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TASTE AND HISTORICAL AWARENESS IN THE MUSIC COLLECTION
OF LEONARDO GRIMANI (C.1778–1832)

ABSTRACT This paper intends to reflect on the phenomenon of music collecting starting with the collection of Leonardo Grimani, today kept at the Institute of Musicology at the University of Vienna, assembled at the turn of the century and partly related to the repertoire of the Istituto Filarmonico Veneto (1810–22) of which this collector was the founder and patron. The characteristics of this collection – to which external sources such as period newspapers are added – prompt reflections on the different roles played by the Grimani as a collector, without however neglecting the investigation of the fortune and historicization of certain authors and specific opera pieces.

KEYWORDS collections, Grimani, Istituto Filarmonico Veneto

ABSTRAKT *Gust i świadomość historyczna w kolekcji muzycznej Leonarda Grimaniego (ok. 1778–1832).* W artykule starano się przedstawić fenomen kolekcjonerstwa muzycznego na przykładzie kolekcji muzycznej Leonarda Grimaniego, przechowywanej obecnie w Instytucie Muzykologii Uniwersytetu Wiedeńskiego, zgromadzonej w Wenecji na przełomie wieków i częściowo związanej z repertuarem Istituto Filarmonico Veneto (1810–22), którego ów kolekcjoner był założycielem i mecenasem. Charakterystyka tej kolekcji, poszerzona dodatkowo o takie źródła jak ówczesna prasa, nasuwa refleksje na temat różnych ról Grimaniego jako kolekcjonera, nie wykluczając także dociekań dotyczących powodzenia i historycznego znaczenia pewnych kompozytorów czy konkretnych ustępów operowych.

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INTRODUCTION

The interest of a study on music collecting lies partly in the necessity of analysing the collected materials from a diachronic perspective, with the complex questions that follow about their function between the public and private dimensions, without neglecting the research regarding the fortunes and historicisation of composers and specific pieces from the repertoire in question. From the ideas that lie at the root of the theory of art collecting – a discipline that has contributed a great deal in this field – that is, that a music collection is the externalisation, the manifestation of an aspect of the collector's identity, that each collection is worth more than the sum of its constituent parts, and that the very act of collecting confers an additional social and intellectual meaning on what is collected, several questions have arisen to which musicologists dealing with this field of research have tried to give answers. On certain fronts, attempts have been made to respond to the challenges posed by music collecting through the use of systematic tools, like typologies of collecting, as in the approach used by Kurt Dorf Müller and Marcus Müller-Benedict in the handbook *Musik in Bibliotheken* (1997); on other sides, we have turned to the analysis of collection formation through conjecture that favours flexibility in the very definition of collecting – one example being the series of books *Collectionner la musique* (2011–15) edited by Catherine Massip, Denis Herlin, Dinko Fabris and Jean Duron.¹

What does the content of a music collection tell us about its owner? How does the ownership of material objects relate to the lived experience of a scholar, performer or member of the public in the guise of a collector? What kind of attitude do collectors manifest when faced with the materials they collect? What is (if any) the practical use of these materials? These are just a few questions that emerged during analysis of the collection that belonged to Leonardo Grimani (c.1778–1832). This collection was formed for both study and performance, but at the same time it was related to the repertoire of a local educational musical institution: the Istituto Filarmonico Veneto (1810–22). The Grimani collection, assembled at the turn of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, is representative of a transitional period in which a gradual change in tastes, as well as in theatrical aesthetics, was accompanied by the gradual establishment of an awareness of the musical past, while at the same time it delineates an interest in composers of theatrical music not necessarily already destined to be part of the operatic canon, and often not even to appear incidentally in today's repertoire. Moreover, to a large extent, the contents of the Grimani collection overlap with the repertoire of the Istituto Filarmonico Veneto, where performance

1 Kurt Dorf Müller, Markus Müller-Benedict, *Musik in Bibliotheken. Materialien – Sammlungstypen – Musikbibliothekarische Praxis*, Wiesbaden 1997 (= Elemente des Buch- und Bibliothekswesens 15); *Collectionner la musique*, eds. Catherine Massip, Denis Herlin, Dinko Fabris, Jean Duron, vol. 1: *Histoires d'une passion*, vol. 2: *Au cœur de l'interprétation*, vol. 3: *Érudits collectionneurs*, Turnhout 2011, 2012, 2015.

practice was based on the co-existence of the late eighteenth-century operatic repertoire (Cimarosa, Farinelli, Guglielmi) and more ‘modern’ composers (Mayr, Pavesi, Generali) active in the first decades of the nineteenth century. In this sense, the term ‘historical awareness’ in relation to the repertoire collected here, and also performed, is intended to mean an awareness that currency and tradition are intertwined – in other words, an awareness of the changes taking place but also of the fact that these changes enter the present in the form of the tradition of the previous century.

SOME BIOGRAPHICAL INSIGHTS: A PORTRAIT OF THE COLLECTOR

LEONARDO GRIMANI

In general, there is a lack of bibliographical information regarding the figure of Leonardo Grimani. Biographical data are also quite scarce, so it is not easy to determine whether he is Leonardo (1776–1849) son of Antonio and Maria Rosa Marcello, the last of the Grimani branch of San Girolamo, or Leonardo Grimani Luca (1778–1832).² The nobleman Leonardo Grimani, belonging to one of the renowned Venetian noble families that had owned theatres in Venice in previous centuries (the Teatro di San Giovanni Grisostomo from 1677 and, for some time during the eighteenth century, also the Teatro San Benedetto), probably a relative of Filippo Grimani, one of the presidents of the Teatro La Fenice from 1800 to 1803, is often mentioned in Venetian newspapers of the time in relation to musical circles in Venice under Napoleonic and Habsburg rule as an amateur singer. From the first mention of his name (linked to the role of Giove) on the occasion of a performance of Ignazio Girace’s cantata at the La Fenice Theatre on 19 February 1803, the name of Leonardo Grimani appears numerous times in the local press, which describes him, time after time, as a true ‘star of bel canto’.³ According to those reviews and other archive documents, our collector was one the major promoters and patrons of the Istituto Filarmonico Veneto (1810–22), an institution which had its roots in the various private academies of Venice, such as the Casino degli Orbeli, the S. Margherita circle of Lorenzo Paron, the Accademia de’ Rinnovati at the Palazzo Pepoli and the Casino degli Euterpiani at the Procuratie Vecchie.⁴ Together with Gaetano Tommasini and

2 Francesco Schröder, *Repertorio genealogico delle famiglie confermate nobili e dei titolati nobili esistenti nelle provincie venete*, Venezia 1830, p. 402.

3 There is some information about Leonardo Grimani taken from concert announcements (the first relating to the above-mentioned cantata in 1803) and newspaper reviews, but without reference to his date of birth and death, in Rossini’s letters to his parents, cf. Gioachino Rossini. See *Lettere ai genitori dal 18 febbraio 1812 al 22 giugno 1830*, ed. Bruno Cagli and Sergio Ragni. Pesaro 2004 (= *Lettere e documenti*, vol. IIIa), p. 242.

4 On the topic of Venetian amateur academies, one may refer to two essays by Maria Girardi: ‘Accademie e società filarmoniche nell’Ottocento. Organizzazione, cultura e attività dei filarmonici nell’Italia dell’Ottocento’, in: *Atti del convegno di studi nel bicentenario di fondazione della Società Filarmonica di Trento*, ed. Antonio Carlini, Trento, 1998, pp. 253–267; ‘Omaggi napoleonici di Francesco Caffi

Ninfa Priuli, Leonardo Grimani was one of the founders and presidents of this local educational institution, which was created with the idea of offering amateur musicians and composers a space to train and perform, taking the Milan Conservatory of Music as a model.⁵

Although there are many biographical uncertainties, Leonardo Grimani is a figure already known to musicological studies, thanks to his relations with various composers active in the early nineteenth century, and first and foremost for having commissioned a number of works from the young Rossini, which the composer himself mentions in his letters.⁶ Most of the information that helps to clarify his role in the organisation of Venetian musical life, as well as the origin and function of the collection that belonged to him, comes precisely from the archive documents that trace the functioning and concert activities of the Istituto Filarmonico Veneto, as well as from newspaper reviews. In addition, a large part of his collection is linked to the now partially reconstructible repertoire of this institution, in which Grimani himself performed and helped to devise the programmes of the concert seasons.⁷

LEONARDO GRIMANI'S COLLECTION TODAY

The collection that belonged to Leonardo Grimani, or at least part of the original corpus of his collection, today constitutes part of a collection that was purchased in the 1990s, along with other manuscripts, in an antique shop near Verona by Gerhard Stradner, an Austrian musicologist and former director of the Sammlung alter Musikinstrumente Wien. It remained Stradner's private property until the year 2019.

e Accademie classiche in casa del Principe Andrea Erizzo', in: *"L'aere è fosco, il ciel s'imbruna", atti di convegno*, Venezia 2000, pp. 173–199. However, these essays are mostly based on two nineteenth-century sources about Institut: Francesco Caffi (*I miei dieci lustri in Venezia ossia di me, della mia famiglia e di cose de' miei tempi. Narrazione dedicata alla mia patria 1838*, I-Vnm, ms. It. XI, 350 (=10673)) and Giuseppe Molinari (*L'Origine del Veneto Istituto e della sua società*, Venezia 1817).

- 5 Several documents about the functioning of the Institute are preserved in the State Archives of Venice. Governo Veneto, rub. Istruzione Pubblica, b. 1474, fasc. Istituti Pubblici-Privati, Archivio di Stato di Venezia.
- 6 Leonardo Grimani is mentioned by Rossini in a letter to his mother dated 29 June 1819 and published in *Lettere ai genitori*, p. 242. Also, in a letter sent from Carlo Pedrotti to Giovanni Ricordi, there is further testimony that Grimani commissioned at least two operas from Rossini: 'In questo momento il C.^{te} Grimani mi fece sapere che osservando le antiche corrispondenze con Rossini, trovò che quell'Aria per Basso, ed il Quoniam furono scritte nel Settembre del 1813.' (LLET012529, Archivio Ricordi, Milano). This letter is cited in the *Messa di Milano e Miserere*, ed. Ferdinando Sulla, Pesaro 2021 (= Edizione Critica delle opere di Gioachino Rossini, vol. 1c, Sezione terza: Musica sacra), p. XXXIII, note 54.
- 7 Giuliana Cravin, in her master's thesis in musicology entitled 'L'Istituto Filarmonico Veneto – Documenti inediti sull'attività dello "stabilimento" musicale veneziano (1810–1822)', Venezia, Università Ca' Foscari, 2013/14, published documents and press reviews tracing the Institute's activities. This thesis, from which some of the news articles that follow in this paper were taken, can be found online: <http://dspace.unive.it/bitstream/handle/10579/5083/789036-1164001.pdf?sequence=2>, accessed 06 May 2024.

In 2019, the Grimani collection, with other manuscripts that formed the Sammlung Stradner, was acquired by the Institut für Musikwissenschaft of the University of Vienna for a project on Italian opera buffa directed by Professor Michele Calella. Its more than 400 units are divided into three parts. The oldest part was assembled by Leonardo Grimani between about 1780 and 1830; this is followed by the section collected by the Veronese composer Paolo Bombardi around 1850; and finally, the 'piano' section, belonging to the latter's daughter, pianist Quirina Bombardi, with piano repertoire from the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. The collection is still owned by the Institute of Musicology at the University of Vienna, along with the rest of the Sammlung Stradner. From the information provided by the Institute, the collection has not yet been catalogued, and at the moment (March 2024) there is no available inventory, but the Institute is planning to create one during the next academic year.

The Grimani collection contains exclusively Italian music by opera composers active in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, including Guglielmi, Sacchini, Cimarosa, Paisiello, Coccia, Generali, Farinelli, Pacini, Mayr, Mercadante and Rossini, and it consists mostly of full score numbers, with a smaller proportion of reductions for piano and voice. The collection, which was almost certainly originally bigger, today consists of 189 manuscripts by 35 different composers. Specimens that belonged to Grimani mostly have a numbering in Roman numerals placed at the top left or centre of the title page or his ownership note at the bottom right 'Per l'uso di Leonardo Grimani', or in some cases both. A number of specimens that belonged to other members of the Istituto Filarmonico Veneto, such as nobleman and singer Prince Andrea Erizzo and impresario and violoncellist Valentino Bertoja, are also part of Grimani's collection.⁸ Most likely, the collection originated as a private collection, with the purpose of study or occasional performance, but the analysis of some external sources, mainly newspapers, has shown that a considerable part of the individual musical numbers preserved by Grimani derive from or can be related to the repertoire of the Istituto Filarmonico Veneto between 1810 and 1822. The structure of the collection, private but at the same time linked to the repertoire of an educational music institution, could be described as tripartite. The three blocks of scores, largely related to Grimani's activity as a singer, emerged almost naturally within the collection:

– The part that can be related to the local theatre repertoire between about 1770 and 1803,

8 Both Erizzo and Bertoja are mentioned in Venetian newspaper reviews of the Institute's concerts. In particular, on Erizzo's passion for classical academies and Haydn's music in particular, see the above-mentioned essay by Maria Girardi (2000). It is not possible to determine precisely how their scores ended up in the Grimani collection, but we can hypothesise that the exchange of scores took place during the performance of the music itself or for reasons of study.

– The part relating to the activities of the Istituto Filarmonico Veneto from 1810 to 1822,

– The part following the closure of the Institute (1822–32).

The oldest and numerically smallest part, consisting of scores of whole operas bound in volumes, coincides with the local theatre repertoire dating from the years between about 1770 and 1803 (including works by Sarti, Sacchini, Cimarosa and Paisiello). In general, the music from the period during which Grimani was a frequent visitor to Venetian theatres, and also to those of neighbouring cities, such as Padova and Verona, offers more precise information on dating and performers and is linked to local performances. An emblematic case from this period is the two-volume score of Paisiello's opera *Li Giuochi d'Agrigento* (unnumbered), premiered for the opening of the Teatro la Fenice in 1792, which contains a lot of information about the performers, but there are also extracts from Paisiello's *Elfrida* (no. LXXIII) and Cimarosa's *Gli Orazi e i Curiazi* (unnumbered) containing the names of the performers. The prevalence of scores containing a whole opera or an act of an opera over scores with individual numbers makes this part of the collection perhaps less suitable for performance. Although the domestic use of these volumes cannot be completely excluded, it is less plausible that they were acquired with the idea of a practical function. Nevertheless, some of the works collected during this period, especially those of Sarti and Cimarosa, would reappear in the Institute's repertoire some twenty years after their first performance in Venice, alongside those of new composers.

THE SECOND PART OF THE GRIMANI COLLECTION: THE INSTITUTE AND THE *FARSA* SEASON

The second, and most substantial, part of the Grimani collection is represented by 110 specimens, mainly manuscripts of full scores of arias, cavatinas, duets and trios from both eighteenth-century operas and titles dating from the first fifteen years of the nineteenth century.

This section reflects Grimani's interest in earlier theatrical culture, not limited only to the most illustrious authors and their most successful works (the 'late Neapolitan' masters such as Cimarosa and Paisiello), but also including contemporary composers. In other words, there is a strong presence of composers whose works emphasise the continuous evolution of Italian opera across both periods and thus the eighteenth-century roots of the conventions of Romantic opera (Giuseppe Farinelli, Valentino Fioravanti and Nicolò Zingarelli alongside Giovanni Pacini, Pietro Generali, Johann Simon Mayr and others).⁹ This fact, informing us about the listening

9 A general aesthetic that unites the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries comprises such elements as the choice of subjects and the morphological organisation and vocal style, still indebted to late eighteenth-century conventions that continued to coexist with the novelties of the time, which partly fed on

habits and musical tastes of the collector, also emerged during the consultation of some external sources as a fundamental element in the musical practice of an institution to which Grimani would turn out to be very close: the Istituto Filarmonico Veneto. Compared against the Institute's repertoire and reports in newspapers of the time, the numbers collected by Grimani turn out to partly coincide with the pieces described in the reviews of local newspapers, such as the *Giornale Dipartimentale dell'Adriatico*, *Gazzetta privilegiata di Venezia*, *Giornale di Venezia* and *Quotidiano Veneto*, newspapers that gave plenty of space to the concert activities of this institution, and thanks to which the reconstruction of the repertoire performed turns out to be (partially) possible. At the same time, these reports provide confirmation of the practical use of some of the materials preserved by Grimani and offer some answers about the relationship between the collector's lived experience and what he collected.

From 1812 to 1819 (the year in which we have the last news about concerts in local newspapers), the Istituto Filarmonico Veneto organised as many as sixty-two concerts, with one concert per month until 1818, at the San Benedetto, San Moisè and La Fenice theatres. From documents related to the functioning of the Institute, we know that the concerts staged by this institution were divided into two parts.¹⁰ In the vocal part, single numbers from works by various professional composers – many of them in the Grimani collection – were performed alongside the music of amateur composers who were members of the Institute; in the instrumental part, space was left for symphonies and solo concertos by the students. However, external sources such as newspaper reviews do not always provide us with precise information on how these pieces were performed during the concerts, and frequently, in the press, despite the ample space that was given to the Philharmonic academies, the titles as well as the incipits of the pieces performed are omitted. From the information we have available today, Leonardo Grimani's name appears linked to his role as president of the Institute, but also, very often, to his role as a bass singer. He is mentioned in connection with numerous performances of musical numbers, some of them preserved in the collection, which cannot be described as technically less demanding from a performer's point of view, and which sometimes also require virtuosic skills. Even the earliest records of the Institute's activities, which begin to appear from the year 1812, sometimes include information about the repertoire and can be related to the manuscripts preserved in the Grimani collection.

experience gained from previous generations. On this subject, see also Fabrizio Della Seta, 'Difficoltà della storiografia dell'opera italiana', in: Fabrizio Della Seta, "...non senza pazzia". *Prospettive sul teatro musicale*, Roma 2008, p. 135–148; Andrea Malnati, *La Gran Scena nell'opera italiana (1790–1840)*, Pesaro 2017, and Daniele Carnini, 'L'età rossiniana prima di Rossini: l'interregno', in: *Il contributo italiano alla storia del pensiero. Musica*, ed. Sandro Cappelletto, Rome 2018, pp. 394–398.

10 Schedules carrying data on the organisation of the academies are preserved in the State Archives of Venice (Governo Veneto, Sezione Politica, rub. Public Instruction, b. 1255, Ogg. Istituto Filarmonico Veneto, Occorrenze Relative, doc. num. 32–58). See G. Cravin, *L'Istituto Filarmonico Veneto*, pp. 145–188.

Jer sera l'Istituto di musica, la cui benemerita Istituzione fu le tante volte commendata, e da cui trae i maggiori progressi la gioventù studente, diede la mensile Accademia nelle Sale del gran teatro la Fenice. In essa si distinsero sommamente le Socie onorarie Sigg. Catterina Solari, e Catterina Bernasconi Zandiri. S'ammirò nella prima di queste Filarmoniche l'agile canto, e la difficile esecuzione della bell'aria del Maestro Sarti: *Là vedrai chi sono*, egregiamente sostenuta massime negli estesissimi gorgheggi e bel trillo; e da lei pure si volle ripetuta l'altr'aria del sig. Maestro Pavesi: *Ahimè qual fosco velo*. Nella sig. Bernasconi Zandiri s'applause assai la bella voce, il canto spianato, ed i rapidi progressi che questa giovine Filarmonica fa ognor nella difficil arte. È vano il dire che l'egregio Sig. Leonardo Grimani riportasse sommi, interminabili applausi ne' pezzi suoi, l'ultimo de' quali del Maestro Fioravanti: *Amor perché mi pizzichi*, si volle pur ripetuto. Questo primo ornamento della Veneta Filarmonica maschile, non potrebbe non ridestar il più vivo diletto ed ammirazione comunque si offra agli ameni trattenimenti.¹¹

In addition to extolling the virtuosity of the performers, the review in the *Giornale dell'Adriatico* of 4 June 1812 testifies to the performance during the same concert of a number of pieces from the more or less distant past: the aria *Là vedrai chi sono* (unnumbered) from a late eighteenth-century opera, *Giulio Sabino* (1781, performed until 1807), alongside the aria *Ahimè qual fosco velo* by Pavesi (title unknown) and the cavatina performed by Grimani himself, *Amor perché mi pizzichi* (no. CXLII) from Fioravanti's *Cantatrici villane* (1799, in the repertoire until 1835). There are twelve other pieces from *Giulio Sabino* in Grimani's collection, mostly with illegible or absent numbering: a sinfonia, the aria *Pensieri funesti*, the duetto *Come partir poss'io*, the aria *Cari figli un altro amplesso*, the terzetto *Sfogati pure tiranno*, the scena e rondò *In qual barbaro momento*, the aria *Bella fiamma che in seno m'accende*, the aria *Trema il cor non v'è più speme*, the aria *Già vi sento e già v'intendo*, the rondo *Con qual core oh Dio potrei*, the aria *Al caro bene al lato* and the aria *Tigre Ircana in Selva ambrosa*. There is also another piece from Fioravanti's *Cantatrici villane* in the collection, the terzetto *Io dirò nel gestire* (no. CCXXII), as well as several numbers from Pavesi's operas *Avvertimento ai gelosi*, *Ser Marcantonio* and *Teodoro*.¹² However, this review

11 'Yesterday evening, the Music Institute, the meritorious institution of which has been commended so many times, and which brings the greatest progress in young students, gave its monthly Academy in the Halls of the grand theatre La Fenice. In it, the honorary members Sigg. Catterina Solari and Catterina Bernasconi Zandiri distinguished themselves supremely. We admired in the former of these Philharmonic ladies the agile singing and the difficult execution of Maestro Sarti's beautiful aria *Là vedrai chi sono*, excellently sustained, especially in the extensive gestures and beautiful trill; and she was also requested to repeat the other aria by Maestro Pavesi: *Ahimè qual fosco velo*. Much applauded in Sig. Bernasconi Zandiri was her beautiful voice, her smooth singing and the rapid progress that this Philharmonic young lady makes each day in the difficult art. It goes without saying that the egregious Sig. Leonardo Grimani was rewarded with interminable applause in his pieces, the last of which, Maestro Fioravanti's *Amor perché mi pizzichi*, he was also asked to repeat. This principal adornment of the Venetian Men's Philharmonia could not fail to arouse the keenest delight and admiration, however it is offered at the pleasant entertainments.' See 'Concerti Musicali', *Il Giornale dell'Adriatico*, 4 June 1812. Quotation from: G. Cravin, *L'Istituto Filarmonico Veneto*, p. 274 (doc. no. 123).

12 Sinfonia in *Avvertimento ai gelosi* (unnumbered); aria *Mi vien da ridere* in *Ser Marcantonio* (no. CCLXVI); terzetto *Come consola il core* in *Teodoro* (no. CCLV).

from *Giornale dell'Adriatico* is not a singular case, since in the years of the Institute's activity others followed, first of all in the *Gazzetta Privilegiata di Venezia*, which in those years printed an entire section entitled 'Istituto Filarmonico', the *Il Giornale Dipartimentale dell'Adriatico*, in the sections 'Filarmonici Trattenimenti' and 'Teatri', and in the *Giornale di Venezia*, in the section 'Concerti Filarmonici'. However, what seemed to capture the attention of the local press in the Institute's concert activities from the outset was the Philharmonic's initiative of devoting one of the first concert seasons to *farsa* (1812–13), with the idea, promoted by Grimani in the spring of 1813, of donating two-thirds of the profit during this season to the needy and keeping only one-third for the Institute.¹³ This initiative was announced in *Giornale dell'Adriatico* on 9 March 1813:

La congregazione di Carità a Venezia Accolta dal Sig. Consiglier di Stato Commendator Prefetto la generosa offerta del Sig. Leonardo Grimani di eseguire nella corrente stagione alcune farse in musica nel teatro S. Benedetto erogando il netto prodotto per due terzi a vantaggio della beneficenza, e per un terzo a beneficio dell'Istituto, si affretta la Congregazione di far nota al pubblico una tale filantropica disposizione, onde venga in tal forma conosciuto il plausibile scopo dal Sig. Grimani e dalli altri Filarmonici a lui riuniti nelle indicate rappresentazioni contemplato. Dal prelodato Sig. Grimani poi verrà con successivo avviso indicato tutto ciò che ha relazione all'apertura del teatro, ed alla verificazione de' progettati spettacoli.

Venezia 6 marzo 1813 Per il Sig. Consigl. Commend. Prefetto Fontana Anziano Combi Segr.¹⁴

In addition to enhancing the charitable aim of the initiative, the news attributed the idea of reviving some successful *farsa* by Pavesi, Mayr and Farinelli and others, performed in Venetian theatres in the very early years of the nineteenth century, to Leonardo Grimani himself, in his role as president of the Institute. Because of the president's noble intent, Venetian newspapers gave extensive space to the *farsa* season. One of the first staged by the Philharmonic, Johann Simon Mayr's *Elisa*, first performed at the Teatro San Benedetto in Venice in 1804, was given in concert form on 1 October 1812. This opera, in the Institute's new arrangement, was so successful that it was

13 For more on *farsa* as a comic opera genre popular in Venice in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, see Emilio Sala: 'La farsa musicale moderna (Venezia 1794–1813): tra drammaturgia e storiografia', in: *La farsa: apparenza e metamorfosi sulle scene europee*, ed. Silvia Carandini, Pisa 2015.

14 'The congregation of Charity in Venice Received from the Sig. Consiglier di Stato Commendator Prefetto Sig. Leonardo Grimani's generous offer to perform in the current season some farces in music at the S. Benedetto theatre, disbursing two-thirds of the net takings for the benefit of charity, and one-third for the benefit of the Institute. The Congregation hastens to make this philanthropic arrangement known to the public, so that the laudable aim of Sig. Grimani and the other Philharmonic musicians assembled with him may thereby be known and contemplated in the indicated performances. We will then hear from the aforementioned Sig. Grimani, with subsequent announcement indicated, everything pertaining to the opening of the theatre and to the verification of the planned performances. Venice, 6 March 1813. For Sig. Consigl. Commend. Prefect Fontana Elder. Combi Segr.' See 'Teatri', *Il Giornale Dipartimentale dell'Adriatico*, 9 March 1813. Quotation from: G. Cravin, *L'Istituto Filarmonico Veneto*, p. 285 (doc. no. 137).

repeated along with Giuseppe Farinelli's *Amico dell'Uomo* (Verona, Teatro Filarmonico, 1806) on the next two evenings as well. The two titles are reported in reviews of 1 and 3 October 1812 in the *Giornale dell'Adriatico*, in the 'Teatro' and 'Filarmonici Trattenimenti' sections. In particular, the review from 3 October praises Leonardo Grimani's performance of the part of Duplessis in the trio *Perfidi sposi, oh Dio*.

[...] comparvero Giovedì scorso sul teatro S. Benedetto colle preannunziate due rinomatisime Farse *L'Elisa* del Sig. Mayr, *L'Amico dell'Uomo* del Sig. Farinelli. [...] Il benemerito Sig. Leonardo Grimani Presidente dell'Istituto sostenne le dignitose parti di *Duplessis* e del *Barone di Bel Prato* colla gravità affettuosa che conviensi; ed i suoi pezzi a solo e concertati furono eseguiti con quella maestria che dovunque risuona, e non la cede a' più provetti Professori dell'arte, e che vivamente brillò. È vano il dir che le più incessanti acclamazioni l'abbiano accompagnato.¹⁵

The score of the above-mentioned male trio of Torindo, Jonas and Duplessis in *Elisa* is present in the Grimani collection (no. LXII) although it is barely legible, due to severe water damage, while the romance with choruses *Faceva la rondamento certo signore* (no. XCV) from the same opera is in a better state of preservation. From the same opera, the Grimani collection also includes Duplessis's aria *Siamo al mondo Marionetti* (no. LXXVI), of which the inscription on the title page is almost completely indecipherable, except for the ownership note in the top left corner 'for the use of N. H. Leonardo Grimani'.¹⁶ Incidentally, pieces from some farces performed by the Philharmonic during Lent of 1813 at the San Benedetto Theatre are also part of the collection. These are farces already performed at theatres in Venice: *Avvertimento ai gelosi* by Pavesi (premiere in Venice, Teatro San Benedetto, 1803), of which the score of the sinfonia is present (unnumbered), and *Le lagrime d'una vedova* by Generali (premiere in Venice, Teatro San Moisè, 1808), preserved in the collection in its entirety (number undecipherable).¹⁷ The latter work was performed at least three times by the Philharmonic between March and April 1813. Besides *Le lagrime d'una vedova* and Mayr's *Elisa*, there are at least three other farces, the success of which was reported in the newspapers and which we know were performed more than once during that season: Rossini's *L'inganno felice*, Farinelli's *Teresa e Claudio* and Pavesi's

15 'Last Thursday, two renowned Farse *L'Elisa* by Sig. Mayr, *L'Amico dell'Uomo* by Sig. Farinelli, appeared at the San Benedetto Theatre in the pre-announced performances. [...] The distinguished Sig. Leonardo Grimani, President of the Institute, sustained the dignified parts of Duplessis and the Baron of Bel Prato with the hearty gravity that was appropriate; and his solo and concerted pieces were performed with that mastery that resonates everywhere, ceding nought to the most experienced professors of the art, and that shone brightly. It goes without saying that the most incessant acclamations accompanied him.' See 'Filarmonici Trattenimenti', *Il Giornale dell'Adriatico*, 3 October 1812. Quotation from: G. Cravin, *L'Istituto Filarmonico Veneto*, p. 280 (doc. no. 131).

16 There are other five operas by Mayr in the collection: *Le finte rivali* (1803), *L'amor coniguale* (1805), *Ifigenia in Aulide*, serio, (1817), *Telemaco nell'isola di Calipso* (1797) and *Il Tamerlano* (1812).

17 In addition to Generali's *Le lagrime d'una vedova*, the collection also includes nine other excerpts from his opera *Adelina* (1810).

Avvertimento ai gelosi. Here is a short announcement of the last performance of *Avvertimento ai gelosi* in the *Giornale Dipartimentale dell'Adriatico* of 24 March 1813:

Domani a sera giovedì i filarmonici dilettanti daranno l'ultima recita della farsa *l'Avvertimento a' gelosi*. Sabato si podurrà la farsa *l'Inganno felice*, musica del sig. Rossini; e martedì un nuovo ballo che ha per titolo *il finto Spirito*. La farsa *Teresa e Claudio*, passerà a sera per prima.¹⁸

And another from the same newspaper, three days later:

[...] Per intempestiva combinazione i sigg. filarmonici dilettanti protraggon qui al teatro a S. Benedetto la produzione della farsa *l'inganno felice*, musica del maestro Rossini al domani (domenica). Il zelo che li invita al miglio uopo, è ben degno d'ogni incoraggiamento onde vieppiù risalti l'oggetto che li guida al vantaggio de' poveri, L'applaudita farsa *Teresa e Claudio* passerà per prima, e con essa l'acclamata sinfonia del sig. maestro Rossini.¹⁹

Besides testifying to the multiple performances of these operas and lauding each performer's skill, the newspapers emphasise the Venetian audience's enthusiasm for the repertoire offered by the Philharmonic:

Quant'è degna di ammirazione l'esecuzione al teatro filarmonico a S. Benedetto della rinomata farsa *l'inganno felice*, musica del sig. maestro Rossini, in cui malgrado all'arduo cimento di seguir l'orme de' grandi artisti pe' quali fu qui scritta, tanto distinguersi la sig. Elena Miller dal Leccio, che s'è ognor segnala tra' primari ornamenti della Veneta Filarmonia; ed in cui il sig. Giuseppe Zanchi nella parte di Tarabotto, ch'esigge tutta l'intelligenza del grande attore, supera la commun aspettazione pella sua precisione, e naturalezza, come diletta quanto mai il sig. Toderini nella sua soavissima cavatina di sortita, e nel gran terzetto colla sig. Dal Leccio e il sig. Zanchi; e il sig. Pietro Rota nella parte sebben secondaria d'Ormondo, l'aria sua ad ogni sera ripetendo, senz'altro dire del sempre eguale, dell'inimitabile signor Grimani, pregevole mecenate dell'onor Patrio in questo ramo di amena illustrazione; altrettanto poi s'entusiasmo il pubblico nella produzione fattasi ier a sera della farsa *Le lagrime d'una vedova*, musica del sig. maestro Generali.²⁰

18 'Tomorrow evening, Thursday, the amateur philharmonic artists will give the last performance of the farce *l'Avvertimento a' gelosi*. On Saturday they will perform the farce *l'Inganno felice*, music by Mr Rossini; and on Tuesday a new dance entitled *il finto Spirito*. The farce *Teresa e Claudio* will be given first in the evening.' See 'Teatri', *Il Giornale Dipartimentale dell'Adriatico*, 24 March 1813. Quotation from: G. Cravin, *L'Istituto Filarmonico Veneto*, p. 288 (doc. no. 140).

19 'Due to unforeseeable circumstances, the amateur artists of the Philharmonic will be prolonging here at the San Benedetto theatre the production of the farce *l'inganno felice*, music by maestro Rossini till tomorrow (Sunday). The zeal that conjures them to the better good is well worthy of every encouragement so that the object that guides them to the benefit of the poor may stand out all the more. The acclaimed farce *Teresa e Claudio* will go first, and with it the acclaimed sinfonia by maestro Rossini.' See 'Teatri', *Il Giornale Dipartimentale dell'Adriatico*, 27 March 1813. Quotation from: G. Cravin, *L'Istituto Filarmonico Veneto*, p. 288 (doc. no. 141).

20 'Worthy of admiration is the performance at the San Benedetto Teatro Filarmonico of the renowned farce *l'inganno felice*, music by maestro Rossini, in which, despite the onerous task of following in the footsteps of the great performers for whom it was written, so distinguished was Sig. Elena Miller dal Leccio, who has always distinguished herself among the leading adornments of the Venetian Philharmonic; and in which Sig. Giuseppe Zanchi, in the part of Tarabotto, which demands all the

Beyond the *farsa* season, about which the newspapers wrote a great deal, reviews of the Institute's repertoire that may relate to the Grimani collection are not lacking. In August 1815, in the Concerti Filarmonici section of the *Giornale di Venezia*, we read:

Dobbiamo un cenno sul concerto datosi dall'Istituto di musica lunedì scorso. Egli non fu degenerare da' precedenti, mercè essenzialmente il melodioso esercizio della pregevolissima sig. Marianna Baldini socia dell'Istituto, che deliziò di bel nuovo co' soavi suoi modi la copiosa assemblea. [...] Poco mancò che non fosse astretta non meno a quella della scena e rondò con cori dell'*Italiana in Algeri*, tale si fu la piena di applausi che coronarono una soavità di canto che giunge al cuore; e che ci lascia invidiar la sorte del pubblico di Lendinara, al cui diletto assa volge i suoi passi. Appo lei si distinsero il sig. Lodovico Buffetti aggiunto alla presidenza, di cui abbiamo altrove tessuti ben giusti elogi, e che dovette a furia di plausi ripetere un'aria del sig. maestro Guglielmi il padre, comprovandoci che la buona musica non è mai rancida quando ben eseguita.²¹

In this review, the juxtaposition of an excerpt from Rossini's *Italiana in Algeri* (first performance Teatro San Benedetto, Venice, 1813) with an untitled aria by Pietro Alessandro Guglielmi, who has two pieces in Grimani's collection (the sinfonia of *Lanterna di Diogene*, first performance Teatro San Samuele 1793, unnumbered; the rondo *Se ti perdo amato bene* from *Enea and Lavinia*, from 1785, unnumbered), is accompanied by a note on the latter composer that shows a kind of awareness of the more or less recent musical past that in everyday musical practice continues to persist and mingle with the novelty of the new century. And while *L'Italiana di Algeri* is represented in the collection only by the terzetto *Pappateci che mi sento*, with an ownership note of Prince Erizzo (unnumbered), there are pieces from another eight Rossini operas, namely, *Edoardo e Cristina* (1819); *Ricciardo e Zoraide* (1818); *Otello*

intelligence of a great actor, surpasses expectations with his precision and spontaneity, as does Sig. Toderini in his exceedingly charming cavatina di sortita, and in the grand terzetto with Sig. dal Leccio and Sig. Zanchi; and Sig. Pietro Rota in the albeit secondary part of d'Ormondo, his aria repeated every evening, to say nothing of the ever consistent, inimitable Sig. Grimani, worthy patron of our national glory in this branch of delightful illustration; all the more, then, did the audience enthuse over the performance given yesterday evening of the farce *Le lagrime d'una vedova*, music by Sig. maestro Generali.' ('Teatri', *Il Giornale Dipartimentale dell'Adriatico*, Thursday, 8 April 1813). Quotation from: G. Cravin, *L'Istituto Filarmonico Veneto*, p. 291 (doc. no. 145).

- 21 'We owe a mention to the concert given by the Institute of Music last Monday. It was not unworthy of its predecessors, thanks essentially to the melodious efforts of the most esteemed Sig. Marianna Baldini, a member of the Institute, who delighted the copious audience once again with her charming manner. [...] She was almost obliged to repeat also the scene and rondo with choruses from *Italiana in Algeri*, such was the flood of applause that crowned a sweetness of singing that reaches the heart; and that leaves us envious of the fate of the Lendinara audience, to whose delight she turns her steps. Following her stood out Mr Lodovico Buffetti, deputy president, of whom we have elsewhere woven well deserved praise, and who was obliged by applause to repeat an aria by Sig. maestro Guglielmi senior, proving to us that good music is never rank when well performed'. See 'Concerti Filarmonici', *Il Giornale di Venezia*, Thursday, 17 August 1815. Quotation from: G. Cravin, *L'Istituto Filarmonico Veneto*, p. 315 (doc. no. 183).

(1816); *Demetrio e Polibio* (1812); *La gazza ladra* (1817); *Il Maometto II* (1820); *Semiramide*, (1823); *Mosè in Egitto* (1818), as well as two cantatas and one unknown aria.

News about the Institute's concert activities also appears in Vienna, where the *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung*, in the section '(Weitere) Nachrichten über den Musikzustand von Venedig', periodically (1817–18) published information about the concerts held, naming the presidents and performers. Like the reviews in the Venetian press, some reports in this newspaper offer equally valuable data on the repertoire performed:

Das philharmonische Institut gab in diesem Monat seine Akademie für den April. Unter den Vocalstücken hatten die schöne Cavatina von Meyerbeer; *Se il fato barbaro*, eine Scene mit Arie von Basili, Oper, beyde gesungen von der Gentildonna da Riva, die Arien: *Una voce m'ha colpito*, von Rossini, und: *Falsus est* von Generali, gesungen von N.U. Grimani, so wie Tomasuzzi's Tenorarie, eigens für ihr gesetz von Baglioni, den Beyfall des Publicums erhalten.²²

Some of the pieces mentioned here, including Meyerbeer's cavatina *Se il fato barbaro* (no. CCXVI) from the semi-seria opera *Romilda e Costanza* (Padua, 1817), and the aria *Falsus est che amor sit* (no. VII) from Generali's *Adelina* (Venice, 1810), sung on this occasion by Grimani, are part of the collection. And although the titles of Basili's scene and aria have not been specifically mentioned here, the collection includes three excerpts (one belonging to Erizzo) from Basili's opera seria *L'ira di Achille* (1817) and also a duetto from the opera giocosa *Lo stravagante e il dissipatore* (1805). As for Meyerbeer, in addition to the above title, there are two pieces in the collection from his *Emma di Resburgo* (1819), one from *L'esule di Granata* (1822) and one from *Il crociato in Egitto* (1824) a title that postdates the closure of the Institute. This perhaps testifies that Grimani's collecting and singing activity did not end in 1822, but given the lack of biographical data it is impossible to draw a precise conclusion.

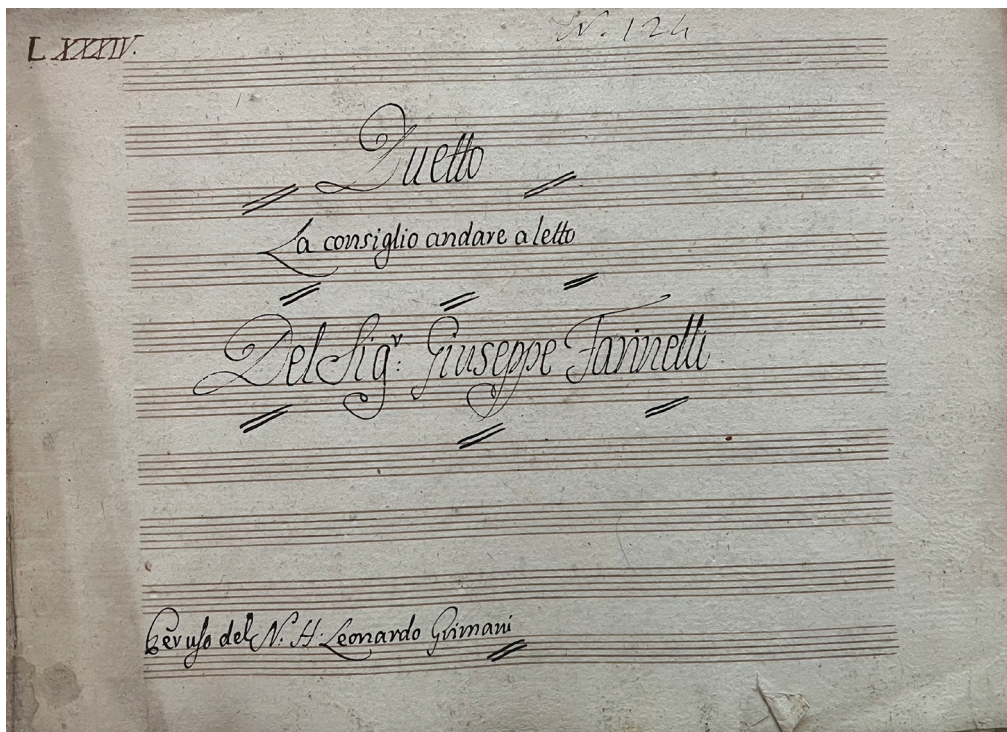
Examples of reports similar to those presented so far, testifying to the presence of late eighteenth-century operas and numbers alongside 'new' works during the years of the Institute's activity, appear in newspapers up to 1818, when the last news about concerts is given, although apparently the Institute did not close definitively until 1822. Lastly, a small proportion of specimens in the collection come from the period after the year of the Institute's closure. The last years of the activity of the Veneto Philharmonic Institute (1821–22), which had been maintained since its inception

22 'The Philharmonic Institute gave its academy for April this month. The vocal pieces included Meyerbeer's beautiful Cavatina *Se il fato barbaro* and a scene with aria from an opera by Basili, both sung by the Gentildonna da Riva, the arias *Una voce m'ha colpito*, by Rossini, and *Falsus est*, by Generali, sung by N.U. Grimani, as well as Tomasuzzi's tenor aria, which received the applause of the audience especially for its setting by Baglioni.' 'Correspondenz – Nachrichten', *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung*, 1818, p. 292. The journal is accessible online: https://www.google.com/books/edition/Allgemeine_musikalische_Zeitung/-xxDAAAACAAJ?gbpv=1.

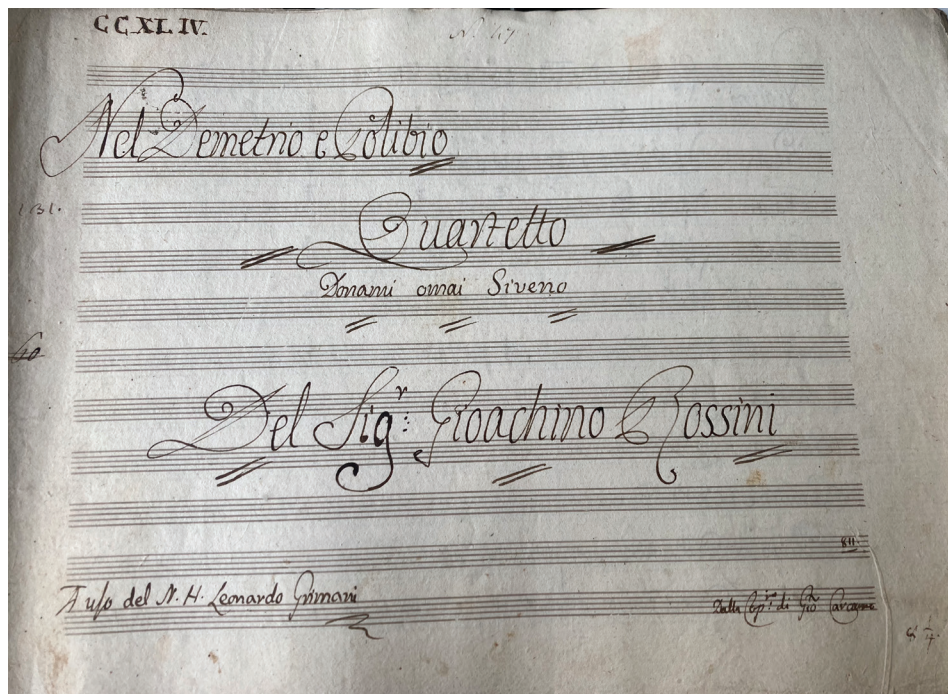
exclusively by the private means of the founders, were marked by major financial problems and the continuous attempts of the presidency to obtain government subsidies. The difficult running of the school, the scheduling of seasons and the setting up of the Institute's academies, activities that for twelve years were carried out thanks mainly to Grimani's generosity, gave rise to a series of often contradictory interventions, pleas and actions, as is evident from the documents. After a long delay, which lasted almost two years, and the arrival of a negative response from the government to the pleas of the Institute's president, this ambitious project to create a musical institution rivalling the Milan Conservatory was shut down in April 1822. With the failure of the Institute, Grimani's work, at least his 'collecting', did not end, and we have a small portion of scores from operas written after 1822. Whereas before it had been almost exclusively whole operas or extracts for the full orchestra, the scores dating from the second half of the 1820s and the early 1830s coincide with the repertoire of Venetian theatres from about 1822 to 1832 and consist of reductions for voice (again mainly bass) and piano of operas by Bellini, Pavesi, Mercadante, Ricci and Rossini, possibly for performances in domestic and private settings, of which, however, no written record remains.

CONCLUSIONS

The analysis of one part of the Grimani collection and its connection to external sources has brought out the different experiences and roles played by the collector: from being a singer to being the co-organiser of the Institute's concert seasons for more than a decade. The collected items not only offer information about Grimani's personal tastes and choices and express his identity, but also reveal the context in which the collection was created, enrich our knowledge of the repertoire of the Istituto Filarmonico Veneto and contribute to a greater understanding of musical events in Venice in the early nineteenth century. But it may also cause us to reflect on some issues of historiography: the repertoire collected and performed testifies to a reception unrelated to the chronological segmentations that exist today in historical study of this period. On one hand, it reflects early nineteenth-century tastes for music both by composers from a more or less distant past who were already 'canonical' and by those who perpetuated the same formal customs and vocal or stylistic choices dating back to earlier times – customs that formed a fundamental part of the background of Grimani and other musicians at the Institute, as well as a common ground of understanding with audiences. On the other hand, it shows a gradual updating of musical trends and the arrival of 'modernity'.



1. Title page of duetto 'La consiglio andare a letto' from Giuseppe Farinelli's farsa *Bandiera d'ogni vento ovvero L'amante per forza* (Venezia, Teatro San Benedetto, 1800). Leonardo Grimani music collection, num. LXXXIV, Institut für Musikwissenschaft, Universität Wien, Vienna, Austria (published with the permission of the Institute of Musicology of the University of Vienna)



2. Title page of quartetto 'Donami omai Siveno' from Gioachino Rossini's dramma serio *Demetrio e Polibio* (Roma, Teatro Valle, 1812), Leonardo Grimani music collection, num. CCXLIV, Institut für Musikwissenschaft, Universität Wien, Vienna, Austria (published with the permission of the Institute of Musicology of the University of Vienna)

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GUST I ŚWIADOMOŚĆ HISTORYCZNA W KOLEKCJI MUZYCZNEJ LEONARDA GRIMANIEGO (OK. 1778–1832)

Kolekcjonerstwo muzyczne to zjawisko, które nasuwa złożone pytania dotyczące funkcji gromadzonych materiałów, ich zastosowań – często obejmujących sfery prywatną i publiczną – oraz o powody ich dołączania a pomijania innych. Niniejszy artykuł zawiera refleksje nad powyższymi kwestiami, a punkt wyjścia stanowi przypadek kolekcji weneccjanina, Leonarda

Grimanigo, przechowywanej obecnie w Instytucie Muzykologii Uniwersytetu Wiedeńskiego. Została ona zgromadzona na przełomie XVIII i XIX w. i częściowo wykazuje związki z repertuarem Istituto Filarmonico Veneto (1810–22), którego Grimani był założycielem i mecenasem, i gdzie sam występował jako śpiewak. Kolekcja, zawierająca wyłącznie ustępę z oper z końca XVIII i początku XIX w., została w artykule powiązana z kontekstem lokalnym: przede wszystkim za pomocą pochodzących z epoki źródeł prasowych, które umożliwiają odtworzenie – jakkolwiek częściowe – sposobów praktycznego wykorzystywania zachowanych materiałów.

Przedstawione refleksje dotyczą funkcji, którą zgromadzona przez Grimanigo muzyka pełniła w kontekście praktyki wykonawczej Instytutu, uwzględniającej zarówno twórców późnoosiemnastowiecznych, jak i tych należących do nowego pokolenia. Przedmiot szczególnego zainteresowania stanowi – wzbudzający wówczas wyjątkowe zainteresowanie weneckiej prasy i publiczności – sezon koncertowy Instytutu z l. 1812–13, w którym dominowała farsa.

Przełożył Grzegorz Zieziula

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