

Luigi Boccherini:
Patronage and musical life
in Madrid
between 1768 and 1805

Research paper

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Introduction

Luigi Boccherini was born in Lucca (Tuscany) in 1743. He developed a career as cellist and composer and after touring the north of Italy, Viena and Paris arrived in Spain in 1768 in unclear circumstances. He never came out of his new homeland again and died in Madrid in 1805. Therefore he lived and worked in Spain for almost 40 years being considered even as a Spanish composer by his contemporaries.

He was one of the most prolific and appreciated chamber music composers of the Classical Period but his name was forgotten soon and it was not until the 20th century that he attracted the attention of researchers and musicians. But even then the first researches fell into mistakes and myths about his economic difficulties and the lack of interest that his music suffered in Spain or his disconnection to the rest of Europe. Fortunately these myths have been refused during the last ten years thanks to musicologists as Miguel Ángel Marín and Jaime Tortella.

But even so there are some myths about his musical environment in Spain being such a different country from the leading European nations of the time. What I always heard from child was “poor Boccherini, being a musician of talent he was prejudiced by the ignorance and the retardation of his adoptive country”. So was this true? Were Boccherini’s circumstances comparable to those of other composers of the time? These are the questions I have tried to answer by reconstructing the musical life in which he worked. My research is therefore a historical one.

1. Concert life

In the 18th century the first public concerts series appear in London and Paris. It was a direct consequence of the increase of a bourgeois middle class. This is one of the most important social elements of the time and determined also the emergence of a flourishing editorial market addressed to this middleclass that demanded new pieces to be played in small house concerts. Let's see how this developed in Madrid.

Public concerts

Following the European tendencies public concerts series were organized in Madrid under the name of *conciertos espirituales* or *cuaresmales* by influence of the famous series in Paris.

The first *conciertos cuaresmales* and the *sinfonia concertante* of 1769

OPERA 7ª.- Concerto grande á più stromenti obbligati, composto in Madrid per le Academie che si fecero nell' teatro chiniato de los Caños del Peral.- Stampata á Parigi á Venier.¹

This is how Alfredo Boccherini y Calonje - the composer's great-grandson - refers to the first symphony by Boccherini, finished in 1769. The theater of *Los Caños del Peral* was built in the beginning of the 18th century as a modest Opera House for Italian performances and from 1787 on was also where the *conciertos cuaresmales* or *espirituales* took place. In the paragraph XVIII of the *Reglamento para el mejor orden y policía del Teatro de la Opera, cuyo privilegio se ha servido conceder el Rey a los Reales Hospitales, aprobado por S. M. y comunicado a la Sala de Alcaldes para su publicación en virtud de R. O. de 11 de diciembre de 1786*² it is established that during the Lent weeks there would be *academias musicales* given - what we can understand to be public concerts. Many times this has been said to be the starting point of the Lent Concerts³ but the *Concerto grande á più stromenti* was composed almost twenty years before and it was already meant for the *academias* in *Los Caños del Peral*...

The answer appears to be difficult and not very clear partly due to the absence of any theater or concert advertisement before 1787⁴. On the 13th of March 1767 a new

¹ (Boccherini y Calonje, 1878). Venier published the piece with a false dedication to the Royal Court (Tortella, 2010)

² (Diario curioso, erudito, económico y comercial)

³ (Zaslaw, 1989) (Ortega Rodríguez, 2010)

⁴ The first concert advertisement made on the *Diario curioso, erudito, económico y comercial* dates to 25/02/1787 corresponding to the new concert series. This *Diario* was the only daily press in Madrid at

decree of the Government sets up the first concert series in Madrid taking place on Sundays, Tuesdays and Thursdays during the whole Lent in the *Salón del Príncipe* also called *Teatro* or *Coliseo del Príncipe*. It contains very detailed information about audience distribution, entrance fees and appropriate behaviour in the hall but also tells us that the orchestra would be shaped by the most leading members of the *Real Capilla* as well as other “distinguished” professionals of Madrid. Lent had started on 4th of March so we must assume that these concerts did not take place in 1767. On the other hand the Government also set another new event in the *Teatro del Príncipe*. This was masquerade balls in Carnival. The decree for this spectacle dates from the 4th of January of the same year almost two months before Carnival. This is more than enough time to make us think that they really took place. Moreover in December of 1767 the city council decided to transfer the masquerades from *El Príncipe* to the recently renewed *Anfiteatro de los Caños del Peral* for the next year emphasizing the success of the first edition:

“Por el buen efecto, que se experimentó el año pasado con la diversión de Bayles disfrazados en el provisional Salón, que se dispuso del *Theatro del Principe*; se ha construido un nuevo Amphitheatro en la Plaza de los Caños del Peral con todas las conveniencias agradables, y necesarias a la multitud que asista.”⁵

But this time there is no news about the Lent Concerts. Did they take place in the following years? Were they transferred to *Los Caños* together with the successful masquerades? There are two facts that make me think that the answer to both questions is yes. The first one is a letter dated to 14th of February 1768 from the *Maestro* of the *Real Capilla* to a secretary of the King on the assistance of the members of the *Real Capilla* to the upcoming Lent Concerts⁶. The second one is the title given by Boccherini to his work and composed for the *academias* made in *Los Caños del Peral* in the Lent of 1769. Apparently the masquerades stopped in 1773 so very probably the first attempt of set a public concert series disappeared that year too. Anyway in 1787 they were restored.

The conciertos cuaresmales after 1787

As I said before the first *conciertos cuaresmales* were probably cancelled in 1773. But in 1786 the *Junta de hospitales* – the organism governing the hospitals in Madrid – asked permission for establishing an opera season in *Los Caños del Peral* in order to get money for the running of the hospitals. Charles III approved their request and the rules for its celebration were fixed in the *Reglamento para el mejor orden y policía del Teatro de la Opera [...]*. This regulation also established that during the Lent the opera performances would stop and would be offer public concerts.

that time. In 1788 it became into *Diario de Madrid* with a new name, form and content including usually theater and concerts advertisements

⁵ (Bayle de máscaras en el nuevo amphitheatro de los *Caños del Peral* para el año 1768 y sucesivos en esta corte, a la orden del Señor Corregidor de Madrid, y gobierno de sus caballeros regidores, Diciembre 1767)

⁶ Quoted in (Ortega Rodríguez, 2010) p. 227.

So in 1787 the second *conciertos cuaresmales* started. As a new opera company was founded to cover the opera season these musicians - both singers and instrumentalists - would perform also in the Lent concerts.

These concerts were usually announced in the *Diario de Madrid* (see footnote 4). Following these advertisements I have compiled the whole programation of these series until Boccherini's death in 1805. Many times the information showed in the *Diario de Madrid* is incomplete and even some concerts are missing due to several factors including lack of communication between the concerts organisation and the *Diario*. And in general the information is very limited concerning mostly the name of the soloists and the kind of work. The composer's name is mentioned only time to time. The concerts were also advertised by posters. The programs of the first ten years are included in the Appendix.

The shape of these concerts stayed more or less invariable during all the period. They used to start with a symphonic piece followed by a number of vocal works and a solo concerto or an instrumental piece in the first half. And the second half consisted in a similar structure ending with another symphonic work. A few modifications were introduced as the performing of "*academias místicas*" (oratorios).

There is a prevalence of Italian composers for vocal pieces and German speaking composers such as Haydn, Kozeluch, Pleyel or Antonio Rosetti (Anton Röessler) in the orchestral repertoire. A piece by Mozart was performed for the first time in 1797. But only a couple of Spanish composers, Luis Misón and the Italian born Cayetano Brunetti - a similar case to Boccherini -, are mentioned until 1790. This is doubtless the reason why that year was organized a concert series called *concierto español* (Spanish concert) in the *Coliseo del Príncipe* as a reaction to the absence of Spanish pieces. But the only concert filled with Spanish works was the first one and the difference between one and another concerts was the origin of the performers. The next year the *conciertos cuaresmales* took place in the *Coliseo del Príncipe* because *Los Caños* was going through a change of management process. In 1796 there were also two series in *Los Caños* and in *El Príncipe*. And the next year in *Los Caños* and the *Coliseo de la Cruz*. From 1798 onwards there are usually two concert series with similar programs but differences in performers. The Italian singers kept their influence in *Los Caños* while Spanish singers from the theater companies of *El Príncipe* and *La Cruz* used to perform in one of these *coliseos*.

As I have already pointed the performers came mainly from the companies of the theaters of Madrid. And many wind players came from other musical institutions as the musical groups of the Royal and the Walloon Guards. But there are some cases of foreign soloists who traveled through Europe and also played in the *conciertos cuaresmales* such as Miguel Hesser (1788-1789), *Monsieur Fabri* (1789) or *Madame Baber* (1790).

The name of Boccherini doesn't appear at all among the composers whose works were performed in the *conciertos cuaresmales* and there is no reason to think that they were. This can look very surprising but I will give an explanation later.

Academias

In contrast to the concerts given in theaters the *academias particulares* or *privadas* were given in private houses. They were the musical counterpart of the *tertulias*, a kind of intellectual social gathering very popular in the Enlightenment society.

The repertoire was of course different. If they performed vocal pieces were generally extracts and reductions from stage works, the small halls of the private houses were the perfect room for chamber music. In the *academias* string instruments were more usually played than wind instruments and the string quartet was very probably the most popular genre. We can find a nice depiction of the *academias* in the poem “*La Música*” by Tomás de Iriarte from 1789.

The performers in these events were many times amateur musicians. They were the “*Signori Dilettanti di Madrid*” to whom Boccherini dedicated his quartets op.9 in 1770. We find some traces about who were they and their main activities thanks to some publications. For instance Benito Bails was a mathematician and first Director of Academy of Fine Arts of San Fernando – an institution devoted to promote the values of the Enlightenment in arts – who published in 1775 a treatise on harpsichord playing and harmony called “*Lecciones de clave y principios de armonía*”. And Enrique de Ataíde y Portugal composed a set of six string quartets published in Madrid in 1789. He was a writer and translator of French. And even Tomás de Iriarte composed some pieces. So this group was formed with cultivated and liberal people who held a main activity linked to the Enlightenment principles.

But there are examples of some professional academies. After the death of King Charles III in December of 1788 the opera performances were cancelled until the end of Easter in 1789. The singers and musicians of *Los Caños del Peral* then started to organize *academias* in private houses open to the audience for a certain entrance fee.

Was Boccherini active in these *academias*? I would say that he came into contact with the amateur musicians circle during his first two years in Spain as prove the dedication of his quartets op.9. But after his early entrance in the service of the *infante* don Luis in 1770 he probably lost the contact and remained more or less unknown out of the aristocratic circles. We have to be aware that his music was published abroad and that finding his quartets and quintets wasn't easier than finding those by Haydn, Dittersdorf or Pleyel. In 1798 we find a very representative letter in the *Diario de Madrid* (14/12/1798). The author – that signs as *El Español* – relates an academia offered by a professional violinist in Madrid in which the *fandango* for string quintet with guitar (G.448) was performed at the end. He describes the enthusiasm of the audience and complains of the ignorance on Boccherini's figure among the amateur and professional musicians. Indeed this *fandango* was an arrangement from the quintet with two cellos G.341 that Boccherini made for the Marquis of Benavente (with no relation with the House Benavente-Osuna) in 1798. So it is probably that the Marquis – himself an amateur guitar player – brought the music to the *academia*.

2. Musical institutions

The Compañía de los Reales Sitios

The first information that we have about Boccherini in Spain dates back to the Spring of 1768. His name appears among the members of the *Compañía de los Reales Sitios* (Company of the Royal Sites) in the playbill of a performance given in Aranjuez⁷:

L'Almeria. Drama serio per musica da rappresentarsi nel nuovo teatro del Real Sitio d'Aranjuez. La primavera dell'anno of 1768. En Madrid. Nella stamperia Real della Gazeta - 8°; 69 págs. Italiano sólo.

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 final⁸ del acto segundo es compuesta y acompañada con el violoncello a solo del Sr. Luis Boccherini, luqués.

Las arias señaladas *, la sinfonía 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.

[*L'Almeria. Serious Drama for music to be represented in the new theater of the Royal Site of Aranjuez. Spring of 1768. In Madrid. In the Royal printingoffice*

of La Gazeta - 8°; 69 pages. Only Italian.

Almeria.- Maria Teresa Pellicia, of Rome

Alfonso.- Rosa Scañavini, Turinoise.

Zaira.- Clementina Pellicia, Roman.

García, 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.

⁷ (Cotarelo y Morí, 1917) p. 199. The lines in black are marked by me

⁸ *Larve pallide e funeste*, G. 542. Text by Marco Coltellini (Tortella, Boccherini. Un músico italiano en la España ilustrada, 2002)

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 Coltellini, who affirms having taken it from an English tragedy.]⁹

This fact is very important to deny false myths on his first years in Spain widespread by Rothschild or Boccherini y Calonge¹⁰. Here we also find the name of a very important person in Boccherini's life: the singer Clementina Pelliccia who would become his wife a few months after. The composer and *impresario* Luis (Luigi) Marescalchi will also have a further link with Boccherini being editor of some of his works in Venice. Thereby the *Compañía de los Reales Sitios* becomes a crucial factor in understanding Boccherini's arrival in Spain¹¹.

Tortella offers this abstract of the movements of the Company during the time Boccherini is supposed to be with them based on Cotarelo y Morí:

- **“January, 1768:** *Palma de Mallorca, 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.*

- **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, where La Schiava riconosciuta, by Piccini; L'Amante di tutte, by Galuppi; Motezuma, by Francesco Majo; and Il Mercato di Malmantile, by Fischietti are staged.*

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 Manfredi¹², di Lucca.

⁹(Tortella, 2010) pp. 136-137. The lines in black are marked by me

¹⁰ The traditional story tells how Boccherini arrived in Spain aiming for a position at the Royal Court after receiving some letters of recommendation by the Spanish Ambassador in Paris where he had participated in the *Concerts spirituels* in March of 1768

¹¹ Tortella thinks that the real reason for Boccherini moving to Spain was that he was in love with Clementina Pelliccia presuming that they met before in Italy or in Paris although there is no proof of that (Tortella, Boccherini. Un músico italiano en la España ilustrada, 2002) (Tortella, Luigi Boccherini: Dictionary of Persons, Places, and Terms, 2010)

¹² Filippo Manfredi (1731-1777) was a violinist friend of Boccherini's with whom played in the so called Quartetto Toscano, one of the first strings quartets. They toured through the north of Italy and after the dissolution of the quartet Manfredi and Boccherini went together to Paris to play in the *Concerts spirituels*

[*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. 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 deicuari, by Gallupi; L'Astrologa, by Piccini; and La Buona figliola zitella, also by Piccini, are staged.*

- **Fall, 1769:** *again in Valencia, Il Ratto della sposa, by Gullielmi, Il Demoofonte, by various composers and L'Amore artigiano, by Floriano Gasman, are staged.*¹³

Boccherini found in the *Compañía de los Reales Sitios* not just a job but an opportunity to enter into the court environment and come to be known as a virtuoso and composee there, which eventually allowed him to enjoy the patronage of the *Infante* Don Luis from the Spring of 1770. Apart from the aria with a cello solo part played as finale for the second act of *L'Almeria* at least one more piece composed by him was performed by the Company. It was the overture *La Confederazione dei Sabini con Roma*, an unpublished piece from youth that probably he took with himself¹⁴.

The Company was founded in 1766 when the Earl of Aranda came to power as minister of the King Carlos III¹⁵ and started to perform the next year. There were two sections: one dedicated to the French tragedy and comedy and the other one to Italian singing and dancing. Aranda was a lover of French culture and very especially of its theater. The goal of this company was to entertain and delight the Court and its entourage during their annual "pilgrimage" through the Reales Sitios¹⁶ (see "Location map of the Reales Sitios and Boccherini's residences" in the Appendix). They passed the Spring in the palace of Aranjuez surrounded by gorgeous gardens beside the Tagus River; during the Summer they went to the more fresh La Granja de San Ildefonso on the Guadarrama mountains; in Autumn they moved to El Escorial and the palace of El Pardo - close to Madrid - was chosen for the Winter. This itinerary was the same every year. New theaters were erected in La Granja (1767), Aranjuez (1768) and El Escorial (1771) to take in the performances of the Company. As we have seen in the abstract of the movements of the Company in 1768-1769 they also gave performances in some other points of the spanish geography.

¹³ (Tortella, Luigi Boccherini: Dictionary of Persons, Places, and Terms, 2010) pp. 137-138

¹⁴ (Tortella, Boccherini. Un músico italiano en la España ilustrada, 2002) p. 37

¹⁵ The brief story of this company was studied by Cotarelo y Morí in his book on the opera in Spain. There is no advertisements in the press nor anything in the administrative papers that has been conserved so he based his research on the remaining *libretti* of the performed operas. I use much of the information he provided in this section.

¹⁶ *Los Reales Sitios* (Royal Sites) are a number of royal residences spread throughout Spain, but especially near Madrid

Judging by the construction of these theaters and the establishment of the Company one could think that the King Carlos III was a great lover of arts and music. But far from this, his only known pleasure was hunting. When he became king he dissolved the company of Italian opera created by Farinelli in Madrid leaving the city with virtually no opera performances until 1787 when an opera season started on the theater of *Los Caños del Peral* under new *Reglamento* (see chapter 1).

Before Boccherini's arrival in Spain the Company had already staged four operas: *Li Matrimoni in maschera* (Aranjuez, 1767) with music by Juan Marcos Ruteli from Florence; *La Villeggiatura* (Aranjuez, 1767), music by Nicola Piccini; *Il Chiarlone* (La Granja, 1767), music by Marescalchi and *La buona figliola* (La Granja, 1767) music by Piccini with some arias of Marescalchi. This corresponds to the Spring and Summer seasons in the Royal Sites of Aranjuez and La Granja. The next opera to be performed was *L'Almeria* (Aranjuez, 1768) when Boccherini was already among the troupe. So we can think that the performances stopped during Fall and Winter. We should remember that there was no theater in El Escorial until 1771. The Company never performed in El Pardo and the winter months would be utilized to perform in other cities such Valencia and Palma de Mallorca where they enjoyed a better climate. We have no clear information about the orchestra members or dancers in these early years but we do have information about the singers. All of them were Italians and their number was doubled in one year. The musicians were probably also of Italian origin¹⁷. The kind of opera staged is said to be *drama giocoso* and all the works were composed specifically for the company, or else composed in Italy very shortly before they played them, so the music was absolutely modern.

In addition to the performances referred to above, the Company could have given some more performances in 1768¹⁸. Giacomo Casanova, the famous *don Juan* and traveller, visited Spain in 1768 and he gives us an unusual depiction of the Company's activity in Aranjuez as well as an sour portrait of Carlos III:

"An Italian Opera Comique was then amusing the Court, with the exception of the king, who had no taste for music. His majesty bore a considerable resemblance to a sheep in the face, and it seemed as if the likeness went deeper, for sheep have not the slightest idea of sound. His favourite pursuit was sport [...]."

*An Italian musician at the Court desired to compose some music for a new opera, and as there was no time to send to Italy I offered to compose the libretto. My offer was accepted, and by the next day the first act was ready. The music was composed in four days, and the Venetian ambassador invited all the ministers to the rehearsal in the grand hall of his palace. The music was pronounced exquisite; the two other acts were written, and in a fortnight the opera was put upon the stage. The musician was rewarded handsomely, but I was considered too grand to work for money and my reward was paid me in the Court money of compliments."*¹⁹

¹⁷ We know from later information that the violinist Cristóbal Andreozzi (later in the Real Capilla) was enrolled in the Company (Ortega Rodríguez, 2010). The only two names of members of the orchestra given are also Italians (Cotarelo y Morí, 1917, p. 207)

¹⁸ Cotarelo y Morí doesn't mention it

¹⁹ (Casanova) chapter V

As a result of this activity Casanova came into a friendship with Teresa Pellicia²⁰ and he even shared a supper with Clementina and Boccherini²¹. Casanova attended rehearsals and performances of the *Compañía de los Reales Sitios* in Aranjuez and Valencia. We will come back later to his *Memoirs* as a source of very expressive depictions of Boccherini's world.

There is much less information about the Company's performances during 1770-1771 and from then to 1776 there is total lack of it. But in 1776 the City Council of Madrid tried to hold a short Winter opera season housed in *Los Caños del Peral* which was empty at that period. As the *Compañía de los Reales Sitios* used to finish the season when the Court retired to El pardo they would perform in Madrid until the Spring season started in Aranjuez. The full legal process was carried out and accepted both by the Company and the City Council. There is no evidence of these performances but Cotarelo thinks that they took place. Although this situation wouldn't last long anyway because the Company was dissolved in 1777 after the Government removed their financial support.

The Royal Chapel

It was the main musical institution in Madrid considering number of players. Its function was to perform in royal family's events as well as in big religious ceremonies. The entrance process was very strict consisting of the performing of a solo piece, a sight reading exam and a liturgical piece.

Boccherini tried once to get into the Royal Chapel when his patron the *infante* don Luis died in 1785. He was promised to enter as soon as there were a vacancy. But the position was finally offer to Francisco Brunetti, the son of Cayetano Brunetti – a violinist and composer and leading figure in the Royal Chapel – who had been pensioned by the Prince of Asturias (future Charles IV) while studying in Paris with Duport. Even so Boccherini received a salary from the Chapel although he never was effectively part of it.

Church chapels

The monasteries and convents of La Encarnación, Las Descalzas, San Cayetano, La Soledad, San Felipe Neri and La Almudena also had their own music chapel. The members of this chapels were also part of other musical institutions as the theater orchestras or chapels of noble houses. The one of La Encarnación should have been an important one.

²⁰ "The feelings she inspired me with were not love, but a sincere respect and friendship" (Casanova)

²¹ (Tortella, Luigi Boccherini: Dictionary of Persons, Places, and Terms, 2010)

Theaters

By the end of the eighteenth century there were three public theaters in Madrid: *Teatro de la Cruz*, *Teatro del Príncipe* and *Teatro de los Caños del Peral*. They were also called *coliseo* or *anfiteatro*. In addition to these public theaters The Royal Palace of the *Buen Retiro*²² had also a theater inside reserved for the Court. This *Coliseo del Buen Retiro* had a very fruitful period in the 17th century and – especially in regards to music – during the first half of the next century when Farinelli used to play and lead the opera performances. But after the arrival of Charles III it was abandoned. Aside from the buildings made for such a purpose, some noble houses and the *Palacio Nuevo*²³ with big rooms were also used for stage performances.

The coliseos de la Cruz and del Príncipe and the tonadilla

Both theaters had a similar origin and took the name of the street on which they were built. They had been *corrales de comedias* – the characteristic open theaters of the hispanic Renaissance and early Baroque. These *corrales* had emerged in the 16th century as popular theaters based in private backyards surrounded by neighbouring houses. During the 16th and 17th centuries they housed the dramatic performances of the authors of the Spanish Golden Age such as Lope de Vega, Miguel de Cervantes or Calderón de la Barca. But by the 18th century they were already considered old-fashioned and inappropriate for the new tendencies.

The *Corral de la Cruz* was demolished in 1736 and rebuilt as an Italian theater or *coliseo* designed by Juvara. The one on the *Príncipe* street was also reconstructed in 1744 by Sacchetti in a similar style. The new *Coliseo del Príncipe* reopened next year with the performance of the *zarzuela*²⁴ “*Cautelas contra cautelas y el rapto de Gánimedes*” with music by José de Nebra and text by José de Cañizares. The choice of a musical theater piece for such an occasion exemplifies the rise of this kind of typical Spanish lyrical theater. This building housed the first masked balls in 1767.

The pieces staged were mostly comedies in Spanish. But the most remarkable thing in this research is the performance of a short musical theater piece during the intermission between acts. The different types were called *zarzuela*, *tonadilla* and *sainete*. The *tonadilla* became the most popular of them (see Graphic material for the theaters of Madrid in the Appendix). The first *tonadillas* were written in Madrid in the 50's by the composers Luis Misón and Antonio Guerrero. They consisted in a piece around 10-20 minutes long played by a number of singers and a small orchestra. In the first *tonadillas* there is only one character but this was increased by the end of the

²² This big complex was built in the 1630's as a retirement and recreational palace in the eastern end of Madrid. The most part of the complex was seriously damaged during the Peninsular War and was demolished in the 19th century including the *coliseo*. Only a few buildings as the *Salón de Reinos* (the royal reception room) and the *Casón* (the ballroom) are still standing. The former gardens resulted in the current Retiro Park

²³ The *Palacio Nuevo* was built as replacement of the old *Real Alcázar* that burned down in 1734. It was finished in about 1764 according to a project by Filippo Juvara (1678-1736) and his pupil Giovanni Battista Sacchetti (1690-1764) and was the official residence of the King until the 20th century. Nowadays it is known simply as *Palacio Real*

²⁴ “A Spanish genre of musical theater characterized by a mixture of sung and spoken dialogue” (Sadie, 1980)

century. The text was usually in Spanish and the theme used to be of a popular nature showing local manners and customs. They were even criticized by the enlightened reformists as “cheap and low”²⁵.

The theaters were owned by the municipality that made the local laws. But the management and the production of the performances were private. In Boccherini’s time two companies occupied the *coliseos* from *el Príncipe* and *de la Cruz*. Both were known by the name of their managers: Manuel Martínez and Eusebio Ribera. In the list of members of the companies in 1790 we see the names of some of the Spanish singers present in the conciertos cuaresmales as Lorenza Correa, Catalina Tordesillas and María Pulpillo who are said to be performers “*de cantado*” (“of sung”). It also shows the position of “*compositor*” (composer) held by Pablo Estévez in the company of Martínez and Blas de la Serna in the one of Ribera. Their *tonadillas* show the influence of the Italian operatic style of the time.

The *tonadillas*’ orchestra was formed by around five violins, two horns, two oboes/flutes, one bassoon and bass and in some cases a cello, although the instrumentation could sometimes be a bit different.

The Coliseo de los Caños del Peral and the opera performances

The history of *Los Caños del Peral* is related to the opera since its very beginning. *Los Caños del Peral* was the name of a big public laundry site in the 16th century located in an irregular square near the Royal Alcázar. In 1708 a troupe of Italian comedians built a wooden theater there in order to house their performances that included both Italian comic opera and comedies. This building was very much in the line of the corrales de comedias of the Spanish Baroque. For this reason the theater was known as *Corral de los Trufaldines* - after the name of the Italian company. It was the first permanent public theater in Madrid where operas were staged and as well as the other corrales de comedias in Madrid was own by the municipality.

This first building was demolished 30 years later. In its place a new *coliseo* was built following Virgilio Rabaglio’s design²⁶. Although this *coliseo* was small if we compare it to the big opera houses that would be erected in Italy a few years later, it met with all the requirements of a true opera theater (see “Graphic material for the theaters of Madrid” in the Appendix). As the new *coliseo* was wider than the former corral the fountains of the old laundry of *Los Caños del Peral* were removed and the new building took their name. During all this time and until the arrival of Charles III the opera performances continued in *Los Caños* more or less uninterruptedly by Italian and spanish companies.

But Charles III had no pleasure in music and opera and the *coliseo* was closed until 1767 when the Earl of Aranda promoted the masked balls as part of his endeavours to update the spanish cultural world. The theater was adapted to that purpose by Ventura Rodríguez. Apart from the arrangement of the parterre for balls the main reform

²⁵ (Sadie, 1980)

²⁶ Virgilio Rabaglio (1711-1800). This italian architect came from Italy to Spain to work in buildings linked to the Monarchy as Aranjuez. He also finished the church of San Justo in Madrid (started by Bonavia after the commission of the cardinal-*infante* don Luis) and the Royal Palace of Riofrío. The three coliseos in Madrid were then built by italians in the service of the Monarchs

consisted in the construction of a passage connecting a near house from where drinks and food would be brought to the participants. In the Appendix (Graphic material for the theaters of Madrid) can be seen a scheme with information on access to the theater. The masquerades lasted until 1773²⁷ and during this time there were also *conciertos cuaresmales* performed (see the first chapter “Concert life”).

It was not until 1787 when the theater would house operas again according to the *Reglamento para el mejor orden y policía del Teatro de la Opera, cuyo privilegio se ha servido conceder el Rey a los Reales Hospitales, aprobado por S. M. y comunicado a la Sala de Alcaldes para su publicación en virtud de R. O. de 11 de diciembre de 1786*²⁸. This law states that the beneficiary of the opera performances would be the hospitals of Madrid. The economic benefits of public entertainment were very usually destined to the financing of the hospitals at that time. Also the bullfights were an important income to that purpose and the bullring in Madrid was even owned by the *junta de hospitales*.

The first opera company was formed mainly by Italians although there are also some french and german names among the members and a number of spaniards²⁹. It was composed by 13 singers, among them Teresa Oltrabelli, Teresa Benaglia and Carlos Barlasina – who were very active in the *conciertos cuaresmales*. In the dancing section there were 9 dancers – including Domingo (Domenico) Rossi that besides being first dancer and choreographer become director of the company a few years later. There were also 21 figurants that probably used to sing the choruses and 24 young boys studying dancing with Rossi.

The orchestra had 18 violins, two “*violones*” (violoncellos), three double-basses, four violas, two oboes, two flutes, two clarinets, two horns, two “*clarines*” (a kind of trumpet) and harpsichord. Some important members of the orchestra appear separately:

Para el clave, maestro Luis del Cerro, de Genova.

Primer violín de orquesta, señor Juan Bautista Pedevilla, de Genova.

Primer violín del baile, señor Antonio Ronzi, de Milán.

Segundo violín de la ópera, Melchor Ronzi, de Bolonia.

[For the harpsichord, *maestro* Luis del Cerro, of Genoa

First violin of the orchestra, *señor* Juan Bautista Pedevilla, of Genoa

First violin for dances, *señor* Antonio Ronzi, of Milan

Second violin for opera, Melchor Ronzi, of Bologna]

²⁷ (Cotarelo y Morí, 1917, p. 100)

²⁸ (Diario curioso, erudito, económico y comercial)

²⁹ The next information is extract from Cotarelo y Morí’s book on the opera in Spain (Cotarelo y Morí, 1917, pp. 296-297)

This orchestra was the base for the one that played in the conciertos cuaresmales. Some musicians from the *Real Capilla* and especially wind players from the *Guardias Walonas* (Walloon Guards) joined them.

The opera season started immediately after the Eastern and the works staged had been composed in Italy very usually. Since the beginning of the establishment of the opera in 1787 the aim of the authorities was to substitute Italian opera for works in Spanish. But spanish opera kept to be very unusual. Only some *zarzuelas* were performed in *Los Caños*.

That is the case of the zarzuela *Clementina* by Boccherini. He composed this piece while working in the service of the House of Benavente-Osuna in 1786 and it was premiered in a private performance. The texts were written by Don Ramón de la Cruz - the most famous tonadillas and sainetes' writer of the time – who worked also for the same patrons. It was staged in *Los Caños del Peral* in 1799 and a copy made for that occasion is conserved in the funds of the Biblioteca Histórica Municipal in Madrid where the material from the public theaters of Madrid is kept.

3. Patronage. The *infante* don Luis

Boccherini enjoyed the patronage of several distinguished patrons. In 1770 he entered in the service of the King's brother and when he died in 1785 started to work for the King Frederick William II of Prussia for another ten years. In the meantime he worked also for the noble family Benavente-Osuna in 1786-1787. And after Frederick William's death he had some benefactors like the Marquis of Benavente (with no relation with the high noble family Benavente-Osuna) and Lucian Bonaparte – French consul in Madrid and Napoleon's brother – although they can't really be considered as true patrons.

So Luis Antonio de Borbón, *infante* of Spain, was his main patron in Spain. He was a prominent figure in art and music patronage and as member of the Royal Family had a very particular situation that came to determine decisively Boccherini's works.

About don Luis

The *infante* Don Luis was the youngest brother of Charles III, son of Philip V of Bourbon and his second wife Elisabeth Farnese, and half-brother of Ferdinand VI. He was born in Madrid in 1727. All his brothers and obtained kingdoms and territories and his sisters married presumptive future but Luis, much younger than his brothers, was appointed to the ecclesiastical career (see "Family tree of the Spanish Bourbons" in the Appendix).

By the age of 8 he was already archbishop of Toledo and later he reached the archiepiscopate of Sevilla and was appointed cardinal. All these moves had obviously nothing to do with his will and when he was 27 years old asked for permission to leave the Church. His wishes were then listened by his half-brother Ferdinand VI and the Pope and he became a single man owner of a considerable amount of money³⁰ without any position or obligation. This was an unexpected status for a member of the Royal family. And his likes were also some peculiar. He always preferred the company of lower class members such as artist. Although he started to be part of the crowd of aristocrats and relatives who used to surround and to accompany the Kings through the *Reales Sitios* he never found his place into the Court. Maybe that's why he decided to acquire a property in Boadilla del Monte, less than 20 km far from Madrid, where ordered the construction of a palace to Ventura Rodríguez, the most renowned spanish architect of the time. He established there his small court.

In spite of his poor education and the lack of sensitivity of his closest relatives don Luis started to show an interest in science, art and music. In his palace in Boadilla he gathered a great paintings collection and a famous cabinet of natural history as well as an impressive amount of live animals going from all kind of birds to a zebra. He surrounded himself of painters and musicians and protected them.

³⁰ Although he quited the ecclesiastical positions he retained part of the payments attached to those positions as well as an assignation as member of the Royal Family and some other remuneration.

The first years in the service of don Luis

It is in this context that Boccherini comes into don Luis' life. We should remember that Boccherini was a member of the opera company of the Reales Sitios from 1768 onwards and don Luis, being the *infante* and a courtier interested in promoting the arts, should have felt some interest in that Italian cello virtuoso and composer while witnessing his performances. Anyway during the Spring resort of the Court in Aranjuez in 1770 the *infante* chose Boccherini as cellist of his chamber and composer of music. This fact sealed Boccherini's luck, definitively tying his destiny to his new homeland.

Boccherini was not the only musician in the service of the *infante*. By that time the violinists Francesco Landini and Francesco Courcelle (or Corselli) had worked for him and the Font family was also in his service. This Font family was made up of a father and three sons all of them playing string instruments³¹.

The first appointment of Boccherini was as a performer not as a composer earning 14,000 *reales de vellón* a year. Two years later he added 4,000 more. But it was not until 1784 when a salary of 12,000 rs as composer is mentioned for the first time although he probably enjoyed it from several years before. Considering all this information the fixed salary earned by Boccherini in the service of Don Luis totals 30,000 *reales* a year. This is an important amount and placed Boccherini in a good economic position. Even more it tells us how much Don Luis appreciated Boccherini. Only the personal secretary and the accountant of the *infante* overcame Boccherini's income and even so the composer doubled the amount given to the painter Luis Paret – a close friend of Don Luis - and earned more money than the four members of the Font family together.

During the first five years in the service of Don Luis Boccherini rented a flat in Madrid. But as part of the small entourage of the *infante* he used to spend some periods through the *Reales Sitios* following the Court's route³². His children were born in these places and even his mother died near Aranjuez so we can deduce that the whole family travelled together with the *infante's* service.

In the meanwhile between his arrival in Spain and his entrance to the service of the *infante* Boccherini had already composed and published several sets of pieces. It included string trios and quartets, a cello concerto and the *sinfonia concertante* written for the *Conciertos cuaresmales* of *Los Caños del Peral*. These works had been published by Jean Baptiste Vénier in Paris just some months after its composition revealing a big editorial success. Only the Six trios for two violins and cello op. 6 would be printed in Spain³³. The dedication of the pieces composed in that period shows the environment where Boccherini moved. On one hand we have the Trios op. 6 dedicated to the Prince of Asturias and the Quartets op. 8 to the *infante* don Luis. On the other

³¹ Rotschild says that also the friend of Boccherini and violin player Filippo Manfredi was in the service of the *infante* but Tortella doubts it as there is no documental proof of that

³² See chapter devoted to the Company of *Los Reales Sitios*

³³ Marín and Bernadó say that the Spanish edition anticipated at least three months the French version (Marín & Bernadó, 2012) although Tortella thinks that it was published in Paris earlier (Tortella, Boccherini. Un músico italiano en la España ilustrada, 2002). Also the Duos op. 3 composed before the arrival of Boccherini to Madrid were printed in Madrid

hand the *Sinfonia concertante* op. 7 made for the public concerts and the *Quartets* op. 9 dedicated to the “*Signori dilettanti di Madrid*”. From 1770 all his compositions are said to be written for his patron the *infante* don Luis.

But as we have seen Boccherini was first considered as a cellist rather than as a composer. His duties must then consist in playing in the *academias* or private concerts organized by his patron. And it was in this circumstance when he developed a special relationship with the Font family.

The family was originally from Barcelona and it was formed of a father - Francisco- and three sons -Antonio, Juan and Pablo. Francisco played viola and his sons were violinists although they also used to play other string instruments. The youngest, Pablo, ended up as a double-bass player in the *Real Capilla* after playing the *violón* at the orchestra of *Los Caños del Peral*³⁴. Very likely they played frequently as a string quartet being Antonio and Juan first and second violin with Francisco on the viola and Pablo on the cello³⁵. The incorporation of another cellist –Boccherini himself- to this ensemble resulted in an unprecedented and innovative string quintet with two cellos for which the composer started to write soon. This would pass into the history as the main contribution by Boccherini to the chamber music repertoire. The Font family was highly regarded by Boccherini not only as colleagues and musicians but as friends. The friendship between both families would last even after the death of Francisco and Luigi.

The first set of works for this ensemble was ready in 1771 and they show already the main characteristics that Boccherini followed in this kind of piece. The extra cello takes a prominent role of brilliant virtuosity in certain spots, which is certainly linked to Boccherini himself performing them.

Works composed by Boccherini in Spain until 1776³⁶

Opus	Work	G. number ³⁷	Year of composition ³⁸	First edition	Dedication
6	Six trios for two violins and cello	89-94	1769	1771. J.B. Vénier, Paris	Prince of Asturias (future Charles IV)
7	<i>Sinfonia concertante</i>	491	1769	1770. Vénier, Paris (as op.8)	"Composed to be played in the academies that took place in Los Caños del Peral" (False dedication)

³⁴ (Ortega Rodríguez, 2010)

³⁵ (Tortella, Boccherini. Un músico italiano en la España ilustrada, 2002)

³⁶ Following his own catalogue published by Boccherini y Calonge (Boccherini y Calonge, 1878). It shows the original opus sequence. Other pieces such as cello concertos and sonatas and vocal arias are not included although some of them were published. As the dating is not sure I ignore them

³⁷ Yves Gérard's catalogue number

³⁸ It shows the year in which the piece was finished. In some cases it could be started one year earlier

					to the Court of Madrid in Vénier's ed.)
8	Six string quartets	165-170	1769	1770. Vénier, Paris (as op.6)	Infante Don Luis
9	Six string quartets	171-176	1770	Vénier, Paris	"Alli Signori Dilettanti di Madrid"
10	Six string quintets with two cellos	265-270	1771	1774. Vénier, Paris (as op.12)	Don Luis ³⁹
11	Six string quintets with two cellos	271-276	1771	1775. Vénier, Paris (as op.13)	Don Luis
12	Six symphonies ("concerti a grande orchestra")	493-498	1771	1776. Vénier, Paris (as op.16)	Don Luis
13	Six string quintets with two cellos	277-282	1772	1776. Vénier, Paris (as op.20)	Don Luis
14	Six trios for violin, viola and cello	95-100	1772	1773. La Chevardière, Paris	Don Luis
15	Six string quartets	177-182	1772	?	Don Luis
16	Six sextets or <i>divertimenti</i> for flute, two violins, viola and two cellos (and optional bouble bass <i>ad libitum</i>)	461-466	1773	1775. La Chevardière, Paris (as op.15)	Don Luis
17	Six quartets for flute, violin, viola and cello	419-424	1773	1775 (?). Paris (as op.21)	Don Luis
18	Six string quintets with two cellos	283-288	1774	1775. La Chevardière, Paris (as op.17)	Don Luis
19	Six quintets for flute, two violins, viola and cello	425-430	1774	1776. Paris (as op. 25)	Don Luis
20	Six string quintets with two cellos	289-294	1775	1777. Vénier, Paris (as op.23)	Don Luis
21	Six symphonies "a più strumenti obbligati"	493-498	1775	1776 (?). Sieber, Paris (as op.22)	Don Luis
22	Six string quartets	183-188	1775	Vénier, Paris	Don Luis
23	Six string sextets	454-459	1776	1777. Sieber, Paris	Don Luis

Let's analyze the content of this table. The first thing that becomes clear is the abundance of music. Before his arrival in Spain Boccherini had published only five sets between 1760 and 1768 all of them consisting in six pieces⁴⁰. The first editions were printed by Vénier and La Chevardière in Paris where the composer soon got a

³⁹ All the coming pieces were already written in the service of the *infante* (Boccherini y Calonje, 1878). In the fronts of the published editions the composer is said to be "*Virtuoso di Camera e Compositore di Musica di S.A.R. Don Luigi Infante di Spagna*"

⁴⁰ Six trios for two violins and cello op.1, Six string quartets op.2, Six duetti for two violins op.3, Six trios for two violins and cello op.4 and Six sonates for harpsichord and violin op.5 (Boccherini y Calonje, 1878)

reputation⁴¹. If we add the works composed in Spain until 1770 while he was enrolled in the *Compañía de los Reales Sitios* we have a list of 49 pieces made in ten years (1760-1770). In the five years that followed his entrance in the service of don Luis we count 78 pieces. There is no doubt that Boccherini found the perfect circumstances to devote time to composition. He had a good and stable salary and the possibility of making his compositions played by the Font family and himself.

Consequently 30 of these 78 pieces are quintets with two cellos written for the new ensemble formed by the Fonts and Boccherini and 15 more works are string trios and quartets –genres of which Boccherini had already published several sets and would be played for the same musicians.

But the presence of some other instrumentations is striking. There are three sets that include a flute part composed in 1773-1774. The easiest explanation for this fact would be the presence of a flutist in the small court of don Luis. Tortella suggests that this player could be Gaspare Barli⁴² –a flutist and oboist with whom Boccherini would also have contact more than ten years later when working for the House Benavente-Osuna. But it can't be proved since the first news about his activity in Spain dates from 1778⁴³.

The two sets of symphonies also attract attention. In the first one (op.12) two oboes and two horns are added to the strings section -consisting in first and second violins, violas, two cello parts, and basses. The second set (op.21) shows a similar instrumentation adding couples of oboes (or flutes) and horns to the strings that differ from the one of the op.12 in having a unified “bass” section. According to Christian Speck during the journeys in the *Reales Sitios* a number of performers from the *Capilla Real* could join Boccherini and his partners in performing a repertoire that required a larger group⁴⁴. This makes me think that the mysterious flutist mentioned before could be a member of the royal institution where Manuel Cavaza, Francisco Mestres, Juan López and Manuel Espinosa played interchangeably both flute and oboe as it was usual to do at that time⁴⁵. The splitting of the bass section in two cello parts and a double-bass part in the op.12 could strengthen the idea of Boccherini and the Fonts being part of the hypothetical orchestra for which these symphonies were written. Actually at some points the two cellos act almost like soloists in a *sinfonia concertante*.

An analysis of the first editions reveal some interesting information. The first works composed in Spain by Boccherini were almost immediately published by Vénier in Paris. But the publication of the quintets with two cellos by Vénier delayed three, four and even five years. Tortella wonders if this was maybe due to difficulties in sending the music since Boccherini had to follow the itinerary of the Court as part of the *infante's* service. But this reasoning doesn't make sense as he already used to do it as a member of the Opera Company of the Royal Sites. Then what was this due to? The answer is maybe on the title page of first and later editions. In the very first publication of the quintets by Vénier in 1772 it is said that “*la partie du second Violoncelle se*

⁴¹ In the review of the *concert spirituel* that took place on the 20th of March 1768 it is said that “*M. Boccherini, déjà connu par ses trio & ses quatuor, qui sont d'un grand effet, a exécuté, en maître, sur le violoncelle, une sonate de sa composition.*” (Mercure de France, 1768)

⁴² (Tortella, Boccherini. Un músico italiano en la España ilustrada, 2002, p. 115)

⁴³ (Fernández González, 2005) (Ortega Rodríguez, 2010)

⁴⁴ (Tortella, Boccherini. Un músico italiano en la España ilustrada, 2002, p. 148)

⁴⁵ (Ortega Rodríguez, 2010)

poura executer sur l'Alto ou un Basson". We can find this indication in all the old editions of the quintets. And in the Bremner's London edition of the op.13 published probably in 1785 we find the next explanation about the possibility of playing the cello parts on a different instrument:

"On the first page to the first edition of the following work it is observed, "That the part for the second violoncello may be played on a tenor or basson". But it might have been added, That when violoncello performers cannot be had, both first and second parts may, whitout impropriety, be played on tenor violins: for wherever those parts may are made principals in the composition, the passages are in general carried so high, that they get within the compass of tenors, and that in the same pitch of tone as if executed on violoncellos.

As such passages are generally put in the C clef, the unexperienced performer is intreated to take notice, that whether that clef be placed upon the first, second, third or fourth line; the note on that line, when played on a tenor, is always that C. made by the third finger on the third string.

The Publisher was led to give the above hint from having observed, that a Gentleman performer, when playing a violoncello part on a tenor violin, did not consider that his instrument was an octave above that for which the part was written; but supposed the seat of the clef to be on his first string because it is so on the violoncello: and by thus executing this part too high by an octave, not only embarrassed himself but inverted the harmony, and of course defeated the intention of the Author."⁴⁶

As result of these tips it may be understood that the difficulty of the cello part could have been a problem being aware that chamber music editions were mostly addressed to *amateur* musicians. It also seems that cellists were not so abundant. And certainly Boccherini makes extensive use of the thumb position in his quintets -in which he was pioneering- bringing the cello register much higher than usual. Was this innovative character what motivated its late release? It could be the reason why V ernier lost part of his interest in giving Boccherini's premieres. From 1771 La Chervardi re and Sieber also offered some first editions.

Another interesting aspect of Bremner's note is that it calls attention to the possibility of playing Boccherini's cello music on a tenor violin. The instrument Bremner refers is very likely *"an instrument resembling and played like a small cello, with four strings tuned upwards in 5ths from F or G (i.e. a tuning between that of the modern viola and cello)"*⁴⁷. It is known by an inventory that Boccherini himself possessed a *"viol n chico"* (small cello) which has been identified as a *"four-stringed cello-type tenor violin with G-D-a-e tuning"*⁴⁸ although Christian Speck thinks that *"Boccherini may have used a five-stringed instrument, a cello piccolo [tunned C-G-D-a-e], in the performance of certain pieces"*⁴⁹. As the referred inventory dates from 1787 it is not possible to know if Boccherini got as early as 1771 one of these instruments.

⁴⁶ Boccherini's *Six quintettos for two violins, a tenor, and two violoncellos, opera XX, being the third set of quintetto* edited by R. Bremner in London in 1785 (Biblioteca Nacional de Espa a)

⁴⁷ (The New Grove dictionary of Music and Musicians, 1980)

⁴⁸ (Kory, 2005). J.S. Bach also used this kind of instrument in at least eight cantatas (The New Grove dictionary of Music and Musicians, 1980)

⁴⁹ (Kory, 2005)

We can infer that Boccherini had a privileged position as a cellist and composer during this period. He had an apparently high leveled group of musicians to perform his music with and a stable and well paid job in the service of a lead person who appreciated hugely his labor. And moreover he had the chance to publish his music enjoying the corresponding economic benefit. This is very remeniscent of Haydn's situation with the Prince of Esterházy.

The events of 1775 and their consequences: Arenas de San Pedro

Despite their differences in character don Luis and his brother Charles III were very tied. Although Charles abhorred music they shared a passion for hunting and used to hunt together. But the King was famous for his chastity and his ordered life and don Luis was completely different. Casanova who was in Spain in 1768 refers to a conversation with Domingo Varnier, a gentleman in the service of the Princess, in the following terms:

"[The King] has the greatest liking for his brother, and can scarce refuse him anything, though he must be master in all things. It is thought he will give him leave to marry for the sake of his salvation; the king has the greatest horror of illegitimate children, and his brother has three already."

And he even gives another rawer depiction of the *infante* and his weaknesses:

"The king was ugly, but everything is relative, he was handsome compared with his brother, who was terrifically ugly."

This brother never went anywhere without a picture of the Virgin, which Mengs had painted for him. It was two feet high by three and a half broad. The figure was depicted as seated on the grass with legs crossed after the Eastern fashion, and uncovered up to the knees. It was, in reality, a voluptuous painting; and the prince mistook for devotion that which was really a sinful passion, for it was impossible to look upon the figure without desiring to have the original within one's arms. However, the prince did not see this, and was delighted to find himself in love with the mother of the Saviour. In this he was a true Spaniard; they only love pictures of this kind, and interpret the passions they excite in the most favourable sense."

The licentious lifestyle lead by don Luis must have been very evident if even a stranger as Casanova had several traces of it. In 1775 an investigation started with the objective of stopping the sinful routine of the *infante*. The painter and friend of don Luis -Luis Paret- was exiled to Puerto Rico as was considered collaborator and partner of the *infante*. His lovers were arrested, sent to distant cities from the Court and ultimately forced to marry. And finally don Luis was compelled to chose a wife of lower status. The humiliation that he endured was aggravated with the obligation of leaving the Court and the elimination of some of his privileges as well as the transmission of his name to his descendants.

Don Luis married Teresa de Vallabriga in 1776, she was the daughter of a nobleman from Aragon. Boccherini and his family followed his patron into exile. After

stays in Talavera, Velada and Cadalso the *infante* chose Arenas de San Pedro as his final residence in 1777.

Boccherini lived in Arenas de San Pedro until the *infante's* death in 1785. Arenas was a small village where any distraction could be found. These years were very fruitful but it seems like the relationship with don Luis maybe deteriorated. Most of the works composed in Arenas were written for strings (trios, quartets and quintets) and published in Paris by Pleyel who would become Boccherini's main publisher for the coming years.

4. Music printing and trade

As it is known, the eighteenth century was a period of social, economic and political change. These had a huge affect on music, and composers started to leave the patronage of churches and royal courts in order to compose for a bigger and bigger middle class. So amateur musicians became their main customers and the music publishing trade -especially of chamber music- went through an enormous development. In Spain the printing of music was extremely poor in comparison with other european cities. During the second half of the century several attempts to establish a strong music publishing firm failed due to the economic results not being good enough. This situation forced spanish composers to publish abroad, mainly in London but also in Paris. So Oliver y Astorga, Castel, Almeida, Canales and some others as well as Boccherini and Brunetti who spent the most of their lives in Spain published abroad preferably.

At this point one can think that the musical scene in Spain was necessarily unconnected to the European tastes and progress. Far from that, Haydn was extremely popular among the Spanish enlightened society as is shown by the poem "*La Música*" by Tomás de Iriarte. How was it possible? By the existance of an international network of musical trade. This network worked as well from Spain to the rest of Europe as in the opposite way.

Despite the fact that the list of works published in Spain in that period is very short we can find a large variety in provenance of composers. On one hand we have the native composers or those who lived for a long time in Spain. This is the case of Gaetano Brunetti, Luigi Boccherini, Manuel Canales, Enrique de Ataide y Portugal, Fernando Ferandiere and Joseph Teixidor. On the other hand the foreign composers. In this group we can set apart foreign composers who were in Spain for a short time like Carlo Canobbio and Romberg and fashion musicians as Schwindl.

Conclusions

Following Neal Zaslaw we can understand the Classical Period as that one “*in which public concerts arose, improvised ornamentation was suppressed in orchestral music, liturgical music declined, the national anthem came into existence and the opera seria opera buffa dichotomy was replaced by a mixed genre, or as that in which traditional aristocratic patronage was gradually supplanted by bourgeois patronage*”⁵⁰. This matches point by point with the reality of Boccherini in Spain. An even the current Spanish national anthem was adopted by Charles III.

Another important aspect of the period is the appearance of an international symphonic style based in the German speaking countries. We see this influence in the programs of the *conciertos cuaresmales*.

The stage music scene was also very much in the line of the period: contemporary Italian operas were performed by Italians in *Los Caños del Peral* and the rise of the *tonadilla* can be seen as a local version of the operetta in vernacular languages that substituted the opera *buffa* in other European countries.

The most controversial point can be the supplantation of aristocratic patronage by a bourgeois one in Boccherini’s case. But even so the fact of being Boccherini so much appreciated by European editors suggests that he enjoyed both aristocratic and bourgeois patronage thanks to his editions.

We can therefore affirm that Boccherini’s reality as a musician was not different of those of his European colleagues. He was a true classical composer.

⁵⁰ (Zaslaw, 1989)

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Appendix