la Ynés de Castro*, unveiled by Isabel Lozano in Madrid’s Biblioteca Nacional (National Library) and published as an Appendix to her communication within the book issued from the Congress "Luigi Boccherini y la música de su tiempo" (Boccherini and the music of his time) - Madrid, November 17-19, 2005 (see the References section below).

This is an important new success to add to last decade’s Boccherinian research.

**References:** Gérard, Y.: *Thematic, Bibliographical and Critical Catalogue of the Works of Luigi Boccherini* (BIB); Lozano Martínez, I.: "La aparición de una nueva fuente de la *scena de Inés de Castro* en la Biblioteca Nacional de España" (BIB).

**Related entries:** Benavent, Biblioteca Nacional de España, Gallegos Dávalos.

**SEGUIDILLA:** Popular dance (and song or stanza) in ternary rhythm. As a poem, its origin can be located during the 12th century in central Spain, in a zone called La Mancha. The danced version came later during the 1500s. It was (and is) usually performed with a simple accompaniment by guitar, hand clapping and/or primitive percussion. In the 1700s, the Seguidilla played a role within the "tonadilla escénica" a very popular music comedy and was possibly the most widespread dance and song among folk music, also supported by royal and upper class society.
Boccherini did not use this popular genre until 1795, a period especially happy for him, although it would not last. Soon after he would lose his eldest daughter, Joaquina, and also his mentor the Prussian King Friedrich Wilhelm II.

In October 1795, Boccherini wrote his C Major two cellos String Quintet Op. 50, No. 5, G. 374, with a second movement to honor the seguidilla song and dance (spelled as *sighidiglia*).

This *Quintettino* (Opera piccola), is the only work where Boccherini mentions the seguidilla, and presents the following two movements:

I - *Allegretto*

II - *Minuetto a modo di sighidiglia spagnola. Trio*.

**References**: Gérard, Y.: *Thematic, Bibliographical and Critical Catalogue of the Works of Luigi Boccherini* (BIB); Tortella, J.: "La música descriptiva o argumental en el catálogo de Luigi Boccherini" (BIB).

**Related Entries**: *Alla turca*, Fandango, Folía, Opera piccola, Quinteto.
SELF-BORROWING: {BY MARCO MANGANI} When studying re-utilization of their own materials by composers, recent musicological research has left aside the traditional skeptical attitude: instead of just dispatching the issue in terms of "trick of the trade" (the composer would respond out of need, so losing part of his artistic merit), the re-utilization modes are studied today aiming at discovering in them the distinctive traits of a compositional praxis and of a style. Until not very long ago it was accepted that only from romanticism onwards there could be an "intentionality" in self-quoting and re-utilization (Schumann or Mahler, not to mention the 20th century). Today, many cases previously discarded by traditional musicology are also considered worth being analyzed (Händel, Telemann, Rossini and the Italian opera in general). Development of the semiotical and philological concept of "intertextuality" has finally contributed to a general redefinition of these problems. The case of Boccherini, still widely unexplored, is one of the most complex and fascinating: all his output is in fact pervaded by a tight network of internal feed-backs of all kinds, from readapting a theme, to retrieving whole movements. Consequently, it is not always easy to appraise the target of each operation in particular or its possible meanings: at the present stage of research we cannot say it is the right time to approach a final ranking of his different self-quoting procedures. We will just present here some meaningful examples.

An interesting trait is the possible osmosis between the not very abundant Boccherinian vocal output and the rest of his ample corpus of instrumental works: in this case, the medium diversity might require an adaptation affecting both the internal configuration of the re-utilized theme and the formal dimension of the context where it is included.

This is what happens with the aria by Sebia «Nel mirar le soglie, oh Dio», from the oratorio Gioas re di Giuda (c.1764), the initial theme of which (Example No. 1), once readapted, opens the second movement, Adagio, of the D Major Quartet Op. 8, No. 1, G. 165 (1769, edited this same year as Op. 6, No. 1). The aria in Gioas follows the same conventional "col da capo" scheme ABA, where A is in F minor and B, singing the second quatrainer of the Metastasian stanza, modules from F minor to A flat Major, to return to the dominant in F. Upon building up the Quartet's Adagio, Boccherini uses the initial phrase of A transposing it to D minor and abridging the introductory measures, he proceeds in a completely different way, hastily returning to the relative major: by that means, the
preliminaries for the three-part form $AA'$, typical of this kind of instrumental pages, are established.

Exemple 1

Somehow different modalities characterize those works linked to Boccherini’s activity as cello soloist: here we could mention at least one case, among many others, revealing his sensibility towards the different listening and enjoying attitudes; in other words, towards the various reception environments (including social ones).

The C Major Cello and Bass Sonata G. 17, the E flat Major Cello Concerto G. deest (found in Naples by Christian Speck) and the F Major Trio Op. 14 No. 1, G. 95 (1772, edited next year with the same opus number) share basically the same slow movement (Example No. 2), always in C minor, but with some significant differences, the most startling of which is the different tempo indication: Largo assai in G. 17, Largo in G. deest and Adagio in G. 95. Nevertheless, the important adaptations are elsewhere.

First of all, the C minor tonality of the central movement has not the same musical meaning within the three contexts: if actually in the Sonata and in the Concerto such tonality appears to fully conform the customary compositional praxis (it is the homologous minor in the first case and the relative in the second case), its relationship with the Trio’s F Major is far less direct. This has significant consequences over the way the movement is adapted to the various structural contexts of the two chamber pieces: while in the Sonata it ends with a suspended cadence, functional both in the preceding C minor and in the final C Major, the Trio needs a coda to allow the Adagio to close over the tonic and to open it in the following movement as well.

Much brighter is in any case the adapting process of this piece to the Concerto framework, a page which can be placed in a chronological point between the Sonata and the Trio. Here the Largo adopts the traits of a "sonata-form without a development": replacing the phrase which in the cello Sonata and in the Trio opens the second part, the initial theme in the corresponding step of the Concerto is taken literally in the base
tonality. Also, in the Concerto, the orchestra is assigned first of all the role of calling attention and guaranteeing contact with the listener by introducing the movement using block chords to establish unequivocally the base tonality and then make it clear that the tonality changes in strategic points. This smooths the passing to the relative major and the following return to the tonic (and, in this case, to the main theme), using gradual modulations and, at the same time, having bright effects.

At last, it is again up to the orchestra to close the movement with another cadential turn of a safe result, both more expeditive but also of a more immediate impact than the refined coda written by Boccherini for the version included in the Trio of Op. 14. From this point of view, the Concerto sits exactly on the opposite side of the Trio (a genre dedicated to music lovers of refined taste), showing us Boccherini was perfectly aware, no less than Haydn or Mozart, of the required effects on public audiences.

The exoteric dimension of this characteristic piece induces Boccherini to create a page apt to face the requirements of an ample and varied audience, using various musical ingredients in a new way, which in different contexts would envisage totally dissimilar goals.

Nevertheless, the most significant aspect of Boccherini’s re-utilization of his own materials is its interaction with another of his style traits: that of creating cyclic forms.
As a first example we should recall the D minor Symphony Op. 12, No. 4, G. 506 (1771, published around 1776 as Op. 16, No. 4), generally better known through the quotation of another’s materials: the work wraps up with the renown Chaconne qui représente l’enfer et qui a été faite à l’imitation de celle de Mr Gluck dans le "Festin de pierre" [Chaconne representing hell and which has been done imitating the one by Mr. Gluck in his "Stone Banquet"] (as stated in its first edition).

The cyclic element in this Symphony is the introductory Andante Sostenuto, presented again after an Allegro Assai and an Andantino Con Moto, as an introduction to the conclusive Gluckian paraphrases.

The Allegro Assai, which according to the standards of the "classical style", constitutes the true first movement, is in a brilliant D Major which contrasts dramatically with the D minor slow introduction and also with the general climate of the Symphony. This contrast though, is not in any case intrinsic but a consequence of the new layout of the piece, which in fact comes from a previous Boccherini composition, the D Major Sonata Op. 5, No. 4, G. 28 (1768, published the year after with the same opus number): this is one of the keyboard with violin accompaniment sonatas dedicated to M.me Brillon de Jouy, where during the Allegro Assai, unlike in the Symphony, the overall character of the piece is perfectly coherent.

In cases like this, no doubt we are before a re-utilization of his own material (self-borrowing) which makes up an intentional re-contextualization: it would not be as accurate to talk about self-quotation, resorting to his own previously formulated thought, clearly aiming at casting an explicit and recognizable intention and meaning.

Since this distinction is liable to any hypothesis and interpretation, always arguable per se, we could fathom maybe a case of true and actual self-quotation in the example several times analyzed of the D minor Quartet Op. 41, No. 1, G. 214 (1788, published ten years later by Pleyel within Op. 39). This Quartet uses some pages taken from the single voice version of the Stabat Mater (1781): the "trio" in the Minuetto which makes the second movement of the Quartet, is taken from the second movement of the Stabat Mater, «Cujus animam gementem», while the Andante Flebile which follows is an instrumental adaptation, with some significant modifications, of the last page of the same Stabat Mater «Quando corpus morietur / Fac ut animae donetur / Paradisi gloria». 
Experienced listeners likely to be present in Spanish auditoriums (we have no reason to think the final official addressee of the *Quartet*, that is the King of Prussia, would know the *Stabat*) would feel the strong contrast effect in front of the dionisiac opening movement, a twofold *Prestissimo* in 3/8 with clear dance modulations; but it is what goes along with this case that most calls our attention.

The «Quando corpus» of the *Stabat Mater* is fully displayed twice and is followed by an F Major «Amen», while in the *Quartet*, instead of the second display, there is an eight measures link driving us directly to the final movement, an abridged return to the opening *Prestissimo*: upon bringing us back to the dance and to the minor initial mode in which climate the Quartets wraps up, the stridor of this return could not be greater for those knowing the origin of the *Andante Flebile*.

On the other side, the sudden modifications of the «Quando corpus» within the *Quartet* mean a further confirmation of the awareness and intentionality of the whole operation; we summarize it all in the following chart (for the *Quartet*, Latin letters indicate the motives taken from the *Stabat Mater*, Greek letters indicate new motives):

| Table 1 |

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<tr>
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<td>d</td>
<td>e (Coda)</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Tonalities</strong></td>
<td>F minor</td>
<td>F major</td>
<td>F minor - F major</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Cadences</strong></td>
<td>perfect</td>
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<td><strong>Text</strong></td>
<td><em>Quando corpus mortetur</em></td>
<td><em>Fac ut animae domumtur paradisi gloria</em></td>
<td><em>Fac ut animae domumtut paradisi gloria</em></td>
<td><em>Quando corpus mortetur</em></td>
<td><em>Amen</em></td>
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<tr>
<th>C minor Quartet G 214 (1788)</th>
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<td>3rd mov. “Andante Flebile”</td>
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<th>Sections</th>
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<td><strong>Motives</strong></td>
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<tr>
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<td>A♭ major</td>
<td>A♭ major</td>
<td>F minor - F major</td>
<td>C minor</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Cadences</strong></td>
<td>suspended</td>
<td>to V grade</td>
<td>perfect</td>
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<td>suspended (vi$^2$)</td>
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finally, in some cases, it is actually the construction of cyclic form that the exact Boccherini’s intent to re-contextualize his own materials.
Examples of it are to be seen in some of his *Guitar Quintets*: in this case, we are strongly tempted to take this operation as the simple result of a "trick of the trade", even more if we take into account the need Boccherini had to comply in a short length of time with the order received from Borja de Riquer, marquis of Benavent.

Nonetheless, it is evident that also these re-utilization cases come as a new "narrative" project, different, but no less conscious, compared to the context of the preexistent materials origin. Maybe the most significant example is to be found in the D Major *Quintet* G. 449, all the movements of which come from previous pages written by Boccherini himself. The construction of this piece is the result of what we could define as a *second level* re-utilization of own materials (*self-borrowing*): between the original contexts of the preexistent pieces and G. 449, we must forcibly take into account the intermediate step of the *Piano Quintet* Op. 56, N° 5, G. 411 (1797, published by Pleyel circa 1800). Let us summarize the modalities of this operation.

All the materials of the *Guitar Quintet* G. 449 come from two previous string pieces by Boccherini, the *Quartettino* G. 237 (Op. 53, No. 2 of 1796, edited in 1798 by Pleyel as Op. 40, No. 3) and the *Quartet* Op. 52, No. 1, G. 232 (also published in 1798 as Op. 39, No. 7). Additionally, the *Quartettino* had been used just before to make up the *Piano Quintet* G. 411, fifth of the last set written for the Prussian King. G. 411 comprises four movements, although the first two are laid out in such a way that they will later make up a compound movement: *Andante*, *Minuetto*, reusing the first part of the *Andante, Allegro a modo de marcia vivace, Tema e Variazioni (Andante Piuttosto Lento)*; the last movement is a cycle of six variations on the theme of the opening *Andantino Pausato* of the *Quartettino* G. 237, Op. 53, No. 2.

Taking these materials, Boccherini builds up in the *Guitar Quintet* a form which could be defined as "in concatenated cycles".

The piece opens with the *Andantino Pausato* from the *Quartettino* Op. 53, No. 2, followed by the *Minuetto*, second and last movement of that same *Quartettino*. In the third place we find the final *Allegro Giusto* of the *Quartet* Op. 52, No. 1 (original in C) transmuted to D minor/Major. Next movement opens again with the initial theme of the *Andantino Pausato*, followed by the variations from Op. 56, No. 5, plus two more variations. Then, an abbreviated return to the *Allegro Giusto* wraps up the piece.
Almost wholly using preexistent materials, Boccherini builds up with great "combinatory" fantasy, a brand new composition, plenty of internal references (cyclic form) and also of external ones (self-borrowing). Let us summarize it all in the following table:

| Table 2 |
|---|---|
| 1. Andantino pausato | Op. 53 No. 2: 1 |
| 3. Allegro giusto | Op. 52 No. 1: 4 |
| 4. Andantino con variazioni - Allegro giusto | Op. 53 No. 2: 1 + 6 variations on the same of Op. 56 No. 5 + 2 new variations; follows... Cfr. 3. |

By proposing the cycle of variations after interrupting the Allegro Giusto, Boccherini presents in the Guitar Quintet the Andantino Pausato from G. 237 under a brand new light: furthermore, by proposing again the same Allegro Giusto, these two movements, originally independent of each other, become inextricably melded. This way, cyclic form and the re-utilization of his own materials act together to build up a concatenation of events where things already heard acquire before the end "a conclusive meaning, their true meaning" (using Georges de Saint-Foix’s brilliant expression).

Based on these few examples, we can already state that the techniques of re-utilization of one’s own materials by Boccherini design a wide scope of possibilities, none of which can be hastily defined as a result of a simple "trick of the trade". Besides the multiple models of cyclic from, the techniques to re-utilize his own materials constitute, no doubt, one of the most interesting and worthy of further study peculiarities of Boccherini’s musical writing.

References: Coli, R.: "I figli dello Stabat Mater" (BIB); Cruz-Uribe, C.: "Unifying Processes in Boccherini’s Stabat Mater" (BIB); Gérard, Y.: Thematic, Bibliographical and Critical Catalogue of the Works of Luigi Boccherini (BIB).
SEXTET: This term can be understood in two ways, as a musical form and as a set of interpreters. We are here interested in the first meaning.

Boccherini wrote three groups of pieces for six instruments, with full guarantee of authenticity: a) flute and string, b) string, and c) wind and string.

Chronologically, the first group includes Six Sextets for flute, two violins, viola and two cellos, Op. 16 (G. 461-466), although they bear an indication for a "basso di ripieno" which can be taken as "ad libitum". The manuscript filed in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France (Ms. 1610) is dated 1773, that is during the initial years at don Luis’ service, while Boccherini lived in Madrid. The first edition is dated 1775 and was released by La Chevardière as Op. 15.

The second group includes Six Sextets for two violins, two violas and two cellos, Opus 23 (G. 454-459), of 1776, while still living in Madrid but just before moving to Arenas de San Pedro upon don Luis’ ostracism. Op. 23 was edited by Sieber in Paris, as Op. 24, circa 1780.

The third group of sextets for wind and string, within Op. 38 (G. 467-472), including an Octet (Op. 38, No. 4, G. 470), are dated 1787. The Sextets are the following:

- Sextet or Nocturne in E flat Major, for violin, viola, bassoon, flute/oboe, horn and double-bass (G. 467), edited by Pleyel, in 1798, as Op. 42, No. 2.

- Sextet or Nocturne in E flat Major (G. 468) - Lost.

- Sextet or Nocturne in E flat Major (G. 469) – Lost.

- Sextet or Nocturne in E flat Major, for two violin, viola, two cellos and horn, (G. 471), edited by Pleyel, in 1798, as Op. 42, No. 1.

- Sextet or Nocturne in B flat Major (G. 472) - Lost.

In a certain way, 1781 first version of Stabat Mater could be taken as a Sextet for voice (soprano), two violins, viola, and two cellos (or cello and double-bass).

SIEBER, Jean-Georges (1738-1822): Bavarian editor who settled in Paris in 1758, first as a horn interpreter in the Académie Royale de Musique and the Concert Spirituel. Since the early 1770s, he moved to editing activities especially centered on German musicians, such as Haydn and Mozart. But later on, he widened his scope and also published several works by Boccherini, sometimes first editions and also second releases. Between 1783 and 1784, he admitted Jean-Jerôme Imbault as a partner, who soon started his own printing business.

Boccherini’s relationship with Sieber is divided in two periods: first, until his return to Madrid, upon don Luis’ death in 1785 and the subsequent service to the future king of Prussia (1786), and the second in 1800 and 1801, upon ending his business relationship with Pleyel.

Sieber published many works by Boccherini but not all of them were authentic nor first editions, being many times second releases after La Chevardière’s or Pleyel’s, or other editors’. Sieber’s first and authentic editions are the following:

1776?: *Six Symphonies*, Op. 21, G. 493-498, as Op. 22;
1778?: *Six String Quartets*, Op. 24, G. 189-194, as Op. 27 (5-4-1-3-6-2);

A son of Jean-Georges, called Georges-Julien (1775-1847), married to Anne-Marie Leduc, daughter of Pierre, came in possession of his father in law’s printing assets and reissued part of the works by Boccherini, starting shortly before this latter’s death.


**SINFONIA CONCERTANTE**: A mixed genre characteristic, although not exclusive, of the classical period, used by most composers of that time. Its origin could be located among the Mannheim School and it usually melds a symphonic structure with a soloists-orchestra dialogue in various forms. It could be taken as a symphonic evolution from *Concerto grosso*, although it would not be easy to determine each of the steps of such evolution, nor would it be safe to state categorically it is either a symphony with concertante traits or a concerto within a symphonic format. It would actually lay in the middle of both views, presenting variable and diffuse profiles.

Cover page of the Sinfonía concertante G. 523, for the marquis of Benavent

Boccherini’s output contains 15 works which can be classified as *sinfonia concertante*, even if some of them are not described as such neither by the composer himself nor by the editors. All except one are listed in the Catalogue transcribed by Boccherini y Calonje, where they appear in the following way (in bold when they belong to an opus/opera with works of a different kind):

1769: OPERA 7ª.- Concerto grande á più strumenti obbligati, composto in Madrid per le Accademie che si fecero nell'teatro chiamato de los Caños del Peral.- Stampata á Parigi á Venier

1782: OPERA 35ª.- Sei sinfonie a più strumenti.- Opera grande.- Inedita.- Parigi, Pleyel.- Boulogne...

1787: OPERA 37ª.- Quattro sinfonie a grande orchestra.- Opera grande.- Parte inedita.- Parigi, Pleyel, Boulogne
OPERA 38ª.- Cinque sestetti e un ottetto con oboe, corno, etc.- Opera piccola.- Parte inedita.- Parigi, Pleyel.- Boulogne...

1788: OPERA 41ª.- Un gioco di minuetti ballabili a grande orchestra.- Una sinfonia a grande orchestra.- Due quintetti per due violini, viola e due violoncelli.- Opera grande.- Parte inedita.- Parigi, Pleyel, Janet et Cotelle.- Boulogne...

1789: OPERA 42ª.- Tre quintetti per due violini, viola e due violoncelli.- Opera grande.- Due quartettini.- Ottetto notturno.- un quintettino.- Una sinfonia a grande orchestra.- Opera grande.- Parte inedita.- Parigi, Pleyel, Janet et Cotelle.- Boulogne...

and aside from Boccherini y Calonje’s Catalogue:

1798/9: C Major Symphony for guitar, two principal violins, two violins ripieni, strings and winds (G. 523)

Besides the special case of the Octet-Symphony Op. 38, No. 4, 12 out of the 15 works have a similar instrumentation as far as the soloists are concerned, two principal violins, and as far as the role they are assigned. These are: the Six Symphonies Op. 35, the Four Symphonies Op. 37 (even though No 4, G. 516, is lost) and the two Symphonies within Op. 41 and Op. 42. In general, the role for the two principal violins here is less concertante than that of the soloist instruments in the other two Symphonies, Op. 7 and G. 523, with scarce actual solo passages or clear contrast dialogue with the tutti, sometimes even yielding this role to other instruments such as the cello, flute or oboe.

Instead, what Boccherini named as Concerto grande á più strumenti obbligati does have a clearly developed concertante character. The two principal violins are required to set up a real "conversation" with the rest of the instruments, making only logical titling the work as a Concerto, even if we can take it as an actual Sinfonia concertante.

On its side, the D Major Symphony G. 523, is a unique work. The manuscript (Rés. 510) kept in the Parisian Bibliothèque de l’Opera reads as follows:

Sinfonia à grande orchestra con due violini Principale, due di Ripieno, oboe, chitarra, viola, corni, Fagotto, violoncello, obligati e Basso da Luigi Boccherini, compositore di camera che fu dal S.S. Inf. D° Luigi Borbon è della Maestà di Guillelmo 2° Rè di Prussia. Per il Sig. Marchese di Benavent.
[Symphony for large orchestra with two principal violins, two of ripieno, oboe, guitar, viola, horns, bassoon, cello, obliged and bass by Luigi Boccherini, who was chamber composer of the S.S. Infant Don Luigi Borbon and of the Majesty of Guillelmo 2nd King of Prussia. For the Sig. re Marchese of Benavente]

It is not an "original" work since it is one of the transcriptions made by Boccherini for the marquis of Benavent, from his own works, including a guitar, as he did with the Guitar and String Quintets.

But the process was more complex in this case: Boccherini first, in 1771, transcribed the 1769 Concerto grande à più strumenti obbligati, Op. 7, into a two cellos String Quintet, Op. 10, No. 4, also in C Major, and in 1798/99, he took this Quintet and transformed it into the Sinfonia concertante, G. 523, again in C Major. So, we are actually in front of a third version, to which a brand new guitar part was added with a clear soloist and concertante role.

As for the Op. 38 piece (the Octet G.499/470), its evident chamber origin shows the typical equilibrium related to the roles assigned to each instrument. We could allow ourselves to state we are before a "Concerto a 8" or else a "Sinfonia Concertante a 8", without orchestra.

(See DISCOGRAPHY.)

References: Boccherini y Calonje, A.: Luis Boccherini... (BIB); Croce, L. della: Le 33 Sinfonie di Boccherini... (BIB); Gérard, Y.: Thematic, Bibliographical and Critical Catalogue of the Works of Luigi Boccherini (BIB).

Related Entries: Benavent, Concerto, Symphony.

**SOLAR-QUINTES:** (See ÁLVAREZ SOLAR-QUINTES).

**SONATA:** Originally, the term was opposed to cantata, instrumental vs. vocal, without clear boundaries. But already in the 18th century, the term sonata neatly described an instrumental piece for one, two or three instruments (in this last case usually alluded to as trio-sonata), or at least not many instruments, within the limits of chamber music.

Also the word sonata qualifying the term "form" means a musical structure (not necessarily as a part of a sonata, as a genre) consisting essentially of the presentation of a theme, its development and its re-exposition.
Boccherini never approached the solo instrument sonata genre, although there are some transcriptions of this kind made by other composers or arrangers.

The corpus of the most important Sonatas by Boccherini is the one dedicated to the cello and bass, in most cases without an specific indication for the bass part. Only four pieces are specified to be played by two cellos; two probably authentic, G. 74 and 75, and two of doubtful authenticity, G. 571 and 572.

It would not be safe to establish a figure to measure the amount of cello sonatas written by Boccherini. During the last decades some such pieces have been discovered: five in the Austrian monastery of Seitenstetten (classed under the acronym A-SEI), only two of which are surely authentic, and one in Barcelona (Spain), the so called Sonata of Barcelona (C minor), discovered in the archive of the parish of Santa Maria del Pí (still under study).

It is generally admitted that Boccherini wrote these cello sonatas for his own use, not intended to be published, and during a period when he was more of an interpreter than a composer, that is until the early 1770s, when he started serving the Infant don Luis as his chamber composer, besides being his chamber cellist. It is worth mentioning that Alfredo Boccherini y Calonje’s catalogue does not contain even a single cello sonata, and that only sonatas G. 13, 6, 5, 10, 1 and 4 were published during Boccherini’s lifetime, by the London printer Robert Bremner, in 1773, probably without Boccherini’s authorization or knowledge.

On his side, Professor Gérard’s Catalogue has a first 19 Cello Sonatas section (some of doubtful authenticity), and a Supplement section including 11 more Cello Sonatas, (again not all guaranteed).

There is also a group of Cello Sonatas "fuori catalogo", such as the one so called L'Imperatrice, in A Major, and others (F minor, E flat Major, etc.).

As for different instrumental distribution Sonatas, the most famous ones are the Six Sonatas for keyboard and violin, Op. 5, of 1768 (G. 25-30), published by Venier one year later. And special mention should be given to the Six Trio-Sonatas G. 143-148, for keyboard, violin and cello. Their origin is somehow foggy and its authenticity was discarded by Picquot but few today doubt they are genuine. The fact that the keyboard parts have clear stylistic similarities to the corresponding parts of Op. 5 Sonatas and that the manuscripts of the string parts are spread over different and distant archives might
indicate that Boccherini would have written first the keyboard scores in Paris, in 1768 and that the strings were added in Arenas, early in 1780, since the first edition dates from 1781, by the Parisian printer Roullède-Chevardière. (See DISCOGRAPHY.)

References: Boccherini y Calonje, A.: Luis Boccherini... (BIB); Gérard, Y.: Thematic, Bibliographical and Critical Catalogue of the Works of Luigi Boccherini (BIB); Le Guin, E.: "Rondo Picaresco: A Capricho upon the Sonata, G 569 in C Major" (BIB); Rasch, R. (ed.): 6 Sonatas for Keyboard and Violin Opus 5 (BIB).

Related Entries: Arenas de San Pedro, Bourbon (Luis), Bremner, Paris, Picquot, Roullède, Sonata of Barcelona, Venier,

SONATA OF BARCELONA: In the course of their research and inventory of works related to Catalan musical archives, Maria-Ester Sala and Josep Maria Vilar found in 1987 a manuscript in the Barcelona parish of Santa Maria del Pi, written on characteristic 18th century cloth paper, containing "Seis Sonatas De Violoncelo y Baso De Diferentes Autores" (Six Sonatas for Cello and Bass by Different Authors), as stated in the front page. In the lower part of this same front page there is a simple name: "Jaime" (the copyist maybe?).

![Front page of the partition book with the so-called Sonata de Barcelona (Parish Archive of Santa Maria del Pi, Barcelona, Spain)](image)

The manuscript was then filed (today under the shelf-mark M. 1530) and in a certain way forgotten. But years later the viola de gambist Sergi Casademunt rediscovered it and handed a copy to his colleague Carlos José Gosálvez, a dilettante cellist, who
verified the 6th Sonata of the manuscript was a version of Boccherini’s E flat Major *Cello Sonata*, G. 10. So, he analyzed the rest of the pieces and appreciated in the *Sonata* number 4, in C minor great similarities with Boccherinian style. Its three movements bear the following indications:

I  - Andantino  
II  - Adagio  
III - Allegretto

Gosálvez shared his view with other cellist members of the **Asociación Luigi Boccherini** (Elisabeth Le Guin, Josep Bassal, Iagoba Fanlo) finding that all considered the C Minor *Sonata* could be safely be attributed to the Luccan composer, so they opted to name the piece as *Sonata of Barcelona*.

On May 28, 2004, when commemorating the 199th anniversary of Boccherini’s death, the **Asociación Luigi Boccherini** (ALB) had its official public presentation in the Auditorium of Caja Madrid, and after some parliaments, the session was closed premiering the *Sonata of Barcelona*, interpreted by Elisabeth Le Guin and Josep Bassal, who had previously recorded it in order to broadcast it that very same evening through Radio Clásica of Radio Nacional de España.

From then on, ALB has done its best to make this piece known. It has been played several more times, especially during the Madrid Congress "Luigi Boccherini y la música de su tiempo" (Luigi Boccherini and the music of his time), held on November 17-19, 2005, interpreted by Iagoba Fanlo and Josep Bassal. There are also two CDs containing the *Sonata of Barcelona* (See **DISCOGRAPHY**). Additionally, the ALB has published a Boccherini dossier in the *Revista de Musicología*, containing five articles and a document note, signed by C. J. Gosálvez, about the *Sonata of Barcelona*, including a facsimile image of it, but a full modern edition has been released in 2007, within the *Tempo de Minuetto* collection.

**References**: Boccherini, L. (Attrib.): *Sonata of Barcelona* (BIB); Gosálvez, C. J.: "¿Una nueva sonata para cello de Boccherini?" (BIB).

**Related Entries**: Asociación Luigi Boccherini, Violoncello, Sonata, *Tempo de Minuetto*. 
**Spain**: Southwest European country and empire comprising during the 18th century a mosaic of reigns in the Hispanic Peninsula and Europe, with colonial territories in America, Africa and Far East. For long ruled by an Austrian lineage hereditary monarchy, its last member which lacked heirs yielded power to the French Bourbon dynasty.

When Boccherini reached the Hispanic Kingdom in the spring of 1768, the throne was in possession of Charles III, son of the first Spanish Bourbon, Philip V (1683-1746) and his second spouse, Isabella Farnesio (1692-1766). Besides Philip V, two other sons had occupied the throne, Luis I (in 1724, only for 8 months before he died and his father retrieved power), and Ferdinand VI, who reigned between 1746 and 1759.

The aftermath of the so called *Motines de Esquilache* (Esquilache Mutinies, 1766) were still perceivable in 1768. The inquiry and subsequent repression (1767) ended up with some death sentences and numerous arrests and ostracism, maybe the most significant that of marquis de la Ensenada and the expulsion of the whole Compañía de Jesús (Jesuits). Social structure was deeply shaken, its educational network highly damaged and the throne tumbling down towards despotism half in anger and half in fear. Legislation of the period shows a clear trend to a tight control of foreigners, which may have influenced immigrants such as Boccherini.

Boccherini stayed in Spain for the rest of his life. He married twice in Spain and in Spain raised his family. All his descendants have been born and have lived in Spain ever since, mainly in Madrid.

**References**: García Cárcel, Ricardo (Coord.): *Historia de España. Siglo XVIII* (BIB).

**Related Entries**: Arcos, Boccherini (family), Charles III, Charles IV, Genealogy.

**Spoehr, Ludwig** (1784-1859): Matching Mendelssohn’s despising comment towards Boccherini and showing a short minded view on music, Spohr sentenced the Luccan musician not to belong to the realm of true composers. He used a self condemning phrase reported by most of Boccherini’s biographers. When he attended an academy at Pierre Baillot’s house and upon listening to his guest and other string players perform a Boccherinian quintet he commented "This does not deserve being considered music".

It is most likely that romantic views (especially in German zones) had been partly responsible for Boccherinian oblivion during more than a century and a half. Fortunately,
these sort of assessments are today only to be found among old "perukes". (See the entry MENDELSSOHN.)

Ludwig Spohr (Period Engraving Print)

Related Entries: Baillot, Mendelssohn.

SPOHRER [M.]: One of the many middlemen working on behalf of Pleyel and Boccherini. "M. Spohrer" is mentioned in Pierre Govey’s letter sent to Pleyel, dated in Madrid on October 10, 1796. According to this letter’s initial lines, Spohrer carried a letter from Pleyel to Govey, dated September 26, and Govey is responding to it, saying he is ready to comply the editor’s request to purchase 213 pieces of music by Boccherini, at a price of 15 doubloons per "opera grande" and 10 per "opera piccola".

Never again will M. Spohrer be mentioned in the correspondence.

References: Pierre Govey Letter to Pleyel: Madrid, October 10, 1796; Croce, L. della: Il divino Boccherini (Epistolary) (BIB); Rothschild, G. de: Luigi Boccherini... (BIB).

Related Entries: Govey, Letters, Opera piccola, Pleyel.
**STABAT MATER (G. 532):** This a singular work in Boccherini’s Catalogue. He wrote it by don Luis’ request, probably for the 1781 Christmas celebrations while the Infant’s Court dwelled in Arenas de San Pedro. But Boccherini would return to this work around 1800, introducing some changes and additions.

The first version was never published and was scored for a soprano voice (maybe his own spouse, Clementina Pelliccia), and string quintet (two violins, viola, cello and double-bass or a second cello). A brief instrumental introduction gives pass to 11 versicles taken from the 20 which make up the sacred text *Stabat Mater Dolorosa* by Iacopone da Todi (c.1228-1306). The second version is dated in 1801 according to Boccherini y Calonje’s Catalogue, although extant documents indicate the new score was ready by 1800. In it, Boccherini introduced two more voices, contralto and tenor, noting he did so "per evitare the monotonia di una sola voce, per la quale fu scritto, e la troppa fatica a quest’ unica parte cantante" (to avoid the monotony of a single voice, for which it was written, an the excessive effort for this unique singer part). He also added a sort of overture by simply taking the initial *Allegro assai* from F Major Symphony, Op. 35, no. 4, of 1782 (G. 512). Some tempo changes in various versicles complete this second version, Op. 61, G. 532, the edition of which in 1801 was printed by the Neapolitan firm Amiconi. Two years later it would be published by Sieber.
The score of the *Stabat Mater* in custody by the Bibliothèque Nationale de France (D-1188) bears a manuscript phrase which reads "Regalato da me Luigi Boccherini alla stimabile Madama Gail" (Given by me Luigi Boccherini as a present to the esteemed Madama Gail), with the words added in a different handwriting "Madrid, 25 février 1803" (Madrid, February 25, 1803), a lead allowing us to fix when the French pianist, composer and singer visited Boccherini.

**References**: Boccherini y Calonje, A.: *Luis Boccherini*... (BIB); Bonaccorsi, A.: "Boccherini e il suo Stabat Mater" (BIB); Coli, R.: "I figli dello Stabat Mater" (BIB); Cruz-UrIBE, C.: "Unifying Processes in Boccherini’s *Stabat Mater*" (BIB); Fernández de la Cuesta, I.: "El *Stabat Mater* de Boccherini y su obra religiosa" (BIB); Gérard, Y.: *Thematic, Bibliographical and Critical Catalogue of the Works of Luigi Boccherini* (BIB); Salvetti, G.: "Le due versioni dello «Stabat Mater» di Boccherini" (BIB). (See **DISCOGRAPHY**

**Related Entries**: Arenas de San Pedro, Bourbon (Luis), Gail, Sieber.

**STAINER**: A term representing a family of luthiers and also their products, violins, violas, cellos...

The Austrian Jacob Stainer (1621-1683) was a string instruments builder, pupil of the Cremonese Amati lineage. He created his own school and the instruments he manufactured were highly appreciated, especially for their sweet and smooth sound.

On April 26, 1787, Maria Pilar Joaquina Porreti signed at notary Antonio Martinez Llorente’s office a Capital deed recognizing the goods Boccherini had brought to the matrimony. In this deed, the following entries can be seen, among many others:

```
Item un Violon de Estayner con su Caja en mil y quinientos Reales ---, 1@500...
Item un Violon Chico con su Caja en doscientos Reales -------------,  @200...
Item un Violin con su Caja en Zinquenta reales -----------------,  @050...
```

```
[Item a Cello by Estayner with its Case in fifteen hundred Reales -----, 1@500...,  
Item an small cello with its Case in two hundred Reales -------------,  @200...,  
Item a Violin with its Case in Fifty reales -----------------------,  @050...]
```
So, Boccherini declares he owned in 1787 an Stainer cello valued in 1,500 reales, plus an small cello (piccolo?), valued in 200 reales, plus a violin valued in 50 reales. Nothing allows us to fathom he owned an Stradivarius cello, as has been traditionally stated. (1 real would equal 3 euros or 3.6 US dollars.)


Related Entries: Capital Deed, Martinez Llorente, Porreti (Maria Pilar Joaquina), Violoncello, Violoncello Piccolo.

SUBIRÁ (SUBIRÀ), José (Josep) (1882-1980): Catalan musicologist born in Barcelona but residing in central Spain Ciudad Real since he was a child, later to move to Madrid. He studied music in the Conservatory and law at the University.

His musicological and history of music works are abundant and varied, covering almost all fields.

He dedicated to Boccherini some pages in two general articles, lacking any significant value as far as the Luccan composer is concerned, except the fact that they were released in a time when Boccherini was almost forgotten in Spain. In one of those two articles, Boccherini shares Subirá’s attention with Gaetano Brunetti, and in the other, a simple list of death registers in the Madrilenean parish of San Martín, close to the street of Madera Alta, is presented, without any further analysis, where several musicians and their families, such as Boccherini’s, are mentioned.


Related Entries: Brunetti (Gaetano), Madera Alta, San Martín.

SYMPHONY: Although of a remote origin, the symphony is a kind of orchestral form which reached its "final structure" during the 1700s. The term was previously used to describe different genres, almost always instrumental in spite of some examples known as vocal symphonies.

Symphony and overture (of opera, or oratorio, or cantata) were almost synonyms, in particular in Italian territories, but the symphony would little by little reach an
independent status being used as introduction or interlude to finally become a genre by itself. Soon it would be regulated by its own structural canons established by composers such as Giovanni Battista Sammartini, Franz Josef Haydn, Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach (1714-1788), Johann Christian Bach (1735-1782), Johann Stamitz (1717-1757), Franz Xaver Richter (1709-1789), Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart (1756-1791), etc.

While the so called simfonia italiana (Italian symphony), very similar to the opera overture, was normally structured in three movements, one slow between two fast, the Mannheim and Vienna schools’ symphonies used to begin with a moderate-fast sonata form movement adding to the ternary simfonia italiana scheme a third eclectic tempo fragment (normally a Minuet, later to become an Scherzo), so leaving the Finale as the closing fourth movement, in a fast and emphatic wrap up. (Obviously, this program is not absolutely rigid; it admits many an exception, more or less frequent, sometimes interchanging places between the second and the third movements, the slow movement and the minuet.)

Boccherini wrote more than thirty symphonies, both of the Italian style and with four part structure. Several of those symphonies (edited as such) were written as cantata or oratorio overtures, as is the case of the D Major Symphony (G. 490), which was previously used as overture for the cantata La Confederazione dei Sabini con Roma (G. 543) and for the oratorio Il Giuseppe riconosciuto (G. 538), both of 1765.

Boccherini’s catalogue has four sets of symphonies grouped in six or four pieces:

- Op. 12, of 1771, G. 503-508, published by La Chevardière, as Op. 16;
- Op. 35, of 1782, G. 509-514, unpublished in Boccherini’s lifetime;
- Op. 37, of 1786-87, G. 515-518, the first published by Pleyel, the second lost and the last two unpublished in Boccherini’s lifetime.

Some other symphonies belong to miscellaneous opus (always according to Boccherini y Calonje’s Catalogue), or lack an opus number:

- No Op No., G. 500, no guaranteed authenticity, published by Grangé in 1767;
- No Op No., G. 523, Symphony concertante for guitar..., unpublished in Boccherini’s lifetime, probably of 1798, ordered by the marquis of Benavent.
- Op. 38, No. 4, of 1787, G. 499, actually the Octet G. 470;
- Op. 41, No. 2, of 1788, G. 519, unpublished in Boccherini’s lifetime;
- Op. 42, No. 6, of 1789, G. 520, unpublished in Boccherini’s lifetime;
- Op. 43, No. 6, of 1790, G. 521, published by Pleyel in 1798;

References: Boccherini y Calonje, A.: *Luis Boccherini...* (BIB); Croce, L. della: *Le 33 Sinfonie di Boccherini...* (BIB); Gérard, Y.: *Thematic, Bibliographical and Critical Catalogue of the Works of Luigi Boccherini* (BIB); Marco, T.: "Boccherini y el paradigma haydiano de la sinfonía clásica" (BIB).

Related Entries: Benavent, Boccherini y Calonje, Chevardière, Lost Works, Octet, Pleyel, Sieber; Sinfonia Concertante.
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**TALAVERA DE LA REINA (Spain):** Municipality of Toledo’s demarcation, famous since the 16th century for a flourishing luxury and artisan tiles and pottery manufacturing.

When the Infant don Luis and his court, and maybe Boccherini too, were looking for a place to live after being sent to ostracism by the King Charles III, Talavera was one of the venues the Infant took into consideration, but he later discarded it because it was too busy and noisy, even though the surroundings had good hunting fields, an important quality don Luis was looking for. At last, he would choose Arenas de San Pedro.

**Related Entries:** Arenas de San Pedro, Bourbon (Luis), Charles III, Toledo.

**TASCHE, festa delle:** Bag Feast would be the literal translation of this term, actually a "Balloting Feast". These were the celebrations which took place in Lucca during the selection process of political posts by means of a traditional random balloting system used in several Ancient Regime kingdoms where the names of candidates were introduced in a bag (tasca) and extracted by "an innocent child’s hand". Candidate eligibility was extremely restricted to high social classes and the ones selected by this random system were to become magistrates of the Luccan Republic for a two months period. The selection process was held every two years, so Magistrates were selected to cover a 24 months period until the following Festa.

This political event was meant to reinforce the established Republican system but had also a popular and cultural entertainment role which included poetry declamation, theater performances and musical interpretations. Artists requested to present their works felt highly honored, aware of the important role they had been called to play.

According to professor Gabriella Biagi Ravenni, there exist documented testimonies of musical performances during the "Feste delle Tasche" between 1636 and 1797, although the event is rooted back to the 1300s.

In 1765, when he was only 22 years old, Boccherini was requested to write the music for a patriotic text by Pier Angelo Trenta, based on Tito Livio’s *Rape of the Sabines*. Boccherini’s work on Trenta was an oratorio titled *La Confederazione dei Sabini*
con Roma (G. 543), and was programmed to be premiered the very first day of that year’s "Festa delle Tasche".


Related Entries: Lucca, Oratorio.

TÉLLEZ DE GIRÓN: See BENAVENTE-OSUNA.

TEMPO DE MINUETTO: This tempo term, tightly although not exclusively linked to the classical period, has been selected as generic title for a series of books, in Spanish languages, the Asociación Luigi Boccherini (ALB) has started to publish aiming to expand the knowledge of music. This project matches one of the goals established in Article 2 of ALB’s Statutes:

research and expansion of music, in all fronts and particularly though not exclusively, that of composer Luigi Boccherini and his contemporaries, promoting whatever related activity, such as concerts, recitals, CD, magnetic and other kinds of recordings, lectures, seminars, publications, periodical or not, studies, creation of museums, organizing exhibitions, awards, contests, etc.

Tempo de Minuetto Series has various lines: Classics, Monographs, Documents, Compilations, Partitions, etc., aiming at covering Classical Mediterranean music from different points of view: retrieving out-of-market works, promoting new studies, presenting and analyzing relevant documents, grouping miscellaneous research efforts, editing partitions, etc.

Towards this goal, the first Tempo de Minuetto volume has been a Spanish version of the pioneer Boccherinian biography by Louis Picquot, published in French in 1851, today impossible to find except in some public libraries. The full edition of the so called Sonata of Barcelona has been published in 2007, and the Spanish version of this Dictionary is Tempo de Minuetto’s volume number 3..

Tempo de Minuetto targets at covering the Spanish reader’s environment to make available the most relevant materials for those interested in classical music in general and Boccherini in particular.

References: Picquot, L.: Noticia de la vida y obra de Luigi Boccherini (BIB), Boccherini, L. (Atrib.): Sonata de Barcelona (BIB).
TESTAMENT: See WILL.

TESTIMONY: A notarial deed defined as "authorized instrument by a notary where a document or part of a document is transcribed". Consequently, a document such as a testimony cannot replace a will nor any other deed, but only facilitate the contents (complete or in part) of another deed.

This essential difference is closely related to one of the most important notarial documents signed by Boccherini: his 1799 will.

On June 5, 1805, exactly one week after Boccherini’s death (May 28), his son Josef Mariano called at his customary notarial office, that of Pantaleón Zabala, to exhibit his father’s last will, signed on September 6, 1799, at notary Antonio Martinez Llorente’s office. Josef Mariano’s call was intended to execute his father’s will which only affected him and his brother Luis Marcos, since the rest of the family had already passed away.

Notary Zabala recognized Josef Mariano’s identity and filiation (they knew each other perfectly well because Josef Mariano had signed many documents before Zabala on behalf of his employer the Countess de la Oliba), and extended a testimony where the essential testamentary clauses of Luigi Boccherini’s 1799 will were transcribed, but not the whole document. In fact, the testimony is a much shorter document than the original will and it does not contain most of the most important biographical details this last one offers.

Carrying this testimony and his father’s death register, Josef Mariano and his brother Luis Marcos called at the Royal Palace to collect their father’s pension corresponding to the 28 days of May he had lived, as documented in the Royal Palace General Archive (Archivo General del Palacio Real). We do not know whether both brothers proceeded to inventory their father’s goods in a post-mortem liquidation list.

During the 1940s, Nicolás Álvarez-Solar Quintes was unable, not only to find the real 1799 will, but also to establish the difference between a will and a testimony, so taking Zabala’s testimony as if it were the real will. This has generated a long term biographical confusion only solved during the early 2000s, thanks to a thorough document scanning performed by Spanish researchers.

Related Entries: Ávarez Solar-Quintes, Boccherini (Luis Marcos, Josef Mariano), Martinez Llorente, Payrolls, Will, Zabala.

THOMAS, Ignacio and Domingo (architects): Pupils of Ventura Rodriguez, brothers

Thomas accepted in the early 1780s the responsibility to build the so called Palacio de La Mosquera (La Mosquera palace), in Arenas de San Pedro, where the Infant don Luis planned to live during his ostracism. Part of the project was designed by Rodriguez himself, but the bulk of the works were in the hands of Ignacio and Domingo Thomas. The Palace was never completely built due to premature death of don Luis’, during the summer of 1785.

References: Tejero Robledo, E.: La villa de Arenas en el siglo XVIII. El tiempo del infante don Luis... (BIB); Tejero Robledo, E.: Arenas de San Pedro y el valle del Tiétar... (BIB).

Related Entries: Arenas de San Pedro, Bourbon (Luis), Mosquera, Rodriguez (Ventura).

THUMB POSITION: {BY IAGOBA FANLO} Also called "capotasto". It refers to the use of the left hand thumb over the fingerboard, usually covering two strings, in cello playing. By alternating strings, this technique allows, avoiding position changes or hand extensions, to extend the range by an octave or more in all keys, as in the violin. The thumb position increases notably the expressive potential of the cello.

It was in the works of Luigi Boccherini, especially in his sonatas and concertos, that the use of this technique virtually over the entire length of the fingerboard, "touche", "tasto" or "tastiera", became extensive and indispensable. Boccherini also introduced the use of the little finger of the left hand in this position, which was unusual at that time.

Michel Corrette (1707-1795) mentioned this playing technique in his 1741 tutorial, representing it by the sign "a" (à vide, on void) or "pouce" (thumb). In 1772, Henri-Noël Lepin suggested in his sonatas a peculiar notation combining the letters M, B and M. A few years later, around 1775, Pierre Azaïs (1741-1796) proposed the letter "b" as notation to indicate the use of the thumb. In 1780, Jean Benjamin de Laborde (1734-1794)
indicated it by "p". And around 1797, Jean Marie Raoul (1766-1837) -- and also Jean Louis Duport (1749-1819) in his very famous 1806 tutorial -- came closer to a definitive notation system by using the sign "o". Jean-Baptiste Bréval (1753-1823), in his 1804 tutorial, would add a peculiar symbol: "se".

Symbol 1 is the commonly used symbol for the "thumb position", and Symbol 2 is Tortelier’s symbol for the thumb only on the A string.

Nevertheless, the first example of our thumb position notation as we know it today, using the Symbol 1 of the illustration, is likely to be the one contained in the 1805 edition, printed in Leipzig, of the tutorial by Pierre Baillot (1771-1842), Nicholas Levasseur (1764-1823), Charles Simon Catel (1773-1830) and Charles Baudiot (1773-1849).

Paul Tortelier (1914-1990), in his famous 1975 tutorial, added a series of interesting and very specific thumb notations as Symbol 2 in the illustration (thumb only on the A string).

Incipit of Boccherinis’s C Major cello sonata, G. 17 showing three times the "thumb position" symbol
Also today the indication "loco" often points to the need to hold this position avoiding a position change in the left hand.


**Related Entries**: Baillot, Duport, Violoncello.

"**TIRANNA, La**" (Quartet Op. 44, No. 4, G. 223): This is a G Major *String Quartet* written during the summer of 1792 and classified by Boccherini as "opera piccola" (*Quartettino*), never published in his lifetime, like most of the works dating during the period he served Friederich Wilhelm II. This service condition is specified in the manuscript filed in the Parisian Bibliothèque de la Opera (Rés. 507).

The work is divided in the following two movements:

I - *Presto*  
II - *Tempo di Minuetto - Trio*

It has been argued that the reason why Boccherini named this *Quartet* "La Tiranna" admits the two following explanations, although the first one seems far less plausible than the second one.

By the time Boccherini wrote this work, there was a famous actress and singer succeeding on the Madrilenean stages called María del Rosario Fernández, wedded to Francisco Castellanos, also an actor, and both were nicknamed as El Tirano and La Tirana (the term Tirano, which means actually Tyrant, does not refer in this case to any political ruling practice, but rather to a seducing tyranny, for chroniclers say the couple was enormously attractive).

Did Boccherini intend to homage María del Rosario? It is possible, but his scarce links with the kind of show she performed makes the second explanation much more credible.

There was a dance, called the Tirana, so popular in Madrid that it became a serious competitor of the Seguidilla. If Boccherini was to use the Seguidilla, in 1795, to pervade
with its rhythm the Minueto of his Quintettino Op. 50, No. 5 (G. 374), it is only logical that he would also use the Tirana just a few years earlier, in the mood of his permanent habit of filtering popular music into his works, as he did with the Fandango or with the Folía. This way, the Minueto closing Op. 44, No. 4 presents the danceable tune of the Tirana, slow and rhythmical, in that peculiar Boccherinian mixture of sublime and popular.

Maria Rosario Fernandez "La Tirana" (by Francisco de Goya, Private Collection)

References: Gérard, Y.: Thematic, Bibliographical and Critical Catalogue of the Works of Luigi Boccherini (BIB); Tortella, J.: "La música descriptiva o argumental en el catálogo de Luigi Boccherini" (BIB).

Related Entries: Alla turca, Fandango, Folía, Opera piccola, Quarteto, Seguidilla.

TOLEDO (Spain): City located inside a river Tajo meander in the central part of Iberian Peninsula where three cultures were to converge: Christian, Islam and Jewish. Toledo was the capital of Hispanic Kingdom until the 16th century when it started to yield power and predicament in favor of Madrid. It nevertheless continued to be the Cardinal and Archbishpric Siege.
Luis Marcos Boccherini would receive his priesthood ordinance in Toledo in 1794.

**References**: ADT: Luis Marcos Boccherini’s Ordinance Deed: file 1358, 1794.

**Related Entries**: Boccherini (Luis Marcos).

**TOLEDO, Manuel (notary)**: (On notarial duties and activities, see the entry MARTINEZ LLORENTE.)

The only time the Boccherinis called to notary Toledo’s office was on November 12, 1789 when Luigi signed his Dowry Letter in favor of his second espouse, Maria Pilar Joaquina Porreti. The neat way Toledo wrote Porreti’s inventory could be the reason why the couple went to a different than customary notarial office.


**Related Entries**: Dowry Letter, Porreti (Maria Pilar Joaquina).

**TORRIJOS (Spain)**: A town west of Madrid, slightly to the north of a virtual line linking Toledo and Talavera de la Reina.

Don Luis looked for a place to live in Torrijos upon his 1776 ostracism decreed by King Charles III, but he finally discarded this option.

It is possible that Boccherini were with don Luis while considering Torrijos as a place to live.

**Related entries**: Bourbon (Luis), Charles III, Talavera de la Reina, Toledo.

**TRAPASSI, Pietro**: See METASTASIO.

**TRIO**: The term can be understood in three ways: as a musical form, as a set of interpreters and as the central section of a *Minuet*. We shall only consider here the first meaning of the term Trio.

Boccherini wrote many trios, most of them for string in various instrumental combinations. His trio output with guaranteed or probable authenticity is the following:

- Trios for two violins and cello:
  - Op. 1, of 1760, G. 77-82, published by Bailleux, as Op. 2;
- Op. 4, of 1766, G. 83-88, published by Venier;
- Op. 6, of 1769, G. 89-94, published by Venier, as Op. 9;
- Op. 34, of 1781, G. 101-106, published by Naderman, as Op. 35;
- Op. 54, of 1796, G. 113-118, 2nd and 3rd remained unpublished during Boccherini’s lifetime, the rest was published by Pleyel as Op. 44 (6-1-3-2);
- No Op. number, G. 125-130, published by the Bureau D’Abonnement Musical, as Op. 7;

Trios for violin, viola and cello:
- Op. 14, of 1772, G. 95-100, published by The Chevardière;

Trios for keyboard, violin and cello:
- No Op. number, G. 143-148 (see under entry SONATA).


TUBERCULOSIS: Illness produced by Koch’s bacillus or bacteria, named after its 1882 discoverer. This is a highly contagious chronic decease normally located in the lungs and provoking characteristic compulsory cough and blood tainted sputum.

No remedy was known for this endemic illness during the 18th century, affecting large sectors of population.

Several leads might suggest that Boccherini suffered tuberculosis, being it the most probable cause of his death. He alludes in his letters to some violent cough attacks and also the so-called "Breslau Letter" contains references to those cough attacks (see the entry BRESLAU). But the soundest proof he might have suffered this illness would come from the historical autopsy performed after exhuming his remains in 1994 from the 1927 burial in the Luccan church of San Francesco. (See the entry HISTORICAL AUTOPSY.)

Paleopathologists Ciranni, Ciardi and Fornaciari spotted widely pervaded calcifications in the soft parts of the breast cavity remains which "suggeriscono la
presenza di tuberculosi pulmonare, in atto o pregressa" (indicate the presence of active or past lung tuberculosis).


**TUSCANY QUARTET**: This is how the group integrated by violinists Pietro Nardini, Filippo Manfredi y Giuseppe Cambini (the latter playing the viola) and Luigi Boccherini, at the cello, is usually known.

It was created by late 1766 and broke up by mid 1767, after touring the northwest region of Italic Peninsula, Genoa, Pisa, Livorno, Milan..., and maybe also Venice and Rome. Their repertoire probably included Boccherini’s quartets, divertimenti a quartet by Haydn, and other such pieces.

While there is just one picture representing the Tuscany Quartet, with an unknown accompanying harpsichordist, by Pietro Antonio Falca “Pietro Longhi” and probably dated 1767 (Private Turinois collection; see it under LONGHI), several documents help us to follow this peculiar instrumental group.

Among those documents, there are various written authorizations by the Commune di Lucca allowing Filippo Manfredi to embark in the Tuscany Quartet tournées, and also some letters of recommendation addressed to different Genoa relevant personages to welcome Manfredi and Boccherini. In fact, Manfredi knew perfectly well the musical environments of Genoa, for he had often visited this town to play his violin, especially during the first half of the 1760s. We have also Cambini’s report of the Tuscany Quartet activities contained in his violin essay, published in Paris in 1803, where he expresses his pleasant remembrances about the period he toured northwestern zone of Italic Peninsula with Nardini, Manfredi and Boccherini.

By mid 1767, Manfredi and Boccherini alone headed westward to visit Paris.


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**UCCELLIERA, Quintet Op. 11, No. 6, G. 276:** With the Italian title, which means *The Aviary* or *The Bird Cage*, this D Major two cellos *String Quintet*, of 1771, is the most representative program music piece in Boccherini’s Catalogue. Two of its movements, the *Adagio assai - Allegro giusto* (which reappears, in cyclic form, indicated as *Tempo primo*, to wrap up the piece), and the *Allegro* subtitled *I pastori e li cacciatori*, (the shepherds and the hunters) describe unequivocally Infant don Luis’ two main hobbies. No doubt, Boccherini, who had entered his service one year earlier, wanted to homage his mentor by means of this musical descriptive portrait of bird breeding and collecting (both stuffed and alive) and hunting, two very dear activities of don Luis.

The *Quintet* is structured as follows:

1. *Adagio assai - Allegro giusto*
2. *Allegro* (*I pastori e li cacciatori)*
3. *Tempo di minuetto*
4. *Tempo primo*

So, exception made of the eclectic third movement, we are before a pictorial triptych of Birds-Hunt-Birds, with a brief shepherd-like introduction, in the second "picture", giving pass to the hunting scene.

Boccherini evokes the presence of birds by imitating their trills, with smooth *moderato* interludes suggesting visitors walking from one bird cage to another. As for the shepherd scene in *Pastorale* mood which opens the second movement, it describes a placid rest abruptly interrupted by hunting horns, horse riding and dogs, soon allowing for a return to *Pastorale* calm.

The last movement retrieves the presence of birds, their trills and the pleasant walk from cage to cage. The same trills seam perceptible in the *Grave* of the *String Quartet* Op. 32, No. 1 (G. 201), and in the *Allegro vivace assai* as well.

**References:** Gérard, Y.: *Thematic, Bibliographical and Critical Catalogue of the Works of Luigi Boccherini* (BIB); Tortella, J.: “La música descriptiva o argumental en el catálogo de Luigi Boccherini” (BIB).

**Related Entries:** Boadilla, Bourbon (Luis), Cyclic Form, Quintet.
VALENCIA (Spain): Capital of the middle-eastern zone of Iberian Peninsula and one of the most important Spanish cities.

Boccherini stayed in Valencia for a short time upon his arrival in Spain. He was enrolled in the Compañía de los Reales Sitios (Royal Sites Company), conducted by Luigi Marescalchi, when the troupe toured this zone during the summer and autumn of 1768.

Giacomo Casanova describes a supper in Valencia where the attendees were the Pelliccia sisters, Clementina and Teresa, Teresa’s husband, Clementina’s fiancé (obviously Boccherini, even if he does not mention his name), and Casanova, himself.

Next autumn, Manfredi also joined Marescalchi’s Company and he interpreted an aria for the second act of Francesco de Majo’s opera Motezuma.

(For further details on Boccherini’s stay in Valencia, see the entry CASANOVA.)


Related Entries: Casanova, Compañía de los Reales Sitios, Majo, Manfredi, Marescalchi, Pelliccia (Clementina, Teresa).

VALLABRIGA Y ROZAS, Teresa (1759-1820): Being still very young, only 17, this Aragonese lady was directed to marry the 50 year old don Luis of Bourbon.

By mid April, 1776, don Luis asked the king (his brother) permission to marry and, although he received a positive response, he was also required to marry someone from a lower social class (a "persona desigual" or "unequal person"), that is, someone without any royal lineage relationship, so he had to choose from a list of three candidates: a) one of the Duke of El Parque’s daughters, b) one of the Marquis of Camporreal’s granddaughters, and c) Teresa Vallabriga, daughter of José Ignacio de Vallabriga, captain of Aragón Voluntaries, and of the Countess de Torrescas, a nobility title later inherited by one of Teresa’s brothers, called Luis.

After some deliberations within the royal Court, Teresa Vallabriga’s social level was taken as the best, since she had an aristocratic origin but would not inherit any nobility title, so she would comply with the "unequal" requirement in order for the marriage to be morganatic, but at the same time she was not of plebeian condition.
Although Teresa never accepted voluntarily this wedding deal, for she did not want to marry a man more than thirty years older than her, the ceremony took place by proxy in Olias del Rey on June 27, 1776, some 8 miles north of Toledo. From this date on, King Charles III enforced on his brother Luis the Royal Pragmatic dated March 23 of the same year, dedicated to unequal marriages, where the relevant fragment of the 12th article reads the following:

*ha de quedar reservado á mi Real Persona, y á los Reyes mis sucesores el poderlos conceder (···), y en su virtud la muger, ó el marido, que cause la notable desigualdad, quedará privado de los Títulos, honores, y prerrogativas, que le conceden las leyes de estos reynos, ni sucederán los descendientes de este matrimonio en las reales dignidades, honores, vínculos ó bienes dimanados de la Corona.*

[it must be limited to my Royal Person, and to that of the Kings my successors the capacity to allow them (unequal marriages) (···), and consequently the bride, or the husband, who would cause clear inequality, will be deprived of any Titles, honors, and prerogatives, yielded by the laws of this kingdom, nor will their descendants of the matrimony inherit the royal dignities, honors, links or goods emanated from the Crown.]

This meant don Luis would loose any right he had had until then as a member of the royal family and was forced to live away from Madrid. So, for the rest of the year, the
couple concentrated on looking for a place to dwell, them and their court of servants (or a part of it, maybe with Boccherini and his wife and children. After visiting several municipalities such as Cadalso de los Vidrios, Velada, Torrijos, or Talavera de la Reina, the Infant decided to settle in Arenas de San Pedro, where he lived with his young spouse, Teresa Vallabriga, until he died on August 7, 1785.

Ever since the wedding, the couple endured more bad than good times, lights and shadows. On the bright side, four children were born, but one died being a baby. On the dark side, there were always rumors that Teresa Vallabriga had a love affair with her chamber valet, Francisco del Campo. This gave place to scandalous and bitter tensions so grave that Vallabriga was even thought to have poisoned her husband.

Upon the Infant’s death, his widower was requested to remain in Arenas for a whole year, until she was finally allowed to move to Velada, but was forced to leave her children under a tutor’s responsibility. At last, in 1792, she obtained royal authorization from the new King, Charles IV, to return to Zaragoza, where she would die.

References: Junquera y Mato, Juan José, et. al.: Goya y el Infante Don Luis de Borbón. Homenaje a la "Infanta" Doña María Teresa de Vallabriga. Patio de la Infanta, Zaragoza, 1996.

Related Entries: Arenas de San Pedro, Bourbon (Luis), Cadalso de los Vidrios, Campo, Charles III, Charles IV, Olías del Rey, Talavera de la Reina, Toledo, Torrijos, Velada.

VANNUCCI, Domenico Francesco (1718-1775): Composer, cellist, chapel master and friar at San Martino Cathedral of Lucca, where he used to give lessons in its seminar.

San Martino Cathedral (Lucca, Italy) where Vannucci was chapel master
Most Boccherini studies and chronicles report that around 1752, when Giovanni Gastone and Luigi Boccherini were ten and nine years old, they were admitted to Vannucci’s lessons, upon their father’s request, Leopoldo Boccherini.

Nonetheless, it seems the friar soon found out both boys were especially able for music so he told their father they had already learned all he could teach them.

**References:** Biagi Ravenni, G.: "«Molti in Lucca si applicavano alla professione della musica»..." (BIB); Rothschild, G. de: Luigi Boccherini... (BIB).

**Related entries:** Boccherini (Leopoldo and Giovanni Gastone), Lucca.

**VAZQUEZ, Francisco:** Employed by the infant don Luis as head of his court’s accounting office, or "contaduría general", in Arenas de San Pedro, Vazquez reported to Miguel Aristia, and is listed in 1785 don Luis’ payroll as earning 36,000 reales per year (some 9,000 euros or almost 11,000 US Dollars per month). He was responsible for 15 other employees in his office, all earning a total amount of 769,727 copper reales, as seen in a report made by Vazquez himself in 1785 kept in the Archivo Histórico Nacional (National Historical Archive) of Madrid.

Probably in a joint decision with Boccherrini and Aristia, Vazquez invested 16,000 reales to acquire 8 shares from the Banco Nacional de San Carlos (National Bank of Saint Charles). This was half of his yearly earnings (equivalent to some 58,000 US Dollars).

**References:** AHN: Sect. Estado, File 2566; Tortella, J.: Luigi Boccherini y el Banco de San Carlos (BIB); Tortella, Teresa: Índice de los primitivos accionistas del Banco Nacional de San Carlos, Archivo del Banco de España, Madrid, 1986.

**Related Entries:** Archivo Histórico del Banco de España, Arenas de San Pedro, Aristia, Banco Nacional de San Carlos, Bourbon (Luis).

**VEGA, Cuesta de la (Madrid, Spain):** Beyond the street of Bailén, very close to the Royal Palace and behind the Cathedral of La Almudena, the street named Mayor (Main Street) ends in a steep slope called Cuesta de la Vega. During the 1700s, it actually started at the end of a now not extant street called Malpica (see the illustration for entry corresponding to the Quarter of SANTA MARIA).

Nowadays, some terraces have been built to avoid or mitigate the gradient and some gardens have been designed to create square-like environments and wandering ways.
One of those squares has received the name of Glorieta Boccherini, where a bust of the composer was installed in 1993 to commemorate his 250 birth anniversary.

Boccherini’s bust in the little square to him dedicated in the Cuesta de la Vega (Madrid, Spain)

Under Boccherini’s name, the stone pedestal reads:

LUCCA
1743
MADRID
1805

The earl-dukes of Benavente-Osuna had their palace the Cuesta de la Vega.

Related Entries: Benavente-Osuna, Santa Maria (Quarter of).

VELADA (Spain): Municipality of Talavera de la Reina demarcation, to its west side, not far from Arenas de San Pedro, to its south-southeast.
Don Luis considered Velada as a place to live, when he was sent out of Court by his brother the king. He found in Velada magnificent hunting spaces and a palace the marquis of Altamira was willing to let him, but it needed too much refurbishing, so he finally discarded this option.

Anyhow, even though the Infant chose Arenas to settle, he often visited Velada to practice hunting and spend a few days at Altamira’s palace. During one of those journeys, in 1781, some bandits assaulted Velada’s palace and one of don Luis’ servants was injured. The same bandits were seen again around the Arenas demarcation.

Maria Teresa Vallabriga, the Infant’s wife, gave birth to two girls in Velada. On November 26, 1780, Maria Teresa came to life. She would be the future Countess of Chinchón and would marry Manuel Godoy; and on June 6, 1783, Maria Luisa was born. Some time before, on March 6, of 1779, Vallabriga had also given birth, in Arenas, to a boy, Antonio María, who would die next December in Velada.

Since don Luis liked Velada as a place to spend long hunting journeys, it is most likely that Boccherini would have accompanied his mentor to this small village.


Related Entries: Arenas de San Pedro, Bourbon (Luis), Charles III, Talavera de la Reina, Vallabriga.

VENICE (Italy): Capital of Veneto, in the northeast corner of Italic Peninsula. The city sits on a mosaic of more than a hundred islands and tiny pieces of land emerging from the sea, separated by water corridors and channels. Since the beginning of post-roman period, peopled who had settled in the hundred islands created a confederation under the rule of a Dux and by the 1100s decided to submit themselves to the Byzantine Empire, contemporarily with the Crusades. This marked Venice’s beggining as a flourishing mercantile and manufacturing town. Alternating radiant periods with deep crisis, Venice ended up under French rule when Napoleon was at his height. After a brief period of Austrian dominion, the town joined the new nineteenth century Italy.

Boccherini had scarce links to Venice, although, according to Remigio Coli, he was in this town during the Easter of 1765, with his father and both Manfredi brothers, Filippo and Vincenzo.
Some editors of Boccherinian music had their firm in Venice, among which Luigi Marescalchi, who had conducted the Opera Company known as Compañía de los Reales Sitios (Royal Sites Company), joined by Boccherini and the sisters Pelliccia (Teresa and Clementina), and Filippo Manfredi as well. Other Venetian editors who printed works by Boccherini were Antonio Zatta, Carlo Canobbio, Innocente Alessandri and Pietro Scattaglia.

Venice in the 18th Century (by Luca Carlevarijs)

While Venice was built on an archipelago, the continental *alter ego* city of Mestre belongs to firm land, and it was in Mestre where Boccherini’s sister, Maria Ester, and her husband, Onorato Viganò, playing both main roles, premiered in 1778 Luigi’s scene score *Cefalo e Procri* (G. 524), subtitled *Ballo eroico-tragico-Pantomimo*, and probably written for them as an interlude to Giuseppe Sarti’s opera *Scipione*.

**References:** Coli, R.: *Luigi Boccherini, la vita e le opere* (BIB); Gérard, Y.: *Thematic, Bibliographical and Critical Catalogue of the Works of Luigi Boccherini* (BIB).

**Related Entries:** Boccherini (Leopoldo and Maria Ester), Editors, Manfredi, Marescalchi, Pelliccia (Teresa, Clementina), Viganò (Onorato).

**VENIER, Jean-Baptiste:** Venetian born musician and violinist who settled in Paris during the 1750s, where he widened his activities entering the editing field in 1755 until the 1780s. As reported by Marco Mangani, around 1784, Venier sold his firm to his colleague Boyer, who would sell it again, in 1796, to Naderman.
First editions by Venier of authentic works by Boccherini are:

1767: *Six String Quartets*, Op. 2 (G. 159-164), as Op. 1;  
1768: *Six String Trios*, Op. 4 (G. 83-88);  
1769: *Six Sonatas* for keyboard and violin, Op. 5 (G. 25-30);  
1769: *Six String Quartets*, Op. 8 (G. 165-170), as Op. 6;  
1770: *Concerto-Symphony concertante*, Op. 7 (G. 491), as Op. 8;  
1771: *Six String Trios*, Op. 6 (G. 89-94), as Op. 9;  
1772: *Six String Quartets*, Op. 9 (G. 171-176), as Op. 10;  
1774: *Six String Quintets* with 2 cellos, Op. 10 (G. 265-270), as Op. 12;  
1776: *Six String Quintets* with 2 cellos, Op. 13 (G. 277-282), as Op. 20;  


**VIENNA (Austria)**: Capital of the Austrian Empire. During the 1700s Vienna was a flourishing cultural venue within the European realm, greatly influencing wide zones such as Italic republics and kingdoms, especially northeastern ones.

Viennese musical life during the Enlightenment acquired high prestige so that most composers and interpreters, impresarios, librettists, or music lovers…., wanted to visit this town at least once in their lives to witness and participate in its sophisticated tendencies and schools.

Following Remigio Coli, we can retrace Boccherinian tours to Vienna.

Father, Leopoldo, and most of his children, namely Luigi, Maria Ester and Giovanni Gastone, sojourned several times in the Austrian capital to present themselves and learn. First of these journeys took place during the 1758 Carnival, after escorting Giovanni Gastone to Trieste. Luigi was contracted by the Viennese Court Theatre, where Christoph Willibald Gluck was the conductor. After briefly returning to Lucca, the Boccherinis returned to Vienna later that same year. This time they produced themselves in the Kärntnerthor theater, until summer, when the family toured other Austrian venues. They were back in Lucca by Easter 1759.
Leopoldo Boccherini and his son Luigi, together with his two youngest sisters, Matilde and Riccarda, went again to Vienna during the spring of 1760, contracted once more for a whole year by the Kärntnerthor theater. In Easter 1761, they were back in Lucca anew.

The third and last tour to Vienna in the spring of 1763, brought Luigi and his father to perform on the stage of the Court Theater, but with the Kärntnerthor Theater Company, for their venue had been destroyed by fire. By mid 1764, Luigi is back in Lucca and he would never again visit the Austrian capital, where he had had the opportunity to produce himself before important audiences and where he had the chance to accumulate decisive experiences. His probable acquaintance with Gluck would years later inspire a sort of homage to the opera writer contained in Boccherini’s Symphony Op. 12, No. 4 (G. 506), of 1771, variating a theme of Gluck’s Festin de Pierre from Don Juan.

References: Coli, R.: Luigi Boccherini, la vita e le opere (BIB); Noonan, T.: Musical Borrowing in Boccherini’s «La Casa del diavolo» Symphony (BIB).

Related Entries: Boccherini (Leopoldo, Maria Ester, Giovanni Gastone, Riccarda and Matilde), Gluck, Symphony.
**VIGANÒ, Onorato**: Famous dancer and choreographer. He met Maria Ester Boccherini in Vienna in the early 1760s and by 1764 they married, sharing from then on their careers and successes.

It is most likely that Luigi Boccherini would have written several pieces for the Viganò couple, as the *Balletto spagnolo*, G. 526, a sort of four section suite:

*Larghetto - Andantino - Allegretto - Contradanza,*

orchestrated for string and wind, with two guitars or psalteries *ad libitum*, being this the first time Boccherini had used plucked strings in his instrumentation.

Boccherini’s ballet *Cefalo e Procri* (G. 524) was intended as an interlude to Giuseppe Sarti’s drama *Scipione* in its 1778 edition in Mestre (see the entry *VENICE*). The libretto states:

*Descrizione del primo ballo CEFALO e PROCRI, Ballo Eroico-Tragico-Pantomimo, composto, eseguito e d’invenzione del Signor Onorato Vigano... La musica del Ballo è del rinomato Sig. Luigi Boccherini, virtuoso di camera, e compositore attuale di S.A.R. l’Infante Don Luigi di Borbone*

[Description of the first dance CEFALO e PROCRI, Ballo Eroico-Tragico-Pantomimo, composed, executed and invented by Signor Onorato Viganò... The music for the Ballo is by Sig. Luigi Boccherini, chamber virtuoso, and composer at present of S.A.R. (His Royal Highness) the Infant Don Luigi di Borbone]

The couple Viganò-Boccherini had a son called Salvatore who superseded his parents in dancing and in choreography as well. His name became even more notorious than his parents’.


**Related Entries**: Boccherini (Maria Ester), Venice, Viganò (Salvatore).

**VIGANÒ, Salvatore** (1769-1821): Son of Onorato and Maria Ester Boccherini, he reached a higher renown than his parents.

Salvatore was born in Naples and acquired education within his own family, even though his inclination for dancing activities was not an early one. His first performance
took place in Rome in a female role. Shortly after, his uncle Luigi Boccherini suggested that he visit Madrid where he initiated his brilliant career under Jean Dauberval’s tutorial, who taught him the methods, principles and systems he had learned from his own master Jean-George Noverre, considered as a "father" of dance and ballet.

Salvatore Viganò (Engraving Print by G. Scotto)

Salvatore married the Spanish dancer Maria Medina and the couple moved later to London with Dauberval, from where Viganò initiated a series of European tours which elevated him to the highest levels of fame. He started then to manage his own company, composing himself his own musical scores and designing his own choreographies. In the late 1700s he was already the highest valued dancer in Europe and is even now considered as the "inventor" of the so called choreodrama or drama-ballet.

He worked with Ludwig van Beethoven (1770-1827), who created his ballet Prometeo’s Creatures, Op. 43, especially for Viganò’s choreography when he was Court Master for the empress Maria Theresa. Salvatore premiered Beethoven’s ballet at the Burgtheater of Vienna on March 28, 1801.

Since 1813 until his death, Viganò was Ballet Master at Milan’s la Scala Theater of Milan. Although he amassed a fortune and worked at ease in the field he loved most,
his life became rather sad and bitter due to his wife’s infidelities. Maria Medina’s beauty and voluptuousness became famous all over Europe.

Salvatore died in Milan in 1821.


Related Entries: Boccherini (Maria Ester), Milan, Vienna, Viganò (Onorato).

VIGNOLA, Lorenzo: In 1797, Vignola was Embassy Secretary of the Republic of Venice in Paris, and friend of Boccherini’s, as described in the swearing deed Boccherini signed before the notary Antonio Martinez Llorente to certify that the 110 pieces of music the composer had sold to M. Boulogne through Lorenzo Vignola were not intended to be printed nor to trade them, for Boccherini had never yielded Boulogne the rights over them.

In the letter Boccherini sent to Pleyel, dated in Madrid on July 17, 1797, he included the translation from Spanish of the most significant paragraphs of this deed.

References: Letter LB: Madrid, July 17, 1797; Croce, L. della: Il divino Boccherini (Epistolary) (BIB); Rothschild, G. de: Luigi Boccherini... (BIB); Saint-Foix, G. de: "La correspondance de Boccherini avec I. Pleyel" (BIB).


VILLANCICOS (G. 539): Although the word Villancicos means today Carols, the actual 18th century meaning was quite different from both terms.

Since the 1400s, a Villancico was a sort of very brief popular profane oratorio sung in vernacular language. Little by little, it incorporated religious topics and expanded its duration, until its 18th century full development. By then, the Villancico was very similar to a cantata except that it still had a more popular character.

Boccherini composed a Suite like score of nine pieces he called Villancicos al Nacimiento de Ntro Señor Jesu-Cristo (Carols to the Birth of Our Lord Jesus-Christ) (G. 539), the original manuscript of which is lost, although there is a copy in the Biblioteca Nacional (National Library) of Madrid (M. 4105/16). The piece should probably be dated by the end of Arenas de San Pedro sojourn, that is, around 1783-1784, even though it would be difficult to find interpreters among don Luis’ musicians for the voices and the
instruments: soprano, contralto, tenor and bass, string quintet, oboes and horns. It is plausible then to gather that Boccherini would have been out of town during that period, so he could have rehearsed and premiered this piece away from Arenas.

**References**: Gérard, Y.: *Thematic, Bibliographical and Critical Catalogue of the Works of Luigi Boccherini* (BIB); Sierra Pérez, J. and Vázquez García, E.: "La relación del "villancicos" [sic] de Boccherini con la Pastoral" (BIB); Tortella, J.: *Boccherini, un músico italiano...* (BIB). (See DISCOGRAPHY)

**Related Entries**: Arenas de San Pedro, Biblioteca Nacional de España, Bourbon (Luis).

**VILLAVICIOSA DE ODÓN (Spain)**: Municipality some 4 miles southwest of Boadilla del Monte, where the Infant don Luis owned a palace-castle which had belonged to the former King Ferdinand VI and he had acquired from his older brother Philip. The Infant had been interested to own these premises and there surroundings because owning Boadilla and Villaviciosa he had at his disposal a wide hunting territory with a palace of his own at both ends, separated by "una legua" (a league, or the distance a person can cover walking one hour).

![Castel-Palace of Villaviciosa de Odón (Spain), owned by the Infant don Luis](image)

It is most likely that this territory between Boadilla and Villaviciosa, where don Luis would have organized his hunting parties, inspired Boccherini when writing the second movement of his D Major *String Quintet* Op. 11, No. 6 (G. 276), known as "L’Uccelliera". Its indication "Allegro - I pastori e li cacciatori", describes a quiet shepherd scene interrupted by the hunting party soon to return the previous pastoral calm.
**VIOLA:** The term viola can be applied to various string instruments, not all of them played with a bow (many of the names are expressed in Italian): viola de braccio, viola de gamba, viola d'amore, wheel viola, hand viola... But Boccherini only used the so called viola de braccio (alto), very similar to the violin but with a contralto tessitura.

The viola history runs parallel to that of the violin family.

There is not a single piece by Boccherini where the viola is assigned a soloist role, although it is present almost in every one of his works. The scarce examples of scores without a viola are the cello and bass sonatas (included the two cellos fugues) and the violin and keyboard sonatas.

According to Louis Picquot’s account, partially based on the report François Fétis had attributed to Sophie Gail describing the state of misery Boccherini was supposedly enduring in 1803, the Luccan composer owned "an old worm-eaten viola, a veteran lacking three strings" (Rothschild, English version p. 81). Not only there is not a single document to underpin such a statement, but most of the available data allow to support the exact opposite. (See the entries CAPITAL DEED, STAINER and VIOLONCELLO for a description about the instruments Boccherini owned.)

**References:** Picquot, L.: Notice sur la vie et les ouvrages de Luigi Boccherini... (BIB); Rothschild, G. de: Luigi Boccherini... (BIB).

**Related Entries:** Capital Deed, Fétis, Gail, Picquot, Sonata, Stainer, Violin, Violoncello.

**VIOLIN:** Bowed string instrument in soprano tessitura. Although from an ethnological point of view the word violin is a diminutive of viola, during centuries it was used to describe a large series of instruments which included also the viola. Not before the 1600s would the violin be indistinctly identified as we understand it today, and it was by that time that it experiences its most intense development. Picquot’s opening words for his Notice... corroborate this statement:

*The beginning of instrumental music for the chamber, the one who’s execution is destined to the violin and his family, is to be located by late 17th century. This does not mean such a musical genre was not cultivated before or had not experienced any progress because of the absence of competent masters; no doubt this is not the case. But we must highlight that, until Corelli made his appearance,*
As usual, exception made of the cello sonatas, most Boccherinian works include at least a violin. In some of them it even had a soloist or singular role, as in the keyboard and violin sonatas Op. 5 (G. 25-30). As for the three Violin Concertos, G Major (G. 485), D Major (G. 486), and F Major (G. 574), they cannot be considered as authentic, while the Op. 7 Concerto (or Sinfonia Concertante, G. 491), of 1769, scored for two principal violins, two violins ripieni and small orchestra, indeed is an authentic piece registered in Boccherini y Calonje’s Catalogue. This a singular work meant to be premiered "per le Academie che si fecero nell teatro chiamato de los Caños del Peral" (for the Academies that will be made in the theater called of Los Caños del Peral).

In the Capital Deed signed by Maria Pilar Joaquina Porreti before the notary Antonio Martinez Llorente to inventory the goods Boccherini brought to their marriage on April 26, 1787, there is a valued entry stating the following:

'Ittem un Violin with su Caja in Zinquentta reales -------------. @050..., [Item a Violin with its Case in Fifty reales -------------. @050...],

(1 real would equal 3 euros or 3.6 US dollars.)


Related Entries: Boccherini y Calonje, Caños del Peral, Capital Deed, Catalogue, Concerto, Symphony, Sonata, Viola, Violoncello.

VIOLON: This is a historically ambiguous term even though it has always represented a family of bowed string instruments in the lowest tessitura, and also their interpreters.

All through the 15th to the 18th centuries, the term violon was mainly applied to violes de gamba and double-basses, but also to the violoncello, especially by mid and late 1700s. In fact, Boccherini is often referred to as "Violon", obviously because he was a cellist.

Boccherini described himself this way in the Petition he sent to the King Charles III on September 28, 1785 upon the Infant don Luis’ death:
Señor.

Dn. Luis Bocherini, criado del ser[enisi]mo s[eñ]or Infante Dn. Luis que Dios goza, P.A.L.R.P. de V.M. con el mayor respeto expone: Que en el año de 1770 en el Real sitio de Aranjuez, tuvo el honor, de que dicho S[eñ]or con permiso y beneplacito verbal de V.M. le eligiese por su violon de Camara y Composer de Musica (⋯)

[Sir.

Dn. Luis Bocherini, servant of the most serene s[eñ]or Infant Dn. Luis in God’s rejoicing, Placed At Your Majesty's Feet with the highest respect says: That in the year of 1770 in the Royal site of Aranjuez, he had the honor that the mentioned S[eñ]or with Your Majesty's verbal permission and consent chose him as his Chamber violon and Composer of Music (⋯)]

and he also uses this term when listing the instruments he owned in 1787:

*Item un Violon de Estayner con su Caja en mil y quinientos Reales - - - , 1@500,,*,

*Item un Violon Chico con su Caja en doscientos Reales - - - - - , @200,,*

[Item a Cello by Estayner with its Case in fifteen hundred Reales - - - ,1@500,,

Item an small cello with its Case in two hundred Reales - - - - - - - - , @200,,]

(1 real would equal 3 euros or 3.6 US dollars.)

as can be read in the Capital Deed his wife signed on April 26 of the same year, accepting the goods he brought to the matrimony.

Other documents name Boccherini as "Violon" too, for instance the decree by which don Luis nominates him for his service:

*Dª Luis Boquerini violon de S. A. goza # Diez y ocho mil r$ de ve$ # los # catorce mil r$ de ellos por Decreto de S.A. de 8 de Noviembre de 1770 en que fue nombrado, y los # quatro mil r$ restantes, por Decreto de 22 de Septiembre de 1772 .........................................................14@000,, 4.000-

[Dª Luis Boquerini violon of His Highness enjoys # Eighteen hundred copper r$ # the # fourteen hundred r$ of which by Decree of His Highness of November 8, 1770 when he was nominated, and the # other four thousand r$, by Decree of September 22, 1772 ................................................................. 14@000,, 4.000-]

(Dates in this nomination decree are certainly ambiguous. See the entry DECREE.)
VIOLONCELLO: Bowed string instrument with a tenor-baritone tessitura the interpreter plays seated. Nowadays, its has metal strings and an endpin (or spike) to rest on the floor, but in the 1700s, the period when it replaced the viola de gamba, the strings were gut strings and it lacked any endpin so the interpreters had to hold the instrument with their legs, resting it more or less on their shins and leg calves, which required an additional effort.

Until well in the 18th century the cello was reduced to the role of accompanying bass, although some musicians of the final baroque (particularly Antonio Vivaldi (1678-1741)) and early classicism, namely Luigi Boccherini, assigned the violoncello a soloist character or an equal role with the rest of the string family members or within the orchestra.

Boccherini started very young playing the cello and he developed a bright virtuoso career only to yield to his composing activity by early maturity, although he never gave up being an interpreter.

The series of portraits we know of him might be a hint showing this evolution. The two earlier images depicting his professional activities are the oil until recently attributed to the Luccan painter Pompeo Batoni (National Gallery of Victoria, in Melbourne, c.1765), where Boccherini is seen seated, in court dress and playing his cello while looking towards the spectator; and a picture by Pietro Longhi (Torino, private collection, c.1767, offered for the first time by Remigio Coli in 2005), where the complete Tuscany Quartet is portrayed (Manfredi, Nardini, Cambini and Boccherini), with the latter, at the right part of the scene, playing his cello.

In two later oils, Boccherini appears as a composer, for he is seen working on a partition: one of uncertain attribution but commonly known as the "Liotard" (Budenheim, Dr. Gerhard Christmann’s private collection, c.1768), and the other painted some years after the composer’s death by dilettante painter Francesco Barsocchini (Istituto Musicale Luigi Boccherini of Lucca, 1871).
It is very seldom when Boccherini does not include one or more cellos in his compositions, be it as soloist or as part of the chamber group or the orchestra. Only the Op. 5 keyboard and violin Sonatas (G. 25-30) lack a cello.

In fact his own instrument is logically the backbone of Boccherini’s musical patrimony: in Sonatas, Trios, Quartets, Quintets (some 120 with two cellos), Sextets, Octets and soloist Concertos, the cello has normally a prominent or soloist role.

Although a certain tradition has willfully wanted to show Boccherini as owning a violoncello built by Antonio Stradivari (or his luthier school), there is not a single base to sustain for such an idea. Instead, there is a documented evidence he had, at least in 1787, two cellos described by himself in the Capital Deed his wife signed accepting the patrimony he brought to their wedding:

Ittem un Violon of Estayner with su Caja in mil and quinientos Reales - - - - - - - - , l@500,,,
Ittem un Violon Chico with su Caja in doscientos Reales - - - - - - - - - - - - , @200,,, [Item a Cello by Estayner with its Case in fifteen hundred Reales - - - - - - ,l@500,,, Item an small cello with its Case in two hundred Reales - - - - - - - - - - - - , @200,,,] (1 real would equal 3 euros or 3.6 US dollars.)

So, Boccherini owned in 1787 a Stainer violoncello valued in 1,500 reales and an small violoncello (which could or could not be a violoncello piccolo), valued in 200 reales.


Related Entries: Barsocchini, Batoni, Cambini, Capital Deed, Liotard, Longhi, Manfredi, Nardini, Stainer, Tuscany Quartet, Violoncello Piccolo (chico?).

VIOLONCELLO PICCOLO (chico?): {BY ELISABETH LE GUIN} A term often applied to those variants of the violoncello that possess a string above the A string, and thus a higher tessitura in general. Such cellos were often, but not necessarily, smaller than what is today considered the norm. Eighteenth-century cellos took a number of forms, and went by a number of names, depending on the nation and the time period. The "Bologna school" of cellist-composers at the end of the 17th century sometimes made use of a small cello, tuned in G and possibly held on the shoulder. Eight cantatas by Johann Sebastian Bach contain
parts for "violoncello piccolo", evidently a four-stringed instrument tuned G-d-a-e, while the sixth of his six Suites for solo cello, BWV 1012, is composed for an unnamed five-stringed instrument, "a cinq acordes", tuned C-G-d-a-e.

By Boccherini’s generation, this plurality of sizes and tunings, all answering to the term "violoncello", might seem to have been sorting itself out in favor of the size and tuning familiar to us today; but Cupis, in his cello tutor of 1772, still makes casual reference to a five-stringed instrument with a top string tuned to d or e. The size of the violoncello (with or without an additional high string) was not really standardized until the 19th century.

Because of this proliferation of possibilities, and the absence of material evidence, it would be unwise to assume that the "violon chico" listed among Boccherini’s effects in his Capital Deed of 1787 constitutes proof that he used an instrument with a high top string in his works. It is possible that "violon chico" simply refers to a small instrument in the standard tuning. (In addition, it is this writer’s observation that Boccherini’s works are no easier when played with the additional top string, and in some cases, actually become more difficult).

References: AHPM: Maria Pilar Joaquina Porreti’s Capital Deed to Boccherini: Prot. 20.771, pp. 101-109, April 26, 1787, Notary: Antonio Martinez Llorente; Bach, Johann Sebastian: Six Suites for violoncello solo,

**Related Entries:** Capital Deed, Violoncello.

**VIOTTI, Giovanni Battista** (1755-1824): Born in Piamonte, Viotti was a highly valued violinist and also a quite productive composer of concertos, symphonies concertanti, trios, duets and sonatas where the violin is assigned a central role. He also has several String Quartets.

Viotti traveled through Europe, staying mainly in Paris and even longer in London, where he actually settled and died.

There is no evidence to prove Viotti and Boccherini ever met personally, but the Luccan composer mentions Viotti in his correspondence with Pleyel, and also the middleman Pierre Govey’s letters to the Parisian printer alludes to Viotti, always in relation to M. Boulogne.

The first time we see Viotti in this three sided correspondence is in a letter by Govey to Playel dated in Madrid on October 10, 1796. The affair is exactly the same Boccherini will raise next day, October 11, also addressing Pleyel to show him how he had recently had a conversation with Govey.

Boccherini tells Pleyel that by 1791 he had sent to M. Boulogne part of the more than 200 pieces of music his is at present negotiating with him, and he stresses he is
persuaded that those partitions are probably lost and that Boulogne has most likely been a victim of the Revolution. Boccherini’s sarcastic way to put it is that those partitions might have been used to load war guns. And he adds that the proof is that "M. Viotti" has asked him, from London, for a copy of all those works sent to Boulogne, but he has refused since neither equity nor any right assist Viotti to formulate such a request.

Although Boccherini’s reasoning produces some perplexity, much later, in a letter dated in Madrid on January 4, 1798, he will somehow throw some light on the affair.

In this long letter, Boccherini refutes again Pleyel’s pleads related to the scores sold to Boulogne in 1791, arguing that as this Parisian personage had interpreted Boccherini’s music in his house more than once having Viotti as first violin, it is most likely that those scores were known in the French Capital, but he has no responsibility for that. We could infer that Boccherini is somehow blaming Viotti for releasing his music, a reason why he would have refused to send him the copies he had requested in 1796.

References: Letters LB: Madrid, October 11, 1796; Madrid, January 4, 1798; Letter by Govey to Playel: Madrid, October 10, 1796; Banat, Gabriel: The Chevalier de Saint-Georges Virtuoso of the Sword and the Bow, Pendragon Press, Hillsdale, 2006; Croce, L. della: Il divino Boccherini (Epistolary) (BIB); Rothschild, G. de: Luigi Boccherini... (BIB); Saint-Foix, G. de: "La correspondance de Boccherini avec I. Pleyel" (BIB); Sala, Massimiliano (ed.): Giovanni Battista Viotti: A Composer between the Two Revolutions, Ut Orpheus Edizioni, Bologna, 2006.

Related Entries: Boulogne, Govey, Letters, Pleyel.

VOW OF POVERTY: Notarial deed no longer in use but very common during the 1700s. It belongs to the last will genre (testaments, codicils, heritage deeds, legacies, etc.), being an actual will containing exactly the same sections (for further details, see the entry WILL):

A - Heading;
B - Tester Description;
C - Testing Clauses;
D - Foot, derogating previous last will deeds;
E - Witnesses;
F - Date and Signatures.

In Section A, the signer declares he has no goods to leave and does not establish any payment for social obligations, masses or ceremonies of any kind, asking to be buried
"de limosna" (on alms) in his quarter parish. In Section C, the signer (see below a fragment of Francisco Font’s vow), insists he has no goods, adding:

Y por si de presentte o en algun tiempo me tocaen o perteneciesen assi en estta Corte como fuera de ella, por qualquiera Causa motivo, o razon que sea, algunos bienes muebles, rayzes dros, y acciones, y futuras subcesiones dejo Instituio, y instituio y nombro por mis Unicos, y Uniberales her$ (herederos)... [And if at present or in any other time would I receive or own in this Court (Town) or in any other, for any Cause motive or reason would be, some furniture, real estate, rights and stock shares and futures inheritances I leave Institute, and institute and name as my Unique, and Universal heirs...]

This way, even not having goods to pass on, the vow of poverty signer names his heirs just in case he would eventually own some patrimony.

Derogation of previous last will deeds is meant to cancel them, be it testaments, codicils or whatever other such genre of deed, and leave only this one active and valid.

In Boccherini’s last will, the derogation clause reads:

Y por el presente testamento reboco anulo doy por ningunos otros y cancelados y de ningun valor ni efecto otros qualesquiera Testamentos poderes para hacerlos Codicilos Declaraciones de pobre y demas ultimas disposiciones Testamentarias que antes de este haya hecho y otorgado p’ [por] escrito de palabra o en otra forma para que ninguno valga...

[And by the present will I revoke annul consider non other and cancel and give no value nor effect to any other Will power to do them Codicils Vows of poverty and the rest of last will Testamentary dispositions previously done and consented by me in written form or verbally or in any other form so that none be valid...]

This does not mean Boccherini had signed codicils, nor any deeds to empower anyone to sign a will on his behalf (a common document in the 18th century not in use today), nor vows of poverty. In fact, there is no documented evidence of any this kind of deed ever signed by Boccherini.

But two historiographic errors should be mentioned to this respect.

In 1947, Álvarez Solar-Quintes stated in his article "Nuevos documents sobre Luigi Boccherini" (see References below and also the Bibliography appendix), that the fact the composer’s will would revoke such a vow of poverty was:
señal indudable de que alguna había hecho; y es comprensible. Su vida en los últimos años debió ser apurada con la muerte de sus tres hijas, dos de ellas en un mismo año, y la de la mujer.

[an indubitable indication he had signed one; and it is understandable. His life during his last years must have been an ordeal with the death of his three daughters, two of them the same year, and that of his wife.]

but the sheer truth is that Álvarez Solar-Quintes was absolutely unaware of the character and variety of 18th century testamentary deeds, besides falling in an ample series of biographical errors.

On the other side, the English version of Rothschild’s biography of Boccherini wrongly assimilated the original and correct French term of "Declaration de pauvreté" (p. 96) with another term lacking any meaning whatsoever but which might mislead the reader, i.e. "Declaration of power" (p. 85), instead of the possible more correct wording "Declaration of poverty".


Related Entries: Álvarez Solar-Quintes, Font (Francisco), Rothschild, Will.
W, w

WATTMANN [M.]: Middleman on behalf of Boccherini and Parisian publisher Sieber. The former informs the latter that he is sending to him through "M. Wattmann" a letter, dated in Madrid, on October 2, 1800, responding to Sieber’s of September 11. But when Boccherini writes again to Sieber, more than 10 months later, on August 24, 1801, he says he has not heard from "Walteman" (obviously the same person).

Boccherini blames his correspondent that while he has just very recently received the thousand liras Wattmann (or Walteman) had probably already available early that same year (1801), he has not yet received the 500 liras for the Stabat Mater, producing him a grave harm.

Since the August 24, 1801 letter is the latest extant letter by Boccherini nothing else is known about this gentleman Wattmann or Walteman.

References: Letter LB: Madrid, October 2, 1800; Madrid, August 24, 1801; Croce, L. della: Il divino Boccherini (Epistolary) (BIB); Rothschild, G. de: Luigi Boccherini... (BIB); Saint-Foix, G. de: "La correspondance de Boccherini avec I. Pleyel" (BIB).

Related entries: Letters, Sieber, Stabat Mater.

WEDDING: See MARRIAGE.

WILL: Last will notarial deed. During the 1700s in Spain, this kind of deed used to be structured according to the following sections:

A - Heading: with religious appellations, tester lineage, details on burial and exequies s/he wanted, alms, mass and other ceremonies for her/his soul;

B - Descriptive (many variations): origin of heritage, tester’s biographical details, present patrimonial situation, marriage or previous marriages, offspring (in case of minority, their tutors), other civilian condition such as priesthood, etc.;

C – Will Clauses: naming heirs and testamentary executors;

D - Foot: list of previous last will deeds to be ignored and canceled;

E - List of witnesses: three or four names and place of residence;
A significant amount of testaments by people related to Boccherini are extant, most of great biographical interest: that of the Infant don Luis’; that of Boccherini’s friend and empowered colleague musician of the Royal Chapel, Joseph Phelipe; that of the members of Facco’s family, linked to Boccherini through the Porretis; etc. But most important of all, we count also with a number of testaments directly by Boccherini or by close relatives. This is the chronological list:

- April 27, 1776: Maria Santa Prosperi (LB’s mother)
- September 14, 1785: Boccherini
- June 27, 1787: Boccherini
- November 16, 1789: M. P. J. Porreti (LB’s second wife)
- September 6, 1799: Boccherini
- August 30, 1804: M. P. J. Porreti (LB’s second wife)
- March 20, 1809: Luis Marcos Boccherini (LB’s son)
- April 30, 1861: Fernando Boccherini (LB’s grandson)

WOGT, (widow of): We may harbor some doubt whether printer Wogt (or Vogt), mentioned without any courtesy formalism in Boccherini’s letter to Pleyel dated January 4, 1798, had died during the interval between this date and the March 18, 1799 letter (also to Pleyel), since he now alludes to the "vedova di Wogt" (Wogt’s widow).

In both letters, Boccherini argues in front of his editor that he has other requests for his music. In the former, "Wogt" appears together with Raguès and Naderman. In the latter, Boccherini alludes to "vedova di Wogt" and states the mentioned requests have reached him through the agent Mr. Haus.

Never again is Wogt or his widow mentioned in Boccherini’s correspondence.

References: Letters LB: Madrid, January 4, 1798 - Madrid, March 18, 1799; Croce, L. della: Il divino Boccherini (Epistolary) (BIB); Rothschild, G. de: Luigi Boccherini... (BIB); Saint-Foix, G. de: "La correspondance de Boccherini avec I. Pleyel" (BIB).

Luigi Boccherini never had any relationship with this Madrid royal notary, while his son Josef Mariano called frequently to his office. From the late 1700s, when Josef Mariano was slightly over 20 years old, he was working as "criado" (servant) for the Countess de la Oliba de Gaitan, widow of Cerralbo, who used to sign her documents and deeds before Zabala. Various of those deeds show Boccherini’s son as a witness and soon the Countess would give him general powers to act on her behalf, always before this notary, The heading of this power deed reads as follows:

Poder genl qe otorga la Ex^ma  
S^a Condesa de la Oliba Vd^a  
a fabor de D^q Josef Boquerini  
En 22 de Julio de 1800

En la Villa de Madrid á veinte y dos de Julio de mil ochocientos: Ante mi el Es^no de SM y testigos La Ex^ma S^a Maria Cayetana Salazar Brizuela Vd^a Condesa de la Oliba, de Gaytan, de Fuenrrubia Vd^a Vecina de esta Corte y Dixo otorgar que da y confiere todo su Poder cumplido especial general y el que en derecho se requiere á fabor de D^q Josef Boccherini su criado de esta vecindad.

[General Power given by the Ex^ma  
S^a Countess of la Oliba Vd^a  
in favor of D^q Josef Boquerini  
On July 22, 1800]

In the Town of Madrid on July twenty and two, eighteen hundred: Before me the Not^y of His Majesty and witnesses The Ex^ma S^a D^a Maria Cayetana Salazar Brizuela Wd^w Countess of la Oliba, de Gaytan, of Fuenrrubia Wd^w Denizen of this Court (Madrid) and Said she gives and confers all her complete especial general Power and what according to the law be required in favor of D^q Josef Boccherini his servant denizen of this town.]

Josef Mariano’s calls to don Pantaleón Zabala’s office are frequent, even after his father’s death. No wonder he would visit this notary on June 5, 1805, exactly a week after this sad event. He did so in order to exhibit his father’s last will, signed before the notary.
Martinez Llorente on September 6, 1799, so that he could obtain a testimony which would enable him to execute his father's last will.

Notary Pantaleón Zabala’s Signature in a Deed where Countess of la Oliba consented powers to Josef Mariano Boccherini (AHPM: Prot. 21.598, p. 111, April 24, 1806)

(On the historiographic blunder this testimony has generated until very recently, see the entry TESTIMONY)

References: AHPM: Countess of la Oliba’s General Power to Josef Mariano Boccherini: Prot. 21.595, pp. 590-591, Notary: Pantaleón Zabala, July 22, 1800; Boccherini Sánchez, J. A.: "Los testamentos de Boccherini" (BIB); Tortella, J.: Boccherini, un músico italiano... (BIB); Tortella, J.: "Errors, Myths and Legends around Luigi Boccherini" (BIB).

Related entries: Boccherini (Josef Mariano), Martinez Llorente, Testamento, Testimonio

ZARZUELA: See Clementina.

ZLOTEK, Bonifacio (?-1786): Violinist of the Royal Chapel and of the orchestra of the earl-dukes of Benavente-Osuna. His last name often appears as Llotek.

He was born in Warsaw (Poland) and moved to the Spanish Kingdom on an undetermined date, settling in Madrid.

He first opted to become a Royal Chapel violinist in 1768 but did not succeed until 1770 when he covered the 12th violin post. From that year on, Zlotek gradually escalated places until number 7, but in 1787 he was no longer in the Royal Chapel staff, which might indicate he died the year before. On February that same year a contest was called to cover his vacancy.

Even lacking actual documented evidence, it only sensible to consider that Zlotek must have known Boccherini and collaborated with him for a short time in the Benavente-
Osuna environment, for the Luccan composer started his service in this noble house on March 1786, while Zlotek was still their private orchestra conductor, even though he was listed as first violin. A document signed by the countess-duchess states that:

Los claveros del Arca de la Tesorería de mi casa pagarán en virtud de este y de recibo a D. Luis Boquerini, musico Director de mi orquesta 10.000 reales de vellón importe de los diez meses contados desde Marzo de 1786 en que le admití de tal con el sueldo de un mil reales en cada uno, hasta fin de Diciembre del mismo año; tomándose la razón en mi contaduria

Madrid, 30 abril 1787
La Condesa-Duquesa

[The keepers of the key of my home Treasury will pay according to this and to a receipt from D. Luis Boquerini, musician Conductor of my orchestra 10,000 copper reales corresponding to the ten months from March 1786 when I took him as such with a salary of one thousand reales each, until the end of December of the same year; keeping note in my accounting

Madrid, April 30, 1787
The Countess-Duchess]

(1 real would equal 3 euros or 3.6 US dollars.)

It seems obvious that the Luccan replaced the Polish as the noble house orchestra conductor when the latter died. Although both musicians must have been together for 10 months, they never appear simultaneously in the annual payroll.

Zlotek initiated his service at the Benavente-Osunas during the early 1780s and stayed there until his death, appearing in their payrolls until December 1786. In January 1787 he is already not listed.

The mentioned musicians payroll of that period is the following, including their salaries in copper reales (second column):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Salary</th>
<th>Position</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bonifacio Lloret</td>
<td>450</td>
<td>1st violin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Antonio Jauregui</td>
<td>240</td>
<td>2nd first violin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manuel Carriol</td>
<td>240</td>
<td>2nd violin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pedro Garisuain</td>
<td>180</td>
<td>another violin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pasqual Juan Carriol</td>
<td>180</td>
<td>another violin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rafael Garcia</td>
<td>180</td>
<td>viola</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ramon Monrroy</td>
<td>360</td>
<td>double-bass</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pedro Sebastian</td>
<td>240</td>
<td>another double-bass</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
From January 1787 on, Boccherini replaces Zlotek at the heading of the payroll but earning more than a double salary. There is a "Lista de lo que deuen hauer los Músicos que componen la orquesta de mi Sra. por sus respectibas consignaciones diarias correspondientes a el mes de enero de este año de la fecha [1787] a saver:" (List of what it is owed to the Musicians components of Milady’s orchestra for their daily assignments corresponding to the month of January of this date’s year, that is), the heading of which reads:

\[
D. Luis Bocherini, Director de la Orquesta y compositor por su consignación de un mil rs. en cada mes . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 1.000 rs.
Reciví por encargo; Barly.
\]

[B. Luis Bocherini, Conductor of the Orchestra and composer for his assignment of one thousand reales. each month . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 1.000 rs.
I received by order; Barly.]

Boccherini will disappear from the Benavente-Osuna payroll early in 1787.

**References**: AHN: Payroll, payments, purchasing cloths for the musicians...: Sect. Nobleza (Nobility) - Osuna, File 390-1-6 and File 391-6, 20; Fernández-Cortés, J. P.: La música en las casas de Osuna y Benavente (BIB); Ortega, J.: "El mecenazgo musical de la Casa de Osuna durante la segunda mitad del siglo XVIII..." (BIB); Ortega, J.: "La Real Capilla de Carlos III: Los músicos instrumentistas y la provisión de sus plazas", in Revista de Musicología, Vol. XXIII, 2, Madrid, 2000, pp. 395-442; Yebes, condesa de: La condesa-duquesa de Benavente... (BIB).

**Related Entries**: Barli, Benavente-Osuna, Payrolls.
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