

## THE JOURNEYS OF VIOLIN HANDBOOKS TO THE SLOVENIAN LANDS AND THEIR INTERACTIONS IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

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**Izvleček:** *Violinski učbeniki, ki so bili namenjeni izključno violinski tehniki, so se pojavili na koncu 17. stoletja in so bili vsaj do leta 1750 prvenstveno namenjeni amaterjem. Na Slovenskem so se pojavili v drugi polovici 18. stoletja in so bili namenjeni predvsem orkestrskim izvajalcem.*

**Ključne besede:** *18. stoletje, violin, violinski učbeniki, inštrumentalna glasba, Giuseppe Tartini, Leopold Mozart, Vincenzo Panerai, Johann Adam Hiller, Johann Joachim Quantz.*

**Abstract:** *Violin treatises solely devoted to violin technique first appeared at the end of the seventeenth century. Up to 1750, at least, most of them were intended for amateurs. In the Slovenian lands they started to appear in the second half of the eighteenth century and were used primarily by orchestral performers.*

**Keywords:** *eighteenth century, violin, violin treatises, instrumental music, Giuseppe Tartini, Leopold Mozart, Vincenzo Panerai, Johann Adam Hiller, Johann Joachim Quantz.*

### Introduction

Violin treatises solely devoted to violin technique first appeared at the end of the seventeenth century. Up to 1750, at least, most of them were intended for amateurs and were written by generalists who confined themselves to basic matters concerning the violin and performance on it.<sup>1</sup> In the seventeenth century professional violinists did not use violin handbooks in their training but were tutored individually by recognized masters. For their teaching the latter took practice materials from contemporary violin works and prepared lessons tailored to the specific needs of each student.<sup>2</sup> The music written by professional violinist-composers was technically far in advance of that in the violin handbooks written during the same period. One may well wonder why none of these violinist-composers improved the instructional material. The most important reason was probably the protection of their “trade secrets” – small tricks of violin technique that were highly prized and undoubtedly provided them with earnings when disclosed to students on an individual

<sup>1</sup> Boyden, *History of Violin Playing*, 244 and 357.

<sup>2</sup> Pulver, “Violin-Tutors of the 17th Century,” 695; Pulver, “Violin Methods Old and New,” 101.

basis.<sup>3</sup> The other reason may have been that professional violinists had neither the time nor the literary skills needed for such an effort. The only violin treatise to describe professional methods in the seventeenth century was that contained in the *Florilegium Secundum* by Georg Muffat (1653–1704). This describes the violin technique of the French violinists under J. B. Lully (1632–1687) and was primarily oriented towards the performance of dance music. For this reason, the techniques described are relatively simple compared with those practised by German and Italian professional violinists of the time. The first violin handbooks of the seventeenth century came from England and Germany, typically sketching the topography of the fingerboard and providing a few simple tunes.<sup>4</sup>

The picture markedly changed in the middle of the eighteenth century, with a proliferation of violin treatises written by well-known violinists and addressed to those themselves aspiring to become professional violinists. These instructions, intended for pupils and teachers alike, were more complete and provided a picture of the best current practice among professional violinists. The earliest known violin method of this kind was *The Art of Playing on the Violin* by Francesco Geminiani (1687–1762), published in London in 1751. A year later, the *Versuch einer Anweisung die Flöte traversiere zu spielen* was published in Berlin by Johann Joachim Quantz (1697–1773). This second handbook is devoted primarily to transverse flute playing but in addition contains valuable material relevant to the violin. Geminiani created a model for many other violin handbooks, such as: *Arte y puntual explicación del modo de tocar el violín* by Joseph de Herrando (1721–1763), published in Paris in 1756, and the *Versuch einer gründlichen Violinschule* by Leopold Mozart (1719–1787), published in Augsburg the same year.<sup>5</sup>

Eighteenth-century violin handbooks provided technical information about the holding of the instrument and the bow, bow strokes, special techniques of the right and left hand, and finally ornaments, including vibrato and unwritten embellishments. These methods also addressed more general matters such as notation, the history of music, expression and aesthetics.<sup>6</sup> Eighteenth-century methods often discussed violin technique on a few pages, giving general guidelines, and concluded with a complete composition to put the theory into practice. In this respect Leopold Mozart's treatise was exceptional in its scope, systematic approach and pedagogical practice of illustrating every detailed principle by one or more short examples. This is probably also the reason why it became a resounding success and one of the favourite violin manuals of its time.

### **Violin Handbooks Preserved in the Slovenian Lands in the Eighteenth Century**

In the eighteenth-century Slovenian lands violin playing was fostered mainly by monastic orders, cathedral orchestras and the local aristocracy. The archives do not provide enough data to enable us to form a clear picture of violin performance during the eighteenth century

<sup>3</sup> Pulver, "Violin Methods Old and New," 102.

<sup>4</sup> Boyden, *History of Violin Playing*, 244.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 357.

<sup>6</sup> Boyden, "Violin and Its Technique in the 18th Century," 10.

in churches and monasteries on the territory of present-day Slovenia. We may assume that the predominant role of the violin was to provide orchestral accompaniment, and that violinists mostly played relatively simple melodies. At times, when more complicated compositions and better trained performers were available, the level rose, but it remained far below that of “virtuoso” performance.<sup>7</sup> An important part of aristocratic education was the playing of a bowed instrument, a skill that rose in importance after the establishment, at Ljubljana in 1701, of the Academia Philharmonicorum, which boasted not only a choir but also an orchestra.<sup>8</sup> For all these reasons, violin treatises have been preserved mostly as a legacy of monasteries, churches and the nobility, the oldest among them dating back to the eighteenth century. That means that they were in use in this territory at around the same time as their use became common throughout Europe.

The oldest of these printed manuals is *Principi di musica* (Principles of Music), which is preserved in the Diocesan archive of Koper<sup>9</sup> and was written before 1750 by Abbot Vincenzo Panerai (active between 1750 and 1797; the author’s name appears also as Vincenzio Panierai). The surviving copy of that handbook mentions neither the author’s name nor the date. Nevertheless, authorship of the work can be positively identified from reprints published before 1750. From the cover page of the preserved copy it is evident that the handbook was published in Venice by the printer Antonio Zatta before 1780.<sup>10</sup> There is not much biographical information available about Vincenzo Panerai, who was a teacher of organ, harpsichord and pianoforte in Florence and also *maestro di cappella* at San Marco and Santa Maria del Fiore in Florence. In addition to further theoretical works, Panerai also wrote a number of instrumental compositions, mostly for keyboard instruments.<sup>11</sup>

The handbook *Principi di musica*, running to twelve pages, explains basic musical terms and scales, not only for the violin but also for other instruments, such as the flute, the oboe, various bowed instruments and the harpsichord. There are data showing that instrumental music was being played at Koper Cathedral in the eighteenth century. In 1734 three violinists and expenses for purchasing scores for the musicians are mentioned.<sup>12</sup> The reprints of Panerai’s work and the numerous additional manuscript annotations on the last page (where the violin scales are located), provide evidence of the great practicality of, and need for, this kind of handbook at that time.<sup>13</sup> However, this manual cannot be regarded as a serious violin handbook because it covers only the playing of scales on that instrument.

The handbook that in our day has been widely accepted as a defining document of eighteenth-century performance practice – the *Versuch einer Anweisung die Flöte traversiere zu spielen* (Essay on a Method for Playing the Transverse Flute) by Johann

<sup>7</sup> Zupančič, “Violinism,” 144, 148.

<sup>8</sup> Kokole, “Academia Philharmonicorum,” 220.

<sup>9</sup> [Panerai], *Principi di musica*. Preserved in Koper, Škofijski arhiv, GA XXIV/3.

<sup>10</sup> Škrjanc, *Osnove klavirske in orgelske igre*.

<sup>11</sup> Panerai, “Principj di musica teorico-pratici.” Florence, Biblioteca del Conservatorio di Musica Luigi Cherubini; Basso, “Vincenzo Panerai,” 553; “Avvisi,” 29.

<sup>12</sup> Recorded in the Cathedral account books (“Spesari” or “Libri delle spese”), book G (1680–1760); see Höfler, “Glasbeniki koprské stolnice,” 143.

<sup>13</sup> See also Kokole, “Glasbeno teoretični in pedagoški priročniki,” 65; Zupančič, “Violinism,” 149.

Joachim Quantz – is intended mainly for flautists but also contains a considerable amount of material specifically relevant to violinists. The various editions and translations of the *Versuch*, and the borrowings from it, provide evidence of its popularity and ready acceptance in different countries.<sup>14</sup> A printed copy of the first edition (of which today only the section containing the musical examples is preserved in Novo mesto) reached the Franciscan Monastery in that same town soon after its publication in 1752 in Berlin.<sup>15</sup> A note on the title page proves that the handbook was in use by the Franciscans of Novo mesto at least from 1755 onwards. It is not known whether it was in use with the friars themselves or with the students in the gymnasium in the same town, which was under the direction of the Franciscans. Even though there is no direct evidence regarding the music's performers, we may infer from the preserved music that, in addition to one or two soloist singers and an organist, the monastery had at least a few violinists, since most of the surviving compositions include violin parts.<sup>16</sup>

The manual is organized as three interrelated treatises devoted to (i) the education of the individual musician, (ii) accompaniment and (iii) forms and styles. Chapter seventeen concerns different kinds of accompanying musicians: the leader of an ensemble; a string player; a keyboard player; and accompanists in general. On this subject, Quantz discusses important aspects of each individual instrument, including: tempo markings, intonation, the problem of balance, the size and make-up of an ensemble etc. The second section of this chapter (“Of the Ripieno Violinists in Particular”) explains the “duties” of a violinist in an accompanimental role. It focuses mainly on different styles of bowing, because “the bow stroke,” according to Quantz, is the most important aspect of musical performance on the violin or any other bowed instrument. Quantz’s aim was “to train a skilled and intelligent musician, and not just a mechanical player.”<sup>17</sup>

One of the key music performance manuals of the eighteenth century was the *Versuch einer gründlichen Violinschule* (Treatise on the Fundamental Principles of Violin Playing) by Leopold Mozart (1719–1787), published in Augsburg in 1756. The text of the *Violinschule* must have been finished already in 1755, since the author states that its publication was delayed for over a year “because I was too foolish to step out in a time of such enlightenment with my modest effort into the light of the day.”<sup>18</sup> The German music theorist Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg (1718–1795) encouraged Leopold Mozart<sup>19</sup> to proceed with publication of the work in the following words: “Although one could not complain of

<sup>14</sup> Reilly, *Quantz and his Versuch*, 40.

<sup>15</sup> Quantz, *Versuch einer Anweisung die Flöte traversiere*. Preserved in Novo mesto, Knjižnica frančiškanskega samostana, Mus. 318.

<sup>16</sup> Höfler, “Glasbenozgodovinske najdbe,” 140–141.

<sup>17</sup> Reilly, “Introduction,” ix.

<sup>18</sup> Mozart, *Art of the Violin*, 32.

<sup>19</sup> Leopold Mozart wrote in the preface of his *Violin Method*: “Finally I chanced upon Herr Marpurg’s *Historical-Critical Essays on the Perception of Music*. I read his preface. At the very beginning he says that there can be no complaint as regards the number of writings on music. He delivers proof for this but laments, among other things, the absence of work of instructions for the violin. Now, this suddenly made my previous resolve again; and provided the strongest impetus for my sending these sheets immediately to the printer of my home town.” See *ibid.*, 33.

the number of books on music, a violin method comparable to the Quantz flute text was lacking.<sup>20</sup> Leopold Mozart's assertion "It has been many years since I wrote down the present rules for those who submitted themselves to my instructions in the playing of the violin"<sup>21</sup> could be taken as indicating that his work was largely based on his own experience. However, his violin handbook was undoubtedly influenced in part by the *Traité des agréments de la musique* of Giuseppe Tartini (1692–1770).<sup>22</sup> Mozart believed that nothing had been published earlier on the subject of violin playing. He expresses this in his preface to the first edition in the following words: "I often thought it peculiar that no book of instruction should have appeared for such a standard instrument, so indispensable to most musicians as the violin is, when, as a matter of fact, a sound basis and, in particular, some rules for the special way of bowing satisfactory to good taste has long been wanting [...] As for the publishing of this book, I will not in all probability be called upon to apologize for it, since as far as I know, it is the first work of instructions for the violin to be made available to the public."<sup>23</sup> By the time that the second edition was published, between 1769 and 1770,<sup>24</sup> Mozart must have become acquainted with Geminiani's *The Art of Playing on the Violin* (1751), for he describes a technique we today call "Geminiani's grip" in his new edition.<sup>25</sup>

Mozart's *Violinschule* contains an introduction and twelve chapters that fall logically into five groups. The first group, comprising chapters one to three, gives elementary instructions for beginners. The second group, comprising chapters four to seven, inculcates a thorough knowledge of bowing technique. The eighth chapter discusses *applicatures* (positions), while chapters nine to eleven in the fourth group are devoted to a discussion of ornamentation. The final chapter offers advice on how to achieve a good performance. In chapters nine to eleven, those concerning ornaments, Mozart draws heavily on the first part of Tartini's *Traité des agréments de la musique*.

A copy of the first edition is preserved in the Peter Pavel Glavar Library in Komenda near Ljubljana. The owner of the handbook was a former director of the library, Josephi Tomelli (Josip Tomelj), as indicated in the note of its ownership "Ex libris Josephi Tomelli."<sup>26</sup> The last page of Mozart's handbook binding contains a watermark featuring a "serpent", a "stag" and the initials "AN," referring to the papermaker Anton Nickel from Žužemberg (Seisenberg). In 1756 Nickel's son Dismos (or Dizma) took over the paper mill and used his father's initials for few more years after the latter's death. The same watermark appears in the 1750s and the early 1760s in numerous musical manuscripts and other documents.<sup>27</sup> This suggests that Mozart's *Violinschule* reached Komenda soon after its publication in

<sup>20</sup> Marpurg, *Historisch-Kritische Beyträge*, v–vi; Steinhardt, "Leopold Mozart's Violin Method," 22.

<sup>21</sup> Mozart, *Art of the Violin*, 32.

<sup>22</sup> Concerning Mozart's general borrowings from Tartini's *Traité des agréments de la musique*, see also Angelucci, "Le 'Regole per ben suonar,'" 299–319.

<sup>23</sup> Mozart, *Art of the Violin*, 32–33.

<sup>24</sup> The second edition was delayed. The printing was initiated already in 1769 but took so long that a number of copies were not ready until 1770. See Einstein, "Preface," xxix.

<sup>25</sup> Stowell, "Leopold Mozart Revised," 132.

<sup>26</sup> Škrjanc, "Jakob Frančišek Zupan."

<sup>27</sup> Škrjanc, "Prispevek k dataciji rokopisov," 43–44.

1756. The state of musical activity in Komenda itself is not very clear. Documents reveal that Komenda's church bought a sizeable quantity of strings ("Musicorum cordae") etc. in 1762. There could have been at least two possible users of Mozart's handbook. The first is the Czech Matija Jellinek (Gellinek). He was between 1760 and 1762, and from 1765 onwards, a music teacher and conductor of the choir and orchestra in Peter Pavel Glavar's seminary for boys.<sup>28</sup> The other possible user could have been the composer Jakob Suppan (Jakob Frančišek Zupan; 1734–1810). This man reportedly replaced Jellinek in his position between 1762 and 1765. Two violin fragments for a movement entitled *Et incarnatus est* by an unidentified composer are preserved in the library in Komenda. They were most probably copied by Jakob Zupan ca. 1760. This might confirm the hypothesis that Zupan was active in Komenda.<sup>29</sup>

The other surviving violin handbook is the *Anweisung zum Violinspielen für Schulen und zum Selbstunterrichte* (Instructions for Violin playing for schools and self-instruction) by Johann Adam Hiller (1728–1804), published in Leipzig in 1792. An example of the Graz edition of 1795 is preserved in the music department of the National and University Library in Ljubljana.<sup>30</sup> It came there from the Federal Collection Center in 1957, having previously belonged to Josip Mantuani's library. This violin tutor was most likely once owned by Joseph Graf von Thurn und Valsassina (1771–1829), whose signature is present on the treatise. Valsassina lived in the castle of Krumperk near Ljubljana and would probably have used this violin handbook for his children's musical education.<sup>31</sup> Hiller's work serves as a violin tutor for schools and for self-instruction. Such handbooks for self-instruction were by no means exceptional at that time. The earliest violin handbooks were essentially "do-it-yourself" books. Such manuals were regarded as an up-to-date phenomenon in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries not only in music but in many other fields as well. Similar handbooks existed on how to fire a gun, brew beer, gain a husband etc.<sup>32</sup> Hiller's treatise contains a short dictionary of foreign words and musical terms. Its principal object was to teach the elements of violin playing in a clear, easily understood and innovative way. The handbook was intended to address certain needs of the Thomasschule in Leipzig, and a perhaps still more urgent want in other schools. The author's intention was to produce not virtuosos but good orchestral players, who, according to him, were of greater consequence for the art of music than concert violinists. Hiller speaks about the two different ways of holding the violin explained and illustrated in Mozart's violin method. This is a good illustration of the fact that Hiller knew Mozart's violin tutor very well. The term *applicatur* used by Giuseppe Tartini as well as Leopold Mozart is found antiquated by Johann Hiller, who uses the term *position* still current today.

<sup>28</sup> Škrjanc, "Jakob Frančišek Zupan."

<sup>29</sup> Ibid.

<sup>30</sup> Hiller, *Anweisung zum Violinspielen*. Preserved in Ljubljana, Narodna in univerzitetna knjižnica, Glasbena zbirka, Inv. Nr. 1353/1957.

<sup>31</sup> Jožef Thurn in Valassina was born in 1771 in Celje and died in 1829. After his marriage he lived in the castle of Krumperk near Ljubljana. See Kokole, "Glasbeno teoretični in pedagoški priročniki," 65.

<sup>32</sup> Boyden, *History of Violin Playing*, 245.

Giuseppe Tartini's famous letter of 1760 has been preserved in his native Piran (Slovenia) and can be regarded as a contribution to violin pedagogy.<sup>33</sup> The letter must have come there before the end of the eighteenth century with the rest of Tartini's estate, which was bequeathed to his brother and nephew in Piran.<sup>34</sup> There have been many polemical exchanges regarding the authenticity or otherwise of the letter. Its authenticity has finally been confirmed through a comparison with Tartini's other autograph letters.<sup>35</sup> Tartini wrote it to one of his last students, Maddalena Laura Lombardini Sirmen (1745–1818). In 1753, when she was eight years old, Maddalena was admitted to the Ospedale dei Mendicanti in Venice: not as an orphan but as a student of music. At the time of receiving Tartini's letter she was only fourteen years old, but already evidently an accomplished violinist and musician, considering her form of address as "signora."<sup>36</sup> The governors of the Mendicanti had permitted her to travel to Padua in 1760, 1761 and 1764 to study with Tartini directly.<sup>37</sup> But as the lessons of 1760 were delayed, Tartini wrote her a long letter explaining his violin methods and the best ways to practise.<sup>38</sup> This letter contains instructions on how to acquire, as Tartini explains, three essential skills of good performance on the violin: bowing, shifting position and vibrato. The letter was posthumously published, on 1 June 1770, in the Venetian periodical *L'Europa letteraria*; before the end of the century it had been translated into three languages.<sup>39</sup> A German translation was made in 1784 by the already mentioned Johann Adam Hiller. A comparison of Tartini's autograph (Ms. 140) and the letter published in *L'Europa letteraria*, on which all the translations were based, has revealed around 200 divergences.<sup>40</sup>

<sup>33</sup> The letter was written in Padua on 5 March 1760.

<sup>34</sup> Tartini's estate contains manuscript letters and theoretical treatises, held by the Provincial Archives of Koper, Piran Section (Piran, Pokrajinski arhiv Koper), one of his violins and numerous personal effects (exhibited in the memorial room in his house of birth, which is under the management of the Maritime Museum "Sergej Mašera" of Piran – Piran, Pomorski muzej Sergej Mašera). However, Tartini's musical works remained in the hands of his pupils and employers, and most are now kept in the archives of the Paduan basilica. See "Testamento di Giuseppe Tartini," Pucer, *Inventar zbirke*, 39.

<sup>35</sup> Berdes, "L'ultima allieva di Tartini," 219.

<sup>36</sup> At the Mendicanti the title "signora" was normally reserved for those members of the *ospedale* who had attained the rank of *maestra*. See Berdes, "Notes," xviii.

<sup>37</sup> Berdes, "Preface," viii.

<sup>38</sup> Arnold, "Maddalena Laura Sirmen," 448.

<sup>39</sup> The letter was published in the eighteenth century in further editions: "Lettera del Defunto Sig. G. T. alla Signora Maddalena Lombardini," *L'Europa letteraria* 6, no. 1 (1770): 74; *Un importante lezione per i suonatori di violino* (Bologna: Sassi, 1770); *Un importante lezione per i suonatori di violino* (Milan: Galeazzi, 1770); *Un importante lezione per i suonatori di violino* (Venice: Colombani, 1770); *A Letter from the Late Signor Tartini to Signora Lombardini* [...], trans. Charles Burney (London: Bremner, 1771); "Lettre de Feu Tartini à Madame Madeleine Lombardini [...]," trans. F. J. M. Fayolle, *Journal de Musique* 2 (1771): 15; *A Letter from the Late Signor Tartini to Signora Lombardini* [...], trans. Charles Burney (London: Bremner, 1779); *Brief des Joseph Tartini an Magdalena Lombardini* [...], trans. Johann Adam Hiller (Leipzig: Dykische Buchhandlung, 1784); [Unknown title], trans. Rohrmann (Hannover: Pochwitz, 1786); [Unknown title], (Venezia: Marescalchi, 1799). See Berdes, "L'ultima allieva di Tartini," 220.

<sup>40</sup> Berdes, "Notes," xviii.

In his preface to the letter Tartini explains that “weighty business” has prevented him from fulfilling his promise to write the instructions for violin practice that she had requested. He continues by writing that the most important part of practice and study should be confined to the use and power of the bow in order “that you become a complete master of it, both in the *suonabile* and in the *cantabile* styles.”<sup>41</sup> With this perspective, Tartini starts by focusing on basic exercises: practising crescendo on different parts of a bow on the open strings, to which she should devote at least an hour every day (“a little in the morning, and a little in the evening”). Tartini additionally warns Lombardini that she should bear in mind that this form of practice is the most difficult of all, and the most essential to playing well on the violin. In order that she should acquire a light pulsation and play of the wrist, Tartini gives her an example in which she should accelerate the motion until she arrives at the greatest possible speed. This exercise should be played with staccato notes – separate and detached, with a little space between every two notes (Music ex. 1); she should start with the point of the bow until this becomes easy; then continue with the part between the point and the middle of the bow; and lastly carry out the same exercise with the middle of the bow.

**Music example 1** G. Tartini, from *A Letter from the Late Signor Tartini to Signora Maddalena Lombardini*, 15



Tartini finally focuses on practising swift passages in a light and neat manner with skips over a string between two quick notes in arpeggiated passages (Music ex. 2).

**Music example 2** G. Tartini, from *A Letter from the Late Signor Tartini to Signora Maddalena Lombardini*, 17



The second part of the letter concerns the use of the left hand. Tartini focuses primarily on practising in different positions. He recommends taking a violin part (the first or second in a concerto, sonata or song) and playing the whole of it first in the half position, then in the first position and finally in the second position. The third essential property of a good performer on the violin is, according to Tartini, the possession of a good vibrato, which should be practised in slow, moderately fast and quick varieties, so that the two framing pitches succeed each other in three tempi: *adagio*, *andante* and *presto* (Music

<sup>41</sup> Petrobelli, “Giuseppe Tartini,” 112.



ex. 3). At the end of the letter Tartini proposes no further exercises, since he claims that what he has said is more than sufficient.<sup>42</sup>

**Music example 3** G. Tartini, from *A Letter from the Late Signor Tartini to Signora Maddalena Lombardini*, 23



Besides penning the letter to Maddalena Laura Lombardini, Tartini also wrote for his pupils a practical essay on ornaments and related matters. Tartini began his pedagogical activity after his return from Prague to Padua between 1727 and 1728. His school was the first such school to acquire great fame and attracted students from all over Europe. A standard course of study usually lasted two years, offering tuition in violin technique and composition.<sup>43</sup> For the purposes of teaching, Tartini wrote a treatise today known as his *Traité des agréments de la musique* (Treatise on Ornamentation).<sup>44</sup> This manual was not published in Tartini's own time but circulated widely in manuscript form among his pupils and some other musicians, who surely included Leopold Mozart. It is believed that Italian manuscript copies were in circulation for some twenty years after Tartini's death, since after that time the material of the treatise would have been regarded as outmoded.<sup>45</sup> To date, Tartini's autograph of the treatise has not been found, but its content is preserved in a French translation (*Traité des agréments de la musique*) and in four Italian manuscript copies. The exact year of origin of the autograph is not known, but it is believed that it was written between 1727/28 and 1754. The beginning of the time-frame for its writing would coincide with the inception of Tartini's teaching activity in Padua in either 1727 or 1728. Since there is no doubt that Leopold Mozart used part of its content in his *Violinschule* (1756), which was finished by 1755,<sup>46</sup> Tartini's treatise must have been written before 1754. It was most probably written towards the end of the time-frame 1727–1754, since Quantz would surely have mentioned it in his *Versuch* (1752), especially in connection with cadenzas, if he had known of its existence. Instead, Quantz wrote: "As I have already said, rules have never been prescribed for cadenzas."<sup>47</sup>

The title of Tartini's treatise is given differently in different historical sources,<sup>48</sup> so

<sup>42</sup> Tartini, *Letter from the Late Signor Tartini*, 9, 11, 13, 15, 17, 19, 21, 23.

<sup>43</sup> Petrobelli, "Giuseppe Tartini," 112.

<sup>44</sup> See Tartini, *Traité des agréments de la musique*; Babitz, "Treatise on Ornamentation," 75–102; Petrobelli, *Giuseppe Tartini – Le fonti biografiche*, 106–137; Petrobelli, *Tartini, le sue idee e il suo tempo*, 43–49.

<sup>45</sup> Boyden, "Missing Italian Manuscript," 321.

<sup>46</sup> The beginning of the *Violinschule* Leopold Mozart sat down between 1753 or 1754. See Einstein, "Preface," xxiv.

<sup>47</sup> Quantz, *On Playing the Flute*, 181.

<sup>48</sup> "Lezioni sopra I vari generi di appoggiature, di trilli tremoli e mordenti, etc.," "Lezioni pratiche pel Violino," "Trattato delle appoggiature si ascendenti che discendenti per il violino, come pure il trillo, tremolo, mordente, ed altro, con dichiarazione delle cadenze naturali e composte," "Molte

its original wording is uncertain. Fétis states that one of the copies of Tartini's autograph was brought to Paris by his pupil Pierre La Houssaye (1735–1818).<sup>49</sup> That copy, in a translation by Pietro Denis, was published in 1771 as *Traité des agréments de la musique*.<sup>50</sup> An advertisement for this publication appeared in March 1771 in the *Mercure de France*.<sup>51</sup> Until the late 1950s this was the only known version of this work. That is why today it is still generally known by its French title of *Traité des agréments de la musique*. It contains complete descriptions and examples of the proper use and performance, by both singers and players, of the appoggiatura, trill, vibrato, mordent, natural and artificial figures, and natural and artificial cadences.

The first of the four known Italian manuscript copies, entitled *Regole per ben suonar il Violino*,<sup>52</sup> was copied by Tartini's pupil Giovanni Francesco Nicolai. It is preserved in the Conservatorio di Musica "Benedetto Marcello" in Venice and was discovered by Pierluigi Petrobelli in 1957. This copy contains a two-page chapter (without music examples) entitled *Regole per le Arcate* ("Rules for Bowing"), which was not included in the published French version of 1771. This chapter elaborates on Tartini's instructions described in the already mentioned letter to his pupil Maddalena Lombardini.

The second of the four Italian manuscript copies, entitled *Libro de regole, ed Esempi necessari per ben suonare*, was discovered by Paul Brainard in 1958 in a collection of eighteenth-century Italian manuscripts of string music held by the University of California at Berkeley. The collection was earlier preserved in Sacile, in the *comune* of Udine (Italy). The French translation (published in 1771) and this manuscript copy are not identical, but are linked by the sequence of ideas, important words and phrases. Most of the musical examples are identical and appear in the same order.<sup>53</sup> However, this manuscript copy contains an entire page with a discussion of the trill that is omitted in the French translation.

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lezioni pratiche comunicate ad alcuni suoi Scolari ed amici che gelosamente le conservano, versando queste circa I vari generi d'Appoggiature, di Trilli, Tremoli, e Mordenti, intorno i Modi naturali, semplici, e composti; i Moti de Cadenza, i Siti di Cantilena, le finali Cadenze naturali, artificiali, arbitrarie, e cent'altri peregrine erudimenti [...].” See Boyden, “Missing Italian Manuscript,” 316, 322, 323.

<sup>49</sup> Fétis, “Joseph Tartini,” 488.

<sup>50</sup> There are some references to a French edition after 1771. The *Traité des agréments* is listed in the 1776 and 1780/81 catalogues of the Paris publisher Le Chevardière (as “Méthode pour la voix”) and in the 1786 catalogue of Le Duc (as “Méthodes”). See Boyden, “Missing Italian Manuscript,” 321.

<sup>51</sup> “Traité des agréments de la musique,” 178.

<sup>52</sup> “Regole per arrivare a saper ben suonar il Violino, col vero fondameto di saper sicuramente tutto quello, che si fa; buono ancora a tutti quelli ch'esercitano la Musica siano *Cantanti, o Suonatori* date in luce dal celebre Sig: *Giuseppe Tartini* per uso di chi avrà volontà di studiare copiate da Giovanni Francesco Nicolai suo Scolaro” (Rules for learning to play the Violin well, fully explained so that the student understands the reasons for everything he does; also suitable for all Music makers, whether *Singers or Players* written by celebrated Signor *Giuseppe Tartini* for the use of all those who wish to study, copied by Giovanni Francesco Nicolai, his Pupil.) See Jacobi, “G. F. Nicolai's Manuscript,” 207.

<sup>53</sup> Boyden, “Missing Italian Manuscript,” 320–321.

Surprisingly, this additional material appears in Leopold Mozart's *Violinschule*,<sup>54</sup> albeit without mention of the name of the original author.

The third of the four known Italian manuscript copies is entitled *Regole per arrivare a saper ben suonar il Violino, col vero fondamento di saper sicuramente tutto quello, che si fa; buono ancora a tutti quelli ch'esercitano la Musica siano Cantanti, o Suonatori date in luce dal celebre Sig<sup>r</sup>: Giuseppe Tartini*. It is preserved in the Liceo Musicale "Orazio Vecchi" in Modena (G.A.595bis) and came there in 1936 as part of a collection owned by the pianist brothers Carlo and Guglielmo Andreoli from Mirandola. The title of this manuscript corresponds word for word to the manuscript copied by Giovanni Francesco Nicolai, but it does not contain the section *Regole per le arcate*.<sup>55</sup>

The last manuscript copy of the *Regole* is held by the Fondazione Ugo e Olga Levi in Venice, and most probably came there from the Contarini library. The copyist of the manuscript is unknown, but it was probably copied from the same exemplar that Nicolai used.<sup>56</sup>

### Travels and Influence of the Preserved Violin Handbooks

These violin treatises are the only evidence of any kind of violinistic pedagogical activity in the Slovenian lands in the eighteenth century. Most of them reached this geographical area soon after they were published, which means that they were in use in this region at the same time as they entered common use throughout Europe. The preserved handbooks are in all likelihood only a small fraction of the violin handbooks actually present on Slovenian soil in the eighteenth century. Most of them were probably lost or stolen in the course of the turbulent political events of the twentieth century or, together with their owners, relocated to places lying outside the territory of modern Slovenia.

One may speculate over how those violin handbooks reached this geographical area in the eighteenth century. Most of the preserved printed violin treatises were probably brought to the Slovenian lands by bookbinders or booksellers. Until the second half of the eighteenth century little printed material was sold by bookbinders in this geographical area. At the same time, printers were the most important booksellers. Already by the second half of the eighteenth century bookshops in the Slovenian lands had forged strong commercial links with foreign publishing houses.<sup>57</sup> Prints were mostly bought in unbound state and for economical reasons were bound by local bookbinders. The bindings usually contain watermarks that enable us to estimate the date of the treatises preserved on Slovenian soil. Conversely, it is less probable, but not to be excluded, that violin treatises were bought by musicians or other educated individuals.

The sole manuscript violin pedagogical instruction preserved in this area is contained in a letter written by Giuseppe Tartini to his pupil Maddalena Lombardini. The autograph

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<sup>54</sup> Ibid., 316, 321.

<sup>55</sup> Canale, "Fonti per una ricostruzione," 17–19.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid., 17, 19, 20.

<sup>57</sup> Dular, "Knjigotrška ponudba na Kranjskem," 114.

of the letter sent to Maddalena Lombardini to Venice was copied (with the author's permission) by his friend Antonio Bonaventura Sberti (1731–1816). Soon after Tartini's death on 26 February 1770 Sberti gave his copy of the letter to the Venetian periodical *L'Europa letteraria*, which published the letter on 1 June 1770.<sup>58</sup> One may well wonder how the letter remained in Tartini's possession and could still, in the eighteenth century, be bequeathed to his brother and nephew after having been sent to Lombardini. There must in all likelihood have been a third copy (actually, the second autograph) retained by Tartini for further correspondence, since he wrote: "If I should not explain myself with sufficient clearness, I entreat you to tell me your doubts and difficulties, in writing, which I shall not fail to remove in a future letter."<sup>59</sup> This would also explain the polemics about the authenticity of the letter and the approximately two hundred differences between the autograph and letter published in *L'Europa letteraria* (1770), on which all further translations were based. Nevertheless, the letter was most certainly never in used for any kind of pedagogical purpose within the future Slovenia, and accordingly had no further impact on violin playing there.

In the second half of the eighteenth century the first serious and comprehensive musical handbooks appeared. Giuseppe Tartini was one of the most important musical figures who inspired their contemporaries. There is no evidence that Johann Joachim Quantz was acquainted with any of Tartini's didactic writings in circulation among his pupils and other musicians. Quantz witnessed Tartini's playing only once, in Prague in the 1720s, and devoted to him a single paragraph in his *Versuch*. In his autobiography Quantz describes Tartini's playing as follows: "His playing, to be sure, since it seems to be something new, excites much admiration among those who understand the instrument; the pleasure it excites, however, is proportionately less among the others. And since he has invented many different kinds of difficult bow strokes which distinguish his execution from that of all others, various German violinists have, out of curiosity, come under his influence, to their own detriment."<sup>60</sup> Besides Quantz's instruction that the string soloist should use a broad, singing bow stroke and the accompanist a more articulated one, which was most likely influenced by Tartini,<sup>61</sup> there are no further obvious influences. Some of Tartini's ideas of bowing (practising crescendo combinations on different parts of a bow etc.) are reflected in Leopold Mozart's *Violinschule*.

Johann Adam Hiller was one of the eighteenth-century translators of Tartini's letter addressed to Maddalena Lombardini. The translation was published in 1784 in his *Lebensbeschreibungen berühmter Musikgelehrten und Tonkünstler neuerer Zeit*,<sup>62</sup> eight years before Hiller published his *Anweisung*. It seems that, more than by Tartini, Hiller

<sup>58</sup> Petrobelli, *Giuseppe Tartini – Le fonti biografiche*, 83.

<sup>59</sup> Tartini, *Letter from the Late Signor Tartini*, 9.

<sup>60</sup> Quantz, *On Playing the Flute*, 324.

<sup>61</sup> Tartini distinguished between *cantabile* and *suonabile* (allegro) bowing, where the first should be played without any discernible gap between the notes, whereas the second should be played with the notes detached.

<sup>62</sup> Hiller, *Lebensbeschreibungen*, 267–285.

was influenced by Leopold Mozart's *Violinschule*, from which source pictures showing how to hold the violin were in 1792 reproduced in Hiller's *Anweisung*.

Even though Leopold Mozart's treatise was the first major systematic treatise for violin and was probably largely based on this musician's teaching experience, Mozart "borrowed" at least one fifth of its material from Tartini's *Traité des agréments de la musique*. Chapters nine to eleven (concerning appoggiaturas and other associated embellishments including the trill, vibrato, the mordent and several other arbitrary ornaments) consistently follow the order of the first section (appoggiatura, trill, vibrato and mordent) of Tartini's two-part treatise. Most of the musical examples Mozart simply transposed; at the same time, he is typically more precise in the explanation of technical concepts than Tartini himself. Mozart indirectly refers to Tartini only once, in the following words: "There is only one case in which it seems that the trill could be played with the minor 3rd or augmented 2nd, as taught by a great Italian master [Giuseppe Tartini]. However, even in this case it is better to omit the trill and insert a different ornament in its stead." One of Mozart's accompanied trill examples is the trill passage from the third movement of Tartini's work today known as the "Devil's Trill" Sonata, which probably originated during the 1740s.<sup>63</sup>

Such "borrowing" of material without mentioning the original author would today be considered pure plagiarism. Nevertheless, in the eighteenth century the conception of authorship in music was still very loose. There was no distinction made between an "original" and a borrowed or arranged piece. Composers could borrow motifs, melodies and entire movements without being considered plagiarists or accused of theft, imitation or weakness.<sup>64</sup> The German theorist Johann Mattheson (1681–1764) defined "music borrowing" in *Der Vollkommene Capellmeister* (1739) thus: "Borrowing is permissible; but one must return the thing borrowed with interest; i.e., one must so construct and develop imitations that they are prettier and better than the pieces from which they are derived."<sup>65</sup> In Mozart's *Violinschule*, however, questions of musical authorship (the musical examples) and intellectual property (Tartini's definitions) are raised. The first stirrings of intellectual property rights, especially in the literary field, date from the eighteenth century. Around the same time the earliest forms of protection right (the precursors of copyright) appeared. In the musical domain there were then no available means (or these would have been ineffective) for protecting the ownership of musical composition by an author or a publisher. The result is reflected in the thriving market in unauthorized editions.<sup>66</sup> Intellectual property laws acquired an important role only at the beginning of the nineteenth century, when musicians, on account of the uncertainty of securing court or church appointments, began to seek opportunities to market their music and performances to the general public. Because of the dishonesty of his pupils and of professional copyists, most of Tartini's music circulated without his permission already during his lifetime. In his letters Tartini expressed disappointment over the unauthorized circulation of his and other composers'

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<sup>63</sup> Pavanello, "Preface," vi.

<sup>64</sup> Lang, *George Frideric Handel*, 564–565.

<sup>65</sup> Mattheson, *Johann Mattheson's Der Vollkommene Capellmeister*, 298.

<sup>66</sup> Viverit, "Giuseppe Tartini e la proprietà intellettuale," 30.

works. However, his efforts to control the action of copyists remained ineffectual.<sup>67</sup> It is possible that Tartini did not become aware of the fact that a large part of the content of his manuscript appeared in Mozart's *Violinschule*. It seems that Mozart's *Violinschule* was not very popular in Italy, for Alfred Einstein states: "Only Italy and England closed their doors to Leopold's *Violinschule*."<sup>68</sup> Musicians of the time were probably unacquainted with the fact that Mozart was not merely influenced by Tartini but actually "marketed" many of his ideas as his own. Christian Friedrich Daniel Schubart (1739–1791), in his *Aesthetik der Tonkunst* (written between 1777 and 1787), claimed that Mozart's examples are "excellently chosen and his *applicatures* are no less than scholarly. His trend is that of the school of Tartini, but he allows the student more freedom in bowing than the latter."<sup>69</sup> Besides reproducing Tartini's ideas on ornamentation and in part on bowing, Mozart's *Violinschule* also introduces the concept of the "third," or "difference," note (*terzo suono*) that had been identified by Giuseppe Tartini as early as 1714. (Tartini discovered that two musical notes played simultaneously generated a third note that acted like a bass, giving the interval a third dimension, a subtle harmonic context.)<sup>70</sup> Mozart writes in his *Violinschule*: "I have made proof on the violin that bowing two notes together causes the 3rd, or the 5th, or the octave etc. to sound of their own accord. This is an unmistakable test, which allows anyone to check whether he is playing in tune. For, if two notes (which I shall show below) are played well and in tune, one can clearly hear the lower tone at the same time with a certain muted and buzzing sound."<sup>71</sup> Tartini's ideas regarding the *terzo suono* were published in his *Trattato di musica secondo la vera scienza dell'armonia* in 1754 in Padua. Prints form a part of Tartini's estate preserved in Piran. Since Tartini expressly declares that he began to use the *terzo suono* in his school only in 1742, one may infer that Leopold Mozart encountered the idea in some manuscript between 1742 and 1756.<sup>72</sup>

Tartini's ideas about ornaments and related matters were published under his name (in the *Traité des agréments de la musique*, 1771) a mere fifteen years after they had been published in part in Mozart's *Violinschule*, a book that by that time had already reached the four corners of Europe in three different languages: German (1756, 1769–1770), Dutch (1766) and French (1770). Nevertheless, much of this unauthorized publication and copying activity also had positive consequences. The unauthorized publications of Tartini's compositions celebrated his name in Europe. Most of his ideas about violin playing, however, reached the larger part of Europe at second hand, through Mozart's *Violinschule*. Ironically, even though Tartini was born on the territory of modern Slovenia, he had no direct influence on the development of violin playing in his home region. Already in the eighteenth century some of his most important ideas came back to his homeland as part of his estate via his books, letters etc., but they long remained hidden from view. In contrast, his ideas about ornaments, bowing and the *terzo suono* were imbibed through

<sup>67</sup> Ibid.

<sup>68</sup> Einstein, "Preface," xxx.

<sup>69</sup> DuBois, "Christian Friedrich Daniel Schubart's Ideen," 209.

<sup>70</sup> Lohri et al., "Combination Tones in Violins," 728.

<sup>71</sup> Mozart, *Art of the Violin*, 230.

<sup>72</sup> Petrobelli, *Tartini, le sue idee e il suo tempo*, 98–99.

Mozart's *Violinschule*, which saw wide use for educational purposes in this region from the second half of the eighteenth century onwards.

**Music example 4** G. Tartini, from the *Traité des agréments de la musique*, 78



**Music example 5** L. Mozart, from *The Art of the Violin*, 272



**Music example 6** G. Tartini, from the *Traité des agréments de la musique*, 86



**Music example 7** L. Mozart, from *The Art of the Violin*, 285



Siz.<sup>na</sup> Maddalena mia Stimatis<sup>ma</sup> 56

Ladova li 6 marzo 1760.

Finalmente quando a Dio è piaciuto mi sono obbligato da quella vostra occupazione, che fin qui mi ha impedito di mantere la mia promessa, se ben anche troppo mi stava al cuore perche di fatto m'affliggeva la mancanza di tempo. Terminiamo dunque col nome di Dio per fermar, e se quanto qui espongo ella non intenda abbastanza più scriva, e dimandi spiegazione di tutto ciò che non intende.

Il dilai servizio, e studio principale deve esser l'arco in genere, cosichè ella se ne faccia padrona assoluta a qualunque uso o suonabile, o cantabile.

L'uno studio deve esser l'appoggio dell'arco sulla corda sufficientemente leggero, che il primo principio della voce, che si causa sia come un fiato, e non come una percossa sulla corda. Consiste in leggerezza di peso, e in prometter subito l'arresto, dopo l'appoggio leggero non u'è più pericolo d'oprezza, e crudeltà. Di questo appoggio, così leggero ella deve farsi padrona in qualunque sito dell'arco, sia in mezzo, sia negli estremi, e deve esserne padrona coll'arresto in sù, e con l'arresto in giù. Per far tutto la fatica in una sola volta s'incomincia dalla metà di una sopra una corda uolta, per esempio sopra la seconda, che è l'Almiri, s'incomincia dal pianissimo crescendo sempre a poco alla volta finche si arriva al fortissimo, e questo studio deve farsi egualmente coll'arresto in giù, e con l'arresto in sù. Ella incominci subito questo studio, e vi prenda almeno un'ora al giorno, mai interotta, un poco la mattina, un poco la sera, e si accordi bene, che questo è lo studio più importante, e più difficile di tutti.

Quando sarò padrona di questo la sera allora facile la messa di voce, che incomincia dal pianissimo un al fortissimo, e torna al pianissimo nella stessa arca. fa più facile, e sicuro l'altro appoggio dell'arco alla corda, e potrà far col suo arco tutto quello che vuole.

Per acquistare poi questa leggerezza di peso, da cui viene la velocità dell'arco, sarò cosa ottima, che venghi ogni giorno qualche fuga del Corelli tutta di semicrome, e queste fughe sono tre nell'Opera quinta di Violino solo, anzi la prima è nella prima suonata per Relationi. Ella si poco alla volta deve suonarle sempre più presto, sinche arrivi a suonarle con quella velocità, che le sia più possibile; ma bisogna averte due cose: prima di suonarle con l'arco distaccato, cioè gravite, e con un poco di uacuo tra una volta, e l'altra. Sono scritte nel modo seguente.

**Figure 1** The autograph of Giuseppe Tartini's letter written to Maddalena Lombardini (Piran, Pokrajinski arhiv Koper, Tartinijeva zbirka; reproduced with kind permission).



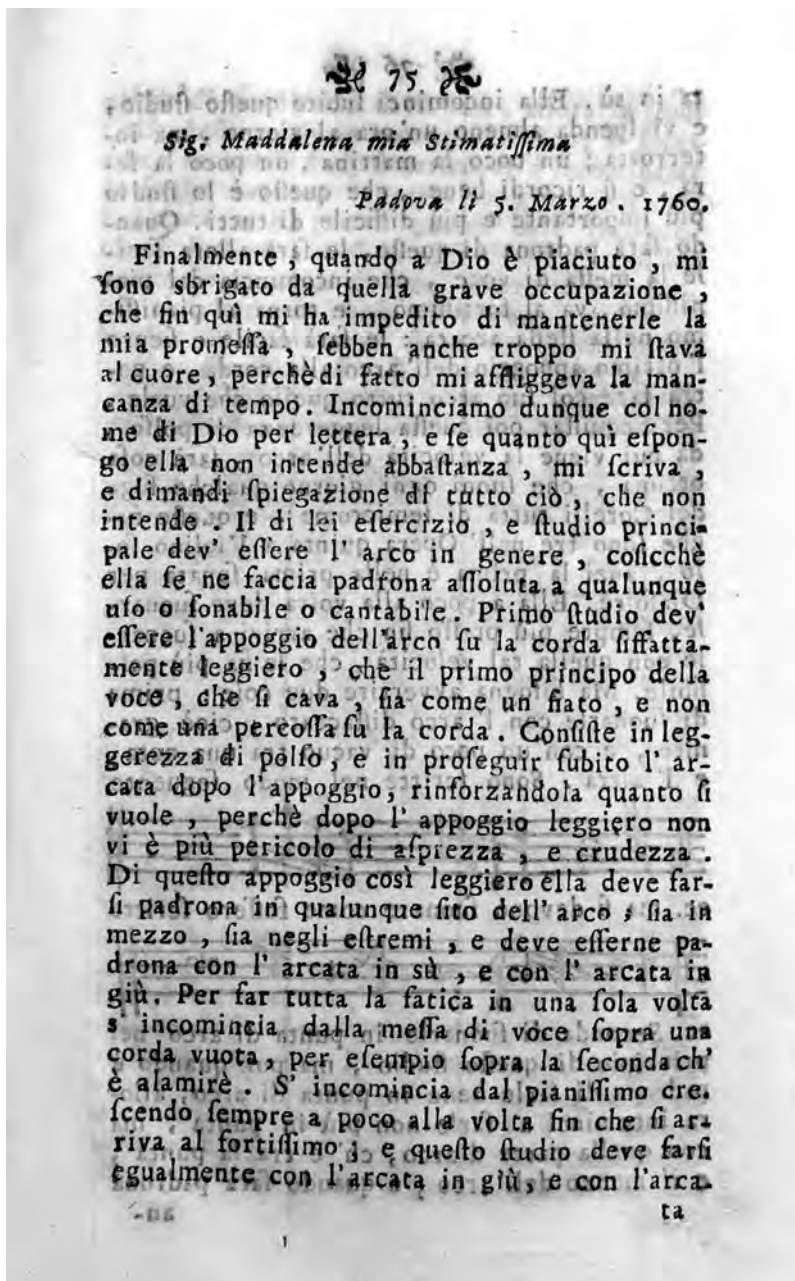


Figure 2 Tartini's letter as published in *L'Europa letteraria*, 74 (Padua, Biblioteca Universitaria, COLRI.22–23"; reproduced with kind permission of the Ministero dei Beni e le Attività culturali e del Turismo).

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## POTI VIOLINSKIH UČBENIKOV NA SLOVENSKO IN NJIHOVE INTERAKCIJE V 18. STOLETJU

### Povzetek

Prvi samostojni violinski učbeniki so se v Evropi pojavili na koncu 17. stoletja in so bili vsaj do leta 1750 prvenstveno namenjeni amaterjem. Priznani violinisti so vse do druge polovice 18. stoletja svoje »poklicne skrivnosti« prenašali neposredno na svoje zasebne učence. Šele v začetku petdesetih let 18. stoletja pa so ti začeli izdajati učbenike, ki so bili namenjeni tako učiteljem kot tudi učencem. Na Slovenskem se je violinsko izvajanje v tem obdobju gojilo predvsem za zidovi samostanov in cerkva ter v krogih lokalne aristokracije, vendar večinoma ni bilo virtuoznega značaja.

Na Slovenskem se je v rokopisu ohranilo Tartinijevo pismo, ki je bilo leta 1761 napisano njegovi učenki Maddaleni Lauri Lombardini (1745–1818), ter štirje tiski violinskih učbenikov: *Principi di Musica* (pred 1750) Vincenza Paneraia, *Versuch einer Anweisung die Flöte traviersiere zu spielen* (1752) Johanna Joachima Quantza (1697–1773), *Versuch einer gründlichen Violinschule* (1756) Leopolda Mozarta (1719–1787) in *Anweisung zum Violinspielen für Schulen und zum Selbstunterrichte* (1792) Johanna Adama Hillerja (1728–1804). Ohranjeni učbeniki najverjetneje predstavljajo le peščico dejansko prisotnih učbenikov 18. stoletja. Predvidevamo lahko, da je bila večina izgubljena ali ukradena v obdobju nemirnih političnih okoliščin 20. stoletja, ali pa je bila skupaj z njihovimi lastniki preseljena onkraj meja današnje Slovenije. Večino teh učbenikov so na slovensko ozemlje že v 18. stoletju najverjetneje prinesli knjigovezi in knjigarnarji, ki so imeli dobre povezave s tujimi založniškimi hišami. Tiski so bili zaradi ekonomskih razlogov na Slovensko prinešeni v snopičih, ki so bili zvezani v lokalnih knjigoveznicah, o čemer pričajo vodni znaki posameznih knjižnih platnic.

Giuseppe Tartini (1692–1770) je za svoje učence v Padovi pred letom 1754 napisal didaktično delo s poudarkom na okraševanju, ki je izšlo šele po njegovi smrti leta 1771 pod naslovom *Traité des agréments de la musique*. Omenjeno delo je v času Tartinijevega življenja v prepisih krožilo med Tartinijevimi učenci in drugimi glasbeniki. Ena izmed teh kopij je zagotovo prišla v roke tudi Leopoldu Mozartu, ki je v svoji *Violinschule* brez navedbe avtorja uporabil številne glasbene primere in definicije omenjenega Tartinijevega dela, pa tudi Tartinijevo idejo o t. i. *terzo suono* ipd. Čeprav je bil Giuseppe Tartini rojen v Piranu, na razvoj violinizma na Slovenskem ni imel neposrednega vpliva. Vendarle so številne njegove ideje preko Mozartove *Violinschule* dosegle slovensko ozemlje že v drugi polovici 18. stoletja.