

Luigi Boccherini's Lost Music and a New Chronology for His Works An unknown inventory from 1785

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§ L'inventario della collezione musicale appartenuta all'Infante don Luis de Borbón, alle cui dipendenze Boccherini lavorò dal 1770 al 1785, apre una nuova prospettiva sull'opera del compositore lucchese e sulla sua evoluzione: è necessario rivedere non solo la cronologia di molti suoi lavori, ma anche la natura stessa della musica da lui scritta in questi quindici anni, nonché le modalità da lui seguite nel commercializzarla dopo la morte dell'Infante. Nel complesso, quest'importante documento conferma numerose ipotesi avanzate negli ultimi anni dalla ricerca, e impone una riconsiderazione della prassi compositiva boccheriniana, dei rapporti del compositore con il mercato musicale e, conseguentemente, di non pochi importanti aspetti della sua biografia.

§ The inventory of the music collection that belonged to Infante don Luis de Borbón, Luigi Boccherini's employer between 1770 and 1785, offers a new insight into the composer's oeuvre and the way he developed it; not only the chronology of many of his works must be reviewed, but also the kind of music he wrote during these 15 years and the way he traded with it after the Infante's death. Overall, this important document confirms different hypothesis that have been put forward in the last years and calls for the re-evaluation of the composer's musical practice and trading procedures, as well as many important aspects of his biography related to these aspects.

ONE of the most debated issues in the last years in Boccherini scholarship has been the nature of his catalogues, their accuracy and the real chronology of his works. In collating these catalogues, logical inconsistencies of different kinds arise, which suffice to make us consider their accuracy as highly dubious.¹ This has been brought to attention recently with renewed arguments (DROSOPOULOU 2011b; LABRADOR 2014), but no final proof, in the form of a 'real' catalogue that precedes the others and that, at the same time, contradicts them, has ever been found.

However, the inventory of the music written by Luigi Boccherini for the Infante don Luis de Borbón between 1770 and 1785, which up to now has remained unnoticed by boccherinian scholars, offers a new insight into this matter.² This is a very important source for understanding the composer's practice during his first 16 years in Spain and, particularly, the chronology and scope of his oeuvre, for there is music in this inventory that was previously unknown. On the other hand, there is also 'too much music' in this inventory, according to the official chronology that the composer himself established in his subsequent catalogues; in fact, judging from this source, it can now be demonstrated beyond reasonable doubt that after the Infante's death Boccherini decided to sell again what music he could, sometimes after altering the dates of composition, and even letting it be understood that it was new and had no previous owners. This was also a favourable circumstance for the survival of these works, since those which remained unsold and therefore unknown are now probably lost. Indeed, the only mention of that music is to be found in this important document.

Luigi Boccherini worked for the Infante don Luis de Borbón (1727-1785), brother of the king Carlos III of Spain, from the spring of 1770 until the Infante's death, in August 1785. During these years he served as a musician, playing the cello, but also as a composer. Boccherini's contract established that he should write 3 *opera* (collections of six works) *per annum*, as he wrote in a letter to Carlo Emanuele Andreoli, dated September 22, 1780:

It may be useful for the aforesaid Publishers [Artaria] to know that for the musical entertainments of my Royal Master I write every year three works, which may be either quintets or quartets, trios, etc (...).³

¹ Marco Mangani, together with Remigio Coli, was the first to raise this issue in MANGANI – COLI 1997. He furthered this argument in the first thorough analysis of Boccherini's extant catalogues in MANGANI 2005, pp. 189-208 and MANGANI 2011. See also MANGANI – ROVELLI 2014. Also, concerning the different catalogues and their origin, COLI 2011b.

² Archivo Histórico de Protocolos de Madrid, Protocolo 20.822, escribano Martínez de Salazar: *Liquidación, cuenta y partición de los bienes libres [...] que quedaron por muerte del Ser[enisi]mo S[eño]r D[on] Luis Antonio Jaime de Borbón, Ynfante de España [...]*, fols. 481-485. The music inventory is part of a broader inventory which comprised the entire Infante's estate. It must be noted that the valuation of the Infante's estate was a long endeavour, finished in 1797, although it refers to the state of things in August 1785, when he died.

³ Arenas, September 22, 1780. Transcription in BOCCHERINI 2011, pp. 160-161: «Potrà servir di notizia ai sopradetti signori impresori che io per le accademie del mio real padrone scrivo tre opere ogn' anno, ora siano quintetti, ora quartetti, trio, etc. (...)». English translation in ROTHSCCHILD 1965, pp. 99-100.

It remains to be established beyond doubt when the composer actually began to write three sets of works each year for don Luis, although judging from his 'autograph' catalogue, published by his great grandson Alfredo Boccherini y Calonje (henceforward, **ByC**), in 1879,⁴ the first works he wrote for the Infante were the quartets op. 8 and op. 9, probably in 1770.

At least from 1771 on, it can be safely assumed that he indeed wrote three sets of works every year, each of them consisting of six pieces, be they either quartets, quintets, trios or symphonies. This is evident from the study of manuscript sources, although in **ByC** the chronology of the sets of works frequently differs from that in the scores, and there are many 'blank' years in which the composer appears to have remained inactive, or his music did not enter the catalogue.

According to **ByC**, in 1782 Boccherini would cease to write music for three years. This would contradict his own words and the evidence from musical sources, for he was to deliver three sets of works every year until August 7th, 1785, when don Luis died; however, the chronology set in **ByC** has always been the basis of studies of his production and so far it has remained basically unchallenged.

An alternative hypothesis, based on the inventory being considered here, is that Boccherini actually wrote three sets of works every year until the Infante's death. Subsequently, he would significantly slow down his pace of work, while at the same time he offered the works that had been paid for by the Infante don Luis to King Frederick William II of Prussia, the Countess-Duchess of Benavente and a Mr. Boulogne.⁵

This music formed part of private collections, which explains why he thought of selling it again to Ignaz Pleyel in 1797, with the aim of publishing it. No publisher could take the risk of issuing 'old' music, which might already be known; but the works that Boccherini offered to his patrons some years before were probably safely kept in their music libraries and it could be assumed that they would not be communicated to anybody else, much less sold. Thus, Boccherini sent Pleyel a catalogue with forged dates, so his old music, already offered to don Luis some 10 or 15 years before, and in many cases also offered to Frederick William II, The Duchess of Benavente and a Mr. Boulogne, would appear to be 'new'.

In the end, Pleyel bought 168 compositions from Boccherini, and the 'revised' catalogue was assumed to be a faithful one, and not just a commercial (and possibly misleading) document. Afterwards, this catalogue was updated and finally published in 1879, although another version was used in Louis

⁴ **BOCCHERINI Y CALONJE 1879**. However, the original document has never been found, and all that remains is the copy published by Alfredo Boccherini. Nonetheless, this has been a very important source for Boccherini scholarship. Another important, alternative source, is the catalogue of Boccherini's works that once belonged to P. Baillot, first described in **PASCOE 2006**. The chronology of **ByC** was deemed accurate until Mangani pointed out important inconsistencies. On this issue and the relationship between these two catalogues, see note 1.

⁵ On the subsequent sales of his music, see **LABRADOR 2014**, pp. 40-54, and **LABRADOR 2016**.

Picquot's biography, thus setting the main lines of the composer's biography and chronology up to this day.⁶ As a result, there are serious flaws in the reception history of Boccherini's music, due to the composer's own account of the chronology of his works.

The Infante inventory: establishing the authorship of Boccherini's music

All this can be better understood when considering the inventory of music that was made after the Infante's death, which we shall discuss here. Not only his music collection, which included at least 270 compositions by different authors, can be found in this document, but also the manuscripts of the works that Boccherini wrote for him between 1770 and 1785.

The first issue that has to be clarified concerning this document is its true nature: this was part of an inventory prepared after the Infante's death, for the value of his estate had to be calculated in order for it to be divided among don Luis's widow and three sons. There are many parts in this document, since all the assets belonging to don Luis are carefully listed, including his library and his music collection⁷. Concerning the music, each item is identified by its genre and author, together with its price, which depended on the genre of the work (see fig. 2).

A second important issue concerns the structure of the part of the document dedicated to the music collection; oddly enough, it begins with a list of anonymous compositions, which is followed after two pages by a new section under the title «*musica impresa*» (printed music), where the name of each item's author is found. One can only suppose that the first items are by Boccherini, not only because it can be assumed that most of the works in this collection should be by him, as the Infante's composer for 15 years, but also because there is just one item attributed to him in the whole inventory (a printed set of trios), and it would make little sense that this was all the music by Boccherini owned by the Infante at the time of his death.

⁶ This is, precisely, the basis of Yves Gérard 'chronological table', which is to be found at the end of his *Catalogue*. See GÉRARD 1965, pp. 671-682. Concerning the biographies, PICQUOT 1851 basically uses the same chronology as ByC, although his source is *Baillet* (see note 5). Still, Picquot wondered what the composer could have done between 1783 and 1785; see PICQUOT 1851, pp. 110 and 111. ROTHSCHILD 1965 and TORTELLA 2002 also rely on ByC's chronology in their Boccherini biographies.

⁷ Remigio Coli suggests that the Infante's music collection, or part of it, might have gone into Boccherini's possession after don Luis's death. However, the inventory shows that by 1797 this music still remained in the Infante's estate. See COLI 2011b, p. xlvii.

Music compositions	Price /work (reales)	No. of works	Total price (reales)
One <i>Stabat Mater</i> a solo	60	1	60
Some <i>Villancicos de la Navidad</i>	42	1	42
Two sets of six Arias, each with all the instruments	30	12	360
Five Arias and a Duo, with two violins, viola and Bass	20	6	120
Five <i>tonadillas</i> and a Duo	20	1	120
First scene of the play, or <i>comedia también por la voz hay dicha</i>	54	1	54
One scene for the play <i>el Hechizado por fuerza</i>	18	1	18
One Cavatina for the sainete <i>del No</i>	12	1	12
A beginning for the play <i>el secreto a voces</i>	4	1	4
One Minuet for the sainete <i>de la Escofieta</i>	4	1	4
One <i>cantada</i> for one voice	28	6	28
Six <i>conciertos grandes</i>	36	6	216
Six symphonies with all the instruments	30	6	180
Six symphonies <i>a quatro</i> with all the instruments <i>ad Libitum</i>	30	6	180
Six sextets	24	6	144
The [aforementioned] set of <i>conciertos</i> reduced to Quintets	22	6	132
The [aforementioned] set of symphonies reduced to Quintets	22	6	132
Two sets of sextets, reduced to quintets	22	12	264
Two sets of <i>Quintetos chicos</i> with flute	6	12	72
The two previous sets reduced without flute	6	12	72
Nine sets of quintets	22	54	1188
Five Quintets from an unfinished set	22	5	110
Five sets of Quartets	14	30	420
Four sets of Trios	12	24	288
One set of Trios for Violin Viola and Bass	12	6	72
Three sets of Quintets	12	18	216
Four sets of <i>Quartetinos</i>	10	24	240
Two detached symphonies	15	2	30
<i>Quintettino del Fandango</i>	12	1	12
<i>Quintettino de la tragica fin</i> [of the tragical ending]	12	1	12
TOTAL:		269	4742

Figure 1 – First part of the Inventory of the Music Library that belonged to D. Luis de Borbón.

Additionally, almost every other item in the inventory is identified by genre and author, and thus the only possible works by Boccherini would be, precisely, those included in the ‘anonymous’ first section of the document. Moreover, among the music in this first section there are many references to works which are undoubtedly Boccherini’s, like the *Quintettino del Fandango*, G. 341, the *Villancicos*, the *Stabat Mater* a solo or the two sets of *quintettini* with flute. Besides this, no other composer in Spain would have written such a numerous collection of quintets as the one in this section (128) by 1785, or indeed later.

It is also worth noting that the value of these works is significantly higher than the rest (for instance, the printed quartets in don Luis’s collection were worth 5 *reales* each, while Boccherini’s were 10 or 14, depending on their

length), thus establishing a different category for this music⁸. Finally, as it will be shown, the internal coherence between the works in the first section of the inventory would only make sense if they were by Boccherini himself. Therefore, it can be assumed that the first part of the inventory comprises manuscript music by Boccherini, although no mention of him is made.

The contents of the first three pages of the inventory of the Infante's music library are shown in fig. 1, with the valuation of each item and the total price for each set of works. There are 269 works by Boccherini, valued at 4.742 reales.⁹

At a first glance, some features of this collection of manuscript music are particularly remarkable: many works now unknown seem to have been owned by the Infante and there are six sets of arrangements for string quartet or quintet. Additionally, it has long been believed that Boccherini only offered 28 sets of works to don Luis, according to ByC, while the inventory contradicts this and in some instances illustrates how misleading the 'official' chronology of his works can be.¹⁰

Most of the items are grouped in sets of six works each (this can be deduced from the final price of each set, which has been included in Fig. 2), and there are also nine instrumental compositions that do not form part of a collection of this kind, although it may be supposed that they did at some time; in fact, there are «Five Quintets from an unfinished set», implying that six-works sets were the norm. If these works had originally been gathered in groups of six, the collection of music by Boccherini would consist of roughly 45 sets of six works each, although some pieces would be missing when the inventory was finished. However, the eight single vocal works might count as four «sets» (and not one), considering their value: the *Stabat Mater*, the *Villancicos* and the *scena* might count each as an entire set or 'opus', while the rest of them would make up a collection of five short works. This coincides nicely with what could be expected for 15 years's work (45 sets, or three each year, from 1770 to 1784), plus the two sets belonging to the first eight months of 1785. At the same time, this also means that there is more music in the collection than there should be, according to the composer's 'official' catalogue (ByC). In fact, most of the items or groups of items can be ascribed to Boccherini's already existing opus numbers, although some of them are assigned a later chronology, which makes them appear as 'having been written' after 1785. It is also noticeable that vocal music was not included in the composer's catalogue at its last stage, probably due to the difficulty of marketing it.

⁸ This, however, might also have to do with the fact that most of this music was unpublished and thus, 'unique'. But this would be difficult to ascertain, since it was 'anonymous' and it could very well be a copy of an already published work.

⁹ These are folios 481r, 481v and 482r; the transcription can be found in the Appendix.

¹⁰ On the different chronologies of Boccherini's works, see LABRADOR 2014, pp. 33-35.

Vocal music: important additions to Boccherini's catalogue

The most astonishing part of this inventory is probably the one pertaining to vocal music. It has long been assumed that Boccherini wrote little vocal music, dating mainly from his earlier years (the Oratorios *Gioas, re di Giudea* and *Il Giuseppe riconosciuto*, and the Cantata *La confederazione dei sabini con Roma*, from 1764-1765), and then in his older age (the arias academicas, believed to date from ca. 1792 or *Inés de Castro*, from 1798); but it appears clearly that he wrote for the Infante at least 17 arias and two Duos, as well as theatrical music. Hence the first contribution of this document.

The first two items, a *Stabat Mater* a solo and the *Villancicos* for Christmas, can be identified as the *Stabat Mater* Boccherini wrote in 1781, while the *villancicos* could very well be G. 539,¹¹ which is dated in 1783 in Picquot's catalogue. In this case it cannot be established whether this is an earlier version of the work (as in the *Stabat Mater*, later re-scored for three voices «*per evitare la monotonia di una sola voce*», in 1803), since Boccherini does not seem to have written music for more than two singers during that period (1770-1785), and the *Villancicos* are scored for four singers.¹²

The next entries in the inventory are dedicated to the arias, which add up to 17, and two Duos. These are hard not to relate to the only such works in Gérard's catalogue, G. 559 and either G. 560 or 561 (these are, however, considered 'doubtful' works by Yves Gérard). Concerning the arias, it can be reasonably thought that 15 of them have survived (G. 544-558), most of which are kept at the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, in Paris (G. 544-555); of these 17 arias, 12 were scored «*con todos instrumentos*» (with full orchestra), and another 5 were scored for two violins, viola and bass. These differences in the orchestration can actually be seen in the extant *arie accademiche* kept in Paris: some of them are written «*con violini, viola e basso*» (G. 544-546), while the other twelve arias are «*con todos instrumentos*» (with all the instruments) and in fact have wind parts (2 oboes and 2 French horns, except for two without horns, and one lacking horns but with 2 bassoons). It is highly probable that these works were among those owned by the Infante, since these are the only known arias by Boccherini and they seem to be scored for the 'right' instrumental forces. Furthermore it does not seem probable that the composer wrote 29 arias, of which 17 were lost.

But the most remarkable vocal works are the music for the stage, all of them being, up to now, unknown. The Infante had theatre plays performed for him and, following the Spanish custom, some music was included in them, even if they were old plays and new music had to be provided. Boccherini wrote music both for long plays (three *comedias*) and for short plays (the so-

¹¹ Boccherini's works are currently identified by a G followed by an ordinal, as established in Gérard's catalogue. See GÉRARD 1969.

¹² Also, the only extant copy of the *Villancicos* is written on music paper used in the first years of the 19th century.

called *sainetes*, pieces in one act, with popular characters). There are also five *tonadillas*, the local equivalent of the intermezzo, quite a popular genre in the 1770s and 1780s, entirely sung in Spanish. Regarding the *comedias*, it is worth noting that they were part of the traditional repertoire: *También por la voz hay dicha* is a play by José Cañizares (1676-1750); *El hechizado por fuerza* is by Antonio de Zamora (1665-1727) and *El secreto a voces* is by Pedro Calderón de la Barca (1600-1681);¹³ all of them had been staged in Madrid throughout the first half of the 18th century, and were thus well-known pieces. The two *sainetes*, *El no* and *la Escofieta*,¹⁴ are by Ramón de la Cruz (1731-1794), the most popular playwright in Madrid's theatres during the last third of the century. As for the *tonadillas*, it is very unfortunate that the titles are unknown, although this is not an unusual practice in that time, since this genre of musical theatre was not highly regarded and both the music and the text are, normally, anonymous.

The only item in this list difficult to identify is the «cantada a voz sola», which, given Boccherini's practice of revitalizing old works, could perhaps be *Inés de Castro*. Although this work was presented to the Marchioness of Benavent in 1798, there are two versions of the score, and it could have happened that this cantada a voz sola would have become the scena *Inés de Castro*, just as the *Villancicos* probably became the *Cantata al Santo Natale* twenty years after they were created (LABRADOR 2013). If it were so, *Inés de Castro* would have been written in this period, together with the rest of Boccherini's vocal music, and then reworked for the Marqués de Benavent some years later. In fact, «cantada a voz sola» could be anything sung, and *Inés de Castro* could indeed be described as a «cantada».

Therefore, it can probably be assumed that although Boccherini's music for the stage is lost, for the moment, at least some of this vocal music has survived. Not only the *Villancicos* and the *Stabat Mater*; the arias that were sold to I. Pleyel in 1797 could very well have once been owned by the Infante. Nowadays two sets of six arias «with all the instruments» have been preserved, as well as three «con violini, viola e Basso», which closely resembles the number and kind of arias in the inventory. It is also noteworthy that at least one Duo, G. 559, has probably survived (G. 560 and 561 are deemed dubious and were not included in any of the modern editions of the arias¹⁵), which is consistent with the information in this document.

¹³ The dates in which these plays were staged in Madrid's theatres can be found in ANDIOC – COULON 2008.

¹⁴ There is no extant «sainete de la escofieta», although «La escofietera» or «Las escofieteras» is a sainete by Ramón de la Cruz. Since the accuracy in the titles of the plays was not very sought-after, even in Madrid's theatres, it can be reasonably supposed that this «Escofieta» sainete is the one by Ramón de la Cruz. See LAFUENTE-AGUERRI 1996.

¹⁵ These have been those of Aldo Pais, who published in 1988 the extant 15 arias and a voice and piano arrangement of the duetto G. 559, and the subsequent edition by Christian Speck in 2005. See BOCCHERINI 1998 and BOCCHERINI 2005.

Instrumental music: rethinking Boccherini's chronology

Most of Boccherini's works in this collection are instrumental music. After the vocal music, the first items in the inventory are the symphonies, of which there are 20; the first set is identified as «*conciertos grandes*», which is the same denomination that Boccherini uses in his catalogue for the op. 12 symphonies (1771).¹⁶ The symphonies «*a quatro*» must be op. 32, since a manuscript set of parts of these symphonies, dated ca. 1782, is kept at Madrid Conservatorio, with the same title.¹⁷ As for the other set of symphonies, it must be op. 21 (1775), «*Sei sinfonie a più strumenti obbligati*» in ByC, which may be translated as «*con todos instrumentos*», as they appear in the inventory. However, there are also «*2 sinfonías sueltas*» (two independent symphonies), which were not part of any six-work set.

If it may be assumed that Boccherini did not forget, lose or discard this music when the Infante died and his servants returned to Madrid, the logical assumption would be that he used it as soon as he could, in the next set of symphonies he wrote. This would be the four symphonies op. 37, supposedly from 1787; if this were the case, at least two of them would already have been written by the summer of 1785. Indeed, examination of the music paper shows that at least two of these symphonies were written before 1787.¹⁸

Another important aspect of the music collection concerns the sextets; by 1785 Boccherini had published two sets: op. 16 (1773) and op. 23 (1776).¹⁹ However, there were only six sextets in the Infante collection, which are probably those from 1776, since op. 16 are sextets with flute, and this circumstance is normally stated in the inventory. This would be the only instance in which a known set of works belonging to the Infante (op. 16) is missing from this important document.

The rest of the music in the collection consists of 79 Quintets, 54 Quartets and 30 Trios. Each of them deserves a short discussion, since important consequences for Boccherini's chronology can be drawn from the inventory. While it is not possible to identify each of these works, it is easy to know how many of them were 'short' («*opera piccola*» in the composer's catalogue) or 'long' («*opera grande*»), because they have a different price-estimation. As already said, a useful feature of the document is that there is actually an independent valuation of every set of works in reales, which follows the following criteria:

¹⁶ It should be noted that, unless indicated otherwise, the chronology is that of ByC.

¹⁷ These manuscripts are not in Gérard's catalogue, although their Spanish origin and early chronology (ca. 1782) make them an important source for op. 32. See GOSÁLVEZ – LABRADOR 2008, pp. 132-133.

¹⁸ LABRADOR 2014, pp. 55-64. The study of the sources shows that the four symphonies which were to be identified as op. 37 (1787) in Boccherini's catalogue were sent to Frederick William II in 1786 (November and December) and 1787 (June and October).

¹⁹ See RASCH 2006. References to years of publication are taken from this study.

	item	6-work set
Symphony <i>Grande</i>	36	216
Symphony	30	180
Sextet	24	144
Quintet	22	132
Quartet	14	84
<i>Quintettino</i>	12	72
Trio	12	72
<i>Quartettino</i>	10	60

Figure 2 – Valuation of items in the inventory (in reales)

The difference between quintetto and *quintettino*, or quarteto and *quartettino* lies in the number of movements, which were three or more for the *opera grande* (the proper quartet or quintet), and two for the *opera piccola* (*quintettino* or *quartettino*).²⁰ Thus, knowing the price, it is easy to establish how many of each there were in this collection. There are also some items valued at half their price (two symphonies and two sets of *quintettini*). A possible reason is that these might be scores, instead of sets of parts, and therefore their market value would be reduced, since the music could not be played before new costs were incurred, writing out the parts for each instrument.

According to this price-scale, there are 59 Quintets *opera grande* in the inventory (nine complete sets of six works each, and another five from «an unfinished set»), and 20 quintets *opera piccola* (three complete sets, and another two *quintettini*). We know that the entry that reads «Tres obras de Quintetos a setenta y dos rs». (three sets of Quintets, valued at 72 reales) refers to quintetti *opera piccola* because of the price, which would be 12 reales, instead of the 22 at which the *quintetti opera grande* were priced.

Concerning the Quintets *opera grande*, most of the works Boccherini apparently wrote between 1771 and 1780 would fit here, for there are, exactly, nine sets of works in the inventory, which coincides with the 54 quintets he published during that period of time. Additionally, there are also «Cinco Quintetos de una obra sin acabar» (five quintets from an unfinished set), which must be *opera grande*, judging by their price; this remaining five quintets would either be the three from op. 39 (1787) and the two from op. 41 (1788), or perhaps even the five that make up op. 49 (1794). At any rate, they were certainly post-dated in ByC and Picquot's catalogue.

There are also three sets of quintets *opera piccola*, which correspond closely with what Boccherini wrote before 1785: Op. 27 (1779) and Op. 30 (1780) would be the first two, and the third set should be op. 36. Therefore, it can be established that the three sets of *quintettini* included in the inventory

²⁰ Letter to Carlo E. Andreoli, Arenas, September 22, 1780. Transcription in BOCCHERINI 2011, pp. 160-161: «Distinguo le opere in piccole e grandi perché le grandi costano di quattro pezzi cada quinteto, e le piccole di due e non più». English translation in ROTHSCHILD 1965, pp. 99-100.

were op. 27, op. 30 and op. 36, and must have been written before 1785. Finally, the *quintettino del Fandango* must be G. 341 (op. 40, No. 2); this is known because no other Boccherini quintet has a fandango, and it does not seem possible that a second quintet, now lost, included this kind of dance;²¹ as for the other *quintettino*, «de la trágica fin», it probably can be identified as G. 350 (op. 42, No. 3).²² Again, this would challenge accepted chronology for Boccherini's works, since both works were subsequently dated in 1788 and 1789, although they already existed by 1785.

The quartets are a somewhat problematic part of the inventory; there are five sets of quartets *opera grande*, which are more difficult to fit in the composer's 'official' output during these years (ByC). Only three sets of quartets can be dated between 1770 and 1785: Op. 9 (1770), op. 24 (1777) and op. 32 (1780). However, op. 8 might also be included, since it was dedicated to the Infante, although published in 1769 (and thus written before he entered his service). The fifth set of quartets should be presumed lost or, as in the symphonies op. 37, might be assigned to subsequent years, since it is hard to think that the composer would not have taken advantage of the occasion to sell these works again. Thus, there is a good possibility that these six quartets could be disseminated between the series Boccherini 'created' in 1796 when he sold most of his unpublished music to I. Pleyel, assigning them the dates 1787 (one quartet included in op. 39), 1788 (two quartets, op. 41) and 1795 (three of the four quartets included in op. 52).

Concerning the quartets *opera piccola*, the four sets included in the inventory probably correspond to op. 15, op. 22, op. 26 and op. 33, all of them written between 1772 and 1781.

Finally, the trios are probably the hardest part to 'fit in'. There is in the inventory a set of trios for violin, viola and bass, probably op. 14 (1772). Additionally, there are four sets of trios, which presumably were written for two violins and bass. These would be op. 34 (1781), and then the only possible trios, if Boccherini did not misplace or lose this music, would be op. 54 (1796). Still, two sets of trios would be missing, which perhaps could be related to some of the up to now considered 'doubtful' works; among them, the set published as op. 28 by Bailleux (1779) and even the trios G. 125-130 published by the Bureau d'abonnement musical (1770) might be reconsidered as authentic.²³ It is also worth noting that in the second section of the inventory, «musica impresa», there is only one reference to Boccherini: there are «Seis trios de Bochr. en tres libros de pasta» (Six trios by Boccherini, in three

²¹ Additionally, the manuscript of G. 341 (Bibliothèque de l'Opéra, Rés. 508 (18) is dedicated to the Infante don Luis, «da Luigi Boccherini, virtuoso di camera e compositor di musica di S[ua] A[ltezza] R[eale]». GÉRARD 1965, p. 388 already casts doubts about the chronology of the quintet.

²² I am indebted to Marco Mangani, who suggested that the only possible *quintettino* with a 'tragic ending' was this one.

²³ It is certainly difficult to see why Boccherini would publish a set of trios and *not* include it in his catalogue. Another (unlikely) possibility would be that op. 47 (1793), although scored for violin, viola and 'cello, was originally meant for two violins and cello.

books with hard cover), which should be opp. 1, 4 or 6, published between 1767 and 1771.²⁴ There certainly were printed works by Boccherini in the collection, although most of this music is manuscript. Although an unlikely possibility, the missing sets of trios could be among opp. 1, 4 and 6, probably excluding the printed set of trios (which would not be twice in the collection). If it were so, this would mean that Boccherini provided a copy of this music, but not as part of the three annual sets of works he would write for the Infante. A last possibility would be that there existed two sets of trios written for the Infante which have remained unknown.

Overall, there is a close correspondence between this inventory and the opus numbers assigned by Boccherini to his instrumental music, except with the trios (at least one set of trios would be missing in ByC). This is shown in fig. 3.

Music compositions	Kind of work	ByC
Six <i>conciertos grandes</i>	—	op. 12
Six symphonies with all the instruments	—	op. 21
Six symphonies <i>a quatro</i>	—	op. 35
Six sextets	<i>op. grande</i>	op. 23
The set of concerts arranged for quintet	<i>op. grande</i>	[op. 12]
The set of symphonies arranged for quintet	<i>op. grande</i>	[op. 21]
Two sets of sextets, arranged for quintet	<i>op. piccola</i>	opp. 60 & 62
Two sets of <i>quintetos chicos</i> with flute	<i>op. piccola</i>	opp. 17 & 19
The two previous sets arranged without flute	<i>op. grande</i>	[opp. 17 & 19]
Nine sets of quintets	<i>op. grande</i>	opp. 10-31
Five Quintets from an unfinished set	<i>op. grande</i>	opp. 39 & 41
Five sets of Quartets	<i>op. grande</i>	opp. 9, 24, 32, 41?, 52?
Four sets of Trios	—	opp. 34, 54, <i>i?</i>
One set of Trios for Violin Viola and Bass	<i>op. piccola</i>	op. 14
Three sets of Quintets	<i>op. piccola</i>	opp. 27, 30, 36
Four sets of <i>Quartetinos</i>	<i>op. piccola</i>	opp. 15, 22, 26, 33
Two detached symphonies	<i>op. piccola</i>	op. 37
A <i>Quintetino del Fandango</i>	<i>op. piccola</i>	op. 40
A <i>Quintetino de la tragica fin</i> [of the tragical ending]	<i>op. piccola</i>	op. 42

Figure 3 – Proposed identification of Boccherini's music in the Infante collection

A new insight into Boccherini's practice: the *reducciones*

An interesting feature of Boccherini's musical practice in his late years is that many of the works he wrote do not seem to be exactly 'original'. This is especially true for the music he wrote for the Marqués de Benavent in 1798 and 1799, which are transcriptions or reworkings of earlier works: the quintets with guitar and a symphony, also with guitar, all of them arranged from

²⁴ These would possibly be op. 6, printed in 1771 and dedicated to the Prince of Asturias. This was the only Spanish edition of Boccherini's trios.

already existing quintets.²⁵ To this should be added the second version of the *Stabat Mater* (sold in 1801), and the two sets of quintets with two violas (op. 60 and 62) dedicated to Lucien Bonaparte in 1801 and 1802, which were quite probably works written twenty years before (DROSOPOULOU 2011a).

Judging from the presence of old music among his 'last' works, it would seem that Boccherini could not or did not need to write more music during the last three years of his life. After all, he was wealthy, he had been one of the best-paid musicians in Spain for a long time and had quite a good pension allotted by the king of Spain. But this could have been going on for some time before. The six sets of works 'reduced' (arranged) for smaller ensembles attest to a practice that probably began in 1776-1777, and not in the late 1790s. This is another of the unexpected findings in the inventory: Boccherini transcribed or rearranged his works for the Infante, setting them for a smaller group of instruments.²⁶

Boccherini transcribed twelve of his symphonies for string quintet. The inventory reads «La obra de conciertos reducida a Quintetos» (The set of *conciertos* reduced to quintets), which should correspond to the symphonies op. 12, which are identified as «concerto a grande orchestra» in ByC. There is also one «obra de sinfonias reducida a Quintetos», which stands for one of the other two sets of symphonies (op. 21 or op. 35), also arranged for string quintet. It would seem difficult to go beyond that, but the answer is to be found in the existing quintet version of these symphonies, kept in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France;²⁷ only the first violin part of these arrangements has survived, bound with some other works, under the title «Quinteto», and not «Symphony», and it clearly belongs to op. 12 (1771) and op. 21 (1775). Thus, although these versions for string quintet seem to be lost, at least there is a first violin part that confirms their existence. Incidentally, this is yet another reason to sustain that the works in the first section of the Infante's inventory were actually written by Boccherini.

The second series of arrangements concerns the sextets. It is clear from the inventory that there once existed two series of sextets (now lost), which Boccherini transcribed as quintets, and it can be assumed that op. 23 was not one of them, since no mention to it is being arranged is made; when one work

²⁵ At least seven and possibly twelve guitar quintets (G445-553) and the Symphony G523, also with guitar. The guitar quintets were transcribed from op. 10, 55 and 56, while the symphony was transcribed from the quintet Op. 10 n^o4, G268.

²⁶ It is not clear to what extent these were arrangements or transcriptions; although it can be assumed that Boccherini intended to offer *the same* piece of music in a different, smaller medium, the kind of intervention he performed cannot be confirmed, due to the absence of sources (either the original or the final state of the work are missing). Therefore, we choose to use both terms without distinguishing between them.

²⁷ The first violin part of the quintets op. 12 is the third item included in Ms. 16735, while the first violin of the quintets op. 21 is the ninth item in the same manuscript. In fact, Ms. 16735 is a volume which includes the first violin part of nine quintets, comprised between op. numbers 10-21. The first scholar who pointed out that there was a quintet version of these symphonies was DROSOPOULOU 2011a.

is arranged for smaller instrumental forces, the inventory reads «la obra de conciertos / sinfonías / quintetos' reducida a (...)», which is not the case with the two sets of sextets. The only other known set of sextets, op. 16, can also be excluded; some mention of it including a flute part would be expected, just as in the *quintettini* op. 17 and 19. Another important reason to exclude op. 16 is that it was not included in the composer's personal collection of music, now kept at the Bibliothèque nationale de France, of which Ms. 16735 formed part.²⁸ Interestingly, this book comprises the quintets opp. 10-21, including the arrangements of symphonies op. 12 and 21. However, there is no quintet version of op. 16, which would logically have been included in this volume.

Instead, it is hard not to think that these sextets arranged as quintets were precisely op. 60 and op. 62, supposedly written for Lucien Bonaparte in 1801 and 1802, and never sold to any publisher. The reason for this is to be found in the surviving sets of parts at the Bibliothèque Nationale de France; the cover of op. 62 reads «Opera 62. | 1802 | Sei Quintetti. | *Per due violini, due viole, e due violoncelli* [...]» (my italics). Drosopoulou has convincingly argued that far from being an error, this is a proof of an earlier sextet version, probably from the 1780s. Her view, supported by a study of expression markings in Boccherini's string quintets, is further corroborated by the inclusion in the viola part of op. 60, n° 6 (G. 396) of an 'incorrect' or 'problematic' date: 1781 (DROSOPOULOU 2011b). This is completely consistent with the hypothesis that both op. 60 and op. 62 were in fact written in the 1780s originally as sextets. Therefore, these sextets would have been arranged as string quintets, perhaps for two cellos, which was the kind of work Boccherini wrote in the 1780s for the Infante; afterwards, in 1801 and 1802, they were offered to Lucien Bonaparte as quintets for two violas. This would be the long life of op. 60 and 62, which appear paradoxically as some of the last works in ByC, long deemed the composer's own chronological catalogue.

Finally, two sets of *quintetos chicos* (small quintets, or «quintetinos») with flute were also 'reduced' or arranged for a smaller number of players. These should be op. 17 and op. 19, the only known *quintettini* with flute by Boccherini, dating from 1773 and 1774; it is clear from the text that they were 'reduced without flute', which is to say, rewritten as string quartets, probably due to the lack of a musician that might perform the flute part. There are no extant copies neither of these quintets with flute later set as quartets, nor of the original sextets which were to become the quintets op. 60 and 62.

Boccherini did not consider selling any of this music, and thus the quintet version of the symphonies or the quartet version of the quintets with flute have remained unnoticed until now. Concerning the sextets, he was able to rework them as quintets with two violas in 1801 precisely because they had not been published and could be offered again as *new music* to Lucien Bonaparte.

²⁸ Concerning the composer's personal collection, see LABRADOR 2014, pp. 36-39.

An important issue concerning the transcriptions is why they were done. There clearly was a need to set symphonies, sextets and even quintets for smaller ensembles, and this was done with no fewer than 36 works. The only reason for doing so would be to have these works performed in circumstances when their original setting would have made it very difficult to find the required number of musicians. In fact, when don Luis got married in 1776 he (together with his family and servants) had to leave the vicinity of the court and settle 20 leagues off from Madrid, due to his morganatic marriage; thus, he settled in Arenas de San Pedro, some 150 kilometres away from Madrid.²⁹ It is interesting to note that Boccherini only wrote for more than five instruments (sextets and symphonies) *until 1776*, precisely.

In fact, the two sets of symphonies op. 12 and op. 21 were written in 1771 and 1775, and the sextets op. 16 and op. 21, in 1773 and 1776. This would also explain the early dating of the quintets with flute (1773 and 1774) and the fact that the sextets with flute op. 16 (also from 1773) or the serenade written for don Luis's wedding (1776) do not seem to be in the collection. Almost no works with flute (or wind instruments) are known from the period 1776-1785, with the exception of the symphonies op. 35. But these works were also intended to be performed «a quatro», without the wind parts, and some movements (notably, op. 35/3, second movement) are scored just for strings. This would explain the need to arrange the six sets of symphonies, sextets and quintets with flute for string quartet or quintet. It probably also explains why most of the music written for don Luis between 1776 and 1785 consists of quintets, which would be the biggest ensemble that would normally be available.

Finally, concerning the sextets, we know of opp. 16 and 23, but there were at least two other sets of string sextets which were arranged as string quintets in 1781. Thus, Boccherini wrote at least 24 such works in his first years as musician to the Infante, making the sextet as frequent a genre as the quartet in the years 1770-1776. This also points to the fact that before 1776 these works could normally be played, although after the Infante's marriage and his estrangement from the court it would have been somewhat difficult to have the sextets performed.

Dating matters and missing works

The main significance of the inventory lies not only in understanding how many works Boccherini wrote for don Luis and what kind of music this was, but also concerns the chronology of Boccherini's oeuvre. It has already been said that the composer changed the dates of many of his works when he sold

²⁹ MARTÍN BONET *et al.* 2005, p. 170. Although don Luis had more than 300 people at his service while he lived in Arenas, it seems that the musicians that could be available would be the four string players from the Font family and Boccherini himself; his wife, singer Clementina Pelliccia, might sometimes join. See RODRÍGUEZ 2002, p. 31, and TORTELLA 2002, pp. 243-251.

them to Pleyel, and he also offered the same music to King Frederick William II and the Duchess of Benavent. This can be demonstrated by collating the chronology of certain works in Boccherini's catalogue and in the inventory; additionally, some incoherencies that appear in manuscript sources can be fully explained if this hypothesis is accepted.

Although the Infante don Luis owned a very important collection of Boccherini manuscripts, the composer clearly kept a copy of all his works, and he just re-used this very same music once he returned to Madrid, offering it to his subsequent patrons and changing its chronology. This is confirmed by Boccherini's letter to Pleyel dated 24 December 1798, where he acknowledges this:

When on your own initiative you asked me for the 110 pieces which I sent you last, I told you frankly that the Infante Don Luis, for whom they were written, might have sent a copy of them to anyone he pleased, seeing that he was their legitimate proprietor; that the King of Prussia possessed a copy of them; and that I had sold them in 1790 or 1791 to the unfortunate Boulogne [...].³⁰

Moreover, Boccherini's statement is further confirmed by the presence of the autograph scores of music dedicated to don Luis among the composer's personal music collection, as attested in his great grandson's catalogue (ByC).³¹ It has already been shown that some works did not enter his catalogue in the period 1770-1785; but, far from being an exception, it can be safely established that the music he had already written and *not published* was not lost forever, but offered to subsequent patrons, since there was no way for them to know that it already existed and was not *new*. In other words, Boccherini had no need to write new music for some time, and opp. 36-43 are a good proof of this.

Thus, beginning with the *arie accademiche*, some uncertainty surrounds their true origin and chronology. Louis Picquot suggests that they might date from ca. 1783 (PICQUOT 1851, pp. 110-111), while Yves Gérard argues that most of them would have been written between 1786 and 1797, since Boccherini declares himself «composer to the King of Prussia» in the title-page of G. 544-555,³² and also because the manuscript of G. 559 is dated September 1792, although he also proposes a datation of 1775 for some of them (G. 556-558) (GÉRARD 1969, pp. 642-643). This view is shared by Christian Speck in his

³⁰ Letter to Ignaz Pleyel. Madrid, December 24, 1798. English translation in ROTHSCHILD 1965, pp. 128-131.

³¹ See BOCCHERINI Y CALONJE 1879. The autograph scores of 24 works were kept in the family until 1879, and at least five of them (plus the sets of parts to other seventeen) were works dedicated to the Infante. Concerning the whereabouts of these scores after 1879, see TORTELLA 2014.

³² GÉRARD 1969, pp. 634 and 679. Gérard suggests that the music sent to king Frederick William in 1791 should have been, in fact, the *arie accademiche*.

edition of Boccherini's *Arie di Concerto* G. 544-559.³³ However, the existence of seventeen of these arias in the inventory allows one to think that they were sold to Pleyel *because* they were already written well in advance; all of them would already have existed by 1785, for they would have been offered to the Infante don Luis in the first place. The *villancicos*, on the other hand, also date from this time, which confirms Picquot's chronology (1783), based on his correspondence with the Boccherini family, which up to now had remained unconfirmed (PICQUOT 1851, pp. 110, 130).

Concerning the instrumental music, a better chronology can also be proposed for some works thanks to the inventory. Although this is somewhat hypothetical, another of the issues that must be addressed is to what extent the collection was *complete* when the inventory was set up. At least one important work is missing: the serenata G. 501, written by Boccherini on the occasion of the Infante's wedding in 1776, and the same can probably be said of the sextets with flute op. 16, which were written for the Infante in 1773 and perhaps were not in the collection because they had been arranged as quintets *without* flute. But there could be more, since Boccherini always composed his chamber music and symphonies in series of six works, which is also consistent with the contract he had with don Luis. If this was indeed so, not only there would be an incomplete set of six quintets *opera grande* (significantly described in the inventory as «unfinished»), but the presence of two single symphonies and two *quintettini* in the collection might also mean that there once was an unknown set of symphonies and another of *quintetti opera piccola*.

At least two out of the four symphonies included in op. 37 were written before 1785, since this is the first possible set, chronologically speaking, to which the two single symphonies in the collection could be related. This might mean that the whole op. 37 should be backdated, and perhaps also the symphonies op. 41 and 42, which would then belong to a six-work set – op. 37 being the first set with less than six works in the composer's catalogue. At any rate, at least part of op. 37 already existed in 1785, whilst the composer's catalogue places the whole set in 1787.

Regarding the *quintettini*, it can be assumed that op. 36 was one of the «three sets of quintets» *opera piccola* found in the inventory, and thus its real chronology can be definitely established. This set of works was, according to ByC,³⁴ apparently written in 1786, although the autograph score kept at the Staatsbibliothek in Berlin reads, in its cover, «Opera seconda: Anno 1784»,

³³ SPECK 2005, p. xxviii. Besides, some of them bear the date 1793 (G. 549 and G. 552) and 1794 (G. 550) in a Spanish source, kept in the cathedral of Santiago de Compostela. See SPECK 2005, pp. xlv and xlvi.

³⁴ BOCCHERINI Y CALONJE 1879, p. 35. That ByC is misleading in this case is also attested by the inscription «Tutte le seguenti opere sono state scritte espressamente per S. M. il Re di Prussia», which implies that op. 36 would have been the first set of works written for king Frederick William II, although they were owned by the Infante don Luis from 1784.

which coincides with the chronology of the music paper of these works³⁵. Besides, the inventory provides strong evidence confirming that these works were actually written in 1784, which is consistent with the inventories of the music that belonged to Frederick William II and the results of the chronology of the music paper used for the Berlin quintets.³⁶ The other two sets of *quintettini* owned by the Infante would be op. 27 and op. 30, which can be dated in 1779 and 1780.

The «five quintets from an unfinished set» were probably inserted piecemeal the years following 1785 when Boccherini revised his catalogue, just in the same way as he did with opp. 36 and 37; the only five-quintet set is op. 49, from 1794, but it would seem that Boccherini would sell his music as soon as he could, instead of hoarding it for eight years. It must be noted that when the Infante died and Boccherini entered the service of King Frederick William II, he just submitted some works every year, putting together symphonies, quintets, quartets and other genres of music – for instance, in 1790 he sent to Berlin one symphony, two quintets *opera grande*, one quintet *opera piccola*, and two quartets *opera piccola*, which he later assembled together as op. 43.³⁷ Thus, the quintets *opera grande* already written in 1785 might very well have been dispersed among op. 39 (three quintets), op. 40 (one quintet) and, if Boccherini had finished a six-quintet set, it would have gone to op. 41 (one quintet); this is precisely what the study of the chronology of the music paper of these works shows (LABRADOR 2014, pp. 55-64).

In the same way, two quintets remain to be related to a set of six works by 1785: G. 341, the *Quintettino del Fandango*, and G. 350, that of *La trágica fin* (tragic ending); while it is not possible to ascertain whether they were *already* part of a set of works, just as with the already discussed «five quintets», Boccherini decided to include G. 341 in his op. 40, which he dated in 1788; as for G. 350, this is part of op. 42, dated in 1789.

However, there was no need to do this, if we accept that at some point there existed a six-*quintettini* set, formed by two-movement works, which would have been op. 40; by not putting together both quintets (*Fandango* and *trágica fin*), Boccherini had to include two quintets *opera grande* in op. 40, which included, mainly, *quintetti opera piccola*. This was against his practice for almost 30 years, and it further shows that the composer acted in rather an opportunistic way when compiling the collections of works or ‘opus’ that he

³⁵ On the chronology of music paper of opp. 36, see LABRADOR 2014, pp. 55-64.

³⁶ The inventories corresponding to the Marble palace section and to the Berlin palace section quote the quintets op 36 as op. 2 from 1784 (one of the ways Boccherini identified his music; see note 10) as entering the Royal collection in the same year, 1784. See DROSOPULOU 2013. Regarding the study of the paper, see LABRADOR 2014, pp. 55-64.

³⁷ Remigio Coli refers to the ‘deconstruction’ of the sets of works sent to Frederick William II in this same sense; there must have existed some sets of works before 1786 that were combined in such a way that the composer would send to Berlin music of different genres. As a result, Boccherini’s autograph catalogue would present ‘incomplete’ and ‘mixed’ or ‘heterogeneous’ sets of works. See COLI 1998, p. 168.

sent to Berlin and later re-dated, making them appear as having been written after 1785.

Boccherini sent the quintet G. 343 (*opera grande*) to the King of Prussia in September 1788, and also the *Fandango* quintett and four *quintetti opera piccola*, which he subsequently grouped as op. 40, when he updated his catalogue, probably in 1797.³⁸ But now there was one quintet *opera piccola* which had gone astray (the *trágica fin* quintet). So, he put it together with some other quintets *opera grande* in op. 42 (although both of them already existed in 1785).

There are just four sets of works containing both *quintetti opera grande* and *opera piccola*, limited to the years 1788-1790, and the only reasonable explanation for this is that the composer, for some reason, combined them using three sets of six works each. In fact, this would explain the odd grouping criteria in opp. 39-43 and the unusual number of works in each set: if the quintets comprising only two movements are grouped, we get two sets of proper quintets (*opera grande*), and one set of quintets *opera piccola*, which were probably dispersed when the composer sent them to Berlin between 1787 and 1790.

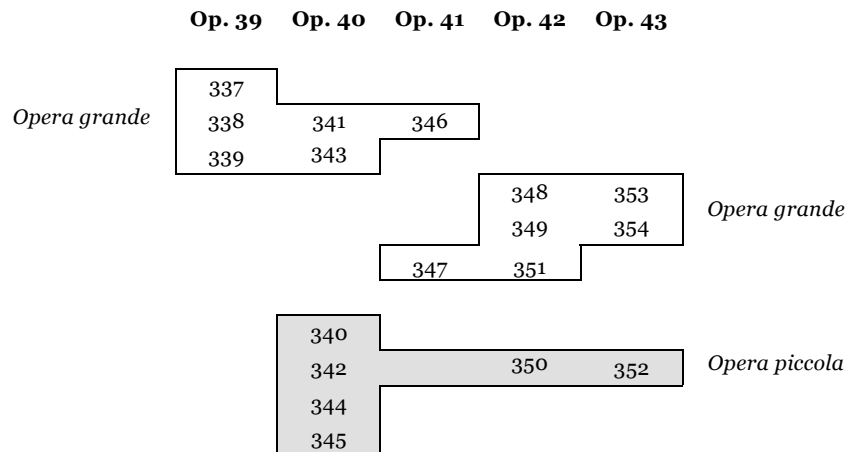


Figure 4 – A proposed 'original' grouping of the 18 quintets G. 337-354.

Thus, the existence of at least an entire *opera piccola* collection written before 1786 can also be inferred from the odd and strangely diverse composition of opp. 39-43, and not only by the fact that G. 341 or G. 350 belonged to the Infante and were afterwards included in op. 40 (1788) or op. 42 (1789). At any rate, the inventory confirms, at least partially, that Boccherini offered

³⁸ This is consistent with the note in his autograph catalogue, «Rinovato l'anno 1797». See BOCCHERINI Y CALONJE 1879, p. 29, and with the need to revise the catalogue and group his works in *opera grande* and *opera piccola* collections, in order to sell them to Pleyel.

both the Duchess of Benavente and the King of Prussia music that was already written in 1785, like the entire op. 36 or the two quintets discussed here.³⁹

Concerning the quartets, it has already been shown that at least six of them must have been inserted piecemeal into sets of works created after 1785, since there are five sets of quartets *opera grande* in the inventory, but Boccherini only acknowledges four having been written for the Infante in ByC. Thus, these six quartets *opera grande* would have gone to op. 39 (1787, one quartet), op. 41 (1788, two quartets) and op. 52 (1795, three quartets).

Finally, only one among the four sets of trios included in the inventory can be related to this period: op. 34 (1781). The only other string trio with two violins that Boccherini wrote after op. 34 was op. 54 (1796), and still there would be two sets missing. Perhaps one of them could be op. 47, scored for violin, viola and cello.

Boccherini would normally write 18 works each year, grouped in sets of six works each, and even if we do not consider the transcriptions among them, there was more music in the Infante's collection than he acknowledged in his 'autograph' catalogue (ByC). This is quite a logical assumption, already proposed by Remigio Coli and Marco Mangani in 1997, although it has not been unequivocally proved up to now. Since the inventory clearly shows that there existed sets of symphonies, sextets, quintets, quartets and trios that can be related to music which Boccherini entered in his catalogue some years later, it must be admitted that the 'official' chronology of the composer should be thoroughly revised.

Op. number	ByC		Gérard	Number of works
op. 36	1786	6 <i>quintettini</i>	G. 331-336	6
op. 37	1787	2 symphonies	G. 515, 516	2
op. 39	1787	1 quartet; 3 quintets	G. 213; 337-339	4
op. 40	1788	1 <i>quintettino</i> ; 1 quintet	G. 341; 343	2
op. 41	1788	2 quartets; 1 quintet	G. 214,215; 346	3
op. 42	1789	1 <i>quintettino</i>	G. 350	1
op. 47	1793	6 trios	G. 107-112	6
op. 52	1795	3 quartets	G. 232-234	3
op. 54	1796	6 trios	G. 113-118	6
[no]	1792	19 arias (12 sold in 1797)	G. 544-555, 559*	19
op. 60	1801	6 quintets (arr. sextets)	G. 391-396	6
op. 62	1802	6 quintets (arr. sextets)	G. 397-402	6

Figure 5 – Music which was in the Infante collection (written before August, 1785), but was assigned a later chronology

* These were 17 arias and two duetti, although only 12 arias and one duetto are known today.

³⁹ Although there was no direct proof of it, this was first suggested, concerning the quintets, in MANGANI – COLI 1997.

These are 64 works, most of which were offered to Frederick William II of Prussia at a later date, and then to a Mr Boulogne. Boccherini revised the dates of opp. 36-56 when he sold most of his unpublished music to Ignaz Pleyel, between 1796 and 1797, and this chronology went into his 'autograph' catalogue (**ByC**), which has been long believed to convey the *real* chronology of his works. Later on, he added some works that he managed to sell to other music publishers or patrons, up to 1802. However, the evidence provided by the inventory shows that Boccherini's 'official', widely accepted chronology, must be revised.

Challenging Boccherini's biography and 'official' chronology

As a conclusion, it is clear that Boccherini's catalogue is broader than previously thought, specially concerning vocal music; he wrote a good amount of works for the stage, intended for plays by Calderon de la Barca, Ramón de la Cruz, Cañizares and Zamora. This is to say, Spanish theatre, mainly from the seventeenth century. And he was also author of five *tonadillas*, the Spanish equivalent of the Italian *intermezzo*. By 1785 he had also written 17 arias with orchestra and two Duetti, and it also appears that there once existed two sets of sextets which were transcribed as quintets (quite probably op. 60 and 62), and some other transcriptions now lost, totally or partially (from op. 12, 17, 19 and 21). This also shows that the practice of transcription was not new to Boccherini when he wrote his twelve guitar quintets for the Marquis of Benavente late in the 1790s (all of them arrangements of previous works), and is yet another reason to believe that the quintets with two violas 'written for' Lucien Bonaparte were also an exercise in transcription. It also sheds new light on the 'Arenas period' (1776-1785), when large ensembles of musicians would not be easily gathered, and thus most of Boccherini's music was written or arranged for string quartet or quintet. Additionally, it appears that he was active through the Arenas period, although it appears in ByC that he did not write any music between 1782 and 1786.

Also, a better chronology can be proposed for many works, judging from the information included in the inventory; the arias académicas were quite probably written for the Infante don Luis, and the same can be said of the Fandango and *Tragica fin quintettini*, later included in op. 40 (1788) and 42 (1789), or of two of the symphonies later included in op. 37 (1787). In fact, the chronology of no fewer than 12 sets of works should be revised, since they include music which was written before 1786, as shown in fig. 5. This proves Boccherini's chronology, as set in ByC and Picquot, wrong, since many of the works he apparently wrote after 1785 had already belonged to don Luis. The reason for this is that most of this music was sold for the last time many years later, and that was their 'official' date in the composer's catalogue.

Boccherini actually sold to his subsequent patrons (the Countess-Duchess of Benavente, King Frederick William II of Prussia or Mr Boulogne) some of

the music that was already owned by the Infante don Luis de Borbón, and then to his publishers, in the late 1790s.⁴⁰ The case of the *arie accademiche* is quite eloquent, since they were presented in 1797 as «ma musique vocal la plus récente» – his most recent vocal music, which nevertheless had been written twelve years before, if not more.⁴¹

According to the inventory, this holds for some 64 works, or almost ten sets of six works each; Boccherini's statement is quite an impressive one, although scholars have overlooked the true meaning of this passage. And justly so, for it would imply changing the chronology of too many works on the sole basis of Boccherini's word, while the composer himself established a chronology and a thematic catalogue of his works in late 1797 which contradicts this letter. However, considering that he was not under the obligation to provide yearly a fixed number of works to Frederick William II (or at least, if he had to, it was under very lenient conditions), by 1785 he had enough music to fulfil his duty as *compositore di camera* for many years. Future research will have to determine to what extent this affects the chronology of the years 1786-1791, but since more than sixty works must be backdated, it appears that the period 1786-1797, considered his most prolific one, must indeed be revised. At the same time, the Infante years (1770-1785) come out as the most productive period of Boccherini's life, with some 270 works, among them six sets of arrangements for string quartet or quintet. Thus, the inventory of the works owned by don Luis raises many important issues, and is a valuable source for a better understanding of Luigi Boccherini's biography and oeuvre.

The time has probably come for a reevaluation of the composer's musical practice throughout his life and his marketing techniques; the same holds true also for his letters, his 'autograph' catalogue and even some autograph scores. A truer image of the composer, far from the Romantic one still often found, will clearly emerge, and a truer way of understanding his music will eventually result from this.

⁴⁰ The composer also sold 110 pieces to a certain Mr. Boulogne in ca. 1790, many of which were written for the Infante don Luis. See BOCCHERINI 2011, pp. 132-134. This is the «nota della musica mandata a Parigi l'anno 1790 o 1791».

⁴¹ Letter to Ignaz Pleyel Madrid, January 14, 1798. English translation in ROTHSCCHILD 1965, pp. 68-72.

APPENDIX

The *Infante Inventory*: transcription of fols. 481 and 482

Here follows the transcription of the first part of the music inventory. Right after the last item in fol. 482 recto, the quintet of *La trágica fin*, a different section begins, under the header «música impresa» (printed music).

[fol. 481r]	
Un Stabat Mater, a solo: sesenta r[eale]	60
Unos Villancicos de la Navidad	42
Dos obras de a seis Arias, cada una con todos instrumentos, en	360
Cinco Arias y un Duo a dos Violines viola y Bajo, en	120
[fol. 481v]	
Cinco tonadillas y un Duo en	120
Primera escena de la comedia, también por la voz hai dicha, en	54
Una Escena de la Comedia, el Hechizado por fuerza: en	18
Una Cabatina para el sainete del No, en	12
Un principio de la Comedia, el secreto a voces: en	4
Un Minuete ara el sainete de la Escofieta: en	4
Una cantada a voz sola: en	28
Seis conciertos grandes a treinta y seis r[eale]s	216
Seis sinfonias a todos instrumentos a treinta r[eale]s	180
Seis sinfonias a quatro con todos instrumentos ad Libitum, a treinta r[eale]s	180
Seis sextetos, a veinte y quatro r[eale]s [de] v[elló]n	144
La obra de conciertos reducida a Quintetos: en	132
La obra de sinfonias reducida a Quintetos, en	132
Dos obras de sextetos, reducidas a quintetos, en	264
[fol. 482r]	
Dos obras de Quintetos chicos con flauta: en	72
Las dos obras antecedentes reducidas sin flauta: en	72
Nueve obras de Quintetos, cada una a ciento treinta y dos r[eale]s	1188
Cinco Quintetos de una obra sin acabar	110
Cinco obras de Quartetto a ochenta y quatro r[eale]s	420
Quatro obras de Trios a setenta y dos r[eale]s	288
Una obra de trios de Violin viola y bajo	72
Tres obras de Quintetos a setenta y dos r[eale]s	216
Quatro obras de Quartetinos a sesenta r[eale]s	240
Dos sinfonias sueltas en	30
Un Quintetino del Fandango, en	12
Un Quintetino de la tragica fin, en	12

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