

CADERNOS DE QUELUZ

4

“PADRON MIO COLENDISSIMO ...”
LETTERS ABOUT MUSIC AND THE STAGE
IN THE 18TH CENTURY

Edited by

ISKRENA YORDANOVA · CRISTINA FERNANDES



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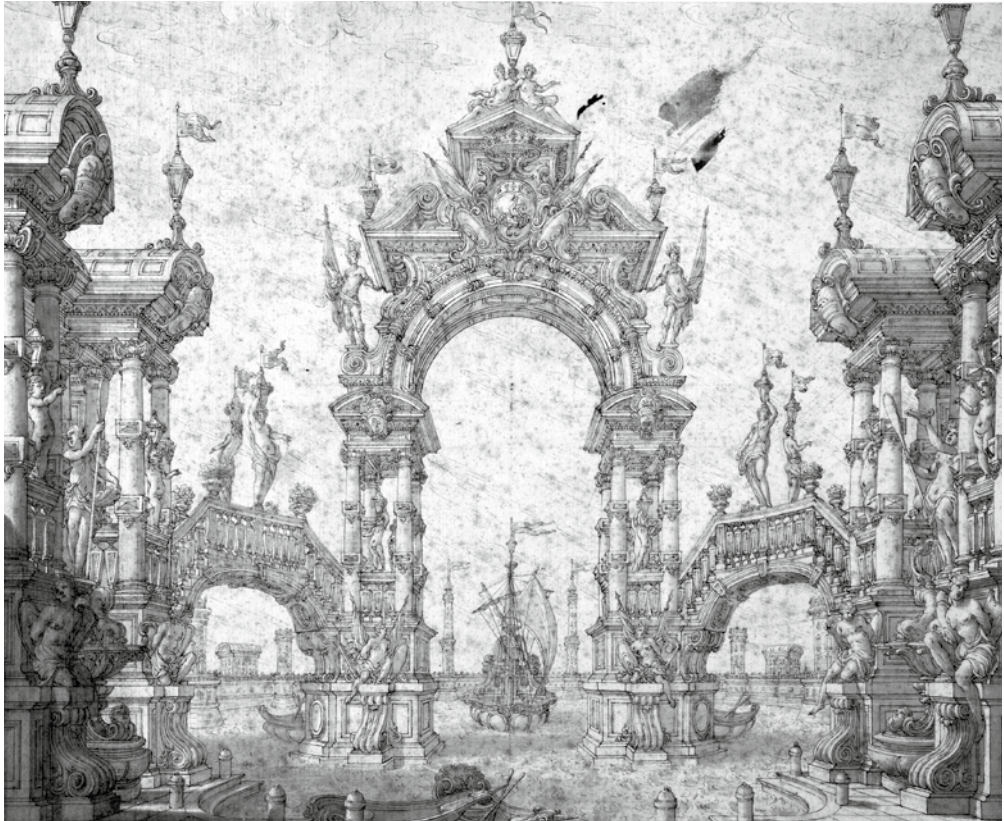
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Letters about Music and the Stage in the 18th Century

Edited by

ISKRENA YORDANOVA and CRISTINA FERNANDES

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EPISTOLARY TRIANGLES
BETWEEN BOLOGNA AND MADRID:
BERNACCHI, FARINELLI, RAAFF,
AND MARTINI'S *STORIA DELLA MUSICA*

ELISABETTA PASQUINI*

The reputation of Padre Giambattista Martini (1706–1784) rests a great deal – as is well known – on his teaching career, which he pursued without interruption for almost half a century in the convent of San Francesco in Bologna. Many were the young composers from all over Europe who, eager to learn the secrets of the art, wanted to study and perfect their skills under his guidance; but it rests as much, if not primarily, on his monumental *Storia della musica*, the first such history to be written in Italian and published in Italy.¹ Indeed, from the very first it received enthusiastic commendations from distinguished personalities of the day and renowned colleagues, who were unanimous in praising its profound erudition. According to the original intention, Martini's *magnum opus* was to have begun with Jewish music and ended with polyphonic music, with the material divided into five tomes. This project, however, was not fully realized, partly because of delays occasioned by the publisher, Petronio dalla Volpe, who did not respond with sufficient zeal to the author's solicitations: the publication was in fact suspended after the printing of tome 3, issued in 1781. (Of the following tome, numerous draft pages have been preserved, some in an almost finalized corrected version; its subject was to have been the period between the Etruscans and the Romans, and extending beyond that to the beginning of the fifteenth century.)²

In bringing each tome to completion, the Franciscan was able to rely on the support of influential intermediaries, in particular singers who, prompted by genuine esteem and deep affection, took personal steps to assist him by securing the

* These pages draw to a great extent on an earlier publication of mine, here revisited and rediscussed (English translation by Christine Donougher), and to which the reader is referred for complete versions of the letters cited: ELISABETTA PASQUINI: “Respinto da un impensato vento contrario in alto mare”: Anton Raaff, il Farinelli e la *Storia della musica* di Giambattista Martini”, *Recercare* 29 (2017), pp. 181–252.

1 On Giambattista Martini as musicographer, theorist and teacher, see LEONIDA BUSI: *Il padre G. B. Martini, musicista-letterato del secolo XVIII*. Bologna: Zanichelli, 1891. – ELISABETTA PASQUINI: *L'“Esemplare, o sia Saggio fondamentale pratico di contrappunto”*. Padre Martini teorico e didatta della musica. Firenze: Olschki, 2004. – PIERO MIOLI: *Padre Martini. Musicista e musicografo da Bologna all'Europa (1706–1784)*. Lucca: LIM, 2006. – ELISABETTA PASQUINI: *Giambattista Martini*. Palermo: L'Epos, 2007.

2 See AGOSTINO ZIINO: “Martini studioso della musica medievale”, *Padre Martini. Musica e cultura nel Settecento europeo*, ed. ANGELO POMPILIO. Firenze: Olschki, 1987, pp. 55–72.

approval of the dedicatees, to which numerous letters now kept in the Museo internazionale e Biblioteca della Musica in Bologna bear vivid testimony. In particular a number of these – some fifty in total, rediscovered by the author of this article – made possible a detailed reconstruction of the circumstances relating to the publication of tome 1,³ at the same time revealing the dense network of relationships the musicians involved were able to maintain; for these reasons, and because of the interest they hold in relation to the topic here under discussion, these documents deserve detailed examination.⁴

The following observations are structured in terms of certain aspects of the book's physical history and publication: the dedication, the frontispiece (*antiporta*), payment, dissemination, and earnings.

THE DEDICATION

As Giovenale Sacchi already testified in his *Vita del cavaliere don Carlo Broschi*, a determining factor in the fate of tome 1 of *Storia della musica* was the association between Farinelli (1705–1782), a close friend of Martini and confidant of the future dedicatee Maria Barbara of Braganza (1711–1758), Queen of Spain, and his no less distinguished colleague Antonio Bernacchi (1685–1756):⁵

“Tra quelli, che più frequentavano la casa sua [i.e., Farinelli's], era il Padre Maestro Martini de' Conventuali[,] tanto illustre al mondo per la sua scienza dell'arte, ed istoria musicale. Il Broschi era uno de' suoi antichissimi amici, anzi a lui stesso debbono gli eruditi, e studiosi della Musica la bella, e dottissima opera, che egli va componendo. Bernacchi[,] amico comune[,] familiarmente parlando col Padre Maestro, avea da lui inteso il disegno, che eragli nato in mente, e insieme la sua irresoluzione per le difficoltà grandi, che gli si opponevano tanto per l'ampiezza del soggetto, quanto per la gravezza delle spese necessarie. Bernacchi ne scrisse a Farinello, e Fari-

3 See GIAMBATTISTA MARTINI: *Storia della musica*, vol. 1. Bologna: dalla Volpe, 1757 (but 1760).

4 The Martini epistolary archive comprises over six thousand missives sent from almost one thousand correspondents, of which about six hundred are drafts of replies from the Bolognese theorist, often written at the bottom of the letters to which they refer, covering a period extending from 1730 to 1784. In them, there is discussion of the most disparate subjects, from the acquisition of books and paintings to matters of a personal nature; see the extremely useful register compiled by ANNE SCHNOEBELEN: *Padre Martini's Collection of Letters in the Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale in Bologna: An Annotated Index*. New York: Pendragon, 1979, as well as the “Gaspari catalogue” of the Museo internazionale e Biblioteca della Musica in Bologna (with most documents in digitised format) available online at <http://www.bibliotecamusica.it/cmbm/scripts/lettere/search.asp>.

5 GIOVENALE SACCHI: *Vita del cavaliere don Carlo Broschi*. Venezia: Coleti, 1784, pp. 39–40.

nello rispondendo gli ordinò di significare al Padre Martini, che la Regina Barbara avea ricevuta la dedica della sua Istoria della Musica. Restò sorpreso il Padre Martini, come quello, che non avea mai avuto l'animo a questo. Nondimeno[,] per non mancare alla parola già data dall'amico, nè rozza-mente rispondere all'altrui amorevolezza, ringraziò la Regina, e poste da canto le dubitazioni, si applicò subito al lavoro. Possa egli condurlo alla fine conservandolo Iddio lungamente, e l'Italia avrà da lui eseguito in tal genere un più ampio disegno, che altri non potesse immaginare.”

Behind the dedication of tome 1 of the *Storia della musica*, therefore, are the figures of two famous musicians who exerted themselves, for the benefit of their mutual friend, in an epistolary triangle between Bologna and Madrid. The first of these was Carlo Broschi, who arrived in Spain in 1737 as *músico de cámara* and *familiar criado* in the service of the Bourbon King Philip V and his second wife Elisabeth Farnese. During the reign of the successor Ferdinand VI (1713–1759), Philip's son by his first marriage, and his consort Maria Barbara, the Italian had forged his own economic and social ascent as director of the theatres at the Buen Retiro in Madrid, and at Aranjuez, as well as being in charge of royal festivities. His acquaintance with Martini may have dated from 1730, when Farinelli became a member of the Accademia Filarmonica di Bologna, as a singer – together with his brother Riccardo, as a composer – or perhaps from 1727, when he had vied with Antonio Bernacchi in Giuseppe Maria Orlandini's *La fedeltà coronata* (or *Antigona*), performed at the Teatro Malvezzi.⁶ The second musician was his more mature colleague, Bernacchi himself: after a successful international career, he had by that time retired from the stage to dedicate himself exclusively to teaching, which was conducted in his own home where he attracted a great following, while maintaining close ties – as the events recounted here bear witness – with the musical world around him.⁷

The letters exchanged between Bologna and Madrid make it possible to clarify certain aspects of the matter, above all relating to the dedication (which at an earlier stage might have been addressed to either of the two Spanish monarchs,

6 On the singer's Spanish career, see THOMAS MCGEARY: “Farinelli in Madrid: Opera, Politics, and the War of Jenkins' Ear”, *Musical Quarterly* 83 (1998), pp. 383–421. – MARGARITA TORRIONE: “La casa de Farinelli en el real sitio de Aranjuez, 1750–1760 (nuevos datos para la biografía de Carlo Broschi)”, *Archivo español de arte* 69 (1996), pp. 323–333. – JOSÉ MARÍA DOMÍNGUEZ: “‘Todos los extranjeros admiraron la fiesta': Farinelli, la música y la red política del Marqués de la Ensenada”, *Ocio y espectáculo: una mirada transversal*, ed. SERGIO ANDRÉS CABELLO and PENELOPE RAMÍREZ BENITO, monographic number of *Berceo. Revista riojana de Ciencias sociales y Humanidades* 169 (2015), pp. 11–53.

7 On the personality and career of Bernacchi, see VALENTINA ANZANI: *Il castrato Antonio Bernacchi (1685–1756), virtuoso e maestro di canto bolognese*. Lucca: LIM, 2021.

Maria Barbara or Ferdinand VI: Martini says “a seconda della reale dedicatoria”).⁸ Although Sacchi states that this was sought without the author’s knowledge, the draft of an interesting letter to Farinelli, dated 26 June 1750, informs us that the involvement of Martini in the negotiations was anything but detached, despite the image of himself that the music scholar, in accordance with the Franciscan vow of humility, wished to convey to the world:⁹

“L’antica amicizia contratta col dignissimo nostro Sig.^r Antonio Bernacchi tra i molti vantaggi, che mi ha recato, prego V.S. Ill.^{ma} a darmi l’onore di porre in primo luogo il presente inaspettato favore, onde Ella si degna volerli tanto altamente distinto, quanto non avrei mai saputo pensare.”

While shortly afterwards Martini declared his willingness to defer to the recommendations received with regard “alle cose accessorie, che servir le dovranno di convenevole ornamento”, Farinelli at once went into action at court, pleading the cause of the Bolognese musicographer. In July 1750 Maria Barbara had already given her personal consent to the dedication and, as Bernacchi had occasion to write, there was a need to proceed with alacrity:¹⁰

8 “L’opera sarà la Storia Universale della Musica Teorico=Pratica, a nostra notizia non per anche formata. Comincerà dalla creazione del mondo coll’intera musica degli Ebrei; passerà a quella dei Caldei, Asijrij, ed Egizj. Poscia all’altra de’ Greci, Romani ed Orientali. Finalmente all’ultima dei Latini, che comprende quella dei nostri tempi. Col possibile ordine cronologico si assegnerà alla musica Sagra e Profana non meno Vocale che Instrumentale d’ogni Nazione l’Origine, i Progressi, ed il termine; tessendo la Vita d’ogni riguardevole autore, accennando li onori, i premj e le dignità ricevute col catalogo delle loro opere, ed invenzioni sempre al lume d’un rispettoso critico esame. A seconda della reale dedicatoria si è pensato di rendere la stampa perpetuum.^{te} magnifica, ornando le lettere iniziali ed i vani superiori ed inferiori ed alcuni capitoli con intagli in Rame[,] pittorescam.^{te} inserendocci [sic] Canoni Musicali allusivi alle prerogative personali di Sua Maestà, e delle Reali Famiglie di Braganza e di Borbone; come pure della Cattolica Monarchia e dei Regni ad essa ovunque soggetti”. Bologna, Museo internazionale e Biblioteca della Musica (I-Bc), I.33/I, fol. 320r-v, GIAMBATTISTA MARTINI: Draft, s.l. (but Bologna), s.a. – PASQUINI: “Respinto da un impensato vento contrario”, 2017, no. 4, pp. 221-222.

9 Bologna, I-Bc, I.33/I, fol. 319r, GIAMBATTISTA MARTINI: draft letter to Carlo Broschi, s.l. (but Bologna), 26 June 1750. – PASQUINI: “Respinto da un impensato vento contrario”, 2017, no. 1, p. 220. In writing his biography of Farinelli, Sacchi had taken advantage of the close collaboration of Martini: he had spent time with the Franciscan during his stay in Bologna in the autumn of 1783, and before and after this occasion had also kept in contact by letter, in the hope of gathering the maximum amount of information available on the singer: see LORENZO BIANCONI – MARIA CRISTINA CASALI PEDRIELLI: “Corrado Giaquinto: Carlo Broschi detto il Farinelli”, *I ritratti del Museo della Musica di Bologna da padre Martini al Liceo Musicale*, ed. LORENZO BIANCONI et al. Firenze: Olschki, 2018, pp. 103-124: 103-105.

10 Bologna, I-Bc, Ep. mart. I.18.153, ANTONIO BERNACCHI: letter to Giambattista Martini, Santa Maria Maggiore (Bologna), 26 July 1750.

“Lei vede[,] Pad.^e M.^o[,] che l’amico di Spagna [i.e., Farinelli], camina p[er] le corte[,] però meglio di me comprenderà che bisogna andar avanti, così p[er] il primo Tomo, p[er] la dedica e p[er] i versi. Quest’altro ord.^o forse avrò lettere da lui, e subito glie ne avvanzerò le notizie. Mi dica un poco se non vuol venir a prendere un poco d’aria, e se devo partorir la creatura con la voglia di vederla, e goderla un poco.”

The idea is reiterated in a letter of 7 November 1750, in which the musician again presses Martini: “Le soggiunge poi che da Madrid è riverito dal Cav.^e [Broschi] e [Carlo] Carlani, ed il primo fa istanza d’andar avanti”.¹¹

The sending of the dedicatory letter, of which no documentary evidence survives, was preceded by a letter addressed to the Queen to encourage her acceptance: the draft, undated, was written in a different hand from that of Martini, who afterwards intervened to introduce minor adjustments to the text;¹² as was customary, the Padre Maestro chose to be assisted by someone close to him who could deploy greater familiarity with the requisite style and formalities. The same holds true for the mysterious verses to which Bernacchi alludes in the letter cited above: this refers in all probability to the Latin hexameters inscribed on the banner in the antiporta – of which more will be said later – for which Martini availed himself of another pen, providing himself with a translation for private use.¹³

In 1752 the process of printing tome 1 began, as Martini himself recalled many years later. Lamenting the slowness of dalla Volpe’s printing presses, that were not at all disposed to satisfy a wish to see tome 3 printed within a short space of time, in 1773 Martini in fact wrote to his confrère Giuseppe Antonio Martinelli, councillor of the Sacred congregation of the Index: “sono anni 21. che fù cominciata la stampa del mio primo Tomo della Storia”.¹⁴ It is reasonable to suppose that by that date the text was already largely finalized: from the draft of a letter addressed to his tireless Roman correspondent Girolamo Chiti, maestro di cappella at San Giovanni in Laterano, we learn in fact that the writing began at least as early as the winter of 1747 (“Fra pochi giorni, giacche mi trovo fuori delle principali funzioni

11 *Ibidem*, Ep. mart. I.18.160, ANTONIO BERNACCHI: letter to Giambattista Martini, Santa Maria Maggiore (Bologna), 7 November 1750.

12 See *ibidem*, I.33/I, fol. 323r-v, GIAMBATTISTA MARTINI: draft letter to Maria Barbara of Braganza, Queen of Spain, s.l. (but Bologna), s.a. – PASQUINI: “Respinto da un impensato vento contrario”, 2017, no. 5, p. 222.

13 See Bologna, I-Bc, I.33/I, fol. 328r: a draft that also includes Giambattista Martini’s translation, s.l. (but Bologna), s.a. – PASQUINI: “Respinto da un impensato vento contrario”, 2017, no. 6, p. 223.

14 Bologna, I-Bc, Ep. mart. L.117.90, GIAMBATTISTA MARTINI: draft letter to Giuseppe Antonio Martinelli, Bologna, 27 February 1773. – PASQUINI: “Respinto da un impensato vento contrario”, 2017, no. 57, pp. 251-252.

della mia Chiesa, torno a por le mani nella mia Istoria”).¹⁵ As will become clear, the preparation of the book for printing took a lot of time, more time than anticipated, because of the complexity of producing such a book, which brought together prose and musical examples, and combined typography, woodblock printing, and engraving techniques.

In 1756 an unexpected event marked a turning point in the affair: on 16 March Bernacchi passed on to a better life. In a heartfelt letter addressed to Farinelli, written four days after the death of the singer, after a detailed account of Bernacchi's last moments of life, Martini wrote:¹⁶

“Abbiamo perduto un raro ed eccellente Professore, un Uomo d’Animo grande, l’Amico il più onorato che si potesse desiderare, ella[,] Sig. Cavaliere[,] ed io abbiamo perduto un vero e sincero Amico.”

With the demise of Bernacchi the Franciscan also suffered the loss of the person who not only had taken pains personally to champion the publishing project – as we have seen, starting with the dedication – but who at the same time had also been capable of diffusing his anxieties and restraining his little obsessions; as Martini himself confesses in the same letter, in his wake “mi riposavo con somma quiete”. It is no surprise that, after lamenting the death of their late friend, Martini immediately pressed Farinelli, telling him of the latest directions he had received from Bernacchi regarding copies to be sent to court once printing was completed; indeed Martini wanted to know how many and in what form, whether bound or not (and if so, how they should be bound).

15 Bologna, I-Bc, Ep. mart. I.11.68, GIAMBATTISTA MARTINI: draft letter to Girolamo Chiti, Bologna, 4 January 1747. – *Settecento musicale erudito. Epistolario Giovanni Battista Martini e Girolamo Chiti (1745–1759)*. 472 lettere del Museo internazionale e Biblioteca della Musica di Bologna, ed. GIANCARLO ROSTIROLLA et al. Roma: Ibimus, 2010, no. 69, pp. 173–174. In 1749 Martini wrote again to Chiti: “Preghi Iddio per me acciò mi dia forza p[er] potere proseguire le mie fatiche, che già hò incominciate intorno l’Istoria della Musica, stanteché; senza un speciale aiuto suo, non è possibile andar avanti in cosa tanto difficoltosa e vasta” (Bologna, I-Bc, Ep. mart. I.12.56, GIAMBATTISTA MARTINI: draft letter to Girolamo Chiti, Bologna, 15 January 1748, recte 1749. – ROSTIROLLA et al.: *Settecento musicale erudito*, 2010, no. 217, pp. 456–457).

16 “Il giorno dei 12. Corrente, doppo avere fatto le sue divozioni[,] il Sig. Antonio Bernacchi, si pose in letto, qualche ora dopo il pranso restò in un grande sopimento, dal quale fù svegliato la sera da un abbondante emissione di sangue; li 13. e 14. il male non migliorò, nemeno peggiorò notabilmente, se non che la sera su le tre e mezza della Notte all’uso Italiano parve si svegliasse, ma poco dopo restò come insensato, sicche il Medico colle emissioni di sangue, e coi vescicanti fece tutto i sforzi dell’Arte per risvegliarlo, ma in darno, talmenteche la mattina su le ore tredici rese l’Anima al suo Dio”. Bologna, I-Bc, I.33/I, fols. 326r–327r, GIAMBATTISTA MARTINI: draft letter to Carlo Broschi, Bologna, 20 March 1756. – PASQUINI: “Respinto da un impensato vento contrario”, 2017, no. 8, p. 224.

THE ANTIPIORTA

The same letter also contains an interesting reference to the antiporta – the “Rame, che va nel frontispicio”, says Martini in the above-cited letter to Farinelli – which looks very handsome in the printed tome (fig. 1).

Seated on a throne, Maria Barbara is attended by Music, modestly dressed, who offers the book as a gift, and by Apollo, he too wearing a laurel crown, symbolising the aspiration to glory and renown. On either side are the parts of the world, indicating the possessions of the Spanish crown: America (veiled, with a bow in her left hand), Africa (with a scorpion in her right hand, a cornucopia in her left, and a lion at her side), Europe (crowned, with a temple symbolising the profession of the true faith), and Asia (crowned with flowers and fruit, with a censor from which emanates a great deal of smoke). In the background, behind the dedicatee, Virtue (with a lance in her right hand) and Liberality (who holds a cornucopia with coins spilling from it) represent a perfect synthesis of the qualities possessed by the enlightened sovereign. In flight, Minerva, the symbol of wisdom, holds a banner, the text of which refers to the iconology just described: “Hoc offert[,] Regina[,] Tibi Lectum undique Munus[,] | Et vult esse tuum Musica[,] quid quid Habet”.¹⁷

The request that the Franciscan made to Farinelli for further copies of the engraving, needed so that the entire in-folio print run of tome 1 should have one, reveals that its execution was Spanish;¹⁸ in arranging for the dispatch of copies of the printed tome to the Catholic monarchs and to the court, the Franciscan was to refer explicitly to the antiporta as the “rame costì impresso e che deve precedere nel Volume”.¹⁹ Even the design from which the engraving was made is Spanish: its author – “Nicolaus Valleta”, in the left-hand lower margin of the antiporta designated indeed as *inventor* – can in fact be identified with Nicola Valletta, a painter

17 The translation made by Martini, referred to above, reads: “La Musica, o Regina, ti offre un presente, scielto da ogni | parte del Mondo, e vuole che quanto Ella hà, tutto sia tuo” (Bologna, I-Bc, I.33/I, fol. 328r, Draft, s.l. [but Bologna], s.a.). In the design that appears in the manuscript Bologna, I-Bc, I.33/I, fol. 3v, which is very similar to the antiporta later engraved, on each of the figures, numbers were placed (no. 1 corresponding to Maria Barbara, no. 10 to Minerva); this suggests the drawing-up of an explanatory caption for the iconological scheme – (perhaps for the use and convenience of the Franciscan himself?) – not otherwise conserved.

18 “Devo anche avisarla che il numero delle Copie in Foglio stampate sarà di 250 e le Copie del Rame, che va nel Frontispicio, speditemi da V.S. Ill.^{ma} sono sole 150, onde ne mancano al compimento altre 100” (Bologna, I-Bc, I.33/I, fols. 326r-327r, GIAMBATTISTA MARTINI: draft letter to Carlo Broschi, Bologna, 20 March 1756). As is well known, for the *Storia della musica* the publisher dalla Volpe had envisaged a full print run of 1000 copies, 750 in-quarto and 250 in the luxury in-folio format, with antiporta and text surrounded by an elegant woodcut border made by Francesco Barattini.

19 Bologna, I-Bc, I.33/I, fol. 283r-v, GIAMBATTISTA MARTINI: draft letter to Anton Raaff, Bologna, 30 December 1758. – PASQUINI: “Respinto da un impensato vento contrario”, 2017, no. 24, p. 234.



Fig. 1: GIAMBATTISTA MARTINI: *Storia della musica*, vol. I. Bologna: dalla Volpe, 1757 (but 1760), antiporta. Bologna, Museo internazionale e Biblioteca della Musica, I.35/C/I.



Fig. 2: JACOPO AMIGONI: *Portrait of Maria Barbara of Braganza, Queen of Spain.*
Verona, private collection of the Marquis of Canossa.

of Greek origin trained in Venice under the direction of Jacopo Amigoni and in the mid-eighteenth century employed by the Spanish court.²⁰ And Spanish too is the model from which Valletta took his inspiration: the portrait of Maria Barbara completed around 1748 by Amigoni, the chief painter to the royal court at Madrid (fig. 2). The similarities are obvious: the knotted pearl necklace on the sumptuous *decolleté*; the frilled sleeves; the ermine-lined mantle, draped over the shoulder; the diadem; the throne in the background, and so on.²¹

But there is more. As is well known, Amigoni was a close friend of Farinelli, of whom he painted several portraits intended for the singer's private collection, which are today conserved in the Muzeul Național de Artă al României in Bucharest, the Staatsgalerie in Stuttgart, the Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando in Madrid, and the National Gallery of Victoria in Melbourne (here the two friends are represented together with Metastasio, the beloved singer Teresa Castellini and a young hussar, recently identified as the future emperor Joseph II of Habsburg-Lorraine).²² And bringing us full circle is the inventory of the contents of the villa in Bologna to which the singer had retired after the long Spanish interlude, drawn up in 1783 (that is, a year after his death), in which are described the painting of Maria Barbara on which the engraving was based, along with other works by Amigoni – personal portraits, and those of nobles and monarchs that the singer wanted to keep for himself – in its splendid carved gilt frame:²³

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- 20 See ANTONIO CORBARA: "Per Nicola Valletta, un creato dell'Amigoni", *Arte veneta* 22 (1968), pp. 204-205. Valletta is responsible at least for the main altarpiece in the late Byzantine parish church of Sarna, near Faenza, which depicts the Madonna and Saints (completed perhaps before 1747), as well as the *Allegory of Music* today held in the Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando in Madrid and reproduced in CARLO BROSCHI FARINELLI: *Fiestas reales*, ed. ANTONIO BONET CORREA and ANTONIO GALLEGU. Madrid: Consorcio para la organización de Madrid Capital europea de la Cultura, 1992 / Patrimonio Nacional, 1991, p. XXI. – ALFONSO E. PÉREZ SÁNCHEZ: *Inventario de las pinturas*. Madrid: Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando, 1964, no. 146.
- 21 In the same period Amigoni also completed the companion portrait of Ferdinand VI, which together with that of the royal consort secured his place at court; he himself later painted at least two copies to send to Portugal, for which he received the gift of a ring with a 24-grain diamond surrounded by smaller diamonds. See BROSCHI FARINELLI: *Fiestas reales*, 1991, pp. 191-193. See also ANNALISA SCARPA SONINO: *Jacopo Amigoni*. Soncino: Edizioni del Soncino, 1994, nos. 42-43, pp. 152-155. – RODOLFO PALLUCCHINI: *Il Settecento*, vol. I. Milano, Venezia: Electa, Regione del Veneto, 1994, no. 182, p. 124.
- 22 See LESLIE GRIFFIN HENNESSEY: "Friends Serving Itinerant Muses: Jacopo Amigoni and Farinelli in Europe", *Italian Culture in Northern Europe in the Eighteenth Century*, ed. SHEARER WEST. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999, pp. 20-45. – FRANCESCA BORIS: "'In the Moonlight of Memory': i grandi ritratti di Farinelli", *Il Farinelli ritrovato*, ed. LUIGI VERDI. Lucca: LIM, 2014, pp. 9-39. – DANIEL HEARTZ: *Artists and Musicians: Portrait Studies from the Rococo to the Revolution*, ed. BEVERLY WILCOX. Ann Arbor: Steglein, 2014, in part. "Amigoni and Farinelli", pp. 1-50. – BIANCONI – CASALI PEDRIELLI: "Corrado Giaquinto", 2018, pp. 107-109.
- 23 Bologna, Archivio di Stato, Atti dei notai del distretto di Bologna, 1783*bis*, LORENZO GAMBARIANI: "Descrizione de' Quadri stimati dal Sig: Giuseppe Becchetti Accademico Clementino, e

“Due Quadri nelle loro cornici intagliate, e indorate[,] rappresentano i Ritratti, uno di Ferdinando Sesto Rè di Spagna, e l’altro la Regina Maria Barbara di Portagallo. Mezza figura al naturale, di mano del suddetto Amiconi; alti P[iedi]: 3: o[nce]: 2:[,] larghi P[iedi]: 2: o[nce]: 8:[;] stimati l[ire] 300.”

In other words, as Martini’s letter to some extent intimated, the precious engraving intended for tome 1 of the *Storia della musica* was based on a painting owned by Farinelli himself, who therefore played a crucial role – as evidenced once again by the letters exchanged between Bologna and Madrid – in supporting his friend also in this matter.

PAYMENT

After Bernacchi’s demise, Martini could count on the affectionate support of another celebrated singer with whom he had been close friends since the years the latter had spent in Bologna completing his musical training (under the guidance, moreover, of Bernacchi himself): the tenor Anton Raaff (1714–1797), who with “Cuore sincero alla Tedesca Vera”, professing his “Venerazione ed Amore” – these are his own words²⁴ – on more than one occasion assisted Martini by acting as an intermediary with Farinelli, towards whom the Bolognese theorist harboured a certain reverential awe. The triangulation of the preceding years was thereby re-established.

Professore”, *Inventario Legale, e descrizione di tutti li beni stabili, mobili, semoventi, generi, gioje, ori, argenti, denari, crediti e pretesi debiti, documenti, musica, e altro ritrovati nello Stato ed Eredità del fù Sig.^r D.ⁿ Carlo Broschi*[,] Cavaliere del Reale Ordine militare di Calatrava, 2 May 1783, pp. 34–55: 34. The paintings are today conserved in Verona, in the private collection of the Marquis of Canossa. See FRANCESCA BORIS – GIAMPIERO CAMMAROTA: “La collezione di Carlo Broschi detto Farinelli”, *Accademia Clementina. Atti e memorie* n.s. 27 (1990), pp. 183–237: 208, 220–221. – HEARTZ: *Artists and Musicians*, 2014, in part. “Farinelli Picture’s Gallery at Bologna”, pp. 51–61. Also alluding to the two portraits is the succinct description of the Farinelli collection left to us by Charles Burney, who in 1770 stayed in Bologna during one of his musical trips on the Continent: “His large room, in which is a billiard-table, is furnished with the pictures of great personages, chiefly sovereign princes, who have been his patrons, among whom are two emperors, one empress, three kings of Spain, two princes of Asturias, a king of Sardinia, a prince of Savoy, a king of Naples, a princess of Asturias, two queens of Spain, and pope Benedict the XIVth” (CHARLES BURNEY: *The Present State of Music in France and Italy*, 2nd ed. London: Becket, Robson, Robinson, 1773, p. 222).

24 Bologna, I-Bc, Ep. mart. I.4.94, ANTON RAAFF: letter to Giambattista Martini, Aranjuez, 29 June 1756. – PIERLUIGI PETROBELLI: “The Italian Years of Anton Raaf”, *Mozart Jahrbuch* (1973–1974), pp. 233–273, no. VI, pp. 251–252. – PASQUINI: “Respinto da un impensato vento contrario”, 2017, no. 9, p. 225.

The *Spanish* letters exchanged between them, twelve in all, were written between June 1756, almost a year, that is, after the singer had moved to Spain from Lisbon (with a recommendation from the Portuguese sovereigns), and May 1759, when his engagement there was drawing to an end;²⁵ they are full of information not only about musical life at court – from the performance of the serenata *La ninfa smarrita* by Nicola Conforto (1757 and 1758) to the description of days spent in Aranjuez where, according to the singer, one lived the “Vita del Beato porco”²⁶ – but also about the arrangements for the *Storia della musica*. These letters, complemented by those exchanged during this period between Martini and Farinelli – fourteen in total, written between February 1758 and August 1759 – are characterised by a tone that is decidedly candid and anti-conventional: among friends, the German musician repeatedly insisted, “le cerimonie[,] complimenti sono tante Coglionerie”.²⁷

In the winter of 1758 Martini wrote to the two singers in Madrid that by Easter, through the minister plenipotentiary of Spain in Bologna, Count Giovanni Zambeccari, he would finally be able to send bound copies of the printed book.²⁸ To Farinelli, the Franciscan confesses with regret that the unfortunate delay was due above all to the lack of resources for the acquisition and copying of books necessary for the completion of the work (“i molti Monumenti, ed i varj Codici, necessari a provedersi, e riscontrarsi”),²⁹ while he relied on Raaff’s “sperimentata

25 On the singer’s career in Spain, see BROSCHI FARINELLI: *Fiestas reales*, 1991, pp. 140–141: “D.^a Antonio Raff tenor, vino de passo a esta corte de la de Lisboa con recomendacion particular de aquellos Soveranos; Y aviendo cantado en el quarto de los Reyes el dia 16. de Julio de 1755. merecio la aprobacion de S.^s M.^s y con este motivo fue establecido para cantar en todas las funciones que se hiciessen en el Real Teatro, y sitio de Aranjuez, con la asignacion de 800. Doblones de oro al año, y 100. mas de la misma especie para manutencion de coche. En este año de 1758. se le han conzedido 900. Dobl.^s de oro al año, y 100 mas de la misma especie para manutencion de dicho coche”; but see also pp. 150 and 172–173.

26 Bologna, I-Bc, I.33/I, fols. 289r–290r, ANTON RAAFF: letter to Giambattista Martini, Aranjuez, 10 May 1757. – PASQUINI: “Respinto da un impensato vento contrario”, 2017, no. 10, p. 226.

27 Bologna, I-Bc, I.33/I, fol. 287r–v, ANTON RAAFF: letter to Giambattista Martini, Madrid, 5 February 1759. – PASQUINI: “Respinto da un impensato vento contrario”, 2017, no. 27, p. 236.

28 Around the same time Chiti congratulates the Franciscan, now close to finishing the work: “Son più che capace, delle Sue elucubrations, e fatighe pratiche, e Teoriche famosissime rallegrandomi sentirlo prossimo alla finale del P.mo Tomo, et averò sommo piacere, dell’avviso che mi promette, e Benche Inutile sarò sempre acerrimo difensore, et ammiratore p Imparare e Godere Il studio, e opera tanto desiderata da me, e piu dal Mondo tutto Musicale sì pratico, come Teorico; e viva il gran P[ad]re F. Gio: Batta Martini, Gloria de['] Minori Conventuali, di Bologna, e di tutto il Ceto Armonico” (Bologna, I-Bc, Ep. mart. I.6.126, GIROLAMO CHITI: letter to Giambattista Martini, Rome, 3 March 1758. – ROSTIROLLA et al.: *Settecento musicale erudito*, 2010, no. 436, pp. 809–810).

29 Bologna, I-Bc, I.33/I, fol. 329r, GIAMBATTISTA MARTINI: draft letter to Carlo Broschi, Bologna, 16 February 1758, but also *ibidem*, fol. 325r, GIAMBATTISTA MARTINI: draft letter to Carlo Broschi, s.l., s.a. (but Bologna, ante 4 March 1758). – PASQUINI: “Respinto da un impensato vento contrario”, 2017, resp. nos. 11 and 12, p. 227.

prudenza” in directing the more celebrated singer in the choice of cash as sole form of recompense, without which “non potrò fornirmi di quante notizie e Libri mi bisognano, e [...] se cosa venga, ancorche di notabil valore diversa dal puro contante, non sarà in mia disposizione”.³⁰ On 7 March 1758 Raaff announced in triumphant tones that “stà aggiustato il Negozio”;³¹ the next step is well known: in June 1759 Farinelli sent Martini a promissory note for 24,000 Spanish reales as recompense granted by Maria Barbara for Martini’s tribute.³² (The figure is huge, considering that in 1757 the Land Registry had recorded that only three percent of the population of Madrid could count on an annual income of between 20,000 and 40,000 reales.)

DISSEMINATION

The printing of tome 1 was completed in the summer of 1758 – in a letter to Farinelli, Martini lamented the recent delay “contro ogni mia aspettazione” due to final adjustments to the engravings and plates, “sin quà differite”³³ – but it could not be disseminated because of the very grave state of health of the individual to whom the dedication was addressed. As the letters exchanged between Bologna and Madrid bear witness, the two singers, and Farinelli in particular, played a

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- 30 Bologna, I-Bc, I.33/I, fols. 325r and 330v, GIAMBATTISTA MARTINI: draft letter to Anton Raaff, s.l., s.a. (but Bologna, ante 4 March 1758). – PASQUINI: “Respinto da un impensato vento contrario”, 2017, no. 13, pp. 227-228.
- 31 Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (A-Wn), Autogr. 7/92-I Han, ANTON RAAFF: letter to Giambattista Martini, Madrid, 7 March 1758. – PASQUINI: “Respinto da un impensato vento contrario”, 2017, no. 14, pp. 228-229. The letter was acquired by the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek together with the one cited in the following footnote as part of the collection that belonged to the musicographer Franz Sales Kandler, who in 1820 was in Bologna to become a member of the Accademia Filarmonica; on that occasion he was able to visit the library of the Liceo Musicale, where the Martini letters had by then been gathered together, and to appropriate the original documents of interest to him. The list of those documents, drawn up by Kandler himself, is reproduced in BJÖRN R. TAMMEN: “‘Musicale mania’: auf den Spuren des Franz Sales Kandler in Italien”, *Alte Musik in Österreich*, ed. BARBARA BOISITS and KLAUS HUBMANN. Wien: Mille Tre, 2009, pp. 33-71: 36.
- 32 See Vienna, A-Wn, Autogr. 7/5-I Han, CARLO BROSCHI: letter to Giambattista Martini, Villaviciosa de Odón, 4 June 1759. – PASQUINI: “Respinto da un impensato vento contrario”, 2017, no. 45, p. 245. – BIANCONI – CASALI PEDRIELLI: “Corrado Giaquinto”, 2018, p. 115. But see also Bologna, I-Bc, I.33/I, fol. 313r-v, CARLO BROSCHI: Copy of a letter to Giambattista Martini, and written in his hand, s.l. (but Villaviciosa de Odón), 4 June 1759. – PASQUINI: “Respinto da un impensato vento contrario”, 2017, no. 44, pp. 243-244.
- 33 Bologna, I-Bc, I.33/I, fol. 318r, GIAMBATTISTA MARTINI: draft letter to Carlo Broschi, s.l., s.a. (but Bologna, ante 27 August 1758). – PASQUINI: “Respinto da un impensato vento contrario”, 2017, no. 16, p. 230.

decisive role in the developments that then led to the effective publication of the book. With circumspection and diplomacy, Don Carlo was able to confront the delicate situation that had arisen as a result of the death of Maria Barbara, on 27 August 1758, turning to his own advantage the uncertainty, in political terms also, in which the court found itself. Ferdinand VI was in fact inconsolable, and the state of his health ever more precarious (until on 10 August 1759, almost a year after his consort, he too died). (One year *con rey y sin rey*, as was said at the time, when the monarchy was in paralysis: without a wife and childless, the King lived on but in no condition to govern; the running of the *res publica* was in the hands of the Secretary of State Richard Wall and ministers, but their instructions lacked authority, as they were not put into effect by Ferdinand VI in person, only approved in secret by the heir, that is to say his half-brother Charles III who already ruled Naples.³⁴)

As Raaff wrote, the Italian singer made every effort “colla solita sua cordialità, ingenuità, ed efficacia a favore di quest’affare[,] che certamente gli stà sul cuore più assai che se fosse cosa sua propria”:³⁵ first of all, asking Martini to send 30 copies of the newly printed book, 6 bound in ponsò red cordovan, with gilding and the Queen’s arms on both boards, to present to the “Persone Reali”, and another 24 bound more simply, for the “grandi e particolari della Corte”.³⁶ The dedicatory letter was to have been the one agreed upon, but the understandable *conditio*

34 See JOSÉ LUIS GÓMEZ URDÁÑEZ – DIEGO TÉLLEZ ALARCIA: “1759. El año ‘sin rey y con rey’: la naturaleza del poder al descubierto”, *El poder en Europa y América. Mitos, tópicos y realidades*, ed. ERNESTO GARCÍA FERNÁNDEZ. Bilbao: Universidad del País Vasco, 2001, pp. 95–110. – DOLORES MATEOS DORADO: “La actitud de Carlos III durante el año sin rey (1758–1759)”, *Actas del congreso internacional sobre “Carlos III y la Ilustración”*, vol. 1: *El Rey y la monarquía*, ed. GONZALO ANES and ÁLVAREZ DE CASTRILLÓN. Madrid: Ministerio de Cultura, 1989, pp. 299–321.

35 Bologna, I-Bc, I.33/I, fols. 285r–286r, ANTON RAAFF: letter to Giambattista Martini, Madrid, 13 December 1758. – PASQUINI: “Respinto da un impensato vento contrario”, 2017, no. 23, pp. 233–234.

36 *Ibidem*. Cordovan (or Moroccan) leather is a very highly prized type of goatskin prepared according to the Eastern technique and dyed red with an organic pigment derived from cochineal: see MARILENA MANIACI: *Terminologia del libro manoscritto*. Roma, Milano: Istituto centrale per la patologia del libro, Editrice bibliografica, 1996, p. 367; ponsò (or ponzò, from the French *ponceau*) is a shade of very deep red. In the reply (conserved in Bologna, I-Bc, I.33/I, fol. 283r–v, GIAMBATTISTA MARTINI: draft letter to Anton Raaff, Bologna, 30 December 1758. – PASQUINI: “Respinto da un impensato vento contrario”, 2017, no. 24, p. 234), Martini specifies that the first 6 copies will be in “damaschino finissimo” – *damascato* or *damaschinato* was a quality referring to a monochrome surface embellished with thin vine shoots or a scattering of small gilt or coloured motifs (see MANIACI: *Terminologia del libro manoscritto*, 1996, p. 315) – while the remaining 24 will be in “cordovano alla francese” (that is, with light gilding). The copy conserved in Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España, M/251, and belonging in the nineteenth century to the composer and musicologist Francisco Asenjo Barbieri, was in all probability one of the group intended for the Royal Majesties: both boards bear the oval with the Braganza coat of arms – five shields in a cross formation, symbolising the Moorish kings who died in the Battle of Ourique defeated by the future king of Portugal Afonso I, with five bezants in each representing the five wounds of Christ – surmounted by the crown of Spain; the ornaments, the bands and the edges are gilt.

sine qua non for the dissemination of the book was that the date on the title page should be earlier than the death of Maria Barbara, “come sarebbe a dire, sia almeno d’un giorno del principio di Gennaio dell’anno corrente, meglio saria se fosse dell’Anno 57”.³⁷ These circumstances explain the discrepancy between the date given by the printer on the title page (1757) and the title of *Accademico nell’Istituto delle Scienze, e Filarmonico* that appears on it, which in truth Martini obtained only at the end of the following year. Furthermore, it should be noted that some surviving copies of the book bear a date at the end of the dedicatory letter (8 December 1757), while others do not; possibly the printer had set up a new version of the page for the copies intended as gifts for the Royal Majesties of Spain.

The moves to advance Martini could not, however, be explicit: both because of the temporary situation and because of the deliberately apolitical profile, characterised by prudence and caution, assumed by Farinelli at court, which had secured him the trust of the monarchs and the respect of the nobles (it is no accident that in 1754 he had not been affected by the plot against the powerful Don Zenón de Somodevilla y Bengoechea, Marquis of Ensenada, his great champion and close friend).³⁸ For his part, Martini, geographically and cultural distant from Madrid, had difficulty in understanding these dynamics and did everything he could to sustain Farinelli’s attention: doing him the favour of forwarding resolutions of the canons printed in tome 1 (however, as Raaff immediately clarifies, they cannot be sung, since “Musica in luctu Importuna Narratio, e abbenche non siamo ancora in luctu, siamo però sempre in circostanze di doverlo temere vicino”);³⁹ promising

37 Bologna, I-Bc, I.33/I, fols. 285r-286r, ANTON RAAFF: letter to Giambattista Martini, Madrid, 13 December 1758. The popular approval enjoyed by Maria Barbara had diminished: the will she had drawn up, which favoured with Spanish hard cash in particular her beloved and now reigning brother Joseph, had indeed given rise to fierce criticism; and perhaps precisely because of this Farinelli had not entertained the possibility, at first aired by Martini, of publishing the *Storia della musica* in memoriam, as it would have been logical to do under normal circumstances, instead asking the author to antedate the book.

38 Minister of Finance, of the Navy, of War and of the Indies, first under Philip V, then under Ferdinand VI, the Marquis of Ensenada was a very skilful strategist and a great reformer; together with Farinelli he was, moreover, director of theatrical spectacles at court: in particular they were responsible for the famous “Tagus flotilla”, created for the (musical) entertainment of the monarchs during their summer retreat to Aranjuez. Perfidiously accused by his detractors of embezzlement and high treason, on 20 July 1754 he was ousted, arrested and confined in Andalusia. See JOSÉ LUIS GÓMEZ URDÁÑEZ: *El Marqués de la Ensenada. El secretario de todo*. Madrid: Punto de vista, 2017. On the relationship between the Marquis and Farinelli, see DOMÍNGUEZ: “Todos los extranjeros admiraron la fiesta”, 2015. – BIANCONI – CASALI PEDRIELLI: “Corrado Giaquinto”, 2018, pp. 111-114 (in the light of a suggestion of Gómez Urdáñez, the famous portrait of Farinelli by Corrado Giaquinto, today conserved in the Museo della Musica in Bologna, it could be interpreted as a proclamation of loyalty and innocence after the downfall of Ensenada).

39 Bologna, I-Bc, I.33/I, fol. 287r-v, ANTON RAAFF: letter to Giambattista Martini, Madrid, 5 February 1759.

to send “*Canoni d’allegria*”;⁴⁰ complaining about the gilding of the printed copies, which in transit had been affected by humidity, and expressing satisfaction on the other hand with compliments on the opulence of the binding; requesting the engraved printing plate of the *antiporta*, which he wanted to keep for himself; and so on. In short, with messages as regular as they were pretextual, the Franciscan lost no opportunity indirectly to remind his advocate of the responsibility he had assumed. And all he received in response were laconic letters penned by Farinelli’s personal secretary, the Bolognese violinist Antonio Marchesini, whom Martini had most probably known personally before he moved to the Spanish court,⁴¹ and from Raaff himself, like that of 9 April 1759:⁴²

“Io non posso penetrare cosa abbia nel cuore Don Carlo[,] come voglia fare, e come si voglia prendere per il nostro Desiderato Intento, la sua Volontà ed Intenzione non ponno essere migliori, la sua attività ed attenzione è incomparabile, Egli ha qualche cosa in corpo[,] io non sò se è arrivato ad essere matura, o se si va tuttavia maturando, spero e mi lusingo che farà un felice parto a suo tempo. Che Iddio voglia a misura Del Suo e mio Desiderio.”

Martini’s aspirations were realized many months later, and once again thanks to his singer friend who, although dismissed by the successor to the Spanish crown, Charles III, and by now settled in Bologna, was able nevertheless to influence –

40 Bologna, I-Bc, I.33/I, fol. 316v, GIAMBATTISTA MARTINI: draft letter to Anton Raaff, s.l., s.a. (but Bologna, 23 February 1759). – PASQUINI: “Respinto da un impensato vento contrario”, 2017, no. 31, p. 238.

41 Born in Bologna on 18 February 1706 (see Bologna, Archivio generale arcivescovile, Registri battesimali della Cattedrale, no. 159, 1706, fol. 42v: baptism certificate), Marchesini arrived in Spain in January 1746 through the good offices of his sister Santa, a highly regarded singer, and perhaps with the collusion of Farinelli (who mentions him and his family in his correspondence with Sicinio Pepoli). He was concert master in the Royal chapel and chamber musician to the King; his name appears among the violinists at the Buen Retiro and Aranjuez. He returned to Italy on three occasions, in order to recruit singers; during the first trip, which took place in 1747–1748, he engaged Teresa Castellini. He died on 15 May 1771. See BROSCI FARINELLI: *Fiestas reales*, 1991, pp. 85, 89, 115, 159–160, 245. – IDEM: *La solitudine amica. Lettere al conte Sicinio Pepoli*, ed. CARLO VITALI. Palermo: Sellerio, 2000, no. 65, pp. 185–186, and pp. 155, 266. – JUDITH ORTEGA RODRÍGUEZ: “La Real Capilla de Carlos III: los músicos instrumentistas y la provisión de sus plazas”, *Revista de Musicología* 23 (2000), pp. 395–442: 431–432. – EADEM: *La música en la corte de Carlos III y Carlos IV (1759–1808): de la Real capilla a la Real cámara*, 2 vols. Diss., Madrid, Universidad Complutense, 2010, vol. 1: *Estudio*, pp. 64, 129, 142–144, 207; vol. 2: *Apéndices*, pp. 65, 67, 129–131, 170, 210.

42 Bologna, I-Bc, Ep. mart. I.4.96, ANTON RAAFF: letter to Giambattista Martini, Madrid, 9 April 1759. – PETROBELLI: *The Italian Years of Anton Raaff*, no. VII, pp. 252–253. – PASQUINI: “Respinto da un impensato vento contrario”, 2017, no. 37, pp. 240–241.

this time decisively – the dissemination of tome 1 of the *Storia della musica*. From a draft dated 25 October 1760, we learn that, “per ordine del Sig. Cav. D. Carlo Broschi”, Martini had written to Marchesini to ask Pedro Gordillo Sánchez, Marquis of Zambrano and formerly *contralor general de la Real casa, cámara y capilla*, to intervene with the Secretary of State Richard Wall to obtain permission for the dissemination of the book;⁴³ the Franciscan records that the letter was accompanied by a note from the celebrated singer. Then it was Farinelli himself who communicated to him, a few days later, the contents of a letter from Spain (“Mi fù letta dal Sig. Cav. D. Carlo Broschi una lettera di Madrid”), according to which “il Monarca n[on] era inclinato alla Musica, che però potevasi publicar il Libro”.⁴⁴ The copies “che [...] si serbano presso al Sig.^r Marchesini” – as Martini wrote in reply⁴⁵ – could be disposed of as best pleased Gordillo himself and the new Minister of Finance, Leopoldo de Gregorio, Marquis of Squillace: Farinelli had therefore secured the fate of Martini’s books, entrusting them to the care of the violinist, who had faithfully acted as an intermediary with the author at the most delicate point of the negotiations.

EARNINGS

In a letter of 2 December 1760, Marchesini told Martini that the book could at last be disseminated (in the draft of 15 November cited above, the latter had, however, already “dato ordine allo stampatore acciò si faccia”); with the exception of the two copies to be sent to Gordillo and Squillace, the remainder could be offered for sale, although the violinist hoped for a more honourable use.⁴⁶ The letters with which the account of the matter ends were written on 27 December, and contain Martini’s renewed thanks to Gordillo and Marchesini;⁴⁷ from the second, moreover, it transpires that a copy of the *Storia della musica* was given to the Inquisitor

43 Bologna, I-Bc, I.33/I, fol. 306r, GIAMBATTISTA MARTINI: Draft, s.l. (but Bologna), 25 October 1760. – PASQUINI: “Respinto da un impensato vento contrario”, 2017, no. 51, p. 249.

44 Bologna, I-Bc, I.33/I, fol. 306v, GIAMBATTISTA MARTINI: Draft, s.l. (but Bologna), 30 October 1760. – PASQUINI: “Respinto da un impensato vento contrario”, 2017, no. 52, p. 249.

45 Bologna, I-Bc, I.33/I, fol. 333r-v, Draft letter to Pedro Gordillo in which Martini intervenes only to add minimal adjustments to the text, Bologna, 15 November 1760. – PASQUINI: “Respinto da un impensato vento contrario”, 2017, no. 53, pp. 249–250.

46 See Bologna, I-Bc, Ep. mart. I.23.52, ANTONIO MARCHESINI: letter to Giambattista Martini, Madrid, 2 December 1760. – PASQUINI: “Respinto da un impensato vento contrario”, 2017, no. 54, p. 250.

47 See Bologna, I-Bc, I.33/I, fol. 331r, GIAMBATTISTA MARTINI: draft letters to Pedro Gordillo and Antonio Marchesini, Bologna, 27 December 1760. – PASQUINI: “Respinto da un impensato vento contrario”, 2017, nos. 55–56, pp. 250–251.

General of Spain, Emmanuel Quintano Bonifaz, while the author expressed his wish that further copies should be offered to Marchesini himself, as a token of his gratitude, and to the ambassador of Portugal, José da Silva y Pessanha, finally to honour the dedication to Maria Barbara. From the second of the two letters there also emerges one final detail, not irrelevant to our research: the sale of the remaining copies seems still to be a possibility, and the author writes of being willing to trust Marchesini to make “quell’uso che stima più proprio, e decoroso n[on] tanto per me, che per il mio sommo benefattore[,] il Sig. Cav. D. Carlo Broschi”.

Having overcome anxiety and ill humour, Martini could at last celebrate the dissemination of tome 1 of the *Storia della musica*, perhaps indeed with his Friend of Spain, who had done so much for the success of the enterprise and towards whom he knew he had incurred a great debt, which could only be repaid symbolically with the income from the sale of the remaining copies in Madrid. In the ten years of trials and tribulations between the beginning of the negotiations and the dissemination of the book, the premises for a new Spanish dedication of Martini’s labours had been created: in the letter with which he had received the award made to him by Maria Barbara, the Bolognese musicographer had been asked by Farinelli about the following tome in these words: “Del secondo Tomo dirà ciò che ne penza per mio governo. Se devo servirla[,] comanda”.⁴⁸ As it turned out, the Franciscan could not take advantage of the singer-diplomat’s favours again: having left the Spanish court, his career was by now in decline. Nonetheless, their continued association over the following twenty years in Bologna surely strengthened the esteem and affection between these two great personalities who, in their respective spheres, brought glory to European music.

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⁴⁸ Vienna, A-Wn, Autogr. 7/5-I Han, CARLO BROSCHI: letter to Giambattista Martini, Villaviciosa de Odón, 4 June 1759.

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