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Le stagioni di Niccolò Jommelli

a cura di
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MARIA BÁRBARA DE BRAGANÇA'S MUSIC LIBRARY
AND THE CIRCULATION OF MUSICAL REPERTORIES IN 18TH CENTURY EUROPE¹

Cristina Fernandes

A testimony of a lifelong passion for music, the music library of Maria Bárbara de Bragança (1711-1758) was bequeathed in the will of the *Infanta* of Portugal and Queen of Spain to the *castrato* Carlo Broschi (1705-1782), better known as Farinelli, given the high personal and artistic esteem she had for her music teacher, who always served her with great diligence and loyalty². This donation sought also to avoid the dispersal of valuable music scores and librettos collected for years, with both the practical purpose of interpretation in the various circumstances of court life and the intent of being up to date with the main tendencies of the musical art of the era. As with books and works of art, the ownership of music scores and instruments was a symbol of power, prestige and culture in the Age of Enlightenment.

The famous *castrato*, who had been hired by Queen Isabel de Farnesio in 1737, assumed a crucial role in heading the musical life of the

¹ A preliminary version of this article was presented in the International Colloquium *Niccolò Jommelli, Christoph Willibald Gluck and Pedro António Avondano, on the occasion of their 300th anniversary: The circulation of musical repertoires in 18th century Europe* (Organized by CESMP – 18th Century Musical Studies Centre in Portugal), Queluz National Palace (Portugal), 20-21st June, 2014. The research was conducted as part of a Post-Doctoral project at INET-MD – Centro de Estudos de Música e Dança, Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas – Universidade Nova de Lisboa, financed by FCT – Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia (SFRH / BPD / 75201 / 2010).

² *Testamento de la Reina Maria Bárbara de Portugal*, Biblioteca del Palácio Real de Madrid, f. 20v.: «Mando que a D. Carlos Brosque Farinelo, que me há servido sempre con mucho acierto y fidelidade, se le dé la sortija de un diamante grande redondo amarillo, y todos mis Libros. y Papeles de Musica, y três clavicórdios uno de registros, otro de Martillos, y otro de plumas los mejores».

Spanish court during the reign of Fernando VI and Maria Bárbara de Bragança (1746-1759), based on a privileged relationship with the monarchs on an artistic, personal and institutional level³. Even after being constrained to abandon Spain, upon the ascent of Charles III to the throne, Farinelli respected the Queen's will and sought to maintain her legacy whole. In the last years of his life, spent in his house in Bologna⁴, he lived surrounded by works of art – according to the Legal Inventory he possessed 330 canvases, including paintings by artists such as Velázquez, Murillo, Rosalba Carriera, Solimena and Battaglioli⁵ –, musical instruments, books and music scores. Among the latter, stored zealously in the original bookcases (*Papeleras*), lined with green velvet and ornamented with golden insignias and the royal coat of arms, one could find gems such as the volumes of Sonatas by Domenico Scarlatti, operas and serenatas manuscript by the most famous composers of the era and librettos by Metastasio, printed in Italian and Spanish in richly decorated bindings.

His concern with preserving the collection led Farinelli to include dispositions with that purpose in his own will, but after the death of the singer his nephew heir, Matteo Pisani, ignored this wish and quickly dispersed the bequeathed goods, hindering future generations from accessing the integral collection. In effect, the singer's relationships with his family were tense, so Farinelli indicated that his musical collection and other precious goods should be established as a trust to be passed on from heir to heir, a resolution that became void with the arrival in

³ For a general perspective of the musical life in Spain during the reigns of Felipe V and Isabel de Farnesio, and of Fernando VI and Bárbara de Bragança see *História de la Música en España e Hispano América. La Música en el Siglo XVIII*, ed. Jose Máximo Leza, voll. 4, Madrid, Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2014, especially the subchapters *Del canto de Farinelli a la música de cámara de Brunetti* (pp. 91-97) and *Farinelli y los esplendores de la corte de Fernando VI* (pp. 316-319). This work includes also a selection of the relevant specialized bibliography.

⁴ For this period see LUIGI VERDI, *Farinelli in Bologna*, in «British Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies», 28 (2005), pp. 411-420.

⁵ See FRANCESCA BORIS-GIAMPIERO CAMMAROTA, *La collezione di Carlo Broschi detto il Farinello*, in «Accademia Clementina, Atti e Memorie», XXVII (1990), pp. 183-227, and FRANCESCA BORIS, *Farinelli da Aranjuez a Bologna*, in *Bologna y España: siete siglos de relaciones artísticas y culturales*, ed. Amadeo Serra – José Luis Colomer, Madrid, Centro de Estudios Europa Hispánica/Fundación Carolina, 2006, pp. 327-340.

Bologna of the Napoleonic government in 1796 and with the French legislation, adverse to inalienable property⁶. Works such as the fifteen volumes of Scarlatti's Sonatas, identified with the coat of arms of Spain and Portugal and incorporated in 1835 in the Biblioteca Marciana in Venice, would be easily located, but the same cannot be said of the majority of the remaining music scores.

The inventory of the music library of Maria Bárbara, that Carlo Bro-schi annexed to his will with the title *Descrizione della Musica procedente dal Legato di S.M.C. la Regina di Spagna, che deve tutta esser conservata in essere*, was published in 1995 by Sandro Cappelletto as an appendix to the book *La voce perduta, vita di Farinelli e virato cantore*⁷, permitting the evaluation of the importance, variety and extent of the collection. If the process of establishing the library can be reconstructed up to a certain point, or at least easily deduced, considering the practice of the era regarding circulation of repertoires and the network of contacts of the court, the route and destination of a substantial part of the works, after the death of the singer, is still unknown. Only a long and laborious research (with shades of detective work) in collaboration with international interdisciplinary networks that integrate musicology, but also art and cultural history, will eventually shed more light upon the matter in the future.

In much of the musicology literature, the figure of Maria Bárbara de Bragança appears most often in the context of the master-disciple relationship established with Domenico Scarlatti, with less attention given to other dimensions of her actions and personality that are equally important. Using the music library she collected throughout the years as a common thread, the present article reviews the current state of research, attempting to identify clues for subsequent investigation and study. Departing from the analysis of the Farinelli list and crossing it with other data, it aims to outline a broader and multifaceted portrait of Maria Bárbara's involvement in musical activity, regarding her capacity

⁶ SANDRO CAPPELLETTO, *La voce perduta. Vita di Farinelli e virato cantore*, Torino, EdT, 1995, p. 132.

⁷ *Descrizione della Musica procedente dal Legato di S.M.C. la Regina di Spagna, che deve tutta esser conservata in essere, al quale fine non se ne fa la Stima Legale. Nella Camera Settima dell'Appartamento Inferiore ora Archivio della Musica*. Cfr. CAPPELLETTO, *La voce perduta* cit., pp. 211-221.

as promoter, performer and composer, and intend to provide a backdrop of the important role of women in the cultural and social practices of Iberian courts⁸. This approach will likewise permit the framing of several relevant issues regarding the circulation of musical repertoires in 18th-century Europe, as well as cross several essential lines of music history of Portugal, Spain and Italy and, ultimately, Europe.

It is not my purpose however, nor would it be viable in a text of this dimension, to conduct an exhaustive contextualization of all the repertoires mentioned in the inventory, also because several of them have already been subject of multiple studies (especially the Scarlatti's Sonatas and the dramatic music). Nevertheless, whenever possible I will correlate with the associated musical practices that led to their acquisition and conservation by the Portuguese princess and queen of Spain. Special emphasis will be given to aspects that have remained in the shadows regarding the production of Portuguese and Italian composers who had professional ties to the Iberian monarchies. It turns out that the musical library of Maria Bárbara held pieces to the puzzle of music history in Portugal that are still missing today and whose existence we didn't suspect until a few years ago, contributing to a broader and richer portrait and suggesting new paths of research.

Education and cultural training of a princess

Although music dominated Maria Bárbara's interests, her cultural motivations and her intellectual curiosity were much broader and took shape, in parallel, in a general library that encompassed several subject matters and of which subsists an index elaborated by the royal librarian Juan Gómez⁹. It also constitutes a mirror of the attentive cultural

⁸ It is noteworthy the action of Maria Anna of Austria (consort of João V and mother of Maria Bárbara) in updating musical practices in the Portuguese court, especially regarding serenata and opera, as well as the taste for music and the active role in selecting musicians and repertoires of personalities such as Mariana Victoria of Bourbon (who married Prince José, heir to the throne of Portugal in the context of the double matrimony of 1729) and her daughters, especially Maria I, Queen of Portugal from 1777 onward. The figure of Isabel de Farnesio, from the Spanish Court, must be added to this group.

⁹ *Índice de la librería que tiene la reina doña Bárbara, hecho por don Juan Gómez, librero de Cámara en 1747*, BNE, Sala Cervantes, MS/12710.

education she benefited from in the court of João V and Maria Anna of Austria. Prepared to marry outside the reign, the princesses were from early on integrated in the monarchy and government's ceremonies and had to acquire the notions of etiquette and civility inherent to the European courts of the Ancien Régime¹⁰. As was the custom in the case of female members of the royal family, Maria Bárbara was educated in the House of Queens, with her mother, Maria Anna of Austria, «fulfilling a central role in the transmission of an educational model, marked by the high standards of moral and civil exigency, hallmark of the House of Austria»¹¹. The feminine education of privileged groups included, besides reading, writing and religious education, the study of subjects such as philosophy, geography, history, languages, music, dance and painting. The teaching of languages was essential, with emphasis on French, Castilian, Italian and Latin. Maria Bárbara also knew German, which she practiced daily with her mother and the German ladies. It is known that her initiation to reading and writing was done under the guidance of Isabel de Castro, Countess of Assumar, but the names of the teachers for the majority of subjects are unknown. In the domain of dance, art for which she held a special fondness, there exist several testimonies to the grace with which she danced the Minuet¹². She was initially instructed by the Catalan Joseph Borques and after by Pedro Duya, of French origin, appointed “Dance Master of the Royal House” in 1724¹³.

¹⁰ On the education of princes and princesses in the European courts of the Modern Era and, in particular, the case of Maria Bárbara and her library, see ANA CRISTINA DUARTE PEREIRA, *Princesas e Infantas de Portugal*, Lisboa, Edições Colibri, 2008, pp. 47-59. Regarding music (but excluding a detailed study about Maria Bárbara) see MANUELA MORILLEAU DE OLIVEIRA, *As mulheres da família real portuguesa e a música: estudo preliminar de 1640 a 1754*, Master's Thesis, Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas - Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 2011.

¹¹ SUSANA MÜNCH MIRANDA-TIAGO C. P. DOS REIS MIRANDA, *A rainha arquiduquesa Maria Ana de Áustria*, Lisboa, Círculo de Leitores, 2014, p. 171.

¹² The English Ambassador in Spain, Benjamin Keene, said that Maria Bárbara danced wonderfully and that with this art she could make a living if she were not of royal blood. Cfr. CARLO VITALE, *La solitudine amica. Lettere al conte Sicinio Pepoli*, Palermo, Sellerio Editore, 2000, p. 282.

¹³ DANIEL TÊRCIO, *História da Dança em Portugal. Dos Pátios as Comédias à Fundação do Teatro de São Carlos*, PhD Thesis, Faculdade de Motricidade Humana, Universidade Técnica de Lisboa, 1996, pp. 413-414; p. 422.

Regarding music, Maria Bárbara was the protagonist of one of the most celebrated master-disciple relationships in the History of Music, having been supervised by Domenico Scarlatti, and inspiring a large part of his original sonatas for keyboard. It was during her childhood and adolescence that João V put into practice a thorough reform in the culture and arts, henceforth marked by appropriation from the tendencies of the Italian Baroque, and proceeded by the renew of the music structures of the court. Following the elevation of the Royal Chapel to the statute of Patriarchal Church in 1716¹⁴, several high level Italian singers were hired, the majority from the Cappella Giulia, as well as Domenico Scarlatti, who arrived in Lisbon in 1719 and who started giving harpsichord lessons to Maria Bárbara when she was merely 8 years old¹⁵. With the exception of some short trips, the Neapolitan composer never abandoned her, having continued at her service as Princess of Asturias and Queen of Spain after her marriage to the heir to the Spanish throne, in 1729, as is general knowledge¹⁶. For her part, Queen Maria Anna of Austria had introduced to the court of Lisbon the custom of celebrating birthdays and name days with serenatas, cantatas and other pieces, and frequently organized musical sessions with her ladies¹⁷.

¹⁴ Concerning this process and its musical implications see CRISTINA FERNANDES, *O sistema produtivo da Música Sacra em Portugal no final do Antigo Regime: a Capela Real e a Patriarcal entre 1750 e 1807*, PhD Thesis, Universidade de Évora, 2010.

¹⁵ The most complete study of Domenico Scarlatti's Portuguese period is due to JOÃO PEDRO D'ALVARENGA, *Domenico Scarlatti in the 1720s: Portugal, Travelling, and the Italianisation of the Portuguese Musical Scene*, in *Domenico Scarlatti Adventures: Essays to Commemorate the 250th Anniversary of his Death*, ed. by Massimiliano Sala – Dean Sutcliffe, Bologna, Ut Orpheus Edizioni, 2008, pp. 17-68.

¹⁶ The double marriage celebrated in 1729 by the Iberian courts, that united on the one hand Maria Bárbara de Bragança and Fernando (prince of Asturias and heir to the Spanish throne) and, on the other hand, Joseph (Maria Bárbara's brother and king of Portugal after 1750) and Mariana Victoria of Bourbon, sister of the future king of Spain, gave rise to an ample bibliography, especially on the ceremony of "exchange of Princesses" in Caia. A synthesis accompanied by new thoughts is presented by ANTÓNIO FILIPE PIMENTEL, *De Lisboa ao Caia: em torno do programa político e artístico da "Troca das Princesas"*, in (coord.), *Lisboa e a Festa: Celebrações Religiosas e Cívicas na Cidade Medieval e Moderna*, Colloquium of History and Art History /Proceedings, coord. by Teresa Leonor M. Vale – Maria João Pacheco Ferreira – Sílvia Ferreira, Lisboa, Câmara Municipal, 2009, pp. 65-86.

¹⁷ For a broader view of the musical life in the court of João V see GERHARD DODERER-CREMILDE ROSADO FERNANDES, *A Música na Sociedade Joanina nos relatórios da Nun-*

In addition to a dynamic musical atmosphere, that sought at all cost to stay up to date as part of a new cycle of opening Portugal to Europe, one must also bear in mind the intellectual atmosphere that surrounded the court of João V and the monarch's initiatives, such as the creation of the Royal Academy of History (1720), his large investment in the visual arts, the acquisition of books and prints that enriched the library of the Ribeira Royal Palace (Paço Real da Ribeira) and sponsoring the construction of the magnificent Library of the Coimbra University between 1717 and 1728. Therefore, not only did the general and the music libraries of Maria Bárbara transport ties to her youth in Portugal but also constituted the logical consequence of an intellectual and artistic path that she broadened throughout her life at the Spanish court.

The general library of Maria Bárbara, as presented by the index of the royal librarian Juan Gómez, corresponded to several incorporations and included a collection of 572 titles encompassing 1192 volumes¹⁸. However, one should consider that this inventory was produced in 1747, shortly after the princess ascended to the throne, so it is possible that the library continued to be enriched with new acquisitions in the following years. Books in Portuguese and Castilian predominated (242 works edited in Spain and 107 in Portugal), but it also contained editions in Italian, French, German and Latin. It held works published throughout all Europe, namely in cities such as Genoa, Milan, Naples, Palermo, Venice, Paris, Lyon, Amsterdam, Hague, Vienna, Antwerp and Brussels.

As was the custom at the time, religious works predominated (life of the saints, prayers, meditations, books of hours, theological works), for a total of 42 percent¹⁹, but the library also contained a considerable number of books on history and geography (especially on the topic of the discoveries and expansion), the arts, literature (including the fables

ciatura Apostólica em Lisboa 1706-1750, in «Revista Portuguesa de Musicologia», n.º 3 (1993), pp. 69-146.

¹⁸ According to the inventory conducted by INMACULADA ARIAS DE SAAVEDRA ALÍAS and GLORIA ANGELES FRANCO RUBIO, presented in the article *Lecturas de mujeres, lecturas de reinas: la biblioteca de Bárbara de Braganza*, in *Vida cotidiana en la España de la ilustración*, coord. by Inmaculada Arias de Saavedra Alías, Granada, Universidad, 2012, pp. 505-550: 531.

¹⁹ For a more detailed description of the content of the library see the works of PEREIRA, *Princesas e Infantas* cit., pp. 54-55, and SAAVEDRA ALÍAS-FRANCO RUBIO *Lecturas de mujeres, lecturas de reinas* cit., pp. 529-543.

of La Fontaine and Aesop) and theatre, as well as publications on languages, dictionaries, grammars and linguistic essays. It was also possible to find Greco-roman classics and some books on medicine, mathematics, law and economy. The Portuguese nucleus included works of the Renaissance (João de Barros, Fernão Mendes Pinto, Luís de Camões, Father António Vieira, among others) and authors with ties to the Joanine court, several Religious Orders and the Royal Academy of History. Emphasis should be given to the nucleus of drawings and prints and, given its ties with the musical art, the collections of comedies in Italian (one of 16 volumes and another of six) and three volumes with the works of Metastasio, probably the same that figure in the list of the music library inherited by Farinelli. It was therefore a cosmopolitan library quite integrated in the period of the Enlightenment culture. According to Marsilio Cassotti,²⁰ Maria Bárbara dedicated herself to the printing of books, having ordered the installation of a typographic press in an outbuilding of the palace, where she spent hours controlling the technical procedures of printing.

The music library of Maria Bárbara de Bragança

The music library as such, i.e. the collection of librettos and scores, largely reflects the practice of secular music in the Spanish court, and is dominated by operas and serenatas from the dramatic repertoire and pages of vocal and instrumental chamber music played in the private chambers of the monarchs. Maria Bárbara's own tastes are prevalent, but also the preferences of Farinelli as performer and promoter of splendid operatic functions²¹. There is a strong presence of the Italian repertoire and an

²⁰ MARSILIO CASSOTTI, *Infanta Bárbara*, in *Infantas de Portugal, Rainhas em Espanha*, Lisboa, A Esfera dos Livros, 2007, p. 263.

²¹ Carlo Broschi himself recounts his intervention in *Descripción del estado actual del Real Theatro del Buen Retiro: de las funciones hechas en él desde el año de 1747 hasta el presente (...) dispuesto por Don Carlos Broschi Farinello, criado familiar de Ss. Ms. Año de 1758*. Manuscript of the Royal Library of Madrid, II/1412. Fac-simile edition by CONSOLACIÓN MORALES BORRERO, *Fiestas Reales en el reinado de Fernando VI*, Madrid, Patrimonio Nacional, 1987. Also see BEGOÑA LOLO HERRANZ, *Las temporadas líricas durante el reinado de Fernando VI: Conforto y Farinelli, una fructífera colaboración teatral (1751-1758)*, in *España Festejante: el siglo XVIII*, dir. por Mar-

almost complete absence of Spanish pieces²². The abandonment of Iberian musical traditions in favour of an Italian aesthetic had accompanied Maria Bárbara's musical education in the Lisbon court, so it is not surprising that the princess would show her displeasure with the performance of *vilancicos* at the Royal Chapel of Madrid – a practice eradicated in Lisbon since the promotion of the Royal Chapel to Patriarchal Church in 1716 – in a letter she wrote to her father, king João V²³.

With the exception of the versions of *Stabat Mater* by Girolamo Bezzi, Scarlatti, Pergolesi and the Marquis di Ligneville, of the *Salve Regina* by Scarlatti, of a *Motete a voca sola* with no author indication and the folders identified as *Musica di Chiesa del Sig.r Scarlatti* and *Diverse cose di Chiesa – Musica di Leo*, there is practically no religious repertoire in the collection. Even a composer like José de Nebra, author of music for the obsequies of the Queen²⁴ and identified in some sources as one of her

garita Torrión, Málaga, Centro de Ediciones de la Diputación de Málaga, 2000, pp. 365-382.

²² The old debate concerning an alleged “Spanish national opera” threatened by the growing domination of Italian opera, a phenomenon involving the majority of European countries with the exception of France, seems today surpassed in Spanish musicology in favour of a broader approach to the different types of musical theatre and to the mechanisms of circulation and reception of opera at the international level. See for example JUAN JOSÉ CARRERAS, *Amores Dificiles: la ópera de corte en la España del Siglo XVIII*, in *La ópera en España y Hispanoamérica* vol. 1, ed. Emilio Casares Rodicio – Álvaro Torrente, Madrid, ICCMU, 2001, pp. 205-230.

²³ «hontem nas matinas me lembrei m.to dos responsórios do francês, mas esses como já são antigos já não se cantarão; cá nos quebrarão a cabeça 3 horas com vilhancicos q. os não aturo, e se pudesse os avia de prohibir, porque he huma cousa ridicula e impropria, misturadas de castelhanadas com o officio divino; e na missa de pontifical que celebrou o Nuncio hoje, no lugar que la se canta o motete, encaixaro outros vilhancicos, veja V. Mg.de q. Parvoisse»: Letter of January 6th, 1747, published by J. A. PINTO FERREIRA, *Correspondência de D. João V e D. Bárbara de Bragança Rainha de Espanha (1746-1747)*, Coimbra, Livraria Gonçalves, 1945, p. 453. See also ÁLVARO TORRENTE, «*Misturadas de castellanadas com o officio divino*»: *la reforma de los maitines de Navidad y Reyes en el siglo XVIII*, in *La Ópera en el templo: estúdios sobre el compositor Francisco Javier García Fajer*, ed. Miguel Ángel Marín, Logroño, IER/IFC, 2010, pp. 193-235: 209.

²⁴ JOSÉ DE NEBRA, *Oficio y misa de difuntos, para las Reales Honras de la Reina Nuestra Señora Doña María Bárbara de Portugal, que goza de Dios (1758)*. Modern edition by Luis António González Marín, Madrid, Instituto Complutense de Ciencias Musicales (UCCMU), 2003.

teachers, is only mentioned once without specifying the musical genre. This is not unusual, considering that the church repertoire was part of the Royal Chapel, therefore constituting another department and belonging to a specific institutional archive. Works such as Pergolesi's *Stabat Mater* became autonomous from the liturgy early on, and were performed in public and private concerts, which is also related with the contexts of musical practice reflected in Maria Bárbara's collection. Several of the mentioned pieces with religious texts certainly had a similar framing. Also regarding oratorios, the listed musical scores are relatively rare (an oratorio by Antonio Ranieri and another by Bencini with no indication of title; *Caino e Abelle*, by Leo; *Oratorio a Santa Barbara*, by Morozzi; *I Pellegrini al Sepolcro*, by Hasse; *Santo Antonio di Padova*, by Durante), contrasting with the voluminous number of operas, "intermezzi" and serenatas.

Opera seria and Intermezzi

The legacy of Farinelli included the imposing number of 83 opera librettos, 60 serenata librettos and five cantata librettos. The scores of 205 *opere serie* by 66 different composers were organized in the first shelves, but in other sections there were separate operas and other dramatic genres. The most represented opera composers were Baldassare Galuppi (14 operas), Leonardo Leo (13), David Perez (13), Johann Adolph Hasse, identified as il Sassone (13), Niccolò Jommelli (13), Gioachino Cocchi (10), Nicola Porpora (9) and Geminiano Giacomelli (8). But the diversity of composers was much larger, including among many others Araja, Bononcini, Cafaro, Ciampi, Caldara, Feo, Vinci, Latilla, Di Majo, Manna, Porpora, Terradellas, Traetta, Conforto, Corselli or Mele, the latter three in the service of the Spanish court. Händel is represented by a single title in this section (*Alcina*) – but in the *Papelera* N°1: *Let: E:* and *S* one could also find *Aci e Galatea* – and by Gluck there is only *La Clemenza di Tito* (1752), therefore a pre-reformist serious opera. The other titles by Gluck – *Orfeo* and *Alceste* – are posterior to the death of the Queen of Spain, and are included in the section *Musica Personale del Sig:r Testatore*, so they were acquired by Farinelli's exclusive initiative.

Among the composers that worked in Portugal, primacy belongs to David Perez, hired by the king Joseph I in 1752 as «Composer of the

Royal Chamber and Music Master of their Royal Highnesses». Of the thirteen operas that belonged to Maria Bárbara, copies of the nine presented in the Portuguese royal theatres between the Neapolitan composer's arrival in Lisbon and the 1755 Earthquake are presently kept in the Biblioteca Marciana, in Venice²⁵. It should also be mentioned the Bolognese Gaetano Maria Schiassi, a central figure in one of the first public theatres in Lisbon (Academia da Trindade), and Antonio Mazzoni, author of two of the operas composed for the legendary Ópera do Tejo²⁶, destroyed by the earthquake in 1755. After the catastrophe, Mazzoni and some singers fled to Madrid where they staged *Aminta, il rè pastore*, in 1756, at the Buen Retiro Royal Coliseum, a musical score also present in the legacy of Maria Bárbara.

In the *intermezzi* category, organized in the *Papelera* N°7: Lett: O:, we find 42 titles authored by 17 different composers, among them the Portuguese Francisco António de Almeida and other musicians who worked in Portugal (Domenico Scarlatti, Giovanni Giorgi, Giuseppe di Porcaris) or spent some time in Lisbon in the first half of the 18th century (Baron of Astorga), side by side with figures such as Jommelli, Latilla, Mancini, Orlandini, Pergolesi, Hasse and Alessandro Scarlatti. In the list, Almeida is associated with three comic operas composed for the Portuguese court – *La Pacienza di Socrate* (1733), *La Finta Pazza* (1735), *Il Riso di Democrito* (1736) – which finally allows the identification of the author of the latter piece, unknown until now²⁷.

²⁵ See the last section of this article.

²⁶ *La Clemenza di Tito* and *Antigono*, which followed *Alessandro nell'Indie*, by David Perez, presented at the inauguration of the theatre six months before its destruction by the earthquake.

²⁷ The Apostolic nuncio refers in his correspondence of 1735 (Cfr. DODERER-FERNANDES, *A Música na Sociedade Joanina* cit., p. 124) that «Ha la Maestà della Regina [Maria Anna of Austria] incaricato il Musico della Cappella D. Antonio Tedeschi Napolitano di ridurre al moderno, e correggere le Arie dell'opera intitolata *La risa di Democrito* ad oggetto di farla rappresentare per il prossimo Carnevale nel solito Teatro domestico per trattenim.to della Famiglia reale». *La risa di Democrito* recovers the libretto of an opera presented in Vienna in 1700, with text by Nicolás Minato and music by Francesco Pistocchi (Cfr. GIAN GIACOMO STIFFONI, *La ópera cómica italiana en la corte portuguesa durante el reinado de D. João V (1728-1740)*, in «Revista Portuguesa de Musicologia», n.º 7-8 (1997-98), pp. 163-197: 176-177). Antonio Tedeschi, who was a librettist, adapted the text and Almeida was responsible for the music.

Another revelation is that the composer of *Don Chisciotte*, «opera seria ridicola», was Giovanni Giorgi, hired by João V as «Composer of the Patriarchal Church» in 1725. This master of Venetian origin, successor of Ottavio Pitoni in the San Giovanni in Laterano Basilica, in Rome, before going to Portugal, spent most of his life writing sacred music, but also made some incursions into the secular repertoire²⁸. The *Don Chisciotte* mentioned in the list of Maria Bárbara's library probably corresponded to the homonymous *intermezzo* presented in 1728 at the Ribeira Royal Palace and then reprised in 1730 and 1734. Gian Giacomo Stiffoni²⁹ argues that the work presented in Lisbon was a reduced adaptation in three acts of *Don Chisciotte della Mancina*, «tragicomedia per musica» in five acts presented in Vienna, during the 1719 Mardi Gras. At that time, music was by Francesco Conti and the libretto was probably by Giuseppe Pariati and Apostolo Zeno. In the Lisbon version, the dances were eliminated and the characters reduced from eleven to six. Some of the original Vienna recitatives and arias are conserved in the Portuguese version, but there are also four new arias.

Giuseppe di Porcaris, another composer until now only associated with sacred music (and with a Sonata and Gigue for keyboard stored in the Ajuda Library, Lisbon) also appears in the Maria Bárbara collection as author of the *intermezzo Pulcinella*. Born in Altamura (Naples), he was a singer and in the decade of 1760 occupied the position of chapel master in the Holy Patriarchal Church of Lisbon³⁰.

Several loose arias by practically all the composers already mentioned and by several others also appear in the section *Musica Personale del Sig:r*

²⁸ In Rome, Giorgi had collaborated with a new version of the opera *Tito Manlio* (one of three operas Vivaldi had composed for Mantua between 1718 and 1720), presented in 1720 at the Teatro della Pace. At that time it was a *pasticcio* in which the first two acts were by, respectively, Gaetano Boni and G. Giorgi, and only the third act was by Vivaldi. Regarding the activity of G. Giorgi in Portugal see CRISTINA FERNANDES, *Il dotto e rispettabile Don Giovanni Giorgi, illustre maestro e compositore nel panorama musicale portoghese del Settecento*, in «Rivista Italiana di Musicologia», XLVII (2012), pp. 157-203.

²⁹ STIFFONI, *La ópera cómica italiana* cit., pp. 171-173.

³⁰ More biographic information on Porcaris can be consulted in the entry by CRISTINA FERNANDES in the *Dicionário Biográfico Caravelas*, online publication by the Núcleo de Estudos da História da Música Luso-Brasileira: http://www.caravelas.com.pt/Giuseppe_porcaris_junho_2010.pdf. Last accessed: May 14th, 2015.

Testatore (constituted by Farinelli's repertoire) and in the last three shelves, organized by author in alphabetical order into 35 bundles. It is in this section that an additional isolated reference to another important Portuguese composer appears: [Pedro António] Avondano (*Papelera n° 4: Lett:O*).

Despite the presence of a considerable number of dramatic pieces written by composers active in Portugal among the scores inherited by Farinelli, which demonstrates that Maria Bárbara was up to date on what occurred in Lisbon, the majority of these pieces was not presented in Spain, with the exception of some serenatas in the period when the court was in Seville, as we will see later. One cannot exclude, however, the private performance of excerpts in the royal apartments.

According to Álvaro Torrente and José María Domínguez³¹, between 1738 and 1758, around 70 dramatic performances were presented in the Madrid theatres, including serious operas, serenatas and *intermezzi*. However, the chronology presented most recently in *História de la Música en España e Hispano América*³² lists more than one hundred performances if one also considers presentations in private palaces. The majority were works by Italian composers with ties to the Spanish court, such as Francesco Corselli, Nicola Conforto and Giovanni Battista Mele, and musicians with links to Naples, such as Hasse (Il Sassone) or Gaetano Latilla.

After the ascent to the throne of Fernando VI and Maria Bárbara de Bragança, in 1747, Farinelli's choices assume primacy, in the quality of director of the court's opera productions. While the preceding period was dominated by the Neapolitan *intermezzi* typical of the 20s and 30s, after 1747 "modern" operas started to predominate, especially those composed specifically for Madrid. The direct contact with the international opera of the time is reflected, for instance, in the second debut in Madrid, in 1751 and 1752, of operas represented earlier in Italy,

³¹ ÁLVARO TORRENTE–JOSÉ MARÍA DOMÍNGUEZ, *Fuentes teatrales de Jommelli en bibliotecas españolas: partituras y libretos*, in Niccolò Jommelli. *L'esperienza europea di un musicista 'filosofo'*, Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi (Reggio Calabria 7-8 ottobre 2011), ed. by Gaetano Pitarresi, Reggio Calabria, Edizioni del Conservatorio di Musica «Francesco Cilea», 2014, pp. 419-435: 420.

³² *História de la Música* cit., pp. 333-340. For a global view, see in the same work the sub-chapter «*Al Dulce estilo de la culta Italia*»: *ópera italiana y zarzuela española*, pp. 307-352.

such as *Demetrio* by Jommelli and *Didone abbandonata* by Galuppi³³. However, Farinelli's choices were mediated by the will of the sovereigns, enlightened music connoisseurs. Maria Bárbara had her own network of contacts regarding the import of repertoires, an area that lacks deeper study but about which we have some indications. For instance, the marquis Luigi Bentivoglio refers in a letter written from Venice (16-3-1733) to count Sicinio Pepoli of Bologna: «Tengo impegno con la Signora Principessa dele Asturie di mandargli tutte le opere belle che recitano ne' migliori teatri con la sua Musica»³⁴. The correspondence exchanged between Farinelli and this latter nobleman, his friend and protector, is also instructive regarding the process of selecting dramatic music to be acquired and presented at court:

Madrid, 26-8-1749

L'Eccellenza Vostra mi raccomanda il signor Iomelli, ed un pittore. Per il primo io ne ho tutta la stima, e bramerei ubbidire alle premure dell'Eccellenza Vostra ma per ora mi vedo obbligato parlargli con la mia solita sincerità, che le composizioni sue non hanno avuto troppo incontro sopra a Cembalo Reale, dove si giudica da Sublime Persone. Qui vengono alla giornata tutte le composizioni musicali d'Italia. Quelle che soddisfano, subito il compositore o sia maestro di cappella ha fatto il suo credito. Due arie di Boranello cantate dalla signora Teresina Castellini hanno qui piaciuto assai; a questo riflesso son stato comandato di farli comporre un'opera, che a breve ne spero sarà in mio potere. L'ultim'opera del Iomelli fatta in Parma già lo so che ha avuto incontro. L'aria che ha cantato Gizziello "È la fede degl'amanti" [do *Demetrio* de Metastasio] non ha incontrato, e basta una picciol cosa per fare che non si vadi avanti. Di quanto dico, ne parlo solamente confidenzialmente a Vostra Eccellenza. Io però venendomi occasione favorevole non lascerò di fare giustizia al signor Iomelli conoscendone ch'egli sicuramente è uomo di merito nel suo mestiere. [...]

Madrid a' di 26. Agosto 1749

Dell'Eccellenza Vostra il più umile ed ossequiosissimo servitore e vero amico
CARLO BROSCHI FARINELLI³⁵

³³ Ivi, pp. 420-421.

³⁴ VITALE, *La solitudine amica* cit., p. 282.

³⁵ Letter 67. Published by VITALE, *La solitudine amica* cit., p. 188.

This text demonstrates that new Italian compositions arrived regularly to the Royal house and that Maria Bárbara's opinion – who is referred in the expression «a Cembalo Reale, dove si giudica da Sublime Persone» – was determinant in the case of new orders. The preference for Galuppi rather than Jommelli, which emerges in the letter, is echoed in the 1749's performance of *Demofonte*, by Il Buranello, at the Buen Retiro Coliseum, with additional arias by Giovanni Battista Mele³⁶.

Shortly afterwards, in 1750, Farinelli would order a new version of *Demetrio* to Jommelli. In the previous years he had already received other scores from the composer, as documented by his correspondence with Metastasio, and Count Sicinio Pepoli himself was responsible for sending the score of *Ezio* to Spain in 1742. Between 1750 and 1757, five performances of works by Jommelli in Madrid are documented: the intermezzi *La serva scaltra* (1750), *Il Giocatore* (1751) and *Don Trastullo* (1757) and the serious operas *Il Demetrio* (1751) and *La Semiramide riconosciuta* (1753)³⁷. In addition, in Maria Bárbara's library there were copies of *L'Eumene*, *Ezio*, *Ifigenia in Aulide*, *Uccellatrice*, *Bajazette*, *Temistocle*, *Artaserse* and *Astianatte*. The majority of sources of Jommelli in Spain, identified by J. M. Dominguez and A. Torrente³⁸, are however posterior to Farinelli's departure, when he took his inheritance to Italy (Fig. 1).

The Serenatas: echoes of Portuguese musical life

Even if was a result of a compromise between the monarch's directives and taste, the mark of Farinelli upon the choice of operatic repertoire was quite remarkable. Regarding serenatas, although the singer integrated this musical genre in the sumptuous seasons he directed in Ma-

³⁶ VITALE, *La solitudine amica* cit., p. 230.

³⁷ TORRENTE-DOMÍNGUEZ, *Fuentes teatrales de Jommelli* cit., p. 434-435.

³⁸ Ivi, pp. 314-316. The majority of Jommelli's operas referred to in this article have copies held by the Ajuda Library, in Lisbon. Some of them were presented in the Portuguese royal theatres and would have been sent in accordance with the contract Jommelli signed with the Lisbon court in 1769. Regarding Jommelli's relationship with Portugal, see the catalogue of the exhibition, curated by Iskrena Iordanova, in the Teatro Nacional de São Carlos (Lisbon, 2014): *Della Gloria e dell'Amor: Olhares sobre a Obra de Niccolò Jommelli (1714-1774) em Portugal*.

Fig. 1. Maria Bárbara and Fernando VI with Farinelli and Domenico Scarlatti among the musicians in the gallery. Engraving by G. J. Flipart after the painting by Jacopo Amigoni. Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, E. 40 R.



drid between 1747 and 1759, the list of scores in the musical library indicates a greater proximity with Maria Bárbara's *entourage*, including a substantial number of works with links to Portugal. Despite the occasional presence of pieces related with Madrid, such as the serenatas of Francesco Corselli (2 pieces) and Giovanni Battista Mele (2), and works by Neapolitan composers such as Leonardo Leo and Francesco Feo, the most prominent are the Portuguese composers and Italians with links to Portugal.

The inventory contains 56 serenatas by 15 different composers, to which we should add other works dispersed through the various sec-

tions. Mentioned are 15 Serenatas by Domenico Scarlatti, 11 by Francisco António de Almeida (composer also represented by *intermezzi* and other loose pieces), 5 by Baron of Astorga, 5 by Carlos Seixas (identified as José António Carlos), 4 by Giovanni Giorgi and one by João Rodrigues Esteves. The contribution of the latter three composers to this musical genre was almost unknown until recently.

Regarding Carlos Seixas, the list provides references to composition of secular vocal pieces that are not referred in other historic sources and whose scores are, for now, lost. Note also that *La Fama Trionfante* and *I nuovi incanti d'amore* are attributed to a Giuseppe Carlo, who most certainly was José António Carlos Seixas. The list of works in the music library also includes a copy of *Il labirinto di Creta*, by António Teixeira, and the already mentioned comic operas by Francisco António de Almeida (*La Pacienza di Socrate*, *La Finta Pazza*, *Il Riso di Democrito*), catalogued as *intermezzi*³⁹. It is noteworthy that Maria Bárbara sought to stay up to date with what was happening musically in Portugal, frequently receiving copies of the main scores performed at court. It is possible that she also brought some directly from Lisbon, together with her trousseau.

If in the case of operas connected to Portugal there are no documented records of their performance in Spain, regarding the serenatas we can find some examples of their reuse during the period when the court settled in the Royal Alcazars of Seville (1729-1733). The custom of performing Serenatas on birthdays and name days of the main members of the royal family had begun in Madrid in the early 20s and was surely reinforced by the presence of the new Princess of Asturias, Maria Bárbara de Bragança, recently arrived from Lisbon, where her mother, Queen Maria Anna of Austria, had implemented that practice, in accordance with the use of the imperial court of Vienna.

³⁹ For a generic contextualization of the role of these composers (Almeida, Teixeira and Esteves studied in Rome between 1717 and 1728 at the expense of João V) in the Portuguese musical life, see RUI VIEIRA NERY – PAULO FERREIRA DE CASTRO, *Sínteses da Cultura Portuguesa: História da Música*, Lisboa, Imprensa Nacional Casa da Moeda, 1990, pp. 87-98, and MANUEL CARLOS DE BRITO, *Opera in Portugal in the Eighteenth Century*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1989, pp. 5-12.

At least three of the Serenatas performed in Seville had already been presented in the Portuguese court⁴⁰. This is the case of *Amor nasce da un'sguardo*, with music by Domenico Scarlatti, sung on December 27th 1725 in the Royal Palace of Lisbon on the name day of João V and re-used in Seville on the name day of Filipe V (May 1st 1731); *La Costanza Gradita* (performed in the Royal Palace of Lisbon on October 22nd 1725 on João V's birthday and in Seville, on December 19th 1731, on king Filipe V's birthday); and *Gli sogni amorosi* (Lisbon, October 22nd 1728, and Seville, May 1st 1732).

Comparing the libretto versions (printed by Giuseppe Antonio da Sylva in the case of Lisbon and Francisco Blas de Quesada in the case of Seville) we verify the change in the name of the king and the dates in the front page and also, regarding the first two serenatas, the needed alterations in the *Licenza*. Thus, in the Serenata *Amor nasce da un'sguardo*, we find a change from «Del Lusitano Eroero GIOVANNI invito» to «Del Monarca d'Iberia il GRAN FILIPPO» in the Spanish version. The authorship of Scarlatti, who had assumed a relevant role in the creation of Serenatas for the Lisbon court, has often been attributed to these works, but it is only proven in documentation regarding *Amor nasce da un'sguardo*, according to a reference in the *Gazeta de Lisboa*.

Although the contribution of Domenico Scarlatti is of great importance, we should not neglect the role of the remaining active composers in Portugal, represented in Maria Bárbara's library, in particular Francisco António de Almeida (c. 1702-1755). His relationship with the Princess of Asturias and afterwards the Queen of Spain has not been considered, but it should be taken into account that it was he (and not Scarlatti) who accompanied the cortege that led to the ceremony of the "Exchange of Princesses" in Caia on January 1729⁴¹, and also that it

⁴⁰ Identified by PIEDAD BOLAÑOS DONOSO, *Estas Son las Finezas que Sevilla Ofrecio al Rey Felipe V (1729-1733)*, Actes du congrès international: Théâtre, musique et arts dans les cours européennes de la Renaissance et du Baroque, Ed. Kazimierz Sabik, Varsovie, Editions de l'Université, 1997, pp. 246-255. See also JUAN JOSÉ CARRERAS, *La serenata en la corte española (1700-1746)*, in *La Serenata tra Seicento e Settecento: musica, poesia, scenotecnica*, ed. Nicolò Maccavino, Reggio Calabria, Laruffa, 2007, pp. 599-626: 610.

⁴¹ JOSÉ DA NATIVIDADE, *Fasto de Hymeneo ou História panegyrica dos desposórios dos Fidelísimos Reys de Portugal, nossos senhores, D. Joseph e D. Maria Anna Vitória de Borbon [...]*. Lisboa, Off. de Manoel Soares, 1752.

was Almeida who was chosen to compose the Serenata *L'Ippolito*, with libretto by Antonio Tedeschi, intended to commemorate the anniversary of Maria Bárbara in the Lisbon court in 1752. The score, preserved in the National Library of Portugal⁴², is an ambitious piece, with a dimension nearing that of a serious opera.

Documents such as the reports of the Apostolic Nuncio, the *Gazeta de Lisboa*, the Diaries of the Count of Ericeira and printed pamphlets and manuscripts from the period show that the practice of serenatas at court and in the houses of the aristocracy of Lisbon, in the first half of the 18th century, were much more frequent than is commonly supposed and has been registered in musicological studies. A manuscript unknown until recently, belonging to a private collection and entitled *Diários de notícias de Lisboa do 1º de Dezembro de 1725 até 11 de Outubro de 1727, dirigidos à Ex.^{ma} S.^{ra} Condessa de Sarzedas, estando em Castelo Branco*, illustrates this dynamic through the frequent mention to serenatas, comedies, musical evenings and balls in different contexts. It also shows an intense musical activity and the closeness of musicians of the Royal House who rehearsed their pieces in the rooms of Inês Antónia da Silva (1694-1727), Lady of Queen Maria Anna of Austria, and sister of the famous “Flor de Murta”, João V’s lover.

In this Diary – probably authored by the Count of Ericeira as the style is similar – we find, for instance, reference on June 30th 1726 to a “Palace serenata composed in music by João Rodrigues, Portuguese”, a composer until now largely identified with religious music of whom Maria Bárbara also possessed a serenata. The same source allows the identification of the Domenico Scarlatti’s Serenata presented at the Royal Palace on the day of Saint Anna of 1726 (July 26th) as *Andromeda*, and the verification that Giovanni Giorgi also dedicated himself to this musical genre. The passage relative to June 1st 1726 tells:

Em casa da Senhora D. Inês Antónia se fez a prova da serenata que excellentemente compôs João Jorge para os anos do Príncipe com 24 músicos, e todos os instrumentos; a casa grande estava alumiada, houve abundância de doces, e bebidas geladas, e quentes; não foram convidados mais que os Condes e Condessa da Ericeira. Depois cantaram as Senhoras e houve ceia.

⁴² *P-Ln*, C.I.C. 17. Libretto by Antonio Tedeschi with reference M. 3270 V.

The performed serenata was certainly *Il doppio amore vilipeso*, whose libretto indicated the celebration of the birthday of José (king of Portugal between 1750 and 1777) at the Royal Palace⁴³. The list of scores inherited by Farinelli identifies Giorgi as the author of a Serenata for 4 voices and three Serenatas for 6 voices and several Cantatas, other than the already mentioned intermezzo *Don Chisciotte*. So, it is quite plausibly that the pieces of this composer in Maria Bárbara's possession were written for Lisbon.

Cantatas and other chamber works

Other than the profusion of big dramatic works and serenatas, the music library of Maria Bárbara de Bragança held numerous cantatas for voices and instruments, or only for solo voice and basso continuo, duets and other chamber pieces. Among the represented composers were Domenico Scarlatti, Porpora, Costanzi, Giovanni Giorgi, Francisco António de Almeida, the Baron of Astorga, Antonio Bencini, Michele Gacheloni, Alessandro Scarlatti, Bononcini, Hasse (Il Sassone) and Duni, as well as items with no author indication. It is possible that some pieces were dedicated to her, such as the Cantata *Sorge Lidia la notte*, «Fatta per S.A.R. la Sig.ra P.ssa d' Asturias, 1737», by Leonardo Leo, for soprano voice, two violins and basso continuo, whose score is kept in the Biblioteca del Conservatorio di San Pietro a Majella, in Naples⁴⁴. However, there is no explicit mention to this work in the music library inherited by Farinelli, merely a reference to *Arie con strumenti del Sig.re Leonardo Leo (Papelera N.º. 2: Lett. L)*.

Regarding instrumental music, in addition to the precious Sonatas by Domenico Scarlatti, carefully copied and bound in the series of volumes that are today in Venice and Parma, and the «Sonate stampate» by the same composer (certainly the famous *Essercizi per Gravicembalo* published in London under the auspices of king João V), we highlight the Sonatas by Ludovico Giustini da Pistoia, dedicated to Prince Antó-

⁴³ *Il doppio amor vilipeso: Serenata fatta cantare nel régio palazzo di Lisbona il di 6 giugno 1726 celebrandosi la nascita del príncipe*, Lisbona, Officina di Giuseppe Antonio di Silva, 1726.

⁴⁴ I-Nc, Cantate 175 (=33.3.26)(22).

nio (brother of João V and uncle of Maria Bárbara) which constitutes the first printed works explicitly written for the pianoforte⁴⁵, as well as the Sonatas by the Spanish composer and keyboard player Sebastian de Albero, Minuetos by several authors, concertos and chamber pieces for strings. In the latter domain, the Sonatas for violin and basso continuo by Porpora and by Ferrari Cremonesi; the *Concerti di Camera e di Chiesa*, by Zavareti; and the Sonatas by Jean-Marie Leclair l'aîné, a rare French representation in the collection, are among the few works with discriminated composers⁴⁶.

The reduced proportion of instrumental compositions mentioned in the inventory does not mean that this type of music was not performed more than the documented records would lead to suppose. Actually, it is the most difficult practice to reconstitute, as it was developed in the private courtesan atmosphere and in the restricted circle of Maria Bárbara and Fernando VI, not necessarily requiring the production of administrative documentation – the scarcity of references to the activity of Domenico Scarlatti in the archive sources and even a certain invisibility of his action in the Spanish court, so often lamented by his biographers and other scholars, is a consequence of these circumstances.

The same is valid for other instrumentalists convened for the royal apartments, who often took their own scores with them. Note that the inventory of Maria Bárbara's music library does not contain references to works composed by musicians as important as the Neapolitan cellist Domenico Porretti, relevant figure in Spanish court and musical life in general since he settled in Madrid in 1734⁴⁷. That does not mean, how-

⁴⁵ *Sonate Da Cimbalo di piano, e forte, detto volgarmente di marteletti dedicate a Sua Alteza Reale il Serenissimo D. Antonio Infante di Portogallo e Composte Da D. Lodovico Giustii di Pistoia, Opera prima, Firenze MDCCXXXII*. A facsimile edition, based on a exemplar from the Biblioteca Geral da Universidade de Coimbra, published by Gerhard Doderer (Academia Brasileira de Música, 2002).

⁴⁶ It is also worth mentioning, among the *Musica Personale del Sig:r Testatore*, the *Sonate a Violino e basso di Errando* [José Herrando], outstanding violinist and composer, who dedicated his *Seis Sonatinas para violín de cinco cuerdas y bajo armónico, no cifrado* to Farinelli, and the collections op. 1 and op. 9, by Schiassi, Bolognese composer active in Lisbon between 1734 and 1754.

⁴⁷ Farinelli himself mentions his qualities in the manuscript *Fiestas Reales* (cit., f. 67): “Componiendo con su violoncelo, y sus dedos toda la orquesta, no es menester de otros ynstrumentos; por cuio motibo ha sido sempre distinguido con alguna particular

ever, that he did not participate in chamber music sessions with Farinelli, Scarlatti and Maria Bárbara. The esteem that the sovereign dedicated to him is reflected in the fact that he is the third musician contemplated in her will, after Farinelli and Scarlatti⁴⁸.

Maria Bárbara and the art of composition

In Farinelli's inventory, the singer reserves a section to *Música personale del Signore Testatore*, formed mainly by several arias that constituted his repertoire. The composers are always discriminated, including many of the already cited musicians. In *Papelera* n° 4, *Letra O*, we find the following title: *Un Paccheto d'Arie: Musica dela Serma. Prsa. di Asturia*. As in the other similar cases the music is attributed to known composers, this description lead us to believe it contained arias composed by Maria Bárbara herself. The reference to her activity as a composer can be found in several sources. It is mentioned for instance by Father Enrique Flórez in his *Memorias de las Reinas Católicas* (1761) – «fue muy inteligente y se divertia en componer, tañer y cantar con bello estilo y destreza plausible» – and also in funeral eulogies as that of Agustín Puchol (Valencia, 1758): «Habiendo llegado a la música a tan alto punto de inteligènciã que en la composición era una maravilla» (p. 13).

Of particular interest is the printed pamphlet *Armonico Lazo con que se une una métrica correspondènciã de Portugal a Castilla sobre assunto de la más sublime estimación, recogido por un apasionado de las musas* (Madrid, July 20th 1731), of which one specimen subsists in the Joanine Library (Biblioteca Joanina), in Coimbra. It is part of a series of laudatory verses directed reciprocally between the Portuguese Pedro Vaz Rego, «Main Master of the Holy Church of Évora, Emeritus Master of the clois-

demonstracion». For a biographic synthesis regarding Domenico (Domingos) Porretti see JUDITH ORTEGA, *La música en la Corte de Carlos III y Carlos IV (1759-1808): de la Real Capilla a la Real Cámara (1759-1808)*, Madrid, Universidad Complutense, 2010 (electronic resource available at eprints.ucm.es/11739/), vol. II, pp. 85-86.

⁴⁸ «It. Mando que a D.n Domingo Escarlati mi maestro de Musica, y que me há servido con g.de aplicasion, y lealdad se le den 2\$000 Dob.s en dinero, y una sortija. It. Mando que a D.n Domingo Porreté que en mi quarto ha praticado su especial habilidade con el manejo del violon, en recreasion honesta mia se le den 2\$000 dob.s en din.o». *Testamento de la Reina Maria Bárbara* cit.

ter of the same university» and the Spanish José de Torres, «Honourable Main Master of the Royal Chapel of his Catholic Majesty and Rector in his Royal Music College». The first text, by Vaz Rego, is a historic romance entitled «En alabanzas de la Salve Regina que compuso en música su Alteza Real, la Serenissima Princesa de Astúrias». The composition of this work is also reported in the manuscript gazettes of the Évora Library, in which is referred, on January 15th 1731, that «A Princesa das Astúrias mandou a El Rey hua Salve Regina que ella pos em Solfa admiravelmente»⁴⁹. The Master of Évora says this *Salve Regina* was successfully performed in the Royal Chapels of Lisbon and Madrid and that he copied it himself (p. 15). It is also possible to infer that king João V had given orders to print it, but unfortunately the whereabouts of the score is unknown.

In his verses, Vaz Rego includes Maria Bárbara in the genealogy of lovers and protectors of music of royal blood, which has illustrious members from both Portugal and Austria. Other than the musical action of her parents, João V and Maria Anna of Austria, her maternal grandparents are invoked: emperor Leopold I, who was also a composer, and his wife Leonor Magdalena of Neuburg, known for her dexterity with languages, poetry and music, as well as for some activity as a composer. Like Maria Bárbara, a musical version of a marian antiphony (*Regina Coeli*) is also attributed to her.

Armonico Lazo: En Alabanza de La Salve Regina...

(...)

p. 3 “Que nueva admiración de esta Salve!
qué Musica de Dios, qué suave assombro
la Princesa de Asturias es su Aurora,
Compositora del Celeste Coro.”

p. 4 Para este previnieron su influxo
Las Leonoras, los Juanes, los Leopoldos
Y la sabia Mariana, Augusta Madre
Que ilustran los números sonoros
Pais, tios e avós... excede a todos!

⁴⁹ *Gazetas da Biblioteca Pública de Évora*, fl. 82/Diary, 9th January 1731. Cfr. JOÃO LUÍS LISBOA-TIAGO DOS REIS MIRANDA-FERNANDA OLIVAL, *Gazetas Manuscritas da Biblioteca Pública de Évora Vol. I (1729- 1731)*, Lisboa, Ed. Colibri/CIDEHUS-UÉ/CHC-UNL, 2002, p. 97.

Although the laudatory character of the text, in accordance with the codes of this type of publications, which wants to transmit an idealized image of Maria Bárbara, the musical path and training of the princess presupposes the acquisition and mastering of skills in the art of composition. Particularly significant is the fact that Father Benito Feijóo, who dedicated to her the fourth volume of his *Cartas erudytas y curiosas*, used her personality, including her gifts as keyboard performer and composer, as the prototype of the talent of women. In other words, presenting her as an educated woman, possessing ample knowledge of the most diverse topics thanks to the education she had been submitted to since childhood. Alluding to a polemic originated by his speech on the *Defensa de las Mujeres* he wrote: «Discurro que ya callarán los muchos que siendo casi inhábiles para toda Ciencia o Arte, sin otro título que el de su sexo, pretenden la misma ventaja, al ver una Reina, que sobre otras habilidades, que le comunicó una excelente educación, comprensivamente posee todos los primores de la Música, en cuanto Ciencia, y en cuanto Arte; esto es, la teoria, y la práctica” (Discurso XVI, *Teatro Crítico y Universal*, Tomo I).

Education was also one of Maria Bárbara’s concerns, as made obvious in the program that presided the foundation of the Monasterio de las Salesas Reales, which would be converted into a important institution for female education, thanks to her patronage, and which constituted a counterpart to the Royal Seminary of Nobles, dedicated to male education. The intellectual and musical stature of the queen of Spain was also recognized by other relevant figures of 18th century culture, with emphasis on Father Giovanni Battista Martini, who dedicated his first volume of his *Storia della Musica* (Bologna, 1757) to her (Fig. 2).

*The subsistent treasures and the uncertain destiny
of a legendary music library*

Although the whereabouts of the majority of the scores Farinelli inherited from Maria Bárbara are today unknown, the destination of some of them can be followed thanks to research by Lucio Tufano⁵⁰, who

⁵⁰ LUCIO TUFANO, *Vincenzo Manfredini, Giambattista Dall’Olio e l’eredità Farinelli*.

Fig. 2. Father Martini, *Storia della Musica*. Tomo Primo. Frontispiece of the exemplar dedicated and offered to Maria Barbara, Infanta di Portogallo, Regina delle Spagne.



published a revealing excerpt of a letter from the composer and theoretician Vincenzo Manfredini (1737-1799), born in Pistoia, addressed to Giambattista Dall'Olio (1739-1823), organist in his youth, with an administrative career in the court of Modena, and also a theoretician and performer of psaltery.

Venezia 10. Feb.^a 98.

Sr. Dall'Olio Amatis.^o

(...) Ora l'incomodo novamente per dirle, che dovendo io andare in Russia vorrei disfarmi dei seguenti capi, quindi sono anche a pregarla di trovarmi un buon compratore. Questi sono il Piano-Forte di Farinello, zec.ni 100. Metastasio tomi 12. In 4^o ultima Edizione di Parigi legata alla Francese, con belis.mi rami, del Bartolozzi, e di altri; zec.ni 12. La Martiniere, Dizionario geografico, e istorico, in foglio tomi 10. Stampato dal Pasquali, lire venete 150_Varj Spartiti di Opere, p.e. l'Olimpiade del Pergolesi zec.ni 6. La Clemenza di Tito del Gluck zec.ni 3. La Nitetti del Piccini, zec.ni 3. La Zenobia dello stesso, zec.ni 3. Temistocle dell'Jomelli zec.ni 3. Artaserse dello stesso, zec.ni 3. L'Eroe Cinese del Galuppi, zec.ni 3. L'Alessandro del Perez, zec.ni 3., e varie altre opere, p.e., del Sassone, del Cafaro, del Tajetta &. che adesso non mi ricordo, e tutte legate alla francese con oro &. Caro A.co ho bisogno di denaro, senza di ciò non mi priverei dei d.ti capi, che amo quanto me stesso. Ho ancora tutte le Sonate per cembalo del Famoso Domenico Scarlatti, legate superbamente alla francese in sciagrino cremisi, dorate &. e credo che siano 13. O 14. libri; come pure quelle del celebre Handel. (...) Tutto suo
Manfredini^{sr}.

All the musical works mentioned by Manfredini were in Maria Bárbara's library and the legal inventory of Farinelli's assets. We do not know exactly when he bought them from the illustrious *castrato's* heirs, but in 1786 an advertisement in a Bologna newspaper announced the sale of more than 300 pieces of music, including the works by Händel,

Nota sui manoscritti delle sonate di Domenico Scarlatti nel 1798, in *Domenico Scarlatti, Musica e Storia*, ed. Dinko Fabris – Paologiovanni Maione, Napoli, Turchini Edizioni, 2010, pp. 307-318.

⁵¹ The original letter is available online in the "Carteggi" section of the *Museo Internazionale e Biblioteca della Musica di Bologna*: <http://www.museomusicabologna.it/biblioteca.htm>. Last accessed: May 2015.

Galuppi, Leo, Jommelli, Pergolesi, Scarlatti and Hasse, that had belonged to Sig. Cav. Broschi, usually known as Farinelli⁵². However, according to notary documents, in April of 1787, Farinelli's nephew, Matteo Pisani, still had numerous assets of his uncle in his possession. It is also noteworthy that among the assets Manfredini put up for sale was the «Piano-Forte di Farinello», possibly the instrument the singer designated as «Raffaele d'Urbino», built by the prestigious Florentine maker Giovanni Ferrini (who had constructed instruments for João V and Maria Bárbara), but the analysis of the precious collection of the *Infanta* of Portugal and Queen of Spain's musical instruments is beyond the scope of this study⁵³.

Regarding the legacy of the Scarlatti Sonatas, the 15 volumes that are found in the Palatine Library in Parma were bought by the Bolognese antiquarian bookseller Romagnoli e Dall'Acquae in 1899. The 15 volumes in the Biblioteca Marciana in Venice – bound in red leather, with the coat of arms of Spain and Portugal, an unequivocal sign they belonged to Maria Bárbara⁵⁴ – were bought in 1835 by an aristocratic family from the city, the Contarini di San Benedetto. In the same lot were nine operas by David Perez presented in the Portuguese royal thea-

⁵² TUFANO, *Vincenzo Manfredini* cit., pp. 314-315.

⁵³ On this issue see JOHN-HENRY VAN DER MEER, *Os Instrumentos de Tecla na Propriedade de D. Maria Bárbara, Rainha de Espanha*, in «Revista Portuguesa de Musicologia» n° 2 (1992), pp. 161-170, and MICHAEL LATCHAM, *Pianos and Harpsichords for Their Majesties*, in «Early Music», Vol. XXXVI, 3 (2008), pp. 359-396.

⁵⁴ The copyists and bindings (even when they do not include heraldic signs) are important clues to consider in the future localization of other sources that may have belonged to the music library of Maria Bárbara, and then Farinelli. As demonstrated by JOSÉ MARÍA DOMÍNGUEZ, *Copistas y encuadernaciones: nuevas perspectivas para el estudio de las sonatas de Scarlatti*, in *Domenico Scarlatti: musica e storia* cit., pp. 247-267, «las fuentes de Scarlatti se inscriben en una tradición de encuadernación propia de la corte madrileña directamente vinculada con las producciones operísticas que comienza en el reinado de Felipe V y se prolonga durante el reinado de Fernando VI. [...] Han quedado también de manifestó las relaciones entre las sonatas y el resto de la producción musical de la corte: evidentemente, los copistas que ejecutaron las series de Venecia y Parma copiaron muchas otras obras tal como demuestra el expediente de Almón y Pereira: arias, tocatas de clavicordio, conciertos de sinfonía. Algunas de ella como el *Farnace*, se conservan actualmente y están claramente relacionadas con las Sonatas de Scarlatti a través de su encuadernación» (p. 257).

tres between 1752 and 1755⁵⁵, in luxurious bindings that also belonged to Maria Bárbara and that today belong to the Biblioteca Marciana, in Venice, as well as *La Contessa delle Stagioni* (1720), the only Serenata Domenico Scarlatti composed for Lisbon whose score has survived⁵⁶. The numeration on the spine of these volumes coincides exactly with the numeration in the *Descrizione della Musica procedente dal Legato di S.M.C. la Regina di Spagna* that accompanies the Farinelli inventory⁵⁷. In the Fondo Contarini of the Biblioteca Marciana one also finds other works from the music library of Maria Bárbara, such as the *Sonatas para Clavicordio*, by Sebastiano Albero, and the operas *Ipermestra*, by Pasquale Cafaro, *Il Farnace*, by Tommaso Traetta, and *Artaserse*, by Leonardo Vinci⁵⁸.

Among the numerous pieces of the music library of Maria Bárbara, whose whereabouts were lost after the dispersion they were subject to by Farinelli's heirs, a vast number of scores have matches in other sources. The major of losses concern repertoires related to the Lisbon court, of which presently no other copies are known. That's the case of those kept in the Ribeira Royal Palace library and other locations in the Portuguese capital, which were destroyed during the earthquake.

It is possible that some of the pieces of Maria Bárbara's musical collection may yet still be found, but that does not solely depend on laborious research, since the possible paths of the dispersed scores may have been extremely sinuous – some of the music are presumably lost forever. It will be more fruitful in the future to continue to deepen both

⁵⁵ Corresponding to the Codd. CCXIV to CXXXVII and the operas *La Didone abbandonata* (1753), *L'Olimpiade* (1753), *L'Adriano in Siria* (1754), *L'Ipermestra* (1754), *Alessandro nell'India* (1755), *Artaserse* (1754), *L'Eroe Cinese* (1753), *Demofonte* (1752) and *Il Siroe* (1752). I must thank Sara Erro, who is currently working on a PhD dissertation on the Royal Chamber of Maria Bárbara de Bragança and Fernando VI, for having kindly given to me a copy of the Fondo Contarini's list (1835) from the Biblioteca Marciana. On the operatic activity of David Perez in Portugal see DE BRITO, *Opera in Portugal* cit., pp. 24-34.

⁵⁶ Marcian Library, Cód. CXC VIII. Only the first part exists.

⁵⁷ As can be shown by several digitized volumes that are found among the *Manoscritti dei Fondi Musicali della Biblioteca Marciana*, available online at http://www.internet-culturale.it/opencms/opencms/it/collezioni/collezione_0021.html

⁵⁸ Corresponding, respectively, to Cod. CXC VIIIb, and Codd. CCXXXVIII-CCXXXIX-CCXL; CCXLI-CCXLII-CCXLIII; and CCXLIV-CCXLV-CCXLVI.



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the processes of establishment of the library in the context of musical, artistic, political and diplomatic networks, and how the use of its repertoires reflect public and private specific musical practices or symbolic meanings. These aims involve the comparison of musical sources and the study of historic documents of a diverse nature and their questioning within the scope of musicology and cultural history. We also do not know if we will ever hear a composition written by Maria Bárbara, but her paradigmatic action as both a protector of music and musicians and as an agent of musical practice itself makes her a point and convergence of important thrust lines of 18th-century musical culture.



