

Understanding Boccherini's Manuscripts

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Edited by

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CAMBRIDGE
SCHOLARS

P U B L I S H I N G

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PREFACE

Before the nineteenth century, when it began to be seen as an art, music was regarded more as a science or a craft, as knowledge that could be used to produce objects that could be useful for the consumer. More than in the work of any other composer this principle is illustrated in the oeuvre of the Italian composer Luigi Boccherini (1743-1805). The contract with his employer the Spanish Infante Luis de Borbón implied that he would produce three sets of six works in some genre each year, or eighteen works in total, and he maintained this rate for a period of fifteen years, from 1770 to 1785. He did not count his works continuously as Opus 1, Opus 2, etc., as was already the custom of his time, but as 1771 Opus 1, 2 and 3, 1772 Opus 1, 2 and 3, etc. After the Infante's death Boccherini was a distant employee of the Prussian King Frederick William II and again the contract implied a fixed rate of musical works to be composed, this time one composition each month, and this deal was maintained for twelve years, from 1786 to 1797. Works were sent from Madrid to Berlin marked "September 1787", "October 1787", etc.

A composer who worked so methodically may be supposed to have kept detailed records of his production as well, in the form of an archive of his works and data about their composition and the intended recipients or purposes. There are indeed good reasons to believe that Boccherini kept such records. And how much would we wish to have this archive at our disposal today completely! We would at once have highly reliable sources for all his works and equally reliable data about their composition. History, however, has intervened to ensure that such an archive has not come down to us. It is not known how complete Boccherini's personal archive was when he died in 1805, but it is certain that during the one and a half centuries after his death its contents were lost or at best dispersed.

Owing to the efforts of collectors and librarians, however, many manuscripts with music by Boccherini are preserved in collections and libraries, spread over a large number of locations. They are quite diverse in terms of their status: autograph manuscripts versus copies by other hands, the latter prepared under the supervision of the composer or without his intervention, scores versus separate parts, neat manuscripts versus performance materials, accurately versus hastily written copies, etc. For a number of compositions the source nearest to the composer's original is an early

edition. And for a few compositions we have no more than an incipit (the first few bars of the Violino Primo part) at our disposal.

Given the incomplete and diverse nature of these source materials of Boccherini's music, it is all the more necessary to study them carefully, if not meticulously and scrupulously. How were these manuscripts written, with what purpose, when, by whom, and what do they mean to us? Can they be seen as faithful representations of the composer's intentions or do they lack reliability?

As Germán Labrador points out in the introduction of Chapter Two of this book, there are three main tasks concerning Boccherini's music still to be fulfilled: the publication of his works in reliable editions, the realization of a reliable catalogue of his works and the establishment of a reliable chronology. It is to be hoped that the various chapters of this book contribute, each in its own way, to the advancement of these tasks.

The chapters of this book all discuss an aspect of the study of the manuscripts sources for Boccherini's music, in order to present a range of approaches that is as wide as the limits of a single book of average size may permit. The editor of this book begins by outlining the various types that can be distinguished among the manuscripts written by the composer himself or by copyists in his immediate environment. Germán Labrador continues with a discussion of the chronology of Boccherini's works and Loukia Drosopoulou describes the musical handwriting that we find in the manuscripts under discussion. Boccherini produced several catalogues of his works of which some are lost, others preserved. Marco Mangani and Federica Rovelli review these documents.

The second half of this book addresses more specific topics. Giulio Battelli pays attention to a recent addition to Boccherini's known oeuvre, the *Laudate pueri*, a very early work. Rupert Ridgewell deals with the relations between Boccherini and the Viennese publishing house Artaria. Matanya Ophee considers the sources for Boccherini's Guitar Quintets recently come available and finally Jaime Tortella comments upon some letters that shed light on the adventures of Boccherini's manuscripts in the nineteenth century.

Unfortunately the thematic catalogue of his works that Boccherini maintained for his personal use is now lost. It is known from the publication of its text (without the musical incipits) by Boccherini's great-grandson Alfredo Boccherini y Calonje in 1879. In this book this publication will be referred to as the "Catálogo 1879". Recently a manuscript copy of the catalogue with musical incipits has come to light, which was in the nineteenth century in the possession of the French violinist Pierre Baillot (1771-1842) (F-Pn, Vma Ms. 1074). This copy of

the catalogue will be referred to as the "Catalogue Baillot". In both of these catalogues Boccherini assigned opus numbers retrospectively to works composed prior to 1797 and concurrently to works composed from 1797 onwards. To each opus number a year was assigned. Both catalogues provide practically the same information as far as opus numbers and dating are concerned. These opus numbers and dates are now in general use and they will often be cited in this book.

For identifying Boccherini's individual works, nowadays the numbers that Yves Gérard assigned to them in his thematic catalogue published in 1969 are used nearly universally. An overview of titles, opus numbers, dates and "G numbers" is found in the SELECTIVE CHECKLIST OF BOCCHERINI'S COMPOSITIONS found after this Preface.

Several conventions are followed in this book. Boccherini's works are referred to in brief standardized descriptions, mostly following that of the SELECTIVE CHECKLIST OF BOCCHERINI'S COMPOSITIONS.

In several chapters, letters, written by or addressed to Boccherini or others, play an important role. In order to avoid repeated references to the sources and editions of these letters, full data are given in a list immediately following this preface. In the chapters themselves a reference may be given that refers to the main edition of the letter. Quotations from letters (or from any document) are always given in the original language first and followed by an English translation. An exception is made for the letters by Boccherini that are only known through their French and English translations in Germaine de Rothschild's biography (Rothschild 1962, 1965). Quotations from these letters are given in the English translation by John Mayor (in Rothschild 1965) only.

A second list briefly describes a number of catalogues that play a role in the various chapters of this book. Also for this aspect preference is given to presenting references to sources and editions in a single list.

In order to avoid the continuous repetition of names of libraries, these names are often referred to with reference to their RISM sigla. These sigla are explained in a third list following this Preface.

After the list with RISM sigla follows the SELECTIVE CHECKLIST OF BOCCHERINI'S COMPOSITIONS and this is in turn followed by a brief overview of the composition of Boccherini's composite opuses Opp. 41-43.

At the end of the eighth and last chapter this book has not yet reached its conclusion. A common bibliography for all the chapters follows and a book such as this is not complete without extensive indexes. In addition to regular indexes of subjects and names one will find several other ones, such as one of letters cited, one of catalogues, one of manuscript sources, one of early editions and one of Boccherini's works.

It has already been stated that the manuscripts discussed in this book lay scattered in libraries spread all over Europe and the United States. The authors are deeply grateful to the librarians who take care of this invaluable material and put it at the disposal of the researcher. Perhaps it is not an accident that several of the authors are librarians themselves.

Six out of the eight chapters of this book are based on papers presented at the Second International Conference on Boccherini held in Madrid on 2-4 November 2011 at the Universidad Autónoma in Madrid and organized by Germán Labrador. The papers were, of course, revised and updated during the period following the conference and developed into texts that would make together a book rather than a collection of separate papers. Only Matanya Ophée decided to leave his chapter as it was when it was presented as a conference paper in 2011. Chapter Four, by Marco Mangani and Federica Rovelli, was written expressly for this book; it complements the other chapters in an effective way. Also the last chapter, by Jaime Tortella, was written expressly for this book.

The editor feels honoured that he was asked by the organizer of the conference to take care of this publication. He wishes to thank Rupert Ridgewell (London) and Loukia Drosopoulou (London) for their indispensable help and assistance regarding the English wording of the chapters written by non-native English writers.

With this book the editor and the authors hope to present to the reader and user a useful tool in the study of the sources of Boccherini's music.

Rudolf Rasch
Utrecht University
December 2013

LETTERS CITED

Engl = in English or English translation; Facs = Facsimile; Fr = in French or French translation; Ger = in German or German translation; It = in Italian; Sp = Spanish translation; Tr = Transcription.

Boccherini to Andreoli, 22 September 1780 (It)

A-Wst, Handschriftensammlung, I.N.67703. Rothschild 1962, 109-110 (Fr), 1965, 99-100 (Engl), 2010, 105-106 (Sp); Della Croce 1988, 244-245 (Tr); Morabito 2009, 146-147 (Tr), 178-180 (Facs); Mangani 2011a, 26-27 (Sp); Ridgewell, this book, 140-142 (Tr, Engl).

Kaunitz-Rietberg to Artaria, 30 September 1780 (It)

A-Wst, Handschriftensammlung, I.N.200.774. Ridgewell, this book, 144 (Tr, Engl), 153 (Facs).

Boccherini to Artaria, February 1781 (It)

Lost. Nohl 1867, 90 (Tr); Pohl 1878, II, 180-181, n. 6 (Tr); Artaria & Botstiber 1909, 11 (partial Tr); Rothschild 1962, 52 (Fr), 1965, 45 (Engl), 2010, 48 (Sp); Speck 1987, 185 (Tr); Le Guin 2006, 324 (Tr); Mangani 2011, 16 (Sp).

Haydn to Artaria, 27 May 1781 (Ger)

A-Wdermota. Nohl 1867, 83-85 (Tr); Artaria & Botstiber 1909, 11-13 (Tr); Robbins Landon 1959, 27-29 (Engl); Bartha 1965, 95-96, Letter 33 (Tr); Speck 1987, 186 (partial Tr); Zeman 1987, 3-7 (Facs, Tr); Le Guin 2006, 324-325 (partial Tr).

Boccherini to Andreoli, 5 June 1781 (It)

D-B, Mus. p. 1. Boccherini 1. Romero Naranjo 2006, 105-106 (Facs); Morabito 2009, 147-148 (Tr), 181 (Facs); Mangani 2011a, 28 (Sp); Ridgewell, this book, 148-149 (Tr, Eng).

Frederick William II to Boccherini, 1 November 1783 (It)

Lost. Formerly Madrid, Collection Boccherini. Boccherini 1879, 15-16 (Tr); Rothschild 1962, 54-55 (Fr), 1965, 48 (Engl), 2010, 52-53 (Sp); Mangani 2011a, 7-8 (Sp).

Frederick William II to Boccherini, 21 January 1786 (It)

Lost. Formerly Madrid, Collection Boccherini. Boccherini 1879, 16 (Tr); Rothschild 1962, 59 (Fr), 1965, 52 (Engl), 2010, 57 (Sp); Mangani 2011a, 9 (Sp).

Boccherini to Pleyel, 11 October 1796 (It)

Lost. Formerly Paris, Archives Pleyel, No. 52. Rothschild 1962, 116-118 (Fr), 1965, 104-105 (Eng), 2010, 112-113 (Sp); Della Croce 1988, 246-248 (Fr); Mangani 2011a, 42-44 (Sp).

Boccherini to Pleyel, 12 December, 1796 (It)

Lost. Formerly Paris, Archives Pleyel, No. 57. Rothschild 1962, 126-127 (Fr), 1965, 111-112 (Eng), 2010, 122-123 (Sp); Della Croce 1988, 245-246 (Fr); Mangani 2011a, 54-56 (Sp).

Frederick William III to Boccherini, 2 March 1798 (It)

Berlin, Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Abt. Spanien. Rothschild 1962, 72-73 (Fr), 1965, 64 (Engl), 2010, 68-69 (Sp); Mangani 2011a, 12 (Sp).

Boccherini to Pleyel, 24 December 1798 (It)

Lost. Formerly Paris, Archives Pleyel, No. 67. Rothschild 1962, 151-155 (Fr), 1965, 128-131 (Eng), 2010, 143-145 (Sp); Della Croce 1988, 267-269 (Tr); Mangani 2011a, 96-101 (Sp). Rothschild and Della Croce date the letter, probably erroneously, 27 December 1798.

De Fossa to Picquot, 8 August 1847 (Fr)

F-PEad, Fonds Fossa, J 20 B 6. Ophee 1981, 20-21 (Tr, Engl).

Picquot to De Fossa, 22 August 1847 (Fr)

F-PEad, Fonds Fossa, J 20 B 6. Ophee 1981, 24-25 (Tr, Engl).

Whemall to Marshall, 8 November 1881 (Engl)

US-COophee. Tortella, this book, 182 (Tr), 188-189 (Facs).

Alfredo Boccherini to Marshall, 14 February 1884 (Fr)

US-COophee. Tortella, this book, 182-185 (Tr, Engl), 190-196 (Facs).

Monro to Marshall, 17 May 1885 (Engl)

US-COophee. Tortella, this book, 187 (Tr), 198 (Facs).

CATALOGUES CITED

- Nota 1 “Nota delle opere non date ancora a nessuno” (List of the works not yet given to anybody). October 1796. E-Mn, MC/4619/22.
<http://bibliotecadigitalhispanica.bne.es>
- Nota 2 “Nota della musica mandata a Parigi l’anno 1790 o 1791” (List of the music sent to Paris in 1790 or 1791). October 1796. F-Pn, Ms. 1612.
<http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b7400138n>
- Catalogo 1 “Catalogo delle opere da me Luigi Boccherini cedute in tutta proprietà al Signor Ignazio Pleyel” (Catalogue of the works ceded in full property by me, Luigi Boccherini, to Mr. Ignace Pleyel). October 1796. GB-Lbl, Zweig MS 18.
http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ind=ex=17&ref=Zweig_MS_18
- Catalogo 2B Untitled. First half of 1797. US-NYpm, Cary 49.
<http://www.themorgan.org/music/manuscript/114259>
- Catalogo 4 Untitled. 23 June 1799. Collection Rothschild. Gérard 1969, Illustration No. 5.
<http://www.luigiboccherini.it/gerard>
- Catalogue Baillet “Catalogo delle Opere di Musica Composte da Luigi Boccherini”. Early 19th century. F-Pn, Vma Ms. 1074.
- Picquot 1851 See Bibliography.
- Catalogue Farrenc *Catalogue de la bibliothèque musicale théorique et pratique du feu M. A. Farrenc* (Paris: J.F. Delion, 1866).
- Catálogo 1879 “Catálogo de las obras de música de Luis Boccherini”. In Boccherini 1879, 29-40. Also in Tortella 2002, 481-493.

- Liepmannssohn 1904 *Katalog 154. Abteilung A-E. Musique Instrumentale, y compris une précieuse collection d'anciens ouvrages de violon, provenant des bibliothèques de L. Picquot, biographe de Luigi Boccherini, et de B. Cartier, (1765-1841), le célèbre violoniste et élève de Viotti.* Berlin: Leo Liepmannssohn, [1904].
- Gérard 1969 See Bibliography.
- RISM A/I *Einzeldrucke vor 1800, Band 1-9* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1971-1981 = Répertoire International des Sources Musicales A/I).

LIBRARY SIGLA

A-Wst	Vienna, Wienbibliothek im Rathaus
A-Wdermota	Vienna, Collection Anton Dermota
CH-E	Einsiedeln, Kloster
D-B	Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, Musikabteilung
E-Mah	Madrid, Archivo Histórico Nacional
E-Mc	Madrid, Conservatorio Superior de Música
E-Mn	Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional
E-Mp	Madrid, Biblioteca del Palacio
F-MH	Mulhouse, Bibliothèque-Médiathèque
F-Pn	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département de la Musique
F-Po	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Bibliothèque-Musée de l'Opéra
F-PEad	Perpignan, Archives départementales des Pyrénées Orientales
GB-Lbl	London, British Library
I-Gi	Genoa, Conservatorio statale di Musica "Niccolò Paganini"
I-Li	Lucca, Istituto Musicale "Luigi Boccherini"
I-Mc	Milan, Conservatorio di Musica "Giuseppe Verdi"
I-PAc	Parma, Biblioteca Palatina
RUS-Mcm	Moscow, Gosudarstvennyj central'nyj muzej muzykal'noj kul'tury im. M. I. Glinki (Glinka Museum)
RUS-SPsc	Saint-Petersburg, Rossijskaja nazional'naja biblioteka im. M.E. Saltykova-Ščedrina (National Library Saltykov-Ščedrin)
US-CAh	Cambridge (MA), Harvard University, Houghton Library

US-COophee	Columbus (OH), Collection Matanya Opee
US-NYpm	New York (NY), Pierpont-Morgan Library
US-Wc	Washington (D.C.), Library of Congress

A SELECTIVE CHECKLIST OF BOCCHERINI'S WORKS

Sets of works contain six works, unless otherwise stated. Sets of *opere piccole*—from Op. 22 onwards—have been titled Terzettini, Quartettini or Quintettini, following Boccherini's practice as visible in the Catalogue Baillot and the Catálogo 1879. The dates of works with an opus number are according to Boccherini's own catalogues, the Catalogue Baillot, the Catálogo 1879 and the extant manuscript sources. If these sources provide different dates, all dates are given. If for works without an opus number reasonable guesses about their dating are available, these works have been inserted in the list of dated or datable works.

DATED OR DATABLE WORKS

Trios Op. 1 (1760, G77-82)
Quartets Op. 2 (1760, G159-164)
Duets Op. 3 (1761, G56-61)
La confederazione dei Sabini con Roma (1765, G543)
Trios Op. 4 (1766, G83-88)
Sonatas Op. 5 (1768, G25-30)
Trios Op. 6 (1769, G89-94)
Concerto Op. 7 (1769, G491)
Quartets Op. 8 (1769, G165-170)
Quartets Op. 9 (1770, G171-176)
Quintets Op. 10 (1771, G265-270)
Quintets Op. 11 (1771, G271-276)
Symphonies Op. 12 (1771, G503-508)
Quintets Op. 13 (1772, G277-282)
Trios Op. 14 (1772, G95-100)
Quartets Op. 15 (1772, G177-182)
Sextets Op. 16 (1773, G461-466)
Flute Quintets Op. 17 (1773, G419-424)
Quintets Op. 18 (1774/1, G283-288)
Flute Quintets Op. 19 (1774/2, G425-430)
Quintets Op. 20 (1775/1, G289-294)
Symphonies Op. 21 (1775/2, G493-498)

Quartettini Op. 22 (1775/3, G183-188)
Sextets Op. 23 (1776, G454-459)
Quartets Op. 24 (1776/3, 1777/1, 1778, G189-194)
Quintets Op. 25 (1778, G295-300)
Quartettini Op. 26 (1778, G195-200)
Quintettini Op. 27 (1779/1, G301-306)
Quintets Op. 28 (1779/2, G307-312)
Quintets Op. 29 (1779/3, G313-318)
Quintettini Op. 30 (1780/1, G319-324)
Quintets Op. 31 (1780/2, G325-330)
Quartets Op. 32 (1780/3, G201-206)
Quartettini Op. 33 (1781/1, G207-212)
Stabat Mater (first version) (1781[?/2?], G532)
Trios Op. 34 (1781/3, G101-106)
Symphonies Op. 35 (1782/1, G509-514)
Quintettini Op. 36 (1784/2, 1786, G331-336)
Clementina, zarzuela (1786, G540)
Symphonies Op. 37/1-4 (1786, 1787, G515-518)
Sextets and Octet Op. 38 (1787, G467-472)
Double Bass Quintets Op. 39/1-3 (1787, G337-339)
Quartet Op. 39 (1787, G213)
Quintettini Op. 40 (1788, G340-345)
Quartets Op. 41/1-2 (1788, G214-215)
Quintets Op. 41/1-2 (1788, G346-347)
Symphony Op. 41 (1788, G519)
Gioco di Minuetti Op. 41 (1788, G525)
Quartettini Op. 42/1-2 (1789, G216-217)
Quintets Op. 42/1-2 (1789, G348-349)
Quintettino Op. 42/3 (1789, G350)
Quintet Op. 42/4 (1789, G351)
Octet Op. 42 (1789, G473)
Symphony Op. 42 (1789, G520)
Quartettini Op. 43/1-2 (1790, G218-219)
Quintettino Op. 43/1 (1790, G352)
Quintets Op. 43/2-3 (1790, G353-354)
Symphony Op. 43 (1790, G521)
Arie Accademiche (1791?, G544-555)
Duetto *La destra ti chiedo* (1792, G559)
Quartettini Op. 44 (1792, G220-225)
Quintets Op. 45/1-4 (1792, G355-358)
Symphony Op. 45 (1792, G522)

Quintets Op. 46 (1793, G359-364)
 Terzettini Op. 47 (173, G107-112)
 Quartettini Op. 48 (1794, G226-231)
 Quintets Op. 49/1-5 (1794, G365-369)
 Quintettini Op. 50 (1795, G370-375)
 Quintets Op. 51/1-2 (1795, G376-377)
 Quartets Op. 52/1-4 (1795, G232-235)
 Quartettini Op. 53 (1796, G236-241)
 Trios Op. 54 (1796, G113-118)
 Flute Quintettini Op. 55 (1797, G431-436)
 Piano Quintets Op. 56 (1797, G407-412)
 Sonatas Op. 5 (revision, 1798?, G25-30)
 Symphony (1798?, G523)
Scena dell'Inés de Castro (1798, G541)
 Piano Quintets Op. 57 (1799, G413-418)
 Quartets Op. 58 (1799, G242-247)
Missa Op. 59 (1800, G528)
 Double-Viola Quintets Op. 60 (1801, G391-396)
Stabat Mater (second version) Op. 61 (1800, 1801, G532)
 Double-Viola Quintets Op. 62 (1802, G397-402)
 Quintets Op. 62 (1802, G397-402)
Cantata al Santo Natale Op. 63 (1802, G535)
 Quartets Op. 64/1-2 (1804, G248-249)

UNDATED AND UNDATABLE WORKS

Kyrie (early 1760s?, G529)
Gloria (early 1760s?, G530)
Credo (early 1760s?, G531)
Laudate pueri (early 1760s?, not in Gérard 1969)
Giuseppe riconosciuto, oratorio (early 1760s, G537)
Gioas re di Giudea, oratorio (early 1760s, G538)
 Cello Sonatas (G1-19, G562-569)
 Double-Viola Quintets (G379-390)
 Guitar Quintets (G445-453)
 Cello Concertos (G474-484)

THE COMPOSITE OPUSES (OPP. 41-43)

The opuses 41-43 include works of different genres, which may have the same opus and work number. To avoid confusion, the tables below list these works per opus in their order of the Gérard catalogue, with the keys and the years and months of their submission to Frederick William II (not always known) added.

Opus 41 (1788)

Work	Gérard 1969	Key	Month and Year
Quartet Op. 41/1	G214	E-flat Major	May 1788
Quartet Op. 41/2	G215	C Major	June 1788
Quintet Op. 41/1	G346	E-flat Major	August 1788
Quintet Op. 41/2	G347	F Major	October 1788
Symphony Op. 41	G519	C Minor	January 1788
Gioco di Minuetti Op. 41	G525		March 1788

Opus 42 (1789)

Work	Gérard 1969	Key	Month and Year
Quartettino Op. 42/1	G216	A Major	February 1789
Quartettino Op. 42/2	G217	C Major	April 1789
Quintet Op. 42/1	G348	F Minor	March 1789
Quintet Op. 42/2	G349	C Major	unknown
Quintettino Op. 42/3	G350	B Minor	November 1789
Quintet Op. 42/4	G351	G Minor	December 1789
Octet Op. 42	G473	E-flat Major	unknown
Symphony Op. 42	G520	D Major	January 1789

Opus 43 (1790)

Work	Gérard 1969	Key	Month and Year
Quartettino Op. 43/1	G218	A Major	March 1790
Quartettino Op. 43/2	G219	A Major	November 1790
Quintettino Op. 43/1	G352	E-flat Major	January 1790
Quintet Op. 43/2	G353	D Major	February 1790
Quintet Op. 43/3	G354	F Major	April 1790
Symphony Op. 43	G521	D Major	December 1790

CHAPTER ONE

BOCCHERINI'S MANUSCRIPTS: A TYPOLOGY

RUDOLF RASCH
(UTRECHT UNIVERSITY)

Boccherini's music is available today in a large number of early manuscript sources. Most important among these are, of course, those prepared either by the composer himself or in his immediate environment and presumably under his personal supervision. The latter are almost as valuable as the true autographs themselves. The various autograph and non-autograph manuscripts of Boccherini's music have been studied quite intensively during the last half century but relatively little attention has been paid to the different types that can be distinguished within the broad categories of autographs and authorized copies. Manuscripts may have been written for a variety of goals and this gives rise to the distinction between several types of manuscripts and therefore to a typology. This chapter will deal with these aspects of Boccherini's manuscripts.

The creative career of the composer spans the years from the late 1750s to 1804 and can be divided into five periods. The first period includes the "Early Works", those written in Lucca, Vienna or Paris, or during the first years in Madrid, before the composer entered into the service of the Spanish Infante Don Luis de Borbón. As far as works with opus numbers—that is, chamber music and orchestral works—are concerned, Opus 1 to 9 belong to this period, written in the decade 1760-1770. They were published in Paris in various editions from 1767 onwards with opus numbers assigned to them by their publishers among whom Jean-Baptiste Venier is certainly the most important. In this period Boccherini also wrote vocal music, most often sacred, as well as sonatas and concertos for his favourite instrument, the violoncello, but these compositions remained—apart from four cello concertos published by the Bureau d'Abonnement Musical in Paris—unpublished and did not receive an opus number, neither from the composer nor from their publisher.

The Second Period includes the works written from 1771 to 1776 in the service of the Infante Don Luis and published shortly afterwards in Paris, by publishers such as Venier, Louis-Balthazard de La Chevardière and Jean-Georges Sieber. Opus 10 to 24 belong to this period. The Third Period includes the works written in the service of the Infante but no longer published in Paris soon after their composition. These works were written in the years 1778-1784. Opus 24 to 36 belong to this period. Some were published by the Artaria firm in Vienna or by Antonio Zatta in Venice, others in Paris, but the latter ones only much later.

The Fourth Period includes the works that were written for the Prussian King Frederick William II, in the years 1786-1797. They were sent to Berlin in monthly instalments. Opus 37 to 56 belong to this period. Several of these works were published in Paris by Ignace Pleyel from 1798 onwards.

And finally there is the Fifth Period, that of the “Late Works”, those written during the years 1798-1804, after Boccherini’s service for the Prussian King had ended. Opus 57 to 64 fall in this period.

In the overview of manuscript types that follows the focus will be on the works for instrumental ensemble or orchestra, those listed in Boccherini’s official catalogue. The sonatas and concertos for the cello, the guitar quintets and most of the vocal works will be mainly passed by.

The First Period: The Early Works

No autograph manuscripts or authorized copies of early works with opus numbers by Boccherini are known today. It may be assumed, however, that the composer prepared scores of these works that he kept with him during the travels that led him from Lucca via Paris to Madrid, scores that may be called Reference Scores. There is evidence for the existence once of such an early Reference Score: that of the Trios Opus 4 (1767, G83-88), which was, at least in 1879-1884, still in possession of the great-grandchildren of the composer (Boccherini 1879, 30; Tortella, this book, 183-185).

Although no autograph manuscripts of instrumental ensemble works are known from the First Period, there are some extant autographs of early vocal music, such as those of the oratorios *Giuseppe riconosciuto* (I-Mc, ZZZ 1616; G537) and *Gioas, re di Giudea* (I-Gi, 11537; G538), the cantata *La confederazione dei Sabini con Roma* (I-Li, P.I.234; G543) and the Psalm *Laudate pueri* (I-Li, Ms. Boccherini 1; not in Gérard 1969; Battelli, this book). These scores were obviously prepared as conducting scores for performances and for this reason they can be called Performance Scores. They were written more or less in haste.

The Parisian publisher Jean-Baptiste Venier was Boccherini's most important publisher in these years. He published reliable editions of Opus 2 and 4 to 9 in the brief time span from 1767 to 1772 and these editions must be seen as authorized:

Works	Authorized First Edition
Quartets Op. 2 (1761, G159-164)	<i>Sei sinfonie ossia sei quartetti</i> (Venier Op. 1, [1767])
Trios Op. 4 (1766, G83-88)	<i>Sei sinfonie</i> (Venier Op. 4, [1768])
Sonatas Op. 5 (1768, G25-30)	<i>Sei sonate</i> (Venier Op. 5, [1768])
Trios Op. 6 (1769, G89-94)	<i>Sei trio</i> (Venier Op. 9, [1771])
Concerto Op. 7 (1769, G491)	<i>Concerto</i> (Venier Op. 8, [1770])
Quartets Op. 8 (1769, G165-170)	<i>VI Quartetti</i> (Venier Op. 6, [1769])
Quartets Op. 9 (1770, G171-176)	<i>Sei quartetti</i> (Venier Op. 10, [1772])

In Boccherini's catalogues all these works are assigned to Venier so there is no reason to doubt the authorization of these editions. At least two of these works, the Trios Op. 6 (G89-94) and the Quartets Op. 9 (G171-176), were also published in Madrid, in editions engraved by Juan Palomino, as *Seys Tryos* ([1771]) and, probably, 'Seis cuartetos' ([1772]) respectively (Rasch, forthcoming a). Their advertisements in the *Gaceta de Madrid* point to a slightly earlier publication than the corresponding Parisian editions and this shows that they have to be considered authorized editions as well, independent from the Parisian ones.

Venier's engravers in Paris and Palomino in Madrid must have done their work on the basis of scores provided by the composer. Such scores can be called Publication Scores. Unfortunately, none of these Publication Scores is extant today; but they must have existed once, copied from the Reference Score, either by the composer himself or by a copyist.¹

Four of these early editions have a dedication. The *Sei sonate* (Venier Op. 5, 1768) were dedicated to Mme de Brillon de Jouy, that is Anne-Louise Boyvin d'Hardencourt (1744-1824), the *Seys Tryos* (Madrid, 1771) and the corresponding Parisian publication *Sei trio* (Venier Op. 9, 1771) to "Carlo Principe de Asturias", that is the Heir to the Spanish Crown, Prince Charles, later King Charles IV (1748-1819), and the *VI Quartetti* (Venier Op. 6) to the Infante Don Luis, Boccherini's later employer. Mme de Brillon will have received a printed copy of the Sonatas Op. 5, the Prince of the Asturias one of the *Seys Tryos* (Madrid, 1771), the Infante a printed

¹ In general, very few Publication Scores from earlier centuries seem to be extant. This must mean that composers did not expect them to be sent back after publication or did not care to have them back once the publication was available. Publishers must have approached these scores with the same attitude.

copy of the Venier edition of the Quartets Op. 6 (if not a manuscript Dedication Score). The Parisian edition of the Quartets Op. 9, the *Sei quartetti* (Venier Op. 10, 1772), was dedicated “alli Signori Dilettanti di Madrid” as was probably the now lost Madrilanian edition that must have preceded it (Rasch, forthcoming a).

The Trios Op. 1 (1760, G77-82) were published by Antoine Bailleux in 1767, but this edition is based on a circulating manuscript, not on one provided by the composer. In the Catalogue Baillet and the Catálogo 1879 this work was assigned to the Parisian publisher Louis-Balthazard de La Chevardière, but the latter did not produce such an edition.

The first edition of the Duets Op. 3 (1761, G56-60) is a complicated case. The Catalogue Baillet and the Catálogo 1879 assign the work to Venier, but the edition was published by La Chevardière (*Six duo* Op. 5, 1768). The quality of the musical text of the edition is less than that of Venier’s editions of Boccherini’s works of this period so it remains unclear whether or not the edition was based on a Publication Score provided by the composer (Rasch 2009).

The Second Period: The Earlier Works Written for the Infante

The Second Period covers about the first half of the works written in the service of the Infante Don Luis de Borbón.

In the Bibliothèque nationale de France in Paris there is a modern-bound volume (F-Pn, Ms. 16735) with the Violino Primo parts of a series of sets of quintets, from Op. 10 to Op. 20, composed from 1771 to 1775, and two sets of symphonies, Opp. 12 and 21, composed in 1771 and 1775 respectively, arranged as quintets (Drosopoulou 2011a). The following overview can be given:

Works	Performance Parts (Violino Primo)	Copyist
Quintets Op. 10 (1771, G265-270)	F-Pn, Ms. 16735 (1)	Autograph
Quintets Op. 11 (1771, G271-276),	F-Pn, Ms. 16735 (2)	SA 2
“Quintets” Op. 12 (G503-508)	F-Pn, Ms. 16735 (3)	Vallejo
Quintets Op. 13 (1772, G277-282)	F-Pn, Ms. 16735 (4)	Autograph
Flute Quintets Op. 17 (1773, G419-424)	F-Pn, Ms. 16735 (5)	Autograph
Quintets Op. 18 (1774, G283-288)	F-Pn, Ms. 16735 (6)	Autograph
Flute Quintets Op. 19 (1774, G425-430)	F-Pn, Ms. 16735 (7)	SA 2
Quintets Op. 20 (1775, G289-294)	F-Pn, Ms. 16735 (8)	Autograph
“Quintets” Op. 21 (G493-498)	F-Pn, Ms. 16735 (9)	Vallejo

Five sets were copied by the composer himself, two (the Quintets Opp. 11 and 19) by a Spanish copyist referred to as "Spanish Anonymous No. 2" (SA2) by Loukia Drosopoulou (this book, 83-85) and two (the "Quintets" Opp. 12 and 21) by José Vallejo, a copyist at the Spanish Court in the early years of the nineteenth century (Drosopoulou 2011, 158). Paper, rastrology and Boccherini's musical handwriting make clear that the autograph parts were not written at the time of composition, but later, about 1787-1790 (Drosopoulou 2011a, 158-159).² The parts written by the copyist Spanish Anonymous No. 2 date from the same period, those written by Vallejo from shortly after 1800. This probably means that the parts of the original quintets were probably all written more or less at the same time and that the parts of the quintet arrangements of the symphonies were added later to the collection. Before the manuscript entered the Bibliothèque nationale de France it was in the possession of the French musicologist Georges de Saint-Foix (1874-1954). It is not known when or how he had acquired it. He did not mention it in the second edition of Picquot's *Notice*, which he published in 1930.

The parts in Paris are all in oblong format and measure about 22 x 31 cm, with ten staves per page. They are written on good paper, most often by the Catalan paper maker Romaní.³ The Violino Primo parts of the quintet arrangements of the Symphonies Opp. 12 and 21 are of course written on later paper, but from the Romaní mill as well (Drosopoulou 2011a, 159). All these scores and parts are in fact sets of six manuscripts, one for each work in the set.

There is no indication that the parts contained in the manuscript were written for any other person or institution than the composer himself. One may assume therefore that they were written for performances in the composer's own circle; they will be called here Performance Parts.

It may be assumed that by this time Boccherini prepared Reference Scores of his works for his own use and sets of Performance Parts for performances of the works at the court of the Infante. No original parts of this kind from this period are preserved today. That new Performance Parts had to be written for a number of works in the years 1787-1790 may mean that he no longer had access to the original parts from the court of the Infante, who had died in 1785.

As stated above, works from this period were published systematically in Paris. The Catalogue Baillot and the Catálogo 1879 assign them—with one exception (the Quartets Op. 15)—to Venier, but in fact several were

² Data about the rastrology of manuscripts mentioned in this chapter are derived from the author's own observations.

³ Only the Quintets Op. 11/3-6 are on paper by the Catalan paper maker Guarro.

published by La Chevardière or Sieber. One may assume that Venier sold the scores to them simply because Boccherini provided him with more music than he could process. One set, the Quartets Op. 15, was published by Boccherini in Madrid as well, an edition that is known today only through its reissue by the Venetian publishers Luigi Marescalchi and Carlo Canobbio (Rasch, forthcoming a). The following table is an overview of the authorized first editions of works from the “early Infante period”:

Works	Edition
Quintets Op. 10 (1771/1, G265-270)	<i>Sei quintetti</i> (Venier Op. 12, [1774])
Quintets Op. 11 (1771/2, G271-276)	<i>Sei quintetti</i> (Venier Op. 13, [1774])
Symphonies Op. 12 (1771/3, G503-508)	<i>Sinfonie</i> (La Chev. Op. 16, [1776])
Quintets Op. 13 (1772/1, G277-282)	<i>Sei quintetti</i> (Venier Op. 20, [1776])
Trios Op. 14 (1772/2, G95-100)	<i>Sei trio</i> (La Chev. Op. 14, [1774])
Quartets Op. 15 (1772/3, G177-182)	‘Seis cuartetos’ (Madrid, [1773]) <i>Sei divertimenti</i> (Venier Op. 11, [1773])
Sextets Op. 16 (1773/1, G461-466)	<i>Sei sextuor</i> (La Chev. Op. 15, [1775])
Flute Quintets Op. 17 (1773, G419-424)	<i>Sei quintetti</i> (La Chev. Op. 21, [1775])
Quintets Op. 18 (1774/1, G283-288)	<i>Sei quintetti</i> (La Chev. Op. 17, [1776])
Flute Quintets Op. 19 (1774/2, G425-430)	<i>Sei quintetti</i> (La Chev. Op. 25, [1777])
Quintets Op. 20 (1775/1, G289-294)	<i>Sei quinetti</i> (Venier Op. 23, [1777])
Symphonies Op. 21 (1775/2, G493-498)	<i>Sei sinfonie</i> (Sieber Op. 22, [1776-77])
Quartettini Op. 22 (1775/3, G183-188)	<i>Sei quartetti</i> (La Chev. Op. 26, [1776])
Sextets Op. 23 (1776/1, G454-459)	<i>Sei sextuor</i> (Sieber Op. 24, [1777])
Quartets Op. 24 (1776/3, G189-194)	<i>Sei quartetti</i> (Sieber Op. 27, [1778-79])

All these editions mention on the title page that the composer was a *Compositore e Virtuoso di Camera di Sua Altezza Reale Don Luigi Infante di Spagna* (or a *Virtuoso di Camera e Compositore di Musica*), but only a few of them have this phrase preceded by one stating that the pieces were “composti per Sua Altezza Reale il Signor Infante Don Luigi di Spagna”, notably the *Sei trio*, the *Sei sextuor* and the *Sinfonie* published by La Chevardière as Opp. 14, 15 and 16 respectively. The Publication Scores from which the editions were prepared will, however, all have had such a phrase on the title page, as the ones that are extant suggest.

Four autograph scores from this period, now all in the Bibliothèque nationale de France in Paris, can be considered to be Publication Scores written for editions listed in the table above:

Works	Publication Score
Sextets Op. 16 (1773/1, G461-466)	F-Pn, Ms. 1610
Symphonies Op. 21 (1775/2, G493-498)	F-Pn, Ms. 1293
Sextets Op. 23 (1776/1, G454-459)	F-Pn, Ms. 1611
Quartets Op. 24 (1777/1, G189-194)	F-Pn, Ms. 1292

The quality as Publication Score is most evident in the manuscript of the Sextets Op. 16 (F-Pn, Ms. 1610). This manuscript contains systematic indications of the division of the music over the staves (see Plate 1.1), which correspond with the actual divisions in Sieber's edition. There are several remarks in the manuscript clearly written there for the engraver.

The title page of the manuscript of the Symphonies Op. 21 (F-Pn, Ms. 1293) has the original title "Sinfonia a più stromenti" changed by a contemporary hand into "Sei [sinfonia] per due Violini, Viola e Basso, oboi o flauti e corni", which is the title of Sieber's edition as Op. 22. This at least suggests that this manuscript was used for the edition.

The manuscript of the Sextets Op. 23 (F-Pn, Ms. 1611) seems at first sight to be a rather clean and neat autograph manuscript, like a Reference Score (see Plate 3.1). Notwithstanding it contains instructions such as "point de reprise" (no repeat; fols. 16r, 19r, 21v, 22v, 234, 70r) to suppress the repeat of the second halves of the Larghetto of the Sextet No. 1 and of the Trios of the Sextets Nos. 1 and 2. Indeed in Sieber's edition these repeats are missing. The numbers III, IV, V and VI in the headings of the Sextets Nos. 3 to 6 are crossed through and replaced by the numbers 6, 5, 3 and 4, their order in the Sieber edition. It is interesting to see that further on in the manuscript the writing gets more hasty and less careful. In addition, there are a number of passages crossed through and replaced by other notes (in particular, fols. 35v, 59v, 112r, 128r). These appear not to be simple corrections, but are changes in the composition. This confirms rather than contradicts the quality of the manuscript as a Publication Score. Giuliano Castellani's research regarding the editions of the Quartets Op. 15 has shown that different authorized editions of the same work may contain variants in comparison to one another, which means that Boccherini could change a composition when writing a Publication Score (Castellani, forthcoming).⁴

The quality of the manuscript of the Quartets Op. 24 (F-Pn, Ms. 1292) as a Publication Score is less clear, but it shares with the other manuscripts the hasty handwriting and the occurrence of changes in the composition (fols. 3r, 5v, 19r, 28v, 58v; see Plate 1.2). Sieber's edition follows all these changes.

The four manuscripts described here as Publication Scores share the paper on which they are written. It is not the Romaní paper of the later Performance Parts described above, but paper of a lesser quality, with a

⁴ The Publication Score of the Sextets Op. 16 (F-Pn, Ms. 1610) also has many corrections that are changes in the composition (fols. 49r, 59r, 76v, 77r, 78rv, 104rv, 105r, 121r, 134v-135r, 152v, 153v).

watermark consisting of a bull inside a circle, with a clearly visible phallus (Plate 1.7). I have not been able to identify the maker of this paper.

Around the middle of the nineteenth century the manuscript of the Sextets Op. 16 was in the hands of the French flautist and collector Aristide Farrenc (1794-1865; Picquot 1851, 73; Catalogue Farrenc 1866, 120, No. 1462), that of the Symphonies Op. 21 in those of the harpist Antoine Prumier (1794-1868) and/or his son Conrad Prumier, also harpist (1820-1884; see the stamp “PRUMIER” on the lower right corner of the outside front cover, see Plate 1.3), and the manuscripts of the Sextets Op. 23 and the Quartets Op. 24 in those of Louis Picquot (1804-1870; Picquot 1851, 76 and 77; the manuscript of the Quartets Op. 24 has a stamp “LOUIS PICQUOT” on the title page, see Plates 1.4 and 1.5). The respective owners may have acquired these manuscripts from the Sieber shop, in the 1820s or early 1830s, when the firm was run by Georges-Julien Sieber. Three of the four manuscripts concern works published by Georges-Julien’s father Jean-Georges Sieber, one manuscript, that of the Sextets Op. 16, a work published by La Chevardière, whose catalogue was later incorporated in that of the Sieber firm.

Picquot’s Sextets Op. 23 were acquired by a person named Louis Labitte, of Reims, about whom no further information is available (Vidal 1878, xxxij). Later, probably around 1900, all four manuscripts were in the collection of Charles Malherbe (1853-1911), librarian of the Paris Opera. His stamp is found ubiquitously on all of these four manuscripts (Plate 1.6). After his death the manuscripts entered the library of the Paris Conservatoire, now in the Département de la Musique of the Bibliothèque nationale de France.

Scores of the Trios Op. 14 (1772, G95-100), the Quintets Op. 18 (1774, G283-288) and the Flute Quintettini Op. 19 (1774, G425-430) belonged to the collection of Germaine de Rothschild (1884-1975).⁵ Gérard (1969) considered them scores that Boccherini wrote for his own use, but there are in fact reasons to believe they were Publication Scores. The score of the Trios Op. 14 has a rather complete and non-standard title and this title is exactly reproduced on the title page of La Chevardière’s edition. The score of the Quintets Op. 18 does not have a general title, but the titles of the single quintets (see Gérard 1969, Illustration 2) very much resemble those of the single quartets in the Publication Score of the Quartets Op. 24. The somewhat hasty handwriting also reminds one of the Publication

⁵ The illustration in Gérard’s catalogue (1969, Illustration 2) seemingly is the only accessible reproduction of any page of the three Rothschild scores. Pina Carmirelli used the Rothschild manuscript for her edition of the Quintets Op. 18 (Rome: Istituto Italiano per la Storia della Musica, 1972).