

THE ROLE OF LUIGI BOCCHERINI  
IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF CELLO TECHNIQUE

BY

ANDRÉ LUÍS GIOVANINI MICHELETTI

Submitted to the faculty of the  
Indiana University Jacobs School of Music,  
in partial fulfillment of the requirements  
for the degree Doctor of Music,  
May, 2014

Accepted by the faculty of the Jacobs School of Music,  
Indiana University, in partial fulfillment of the requirements  
for the degree Doctor of Music.

---

Emilio Colón, Research Director

---

Stanley Ritchie, Chairperson

---

Michel McCraw

---

Nigel North

*To Mayumi and Jun Micheletti*

*In memoriam of Professor Janos Starker*

## **Acknowledgments**

Many thanks to Professor Helga Winold, who guided me over the preparation of this paper, taught me cello, and always believed and supported me throughout my stay in Bloomington, and after that.

Special Thanks to Professor Emilio Colón who guided me to finish this paper, taught me cello and was always helpful.

Thanks to the EMI, for my music learning, especially Professors Stanley Ritchie, Nigel North, Michel McCraw and Elizabeth Wright; to Capes-Fulbright; to Dr. David Lasocki.

And I must mention my gratitude to Young Ae and Tim Tresslar, they were my family in Bloomington, helping Jun, Mayumi and I to survive. As well Mitsugu Gomikawa, and Daniel Stein.

Finally, thanks to my family back in Brazil (Micheletti and Ando), and especially my dear friend Marcelo Batuira Losso Pedroso, for his support.



## Table of Contents

DEDICATION	iii
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	iv
LIST OF FIGURES	vii
LIST OF EXAMPLES	ix
LIST OF TABLES	xiv
CHAPTER 1: CELLO DEVELOPMENT BEFORE BOCCHERINI	
1. The Cello and its Idiom before Boccherini	1
2. Other Cellists and Composers of the Time	10
3. Cellists in Venice	12
CHAPTER 2: BOCCHERINI'S TIME	
1. His Life	21
2. Musical Idioms of his Time	33

3. The Cello and Cellists at the Time of Boccherini	35
4. How the Cello Expressed the Current Musical Idiom and Mirrored the Violin and Voice	47
CHAPTER 3: ANALYSIS OF BOCCHERINI'S CELLO TECHNIQUE BASED ON THE MUSIC TREATISES OF HIS TIME	51
MY EDITION WITH COMMENTARY OF BOCCHERINI'S SONATA IN A MAJOR (G4)	94
APPENDIX (WORKS BY BOCCHERINI)	100
BIBLIOGRAPHY	136

## **List of Figures**

Figure 1. Pay record, Österreichisches Staatssarchiv, Vienna, Finanz- und Hofkammerarchiv, 1764	25
Figure 2. Boccherini Playing the Cello, unknown artist, ca. 1764–67	36
Figure 3. Bernhard Romberg, A Complete Theoretical and Practical School for the Violoncello (Boston: Oliver Ditson, ca. 1880), 60	45
Figure 4. Boccherini's Notation 1	52
Figure 5. Fingerboard 1	52
Figure 6. Boccherini's Notation 2	54
Figure 7. Boccherini's Notation 3	54
Figure 8. Fingerboard 2	55

Figure 9. Boccherini's Notation 4	57
Figure 10. Boccherini's Notation 5	57
Figure 11. Fingerboard 3	58
Figure 12. Boccherini's Notation 6	59
Figure 13. Boccherini's Notation 7	59
Figure 14. Fingerboard 4	60
Figure 15. Boccherini, Sonata in A major, I, form after House, "Style of Boccherini," 59	85
Figure 16. Boccherini, Sonata in A major, II, form after House, "Style of Boccherini," 59	86
Figure 17. Boccherini, Sonata in A major, III, form after House, "Style of Boccherini," 59	86
Figure 18. Boccherini, Sonata in A Major, author's edition with commentary	94

## **List of Examples**

Example 1. Domenico Gabrielli, Ricercar No. 2, opening	3
Example 2. Gabrielli, Ricercar No. 7, mm. 61–89	5
Example 3. Gabrielli, Canon for two celli, opening	6
Example 4. Gabrielli, Sonata for cello and continuo, opening	7
Example 5. Vivaldi, Sonata for cello and continuo, RV 46, manuscript from Wiesentheid, I, opening	15
Example 6. Vivaldi, “Sposa son disprezzata” from Bajazet	17
Example 7. Vivaldi, Concerto in G major for Cello and Orchestra, RV 413, first movement (Allegro), mm. 66–98	19
Example 8. Jean Pierre Duport, Etude No. 8, in Jean Louis Duport, Essay on Fingering the Violoncello, and on the Conduct of the Bow (London: Augener, 1904), 198	48

Example 9. Joseph Haydn, D major Cello Concerto, I, mm. 71–  
74 49

Example 10. Boccherini, Sonata in A major, G4, I, opening,  
authors edition with fingerings 62

Example 11. Boccherini, Sonata in A major, G. 4<sup>a</sup>, for Cello  
and Bass, Adagio, m. 1, from Six Sonatas for the Violoncello  
(New York: Performers' Facsimiles, 1996) 63

Example 12. Boccherini, Sonata in A major, G. 4<sup>a</sup>, for Cello  
and Bass, Adagio, m. 1, from Six Sonatas, ed. F. W.  
Grutzmacher (Leipzig: Bartholff Senff, 1880) 63

Example 13. Boccherini, Sonata in A major, G. 4<sup>a</sup>, for Cello  
and Bass, Adagio, m. 1, from Sonata in la maggiore, ed. Alfredo  
Piatti (Milan: Ricordi, 1909) 64

Example 14. Boccherini, Sonata in A major, G. 4<sup>a</sup>, for Cello  
and Bass, Adagio, m. 1, from Sonata N. 6 in A major, ed. A.  
Piatti and L. Forino (New York: International Music Company,  
1964) 65

Example 15. Boccherini, Sonata in A major, G. 4 <sup>a</sup> , for Cello and Bass, Adagio, m. 1, in Klassische Violoncell-Musik berühmter Meister des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts, hrsg. Carl Schroeder (Mainz: B. Schott's Söhne, 1911; reprint, New York: Belwin Mills, 1976)	65
Example 16. Groppo from Mozart, Treatise, 211	67
Example 17. Boccherini, Sonata in A major, G4, I, mm. 5-11, author's edition with fingerings	67
Example 18. Mozart, Treatise, 108, Example 8	69
Example 19. Mozart, Treatise, 181, Example 22	72
Example 20. Mozart, Treatise, 188, Example 6	75
Example 21. Boccherini, Sonata in A major, I, m. 5, from Six Sonatas for the Violoncello (first edition)	76
Example 22. Boccherini, Sonata in A major, I, m. 5, Piatti edition, Sonata in la maggiore	77

Example 23. Boccherini, Sonata in A major, I, m. 5, Schroeder edition, Klassische Violoncell-Musik	77
Example 24. Boccherini, Sonata in A Major, I, m. 5, Grutzmacher edition, Six Sonatas	78
Example 25. Boccherini, Sonata in A Major, I, m. 5, the author's solution no. 1	79
Example 26. Boccherini, Sonata in A Major, I, m. 5, the author's solution no. 2	79
Example 27. Boccherini, Sonata in A Major, I, m. 5, Noseda E-N.24, archives of Conservatory Giuseppe Tartini, Milan	80
Example 28. Sonata in A Major, G.4, II, mm. 65–68, from manuscript (the author's transcription)	81
Example 29. Boccherini, Aria Accademica, “Se d'un amor tirano,” for Soprano, Cello, and Orchestra (G. 557), mm. 8–16, from Aria accademica, G 557, “Se d'un amor tiranno,” for Soprano, Violoncello and Orchestra (Bologna: Ut Orpheus, 2006), edited by Christian Speck	89



Example 30. Boccherini, “Se d’un amor tirano,” mm. 53–65 90

Example 31. Boccherini, Aria, mm. 145–46, showing  
appoggiaturas 92

## **List of Tables**

Table 1. Antonio Vivaldi, Sonata RV, movements	14
------------------------------------------------	----

## **Chapter One:**

### **Cello Development before Boccherini**

#### **1. The Cello and its Idiom before Boccherini**

At the end of the seventeenth century and the beginning of the eighteenth, the school of Bologna in Northern Italy was the birthplace of the violoncello (popularly known as the cello) as a solo instrument and responsible for its initial technical evolution. The School of Bologna can be divided into two institutions: the Accademia Filarmonica and the Basilica di San Petronio (Saint Petronio Basilica).<sup>1</sup> Besides being in the mainstream of the development of cello technique, Bologna was the cornerstone of cello literature. This “new” instrument became popular after passing through Vivaldi’s Venice, coming back from Corelli’s Rome, and finally reaching Lucca, where it found its apogee in Boccherini.

Until fairly recently, performers and scholars assumed that the *Ricercate sopra il violoncello ó clavicembalo*, written

---

<sup>1</sup> Stephen Bonta, “From Violone to Violoncello, a Question of Strings?” *Journal of the American Musical Instrument Society* 3 (1977): 77.

in 1687 by the Bolognese composer Giovanni Battista degl'Antonii (*ca.* 1610–1698), were the first pieces written for solo cello. The word “*sopra*” makes us aware that these pieces were in fact written-out continuo parts—as the title says, for violoncello or harpsichord—especially if we take into account the figured bass written in the cello/harpsichord line.<sup>2</sup> As further proof, Marc Vanscheeuwijck recently found violin parts for these pieces in the Biblioteca Ducal di Modena (Italy). The continuo parts require relative technically advanced playing by the performer, which is probably why they survived as solo pieces for many years.<sup>3</sup>

The canzone, the ricercare, and the sonata, common instrumental genres in the late seventeenth century, took vocal music as their departure point. The first true set of pieces for cello solo were the *Ricercare* written in 1689 by Domenico Gabrielli (1640–1690), a composer and cellist born and active in Bologna, otherwise known, because of his size, as the “*Mingéin dal viulunzèl*” in Bolognese dialect, or “*Minghino del violoncello*” in Italian. *Mingéin* or *Minghino* means both the

---

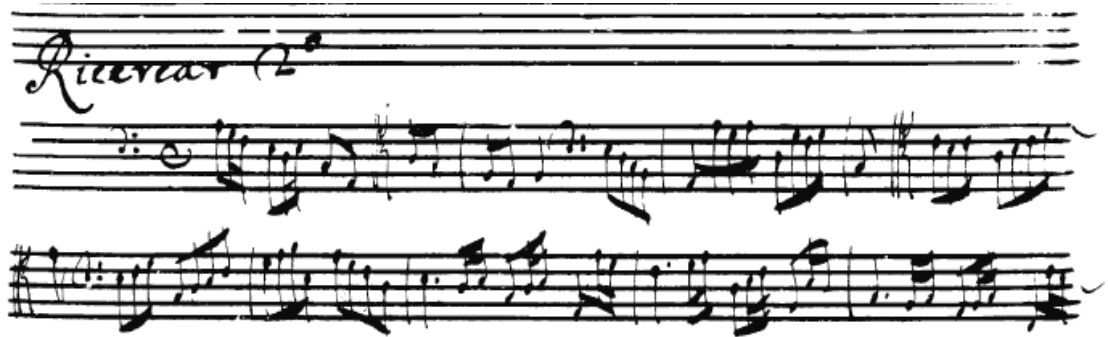
<sup>2</sup> Marc Vanscheeuwijck, preface to *Domenico Gabrielli: ricercari per violoncello solo (1680)* (Padua: Arnaldo Forni, 1998).

<sup>3</sup> See <http://www.mozart.co.uk/mzusers/pieces/l2ric.txt>; transcribed from the preface to *Dodice Ricercate sopra il violoncello* di G. B. Antonii (Amsterdam: Jolante de Tempe, 1999).

diminutive for Domenico and “pinkie.” Until then, the cello was mainly used as a continuo instrument, and often not specified in the music. The cello was by the time smaller in its proportions and faster in response than other common bass instruments.<sup>4</sup>

Gabrielli composed a group of seven ricercari for solo cello, a Canon for two celli, and finally four pieces for cello and basso continuo, apparently intended as a four-movement sonata. These pieces have improvisatory characteristics,<sup>5</sup> where the performer mixes chordal and scalar passages.<sup>6</sup>

Example 1. Domenico Gabrielli, Ricercar No. 2, opening



---

<sup>4</sup> Stephen Bonta, “Terminology for the Bass Violin in Seventeenth-Century Italy” *Journal of the American Musical Instrument Society* 4 (1978): 1.

<sup>5</sup> Massimo Ossi, *Baroque Music* (in process of publication).

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.



In the three first beats of Ricercar No. 2, Gabrielli transforms a chord (A minor) into a melody. This technique is used repeatedly throughout the piece, as if the performer were looking for cadences, each of these cadences delineates one section of motivic exploration from another, bringing to us directly to the word *Ricerca*, which means “searching” in Italian.

The cello literature that emerged in the late seventeenth century also mirrored the violin literature and technique of the time. For instance, Gabrielli’s Ricercar No. 7 uses double

stops (see Ex. 2), just as Biagio Marini did in his violin sonatas. The change of character with the change of meter in between the second and third lines anticipated the function of separate movements less than a decade later.

Example 2. Gabrielli, Ricercar No. 7, mm. 61–89.



Another common form was the *canon*. Example 3 shows Gabrielli leaving aside the modal texture and going toward a contrapuntal and tonal structure (D major), another step in the evolution of compositional style in that period.

Example 3. Gabrielli, Canon for two celli, opening





Gabrielli's four last ricercari are for cello and basso continuo (see Ex. 4), which can be taken to be a sonata in four movements. The movements are well defined and all in G major. The opening movement, Grave, is marked at entry 8 in the facsimile and Allegro at entry 9, which can therefore be considered as the second movement. As in most of Corelli's violin sonatas, the movements are separate. At the end of the Grave there are two measures of Adagio and four measures of Presto, which add expressiveness and freedom. Gabrielli concludes this set of pieces with a singing Largo and a virtuoso gigue-like Presto.

Example 4. Gabrielli, Sonata for cello and continuo, opening

Handwritten musical score for a piano piece, first system. The system consists of four staves. The top two staves are grouped by a brace on the left. The first staff has a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The second staff has a bass clef. The bottom two staves are also grouped by a brace on the left. The third staff has a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp. The fourth staff has a bass clef. The word "Grave" is written in cursive above the second staff. The music features complex rhythmic patterns, including sixteenth and thirty-second notes, and rests.

Handwritten musical score for a piano piece, second system. The system consists of five staves. The first two staves are grouped by a brace on the left. The third staff has a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp. The fourth staff has a bass clef. The fifth staff has a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp. The word "Grave" is written in cursive above the third staff, and the word "Presto" is written in cursive above the fourth staff. The music features complex rhythmic patterns, including sixteenth and thirty-second notes, and rests.



Gabrielli's *Ricercari* mark the birth of a new role for the cello. After that, Petronio Franceschini, a contemporary of Gabrielli's and also employed at San Petronio Basilica, encouraged other composers to write for the instrument in Bologna and elsewhere.<sup>7</sup>

---

<sup>7</sup> Robin Stowell, *The Cambridge Companion to the Cello* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 52.

## 2. Other Cellists and Composers of the Time

Franceschini was the first cellist employed at San Petronio, co-founder of the Accademia Filarmonica of Bologna,<sup>8</sup> and cellist in a particular ensemble of this Accademia known as the Concerto Grande, a predecessor of the modern orchestra. He was interested in the cello not only as a continuo instrument but also as a solo instrument.

In Modena, the Bononcini brothers, Giovanni (1670–1747) and Antonio Maria (1677–1726), worked as protégés of the Duke of Modena, Francesco II. Both of them studied in San Petronio with masters such as Colonna, Legrenzi, and Franceschini, and both were in close contact with the cellists of Bologna. A. M. Bononcini wrote twelve sonatas between 1693 and 1725.<sup>9</sup>

Among the other virtuosi who appeared in this first stage of cello history was Domenico Galli in Parma. Little is known about him, but there is a treatise on the instrument written by

---

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., 52.

<sup>9</sup> A. M. Bononcini, *Sonatas for Violoncello e basso continuo*, ed. Lowell Lindgren, Recent Researches in the Music of the Baroque Era 77 (Madison: A-R Editions, 1996).

him that can be found in the Biblioteca Estense di Modena, *Trattenimento musicale del violoncello a solo* (1691).<sup>10</sup>

Angelo Bovi, D. Maria Marcheselli, Benedetto Zavatteri, G. B. Vitali, and Giuseppe Jacchini were cellists in Bologna, connected with the San Petronio Basilica. Clemente Monari and G. B. degl'Antonii were also active in Bologna, but not connected with San Petronio.<sup>11</sup>

Francesco Alborea (1691-1770), better known as “Francisc(h)ello,”<sup>12</sup> was active in Naples and Rome. J. J. Quantz described him as an “incomparable cellist,”<sup>13</sup> who was credited with the use of the thumb position (*capotasto*), described in Michel Corrette’s *Méthode théorique e pratique pour apprendre en peu de temps le violoncello dans sa perfection*.<sup>14</sup>

---

<sup>10</sup> See <http://ntcredazione.sbn.it/upload/sfogliatori/trattenimento/trattenimento.jsp?s=6&l=it>.

<sup>11</sup> Elizabeth Cowling, *The Cello* (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1983), 65.

<sup>12</sup> *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*. [ARTICLE ON HIM?]

<sup>13</sup> Cowling, *Cello*, 67.

<sup>14</sup> Valerie Walden, *One Hundred Years of Violoncello* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 126.

Franciscello's advanced technique gives us the basis for understanding the bass parts (*Violone*) in Corelli's violin sonatas (Op. 5, 1700)—in particular *La Folia*, which requires the use of *capotasto*, and the violoncello parts in his Trio Sonatas and Concerti Grossi. All these parts have fast runs, melodic lines, and a demanding technique, meeting the descriptions of Franciscello's playing.

It is important to point out that the pitch in Rome was lower (A=392). At this pitch for larger instruments, the strings would be too loose and lacking enough tension to play demanding technical passages such as fast sixteenth notes, which makes the use of a smaller instrument essential.

Three advanced cellists from this same period were Salvatore Lanzetti in Turin, Francesco Tedeschini in Mantua, and Domenico Della Bella, cellist and *maestro di cappella* in Treviso.

### **3. Cellists in Venice**

Venice was an important music center. There cellists were employed in the Basilica di San Marco as *maestri de' concerti*, among them Antonio Caldara (*ca.* 1670–1736), famous

composer and responsible for the important influence of Italian music on Austria. He worked in Vienna at the *Hofkapelle*.

Antonio Vivaldi (1678–1741) was one of the most important composers of operas and instrumental music. He wrote concertos and sonatas for the cello, probably inspired by the technique of Giacomo Taneschi, a Venetian cellist recognized for his virtuosity in 1706 and hired freelance at San Marco,<sup>15</sup> and Antonio Vandini, cello master at La Pietà (1720).<sup>16</sup> Vivaldi composed his sonatas around the 1720s and 30s. Six of them (nine survive) appeared in a first edition in 1740, published by Le Clerc & Boivin in Paris<sup>17</sup>

The manuscripts of Vivaldi come from different sources. There are two manuscripts of Sonata RV 46 in B-flat major, one from the Musikbibliothek des Grafen von Schönborn-Wiesentheid and the other in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, with different headings for the same movements (see Table 1).

---

<sup>15</sup> Eleanor Selfridge-Field, *Venetian Instrumental Music from Gabrieli to Vivaldi*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. (New York: Dover, 1994), 251.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid., 43.

<sup>17</sup> Antonio Vivaldi, *IX sonate a violoncello e basso RV 39–47: Manoscritti, Napoli, Biblioteca del Conservatorio San Pietro a Majella, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Wiesentheid, Musikbibliothek des Grafen von Schönborn-Wiesentheid; VI sonates violoncello solo con basso RV 47, 41, 43, 45, 40, 46: stampa di Le Clerc et Boivin, Paris, s.d., Archivum Musicum. Vivaldiana* (Florence: Studio per Edizioni Scelte, 2003).

Table 1: Antonio Vivaldi, Sonata RV 46, movements

Sonata RV 46 in B-flat major for cello and basso continuo	Bibliothèque Nationale	Musikbibliothek des Grafen von Schönborn-Wiesentheid
First movement	Largo	Preludio Largo
Second movement	Allegro	Allemanda Allegro
Third movement	Largo	Largo
Fourth movement	Allegro	Corrente Allegro

The first movement of this sonata, in binary form, displays Vivaldi's vocal treatment of the cello, a little like the aria "Sposa son disprezzata," a da capo aria from his opera *Bajazet* of 1735.

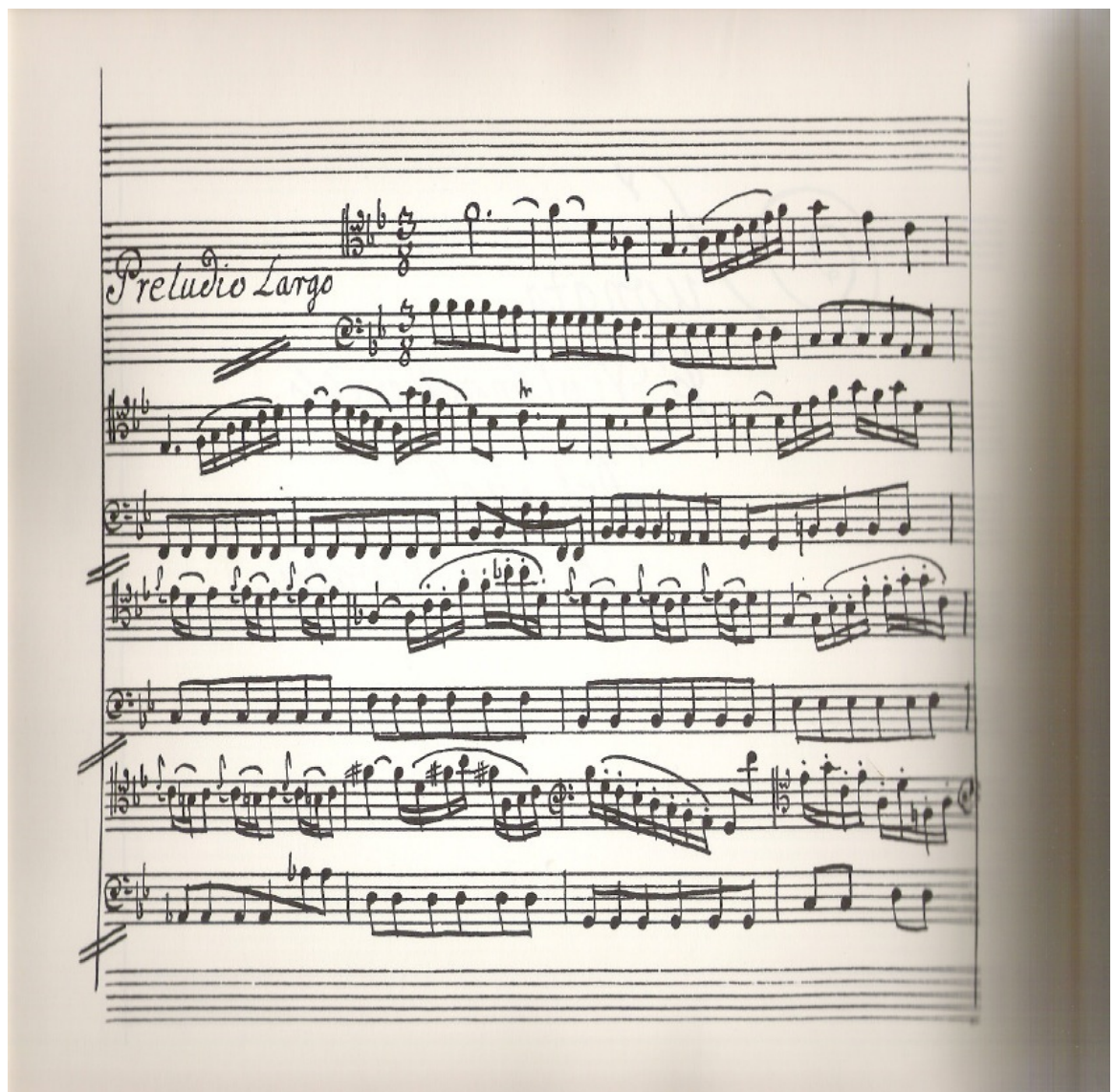
Note the long notes right in the opening of Ex. 5, and how the cello moves downwards with faster notes in the second measure of this very example. In the last measure of the first line in Ex. 6, the voice is treated in the same way: long note, then separated faster notes in the first measure of the second line. Ex. 6 has indications of *forte* for the long notes, and *piano* for the faster ones, indicating that attention is on the long note. Vivaldi probably used the *messa di voce* to bring out the color of the instrument or vocal timbre (see Exx. 5 and



6). Also note that in the accompaniment of both examples, there is no movement, so as not to disturb the *messa di voce*.

It is also important to point out that Vivaldi uses staccato markings under a single slur. This technique is derived from vocal lines, as in Monteverdi's "Zefiro torna" from *Scherzi musicali* (1632), where toward the end of the piece the two tenors perform ascending scales with staccatos under one slur, on the word "canto" (sing).

Example 5. Vivaldi, Sonata for cello and continuo, RV 46, manuscript from Wiesentheid, I, opening



Example 6. Vivaldi, "Sposa son disprezzata" from *Bajazet*  
(the third measure of this ex.)

The musical score is presented in four systems, each with a vocal line (treble clef) and a piano accompaniment (grand staff). The key signature is B-flat major (two flats). The tempo is indicated as 'Allegro'.

**System 1:** The vocal line begins with the lyrics "za - ta, fi - da son oltrag - gia - ta, cie -". The piano accompaniment features a steady eighth-note pattern in the right hand and a more active bass line. Dynamic markings include *f* (forte) at the start of the vocal phrase and *f* at the end of the piano phrase.

**System 2:** The vocal line continues with "li che fe - ci mai? Cie - li che fe - ci mai? E". The piano accompaniment includes a *p* (piano) marking in the first measure and a *f* (forte) marking in the third measure.

**System 3:** The vocal line has the lyrics "pur egl'è il mio cor, il mio spo - so, il mio amor, la mia spe - ran -". The piano accompaniment features a *cresc.* (crescendo) marking in the third measure.

**System 4:** The vocal line ends with "za.". The piano accompaniment includes a *f* (forte) marking in the first measure, a *tr* (trill) marking in the second measure, and a *dim.* (diminuendo) marking in the fourth measure.

Vivaldi wrote a number of cello concerti, many of them for the students of the Ospedale della Pietà, where he worked for most of his career. We know that two of them were intended for Teresa, known as La Santina.<sup>18</sup>

---

<sup>18</sup> Vivaldi, *IX sonate a violoncello*. Preface, 27.

Example 7. Vivaldi, Concerto in G major for Cello and Orchestra, RV 413, first movement (Allegro), mm. 66–98

**Violoncello**

The musical score for the Violoncello part, measures 66–98, is presented on a single staff. The key signature is G major (one sharp). The tempo is Allegro. The score includes various musical techniques such as triplets, sixteenth-note runs, trills, and vibrato. Measure numbers 70, 75, 85, 90, and 95 are marked in boxes. Fingerings and bowings are indicated throughout the piece.

Vivaldi is using some of the techniques that were idiomatic of the violin, such as *ondeggiando* (m. 71). Also note the use of

three clefs, reflecting a bigger range for the instrument, and more demanding and more complicated technique. This shows the rapid progress of cello playing in the half century that had passed since Gabrielli's compositions.

With this background, now we can understand the role of Luigi Boccherini in the development of cello technique and composition.

## CHAPTER 2

### BOCCHERINI'S TIME

#### 1. His Life

Ridolfo Luigi Boccherini was born in Lucca, northern Italy in 1743. Many biographers attest that he was first taught by his father, and afterwards by Domenico Francesco Vanucci (1718–1775), maestro di cappella in the cathedral of San Martin in Lucca; then he was sent to Rome.<sup>19</sup> Little is known about his early instruction; the only thing we know for sure is that as a cellist he was considered a virtuoso from an early age.

Boccherini was only thirteen when he departed for Rome. It is unclear what exactly he went to study there: cello, composition, or both. Even so, we know from records in Lucca and Vienna that the young Boccherini was active as both cellist and composer.

Also it is known that in 1754, Leopoldo, Luigi's father, went to accompany his son in Rome for the Fest of the Holy

---

<sup>19</sup> Daniel Hertz, "The Young Boccherini: Lucca, Vienna, and Electoral Courts," *Journal of Musicology* 13, no. 1 (winter 1995): 103–4.

Cross (Santa Croce), which was very important in 18<sup>th</sup>-century Lucca. The name of the son was not mentioned in this source. Remilio Coli (who wrote a biography of Boccherini in 1988) assumed that it was Luigi, but his brother Giovanni Gastone also had connections with Rome, later becoming a member of the Arcadian Academy there.<sup>20</sup> Coli points out another absence of Leopoldo from his position from November 1753 through June 1754, as documented in the Archivio di Stato in Lucca.

It is assumed that Boccherini was sent to Rome in 1756 to study with the cellist and composer Giovanni Batista Costanzi (1708–1778).<sup>21</sup> On the other hand, Christian Speck and Laurence Chapman assert that Luigi was sent to Rome in 1753, and also that it is uncertain whether he studied either cello or composition under Costanzi.<sup>22</sup> We do find the Boccherini family travelling to Vienna and the Electoral courts in 1757, and also in 1756 there is documentation of Luigi playing as soloist in the Mass and Vespers for the monastery of San Domenico in Lucca, under the auspices of his first patron, Giacomo Puccini (1712–1781), director of the State Chapel as well as organist at

---

<sup>20</sup> Heartz, “Young Boccherini,” 104.

<sup>21</sup> Maurice Lindsay and Leggat Smith, “Luigi Boccherini (1743–1805),” *Music & Letters* 24, no. 2 (April 1945): 75.

<sup>22</sup> Christian Speck, “Boccherini as a Cellist,” *Early Music* 33, no. 2 (May 2005): 191.



the cathedral and at the Accademico Filarmonico in Bologna.<sup>23</sup> These appearances in addition to some at Santa Croce festivities reoccur as late as 1766, and are well documented in Puccini's pay records.

On their trips to Vienna, the "Boccherinis" appear under payment records of the MS Registers of the Teatralkassa-rechnung in the Hofkammerarchiv, where Yves Gérard found a document that Luigi was employed from December 1757 to March 1758 as a cellist, and Leopoldo the same as a bassist.<sup>24</sup>

It seems that Leopoldo was looking for a better place on the musical scene for his children than he had achieved for himself. There are documents from Lucca, Genoa, Venice, Vienna, and other places in Italy and Austria, of the Boccherini family working for opera houses and courts.

Boccherini had a position as cellist in the State Chapel in 1764, resigning no later than two years after his father's death (1766), leaving Lucca for good.

Although Luigi was employed for orchestral work, he appeared many times as soloist, playing his own compositions,

---

<sup>23</sup> Ibid., 191–92.

<sup>24</sup> Hertz, "Young Boccherini," 105.

varying from sonatas for cello and bass to cello concertos with orchestra.<sup>25</sup>

In Figure 1, we find the entry “Dem Bocherini Ludwig Violoncellisten für gespielte Concerts, bey denen Music Academien und 1. Hierzu auf 2. Violoncelli componiertes Concert, mit Inbegriff, was er und sein Vatter Leopold” (Ludwig Boccherini may request 54. 83 Florins for the performance of concerts and music academies, beginning with a concert played by two cellos and including his father Leopold’s services [f.29r], in German orchestras from March to the end of Carnival 1764.)

This entry shows that Luigi was already established as a virtuoso cellist in 1764, hired to play his own concertos, and it was around this time that his famous portrait was painted (see Fig. 2, p. 36). The references and iconography all lead to the same instrument we know as the cello today.

---

<sup>25</sup> Speck and Chapman, “Boccherini as a Cellist,” 192–93.

Figure 1. Pay record, Österreichisches Staatssarchiv, Vienna, Finanz- und Hofkammerarchiv, 1764.

50.	dem Seyber Johann Andriess und Scholtz Jo. dem Georg Thalhammer, für geleistete dienste bey der thälham Opera: Exio und Insulin von 10. Janisary, bis 20. february 1764. ut #. 50.	44.
51.	demungelben für geleistete dienste in Orchester und bey Insulin in Martio 1764 ut #. 51.	50.
52.	dem Bollinger Joseph Musico, also ut #. 52.	25.
53.	dem Hoffbaur Latus ober bey Insulin für Insulin und Insulin dienste bey der thälham Opera: Exio und Insulin von 11. febr. bis 31. January 1764. ut #. 53.	68. 24
	dem Boccherini Ludwig Violoncellisten für gezeigte Concerts, bey denen Music Academien und 1. singen auf 2. Violon- celli componirtes Concert, mit Jubo- gust, und no und pin Latus Leopold	
	Latus.	844. 34

Speck points out that the young Boccherini found a lot of competition as soloist in Vienna in the 1760s, even receiving a smaller wage than Stefano Galeotti (three times that of

Boccherini) and Antonio Vallotti, who was employed in the Court Theater Orchestra in 1763.<sup>26</sup>

From 1767 onwards, Boccherini was touring all over northern Italy—Florence, Pavia, Cremona, and Modena, among other cities. In 1767, he published a set of Quartets (a revised edition of his Op. 1, G. 159–64) in Paris, establishing himself internationally as a composer. That opened the doors to the Parisian musical scene, and there is a record of him playing his compositions in the Concert Spirituel in 1767–68. The *Mercure de France* wrote about his concert on that occasion: “Then M. Boccherini, already known to us from his impressive trios and quartets, performed in a masterly fashion, upon the cello, a sonata of his own composition.”<sup>27</sup>

The Parisian music scene of connoisseurs was used to the cello, with Jean-Baptiste Jansson, and the Duport brothers dominating the concerts,<sup>28</sup> receiving very positive reviews, which puts the *Mercure*’s critique into perspective, even if it lacks more information about the concert.

---

<sup>26</sup> Speck, “Boccherini as a Cellist,” 192.

<sup>27</sup> Germaine de Rothschild, *Luigi Boccherini: His Life and Work* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1965), 28–29.

<sup>28</sup> Elisabeth Le Guin, *Boccherini’s Body: An Essay in Carnal Musicology* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), 51.

It seems that Boccherini was searching for patronage in Paris, given that he could not support himself from sporadic concerts and publishing, even if he was popular and productive. After staying in Paris for about six months, Boccherini seemed to be heading for London, a safe port for virtuoso Italian string musicians, who had found it a good place to make a living for decades. Rather than heading north for London, however, he went south to Madrid.

In spring 1768, Boccherini took an engagement with an opera company contracted by Luigi Marescalchi, an Italian impresario and publisher, who had in conjunction with Francisco Creus secured contract with the Spanish royal house to present Italian opera at the *Sitio Reales*.<sup>29</sup>

It is unclear if the contact with Don Luis, the Spanish Infante, had already been made, directly or indirectly, through the Spanish ambassador in Paris, Joaquín Pignatelli de Aragón y Moncalvo, as suggested by Picquot<sup>30</sup> (and many other biographers), since we have no record of the supposed recommendation letters.

---

<sup>29</sup> Le Guin, *Boccherini's Body*, 55–56.

<sup>30</sup> L. Picquot, *Notice sur la vie et les ouvrages de Luigi Boccherini. Suivie d'un catalogue raisonné de tous ses oeuvres, tant publiées qu'inédites* (Paris: Chez Philipp, 1851; reprint, Cornell University Library Digital Collections, 1991), 58.

Although the contact with the Spanish nobility at the court of Madrid seemed to move Boccherini toward his goal, albeit not so obviously as if he had gone to London, there is a possibility that Boccherini had already met the Italian soprano Clementina Pelliccia, who would become his wife in August 1769. If so, then the promise of work for both of them in Spain might have helped move the decision towards Madrid.

In 1768, Boccherini was already in Paris travelling with the Italian violinist Filippo Manfredi.<sup>31</sup> It is unclear whether they travelled all together to Madrid, or arranged to meet there later, as Le Guin suggests. The fact is that we can find the three of them—Boccherini, Manfredi, and Pelliccia—working in Madrid soon after that.

It is important to note that Picquot describes Manfredi as a violinist from Tartini's school.<sup>32</sup> We can conclude that Boccherini probably had close contact with the contents of what we know today as Tartini's *L'arte dell'arco* and *Regole per ben suonare il violino*, if not directly, then indirectly through his close friend.

The treatise *Dell'origine e delle regole della musica*, written by the Spanish Jesuit Antonio Eximeno during his exile

---

<sup>31</sup> Le Guin, *Boccherini's Body*, 55.

<sup>32</sup> Piquot, *Notices sur la vie*, 55.

in Italy, describes Boccherini as an outstanding member of the Italian school of instrumental music created by Corelli and perfected by Tartini, as Miguel Angel Marin points out in his article about Boccherini's early biographers.<sup>33</sup> From this starting point it is clear that the musical style and language of Corelli and his successors such as Geminiani were known to Boccherini.

Also Marín points out another source of information on Boccherini's reputation: Karl Ludwig Junker (1776), bringing together two ideas associated with Boccherini's musical style until now: "the melancholic character" ("darkness and coldness," as Junker puts it) and "the absence of neat forms" (from a German point of view, as Marín writes).<sup>34</sup> This lack of conventional form seemed to be something that caught the attention of the Spanish audience, for as Marín points out, Boccherini was more popular in Spain than the German composers (whom the Spanish considered too academic), not to mention that in France and Italy his quartets, a genre in which he was a pioneer, were admired.<sup>35</sup>

---

<sup>33</sup> Miguel Angel Marín, "Par sa grâce naïve et pour ainsi dire primitive," in *Images of Boccherini through his Early Biographers*, ed. Christian Speck (Bologna: Ut Orpheus, 2007), 282.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid., 283.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid.

Two years later, Boccherini's search for patronage achieved results. We find him working for the Infante, Don Luis de Borbón (younger brother of King Carlos III of Spain). He was hired as a composer and a virtuoso chamber musician (*virtuoso da cámara y compositor de música*) from 1770 through 1785, until Don Luis' death.

During this period Boccherini composed most of his works, proudly serving as member of the court of the Infante, and the focus on chamber music can be explained by the nature of his post. In this chamber repertoire we find everything from duos to octets (including guitar, one of the favorite instruments in Spain, and two string quintets—string quartets with an extra cello) as well as sonatas for diverse instruments.

Eventually, for bigger events or commemorations, he wrote symphonies (*sinfonias* in the Baroque meaning of the term, a single-movement work), a dozen concert arias (*arias académicas*), *villancicos* (a kind of Spanish sacred ode for Christmas) for four voices and large orchestra, a *Stabat Mater*, a Mass (*a quatro*), a cantata (for Christmas), and *La Clementina* (an opera). For more information on Boccherini's compositions, see the Appendix.



In 1776, the Infante was exiled by the king (his brother) from the area of Madrid, preventing him and his children from taking over the throne. Boccherini followed the Infante wherever he went, including stays in Talavera, Torrijos, Velada, and Caldaso de los Vidros, until Don Luis finally decided to live in Arenas de San Pedro, near Toledo, although it was only habitable after 1783 and the palace was never really finished.<sup>36</sup> That is why Haydn's letters could not find Boccherini, causing irritation to Haydn.

After a big period of peace, composing and performing, the year 1785 marked Boccherini's return to Madrid. First his wife Clementina died after a stroke in April, leaving him with their seven children. In August, the death of the Infante ended what had seemed for Boccherini to be lifelong employment.

In 1786, Boccherini was hired as music director of the Benavente-Osuna in Madrid, an establishment that owned the biggest collection of Haydn's music in Spain. Madrid was a Catholic center and for most of the eighteenth century had been ruled by the strong hand of the Inquisition. But we can associate Boccherini with the "*Signori dilettanti di Madrid*"

---

<sup>36</sup> Le Guin, *Boccherini's Body*, 57.

(Amateur Gentlemen of Madrid)<sup>37</sup> a group of free thinkers who gathered in meetings called *Tertulias* and among whom Boccherini seems to have been popular. He was somehow connected with them as far back as his 1770 set of quartets, published in 1772 by V é r n i e r with a dedication *Alli Signori dilettanti di Madrid*.<sup>38</sup>

In 1787, however, Boccherini signed himself:

*“professore di musica all’attual servizio di S. M. C., Compositore di Camera di S. M. Prussiana, e Direttore del Concerto dell’Excellentissima Senora, Contessa di Benavente, Duchesa di Osuna, di Gandia, etc.”*<sup>39</sup>

“Music teacher in service of S. M. C. [referring to Charles IV, prince of Asturias],<sup>40</sup> chamber music composer of the Imperial Prussian Majesty [referring to Frederick William II, king of Prussia], and director of the conservatoire of her Excellency Madam Countess of Benavente, Duchess of Osuna, of Gandia, etc.[referring to Maria Josefa Téllez-Girón].”

And from then until 1797, he served as chamber music composer for Frederick Wilhelm II, King of Prussia, dedicating his published chamber works to the monarch.

Frederick Wilhelm was a keen amateur cellist, and employed Jean Louis Duport (1749–1819), who joined his

---

<sup>37</sup> Ibid., 61.

<sup>38</sup> Le Guin, *Boccherini's Body*, 61.

<sup>39</sup> Picquot, *Notices sur la vie*, 60.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid., 60.

brother Jean Pierre (1741–1818) in Berlin in 1790 during the French Revolution. The king also commissioned Beethoven, who dedicated his Sonatas for Cello and Piano, Op. 5 Nos. 1 and 2, to him, intending them to be performed by Jean Louis Duport.

Upon the death of Frederick Wilhelm in 1797, Boccherini was once again without a steady stipend. In 1803, Madame Edne-Sophie Gail, a French admirer and friend, visited him in Madrid, finding him living in a single room with his whole family, in complete poverty. She describes his possessions as a chair, a table, one cello, and a piccolo cello (missing three strings). Madame Gail offered him a salaried position in Paris, but his health did not allow him to take it, and he ended up dying on March 28, 1805.

## **2. Musical Idioms of his Time**

Eighteenth-century Madrid was ruled by the Borbón, a French family, so we might conclude that the arts and costumes of the Spanish court were French. On the other hand, Felipe V (Borbón), who ruled from 1714 to 1746, was married to Isabella Farnese, an Italian who loved the arts, *opera seria* in

particular. She was responsible for bringing to Madrid in 1737 the most famous Italian singer of the time, the castrato Farinelli (Carlo Broschi).<sup>41</sup> Fernando VI, married to María de Braganza, was the successor of Felipe, and María was known for her patronage of Domenico Scarlatti. The Italian and French influences, blended with the national Spanish taste (called *Majismo*, a working-class response to the French upper class),<sup>42</sup> created a new taste, despite attempts by nationalists to repudiate French culture.

Boccherini's music fits perfectly into this development. An Italian composer, admired in France, he was also influenced by Spanish music, as can be seen in his quintets for Guitar and String Quartet, G 445–453. In the Quintet No. 83 he had already written a *Fandango*. The *Villancicos* (1783) also demonstrate his blending of styles. Nevertheless, his works are dominated by the virtuoso violin idiom of Corelli and Tartini as well as the vocal approach of *opera seria*.

---

<sup>41</sup> Le Guin, *Boccherini's Body*, 58.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid., 63.

### **3. The Cello and Cellists at the Time of Boccherini**

There is a famous portrait depicting the young Boccherini as cellist (see Fig. 2), which denotes that he had a certain fame and also that there was some patron behind the commission of this portrait, as portraits such as this one were too expensive for a musician's family. It was attributed—and many scholars still refer to it in this way—to Pompeo Batoni (1708–1787), who lived in Rome and like Boccherini was born in Lucca. The latest research shows, however, that this attribution is doubtful, and there are no records of who commissioned it.<sup>43</sup>

---

<sup>43</sup> Speck, "Boccherini as a Cellist," 193.

Figure 2. Boccherini Playing the Cello, unknown artist, *ca.* 1764–67



Speck and Agnes Kory suggest that Boccherini possessed and intended some of his compositions for a smaller cello, tuned *G–D–a–e* (like a violin).<sup>44</sup> Kory argues that many of his compositions do not make the use of the C string, using only the upper register of the instrument. She points out about four of the eleven cello concertos in Gérard’s catalogue that one (G483) has only a few notes on the C string—that is not an argument in my opinion: even one note on the C string and we need a C string; G481 has one obviously erroneous note on that string; and two others (G477 and G480) have no notes on that string.<sup>45</sup>

The sonata *L’Imperatrice*, discovered by Speck, has no notes on the C string, and the same is true of the twelfth concerto (not in Gérard, but edited by Pais and Speck).<sup>46</sup>

Kory goes on to cite Speck’s suggestion that Stefano Galeotti (1723–1770) probably influenced Boccherini’s development on the cello, and his first set of six sonatas does not contain a single note on the C string.<sup>47</sup>

---

<sup>44</sup> Speck, “Boccherini as a Cellist,” 197.

<sup>45</sup> Agnes Kory, “Boccherini and the Cello,” *Early Music* 33, no. 4 (November 2005): 749.

<sup>46</sup> Kory, “Boccherini and the Cello,” 750.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, 750.

Kory and Speck quote Johann Joachim Quantz, whose treatise *Versuch einer Anweisung die Flöte traversiere zu spielen* (Berlin, 1752) recommends that cellists should have two cellos: one for solo playing and another (larger) for ensemble playing.<sup>48</sup> She neglects to point out, however, that Quantz says that orchestral players must use “larger instruments with thicker strings because if a small instrument with thin strings were employed for both types of parts, the accompaniment in a large ensemble would have no effect whatsoever.”<sup>49</sup> Quantz was referring to instruments at the same pitch but of different timbre and volume.

It is possible to have an instrumentalist playing in higher positions so as not to mix the *tessituras* when playing with another instrument of the same kind (in this case another cello) as accompaniment, which seems to have been the case with Boccherini.

Also, Boccherini was constantly travelling with the violinist Fillipo Manfredi. Margaret Campbell suggests that they were travelling together as a duo throughout northern

---

<sup>48</sup> Johann Joachim Quantz, *On Playing the Flute*, trans. Edward R. Reilly, 2nd ed. (New York: Schirmer Books, 1985), 212.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid.



Italy and also sojourned in Paris.<sup>50</sup> So it would not be surprising if Manfredi played the accompaniment for Boccherini.

There is supporting evidence in Leopold Mozart's *Violinschule* (a footnote in the 1787 edition): "I often had occasion to laugh at violoncellists who actually permitted the bass part to their solo to be accompanied by the violin, although another violoncello was present."<sup>51</sup>

Leopold's comment may lead us to conclude that, first, it was a common practice (even making him laugh) for a violinist to accompany a cellist; and second, that to avoid a big distance between the musical lines, Boccherini wrote as high as possible, thus avoiding the C string. This concept of not using the same instrument for accompaniment can be found in the B-flat major Concerto (G482): most of the time when the *Violoncello Principale* is playing the solo, Boccherini drops the whole *Basso* (bass) line.

Moreover, here is the definition of cello in the Introduction to Mozart's *Violinschule*:

---

<sup>50</sup> Robin Stowell, *The Cambridge Companion to the Cello* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 54.

<sup>51</sup> Leopold Mozart, *A Treatise on the Fundamental Principles of Violin Playing*, trans. Editha Knocker, 2nd ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1951), 11, n. 1.

The seventh kind is called the Bass-Viol, or, as Italians call it, the Violoncello. Formerly this had five strings but now only four. It is customary to play the bass part on this instrument, and although some are larger, others smaller, they differ but little from each other excepting in the strength of their tone, according to their stringing.<sup>52</sup>

It is known that Boccherini possessed two cellos when Madame Gail visited him from Paris in 1803. One of the cellos was possibly a *piccolo*, according to her description. This visit is described by Picquot.

Telle était cependant la détresse du sublime compositeur que, lorsque Mme Gail le vit à Madrid, en 1803, il n'avait qu'une seule chambre pour sa famille et pour lui. Quand il voulait y travailler en repos, il se retirait, à l'aide d'une échelle, dans une sorte d'appentis en bois, pratiqué contre la muraille, et décoré d'une table, d'une chaise et d'un vieil alto troué, veuf de trois cordes.<sup>53</sup>

Such was nevertheless the distress of the sublime composer, when Ms. Gail visited him in Madrid in 1803, he had only one chamber for him and his family. When he wanted to work in peace, he used to take off, with the help of a ladder, in a sort of wooden shed, constructed against the wall and furnished with a table, a chair and an old "alto" (smaller cello) with holes in it, missing three strings.

---

<sup>52</sup> Mozart, *Treatise*, 11.

<sup>53</sup> Picquot, *Notices sur la vie*, 71.

Also Kory points out that a newly discovered document reveals that Boccherini possessed “*un Violon de Estayner e un Violon Chico*”: a (Jacob) Stainer cello and a small cello.<sup>54</sup>

We can conclude that Boccherini was playing a cello of the same proportion we know today. That he had a smaller cello (tuned like a violin) to play some of his works, or even a five-stringed cello, would not be in accordance with the descriptions of the instrument in the treatises of the time after Michel Corrette, including Duport, Romberg, and Baillot.<sup>55</sup>

The Duport brothers were the most prominent cellists in Paris by the time Boccherini first appeared in the Concert Spirituel in 1767–68. They were common figures in the Concert Spirituel and other music series and salons in Paris, playing their own compositions and noted for their refined style and musical expression.<sup>56</sup> They received the following reviews from the *Mercure de France*. For Jean Pierre:

M. Duport allowed us to hear new works every day on the cello and has gained new admiration. The instrument is no longer recognizable in his hands: it speaks, expresses, renders everything with that

---

<sup>54</sup> Kory, “Boccherini and the Cello” 750.

<sup>55</sup> Philippe Lescat and Jean Saint-Arroman, ed., *Violoncelle: méthodes et traités, dictionnaires, préfaces des oeuvres* (Paris: J. M. Fuzeau, 1998).

<sup>56</sup> Valerie Walden, *One Hundred Years of Violoncello Technique and Performance Practice, 1740–1840* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 15–16.

charm that was believed to be exclusively reserved for the violin.<sup>57</sup>

For Jean Louis:

A precise, brilliant, and astonishing execution; a full, smooth, and flattering sound; daring playing, announcing the greatest talent and virtuosity in an age destined for studying the instrument. He has been heard with admiration by connoisseurs.<sup>58</sup>

Boccherini, in his six-month stay in Paris, most probably met the brothers, especially considering Jean Louis was playing at the Concert Spirituel the same year. Picquot describes Boccherini as playing in the salon of Baron de Bagge, where François Gossec, Gaviniés, Capron, VERNIER (the publisher), and the Duport brothers were among the regulars. Again, probably Boccherini met them there.

Most of what we know about the Duports' technical approach to the cello is in Jean Louis's *Essay on Fingering the*

---

<sup>57</sup> "M. Duport fait entendre tous les jours sur le violoncelle de nouveaux produits et a mérité une nouvelle admiration. Cet instrument n'est plus reconnaissable entre ses mains: il parle, exprime, il rend tout au-delà de ce charme qu'on croyait exclusivement réservé au violon." *Mercure de France*, 1762. Quoted in Le Guin, *Boccherini's Body*, 283.

<sup>58</sup> "Une execution précise, brilliant, étonnante; des sons pleins, moelleux, flatteurs; un jeu et hardi, announcement le plus grand talent et un virtuose dans l'âge destiné à l'étude. Il a été entendu avec l'admiration par les connaisseurs." *Mercure de France*, 1768. Quoted in *ibid.*

*Violoncello, and on the Conduct of the Bow*, which cites Jean Pierre and contains two etudes written by him.<sup>59</sup>

These etudes are numbers seven and eight in the treatise, which is also a compendium of etudes. Both etudes, unlike all the others, have no second cello (the teacher's accompaniment), because they are more harmonic than melodic. Number seven is an arpeggio-based etude, while number eight is a two-voice etude: the melody on top (long notes on the top string) and the second voice created by short notes on lower strings.

We can point out two other great cellists whose existence Boccherini would have acknowledged, even if he had never met them, because they worked closely with Haydn: Joseph Weigl, for whom Haydn wrote the Cello Concerto in C major, Hob.VIIb: 1, probably written between 1762 and 1765; and Ánton Kraft, for whom Haydn wrote his Cello Concerto in D major, Hob.VIIb:2, written in 1783. Both of them worked with Haydn in the Esterházy Orchestra in Esterháza.

Daniel Heartz, points out that in 1757 the Boccherinis (Luigi and Leopoldo) could be found in Vienna, hired (respectively) as cellist and bass player in the orchestra of the German Theater next to the Carinthian gate (Kärtnertor

---

<sup>59</sup> London: Augener, 1904.

Theater).<sup>60</sup> Haydn was in Vienna as freelancer up to 1760, when he moved to Esterháza, and both Josph Weigl and Ánton Kraft were active in Vienna by that time, so the probability that Boccherini was aware of these two cellists is very high.

Certainly the cellist from the German School who is important in studying Boccherini is Bernhard Romberg (1767–1841). Romberg's contributions to the development of the cello are enormous, including a lengthened fingerboard, shaped toward the C string, creating an edge that goes all the way up the fingerboard from the nut to the end; and the use of just three clefs (bass, tenor, and treble).<sup>61</sup> Boccherini, as Romberg states of his compositions, used six clefs to determine where on the fingerboard the left hand should be, from which we may conclude that Boccherini had a special clef notation for different positions on the fingerboard: not just a guide for his own performance, but also a preference and indication to others of the preferable placement of the left hand to express his musical intentions for a passage.

As we see from Jean Louis Duport's *Essay*, Romberg's fingering system was not too different from Duport's, although

---

<sup>60</sup> Heartz, "Young Boccherini," 105.


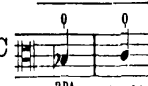



<sup>61</sup> Walden, *One Hundred Years*, 63, 76.

in his fingerings he included a sign for thumb position (perhaps a notation he invented). Figure 3 shows the passage where Romberg talks about Boccherini's notation.

Figure 3. Bernhard Romberg, *A Complete Theoretical and Practical School for the Violoncello* (Boston: Oliver Ditson, ca. 1880), 60

### OF THE VARIOUS CLEFS, AND MORE ESPECIALLY OF THE VIOLIN CLEFS.

A practice has hitherto prevailed, of playing those notes which are written for the Violoncello in the Violin-Clef, an octave lower than the pitch of the Violin. Far from being inclined to sanction such a practice, I am decidedly and strongly opposed to it. No one would think of playing the notes of the Contr' alto or Soprano-clef an octave lower, or those of the Tenor-clef an octave higher than they are played upon other Instruments, or are sung by the human voice, since these clefs are borrowed from the human voice, and must be always referred to it as a standard. The Violin-clef should be treated in the same way, since there is no apparent reason which can justify the practice of playing the notes in this clef, an octave below; more especially as the notes of which we are here treating, do not lie so high as to render it necessary for convenience sake, to have recourse to the sign *All' octava*. This expression *Sva* is written above those notes which are intended to be played an octave higher, and holds good for all the notes over which the dots are carried on. By adopting this plan, all notes might be written in the Bass-clef, and the sign *Sva* used whenever the music reached beyond the natural compass of the clef. Unfortunately, however, several celebrated Composers have noted the Violin-clef in Violoncello music, an octave higher than it should be played. We cannot with justice reproach these great Masters with ignorance of their art, but we may certainly reprove them for their adoption of a bad habit. Boccherini has used all the clefs employed in Music with the greatest precision. In his works, it is immediately perceived what position the thumb should occupy in playing the Thumb-passage. Thus he noted his music in the Bass-clef as high as the D above the first leger line in the common position. He wrote in the Tenor-clef as high as the upper D,

as the upper D, , but always without using the thumb. For the Thumb-passages he began with the Contr' alto in B as far as C , he used the Soprano-clef from B to F , and the Violin-clef from G and up-  
upwards  In the Tenor-clef he wrote as far down as the G .

Although, in following this system, the player always knows his position, i. e. where he must use his thumb for a bridge, yet it is very perplexing to be distracted with so many various clefs. Boccherini himself probably felt this disadvantage, for

Figure 3 (continued)

he afterwards wrote only in three clefs; the Bass, Tenor, and Violin. But in all his writings there is no example of his having written the Violin-clef an octave above; he was too good a composer to admit of three different Violin-clefs in his music. It is true, that, in a later edition of his works, the Violin-clef has been set an octave higher, but it must surely have been done contrary to the wish of this celebrated Master.

There is nothing, however, to prevent an alternate use of the Bass and Tenor clefs. If this were not allowed, it would be necessary to write all those notes in the Bass clef, which were to be played on the C string, and the Tenor would be commenced from the G string. The Tenor would thus obtain an undue extension, and would involve the player in a difficulty if he attempted to play arpeggios on all the four strings. I have always found it expedient to intermix the Bass and Tenor clefs whenever it became indispensably necessary; not to employ the Tenor-clef on the shift higher than D on the A string; and to begin the thumb-passages an octave above the open string. All the notes above this A belong to the Violin-clef, that is, they are the identical notes found upon the Violin. By these means, the player will know in which division of the compass he is playing. Those cases do not often occur which require the Tenor-clef for the thumb-passages higher than the D on the A string.



The last A here written, is the highest note generally produced upon the Violoncello, and this indeed is an Harmonic, a species of note of which we shall presently have to treat. For the present, we shall confine ourselves to a practical acquaintance with the Violin-clef, and we shall begin by treating of the first position usually chosen for the Thumb-passage, B $\flat$  and E $\flat$ , which is a continuation of those pieces in the Tenor-clef which concluded the First Part.

I have already observed, that when it is intended to use the Thumb, the finger which has made the note previous to the Thumb-passage must be pushed from its place by the Thumb, and I consider it useful here to recall this remark to the mind of the reader. The passage at the end of the following exercise, before the last bar, where the notes are marked with two different Bowings, should be played as if there was a short rest after the first Bow which binds the two first notes, and the third note, which is made with the same Bow, must be played quite short. This is a case of frequent occurrence: even where the notes are not marked as in the passage alluded to, every good player will execute the passage as if both the bowings were noted.

As we have no records of Boccherini writing any pedagogical material on cello playing, we may assume that Romberg probably met Boccherini and knew exactly what his intentions were in using different clefs for different passages.<sup>63</sup>

<sup>62</sup> Romberg, *Complete School*, 61.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid.



The *loco* (place) on the fingerboard, the goal of one passage, gives us a clear sense of staying in position rather than moving up and down the fingerboard on one string.

Romberg affirms that, later on, Boccherini used just three clefs, a statement that makes us conclude that either Boccherini followed Romberg's advice, or that because it was a pattern used by amateurs it became standard in published editions.

Boccherini's manuscripts use several different clefs, helping us to understand the way he moved his left hand on the fingerboard, as well his musical intention in bringing passages together by keeping notes in one place: there is no need to change position or to use slides to connect notes and/or passages. Continuity of phrasing is very important for understanding Boccherini's views of music and line.

Romberg was also who reduced the size of the instrument to make it possible for children to learn the instrument more easily ( $\frac{1}{2}$  and  $\frac{3}{4}$  sizes) and advised the use of the endpin.

#### **4. How the Cello Expressed the Current Musical Idiom and Mirrored the Violin and Voice**

There is no doubt that in the hands of Romberg, the two Duports, Weigl, Kraft, and Boccherini, the cello was taken to a

new level of expressiveness, able to produce to some extent the same virtuosity as the violin and imitate its idiomatic language.

On top of that, blending this idiom with the vocal operatic idiom of the time, these composers created the cello idiom of the second half of the eighteenth century, which would continue to develop through the Classical and Romantic styles.

Note that in Jean Pierre Duport's etude no. 8, the top voice "sings" the melody (long notes) supported by the accompaniment of stroke short notes (see Example 8). We can find the same technical approach in Haydn's D-major Cello Concerto (see Example 9). The double stops were common, but using them like this to support another melodic line was rare on the cello up to that point. Boccherini uses double stops extensively in his cello sonatas and concertos.

Example 8. Jean Pierre Duport, Etude No. 8, in Jean Louis Duport, *Essay on Fingering the Violoncello, and on the Conduct of the Bow* (London: Augener, 1904), 198

(Composed by DUPORT SENI.)

*Adagio cantabile.*

**D MAJOR.**

Example 9. Joseph Haydn, D major Cello Concerto, I, mm. 71–

74

The cello now reached a point in its technique evolution, where its use achieved the expressiveness of *Bel Canto*, keeping the voice as model, and virtuosity, mirroring the violin.

### CHAPTER 3

## ANALYSIS OF BOCCHERINI'S CELLO TECHNIQUE BASED ON THE MUSIC TREATISES OF HIS TIME

Boccherini used the above-mentioned system of clefs to designate the placement of the left hand on the fingerboard, something that was not common for the cello before. It may have drawn its inspiration from tablature, which had been common for fretted instruments. The precursors of the cello had frets, and according to Stephen Bonta the transition of the violone to the cello was more a matter of stringing the instrument (wound gut strings) than the smaller instruments made by Stradivari, named the *forma piccola*.<sup>64</sup> Boccherini's father, Leopoldo, was a bass player, so he probably played with frets. There is a letter of Domenico Sardini, ambassador of Lucca in Vienna, 1751–59, stating that Boccherini played the *bassetto*, so his knowledge of and contact with tablature techniques cannot be dismissed.<sup>65</sup>

Based on the acknowledgement Romberg makes of Boccherini's musical clefs and their use for the placement of the hand (mostly clarifying the beginning of the thumb position

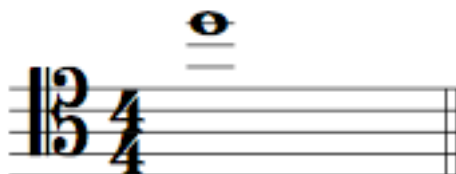
---

<sup>64</sup> Bonta, "From Violone to Violoncello," 79.

<sup>65</sup> Heartz. "The Young Boccherini," 106.

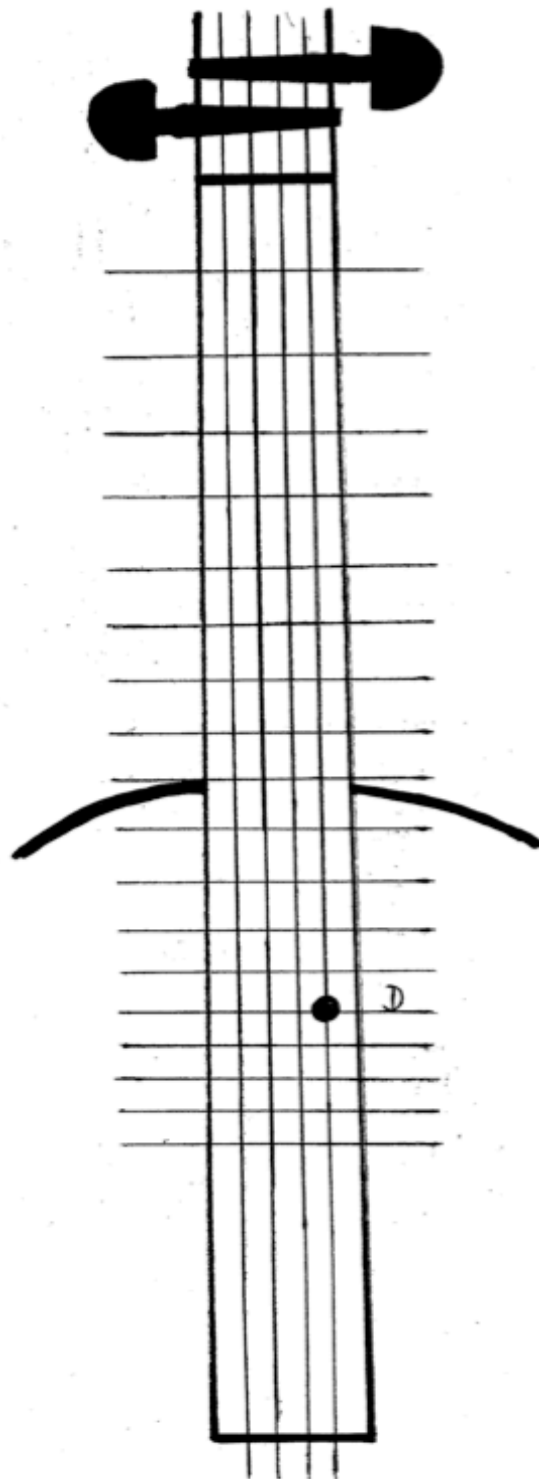
for a particular passage), already quoted on pp. 43–44 above, Figures 4–14 are my own charts of the cello fingerboard and its respective placement for each clef. The D marked on the fingerboard (see Figure 5) is the highest note Boccherini uses for this clef (see Figure 4). No thumb position is used in this clef, so the notation is for any finger but the thumb.

Figure 4



The fingers fall in the fingerboard as shown in Figure 5.

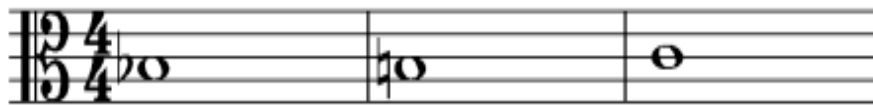
Figure 5



## The Contralto Clef

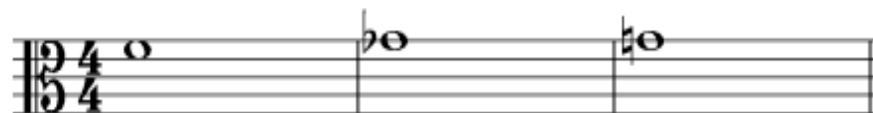
On the D String the notation is as shown in Figure 6.

Figure 6



On the A String the notation is as shown in Figure 7.

Figure 7

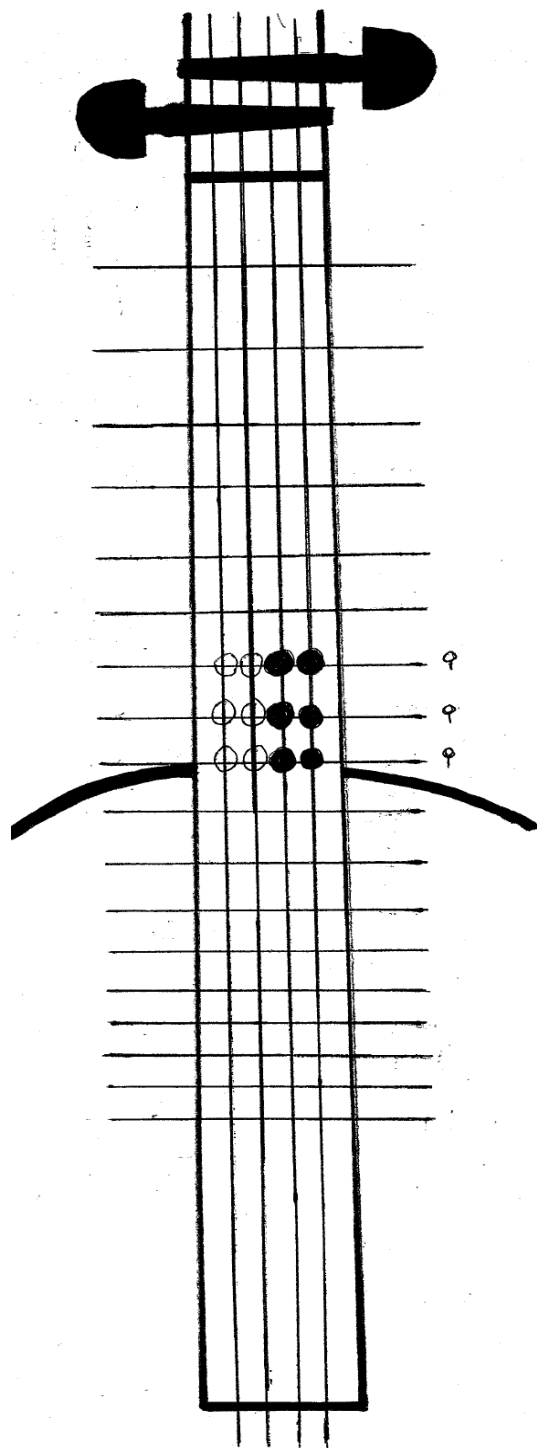


Boccherini used this clef to start the use of the thumb position in what were considered the lower positions. Crossing to the lower strings, keeping the thumb in the same positions, is one of the keys to his system.



These notes denote the placement of the thumb at the start of the position (from which comes the name *capotasto*). See Figure 8.

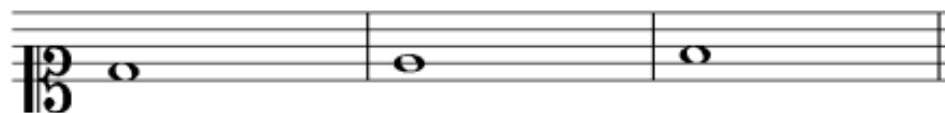
Figure 8



### The Soprano Clef

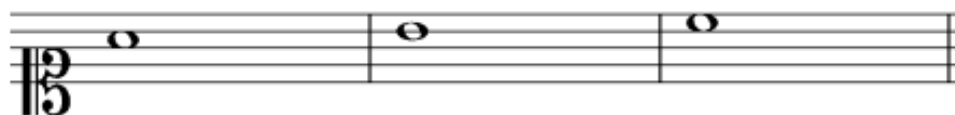
On the D string the notation is as shown in Figure 9.

Figure 9



On the A string the notation is as shown in Figure 10.

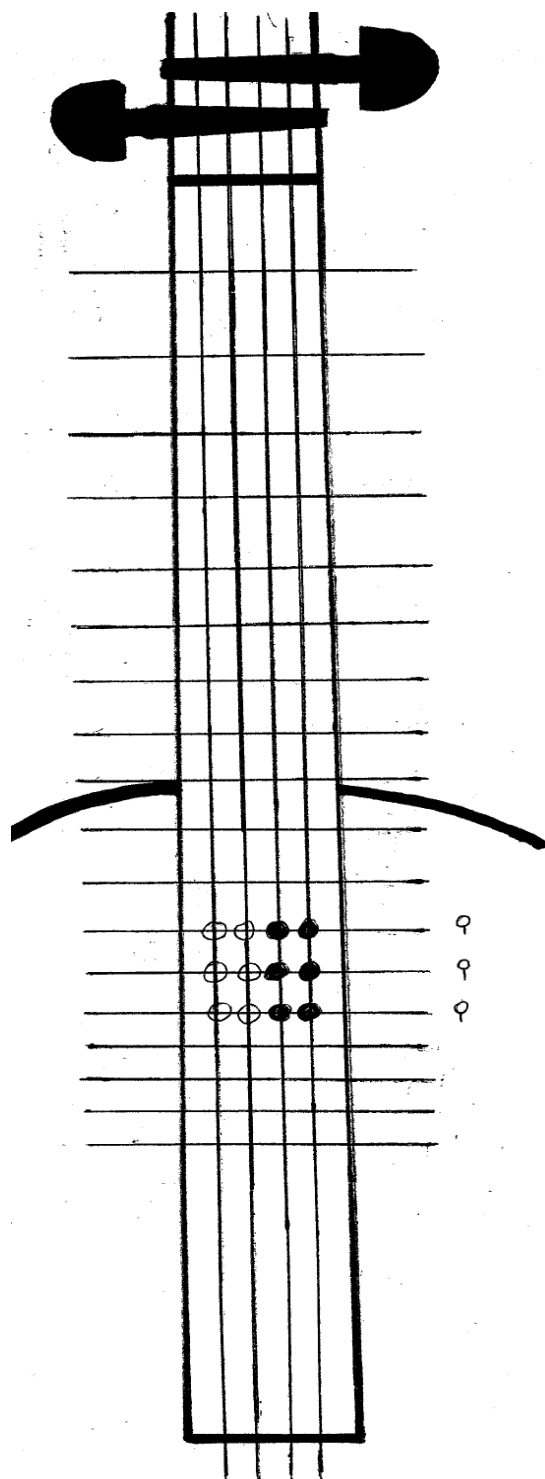
Figure 10



Boccherini used this clef as a complement to the higher thumb positions before using of the violin clef (treble clef was used by him in the violin tessitura).

The notes on the fingerboard in Figure 11 are the starting points for the use of thumb position. Notes can appear lower than the D on the D string, which means keeping the same position.

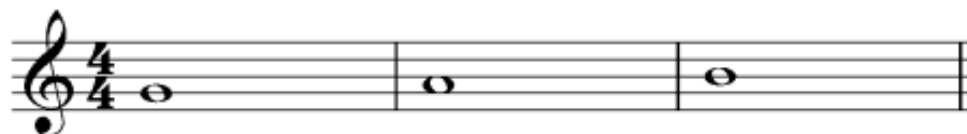
Figure 11



## The Violin Clef

On the D string the notation is as shown in Figure 12.

Figure 12.



On the A string the notation is as shown in Figure 13.

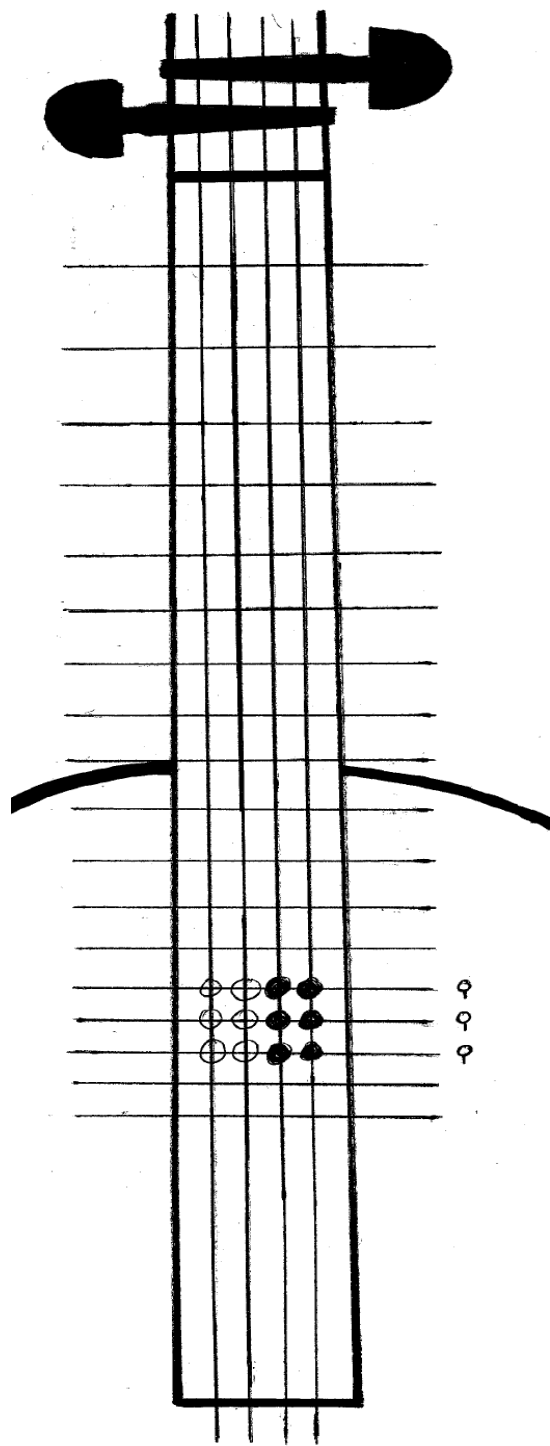
Figure 13.



Boccherini used this clef for higher positions, using the thumb, than the C in the first space of the soprano clef. See Figure 14.

Again, notes lower than the G on the D string (first note in Figure 14) can appear. This means keeping the hand in the same position and crossing to the lower strings.

Figure 14



These charts and the explanation given by Romberg in his section “Of the various clefs, more especially violin clefs,” are the starting point to explain the fingerings for Boccherini’s music according to his system.<sup>66</sup>

I will now demonstrate how in Boccherini’s Sonata in A major, G. 4a, for Cello and Bass Instrument his fingering differs from today’s practice, and how his fingerings were organized and presumably developed, to express a musical idea rather than just being more convenient for his conception of technique.

### *Adagio*

Because of the Tenor Clef, which Boccherini used for higher positions without the use of the thumb, we can assume that the passage in mm. 1–6 is supposed to be played starting from the E on the A string, using the first finger, reaching the top C with no use of the thumb whatsoever.

Example 10. Boccherini, Sonata in A major, G4, I, opening, authors edition with fingerings.

---

<sup>66</sup> Romberg, *Complete School*, 60.

SONATA VI

Adagio

Handwritten annotations:

- L. Mozart: better use the *gruppetto* (K1US4ev)
- A is DISSONANT, PLAY THE GRACE NOTE AS ACCIACCATURA
- LONG ACCIACCATURA
- PREPARATION
- TERMINATION
- L. MOZART ON SUPPORT F. ROMBERG
- see the explanation to replace this measure.
- Romberg (low)
- Romberg

The image shows a handwritten musical score for a piece titled 'SONATA VI' in 'Adagio' tempo. The score is written on three systems of grand staves (treble and bass clef). The first system includes a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a common time signature (C). The tempo 'Adagio' is written in a circle. The score is heavily annotated with handwritten notes and fingerings. At the top, a note says 'L. Mozart: better use the gruppetto (K1US4ev)'. Another note says 'A is DISSONANT, PLAY THE GRACE NOTE AS ACCIACCATURA'. A third note says 'LONG ACCIACCATURA'. The second system has a note 'PREPARATION' and 'TERMINATION'. The third system has a note 'L. MOZART ON SUPPORT F. ROMBERG'. The fourth system has a note 'see the explanation to replace this measure.' and 'R. ROMBERG (low)'. The fifth system has a note 'R. ROMBERG'. The score includes various fingerings (e.g., 12, 42, 32, 13, 24, 123, 45, 4-3, 12, 234, 213, 1234, 123, 41, 43, 1, 9, 123, 19, 3, 9) and articulation marks (e.g., accents, slurs, staccato). The piece is marked with a Roman numeral 'I' at the beginning of the third system and a Roman numeral 'II' at the beginning of the fifth system.

In m. 1 there is a trill on the second note, the F#. Many modern editions change it to a *gruppetto*. Alfredo Piatti



(1822–1901) started using the *gruppetto*, then Carl Schroeder (1848–1935) introduced a written-out *gruppetto*, and Friedrich Grutzmacher (1832–1903) employed a written-out *gruppetto* with a *mordent* sign on the first note (see Examples 11–15).

Example 11. Boccherini, Sonata in A major, G. 4<sup>a</sup>, for Cello and Bass, Adagio, m. 1 (first edition of 1772), from *Six Sonatas for the Violoncello* (New York: Performers' Facsimiles, 1996)



Example 12. Boccherini, Sonata in A major, G. 4<sup>a</sup>, for Cello and Bass, Adagio, m. 1, from *Six Sonatas*, ed. F. W. Grutzmacher (Leipzig: Bartholff Senff, 1880)



Example 13. Boccherini, Sonata in A major, G. 4ª, for Cello and Bass, Adagio, m. 1, from *Sonata in la maggiore*, ed. Alfredo Piatti (Milan: Ricordi, 1909)

Example 14. Boccherini, Sonata in A major, G. 4ª, for Cello and Bass, Adagio, m. 1, from *Sonata N. 6 in A major*, ed. A.

*Piatti and L. Forino* (New York: International Music Company, 1964)

*Edited by A. PIATTI & L. FORINO*



Example 15. Boccherini, Sonata in A major, G. 4<sup>a</sup>, for Cello and Bass, Adagio, m. 1, in *Klassische Violoncell-Musik berühmter Meister des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts*, hrsg. Carl Schroeder (Mainz: B. Schott's Söhne, 1911; reprint, New York: Belwin Mills, 1976)



The closest contemporaneous explanation is in Leopold Mozart's *Violinschule*. Mozart explains the *Gropppo* (*Grape*, French and English; *Kluster*, German) as shown in Ex. X.

Example 16. *Gropppo* from Mozart, *Treatise*, 211



My reason for choosing this explanation is that Boccherini repeats the theme in the dominant (E major) in m. 14, where there is no indication of any trill or *gruppetto*. So even if the sign is a trill, there is the possibility of substituting a *groppo*, which will give more fluency to the passage. And as much as Boccherini does not notate any ornamentation in the repetition of the passage (in the dominant), there is room to use the *groppo*.

Boccherini changes to Contralto Clef on the *levare* (upbeat) of m. 7 (see Example 17). This clef was employed to indicate the start of the thumb position.

Example 17. Boccherini, Sonata in A major, G4, I, mm. 5-11, author's edition with fingerings.



With that in mind there are three possibilities:

1. The thumb position starts on the B, right above the middle harmonic, keeping it as a fixed position—*restez* (concept of keeping the thumb in place and moving up the rest of the hand). That would create what we would consider an unusual fingering, crossing the third finger to the second string to play the A#. However, Duport's Essay, Example 2 in G

major, uses a similar fingering, which supports this possibility.<sup>67</sup>

2. Starting the passage with the thumb on the same B, but moving up and down the half step to the A# as necessary.

3. Starting the passage with the thumb on the A#, which would require a position change to the B to keep the thumb there for the *restez*, reaching the third finger on the high G in m. 12.

According to the rule of keeping the same position when slurring, these three possibilities are all fine, considering most of the notes are not in the same bow, and the sliding (position change) would never occur during a slur.

In m. 9 (also see Example 17), we have double stops, for which it seems that keeping the thumb on the B on the A string is the most acceptable option. Note that to play all the notes under the slur without changing position we need to use the fourth finger. Also, it seems that the best choice is to already use the fourth finger in the double stops. We conclude that Boccherini used the fourth finger constantly in higher positions.

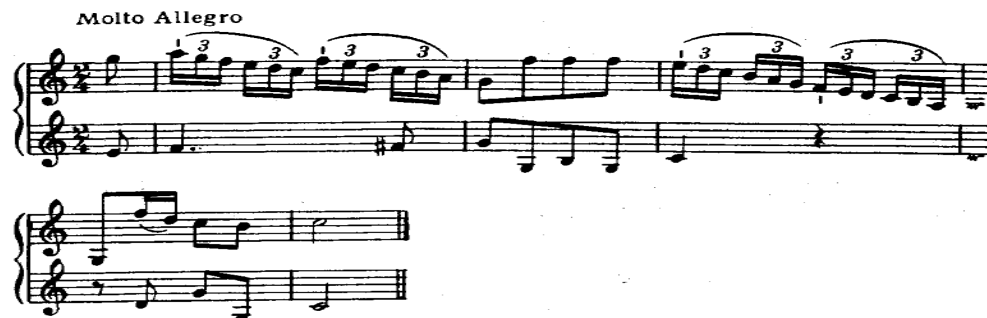
---

<sup>67</sup> Duport, *Essay*, 89.

The argument for not changing position under a slur is supported by Mozart when he talks about triplets; even though we are not talking about triplets here, the concept is to have one sound per bow, independent of the direction of the stroke (up or down), making the first note of each slur stronger than the others:

... the first of each six notes must be rather more strongly accented and the remaining five notes quite smoothly slurred on to them, thus differentiating, by means of a perceptible accent, the first from the other five notes.<sup>68</sup>

Example 18. Mozart, *Treatise*, 108, Example 8



But this also happens frequently in slow pieces. For example:



Therefore these seven slurred notes, the next eight, and the eight following would all follow this rule. Accordingly, the placement of the hand on the fingerboard and the fingering (use

---

<sup>68</sup> Mozart, *Treatise on Fundamental Principles*, 108.

of the fourth finger) would bring together the technique and musical concepts of the time. Note that the main point is to keep the notes under one slur in the same position, not shifting, rather than accenting the first note of the slur. I used Mozart's example as a way to bring up the practice of having notes under one slur as part of the same gesture.

The second half of the first beat of m. 10 (also see Example 17) contains something that had already appeared in m. 1: an appoggiatura. For m. 1 there are explanations for how to execute it in various treatises, of which we will quote Mozart, Romberg, and Duport here. All three were string players, and Duport and Romberg had connections with Boccherini.

In m. 1, if the performer chooses to line up the rhythm with the bass, which has dotted notes on the third beat, rule no. 4 of chapter 9 of Mozart should be applied:

... the longer appoggiaturas are found firstly before dotted notes.... With dotted notes the appoggiatura is held the same length of time as the value of the note. In place of the dot, however, the written note is taken first, and in such fashion as if a dot stood after it. Then the bow is lifted and the last note played so late that, by means of a rapid change of stroke, the note following it is heard immediately after.<sup>69</sup>

---

<sup>69</sup> Mozart, *Treatise on Fundamental Principles*, 168.



But the main note is already a 4–3 written-out appoggiatura; the little note is the fifth of the chord. Therefore rule 4 would not apply to this particular case, even if the description of rhythm matched Mozart's rule no. 4.

The rule that suits this case best is no. 9, because in subsection no. 3 of it Mozart says:

... short appoggiatura with which the stress falls not on the appoggiatura but on the principal note. The short appoggiatura is made as rapidly as possible and is not attacked strongly, but quite softly.... (3) or else if it be foreseen that the regular harmony, and therefore also the ear of the listener, would be offended by the use of a long appoggiatura....<sup>70</sup>

Also, we can find in Mozart's explanation for an *Ueberwurf* in his rule no. 22, which will give a good description of this particular case:

The *Ueberwurf* is a note, which is slurred quietly onto the note preceding the appoggiatura. This *Ueberwurf* is always made upwards; sometimes onto the note above, sometimes onto the third, fourth, and so on; and also onto other notes. It is used partly in order thereby to exchange the rising appoggiatura for the falling, as a better kind of appoggiatura, but also partly to make a note livelier.<sup>71</sup>

---

<sup>70</sup> Ibid., 171.

<sup>71</sup> Ibid., 181.

Example 19. Mozart, *Treatise*, 181, Example 22

The bare notes.



With the rising and falling appoggiatura



or

The first note must be played thus with an Ueberwurf.



72

Putting together rules nos. 4 and 9, adding the concept of *Ueberwurf*, and lining up the rhythms of the solo and bass parts, we would play a short smooth appoggiatura and stress the principal note (that is a fifth), keeping the main note (that is the fourth) longer (dotting it) and playing the G# short as a passing note (also lining up with the bass).

In this respect Boccherini follows the German concept of appoggiatura. In German the appoggiatura is called *Vorschlag*, what means “fore-beat” or suspended note, not the Italian

---

<sup>72</sup> Ibid.

concept of *Appoggiatura*, which comes from the verb “to lean,” implying stress on the dissonant note in the harmony. A *Vorschlag* can be an appoggiatura, acciaccatura, *Ueberwurf*, and so on.

Romberg’s concept of appoggiatura is different:

The Appoggiatura always takes away one half of the time belonging to the note before which it stands.... If the appoggiatura be required to be made shorter than according to the rule, it must be so specially signified. The appoggiatura must always be slurred with the note after which it stands.<sup>73</sup>

He says that appoggiaturas, if required to be short, should be well specified by the composer, although we find in Mozart’s explanation of *Ueberwurf* that they are not always specified.

Romberg shows a similar example (p. 41), however, as we can see a little later in this piece. The example has appoggiaturas before each note under the same slur; in m. 10 we have six notes under the same slur, with appoggiaturas standing before the groups of three notes.

For his example, Romberg fingers the appoggiatura passage always using the same fingers; in other words, he changes the position every time he has an appoggiatura,

---

<sup>73</sup> Romberg, *Complete School*, 40.

producing a nice effect, accentuating the appoggiaturas and thereby drawing attention to them.

In m. 10 (still on Example 17), keeping the thumb on the B will give us the first appoggiatura on the A string and the second on the D string.

String-crossing might be the solution, because the color change draws attention to the appoggiatura, in as much as we are keeping the hand in the same position.

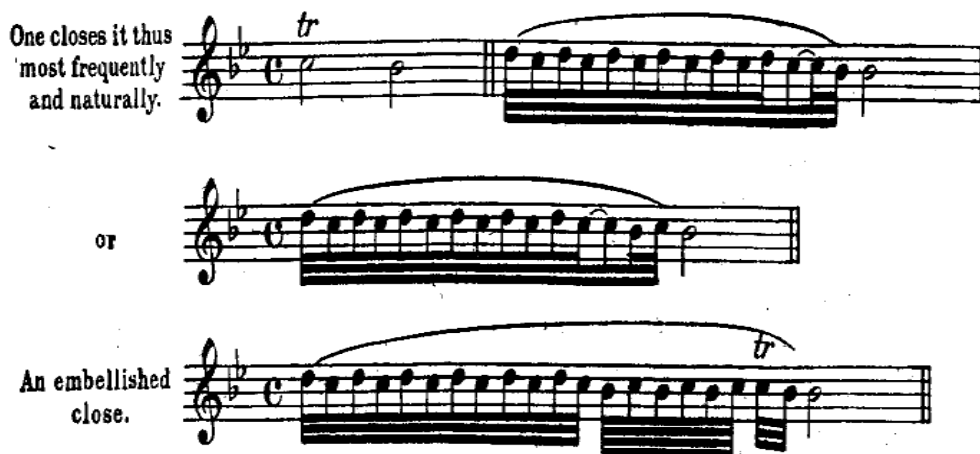
The next appoggiatura appears before a quarter note, which has a trill on it, in m. 4 towards a cadence. Mozart describes in his rules nos. 5 and 6 of chapter 10 about trills as follows:

... it can also be prepared by a descending appoggiatura which is suspended rather longer ... or some such *zurückschlagende* movement, which is called *Ribattuta* and which is customary to use at the close of a cadenza, where one may never bind oneself to strict time. In the same way one can either close simply with a trill or with an embellishment.<sup>74</sup>

---

<sup>74</sup> Ibid., 188.

Example 20. Mozart, *Treatise*, 188, Example 6



All short trills are played with a quick appoggiatura and a turn. For example:



Tartini in his *Regole per ben suonare il violino* describes the exact same thing.<sup>75</sup> Duport adds two terminating notes after the trill, as described in his chapter XIII,<sup>76</sup> close to what Mozart described in his Example 28 in the chapter on appoggiaturas (chapter 9), the *Nachschläge*:

These are rapid little notes which one can hang on the principal note, in order, in slow pieces, to enliven the

<sup>75</sup> Jean Saint-Arroman & Alessandro Moccia, *Méthodes et traités 13. Série IV Italie 1600–1800, Violon. Volume III, Regole per ben suonare il violino, G. Tartini* (Paris: Fac-similé Jean-Marc Fuzeau, DATE?), 8.

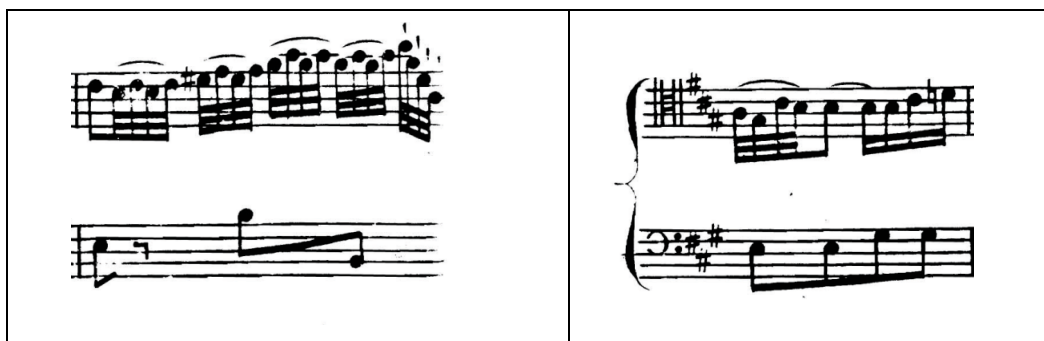
<sup>76</sup> Duport, *Essay*, 127–28.

performance.... These *Nachschläge*, *Zwischenschläge* and the passing Appoggiature and Ornamentations given here must in no way be strongly attacked, but slurred smoothly on to their principal note.<sup>77</sup>

Romberg also describes terminations in his entry *The Preparatory and Resolving Notes of the Shake*, giving an example of the same two notes at the end of the trill.<sup>78</sup> Tartini describes the same termination (and for that example he adds the marking *espressione*).<sup>79</sup>

Another problem was partially solved by Piatti, although I strongly disagree with Piatti's solution about the rhythm in m. 5. The first edition from 1772 has a mistake in this measure (see missing beat in Ex. 21). Piatti skillfully adds an extra B to the second half of the first beat, but he changes the rhythm of the runs to Ex. 22.

Example 21. Boccherini, Sonata in A major, I, m. 5, from *Six Sonatas for the Violoncello* (first edition)

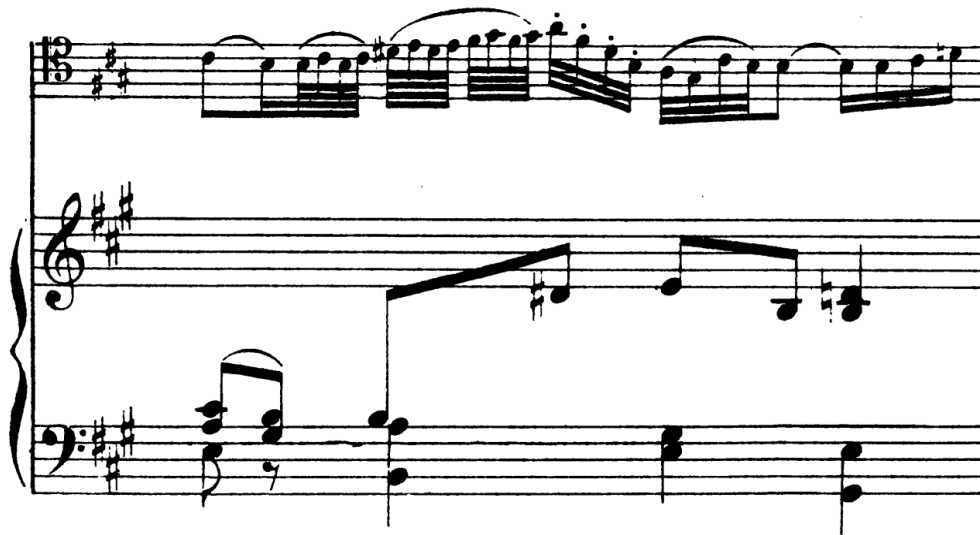


<sup>77</sup> Mozart, *Treatise on Fundamental Principles*, 185.

<sup>78</sup> Romberg, *Complete School*, 78.

<sup>79</sup> *Méthodes e Traités ... Tartini*, 11.

Example 22. Boccherini, Sonata in A major, I, m. 5, Piatti edition, *Sonata in la maggiore*



Many other editions have followed Piatti's solution, including Schroeder, Forino, and Rose.

Note how Schroeder uses Piatti's idea, clearly using it as a starting point.

Example 23. Boccherini, Sonata in A major, I, m. 5, Schroeder edition, *Klassische Violoncell-Musik*

This musical score is for the same measure as Example 22, but from the Schroeder edition. It also uses a three-staff format. The top staff (violin) is identical to the Piatti edition. The middle staff (right hand piano) shows a different voicing for the chords, with some notes placed on different lines of the staff. The bottom staff (left hand piano) also shows a different voicing for the bass line. The key signature and time signature are the same as in Example 22.

Grutzmacher found a different way, adding some notes and omitting others, changing the original idea as well as changing the harmony (note the bass line in the left hand of the piano part).

Example 24. Boccherini, Sonata in A Major, I, m. 5,  
Grutzmacher edition, *Six Sonatas*



If we look at the facsimile of the first edition, two other solutions are possible. We can see that merely adding the extra B as an eighth note, and changing the rhythm toward the end of the runs as Piatti does, solves the rhythmic problem



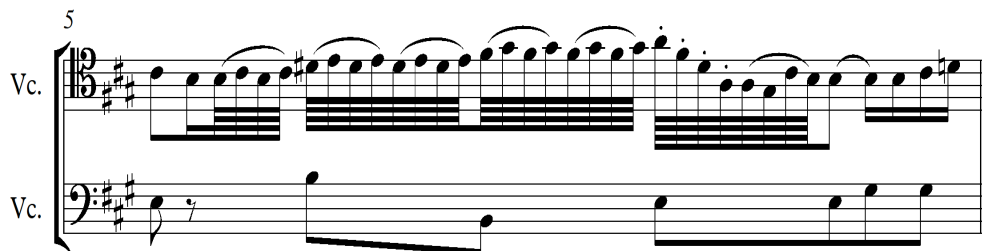
without omitting four notes. It also makes complete harmonic sense (note that I kept the A at the end of the second beat, as in the first edition and in Grutzmacher's edition).

Example 25. Boccherini, Sonata in A Major, I, m. 5, the author's solution no. 1



Another solution, taking into account Grutzmacher's way of seeing it, without omitting four notes but adding four extra notes to fill out what we assume to be missing beats, uses not thirty-second notes but sixty-fourth notes (see Ex. 26).

Example 26. Boccherini, Sonata in A Major, I, m. 5, the author's solution no. 2

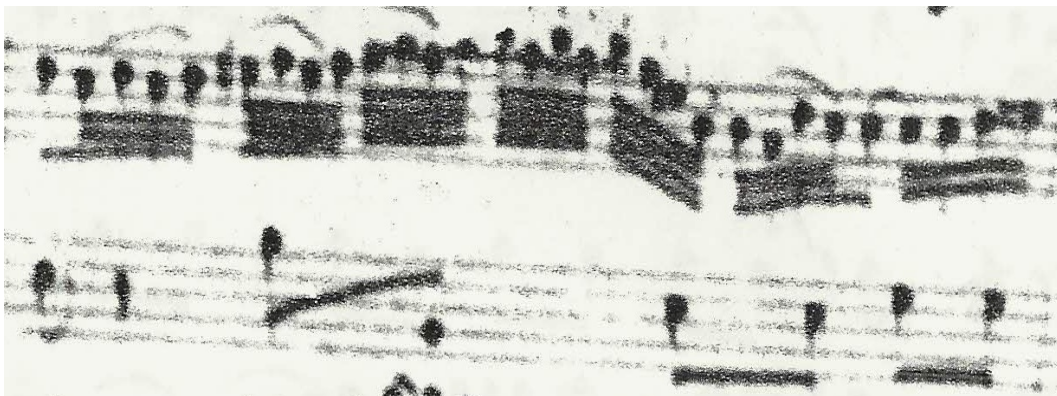


Note that Grutzmacher creates a different harmony for the passage. Piatti keeps the same harmony, assuming that the first C# is part of an A-major chord, then the second beat is a B-major seventh chord, the third beat is E major, and the fourth beat is an E-major seventh chord in first inversion. That is the same chord progression I followed in my first solution.

For the second solution, the only change is that the first part of the third beat is a fourth descending to the third in the second half of the same beat, creating a 4–3 appoggiatura.

Something neglected by all of these editions was Boccherini's manuscript, which we can find in the archives of the Conservatory Giuseppe Tartini, in Milan (Nosedà E-N.24).

Example 27. Boccherini, Sonata in A Major, I, m. 5, Nosedà E-N.24, archives of Conservatory Giuseppe Tartini, Milan



Note that in the original text, the four groups of sixty-fourth notes on the second beat are misprinted as thirty-second notes in the first edition, which caused all the confusion. All the work and misunderstanding is solved when we go to Boccherini's manuscript.

### *Allegro*

The second movement introduces constant short and long appoggiaturas. Sometimes Boccherini uses an acciaccatura before the appoggiatura (in the harmonic sense). Mozart generally does not make that particular distinction in words, but he does in function. Example 28 is a transcript of mm. 65–68 from the manuscript, retaining Boccherini's notation for the small notes with the slash through them, as in modern notation for grace notes, although in the Classical period it was simply the way of notating a sixteenth note.

Example 28. Sonata in A Major, G.4, II, mm. 65–68, from manuscript (the author's transcription)

The image shows a musical score for two cello parts. The top system is labeled 'Violoncello' and the bottom system is labeled 'Vc.'. Both systems are in 4/4 time and D major. The top staff of each system contains a melody with grace notes. The bottom staff of each system contains a bass line. In the second system, the bottom staff begins with a triplet of eighth notes.

Note that the grace notes appear to be the same. But just as Mozart has already been quoted as saying, the length of an appoggiatura depends on the harmony<sup>80</sup> and how it pleases or does not please the ear, so we will now discuss the differences among them in this passage.

The first ornament (last beat of m. 65) is definitely a long one, a real appoggiatura (recall here how Romberg says that it should be long and accented). This is because the B ornament clashes with the C (in the bass), producing a 7–6 appoggiatura; also the next ornament, F#, clashes with the C# in the bass, a 4–3 appoggiatura. For the next ornament, the written appoggiatura to the harmony is the D (main note), resolving to

---

<sup>80</sup> Mozart, *Treatise on Fundamental Principles*, 171.

the C#, a written 4–3 appoggiatura, so the E ornament should be played as an acciaccatura.

The form of Boccherini's sonatas is not so regular, as described by Robert William House in his doctoral document.<sup>81</sup> He points out that about two-thirds of Boccherini's sonatas have one movement in sonata form. Most of the movements, however, are through-composed, or the sonatas are in cyclic form, so is hard to make it a rule.

An example of the flexibility of Boccherini's structure is the Sonata for Cello Solo and Bass in B-flat major, G. 565, which is basically the same piece as the Cello Concerto in B-flat major, G. 482. Here Boccherini uses a common technique present in the Baroque period in Rome with Corelli, suggesting that Boccherini had contact with his composition techniques in his short stay in the Italian capital.

Corelli, in the gatherings promoted by Cardinal Pietro Ottoboni, created the concerto grosso by doubling the parts of trio sonatas, adding extra parts (tutti sections, ritornello), and eventually dropping the powerful sound of the tutti sections to

---

<sup>81</sup> Robert William House, "The Style of Boccherini in his Violoncello Sonatas" (M.M. thesis, Eastman School of Music, University of Rochester, 1942).

return to trio-sonata texture. Other composers in northern Italy, such as Legrenzi, used the same technique with solo sonatas.

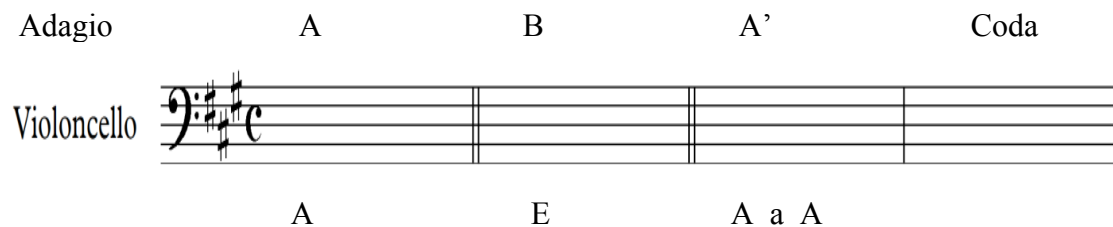
Boccherini's example shows him mixing ritornello form and sonata form to create the orchestral passages of the concerto, keeping the solo part almost identical in the two versions.

The A-major sonata under discussion has a well-defined structure, praised by House for its clarity. The opening Adagio has a three-part form with a short return of the theme toward the end (see Fig. 15).<sup>82</sup>

---

<sup>82</sup> Ibid., 59.

Figure 15. Boccherini, Sonata in A major, I, form after House, “Style of Boccherini,” 59



The Allegro has similar but not identical introductions to the first and second sections. The first theme in the recapitulation is extended to serve as the development section (see Fig. 16).<sup>83</sup>

<sup>83</sup> House, “Style of Boccherini,” 59.

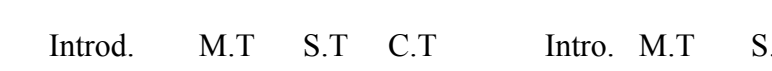
Allegro

Exposition

Recap.

Intro. M.T S.T C.T Intro. M.T S.T C.T

Violoncello

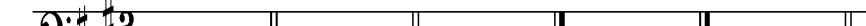


A E A b a E A B E A E A

Affettuoso

a ————— A ————— a ————— B ————— b a ————— A' —————

Violoncello



A E A E A E A

86



*Aria Accademica, "Se d'un amor tirano," for Soprano, Cello, and Orchestra (G. 557)*

Elisabeth Le Guin proposes that this work was written around the same time Boccherini wrote his insertion aria for Majó's *L'Almería*. That would be during the two years he was working for the the Compañía de Ópera Italiana de los Sitios Reales, 1768–70.<sup>85</sup> The aria was probably written for his wife, Clementina Pelliccia (they were married in 1769), and intended to be performed by the two of them as soloists with the Compañía. The orchestration specifies violins I and II, viola, violoncello obbligato, oboes I and II, and horns I and II.

The aria's libretto is taken from Pietro Metastasio's libretto for *Artese* (1730), Act II, Scene 6. Le Guin summarizes the plot:

Mandane, angry and confused, addresses her sister-in-law Semira, who has just caused her to doubt the nature of her passions. Mandane professes to hate Arbace; but Semira has reminded her that she once loved him.<sup>86</sup>

Also she provides the following translation<sup>87</sup>:

---

<sup>85</sup> Le Guin, *Boccherini's Body*, 58.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*, 303.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*

Se d'un amor tirano  
Credei di trionfar  
Lasciami nell'inganno,  
Lasciami lusingar  
Che più num amo

Se l'odio è il mio dovere  
Barbara, e tu lo sai,  
Perché avedermi fai  
Che invan lo bramo?

If I believed I had triumphed  
Over a tyrannical love,  
Leave me deceived,  
Let me flatter myself  
That love no more

If hatred is my duty  
Cruel one, and you know it  
Why do you make me realize  
That I long for in vain?

The theme presented by the cello in this aria is almost identical (except for halved note values) to the introduction of second movement, Allegro, of the A-major sonata.

Example 29. Boccherini, *Aria Accademica*, “Se d’un amor tirano,” for Soprano, Cello, and Orchestra (G. 557), mm. 8–16, from *Aria accademica, G 557, “Se d’un amor tiranno,” for Soprano, Violoncello and Orchestra* (Bologna: Ut Orpheus, 2006), edited by Christian Speck.

The image displays a musical score for measures 8 through 16 of Boccherini's *Aria Accademica*. The score is written for Soprano (Vc), Cello (Vc), and Orchestra. The Soprano part begins at measure 8 with a rest, followed by a solo entry at measure 16. The Cello part features a complex rhythmic pattern with frequent sixteenth and thirty-second notes. The Orchestra part includes dynamic markings such as *p* (piano), *f* (forte), and *pp* (pianissimo). The score is written in a single system with a key signature of one flat and a common time signature.

Here we have the help of the text to see the rhetorical use of appoggiaturas, acciaccaturas, harmony, etc. that we saw in Boccherini’s abstract musical writing.

Example 30. Boccherini, “Se d’un amor tirano,” mm. 53–65

53  $\%$

S. d'un a-mor ti - ran - no cre - dei di tri - on - far, — la - scia-mi nel - l'in-

58

S. - gan - no, la - scia - mi lu - sin - gar — che — più — non —

62

Vc.

S. a - mo, che più — non a - mo, la - scia-mi — nel - l'in -

This is a typical da capo aria from an *opera seria*. Note the [syllable “ra” from the word *tiranno*, tyrant: It rests in the harmonic stress of the passage (D-seventh chord), resolving in the A Major afterwards. The syllable RA is the tonic syllable on the Italian phrase “*Se d’un amor tiranno*”. This harmonic stress is a written appoggiatura.

The soprano and cello lines are not identical: the voice repeats the material presented by the orchestra, not material presented by the cello, although they are related in construction. Harmonically also they are not the same: the written appoggiaturas in mm. 13 and 15 for the cello are long (half notes), while the ones described above for the soprano on the words *tiranno* (tyrant) and *trionfar* (triumph) are shorter, drier, almost harsh because of the sound of the R.

The character is obviously moved by a feeling of hatred and a reminiscence of the love she once had toward Arbace. The cello is this reminiscence, while the soprano carries the hatred. That is why Boccherini varies the setting and length of the dissonant notes.

In the passage where soprano and cello are together, let us take a look at the measure that mirrors the appoggiaturas and acciaccaturas from the sonata.

Example 31. Boccherini, Aria, mm. 145–46, showing appoggiaturas

The image shows a musical score for Boccherini's Aria, measures 145-146. The score is in 3/4 time and features four staves. The top two staves are for the vocal line (soprano and alto), and the bottom two are for the cello and double bass. The lyrics 'no, che più non' are written under the vocal staves. The vocal line shows a melodic phrase with a long note on 'non'. The cello and double bass line shows a rhythmic pattern with a long note on the third beat of measure 146, which is an appoggiatura.

If we consider the harmony in m. 146, the third beat is an E-flat-major chord in second inversion, and thus a 6/4 chord. The cello has an ornament (F) before the main note (E-flat), which is definitely an appoggiatura, therefore performed long. In contrast, the soprano ornament also an appoggiatura; imitating the cello, the main note is harmonic, although there

is a A, non harmonic note in the orchestra, so the tension that both grace notes carry matches my previous statement about the soprano carrying all the anger of the character. The soprano accent is therefore even more powerful than that of the cello.

Figure 18 is my edition of the sonata, based on the first edition, with fingerings based on the principles of hand placement according with the clefs described by Romberg, and musical principles found in treatises of the time.

Figure 18. Boccherini, Sonata in A Major, my edition with commentary.

30

SONATA VI

Adagio

L. Mozart: better use the Gruppo (Kluster)

A 10 DISSONANT, PLAY THE GRACE NOTE AS ACCIACCATURA

LONG APPROGGIATURA

(see L. Mozart)

PREPARATION

TERMINATION

L. MOZART  
J.S. BACH  
F. ROMBERG

5 see the explanation to replace this measure.

6 Romberg (Long)

7 Restez

8

9

10

11

short short long

ACCIACCATURA

APPROGGIATURA

clashing with C LONG

The image shows a handwritten musical score for a piece titled 'SONATA VI' in 'Adagio' tempo. The score is written on ten systems of grand staves (treble and bass clef). It includes numerous handwritten annotations in ink, such as 'L. Mozart: better use the Gruppo (Kluster)', 'A 10 DISSONANT, PLAY THE GRACE NOTE AS ACCIACCATURA', 'LONG APPROGGIATURA', 'PREPARATION', 'TERMINATION', 'L. MOZART J.S. BACH F. ROMBERG', '5 see the explanation to replace this measure.', '6 Romberg (Long)', '7 Restez', '8', '9', '10', '11', 'short short long', 'ACCIACCATURA', 'APPROGGIATURA', and 'clashing with C LONG'. The score also features various fingerings (e.g., 1 2 4 2, 3 2, 1 3, 2 4 1 2 3, 4 4, 2 3 4 2 1 3, 2 1 4 2 1, 1 3 4, 1 2 3 4, 1 2 3, 4 1, 4 2, 3 1, 1, 9 1 2 3, 1 9 3 9, 2 1 2 1 9 3, 9 3 9 1 2, 9, 4 3 2, 9 2 3, 1 2 3 9 1 2 3 4, 3 2 1, 3 9 3 9 1, 2, 3 2, 1 2 3 2, 3 2, 9) and dynamic markings like 'I' and 'II'. The notation includes notes, rests, and various ornaments or grace notes.



Handwritten musical score for piano, page 31. The score consists of six systems of staves, each with a circled measure number (12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19) and various performance instructions and fingerings.

**System 1 (Measures 12-13):** Measure 12 features a treble clef staff with a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a common time signature. It contains a series of eighth notes with fingerings 3 1 9, 2 1 9 3 2, 2 1, 2 9 1 2 3 9 1 2 3, and 3 2 7 9. Measure 13 is a bass clef staff with a common time signature, containing a series of eighth notes.

**System 2 (Measures 13-14):** Measure 13 (labeled 13 III) is a treble clef staff with a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a common time signature. It contains a series of eighth notes with fingerings 2 3 9, 1 2 3 9 1, 2 1, 9 1 9, 4 1 9, 1 2 9, 2 1 9, 2 3 2 4 2 1 3 9 1, and 3 2 4 2 1 3 9 1. Measure 14 is a bass clef staff with a common time signature, containing a series of eighth notes.

**System 3 (Measures 15-17):** Measure 15 is a treble clef staff with a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a common time signature. It contains a series of eighth notes with fingerings 3 4 2 1 2 1 4, 1, and 0 4 2 1 2 1 4. Measure 16 is a bass clef staff with a common time signature, containing a series of eighth notes with fingerings 4 3 and 4 3. Measure 17 is a treble clef staff with a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a common time signature, containing a series of eighth notes with fingerings 4 3 and 4 3. Performance instructions include "LONG", "LONG", "SHORT", "ACCENTED", "MOSSIGMANN (DMPING)", and "gropo (Kluster)".

**System 4 (Measures 18-19):** Measure 18 is a treble clef staff with a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a common time signature. It contains a series of eighth notes with fingerings 2 9 1 2 3 9 1 3, 1, and 2. Measure 19 is a bass clef staff with a common time signature, containing a series of eighth notes. Performance instructions include "L. MOZART DOWING", "N STRONG", "V LIGHT", and "ONE STRIKE".

**System 5 (Measures 20-21):** Measure 20 is a treble clef staff with a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a common time signature. It contains a series of eighth notes with fingerings 3 9 1 2 1 2 3 2, 2 1 2 1 3 2 1, and 9. Measure 21 is a bass clef staff with a common time signature, containing a series of eighth notes with fingerings 2 2 1 2 and 2 2 1 2. Performance instructions include "Restez".

the extra up bow was a practice since  
 Georg Muffat  
 (1653-1704)

Allegro

aggricciatura (Vorschlag)  
 APROGGIATURA  
 WEITTON APROG.

long appoggiatura  
 4-3 (real appoggiatura on the harmony)

the trill brings the 4-3 APROGGIATURA

VORSCHLAG (GRACE NOTE)  
 denotes ♭ position (Rombert) Restez (the ♭)  
 in Bachewini

(Restez the thumb position)

just this measure  
 the restez would  
 not work perfectly, even if it's  
 possible, best solution is the fingering  
 below.



Handwritten musical score for a violin and piano piece, page 33. The score consists of eight systems of staves. The first system has a treble staff with a complex melodic line and a bass staff with a simpler accompaniment. The second system has a treble staff with a melodic line and a bass staff with a simple accompaniment. The third system has a treble staff with a melodic line and a bass staff with a simple accompaniment. The fourth system has a treble staff with a melodic line and a bass staff with a simple accompaniment. The fifth system has a treble staff with a melodic line and a bass staff with a simple accompaniment. The sixth system has a treble staff with a melodic line and a bass staff with a simple accompaniment. The seventh system has a treble staff with a melodic line and a bass staff with a simple accompaniment. The eighth system has a treble staff with a melodic line and a bass staff with a simple accompaniment. The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and fingerings. Handwritten annotations include 'rusty', 'end the rusty', 'half step lower (rusty)', 'half step lower (rusty)', 'back to 1st position', '2 4 2 4/2 appoggiatura', 'misprint in the bowing', 'APPAGGIATURA', 'ACCIACCATURA TO THE WRITTEN APPAGGIATURA', '4-3 A G# on E.', and '4 1 4 1 4 3 4 0 3 1 2 3 4 4 1 4 1 4 1 0 3 1 4'.

34

Maybe use of  
the *überwurtz* can  
apply.

Handwritten musical score for a piano piece, page 34. The score is in G major (one sharp) and 2/4 time. It consists of eight systems of staves. The first system has a treble and bass staff. The second system has a treble staff with a melodic line and a bass staff with a rhythmic accompaniment. The third system has a treble staff with a melodic line and a bass staff with a rhythmic accompaniment. The fourth system has a treble staff with a melodic line and a bass staff with a rhythmic accompaniment. The fifth system has a treble staff with a melodic line and a bass staff with a rhythmic accompaniment. The sixth system has a treble staff with a melodic line and a bass staff with a rhythmic accompaniment. The seventh system has a treble staff with a melodic line and a bass staff with a rhythmic accompaniment. The eighth system has a treble staff with a melodic line and a bass staff with a rhythmic accompaniment. The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and fingerings. Handwritten annotations include: "Vorschaug the main note is the dissonance." (pointing to a note in the second system), "NO need for trill On the solo part: he changes the bass" (pointing to a note in the third system), "APPOGGIATURA" (pointing to a note in the sixth system), "ACCIACCATURA" (pointing to a note in the sixth system), "L thumb position" (pointing to a note in the seventh system), "L cross string" (pointing to a note in the seventh system), and "L rest the thumb, keep the pedal bring the hand back close to the thumb." (pointing to a note in the eighth system). The score is numbered 34 in the top left corner.

\* the pedal does not have to be sustained all the way through, otherwise crossing string is impossible.



[illegible]

## **Appendix**

### **Luigi Boccherini's List of Works**

#### **Cello Sonatas**

- G 1: Cello Sonata in F major
- G 2a: Cello Sonata in C minor
- G 2b: Cello Sonata in C minor
- G 3: Cello Sonata in C major
- G 4a: Cello Sonata in A major
- G 4b: Cello Sonata in A major
- G 5: Cello Sonata in G major
- G 6: Cello Sonata in C major
- G 7: Cello Sonata in C major
- G 8: Cello Sonata in B flat major
- G 9: Cello Sonata in F major
- G 10: Cello Sonata in E flat major
- G 11: Cello Sonata in E flat major
- G 12: Cello Sonata in B flat major
- G 13: Cello Sonata in A major
- G 14: Cello Sonata in E flat major
- G 15: Cello Sonata in G major

- G 16: Cello Sonata in E flat major
- G 17: Cello Sonata in C major
- G 18: Cello Sonata in C minor
- G 19: Cello Sonata in F major
- G 562: Cello Sonata in G minor
- G 563: Cello Sonata in G major
- G 564: Cello Sonata in D major
- G 565a: Cello Sonata in B flat major
- G 565b: Cello Sonata in B flat major
- G 566: Cello Sonata in E flat major
- G 567: Cello Sonata in E flat major
- G 568: Cello Sonata in E flat major
- G 569: Cello Sonata in C major
- G 579: Cello Sonata in F major
- G 580: Cello Sonata in D major
- G deest: Cello Sonata in A major
- G deest: Cello Sonata in A minor
- G deest: Cello Sonata in C minor
- G deest: Cello Sonata in C minor
- G deest: Cello Sonata in D major
- G deest: Cello Sonata in E flat major

- G deest: Cello Sonata in F minor

### **Works for Keyboard**

- G 21: Sinfonia for keyboard in E flat major
- G 22: Keyboard Sonata in E flat major
- G 23: 6 Keyboard Sonatas from Trios G 143–148
- G 24: 6 Keyboard Sonatas from Trios G 95–100

### **Violin Sonatas**

- G 20: 6 Violin Sonatas from cello sonatas
- G 25: Violin Sonata Op. 5 No. 1 in B flat major
- G 26: Violin Sonata Op. 5 No. 2 in C major
- G 27: Violin Sonata Op. 5 No. 3 in B flat major
- G 28: Violin Sonata Op. 5 No. 4 in D major
- G 29: Violin Sonata Op. 5 No. 5 in G minor
- G 30: Violin Sonata Op. 5 No. 6 in E flat major
- G 31: 6 Violin Sonatas (lost)
- G 32: 3 Violin Sonatas, Book 3 (lost)
- G 33: 3 Violin Sonatas, Book 4 (lost)
- G 34: Violin Sonata Op. 13 No. 1 in C major



- G 35: Violin Sonata Op. 13 No. 2 in E major
- G 36: Violin Sonata Op. 13 No. 3 in B flat major
- G 37: Violin Sonata Op. 13 No. 4 in E flat major
- G 38: Violin Sonata Op. 13 No. 5 in A major
- G 39: Violin Sonata Op. 13 No. 6 in D major
- G 40: Violin Sonata "Naderman" No. 1 in C major
- G 41: Violin Sonata "Naderman" No. 2 in B flat major
- G 42: Violin Sonata "Naderman" No. 3 in D minor
- G 43: Violin Sonata "Naderman" No. 4 in C minor
- G 44: Violin Sonata "Naderman" No. 5 in B flat major
- G 45: Violin Sonata "Naderman" No. 6 in C minor
- G 46: Violin Sonata Op. 33 No. 1 in C minor
- G 47: Violin Sonata Op. 33 No. 2 in D major
- G 48: Violin Sonata Op. 33 No. 3 in B flat major
- G 49: Violin Sonata Op. 33 No. 4 in A major
- G 50: Violin Sonata Op. 33 No. 5 in E flat major
- G 51: Violin Sonata Op. 33 No. 6 in E major
- G 52: Violin Sonata "Robinson" No. 1 in B flat major
- G 53: Violin Sonata "Robinson" No. 2 in E flat major
- G 54: Violin Sonata "Robinson" No. 3 in E major
- G 55: Rondo for violin & harpsichord in G major

- G 570: Violin Sonata in E flat major

### **Duets for Violins**

- G 56: Violin Duet Op. 3 No. 1 in G major
- G 57: Violin Duet Op. 3 No. 2 in F major
- G 58: Violin Duet Op. 3 No. 3 in A major
- G 59: Violin Duet Op. 3 No. 4 in B flat major
- G 60: Violin Duet Op. 3 No. 5 in E flat major
- G 61: Violin Duet Op. 3 No. 6 in D major
- G 62: Violin Duet in E flat major
- G 63: Violin Duet Op. 46 No. 1 in G major
- G 64: Violin Duet Op. 46 No. 2 in E major
- G 65: Violin Duet Op. 46 No. 3 in F minor
- G 66: Violin Duet Op. 46 No. 4 in C major
- G 67: Violin Duet Op. 46 No. 5 in E flat major
- G 68: Violin Duet Op. 46 No. 6 in D minor
- G 69: Violin Duet in C major
- G 70: Violin Duet in C major
- G 71: Violin Duet in D major
- G 72: 6 Violin Duets

### **Duets for Cellos**

- G 73: 6 Fugues for 2 cellos
- G 74: Sonata for 2 cellos in C major
- G 75: Sonata for 2 cellos in E flat major
- G 76: 6 Duets from Quartets Op. 26, G 195–200
- G 571: Sonata for 2 cellos in D major
- G 572: Sonata for 2 cellos in D major

### **String Trios**

- G 77: String Trio Op. 1 No. 1 in F major
- G 78: String Trio Op. 1 No. 2 in B flat major
- G 79: String Trio Op. 1 No. 3 in A major
- G 80: String Trio Op. 1 No. 4 in D major
- G 81: String Trio Op. 1 No. 5 in G major
- G 82: String Trio Op. 1 No. 6 in C major
- G 83: String Trio Op. 4 No. 1 in E flat major
- G 84: String Trio Op. 4 No. 2 in B flat major
- G 85: String Trio Op. 4 No. 3 in E major
- G 86: String Trio Op. 4 No. 4 in F minor

- G 87: String Trio Op. 4 No. 5 in D major
- G 88: String Trio Op. 4 No. 6 in F major
- G 89: String Trio Op. 6 No. 1 in B flat major
- G 90: String Trio Op. 6 No. 2 in E flat major
- G 91: String Trio Op. 6 No. 3 in A major
- G 92: String Trio Op. 6 No. 4 in F major
- G 93: String Trio Op. 6 No. 5 in G minor
- G 94: String Trio Op. 6 No. 6 in C major
- G 95: String Trio Op. 14 No. 1 in F major
- G 96: String Trio Op. 14 No. 2 in C minor
- G 97: String Trio Op. 14 No. 3 in A major
- G 98: String Trio Op. 14 No. 4 in D major
- G 99: String Trio Op. 14 No. 5 in E flat major
- G 100: String Trio Op. 14 No. 6 in F major
- G 101: String Trio Op. 34 No. 1 in F minor
- G 102: String Trio Op. 34 No. 2 in G major
- G 103: String Trio Op. 34 No. 3 in E flat major
- G 104: String Trio Op. 34 No. 4 in D major
- G 105: String Trio Op. 34 No. 5 in C major
- G 106: String Trio Op. 34 No. 6 in E major
- G 107: String Trio Op. 47 No. 1 in A flat major

- G 108: String Trio Op. 47 No. 2 in G major
- G 109: String Trio Op. 47 No. 3 in B flat major
- G 110: String Trio Op. 47 No. 4 in E flat major
- G 111: String Trio Op. 47 No. 5 in D major
- G 112: String Trio Op. 47 No. 6 in F major
- G 113: String Trio Op. 54 No. 1 in D major
- G 114: String Trio Op. 54 No. 2 in G major
- G 115: String Trio Op. 54 No. 3 in E flat major
- G 116: String Trio Op. 54 No. 4 in C major
- G 117: String Trio Op. 54 No. 5 in D minor
- G 118: String Trio Op. 54 No. 6 in A major
- G 119: String Trio Op. 3 No. 1 in C major
- G 120: String Trio Op. 3 No. 2 in A major
- G 121: String Trio Op. 3 No. 3 in A major
- G 122: String Trio Op. 3 No. 4 in D major
- G 123: String Trio Op. 3 No. 5 in D major
- G 124: String Trio Op. 3 No. 6 in E flat major
- G 125: String Trio Op. 7 No. 1 in C minor
- G 126: String Trio Op. 7 No. 2 in D major
- G 127: String Trio Op. 7 No. 3 in E flat major
- G 128: String Trio Op. 7 No. 4 in A major

- G 129: String Trio Op. 7 No. 5 in B flat major
- G 130: String Trio Op. 7 No. 6 in F major
- G 131: String Trio Op. 28 No. 1 in D major
- G 132: String Trio Op. 28 No. 2 in E flat major
- G 133: String Trio Op. 28 No. 3 in C minor
- G 134: String Trio Op. 28 No. 4 in A major
- G 135: String Trio Op. 28 No. 5 in B flat major
- G 136: String Trio Op. 28 No. 6 in G major
- G 137: String Trio in B flat major
- G 138: String Trio in F major
- G 139: String Trio in G major
- G 140: String Trio in E flat major
- G 141: String Trio in A major
- G 142: String Trio in C major
- G 577: String Trio in G major
- G 578: String Trio in G major

### **Piano Trios**

- G 143: Piano Trio Op. 12 No. 1 in C major
- G 144: Piano Trio Op. 12 No. 2 in E minor

- G 145: Piano Trio Op. 12 No. 3 in E flat major
- G 146: Piano Trio Op. 12 No. 4 in D major
- G 147: Piano Trio Op. 12 No. 5 in B flat major
- G 148: Piano Trio Op. 12 No. 6 in G minor
- G 149: 3 Piano Trios. Oeuvre I
- G 150: Piano Trio in D minor
- G 151: Piano Trio in B flat major
- G 152: Piano Trio in D minor
- G 153: Piano Trio in G minor
- G 154: 3 Piano Trios. Oeuvre II

### **Trio Sonatas with Flute(s)**

- G 155: 3 Flute Trios, Book I (lost)
- G 156: 3 Flute Trios, Book II (lost)
- G 157: Trio for 2 flutes & continuo in C major
- G 158: Trio for 2 flutes & continuo in D major

### **String Quartets**

- G 159: String Quartet Op. 2 No. 1 in C minor (1761)
- G 160: String Quartet Op. 2 No. 2 in B flat major

- G 161: String Quartet Op. 2 No. 3 in D major
- G 162: String Quartet Op. 2 No. 4 in E flat major
- G 163: String Quartet Op. 2 No. 5 in E major
- G 164: String Quartet Op. 2 No. 6 in C major
- G 165: String Quartet Op. 8 No. 1 in D major (c. 1768)
- G 166: String Quartet Op. 8 No. 2 in C minor
- G 167: String Quartet Op. 8 No. 3 in E flat major
- G 168: String Quartet Op. 8 No. 4 in G minor
- G 169: String Quartet Op. 8 No. 5 in F major
- G 170: String Quartet Op. 8 No. 6 in A major
- G 171: String Quartet Op. 9 No. 1 in C minor (1770)
- G 172: String Quartet Op. 9 No. 2 in D minor
- G 173: String Quartet Op. 9 No. 3 in F major
- G 174: String Quartet Op. 9 No. 4 in E flat major
- G 175: String Quartet Op. 9 No. 5 in D major
- G 176: String Quartet Op. 9 No. 6 in E major
- G 177: String Quartet Op. 15 No. 1 in D major (1772)
- G 178: String Quartet Op. 15 No. 2 in F major
- G 179: String Quartet Op. 15 No. 3 in E major
- G 180: String Quartet Op. 15 No. 4 in F major
- G 181: String Quartet Op. 15 No. 5 in E flat major



- G 182: String Quartet Op. 15 No. 6 in C minor
- G 183: String Quartet Op. 22 No. 1 in C major (1775)
- G 184: String Quartet Op. 22 No. 2 in D major
- G 185: String Quartet Op. 22 No. 3 in E flat major
- G 186: String Quartet Op. 22 No. 4 in B flat major
- G 187: String Quartet Op. 22 No. 5 in A minor
- G 188: String Quartet Op. 22 No. 6 in C major
- G 189: String Quartet Op. 24 No. 1 in D major (1776-8)
- G 190: String Quartet Op. 24 No. 2 in A major
- G 191: String Quartet Op. 24 No. 3 in E flat major
- G 192: String Quartet Op. 24 No. 4 in C major
- G 193: String Quartet Op. 24 No. 5 in C minor
- G 194: String Quartet Op. 24 No. 6 in G minor
- G 195: String Quartet Op. 26 No. 1 in B flat major (1778)
- G 196: String Quartet Op. 26 No. 2 in G minor
- G 197: String Quartet Op. 26 No. 3 in E flat major
- G 198: String Quartet Op. 26 No. 4 in A major
- G 199: String Quartet Op. 26 No. 5 in F major
- G 200: String Quartet Op. 26 No. 6 in F minor
- G 201: String Quartet Op. 32 No. 1 in E flat major (1780)
- G 202: String Quartet Op. 32 No. 2 in E minor

- G 203: String Quartet Op. 32 No. 3 in D major
- G 204: String Quartet Op. 32 No. 4 in C major
- G 205: String Quartet Op. 32 No. 5 in G minor
- G 206: String Quartet Op. 32 No. 6 in A major
- G 207: String Quartet Op. 33 No. 1 in E major (1781)
- G 208: String Quartet Op. 33 No. 2 in C major
- G 209: String Quartet Op. 33 No. 3 in G major
- G 210: String Quartet Op. 33 No. 4 in B flat major
- G 211: String Quartet Op. 33 No. 5 in E minor
- G 212: String Quartet Op. 33 No. 6 in E flat major
- G 213: String Quartet Op. 39 in A major (1787)
- G 214: String Quartet Op. 41 No. 1 in C minor (1788)
- G 215: String Quartet Op. 41 No. 2 in C major
- G 216: String Quartet Op. 42 No. 1 in A major (1789)
- G 217: String Quartet Op. 42 No. 2 in C major
- G 218: String Quartet Op. 43 No. 1 in A major (1790)
- G 219: String Quartet Op. 43 No. 2 in A major
- G 220: String Quartet Op. 44 No. 1 in B flat major (1792)
- G 221: String Quartet Op. 44 No. 2 in E minor
- G 222: String Quartet Op. 44 No. 3 in F major
- G 223: String Quartet Op. 44 No. 4 in G major ("La

tiranna")

- G 224: String Quartet Op. 44 No. 5 in D major
- G 225: String Quartet Op. 44 No. 6 in E flat major
- G 226: String Quartet Op. 48 No. 1 in F major (1794)
- G 227: String Quartet Op. 48 No. 2 in A major
- G 228: String Quartet Op. 48 No. 3 in B minor
- G 229: String Quartet Op. 48 No. 4 in E flat major
- G 230: String Quartet Op. 48 No. 5 in G major
- G 231: String Quartet Op. 48 No. 6 in C major
- G 232: String Quartet Op. 52 No. 1 in C major (1795)
- G 233: String Quartet Op. 52 No. 2 in D major
- G 234: String Quartet Op. 52 No. 3 in G major
- G 235: String Quartet Op. 52 No. 4 in F minor
- G 236: String Quartet Op. 53 No. 1 in E flat major (1796)
- G 237: String Quartet Op. 53 No. 2 in D major
- G 238: String Quartet Op. 53 No. 3 in C major
- G 239: String Quartet Op. 53 No. 4 in A major
- G 240: String Quartet Op. 53 No. 5 in C major
- G 241: String Quartet Op. 53 No. 6 in E flat major
- G 242: String Quartet Op. 58 No. 1 in C major (1799)
- G 243: String Quartet Op. 58 No. 2 in E flat major

- G 244: String Quartet Op. 58 No. 3 in B flat major
- G 245: String Quartet Op. 58 No. 4 in B minor
- G 246: String Quartet Op. 58 No. 5 in D major
- G 247: String Quartet Op. 58 No. 6 in E flat major
- G 248: String Quartet Op. 64 No. 1 in F major (1804)
- G 249: String Quartet Op. 64 No. 2 in D major
- G 250: String Quartet Op. 54 No. 1 in D major (1796, doubtful)
- G 251: String Quartet Op. 54 No. 2 in G major
- G 252: String Quartet Op. 54 No. 3 in C major
- G 253: String Quartet Op. 54 No. 4 in A major
- G 254: String Quartet Op. 54 No. 5 in C major
- G 255: String Quartet Op. 54 No. 6 in D major
- G 256: 6 String Quartets from Op. 10, G 265–270 (doubtful)
- G 257: 2 String Quartets from G 287 & 290
- G 258: String Quartet in F minor (lost)

### **Piano Quartets**

- G 259: 6 Piano Quartets from Quartets Op. 26, G 195–200

### **Flute Quartets**

- G 260: 3 Flute Quartets Op. 5 from G 369, 363 & 368
- G 261: 6 Flute Quartets (arrangements lost)

### **Wind Quartets**

- G 262: Wind Quartets No. 1–3
- G 263: Wind Quartets No. 4–6
- G 264: Wind Quartets No. 7–9

### **String Quintets**

- G 265: String Quintet Op. 10 No. 1 in A major (1774)
- G 266: String Quintet Op. 10 No. 2 in E flat major
- G 267: String Quintet Op. 10 No. 3 in C minor
- G 268: String Quintet Op. 10 No. 4 in C major
- G 269: String Quintet Op. 10 No. 5 in E flat major
- G 270: String Quintet Op. 10 No. 6 in D major
- G 271: String Quintet Op. 11 No. 1 in B flat major (1775)

- G 272: String Quintet Op. 11 No. 2 in A major
- G 273: String Quintet Op. 11 No. 3 in C major
- G 274: String Quintet Op. 11 No. 4 in F minor
- G 275: String Quintet Op. 11 No. 5 in E major (featured in The Ladykillers)
- G 276: String Quintet Op. 11 No. 6 in D major
- G 277: String Quintet Op. 13 No. 1 in E flat major (1776)
- G 278: String Quintet Op. 13 No. 2 in C major
- G 279: String Quintet Op. 13 No. 3 in F major
- G 280: String Quintet Op. 13 No. 4 in D minor
- G 281: String Quintet Op. 13 No. 5 in A major
- G 282: String Quintet Op. 13 No. 6 in E major
- G 283: String Quintet Op. 18 No. 1 in C minor (1775)
- G 284: String Quintet Op. 18 No. 2 in D major
- G 285: String Quintet Op. 18 No. 3 in E flat major
- G 286: String Quintet Op. 18 No. 4 in C major
- G 287: String Quintet Op. 18 No. 5 in D minor
- G 288: String Quintet Op. 18 No. 6 in E major
- G 289: String Quintet Op. 20 No. 1 in E flat major (1777)
- G 290: String Quintet Op. 20 No. 2 in B flat major
- G 291: String Quintet Op. 20 No. 3 in F major

- G 292: String Quintet Op. 20 No. 4 in G major
- G 293: String Quintet Op. 20 No. 5 in D minor
- G 294: String Quintet Op. 20 No. 6 in A minor
- G 295: String Quintet Op. 25 No. 1 in D minor (1785)
- G 296: String Quintet Op. 25 No. 2 in E flat major
- G 297: String Quintet Op. 25 No. 3 in A major
- G 298: String Quintet Op. 25 No. 4 in C major
- G 299: String Quintet Op. 25 No. 5 in D major
- G 300: String Quintet Op. 25 No. 6 in A minor
- G 301: String Quintet Op. 27 No. 1 in A major (1782)
- G 302: String Quintet Op. 27 No. 2 in G major
- G 303: String Quintet Op. 27 No. 3 in E minor
- G 304: String Quintet Op. 27 No. 4 in E flat major
- G 305: String Quintet Op. 27 No. 5 in G minor
- G 306: String Quintet Op. 27 No. 6 in B minor
- G 307: String Quintet Op. 28 No. 1 in F major (1802)
- G 308: String Quintet Op. 28 No. 2 in A major
- G 309: String Quintet Op. 28 No. 3 in E flat major
- G 310: String Quintet Op. 28 No. 4 in C major
- G 311: String Quintet Op. 28 No. 5 in D minor
- G 312: String Quintet Op. 28 No. 6 in B flat major

- G 313: String Quintet Op. 29 No. 1 in D major (1813)
- G 314: String Quintet Op. 29 No. 2 in C minor
- G 315: String Quintet Op. 29 No. 3 in F major
- G 316: String Quintet Op. 29 No. 4 in A major
- G 317: String Quintet Op. 29 No. 5 in E flat major
- G 318: String Quintet Op. 29 No. 6 in G minor
- G 319: String Quintet Op. 30 No. 1 in B flat major  
(unknown publication date)
- G 320: String Quintet Op. 30 No. 2 in A minor
- G 321: String Quintet Op. 30 No. 3 in C major
- G 322: String Quintet Op. 30 No. 4 in E flat major
- G 323: String Quintet Op. 30 No. 5 in E minor
- G 324: String Quintet Op. 30 No. 6 in C major ("Musica  
notturna delle strade di Madrid")
- G 325: String Quintet Op. 31 No. 1 in E flat major (1813)
- G 326: String Quintet Op. 31 No. 2 in G major
- G 327: String Quintet Op. 31 No. 3 in B flat major
- G 328: String Quintet Op. 31 No. 4 in C minor
- G 329: String Quintet Op. 31 No. 5 in A major
- G 330: String Quintet Op. 31 No. 6 in F major
- G 331: String Quintet Op. 36 No. 1 in E flat major



(unknown publication date)

- G 332: String Quintet Op. 36 No. 2 in D major
- G 333: String Quintet Op. 36 No. 3 in G major
- G 334: String Quintet Op. 36 No. 4 in A minor
- G 335: String Quintet Op. 36 No. 5 in G minor
- G 336: String Quintet Op. 36 No. 6 in F major
- G 337: String Quintet Op. 39 No. 1 in B flat major (1809)
- G 338: String Quintet Op. 39 No. 2 in F major
- G 339: String Quintet Op. 39 No. 3 in D major
- G 340: String Quintet Op. 40 No. 1 in A major (1822)
- G 341: String Quintet Op. 40 No. 2 in D major
- G 342: String Quintet Op. 40 No. 3 in D major
- G 343: String Quintet Op. 40 No. 4 in C major
- G 344: String Quintet Op. 40 No. 5 in E minor
- G 345: String Quintet Op. 40 No. 6 in B flat major
- G 346: String Quintet Op. 41 No. 1 in E flat major (1798)
- G 347: String Quintet Op. 41 No. 2 in F major
- G 348: String Quintet Op. 42 No. 1 in F minor (1809)
- G 349: String Quintet Op. 42 No. 2 in C major
- G 350: String Quintet Op. 42 No. 3 in B minor
- G 351: String Quintet Op. 42 No. 4 in G minor

- G 352: String Quintet Op. 43 No. 1 in E flat major  
(unknown publication date)
- G 353: String Quintet Op. 43 No. 2 in D major
- G 354: String Quintet Op. 43 No. 3 in F major
- G 355: String Quintet Op. 45 No. 1 in C minor (1804)
- G 356: String Quintet Op. 45 No. 2 in A major
- G 357: String Quintet Op. 45 No. 3 in B flat major
- G 358: String Quintet Op. 45 No. 4 in C major
- G 359: String Quintet Op. 46 No. 1 in B flat major (1798)
- G 360: String Quintet Op. 46 No. 2 in D minor
- G 361: String Quintet Op. 46 No. 3 in C major
- G 362: String Quintet Op. 46 No. 4 in G minor
- G 363: String Quintet Op. 46 No. 5 in F major
- G 364: String Quintet Op. 46 No. 6 in E flat major
- G 365: String Quintet Op. 49 No. 1 in D major (1798)
- G 366: String Quintet Op. 49 No. 2 in B flat major
- G 367: String Quintet Op. 49 No. 3 in E flat major
- G 368: String Quintet Op. 49 No. 4 in D minor
- G 369: String Quintet Op. 49 No. 5 in E flat major
- G 370: String Quintet Op. 50 No. 1 in A major (1822)
- G 371: String Quintet Op. 50 No. 2 in E flat major

- G 372: String Quintet Op. 50 No. 3 in B flat major
- G 373: String Quintet Op. 50 No. 4 in E major
- G 374: String Quintet Op. 50 No. 5 in C major
- G 375: String Quintet Op. 50 No. 6 in B flat major
- G 376: String Quintet Op. 51 No. 1 in E flat major (1813)
- G 377: String Quintet Op. 51 No. 2 in C minor
- G 378: String Quintet in C major
- G 379: String Quintet in E minor (from G 407)
- G 380: String Quintet in F major (from G 408)
- G 381: String Quintet in E flat major (from G 410)
- G 382: String Quintet in A minor (from G 412)
- G 383: String Quintet in D major (from G 411)
- G 384: String Quintet in C major (from G 409)
- G 385: String Quintet in D minor (from G 416)
- G 386: String Quintet in E minor (from G 417)
- G 387: String Quintet in B flat major (from G 414)
- G 388: String Quintet in A major (from G 413)
- G 389: String Quintet in E minor (from G 415)
- G 390: String Quintet in C major (from G 418)
- G 391: String Quintet Op. 60 No. 1 in C major
- G 392: String Quintet Op. 60 No. 2 in B flat major

- G 393: String Quintet Op. 60 No. 3 in A major
- G 394: String Quintet Op. 60 No. 4 in E flat major (lost)
- G 395: String Quintet Op. 60 No. 5 in G major
- G 396: String Quintet Op. 60 No. 6 in E major
- G 397: String Quintet Op. 62 No. 1 in C major
- G 398: String Quintet Op. 62 No. 2 in E flat major
- G 399: String Quintet Op. 62 No. 3 in F major
- G 400: String Quintet Op. 62 No. 4 in B flat major
- G 401: String Quintet Op. 62 No. 5 in D major
- G 402: String Quintet Op. 62 No. 6 in E major
- G 403: 6 String Quintets from Op. 10, G 265–270
- G 404: 6 String Quintets from Op. 11, G 271–276
- G 405: 6 String Quintets from Op. 18, G 283–288
- G 406: String Quintet in E flat major (lost)

### **Piano Quintets**

- G 407: Piano Quintet Op. 56 No. 1 in E minor
- G 408: Piano Quintet Op. 56 No. 2 in F major
- G 409: Piano Quintet Op. 56 No. 3 in C major
- G 410: Piano Quintet Op. 56 No. 4 in E flat major

- G 411: Piano Quintet Op. 56 No. 5 in D major
- G 412: Piano Quintet Op. 56 No. 6 in A minor
- G 413: Piano Quintet Op. 57 No. 1 in A major
- G 414: Piano Quintet Op. 57 No. 2 in B flat major
- G 415: Piano Quintet Op. 57 No. 3 in E minor
- G 416: Piano Quintet Op. 57 No. 4 in D minor
- G 417: Piano Quintet Op. 57 No. 5 in E major
- G 418: Piano Quintet Op. 57 No. 6 in C major

### **Flute Quintets**

- G 419: Flute Quintet Op. 17 No. 1 in D major
- G 420: Flute Quintet Op. 17 No. 2 in C major
- G 421: Flute Quintet Op. 17 No. 3 in D minor
- G 422: Flute Quintet Op. 17 No. 4 in B flat major
- G 423: Flute Quintet Op. 17 No. 5 in G major
- G 424: Flute Quintet Op. 17 No. 6 in E flat major
- G 425: Flute Quintet Op. 19 No. 1 in E flat major
- G 426: Flute Quintet Op. 19 No. 2 in G minor
- G 427: Flute Quintet Op. 19 No. 3 in C major

- G 428: Flute Quintet Op. 19 No. 4 in D major
- G 429: Flute Quintet Op. 19 No. 5 in B flat major
- G 430: Flute Quintet Op. 19 No. 6 in D major
- G 431: Flute Quintet Op. 55 No. 1 in G major
- G 432: Flute Quintet Op. 55 No. 2 in F major
- G 433: Flute Quintet Op. 55 No. 3 in D major
- G 434: Flute Quintet Op. 55 No. 4 in A major
- G 435: Flute Quintet Op. 55 No. 5 in E flat major
- G 436: Flute Quintet Op. 55 No. 6 in D minor
- G 437: Flute Quintet with cello concertante No. 1 in F major
- G 438: Flute Quintet with cello concertante No. 2 in G major
- G 439: Flute Quintet with cello concertante No. 3 in C major
- G 440: Flute Quintet with cello concertante No. 4 in D major
- G 441: Flute Quintet with cello concertante No. 5 in G major
- G 442: Flute Quintet with cello concertante No. 6 in B flat major

- G 443: Quintet for flute, oboe & strings in C major
- G 444: Quintet for flute, oboe & strings in B flat major

### **Guitar Quintets**

The movements of the guitar quintets are wholly transcribed from earlier quintets, usually string or piano quintets, by the composer.

- G 445: Guitar Quintet No. 1 in D minor
- G 446: Guitar Quintet No. 2 in E major
- G 447: Guitar Quintet No. 3 in B $\flat$  major
- G 448: Guitar Quintet No. 4 in D major ("Fandango")
- G 449: Guitar Quintet No. 5 in D major
- G 450: Guitar Quintet No. 6 in G major
- G 451: Guitar Quintet No. 7 in E minor
- G 452: Guitar Quintet No. 8 in F major (lost)
- G 453: Guitar Quintet No. 9 in C major ("La Ritirata di Madrid")

### **Sextets**

- G 454: String Sextet Op. 23 No. 1 in E flat major

- G 455: String Sextet Op. 23 No. 2 in B flat major
- G 456: String Sextet Op. 23 No. 3 in E major
- G 457: String Sextet Op. 23 No. 4 in F minor
- G 458: String Sextet Op. 23 No. 5 in D major
- G 459: String Sextet Op. 23 No. 6 in F major
- G 460: String Sextet in D major
- G 461: Divertimento Op. 16 No. 1 in A major
- G 462: Divertimento Op. 16 No. 2 in F major
- G 463: Divertimento Op. 16 No. 3 in A major
- G 464: Divertimento Op. 16 No. 4 in E flat major
- G 465: Divertimento Op. 16 No. 5 in A major
- G 466: Divertimento Op. 16 No. 6 in C major

### **Octets**

- G 467: Notturmo Op. 38 No. 1 in E flat major
- G 468: Notturmo Op. 38 No. 2 in E flat major (lost)
- G 469: Notturmo Op. 38 No. 3 in E flat major (lost)
- G 470: Notturmo Op. 38 No. 4 in G major
- G 471: Notturmo Op. 38 No. 5 in E flat major
- G 472: Notturmo Op. 38 No. 6 in B flat major



- G 473: Notturmo Op. 42 in E flat major (lost)

### **Cello Concertos**

- G 474: Cello Concerto No. 1 in E flat major
- G 475: Cello Concerto No. 2 in A major
- G 476: Cello Concerto No. 3 in D major
- G 477: Cello Concerto No. 4 in C major
- G 478: Cello Concerto No. 5 in D major
- G 479: Cello Concerto No. 6 in D major
- G 480: Cello Concerto No. 7 in G major
- G 481: Cello Concerto No. 8 in C major
- G 482: Cello Concerto No. 9 in B flat major
- G 483: Cello Concerto No. 10 in D major
- G 484: Cello Concertino in G major
- G 573: Cello Concerto No. 11 in C major
- G deest: Cello Concerto No. 12 in E flat major

### **Concertos**

- G 485: Violin Concerto in G major
- G 486: Violin Concerto in D major

- G 487: Piano Concerto in E flat major
- G 488: Piano Concerto in C major (sketch)
- G 489: Flute Concerto in D major (incorrectly attributed to František Xaver Pokorný)
- G 574: Violin Concerto in F major
- G 575: Flute Concerto in D major

### **Symphonies**

- G 490: Overture in D major
- G 491: Sinfonia concertante Op. 7 in C major
- G 492: 6 Divertimenti (6 Sextets) Op. 16, G 461–466
- G 493: Symphony Op. 21 No. 1 in B flat major
- G 494: Symphony Op. 21 No. 2 in E flat major
- G 495: Symphony Op. 21 No. 3 in C major
- G 496: Symphony Op. 21 No. 4 in D major
- G 497: Symphony Op. 21 No. 5 in B flat major
- G 498: Symphony Op. 21 No. 6 in A major
- G 499: Sinfonia concertante in G major (= G470)
- G 500: Symphony in D major
- G 501: Serenade in D major

- G 502: 2 Minuets
- G 503: Symphony Op. 12 No. 1 in D major
- G 504: Symphony Op. 12 No. 2 in E flat major
- G 505: Symphony Op. 12 No. 3 in C major
- G 506: Symphony Op. 12 No. 4 in D minor ("La Casa del Diavolo")
- G 507: Symphony Op. 12 No. 5 in B flat major
- G 508: Symphony Op. 12 No. 6 in A major
- G 509: Symphony Op. 35 No. 1 in D major
- G 510: Symphony Op. 35 No. 2 in E flat major
- G 511: Symphony Op. 35 No. 3 in A major
- G 512: Symphony Op. 35 No. 4 in F major
- G 513: Symphony Op. 35 No. 5 in E flat major
- G 514: Symphony Op. 35 No. 6 in B flat major
- G 515: Symphony Op. 37 No. 1 in C major
- G 516: Symphony Op. 37 No. 2 in D major (lost)
- G 517: Symphony Op. 37 No. 3 in D minor
- G 518: Symphony Op. 37 No. 4 in A major
- G 519: Symphony Op. 41 in C minor
- G 520: Symphony Op. 42 in D major
- G 521: Symphony Op. 43 in D major

- G 522: Symphony Op. 45 in D major
- G 523: Symphony in C major
- G 576: Symphony in G major

### **Theatrical Works**

- G 524: Cefalo e Procri (lost)
- G 525: Un gioco di minuetto ballabili Op. 41
- G 526: Ballet espagnol
- G 527: Interlude to Picini's opera: La buona figliola
- G 540: La Clementina, zarzuela
- G 541: Scene from 'Ines de Castro'
- G 542: Aria for the opera "L'Almeria" (lost)

### **Liturgical Works**

- G 528: Missa solemnis Op. 59 (lost)
- G 529: Kyrie in B flat major
- G 530: Gloria in F major
- G 531: Credo in C major
- G 532a: Stabat Mater in A flat major
- G 532b: Stabat Mater Op. 61 in F major

- G 533: Dixit Dominus in G major
- G 534: Domine ad adjuvandum in G major
- G 535: Christmas Cantata Op. 63 (lost)
- G 536: Cantata for the feast of Saint Louis (fragment)
- G 539: Villancicos al nacimiento de nuestro Senor Jesu Christo
- G deest: Laudate pueri

### **Oratorios**

- G 537: Gioas, re di Giuda
- G 538: Giuseppe riconosciuto
- G 543: La Confederazione dei Sabini con Roma – Prima giornata

### **Concert Arias**

- G 544: Aria accademica No. 1, Si veramente io deggio...  
Ah non lasciarmi, no, bel idol mio in E flat major
- G 545: Aria accademica Se non ti moro allato idolo del  
cor mio No. 2 in B flat major

- G 546: Aria accademica No. 3 Deh respirar lasciatemi in G minor
- G 547: Aria accademica No. 4 Caro, son tua cosi che per virtu d'amor in A major
- G 548: Aria accademica No. 5 Misera dove son... Ah no son io che parlo in D minor
- G 549: Aria accademica No. 6 Care luci che regnate sugl'affetti del mio cor in D major
- G 550: Aria accademica No. 7 Infelice in van mi lagno qual dolente tortorella in E flat major
- G 551: Aria accademica No. 8 Numi, se giusti siete, rendente in G major
- G 552: Aria accademica No. 9 Caro Padre, a me non dei in C major
- G 553: Aria accademica No. 10 Ah che nel dirti addio mi sento il cor dividere in F major
- G 554: Aria accademica No. 11 Di Giudice severo... Per quel paterno amplesso in A major
- G 555: Aria accademica No. 12 Tu di saper procura in B flat major
- G 556: Aria accademica No. 13 Mi dona, mi rende quell'alma pietosa in E major

- G 557: Aria accademica No. 14 Se d'un amor tiranno in B flat major
- G 558: Aria accademica No. 15 Tornate sereni in E flat major
- G 559: Duetto accademico No. 1 La destra ti chiedo mio dolce in E flat major
- G 560: Duetto accademico No. 2 In 'sto giorno d'allegro in F major
- G 561: Duetto accademico No. 3 Ah, che nel dirti addio in E flat major

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

### Primary Sources

- Antonii, Giovanni Battista degli. *Dodici ricercate per violoncello solo (sulla edizione del 1687)*. Edited by Lauro Malusi. Padova: G. Zanibon, 1976.
- Boccherini, Luigi. *Aria accademica, G 557, "Se d'un amor tiranno," for Soprano, Violoncello and Orchestra*. Bologna: Ut Orpheus, 2006.
- . *Aria accademica N. 14 in si bemolle maggiore G. 557, per soprano, violoncello e orchestra*. Padua: G. Zanibon, 1985.
- . *Concerto in mi bemolle maggiore, per violoncello e orchestra*. A cura di Franco Gallini. Milan: Suvini Zerboni, 1960.
- . *Concerto No. 2, in D major, for Violoncello and Orchestra*. New York: F. Colombo, 1964.
- . *Dodici sonate per violoncello e basso, parte prima*. A cura di Corrado Abriani e Antonio Pocaterra. Milan: Suvini Zerboni, 1981.
- . *Due sonate per violoncello e basso, nella stesura originale per due violoncelli*. Padua: G. Zanibon, 1984.
- . *19 Sonate a violoncello solo e basso*. A cura di Paternoster. Milan: Ricordi, 1987.
- . *Six Sonatas*. Herausgegeben von F. W. Grutzmacher. Leipzig: Bartholff Senff, 1880.
- . *Six Sonatas for the Violoncello*. New York: Performers' Facsimiles, 1996.
- . *Sonata in D major for Violoncello and Basso Continuo*. Edited by György Orbán. New York: Schott, 1981.
- . *Sonata in la maggiore*. A cura di Alfredo Piatti. Milan: Ricordi, 1909.
- . *Sonata N. 1 in la maggiore G. 13, per violoncello e basso, nella stesura originale per due violoncelli*. Padua: G. Zanibon, 1987.
- . *Sonata N. 6 in la maggiore per violoncello e basso G.4 e G.4b, prima e seconda versione*. A cura di Wolfango Dalla Vecchia e Aldo Pais. Padua: G. Zanibon, 1986.



- . *Sonata N. 6 in A major*. New York: International Music Company, 1964.
- . *Sonata N. 7 in si maggiore per violoncello e basso G. 565 e variante G. 565b, nella stesura originale per due violoncelli*. Padua: G. Zanibon, 1986.
- . *Sonata N. 17 in do maggiore, per violoncello e basso G.17, nella stesura per violoncello e strumento a tastiera*. A cura di Wolfango Dalla Vecchia e Aldo Pais. Padua: G. Zanibon, 1986.
- Cupis, Jean Baptiste. *Sonates à violon seul avec la basse continue, Ire œuvre*. New York: Performers' Facsimiles, 1987.
- Duport, Jean Louis. *Essay on Fingering the Violoncello, and on the Conduct of the Bow*. London: Augener, 1904.
- Geminiani, Francesco. *The Art of Playing on the Violin*. London, 1751. Facsimile, London: Oxford University Press, 1951.
- Klassische Violoncell-Musik berühmter Meister des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts*. Herausgegeben von Carl Schroeder. Mainz: B. Schott's Söhne, 1911. Reprint by New York: Belwin Mills, 1976.
- Lescat, Philippe, and Jean Saint-Arroman, ed. *Violoncelle: méthodes et traités, dictionnaires, préfaces des oeuvres*. Paris: Editions J. M. Fuzeau, 1998.
- Moccia, A. *Méthodes e traités 13. Série IV Italie 1600–1800, Violon. Volume III, Regole per ben suonare il violino, G. Tartini*. Paris: Fac-similé Jean-Marc Fuzeau, DATE.
- Mozart, Leopold. *A Treatise on the Fundamental Principles of Violin Playing*. Translated by Editha Kocker, 2nd ed. New York: Oxford University Press, 1951.
- Quantz, Johann Joachim. *On Playing the Flute*. Translated by Edward R. Reilly, 2nd ed. New York: Schirmer Books, 1985.
- Romberg, Bernhard. *A Complete Theoretical and Practical School for the Violoncello*. New York: Derby & Gordon, 1880.
- Vivaldi, Antonio. *IX sonate a violoncello e basso RV 39–47: Manoscritti, Napoli, Biblioteca del Conservatorio San Pietro a Majella; Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale; Wiesentheid, Musikbibliothek des Grafen von Schönborn-Wiesentheid; VI sonates violoncello solo con basso RV 47, 41, 43, 45, 40, 46: Stampa di Le Clerc et Boivin, Paris, s.d. Archivum Musicum. Vivaldiana, 2. Florence: Studio per Edizioni Scelte, 2003.*

## Secondary Sources

- Barshan, Eve. "Six New Boccherini Sonatas." *The Musical Times* 105, no. 1451 (January 1964): 18–20.
- Boccherini Sanchez, Jose Antonio. "Los testamentos de Boccherini." *Revista de musicologia* 22, no. 2 (June 1999): 93–121.
- Bonta, Stephen. *Studies in Italian Sacred and Instrumental Music in the 17th Century*. Variorum Collected Studies Series. Burlington, VT: Ashgate/Variorum, 2003.
- Boudet, Charles. "Boccherini inconnu, inventaire des manuscript autographes du maitre appartenent à la Bibliothèque de l'Opéra de Paris." *Revue de musicologie*, 10, no. 32 (Novembre 1929): 255–74.
- . "Les manuscrits autographes de Luigi Boccherini appartenant à la Bibliothèque de l'Opéra de Paris." *Revue de musicologie* 10 (May 1929): 105–8.
- Broadley, Arthur. *The Violoncello: Its History, Selection, and Adjustment*. New York: C. Scribner's Sons, 1921.
- Cano Capella, Pablo. "Luigi Boccherini, breve apuntes bibliograficos." *Ritmo*, no. 594 (December 1988): 143.
- Coli, Remigio. *Luigi Boccherini: La vita e le opere*. Lucca: M. Pacini Fazzi, 2005.
- Cowling, Elizabeth. *The Cello*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1983.
- Della Croce, Luigi. *Il divino Boccherini: vita, opere, epistolario*. Padua: G. Zanibon, 1988.
- . *Le 33 sinfonie di Boccherini: guida e analisi critica*. Turin: Realtà Musicali, 1979.
- Forino, Luigi. *Il violoncello: Il violoncellista ed i violoncellisti*. Reprint from *Antichi Manuali Hoepli*, 1905. Milan: Cisalpino-Goliardica, 1989.
- Grossto, Elisa. "I concerti per violoncello di Luigi Boccherini: appunti per approfondimento stilistico." *Rassegna veneta di studi musicali* 1 (1985): 113–33.
- Heartz, Daniel. "The Young Boccherini: Lucca, Vienna, and Electoral Courts." *Journal of Musicology* 13, no. 1 (winter 1995): 103–16.
- House, Robert William. "The Style of Boccherini in [HIS?] Violoncello Sonatas." DMA document, University of Rochester, 1942.

- Kory, Agnes. "Boccherini and the Cello." *Early Music* 33, no. 4 (November 2005): 749–51.
- Laird, Paul. *The Baroque Cello Revival: An Oral History*. Lanham, MD.: Scarecrow Press, 2004.
- Lawson, Colin, and Robin Stowell. *The Historical Performance of Music: An Introduction*. Cambridge Handbooks to the Historical Performance of Music. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999.
- Le Guin, Elisabeth. *Boccherini's Body: An Essay in Carnal Musicology*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005.
- . "One Says that One Weeps, but One Does Not Weep: Sensible, Grotesque, and Mechanical Embodiments in Boccherini's Chamber Music." *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 55, no. 2 (summer 2002): 207–54.
- Lindsey, Maurice, and Leggat Smith. "Luigi Boccherini (1743-1805)." *Music & Letters* 24, no. 2 (April 1943): 78–81.
- Lozano Martinez, Isabel. "Un manuscrito autografico de Boccherini en la Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid." *Revista de musicologia* 25, no. 1 (June 2002): 225–36.
- Malusi, Lauro. *L'arco degli strumenti musicali: storia, tecnica, costruttori, valutazioni*. Padova: G. Zanibon, 1981.
- . *Il violoncello*. Padua: G. Zanibon, 1973.
- Marín, Miguel Angel. "Par sa grâce naïve et pour ainsi dire primitive". In *Images of Boccherini through his Early Biographies*, edited by Christian Speck, [PAGES?]. Bologna: Ut Orpheus, 2007.
- Parker, Mara. "Luigi Boccherini and the Court of Prussia." *Current Musicology*, no. 52 (spring 1992): 27–37.
- Picquot, L. *Notice sur la vie et les ouvrages de Luigi Boccherini. suivie du catalogue raisonné de tous ses oeuvres, tant publiées qu'inédites*. Paris: Philipp, 1851. Reprint, Cornell University Library Digital Collections, 1991.
- Rothschild, Germaine de. *Luigi Boccherini: His Life and Work*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1965.
- Sadie, Stanley. "Boccherini." *Musical Times* 106, no. 1463 (January 1965): 48–49.
- . "Boccherini." *Musical Times* 110, no. 1515 (May 1969): 520.

- . “18<sup>th</sup>-Century Concertos.” *Musical Times* 108, no. 1492 (January 1967): 540–41.
- Selfridge-Field, Eleanor. *The Music of Benedetto and Alessandro Marcello: A Thematic Catalogue with Commentary on the Composers, Repertory, and Sources*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1990.
- . *A New Chronology of Venetian Opera and Related Genres, 1660–1760*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2008.
- . *Venetian Instrumental Music from Gabrieli to Vivaldi*. New York: Dover, 1994.
- Scott, Mary-Grace. “Boccherini’s B flat Cello Concerto: A Reappraisal of the Sources.” *Early Music* 12, no. 3 (August 1984): 355–57.
- Speck, Christian, and L. [FIRST NAME] Chapman. “Boccherini as a Cellist.” *Early Music* 33, no. 2 (May 2005): 191–210.
- Stowell, Robin. *The Cambridge Companion to the Cello*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999.
- Straeten, Edmund Sebastian Joseph van der. *History of the Violoncello, the Viol da gamba, their Precursors and Collateral Instruments: with Biographies of All the Most Eminent Players of Every Country*. Reprint, New York: AMS Press, 1976.
- Tortella, Jaime. *Boccherini: Un músico italiano en la España ilustrada*. Madrid: Sociedad Española de Musicología, 2002.
- . *Luigi Boccherini y el banco de San Carlos: un aspecto inédito*. Madrid: Tecnos, 1998.
- Vanscheeuwijck, Marc. *The Cappella Musicale of San Petronio in Bologna under Giovanni Paolo Colonna (1674–95): History, Organization, Repertoire*. Etudes d’histoire de l’art/Institut historique belge de Rome = Studies over Kunstgeschiedenis/Belgisch historisch instituut te Rome, 8. Brussels: Institut Historique Belge de Rome; Turnhout: Brepols, 2003.
- . Preface to *Domenico Gabrielli: ricercari per violoncello solo (1680)*. Padua: Arnaldo Forni, 1998.
- Walden, Valerie. *One Hundred Years of Violoncello*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.
- Zanetti, Roberto. *La musica italiana nel novecento*. Busto Arsizio: Bramante, 1985.