THE LASTING MUSICAL EFFECTS OF THE ITALIAN GRAND TOURS
OF IGNAZ MARIA VON ATTEMS-HEILIGENKREUTZ (1714-1762)
AND THOMAS GRAY (1716-1771)

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Abstract

Italy was for the Grand Tourists of the eighteenth century the most frequently visited part of Europe. More musically oriented travelers reported also on music events and collected music sources for further private but also public use in their homelands. The musical interests of two lesser known Grand Tourists of the late 1730s, a Styrian aristocrat Ignaz von Attems and the English Pre-Romantic poet Thomas Gray, aligned in their operatic taste for they both collected some of the then most successful and popular arias. The combined information from the two music collections and personal letters of both travellers unveil some mysteries and fill some small lacunae in our knowledge of Italian eighteenth-century opera.

Keywords: cultural history, 18th century, Grand Tour, opera arias, Ignaz Maria von Attems, Thomas Gray

By far the most popular part of Europe to be visited on a Grand Tour in the eighteenth century as well as in the later periods was Italy:¹ Italy with its rich

¹ The so-called Grand Tour – conceived in the Renaissance era as a mobile finishing school of arts and manners – had become by the eighteenth century for the offspring of wealthy European families an established way of completing one’s education and becoming initiated into the world of international politics, economics, and culture at large. Embracing both higher education at famous universities and something which we would nowadays call cultural tourism, this type of travel could take extended
classical past, newly discovered sites of its great Roman era; Italy the cradle of the European Renaissance; and Italy the symbol of music, and especially of the fashionable music theatre. To set foot in Italy was a compulsory part of a standard Grand Tour, a part which none of the eighteenth-century «tourists» omitted. Those more musically educated and inclined to the art of Euterpe profited from their stay in Italy to improve their musical expertise and taste. Some returned home with a new portrait showing them with instruments or music scores in the hands, while others were buying musical instruments and copies of their favourite music pieces. The fervent ones copied music themselves and the most eager and wealth-

periods of time, from months to several years. An extensive general literature on the subject of the Grand Tour in the eighteenth century is available within a comprehensive web-site The Grand Tour http://www.grandtour.amdigital.co.uk that also comprises reproductions of primary sources as well as various transcriptions and other documentation. I have consulted especially the following basic literature on the subject: Jeremy BLACK: Italy and the Grand Tour, Yale University Press, New Haven – London 2003; Jeremy BLACK: The British Abroad: The Grand Tour in the Eighteenth Century, Sutton, Stroud 2013 (the section on arts including music is virtually the same as in the earlier cited monograph) and John INGAMELLS: A Dictionary of British and Irish Travellers in Italy, 1701-1800, Yale University Press, New Haven – London 1997. Although the following book deals primarily with the seventeenth century it provides a comprehensive commented list of earlier literature on the phenomenon of the Grand Tour; from 1900 on: Edward CHANEY: The Evolution of the Grand Tour. Anglo-Italian Cultural Relations since the Renaissance, Routledge, London – New York 2006, 383-404. For further recent literature see also Lisa COLLETTA (ed.): The Legacy of the Grand Tour. New Essays on Travel, Literature, and Culture, Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, Madison – Teaneck 2016, 185-194.

2 For example John Montagu, Lord Brudenell (1735-1770) who travelled (as John, Marquis of Montemher) in Italy from 1755 to 1760 had had himself painted by Pompeo Batoni with a lute and a score of Corelli’s violin sonata 6, Op. 5. Jeremy BLACK: Italy and the Grand Tour, 180; John INGAMELLS: A Dictionary, 148-149 and Marie CORNAZ: Unknown Sources of Italian Baroque Music and New Vivaldi Operatic Discoveries in the Montagu Music Collection (Boughton House, UK), Revue belge de musicologie, 66 (2012), 251. A sketch portrait of another Englishman, William Freman, made by Pier Leone Ghezzi in Rome in 1729 and accompanied by his comments prove the fact that Freman was not only a music collector on a Grand Tour but also a transverse flute player. Marie CORNAZ: Unknown Sources, 261. On the vogue of acquiring portraits while in Italy see Jeremy BLACK: Italy and the Grand Tour, 184 and James T. BOULTON and T. O. MCLOUGHLIN: News from Abroad. Letters Written by British Travellers on the Grand Tour, 1729-71, Liverpool University Press, Liverpool 2012, 263, note 607. Pompeo Batoni (1730-1795) did some 200 portraits of British tourists in Rome.

3 Larger collections of music scores were assembled by many British travellers such as for example Sir John Buckworth who travelled in Italy between 1728 and 1730. Jeremy BLACK: Italy and the Grand Tour, 180; John INGAMELLS: A Dictionary, 152. Buckworth was also a musician for he was elected director of The Royal Academy of Music in London in the autumn of 1726. In 1730 while still on his Grand Tour of Italy he described himself as «Cittadino Fiorentino ed Accademico Filarmonico». See also Elizabeth GIBSON: The Royal Academy of Music 1719-1728. The Institution and Its Directors, Garland Publishing, New York – London 1989, 96-98. Music collections of this type do not surprise in archives of royal and other ruling families of Europe and are to be expected also within surviving musicalia of other important families as is demonstrated by Marie Cornaz in her recent monograph on music in the Flemish family of Dukes of Arenberg. Marie CORNAZ: The Dukes of Arenberg and Music in the Eighteenth Century. The Story of a Music Collection, Brepols Publishers, Turnhout 2015, 192-197. The author mentions Louis-Engelbert Sixth Duke of Arenberg (1778-1820) who travelled from June 1790 to January 1791 in Italy. Preserved is a travel diary containing many references to music and especially to singing and some music manuscripts that he had brought back to his home in Brussels.
iestic tourists even persuaded Italian musicians to come back home with them.\textsuperscript{4} English travellers were by far the most numerous: consequently, their tours and the consequent impact of Italian music on English cultural life are today among the most fully – although not yet completely – researched. But similar routes were taken also by noblemen from other European countries. These have, however, so far been neither systematically recorded nor thoroughly researched and placed in the context of other historical evidence that would enable the evaluation of the impact of their Italian experience on music and culture in their homelands.\textsuperscript{5}

One of these was also a young Austrian Count, Ignaz Maria von Attems-Heiligenkreuz.\textsuperscript{6} He spent four years abroad, from 1734 to 1738, the period marked by the Polish succession war. From his native Graz in Austrian Styria Ignaz Attems travelled first to the North, to Würzburg and some other German towns, and in the first half of the year 1735 he studied in Prague and later he enrolled in the University of Leiden as \textit{candidatus iuris}. In July 1737 he finished with his official university education and travelled to Belgium, France and finally to Italy. He travelled in Italy from late 1737 to September 1738.\textsuperscript{7}

After 1739 he was appointed to a series of high positions in the Inner-Austrian government and the Habsburg court in Vienna. He was married in 1739 to Maria Josepha née Countess Khuen zu Auer von Belasy-Lichtenberg, from an old Tyrolean noble family.\textsuperscript{8} As a first-born son he was the heir to a large family fortune of a notable number of castles and palaces as well as one of the richest local art collections of the time, housed in his palace in Graz. After the death of his father in

\textsuperscript{4} One of the more famous examples is Richard Boyle, 3rd Earl of Burlington (1694-1753) who returned to Britain in 1715 from his first trip to Italy with the violinists Petro and Prospero Castrucci and the cellist and composer Filippo Amadei. He also bought harpsichords in Florence and Venice. See Jeremy BLACK: \textit{Italy and the Grand Tour}, 180; John INGAMELLS: \textit{A Dictionary}, 160-161.

\textsuperscript{5} An exception or hopefully rather one of the first (together with Cornaz’s book on Arenbergs) of the sort is a recent thorough presentation of music endeavours of a Moravian music patron Count Johann Adam von Questenberg that includes also a chapter on the nobleman’s Grand Tour and the connected music repertoire. Jana PERUTKOVÁ, \textit{Der glorreiche Nahmen Adami. Johann Adam Graf Questenberg (1678–1752) als Förderer der italienischen Oper in Mähren} (in: Specula Spectacula 4), Hollitzer Verlag, Vienna 2015, 100-102 and 209-222.


\textsuperscript{8} On Josepha see Metoda KOKOLE: Migrations of Musical Repertoire, 342-343.
1762 he founded the family branch with its seat at Slovenska Bistrica (Windisch Feistriz) now in Slovenia, where the family remained until the Second World War. His itinerary is rather well documented by the 32 surviving letters that he sent from his journey to his father in Graz. Five of these were sent from Italy: the first from Bologna on 10 December 1737, the next three from Rome in January and in February of 1738 and the last one from Trieste on 5 October 1738. Upon reaching Italian soil he first visited Verona and Mantua, where he admired local theatres, even though there were no operas playing at that time. He later proceeded to Bologna from where he finally travelled to the eternal city.

He was a keen observer of contemporary political, economic, religious and cultural life at the places he visited. It was indeed common that well-connected travellers, such as Ignaz von Attems, were readily accepted at courts, invited to dine with local rulers and permitted to attend court functions, also participating in balls and other kinds of courtly entertainment. They mixed in a society of senior officials and diplomats. All this – supervised by a personal preceptor (Hoffmaister Westerhold in the case of young Attems) and co-ordinated by the family via its kinship networks – was, as I have already pointed out, regarded as an essential part of the social education of aristocrats on the Grand Tour destined to perform important official tasks after returning to their homelands. Apart from providing his father with current news, Ignaz von Attems didn’t fail to inform him also of some of his visits to music events, concerts, dances and last but not least of Italian operatic productions.

Ignaz von Attems arrived to Rome in late December 1737 and was there for the opening of the Carnival season of 1738 when on 7 January the season at the then newly renovated Teatro delle Dame, colloquially still called Teatro Alibert, started with a drama per musica Achille in Sciro composed by Giuseppe Arena, «Maestro di Cappella dell’Eccellentissimo Sig. Principe di Bisignano». The production was dedicated to the then Pope’s nephew Filippo Corsini, who’s house

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9 See footnote 7, above.
the Austrian aristocrat visited on 3 January and reported on the event and his further social life in Rome to his father.12

One section of the music manuscripts that survived among documents of the Styrian family of Attems in Slovenska Bistrica were copied in 1738 in Rome.13 The annotations on these manuscripts corroborate and complete the information given in the letter of 4 January 1738.14 From this source too comes the information that he heard not only Giuseppe Arena’s *Achille in Sciro* with the then famous castrato Gioachino Conti, *detto Gizziello*, in the title role, but also that »other« opera of the same Roman Carnival season at Teatro delle Dame: Nicolò Logroscino’s *Il Quinto Fabio* with the same castrato singer in the title role.15 Count Attems acquired copies of as many as nine soprano arias from each of these two operas (still extant are 5 and one duet) most of which were sung by the above mentioned Gizziello. The Roman productions had all-male casts with castrati for the roles otherwise sung by female soprano singers.

Gioachino Conti, *detto il Gizziello* (also *Giziello*; 1714–1761), was a pupil of Domenico Gizzi in Naples.16 He began his career in Rome in 1730 and met with instant success that took him to all important operatic centres throughout Italy as well as beyond; to Vienna, London, Lisbon and Madrid. He was spotted also by the Viceroy Count von Harrach who eagerly reported in 1732 to the Emperor Charles VI in Vienna about the new opera star. Conti was invited to Vienna where he sang at Hofburg in 1734 in Antonio Caldara’s oratorio *San Pietro in Cesarea*. His performances were so well received that in 1734 Charles VI presented him with a gold medal for his art and an apartment in Vienna.17

12 In a letter dated 4 January 1738 he for example reports with the following words: »[…] On the 3rd [of January] the society gathered at Principe Corsini, and also included the Pretender with his two Princes, the latter two being the most becoming gentlemen of the world. On Sylvester I was invited to meet the Ambassador of Malta, Baron Schaden, who is one of his Order who can live on his own resources as he has lots of possessions in Westphalia. In the evening the society gathered at Marchese Crescenci. Yesterday I visited the Capitolium. There were not as many English here as there have been in previous years; they are all deeply grieving the Queens’ death. The day before yesterday the theatre at Argentino for comedies has been opened. It is very magnifique, the costumes are passable too, but the comedies themselves are nothing compared to those in Paris. The coming Monday begins the opera at the Teatro Alibert. It is called *Achille in Sciro*, the story and the text are the same as those performed at Vienna for the wedding of the Archduchess. The music here however has been changed. In the second half of the Carnival season there will probably be another [opera] performed.« For the transcription of the original see Metoda KOKOLE: Giuseppe Arena’s *Achille in Sciro*, 247.

13 The collection itself – found in the Attems castle of Slovenska Bistrica after World War II – is now preserved in Maribor and contains over 100 music manuscripts, mostly Italian opera arias with an original inventory of 1744 compiled for Count Ignaz von Attem’s wife Josepha, née Countess von Kuhm. SI-Mp, Gospočina Bistrški grad, Musicalia, TE 67, AE 1.

14 This collection is discussed in Metoda KOKOLE: Migrations of Musical Repertoire, 348-366 and 367-373 (the catalogue).

15 The premiere was on 3 February 1738. Saverio FRANCHI: *Drammaturgia romana II (1701–1750)*, Edizioni di storia e letteratura, Rome 1997, 294.

growing fame reached also George Friedrich Handel in London and Gizziello was engaged for Sassone’s operas produced there from April 1736 to May 1737. He was publicised as »the best singer in Italy«. His appearances at Carnival operas at Teatro delle Dame in Rome followed immediately his London period.

Although Ignaz von Attems never mentions the singer in his letters, other travellers of approximately the same time period did comment on his performances. The »rising genius« perhaps already known to British grand tourists from his London seasons became a subject of comments in letters sent from Italy and in reports on operatic life there. Edward Holdsworth (1684–1746),17 a tutor of a young gentleman on a grand tour, for example reported to his friend, the librettist and great collector of music and art Charles Jennens (1700–1773) – the librettist of Handel’s Messiah – about his observations on Conti at the time of the Carnival operatic season in Rome in 1742 when he was singing in Giuseppe Arena’s and Giuseppe Selliti’s Farnace and Selliti’s Sesostri, re d’Egitto: »[...] The best voice we have here is Conti, who is much applauded; and is I think reckon’d the best Superano now in Italy. Tho’, if I mistake not, He was not esteem’d much in England. But He may be improv’d; or else you are more nice, & not so easily please’d as the Italians.«18

Gizziello was mentioned also by a rather famous French traveller and author of printed Lettres familières écrites d’Italie en 1739 et 1740 in the passage dedicated to »castrati« and soprano singers and the characteristics of their voices19 in his description of his stay in Rome in 1740.20 »Egizietto« is listed among the best castrati he had heard.21 Gioachino Conti apparently ended his career in 1755 in Madrid and spent his final years in Rome where he also died in 1761.

Whether Ignaz von Attems acquired copies of arias sung by Gizziello in Rome because he was enchanted by the performances themselves or was it for the music itself we shall never know; however, he did not acquire them only for the archive of his house for a number of the arias he bought in Italy – including three that Attems heard performed by Gizziello – found their way to the pasticcio operatic...
productions in his hometown Graz in the years following his return from Italy.\(^{22}\)

May be it is also not a coincidence that Alessandro Verroni, another castrato singer performing in Rome in Carnival productions of 1738,\(^{23}\) was part of the cast in Graz productions of 1740, singing two arias originating from Niccolò Logroscino’s *Il Quinto Fabio* given in Graz to the role of Ismeno in *Amor, odio e pentimento*. In the same production *Risponderti vorrei*, the most widely copied aria of Achilles from Arena’s *Achille in Sciro*, was sung by one of the foremost soprano singers of Pietro Mingotti’s group Marianna Pircher.

To acquire copies of arias of the current theatrical season on the spot was not very difficult, but may be at first rather expensive.\(^{24}\) Copying shops where music materials for current productions were prepared were attached to one or several theatres in the cities with more important theatres. Composers’ original manuscripts were available there to be copied in various forms: complete scores, parts, individual movements or short scores. Some emerged from the circle of musical performers and were bought by amateur enthusiasts, collectors, and travellers who enjoyed acquiring a memento of operas they had seen. Amateurs were generally content with a transcription of the vocal part with basso continuo.\(^{25}\)

It seems that Count Attems was not only a traveller or collector but also an amateur musician, for he had had parts for transverse flute arranged from the original parts for voice or the first violin for all of the arias copied for him from Arena’s and Logroscino’s Roman operas of 1738. In the surviving Attems music collection a few compositions for transverse flute solo with his name written on the manuscripts survived so it seems reasonable to assume that he was actually an amateur flutist, as it is also safe to presume that his wife was a soprano singer who accompanied herself on a keyboard instrument, using the short scores from the collection. The copies of parts for two violins may indicate that the arias were performed also by larger parties in Graz or at Slovenska Bistrica including additional instrumentalists.\(^{26}\)

\(^{22}\) For further discussion and the list of these with details on sources and performers is given in Metoda KOKOLE: Giuseppe Arena’s *Achille in Sciro*, 262-264.

\(^{23}\) In the sources also spelled Varoni and Verona, and named Alessandro di Urbino or Alessandro di Bologna. He was an alto castrato and was most active in the period from the mid-1720s to the mid-1740s, especially in northern Italian operatic centres, but also appeared in Rome and outside Italy (Portugal and Austria). Claudio SARTORI: *I libretti italiani. Indici II. Cantanti*, 667. In Roman productions Verroni assumed roles of the King Licomedes in *Achille in Sciro* and of Lucio Papirio in *Il Quinto Fabio*.

\(^{24}\) De Brosses informs us that the composers were poorly paid for the new operas and made some profit only from the first copy of arias sold as »la nouveauté«. He adds that later when the arias are known in copies no further profit comes to the composer. Charles DE BROSSES: *Lettres familières*, 361.

\(^{25}\) Marie CORNAZ: *The Dukes of Arenberg*, 74-75.

\(^{26}\) The family for example acquired a new clavichord for the castle of Slovenska Bistrica before 1762.
Figures 1a and 1b: The title page and the first page of the part for transverse flute from Niccolò Logroscino’s Il Quinto Fabio (courtesy of the Pokrajinski arhiv Maribor).27

While in Rome Ignaz von Attems acquired copies of some pieces from two other operatic productions, both given at Carnival season at Teatro alla Valle and

27 SI-Mpa, No. 1. Attems acquired two different copies of this aria copied by two different scribes. One was probably taken directly from the original score for soprano, basso continuo and two violins in G major, whereas the second is transposed to D major and contains an additional part for transverse flute. Both versions in SI-Mpa, no. 1.
both dedicated to two influential Roman ladies. The first was a *divertimento giocoso in musica* titled *La serva padrona* by Gaetano Latilla and the other Rinaldo di Capua's satirical opera *La comedia in comedia*.28 The young Attems duly reported to his father also on other music events in Rome. On 17 January 1738 he was a guest at the Palazzo Spinola where his host, the Portuguese Cardinal Tomás de Almeida,29 had a new oratorio *La Fuga dal secolo di S. Antonio abate* performed.30 Attems called it a cantata and praised it as the best music he had heard for a long time, performed by true virtuosi. He didn’t forget to mention that it cost 500 gold pieces.31 Luxury music evenings were also organised by the Spanish Ambassador and Cardinal Troiano Acquaviva d’Aragona in his Palazzo Spagna, where Attems was also a guest, possibly through the recommendation of Cardinal Lamberg, often mentioned in his letters and originating from Graz.32

From Rome Ignaz Attems made a detour from his originally planned itinerary and went to Naples instead of going north to Venice. We do not know exactly how long he stayed there but he must have stayed long enough to visit in the summer season of 1738 at least two of the local theatres. One of these was the new and splendid Teatro San Carlo and the other a smaller Teatro Fiorentino, reserved for comic repertoire. In the Teatro San Carlo he heard the opera *Il Demetrio*, partly a pasticcio,33 and at the Fiorentino Ignaz enjoyed the comic opera *Il Conte* by the popular Neapolitan composer Leonardo Leo.34


29 Tomás de Almeida (1670-1754) was elected Cardinal in Rome on 20 December 1737. He ordered the performance of a new oratorio each year on 17 January from the year 1730 on. Saverio FRANCHI: *Drammaturgia romana II*, several mentions.

30 The libretto for this oratorio was printed in an especially luxurious edition to mark the patron’s recent election for Cardinal. Saverio FRANCHI: *Drammaturgia romana II*, 294. The composition was performed one more time at the oratorio of San Filippo Neri in Genova.


32 Joseph Dominicus von Lamberg (Styria 1680 – Passau 1761), son of Count Franz Joseph von Lamberg and Countess Anna Maria von Trautmannsdorf. He was appointed Cardinal on 20 December 1737. He was from 1723 Bishop of Passau and was named imperial ambassador in Rome in January 1738 but never occupied the post. »LAMBERG, Joseph Dominicus von« in *The Cardinals of the Holy Roman Church: Biographical Dictionary* (http://www2.fiu.edu/~mirandas/bios1737.htm).

33 *IL DEMETRIO Drama per musica dell’abate Pietro Metastasio da rappresentarsi in questo nuovo famoso real Teatro di S. Carlo nella estasi di quest’anno 1738*. Two pieces from this opera survived in the Attems collection, *Scherza il nocchier talora* and *Se libera non sono* in SI-Mpa, nos. 2 and 90. One further aria is mentioned in the *Lista delle arie*.

34 Survived only one aria copied for Count Attems, *Risolver non poss’io* in SI-Mpa, no. 5.
Ignaz von Attems returned to Graz via Florence, Genoa, Turin, Milan, Padua and Venice, where in the early autumn he heard about the forthcoming opera by Johann Adolf Hasse L'Olimpiade with the famous Faustina Bordoni, the castrato singer Angiolo Monticelli and other well-known singers whom he mentions in the last preserved letter sent to his father from Trieste, not long before coming home towards the end of the year 1738. In Venice, he also enjoyed music at the Ospedalle della Pietà and at Incurabili, spending two days in these two institutions.

During his time in Rome and Naples, he acquired a collection of at least 32 music manuscripts. He got at least one more manuscript in the following year through the post probably via his connections in the papal city, possibly Cardinal Lamberg. The aria in question is Dal sen del caro sposo by Rinaldo di Capua from his Roman production of the opera Vologeso, re de Parti, produced in Carnival season of 1739 at Teatro Argentina. The libretto is by Giovanni Lucarelli and the aria for Berenice figures in Act II, Scene 13. In 1739 it was interpreted by a soprano castrato Giovanni Manzoni.

This aria apparently enjoyed special popularity for it survived in at least six more contemporary copies. One of these is for my present argument of special importance and further interest. The origin of the manuscript, traced through the RISM on-line catalogue, can be precisely located, being one of the bound fascicles of music scores brought back from his own Grand Tour in Italy in the years 1739 and 1740 by the internationally known English pre-Romantic poet Thomas Gray, copied in his own hand.

35 »Die Künftige opera wird besonders Prächtig seyn, welche betitult wird: Olympiade: die Musique ist Von Sassone, es wird singen die Faustina, die Barquerolla, ihr Mann der Babbi, und Monticelli.« A-Gla, in the letter from Trieste dated 5 October 1738. See also Metoda KOKOLE: Glasbeni utrinki, 74.


37 For Lamberg see footnote 32, above. Young Attems had been acquiring music from Rome also on behalf of his connections in other European centres; for example for Count Questenberg through his secretary Hoffmann, whom he possibly met while studying in Prague in 1735. Attems was asked in 1739 to obtain music of the opera La comedia in comedia by Rinaldo di Capua and Giovanni Battista Pergolesi's La Salustia. See also Jana PERUTKOVA: Der glorreiche Nahmen Adami, 212-213, and Metoda KOKOLE: Migrations of Musical Repertoire, 365.

38 SI-Mpa, no. 8.

39 VOLOGESO RE DE'PARTI. Drama per Musica. Da rappresentarsi del Teatro A TORRE ARGENTINA. Nel Carnevale dell'Anno 1739. The interpreters were Carlo Scalzi as Vologeso, Giovanni Manzoli as Berenice, Cristoforo del Rosso as Lucio Vero, Antonio Donini as Lucilla, Giambattista Mancini as Aniceto and Casimiro Pignotti as Flavio. Digitalised copy of the libretto from I-Mb is available in Catalogo SBN.

40 RISM ID No. 451507572 – a copy today in D-W (Cod. Guelf. 314 Mus. Hdschr. (Nr. 25)); RISM ID No. 270000938 – a copy today in D-DI (Mus.1-I-124); RISM ID No. 00101178 – a copy today in US-Fay (Quarto 532 Ms 9); RISM ID No. 806046205 – a copy today in GB-Lbl (Add. 31601); RISM ID No. 4300514269 – a copy today in PL-Wu (RM 4163, sacred contrafactum: Devoti clientes huc properate); and I-Rc (Mss.2765/15, not in RISM).

41 On Thomas Gray see the exhaustive web-page Thomas Gray Archive: http://www.thomasgray.org where all Gray's works, including his correspondence, are found in critical digital editions. For his biog-
Figures 2a and 2b: The title page and the first page of the aria *Dal sen del caro sposo* by Rinaldo di Capua (courtesy of the Pokrajinski arhiv Maribor).
Thomas Gray (1716–1771) was a different type of a traveller with a particular interest in personal improvement and a genuine curiosity about Classical culture and Italian music. He toured Italy as a companion to his wealthy school friend at Eaton, Horace Walpole, famous for his artistic interests and wide circle of friends. They set foot on Italian soil in late 1739. From November they travelled through Turin, Genua, Piacenza, Reggio, Modena and Bologna to reach Florence in late December. They stayed in Florence for a winter (to March 1740) and then visited Rome (to early July 1740) and Naples before returning to the north for the winter of 1740/41 in Florence. The two men sojourned again in Florence in the house of Walpole’s friend, the British diplomat Horace Mann. After a brief visit to Venice in May 1741 Gray returned to England. Like Attems he had been sending private letters from his Grand Tour to his family and friends and like Ignaz Attems he also fervently collected music that he heard in Italy.

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43 On Walpole is available an extensive secondary printed and digital literature as well as edition of his rich correspondence (The Yale Edition of Horace Walpole’s Correspondence, 48 vols., W. S. Lewis et al. (eds.), Yale University Press, New Haven 1937–1981 is available and searchable online: http://images.library.yale.edu/hwcorrespondence/) Most of the key texts are available within a most comprehensive AM Adam Matthew database The Grand Tour: http://www.grandtour.amdigital.co.uk/).

44 On his journey see also John INGAMELLS: A Dictionary, 425-426.
He for example reported on music events from Florence in a letter sent to his mother on 19 March 1740: »[...] The diversions of a Florentine Lent are composed of a sermon in the morning, full of hell and the devil; a dinner at noon, full of fish and meager diet; and, in the evening, what is called a Conversazione, a sort of assembly at the principal people’s houses, full of I cannot tell what: Besides this, there is twice a week a very grand concert. [...]« and a year later during his second stay in the Tuscan capital he wrote a little on music to his friend Richard West: »[...] our route is settled as follows: First to Bologna for a few days, to hear the Viscontina sing; next to Reggio, where is a Fair. [...] one has nothing but masquing, gaming, and singing. If you love operas, there will be the most splendid in Italy, four tip-top voices, a new theatre, the Duke and Duchess in all their poms and vanities. Does not this sound magnificent? « (a letter of 21 April 1741).45

Some years after his return from Italy Gray more or less settled down at Pembroke College, Cambridge, where he remained until his death in 1771. His fame lies today in his immortal poetry and other literary works. He was however interested and learned in natural and political history. He widely corresponded and left more than 600 letters, artistic works in themselves. Although his inclination towards music is not immediately apparent from his poetry, and he speaks moderately about music in his letters, Gray passionately adored music – especially Italian opera – and was also an active amateur musician. According to his best friend Charles Mason, nine years his junior, the heir of his works and his first biographer, Gray chased away the »nothingness« of his life in the 1760s by playing the harpsichord and also by singing to his own keyboard accompaniment.46

Mason says:

»The chief and almost the only one of these (i.e. Gray’s) amusements was music. His taste in this art was equal to his skill in any more important science. It was founded on the best models, those great masters of Italy who flourished about the same time with his favourite, Pergolese. Of his, of Leo’s, Buononcini’s, Vinci’s and Hasse’s works he made a valuable collection while abroad, chiefly of such of their vocal compositions as he himself heard and admired [...] In music he gained supreme skill in the more refined powers of expression, especially when we consider that art is an adjunct to poetry; for vocal music and that only (excepting, perhaps, the lessons of the younger Scarlatti) was what he chiefly regarded. His instrument was the harpsichord, on which, though he had little execution, yet when he sung to it he so modulated the small powers of his voice as to be able to convey to the intelligent hearer no common degree of satisfaction. This, however, he could seldom be prevailed upon to do even by his most intimate acquaintances. [...] He was much admired for his singing in his youth; yet he was so shy in exercising this talent that Mr. Walpole tells me he never could but

45 The letters are available on the Thomas Gray Archive web-site.
46 Charles CUDWORTH: Thomas Gray and Music, 647.
once prevail on him to give proof of it, and then it was with so much pain to himself that it gave him no manner of pleasure."\(^47\)

While in Italy with Walpole, Gray indeed collected – through purchase or his own copying – over 200 pieces of music: mostly operatic arias that he had heard in theatres visited during his tour; or ones so popular at the time that he could, perhaps, have heard them on several occasions during his travels in Italy.\(^48\) He later had them bound into ten volumes,\(^49\) which are today all held by the Lewis Walpole Library at Yale University, USA, specialising in documents related to Horace Walpole and his circle.\(^50\)

Gray compiled these ten volumes with special care, grouping the pieces according to composers, schools or other rationally determined criteria. He preceded each volume with his own list of contents noting the names of the composers, the titles of the arias and in some cases also the titles of the operas, and the roles and even the individual singers whom he had heard performing these pieces. Some of the volumes are dedicated to single composers, most popular at the time of his visit to Italy, such as Johann Adolf Hasse, Leonardo Vinci, Leonardo Leo, Michele Fini or Giovanni Baptista Pergolesi. Volumes 8, 9 and 10 are compilations of various authors. Rinaldo di Capua’s aria *Dal sen del caro sposo* is, for example, the eleventh piece in volume 9 (see also the Table in the Appendix).\(^51\)

On the cover of this volume Gray himself inscribed: »Arie di G. B. Lampugnani, Andrea Bernasconi, Milanesi; Rinaldo di Capua, Gaetano Latilla, Michele Fini, Napoletani; Gaet. Schiassi, Bolognese; e altri Autori«. There are in all 35 arias assembled in this volume. As already pointed out, two of the copied arias by Rinaldo di Capua come from the Roman setting of *Vologeso, re de Parti* in 1739 and Gray also included the name of the singer. Latilla’s arias came from a Roman production of *Siroe* in 1740; two arias by Fini come from his *Semiramide riconosciuta*, given in Florence in 1740; two arias by Galuppi are from the 1740 Carnival production of *Adriano in Siria* in Torino; there are also two pieces from the 1740 Florentine

\(^{47}\) The citation is taken from: Henry Edward KREHBIEL: *Music and Manners*, 16-18; see also Charles CUDWORTH: Thomas Gray and Music, 646-647.

\(^{48}\) For a description of Gray’s musical collection, see Henry Edward KREHBIEL: *Music and Manners*, 3–14.

\(^{49}\) On this collection, *Manuscript music collected by Thomas Gray, ca. 1740* (US-Fay, Quarto 532 MS 9), see http://orbexpress.library.yale.edu/vwebv/holdingsInfo?bibId=8254305.

\(^{50}\) On the manuscript collections of the Lewis Walpole Library, including a note on music – »not well represented« in this fund, see Warren Hunting SMITH: The Manuscript Collections at the Lewis Walpole Library, *The Yale University Library Gazette*, 56 (1982) 3-4, 53-60; the music is mentioned on p. 57. The active collection started in the third decade of the last century with Wilmarth Lewis, one of the early editors of Walpole’s letters. Many sources were acquired through purchase or as donations. The music was purchased by Smith and donated later to the library.

Carnival opera *Alessandro nell’Indie* and from the same season in Florence also comes Ligi’s aria from *Catone in Utica*. The two pieces by Andrea Bernasconi are from his *Adriano in Siria* (probably 1736 Milanese production) and his Venetian 1739 Carnival opera *Alessandro Severo*. To sum up, this is an anthology of pieces that Gray genuinely could have heard in person while in Italy, especially during his second winter spent mostly in Florence when he stayed in Horace Mann’s house. Mann mentioned in his letter of 12 August 1742 that the Florentine lutenist and composer Carlo Arrigoni were arranging private concerts in Florence, possibly also at his place when Gray was a visitor there.

The music in this particular volume proves itself especially valuable for research into the Attems music collection as it provides identification of the composer of one anonymous aria in the Attems collection, Carlo Arrigoni’s *Alla fida sua costanza*, possibly from one of his two operas produced at Carnival of 1739 in Florence. Gray unfortunately provided in this case only the full name of the composer and his »music school« – adding on top of the music the designation »Fiorentino«. It is the second piece in volume 9 of Gray’s collection and is written in a score format in F major. The presence of this aria (in short score with a violin part and music transposed to A major) in the Attems collection is probably explicable through his Viennese connections. One of the two 1739 Florentine operas by Arrigoni, *Sirbace*, was dedicated to the Austrian Archduchess Maria Teresa, later the Empress. The Viennese connections with Arrigoni possibly explain the presence of his music in the Attems collection in Slovenska Bistrica, for both Ignaz von Attems and his wife were regular guests at the Viennese Court.

More consequential are, however, details provided by Thomas Gray in the same volume on the aria *Se non ti moro allato* by Andrea Bernasconi, another piece that has musical concordance in the Attems collection. In this latter the aria was copied by a still anonymous scribe who used paper used locally in the wider region around Graz. The composer is not indicated and it was identified as Bernasconi’s

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53 Carlo Arrigoni (1697-1744), a born Florentine, is principally associated with musical life in his birth town Florence. Between 1731 and 1736 he was active in London. Later in 1736 he was made *siusta di camera* by Grand Duke of Tuscany Gian Gastone de’ Medici and was named in 1737 chamber composer by the new Grand Duke Franz II, the husband of Maria Theresa of Austria, hence his or his music’s presence in the imperial capital. On Arrigoni see: John Walter HILL: Arrigoni, Carlo, *Grove Music Online*, article: http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.nukweb.nuk.uni-lj.si/subscriber/article/grove/music/01349, 25.10.2016.

54 Si-Mpa, No. 41 (RISM ID no.: 806930383).

55 *Scipione nelle Spagne* and *Sirbace* both produced at Carnival at Teatro di Via del Cocomero.

56 For a detailed discussion of Andrea Bernasconi’s arias from the Attems collection see: Metoda KOKOLE: Did Andrea Bernasconi.
Figure 3a: First page of Carlo Arrigoni’s *Alla fida sua costanza* (courtesy of The Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University).

Figures 3b and 3c: Cover and the first page of the aria *Alla fida sua costanza* (courtesy of the Pokrajinski arhiv Maribor).
only through three musically concordant copies of the same aria, all three identifying the composer as Andrea Bernasconi. In Gray’s volume 9 *Se non ti moro allato* is the thirtieth piece for which he also provides further details. He names the composer »Milanese«: this is how, according to presently known facts, Bernasconi was called in some of his operatic productions till 1742; sometimes he was called also »dilettante Milanese«. Gray also gives the name of the opera, *Adriano*, and adds the role: Farnaspe. It was easy to identify it with Metastasio’s aria from Act I, Scene 15, in the original libretto for *Adriano in Siria* composed for the Viennese court in 1732 by Antonio Caldara. As the time-frame of Gray’s volume is 1737 to 1740, I proceeded to look for an *Adriano in Siria* produced by Bernasconi up to this date.

Bernasconi’s only known setting of *Adriano in Siria* is a 1755 production at the Bavarian Court in Munich, when he was already an established composer who would not be identified as »Milanese«. The hunt for an earlier production that would corroborate the details given by Gray and that would be concordant with as many as 11 further Bernasconi arias on *Adriano in Siria* texts with different music to his 1755 version resulted in a hypothesis that Andrea Bernasconi first set Metastasio’s libretto to music as early as 1735 for the Carnival season of 1736 at the Royal and Ducal theatre in Milan. The preserved libretto does not give the name of the composer but the matching arias speak highly in favour that it was indeed »Signor Bernascone Milanese, dilettante« from his nearly native city of Milan. So we have a new fact to be added to Bernasconi’s early biography and the new research finding is due also to the diligent Thomas Gray’s musical souvenirs from his Grand Tour in Italy.

The cultural impact of imminent music experiences as well as physical musical souvenirs taken by Grand Tourists from Italy (many still lying forgotten and taken out of their original context in various American and European libraries, or else still hiding behind the locked doors of private homes) to their homelands had been – seen through the two examples – of greater importance than previously believed, and research in this direction could undoubtedly throw new light on or explain some of the still blurred aspects of the intricate web of European cultural exchange in the eighteenth century.

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57 One important collection partly of this type (the Montagu Music Collection) has been, for example, only recently researched and the findings published in Marie CORNAZ: Unknown Sources.
Appendix: The table of pieces in US-Fay, Quarto 532 volume 98

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>pp.</th>
<th>COMPOSER</th>
<th>ARIA</th>
<th>OPERA</th>
<th>Dram. Pers., Cant., etc.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>5-13</td>
<td>Celestino Ligi Fiorentino</td>
<td>D’un barbaro scortese (S, strings; a)</td>
<td>Catone in Utica [Firenze, Carn. 1740 – the composer is not indicated in the libretto]</td>
<td>Cesare – [Dionisio Bonfigli di Siena]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>14-16</td>
<td>Carlo Arrigoni Fiorentino</td>
<td>Alla fida sua costanza (S, strings; F)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>18-25</td>
<td>Carlo Arrigoni Fiorentino</td>
<td>Sarei qual pellegrino (S, strings; E)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>26-32</td>
<td>Selitti [Sello, Giuseppe] Napoletano</td>
<td>Voglio che viva e m’ami (S, strings; G)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>34-40</td>
<td>Dionisio Zamparelli, Napoletano</td>
<td>Digli, ch’io son fedele (A, strings; D)</td>
<td>Alessandro nell’Indie [Firenze, Carn. 1740 – the composer is not indicated in the libretto]</td>
<td>Cleofida – La Turcotti [Gustina Turcotti di Firenze]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>58-63</td>
<td>Baldassare Galuppi, Venetiano</td>
<td>E ingrato, lo veggo (S, strings; G)</td>
<td>Adriano in Siria [Torino, Carn. 1740]</td>
<td>Sabina – La Bertolli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>66-71</td>
<td>Baldassare Galuppi, Venetiano</td>
<td>Son prigioniera abbandonata (S, strings; G)</td>
<td>Adriano in Siria [Torino, Carn. 1740]</td>
<td>Emirena – La Strada</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>74-83</td>
<td>Riccardo Broschi, Napoletano</td>
<td>Si pietosi vi desio (S, strings; G)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>86-90</td>
<td>Riccardo Broschi, Napoletano</td>
<td>Mi restano le lagrime (S, strings; G)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Farinello</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

98 I have been kindly provided by Mr. Kirsten McDonald, Public Services of the Lewis Walpole Library, with a copy of the original list as well as with the list of all pieces catalogued for RISM A/II database. I have added to the existing list comprehending information from the original Gray’s Index and the annotations in music some further identifications resulting from my own research. This is given in square brackets in italics.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>pp.</th>
<th>COMPOSER</th>
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<th>Dram. Pers., Cant., etc.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>92-102</td>
<td>Riccardo Broschi, Napoletano</td>
<td>La mia gloria, e la tua pace (S, strings; G)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Med:mo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>104-116</td>
<td>Mazzoni [Antonio Maria], Bolognese</td>
<td>Io veggo in lontananza (S, strings; F)</td>
<td>Demetrio</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>118-127</td>
<td>Gaetano Schiassi, Bolognese</td>
<td>[Pomposa, Nicola ; RISM identification through music concordances; Schiassi possibly only the interpreter]</td>
<td>[Mitridate; RISM identification]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>130-140</td>
<td>Gaetano Schiassi, Bolognese</td>
<td>Ch’io possa senza duolo (S, strings; D)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>141-152</td>
<td>Gaetano Schiassi, Bolognese</td>
<td>Se un cuore Innamorato (S, strings; G)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>154-167</td>
<td>Gaetano Schiassi, Bolognese</td>
<td>Con la legge del comando (S, strings; C)</td>
<td>[Demetrio, Naples 1738]? [Fenicio] – Amorevoli</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>170-180</td>
<td>Michele Fini, Napoletano</td>
<td>Vanne, lusinga, e prega (S, strings; D)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Tamiri – [Maria Giulitta Fabiani di Firenze]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>182-189</td>
<td>Michele Fini, Napoletano</td>
<td>Che quel cor, quel ciglio altero (S, strings; B♭)</td>
<td>Semiramide riconosciuta [Firenze, 1740 – the composer is not indicated in the libretto]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>190-197</td>
<td>Michele Fini, Napoletano</td>
<td>Dovresti esser content (A, strings; d)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>198-204</td>
<td>Michele Fini, Napoletano</td>
<td>Il tuo sdegno, il tuo timore (S, strings; B♭)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>206-216</td>
<td>Michele Fini, Napoletano</td>
<td>Alla selva, al prato, al rio (S, strings; G)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>218-225</td>
<td>Gaetano Latilla, Napoletano</td>
<td>Sgomba dall’anima (S, strings; G)</td>
<td>Siroè [Rome, Carn. 1740] [Lorenzo Girardi]</td>
<td>Emira –</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>226-232</td>
<td>Gaetano Latilla, Napoletano</td>
<td>La sorte mia tiranna (A, strings; E)</td>
<td>Siroè [Rome, Carn. 1740] [Lorenzo Girardi]</td>
<td>Siroè – Appianino</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>234-241</td>
<td>Gaetano Latilla, Napoletano</td>
<td>Fra dubbi affetti miei (S, strings; E)</td>
<td>Siroè [Rome, Carn. 1740] [Lorenzo Girardi]</td>
<td>Siroè – Med:mo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>pp.</td>
<td>COMPOSER</td>
<td>ARIA</td>
<td>OPERA</td>
<td>Dram. Pers., Cant., etc.</td>
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<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>258-261</td>
<td>Rinaldo di Capua</td>
<td>Fra tanti pensieri (S, strings; G)</td>
<td>Demetrio [Naples 1738]?</td>
<td>Cleonice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>264-277</td>
<td>Rinaldo di Capua</td>
<td>Nell orror di note oscura col Recitativo – Chi mai senti (S, strings; B&quot;)</td>
<td>Vologeso, re de' Parti [Rome, Carn. 1739]</td>
<td>Berenice – Manzuoli (Giovanni Manzoli)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>280-290</td>
<td>Rinaldo di Capua</td>
<td>Dal sen del caro sposo (S, strings; G)</td>
<td>Vologeso, re de' Parti [Rome, Carn. 1739]</td>
<td>Berenice – Medemnos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>292-306</td>
<td>Rinaldo di Capua</td>
<td>Non pensar, idolo mio – Duo (S, strings; A)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>308-318</td>
<td>Andrea Bernasconi, Milanese</td>
<td>Se non ti moro allato (A, strings; G)</td>
<td>Adriano in Siria [Milano, 1736]?</td>
<td>Farnaspe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>320-327</td>
<td>Andrea Bernasconi, Milanese</td>
<td>Ritorna al caro bene (S, strings; G)</td>
<td>[Alessandro Severo, Venice, Carn. 1739; RISM identification through music concordances]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>328-338</td>
<td>[Giovanni] Battista Lampugnani, Milanese</td>
<td>Il mostro audace (S, strings; G)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>340-350</td>
<td>[Giovanni] Battista Lampugnani, Milanese</td>
<td>L'acerbo mio martire (S, strings; F)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>352-358</td>
<td>[Giovanni] Battista Lampugnani, Milanese [in the Index]</td>
<td>Fremo sospiro e peno (S, strings; F)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Del Sig:r Orlandini [note above the score]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>360-374</td>
<td>Lampugnani, Giovanni Battista</td>
<td>Caro mio ben perdonà (A, strings; E&quot;)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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SI-Mpa, Gospoščina Bistriški grad, Musicalia, TE 67, AE 1.

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