

Migrations of Musical Repertoire

The Attems Music Collection from Around 1744

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The owners: Countess Josepha and her husband, Count Ignaz von Attems

In 1744, an inventory of 98 Italian opera arias was compiled for their owner, Countess Josepha von Attems, née Countess von Khuen.¹ This inventory of arias, together with the music of the majority of the listed arias, was unearthed in the Provincial Archives of Maribor among a group of documents taken there after World War II from the castle of Slovenska Bistrica (Windisch Feistritz) which, until then, had been the seat of the noble family of Attems, the direct descendants of Countess Josepha.²

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- 1 *Lista delle Arie dell'Illustrissima Signora Signora Giuseppa Contessa d'Atthembs Nata Contessa di Khuen. L'Anno 1744.* SI-Mpa, Gosposočina Bistriški grad, Musicalia, TE 67, AE 1. This document has no specially assigned number. It precedes music manuscripts that have recently been numbered and cataloged for the RISM A/II series: SI-Mpa, numbers SI_PAM/1857/010/00001-SI_PAM/1857/010/00102; the last three digits are new shelf marks running from 1 to 102, and these will serve as further marks of identification in this article; thus "Mpa 1" stands for the first listed surviving musical piece.
 - 2 On the history of the castle of Slovenska Bistrica and its owners, see ŠERBELJ, 2005.

Countess Josepha von Attems was born as Maria Josepha Elisabeth Augusta Claudia Khuen zu Auer von Belasi-Lichtenberg on 4 July 1721 at Hall near Innsbruck³ to Count Johann Franz Khuen zu Auer von Belasi-Lichtenberg (1690-1747), scion of an old Tyrolean noble family, and Maria Anna, by birth Countess von Thurn und Taxis (1696-1766), a member of a powerful German princely house. When the inventory of arias was compiled for her, she was 23 years old and already the mother of four small girls, all born in the Styrian capital of Graz, in the palace at Sackstraße which, at that time, was the seat of her husband's family.⁴ She married in Vienna on 29 October 1739 at the age of 18, and her husband was Count Ignaz Maria von Attems-Heiligenkreuz.⁵

Countess Josepha – according to present knowledge – spent her early life in Hall near Innsbruck.⁶ During the winter of 1738 to 1739 she met her future husband while visiting her uncle, the Archbishop of Sekau in Graz.⁷ After her marriage she moved to Styria and was living between

- 3 A copy of Josepha's birth certificate is preserved in A-Gla, Familienarchiv Attems, K. 92, H. 949. The date of her christening is given there as 4 July 1721 in Brixen. However, in all modern family genealogies the referred date of her birth is 4 August in Hall; see for example the genealogy published online: <http://gw.geneanet.org/cvpolier?lang=en&p=maria+josepha&n=khuen+von+auer>, 20.11.2014.
- 4 For preliminary genealogical data on the Attems family, I am indebted to my colleague Dr Miha Preinfalk, the foremost Slovenian specialist on local aristocratic families, who also advised me on further research. Concerning the various members of the Attems family, see also the genealogy freely available on the following internet site: <http://genealogy.euweb.cz/attems/attems4.html>, 20.11.2014. On the family's Styrian branch in Graz, Ignaz's immediate family, see also WISSGRILL, 1794, pp. 189-192; ILWOF, 1897; FRANK/ŠERBELJ, 1990, pp. 146-148; and especially A-Gla, Familienarchiv Attems, Familiengeschichte, verfaßt von Maria Victoria Markgräfin Pallavicino-Attems, 1950ff., K. 3, H. 7 (3. Kapitel). I am extremely obliged to Dr Johannes Attems and to Dr Victor Attems-Gilleis for granting me a special permission to consult the last mentioned source in A-Gla.
- 5 See the marriage contract in A-Gla, Familienarchiv Attems, Ehekontrakte, K. 19, H. 86.
- 6 Josepha's taste for music and theater was probably acquired at her noble home with the aid of private tutors, and possibly also at one of the institutions in her town of birth. On music institutions in Hall see SENN, 1938.
- 7 A-Gla, Familienarchiv Attems, Familiengeschichte, verfaßt von Maria Victoria Markgräfin Pallavicino-Attems.

Graz and Slovenska Bistrica as well as in Vienna, where she was awarded the highest titles at the Imperial Court⁸ and where she died in her sixty-third year, on 1 April 1784. However, all twelve of her children were born in Graz between 1740 and 1758.⁹ Based on the evidence of her music collection we may assume that she was musically educated. She was most probably a soprano singer, or at least a fervent admirer of contemporary opera, as was also her husband Ignaz.

Figures 1a and 1b: Portraits of Ignaz and Josepha von Attems (Pokrajinski muzej Maribor, inv. nos. 29 and 30; by kind permission)



- 8 Josepha was made a member of the imperial order *Dames de l'ordre de la Croix de l'Étoile* on 3 May 1740 (see A-Gla, Familienarchiv Attems, K. 92, H. 950). Between 1765 and 1769 she was *Oberste Hofmeisterin* to the Austrian Archduchess Maria Elisabetha Christina.
- 9 Family portraits of both parents (depicted on horseback) as well as of most of their children, in paintings probably executed between 1784 and 1789 and originating from the castle in Slovenska Bistrica, are now housed at the Regional Museum of Maribor (Pokrajinski muzej Maribor). In the existing literature some of the family members are misidentified. See VRIŠER, 1974 (concerning the children), and VRIŠER, 1993, reproductions nos. 183 and 185 (Ignaz Maria II's uncle and father, respectively; these two are now exhibited at the Regional Museum at Ptuj) and nos. 147 and 148 (Ignaz Maria and his wife Josepha). The last two are inventoried under the numbers 29 and 30 (from the castle of Slovenska Bistrica). The portraits also receive discussion in CIGLENEČKI, 1997, pp. 47-51.

Ignaz, later known as Count Ignaz Maria II, was born on 27 February 1714 in the Styrian capital of Graz as Ignaz Maria Maximilian Dismas Josef Alexander Count von Attems-Heiligenkreuz. He was the first-born son of Count Franz Dismas Hermann von Attems, Freiherr von Heiligenkreuz (Graz, 6 August 1688-Graz, 10 May 1750), and Countess Maria Sophia Clara, née von Herberstein-Pusterwald (Graz, 12 August 1694-Graz, 28 July 1715). His mother died when he was just over one year old, and he was temporarily entrusted into the care of a local widow, Anna Maria Popp, who was his foster mother until his father remarried in 1717 and he was sent back to Sackstraße.¹⁰ His mother's mother, Countess Christina Crescentia, by birth Countess von Herberstein, became the second wife of his grandfather, Ignaz Maria I in 1715. She brought into the family a lucrative new estate, Vurberk (Wurmberg), that she bequeathed directly to her grandson Ignaz Maria II, who was very attached to that property from the time of her death in 1737.¹¹ Ignaz, during his childhood called Ignaz Leander, received the best possible education in his youth. Initially, he was educated at home, for it is known that the family employed a resident tutor, *Praefectus* Johann Michael Kness,¹² and he was attending classes at the local Jesuit school in Graz from 1727 to 1729 where he finished the last two classes with distinction.¹³ From another

- 10 A-Gla, Familienarchiv Attems, Familiengeschichte, verfaßt von Maria Victoria Markgräfin Pallavicino-Attems.
- 11 Ignaz was informed about his new property while in Leiden (he reacted to the death of his grandmother in a letter written on 14 May 1737) and enquired in a letter of 11 June 1737 on the state of the castle and its inventory: A-Gla, Familienarchiv Attems, K. 19, H. 87. On his special attachment to Vurberk, see also FEDERHOFFER/SCHMEISER, 1971, p. 80.
- 12 Kness is described as a "Praefectus apud Excell. D. D. Comitatem ab Attembs" in the church records of Maribor, where in 1725 he got married. SLEKOVEC, 1895, p. 81.
- 13 His name is mentioned among pupils who were awarded prizes for their achievements in oration ("ex oratione soluta" and "ex oratione ligata") and Christian doctrine. The prizes were publicly awarded after the performance of a Latin play. The printed summary of the play with the names of all performers was for these occasions accompanied also by "Nomina eorum in arena literaria victorum". See the play *Urbis et orbis romani homagium Caesari Octaviano Augusto [...]*, Graz 1728, A-Gl, Tresor A 513549, and *Alphonsi Persii inaudita fidei constantia [...]*, Graz 1730, A-Gl, Tresor A 513546 I (xerox copy).

source we learn that he was additionally taught fencing and probably also dancing by the fencing and dancing master of the Styrian provincial estates in Graz, Johannes Baptista Robin (also known as Rubin), active as the principal dancing master at the same Jesuit school during the years of Ignaz's schooling there.¹⁴

From November 1734 to September 1738, Ignaz's father sent him, accompanied by a preceptor and/or tutor, *Hoffmaister* Westerhold, and an old servant,¹⁵ on a Grand Tour typical of the time.¹⁶ From his native Graz in Austrian Styria, he first traveled north to Würzburg and a few other German towns. During the first half of the year 1735, he studied in Prague and later enrolled at the University of Leiden as a *candidatus iuris*. In July 1737, he terminated his official university education and traveled on to Belgium, France and finally Italy. His itinerary is rather well documented by the 32 surviving letters sent to his father in Graz during his travels.¹⁷ Besides providing other news, he kept his father informed of musical events that impressed him, such as a musical soirée at the court in Würzburg in July 1735, an exhibition of military music

- 14 Robin is recorded alternately as "saltuum instructore", "saltibus a provincia praefectus", "Tanzmaister", "Saltus et lanisticam instruente" and "provinciae Styriae saltuum et lanisticae magistro" in surviving printed librettos and programmes of the Jesuit dramatic productions in Graz between 1701 and 1734: see GRAFF, 1984, pp. 261-271. Ignaz von Attems mentions his old fencing master ("Kein fechtmeister ist auch nicht dorten, das muß ich anheur nothwendig lehren, weilen ich nur 3: Monat bey dem alten *Robin* zu grätz gelehret, und noch nichts contra gefochten habe, hier hätte ich eben die gelegenheit am besten.") in a letter sent from Prague on 29 October 1735 to his father in Graz: A-Gla, Familienarchiv Attems, K. 19, H. 87. Robin was most probably also a violinist, since this instrument was commonly played by dancing masters of the time.
- 15 A-Gla, Familienarchiv Attems, Familiengeschichte, verfaßt von Maria Victoria Markgräfin Pallavicino-Attems. In the letters the name of the *Hoffmaister* is, however, never mentioned.
- 16 On the Grand Tour in the eighteenth century in general, see BLACK, 2013, pp. 277-287, and BLACK, 2003, especially pp. 174-181 (dealing with the arts, notably music and theater, in Italy).
- 17 A-Gla, Familienarchiv Attems, K. 19, H. 87. The letters are mentioned in ILWOF, 1897, p. 21. A critical edition of the correspondence, edited by Metoda Kokole, Željko Oset, Miha Preinfalk and Luka Vidmar, is planned for publication by the Slovenian Eighteenth-Century Society within the next two years.

in Mainz in September 1735 and especially the musical performances – both instrumental and operatic – he witnessed in Rome and Venice during the year 1738.¹⁸ From 1739 onwards, he was appointed to various high positions at the Inner-Austrian government and the Habsburg court in Vienna.¹⁹

Ignaz was heir to a large family fortune, including a sizable number of castles and palaces in addition to one of the richest local art collections of its time, accumulated by his homonymous grandfather, Ignaz Maria Maximilian Dismas Josef Leander Reichsgraf von Attems, Freiherr zu Heiligenkreuz, Lucinico, Podgora, Falkenstein und Tanzenberg (Ljubljana/Laibach 1652–Graz 1732), better known as Ignaz Maria I. During the first decades of the eighteenth century, the elder Ignaz Maria was the foremost Styrian patron and promoter of the arts. Between 1686 and 1717, he was busy buying numerous properties in Styria – in and around Graz, but mostly in Lower Styria, a geographical area belonging to Slovenia today. He had his newly acquired castles decorated by the best available artists in the new, fashionable style (Italian and French).²⁰ Symbols representing music are found in every place where he commissioned decorations, especially in the festive halls of his castles and palaces such as Brežice (Rann), Štetenberg (Stattenberg), Slovenska Bistrica. The castle of Slovenska Bistrica became the official seat of the branch of the family established by his grandson Ignaz Maria II (as the latter is called in family histories).²¹ Ignaz Maria II died in Vienna on 15 July 1762.

- 18 On the subject of Ignaz's reports concerning music see KOKOLE, 2015, pp. 57–79.
- 19 On 7 April 1739 Ignaz was appointed by Karl VI *Regierungsrath* in Graz; in 1741 he became imperial *Kämmerer*, and in 1760 *Wirklicher Geheimer Rath*.
- 20 The patronage of contemporary artists by Ignaz Maria I and the commissioned works of art in his castles and palaces have been studied by a number of art historians in Slovenia and also Austria in recent decades. For Slovenia, see especially CIGLENEČKI, 1997, WEIGL, 2003 and 2006, and MUROVEC, 2000 and 2007; for recent Austrian literature, see especially LECHNER, 2010 (containing a complete bibliography up to that date that includes writings in Slovenian).
- 21 A comparison of the inventory compiled after Franz Dismas's death in 1750 with that compiled after his son's death in 1762 clearly testifies to the effort made by Ignaz Maria to transform the castle into a more permanent and commodious family residence; many pieces of furniture and everyday

Judging from the surviving music collection, both Josepha and her husband Ignaz von Attems were amateur musicians and enthusiastic admirers of contemporary opera. One or both of them possibly also played keyboard instruments, since one of these – “a new clavichord” – was listed after Ignaz’s death in 1762 as standing in the sixth room in the family’s castle at Slovenska Bistrica.²² This may well be identical to a clavichord preserved in the Joanneum museum in Graz, which has the parchment label “Dismas Gf. Atthembs” and dates from the second half of the eighteenth century.²³ The person named Dismas was probably Ignaz’s younger half-brother Dismas Maximilian Siegmund Engelbert Franz (1718-1765).

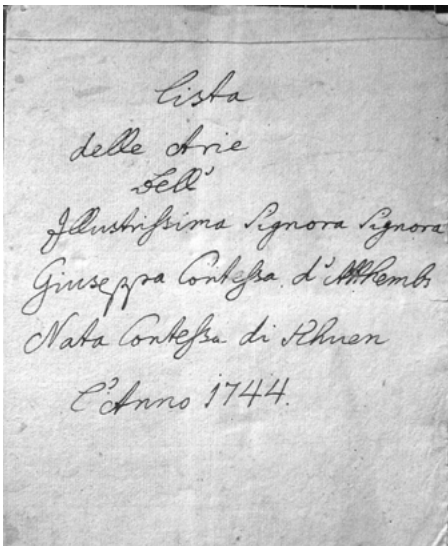


Figure 2: Title page of the 1744 list of arias belonging to the Countess von Attems (Mpa [without shelfmark]; by kind permission).

objects were added. See A-Gla, Familienarchiv Attems, Übergabsinventar nach den Ableben des Dismas Gr. Attems, 1750, K. 124, H. 1132, and Ignaz Maria Attems, Fideicommiss- und Allodial-Inventar 1762, K. 126, H. 1142. On the household of Ignaz Maria II at Slovenska Bistrica, see also ŠERBELJ, 2005, pp. 90-93.

- 22 A-Gla, Familienarchiv Attems, Ignaz Maria Attems, Fideicommiss- und Allodial-Inventar 1762, K. 126, H. 1142, fol. 26v. The instrument was valued at “4 gulden”.
- 23 The clavichord was donated to the museum by the Attems family and, today, is located in the Section “Kunstgewerbe” under the inventory number 1340. See FLOTZINGER, 1980, p. 197 (no. 4.35).

Music, in general, seems to have been greatly appreciated in the Attems family. Ignaz's uncle Count Thaddäus Kajetan Bernhard Maria von Attems (1691-1750) apparently engaged some of the Graz civic musicians to provide and copy instrumental music for entertainment at his manor at Dornava (Dornau); his wife, Countess Crescenzia Maria Anna Francisca (1728-1801), was a keen harpsichordist; his son, Count Josef Bernhard Maria von Attems (1727-1772), was a lutenist.²⁴ To engage professional musicians for formal dinners, dances and other festivities, as well as to provide musical education, was common practice among the Styrian nobility during the first half of the eighteenth century. The relevant archival documentation lists many names of musicians who were members of formally constituted music companies with exclusive rights to perform in Graz.²⁵ Some aristocratic houses are known to have retained their own resident musicians during the early eighteenth century.²⁶

The Attems music collection

The Attems music collection from the castle of Slovenska Bistrica consists of a total of one hundred pieces of music in manuscript, two compositions preserved only in incomplete form, two musical fragments, a further fragment containing cadenzas (an instructive or technical aid), an unidentified music print, and the already mentioned manuscript list of 98 soprano arias belonging to the Countess Josepha von Attems and compiled for her in 1744.

- 24 KOKOLE, 2012a, pp. 685f. On the subject of the connection with the collection of keyboard and chamber music from the mid-eighteenth century today housed at SI-Pk, see FEDERHOFER/SCHMEISER, 1971, and EYBL, 2012. On the instruments at Dornava manor, see KOTER, 2003, p. 357.
- 25 FEDERHOFER/SCHMEISER, 1971, pp. 74-78, and especially p. 90. On civic musicians in Graz in general and their names, see FEDERHOFER, 1951. On other musicians active in Graz during the first half of the eighteenth century and the repertory performed in Graz at that time, see likewise FEDERHOFER, 1971, pp. 634-641, and FEDERHOFER/FLOTZINGER, 1980, pp. 44-58. On the musicians connected with the operatic productions (in addition to Angelo and Pietro Mingotti, notably Pircker, Scalabrini and Locatelli), see KOKOLE, 2012b, pp. 73-77, and KOKOLE, 2013, pp. 152-155.
- 26 For instance, Count von Rosenberg in 1700; Count von Trauttmansdorff; probably also Count Joseph Leopold von Orsini Rosenberg and Johann Joseph von Webersberg. See FEDERHOFER/FLOTZINGER, 1980, pp. 53f.

The inventory of arias comprises four folios containing a title page followed by five pages that present a list with the following information: the serial number of the aria, the title of the aria (i.e., its textual incipit and the surname of the composer – unless it was not known, in which case the name is replaced by a horizontal line). The inventory has no assigned shelf mark, as is also the case with the two fragments, the cadenzas and the unidentified print. All remaining items, totalling 102, were cataloged for the RISM A/II database in 2012. Within the present article the titles and composers are presented in an annotated list forming the Appendix.²⁷

Among the items without shelf mark is a small music print running to only six pages and lacking a title page. This contains three minuets, numbered in the French manner as “Menuet”, “2^e Menuet”, and “3^e Menuet”. These initially appear in score format, the first two being for two violins and figured bass, and the third for “Flauto o Violini / Fagotto” and bass. They collectively make up a cycle of movements in the key sequence E major – E minor – E major, all three minuets having the time signature “3”. The second half of the print (i.e., pages 4-6) is headed “PARODIE” and brings back all three minuets in arrangements for soprano voice with the following texts: “1^r Menuet / Quand je bois ce jus charmant”; “2^e Menuet / Pour chasser la mélancolie”; and “3^e Menuet / Brille a nos yeux [sic]”. Reaching the end, we are directed back to the beginning via the instruction “au 1^r Menuet”. The print seems to be of French origin and was most likely intended for the practical purpose of accompanying dancing.²⁸

All other musical items are properly cataloged. The first 77 pieces are for soprano solo with basso continuo and in some cases also additional instruments. With the exception of four compositions, they are all operatic arias. The exceptions comprise three pieces headed “Canzonetta”²⁹ and one piece taking the form of a short secular “Cantata” in four move-

27 See note 1.

28 In a letter sent from Mannheim on 24 September 1735 Ignaz actually mentions a “Menuet” danced at the Court (in mid-September), so this little print may well be a souvenir of that ball: A-Gla, Familienarchiv Attems, K. 19, H. 87.

29 All three are anonymous settings of the same text (*Grazie agl'inganni tuoi*) for voice and basso continuo. They are written by the same scribe on a paper of Venetian origin, but their music is different: Mpa 70, 72 and 74.

ments (recitative–aria–recitative–aria).³⁰ The arias on the Countess’s inventory running from no. 22 to the end (no. 98) are today shelf-marked 1-77, reflecting the fact that the music of items 1-21 in the inventory is not present among the surviving music manuscripts. All of these 77 musical manuscripts probably received their numbering in 1744, when the name of either “Giuseppa Contessa d’Atthembs” or “Ignazio Conte d’Atthembs” was added on the title page or, alternatively, in the bottom right-hand corner of the first page of music. Ignaz’s name in fact appears only on the first eight surviving compositions cataloged for his wife in 1744. The presence of his name indicates that these manuscripts were originally his personal property.

The remaining 25 recorded compositions in the present-day collection (Mpa 78-102) comprise further fourteen vocal pieces (eleven soprano arias, two duets and one *canzonetta*), two vocal pieces of which only instrumental parts are preserved,³¹ four compositions for orchestra or smaller instrumental ensemble,³² four compositions for transverse flute with basso or violoncello³³ and a lone soprano part for an *Amen*.³⁴ Only the four pieces for transverse flute plus three other manuscripts bear the name of the owner: Ignaz von Attems.³⁵

The pieces for transverse flute – a “Sonatina” and three sonatas – merit special attention since they are written on completely different paper, feature distinctly different handwriting and thus constitute a separate section within the larger collection. Two of the sonatas have a composer indicated on the cover or title page, but both names were added only

30 Anon., *Cantata. Perdoni o cara*: Mpa 75.

31 The parts for two violins with the title *Se libera non sono* (Mpa 90) have been identified as belonging to the lost no. 10 from the original list, an aria from Leonardo Leo’s *Demetrio*, produced in the summer of 1738 at the Teatro San Carlo in Naples. The paper and the scribe are Roman, so one assumes that it originally formed part of the music brought back by Ignaz von Attems from his visit to Italy. Mpa 101 consists of parts for two violins and viola, probably the accompaniment of a so far unidentified aria.

32 Mpa 93-95 and 100.

33 Mpa 96-99.

34 Mpa 102.

35 Leaving aside the flute pieces, the remaining three manuscripts comprise two duets and an overture by Johann Adolf Hasse (Mpa 93), all copied by a Roman scribe on Roman paper.



Figures 3a and 3b:

Title page and page 1 of the flute part of Giuseppe Sammartini's Sonata à flutrav: solo e Basso in the Attems collection (Mpa 98; by kind permission)

later: Domenico Sarri (or Sarro) and Giuseppe San Martino (Sammartini).³⁶ These two sonatas are in three and four movements, respectively. They belonged to the Count, and since his name is spelled in the French manner as “Ignace Compte d’Atthembs” they may well be a souvenir from one of the German and Flemish cities he visited, or perhaps even of Paris. The French spelling strongly hints at a Francophone court, while the upright format of the paper and the imperial double-headed eagle visible in the watermark seem to be leading us towards a German-speaking area of the Imperial territories. The prominence of the transverse flute in the collection – not only in these sonatas but also in the parts for transverse flute provided for a number of the arias – supports the hypothesis that Count Ignaz von Attems was a capable amateur flautist.

³⁶ Mpa 97 and 98.

Among the orchestral pieces, we encounter parts for basso, two violins and viola of an “Ouverture Con VVi e Viola” by Johann Adolf Hasse, identifiable as the overture to Hasse’s opera *Asteria*, written for Dresden in August 1737.³⁷ The title pages of the two orchestral concertos inform us that they are “Del Eccellentissimo Signor Duca di Santo Gemini”; the music, however, is identified by RISM as that of a Spanish composer, Alejandro Fernandez de Cordoba y Lante, so the Duke of Santo Gemini was probably only a commissioner or patron.³⁸ The two concertos are copied on coeval Roman paper by Roman scribes – the same hands we recognize from the manuscripts of the arias belonging to Count Ignaz, brought home by him from his Grand Tour, that took him to Rome and Naples.

The arias of Countess Josepha’s *Lista delle arie*

The bulk of the Attems collection, however, consists of soprano arias cataloged in 1744 for Countess Josepha von Attems. A rough dating for the manuscripts lies between the 1730s and 1744, the last possible year. The arias are mostly preserved in full or short score (for voice and basso continuo), but separate parts for instruments are added in many cases.³⁹ Sometimes, the parts were copied by a hand different from that responsible for the scores. There are also some instances of arranged parts that depart from the original scoring. These appear to reflect the wishes and special requests of the commissioner of the copied music – in this case, Josepha’s husband Ignaz.

37 Mpa 93. The Count’s name is spelled in the French manner.

38 Mpa 94 and 95. The Duke of S. Gemini indeed had musicians in his service. One of them, “Sig. Antonio Bragagna Virtuoso di s. Sec. il Signor Duca di S. Gemini”, took the role of Bruscolo in the “drama giocoso per musica La comedia in comedia” composed by Rinaldo di Capua for a production in Rome during the Carnival season of 1738. The source of this information is a libretto in the Rolandi collection at I-Vgc (ROL.0574.19).

39 Short scores customarily written at the time as singers’ parts (in self-accompanied performances with the singer seated at a harpsichord, the bass part would also be played by him/her), so the combination of a short score and violin/viola parts effectively equates to a set of parts.

Among the extant 92 arias (including in this total three duets and four *canzonette*), three major groups as determined by provenance have been identified through the investigation of repertories, paper types, watermarks and scribal hands. One group is southern Italian; another is apparently local, written by the same hand on papers of Styrian and Carniolan origin (34 pieces: nos. 22-55 listed in the Appendix); the third is possibly local or has a different, still undiscovered, provenance, probably connected to the German-speaking cultural area (nos. 56, 58, 60-67, 70, 72, 74, 75, 77, 87 and 89).

The names of fifteen composers had been identified by the end of the year 2014; some of these are indicated either in the inventory of the arias or on the musical manuscripts themselves. The dates of the compositions – in some cases written on the scores and in others inferred by relevant surviving documents such as librettos for the productions of the operas from which the pieces originated and/or the musical incipits in the RISM A/II database (in the list in the Appendix all secondary identifications are enclosed in square brackets)⁴⁰ – reveal the fact that the Attems household exclusively collected music popular at the time, never more than about ten years old. Among these composers are several well-known names, including those of Johann Adolf Hasse, Leonardo Vinci, Leonardo Leo, Gaetano Latilla, Niccolò Jommelli, Geminiano Giacomelli, Andrea Bernasconi, Niccolò Logroscino and Giuseppe Arena.

Over ten different hands and about ten principal paper types can be distinguished, which exhibit eight watermarks so far detected: the latter are mainly of Austrian and Venetian provenance, while the southern Italian manuscripts are, as one would expect, all copied on Roman paper. The single common element of the collection is that all the compositions are scored for soprano voice and basso continuo with or without additional instruments (two violins, transverse flute etc.).

40 I am especially grateful to Prof Reinhard Strohm, who kindly looked through the music and suggested many of the present identifications. Most of them were confirmed via concordances in the RISM A/II database and other digitalized original sources currently available online.

Known and identified composers of surviving arias in the**Attems collection:**

Johann Adolf Hasse	14
Andrea Bernasconi	12
Leonardo Vinci	6
Giuseppe Arena	5 [+5 lost but indicated in the <i>Lista delle arie</i>]
Leonardo Leo	4 [+3]
Geminiano Giacomelli	4
Giovanni Battista Lampugnani	2
Rinaldo di Capua	2
Niccolò Logroscino	1 [+8]
Gaetano Latilla	1 [+3]
Niccolò Jommelli	1
Pietro Auletta	1
Pietro Vincenzo Chiocchetti	1
Rinaldo di Capua	1 [+1]
Giovanni Porta	1
Domingo Terradellas	1
Christoph Willibald Gluck	1
[Pietro Auletta]	[1]

The southern Italian group of manuscripts originally belonged to “Ignazio Conte d’Atthembs”, whose name actually appears on the surviving manuscripts 1-8 and 91-92. They constitute the best documented portion of the present-day Attems collection. Considering first the music itself, the extant 14 pieces, as well as further 21 aria titles documented only in the list of 1744, can all be identified with operas Count Ignaz von Attems attended in Rome or Naples. The composer is named on most of the surviving pieces belonging to this group, as are generally also the year, the place and the title of the opera. The paper used is local: mostly Roman, featuring a water lily in a single or double oval frame as the watermark – the same as employed for the printed librettos of the operas by Giuseppe Arena, Niccolò Logroscino and Rinaldo di Capua produced in Carnival 1738 at the Teatro delle Dame and Teatro Valle in Rome.⁴¹ Three of the

41 SARTORI, 1990-1994. The consulted examples of *Achille in Sciro* (no. 163), *Il Quinto Fabio* (no. 19390) and *La comedia in comedia* (no. 5952) are in the Rolandi collection at the Fondazione Giorgio Cini, Venice (I-Vgc).



Figure 4:

First page of Niccolò Logroscino's aria *Questo che bagna* from the opera *Il Quinto Fabio*, I/4, copied in Rome during Carnival 1738 for Count Ignaz von Attems (Mpa 1; by kind permission).

scribes were apparently professional musicians or copyists working in Rome.

The information offered by the music manuscripts themselves provides the names of two *drammi per musica* performed during the 1738 Carnival season in Rome at the then newly decorated Teatro delle Dame:⁴² Giuseppe Arena's *Achille in Sciro* and Niccolò Logroscino's *Il Quinto Fabio*. There are additional traces of two comic operas produced at the Teatro Valle: Rinaldo di Capua's *La comedia in comedia* and Gaetano Latilla's *La serva padrona* at the same time. Other manuscripts point to two productions given during the summer season of 1738 in Naples: the pasticcio opera *Il Demetrio* at the Teatro San Carlo and Leonardo Leo's *Il conte* at the Teatro Fiorentino.

42 FRANCHI, 1997, p. 297 (citing reports in contemporary periodicals and chronicles). The new decorations are also mentioned in the two librettos for Carnival 1738.

These pieces must indeed date from 1738, since we are clearly informed by the already mentioned letters sent from Rome by Ignaz to his father that he spent January and February 1738 in the eternal city and would later travel to Naples. In his letter dated 4 January 1738 at Rome he explicitly mentions the comedies at the Teatro Argentina, without giving their titles, and also reports on the opening opera, *Achille in Sciro*, at the Teatro Alibert.⁴³

The Count apparently brought back from Rome as many as nine soprano arias from this opera: among these were all six of Achille's solo arias, sung by the famous "Gioachino Conti detto Il Ghiziello", as well as his duet with Deidamia, whose role was sung in Rome by Giovanni Tedeschi, another well-known castrato singer.⁴⁴ However, only four of Achille's arias and a duet have survived in Maribor. The manuscripts comprise short scores for voice and basso continuo and parts for two violins and flute. It is indeed a testimony to the Count's personal preferences that he had parts for transverse flute specially arranged from the original parts for voice or first violin.⁴⁵

Count Ignaz Attems was similarly enthusiastic about the other Carnival production at Teatro delle Dame: Niccolò Logroscino's first major opera, *Il Quinto Fabio*, given by the same company of singers with Gizziello in the title role.⁴⁶ He had nine arias from it copied for his per-

43 In the letter erratically styled "teatro liberta", probably through simple mishearing: A-Gla, Familienarchiv Attems, K. 19, H. 87; Rome, 4 January 1738. I discuss this operatic production and the arias surviving in the Attems collection in a separate article entitled *Giuseppe Arena's Achille in Sciro (1738): From Rome to a Styrian Private Household and Finally to the Public Theatre in Graz*, for publication in the forthcoming proceedings of the HERA MusMig conference in Zagreb, *Music Migrations in the Early Modern Age: People, Markets, Patterns, Styles*, Zagreb, 14 October 2014.

44 These arias are: (Achille, I/3) *Involarmi, il mio tesoro?*, (Achille, I/8) *Si Ben mio, farò qual vuoi*, (Licomede, I/13) *Intendo il tuo rossor*, (Deidamia, I/14) *Del sen gli ardori*, (Achille, I/14) *Risponderti vorrei*, (Achille, II/5) *Potria fra tante pene*, (Achille, II/6) *Dille che si consoli*, (duetto, II/4) *Non temer, sai quanto io t'ami*, (Achille, III/6) *Non paventar ben mio*.

45 All the items today preserved in Maribor (nos. 3, 4, 6, 7 and 91) include parts for transverse flute.

46 *QUINTO FABIO* *Dramma per musica da rappresentarsi il carnevale dell'anno 1738 nel Teatro delle Dame nuovamente ristaurato e con pitture abbellito con architettura e disegno del Sig. cavaliere Ferdinando Fuga. Dedicato alla maestà di Giacomo III Re della Gran Bretagna*. Rome 1738.

sonal use, but unfortunately only one has survived – Marco Fabio’s aria from Act I, Scene 4: *Questo che bagna*. This aria is nevertheless interesting, since Ignaz Attems acquired two copies in the hands of different scribes. One was apparently taken directly from the original text, being scored for soprano and two violins and in the key of G major, whereas the other is transposed to D major and contains an additional part for flute.⁴⁷

While in Rome, Ignaz also acquired copies of some delightful pieces from two other operatic productions, both given during the Carnival season at the Teatro Valle. The first was a “divertimento giocoso in musica” by Gaetano Latilla entitled *La serva padrona*,⁴⁸ the second being Rinaldo di Capua’s satirical opera *La comedia in comedia*.⁴⁹ The latter was an outstanding success in its day, and its music became a much sought-after item even beyond the Alps.⁵⁰ Before departing from Rome, the Count made sure to add copies of four pieces by Latilla⁵¹ and one by Rinaldo di Capua to his traveling case.⁵²

After Rome, Ignaz von Attems made a detour from his originally planned itinerary and traveled on to Naples instead of proceeding north to Venice. We do not know exactly how long he stayed there, but it must have been long enough to visit at least two of the local theaters during the summer season of 1738. One of these was the splendid new Teatro San Carlo, and the other the smaller Teatro Fiorentino, reserved for the comic repertory. At the Teatro San Carlo, Ignaz heard the opera *Il Demetrio*, which was in part a pasticcio.⁵³ The

47 Mpa 1 – both versions. See also the facsimile reproduced as Figure 4.

48 FRANCHI, 1997, p. 295.

49 FRANCHI, 1997, p. 294. On the libretto, see note 41. Among the arias brought back from Rome by Count Attems was also one aria from this opera by Rinaldo: *Non così snella, la rondinella* (Act II, Scene 8). Today, the aria is lost, but was listed in the Countess’s inventory as no. 7.

50 See note 70.

51 Only one, a duet, is preserved (Mpa 92); however, another three are listed in the Countess’s inventory (nos. 3, 16 and 21).

52 See note 49.

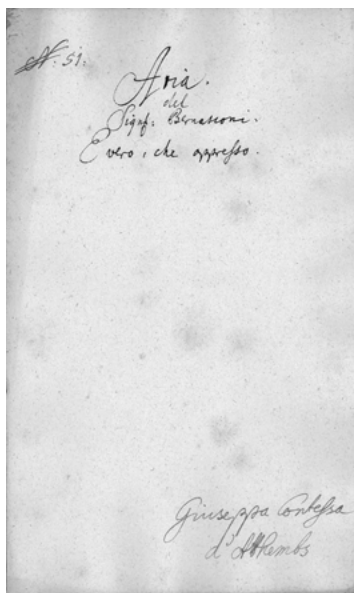
53 *IL DEMETRIO Drama per musica dell’abate Pietro Metastasio da rappresentarsi in questo nuovo famoso real Teatro di S. Carlo nella età di quest’anno 1738*. SARTORI, 1990, no. 7362. “Musica del 1° atto e delle arie del 2° e 3° con + di Leonardo Leo, vice maestro della R. capp. Musica dell’atto 2° di diversi autori. Musica del 3° atto di Riccardo Broschi”. An example of the libretto in I-Mb, is freely available online (<http://www.urfm.braidense.it/rd/02160.pdf>). See Mpa 2 and Mpa 90.

libretto informs us that the first act plus the two arias in Acts II and III indicated by asterisks are by Leonardo Leo, the music of Act II by various (unnamed) composers, and the third act by Riccardo Broschi. The four arias of which our Count obtained copies were all by Leo.⁵⁴ Unfortunately only one has survived, as is also the case with the music from *Il conte*, likewise by Leo, of which the Attems collection preserves only the aria *Risolver non poss'io*.⁵⁵

The other preserved arias listed in the Countess's inventory are not as easily classifiable as those of southern Italian origin. Only a handful of composers are named for them either in the inventory or on the music itself (see Appendix). At least seven different hands can be traced on various papers exhibiting six different watermarks. Their sole common feature is that they all display the name "Giuseppa Contessa d'Attems".

Figures 5a and 5b:

Title page and page 1 of Andrea Bernasconi's aria *È vero, che oppresso la sorte* from the opera *Adriano in Siria* (Mpa 30; by kind permission).



54 Mpa 2 and nos. 2, 10 and 19 in the Countess's inventory.

55 Mpa 5.

The most intriguing fact about the remaining arias is the presence of a surprisingly large group of as many as twelve attributed or attributable to Andrea Bernasconi,⁵⁶ a composer born in 1706 and generally identified in his earliest operatic works (from 1737 and 1743-1753) as Milanese. Between 1744 and 1753, Bernasconi was *maestro di coro* at the Ospedale della Pietà in Venice, and from 1753 a well-paid and fashionable *Kapellmeister* in Munich, where he remained until his death in 1784. Since the arias in the Attems collection date from before 1744, Bernasconi's early musical career becomes of special interest; unfortunately, little is known about this period of his life so far.⁵⁷ According to musicological literature, his earliest known operas were staged between 1737 and 1744 in Vienna, Venice, Padua, Lucca and Rome.

Arias by Andrea Bernasconi in the Attems collection:

Mpa

16. ***Oh Dio! mancar mi sento*** (Metastasio: *Adriano in Siria*)
22. *Se non ti moro allato* (Metastasio: *Adriano in Siria*)
25. ***Ch'io mai vi possa***
27. ***Parto, se vuoi così***
28. ***Numi, se giusti siete*** (Metastasio: *Adriano in Siria*)
30. ***È vero, che oppresso la sorte*** (Metastasio: *Adriano in Siria*)
39. *Il mio caro e dolce amore*
42. *Amor mio, la cruda sorte* (*Il giorno felice*, Vienna 1737)
47. *Ah! Che s'avessi il seno*
52. *La raggion, gli affetti* (Metastasio: *Adriano in Siria*)
55. *Digli, ch'è un infedele* (Metastasio: *Adriano in Siria*)*
68. *Dice che t'è fedele* (Metastasio: *Il Demetrio*)*

Among the arias attributable to Bernasconi, his name appears on five of the musical manuscripts (those with emboldened titles in the list above); his authorship of the remainder has been established mainly through matching with RISM incipits and identifications. The two asterisked attributions are not secure, being based solely on textual concordance. The aria *Dice che t'è fedele* is problematic, since the copyist of the music specified the act, scene and role as “Atto 2^{do}; Scena 4^a; Mitrane”, a descrip-

56 On Bernasconi, see the article by MÜNSTER/CORNEILSON, 2012.

57 The most recent and exhaustive account is the section “Andrea Bernasconi – Leben und Werk bis 1753” in SADGORSKI, 2010, pp. 47-51.

tion fitting the libretto for *Il Demetrio*⁵⁸ – but no such opera by Bernasconi is known to have been written before 1772. Other attributions are similarly puzzling. As many as six arias preserved in this collection – assembled up to the year 1744 – use Metastasio’s aria texts for his *Adriano in Siria*, but Bernasconi’s known setting of *Adriano in Siria* was only 1755 in Munich, over ten years later than the *terminus ad quem* of the Attems collection’s compilation!

It would appear that the only entirely plausible identification is that for Bernasconi’s aria *Amor mio, la cruda sorte*, which comes from the Viennese production of *Il giorno felice* at the Kärntnertortheater, which opened on 5 February 1737.⁵⁹ *Il giorno felice* was a pasticcio opera based on Vivaldi’s *La fida ninfa*, or at least on its libretto. Since Bernasconi had his own opera *Flavio Anicio Olibrio* staged in Vienna during the Carnival season of 1737, his authorship of an individual aria for the Kärntnertortheater is conceivable. I would go even further and speculate on a possible Viennese provenance for the other Bernasconi arias in the Attems collection, since both Josepha and her husband were rather intimately connected to Viennese cultural life. Of course, the music could equally well have reached Graz via a third party, a musician or an impresario, only later being copied for the Countess.⁶⁰

58 The aria is a textual match with the libretto for the Naples production of *Il Demetrio* in 1738, known to Count Ignaz (see earlier, note 53) and also fits the librettos for the productions of *Il Demetrio* in Graz and Ljubljana in 1742 under Pietro Mingotti (MÜLLER VON ASOW, 1917, pp. LXXIX–LXXXI, and KOKOLE, 2012b, pp. 75, 77 and 85; or KOKOLE, 2013, pp. 153, 155 and 163). So far, however, I have been unable to establish a connection between these productions and the manuscript Mpa 68; nor can Bernasconi’s music be securely linked to the setting heard in Graz or Ljubljana, since in the Hamburg production of 1744 under Mingotti the same aria text was apparently set to music by Paolo Scalabrini. Similarly, I have not yet been able to compare the music for the 1744 score allegedly by Scalabrini with Mpa 68, attributed to Bernasconi. One must remain aware that attributions to composers in the scores of pasticcio operas are not always reliable.

59 See RISM-ID no. 450059470 and the attached comments.

60 The surviving documentation on the operatic repertoire produced in Vienna in the late 1730s and early 1740s does indeed show some striking similarities to the productions organized for the Estates Theater (*Ständisches Theater*) in Graz from 1736 to 1745 under the management of the impresarios Angelo and Pietro Mingotti. Although the connection of the Mingottis with

In view of the absence of detailed documentation for Bernasconi's years before 1744 and the large number of arias by him conforming to the libretto of *Adriano in Siria*, I venture the hypothesis of an earlier setting by him of this opera. This would, of course, imply that the well-documented production of 1755 in Munich was in fact only a revival or else another setting. There was indeed an anonymous *Adriano in Siria* staged at the Imperial Theater in Vienna in 1743,⁶¹ as were others prior to that date. Of some relevance could be a further *Adriano in Siria* for which the composer – or, rather, composers – are not indicated: this was produced in Ferrara during the 1741 Carnival season.⁶² Both Vienna and northern Italy were relevant to the operations of Graz impresarios during the years important for the present discussion.

In any case, it should be mentioned that ten out of the twelve arias by Bernasconi – seven of them linked to the *Adriano in Siria* texts – were

Vienna has not yet been securely established, it would seem that they at least had very good contacts there. I have been kindly provided with information on operatic productions in Vienna by Dr Andrea Sommer-Mathis, who shared with me information gathered during the “work-in-progress” stage of a database, for which I am deeply indebted to her. On the activity of the Mingottis in Graz, see MÜLLER VON ASOW, 1917; and for a wider perspective of the Mingottis' activities in the Inner-Austrian provinces, see also KOKOLE, 2005, KOKOLE, 2012b or KOKOLE, 2013.

- 61 SARTORI, 1990, no. 386, and especially the following information from Andrea Sommer-Mathis's database: “Hadrianus in Syrien: musicalische Opera, aufgeführt auf dem von Ihro zu Hungarn und Böhheim Königl. Majestät Privilegirten Theatro in Wien. 1743, übers.von Joh. Leopold v. Ghelen. Wien, J. P. v. Ghelen, 1743.” It would undoubtedly be worth cross-checking the aria texts with the Attems scores.
- 62 SARTORI, 1990, no. 385. It is interesting that two of the singers for that production were at some point also engaged by the Mingotti brothers: Filippo Finazzi by Pietro Mingotti from 1743 to 1744 (for Linz, Hamburg, Prague and Leipzig) and Carlina Valvasori by Angelo Mingotti for the 1740 Carnival production in Ljubljana. On Finazzi, see MÜLLER VON ASOW, 1917, p. CCIV (and references in the *Anhang* II); for Valvasori, see KOKOLE, 2012b, p. 67. It is interesting to note that one of the arias headed with Bernasconi's name and linked to his *Adriano in Siria* (Mpa 28, *Numi, se giusti siete*) in the Attems collection is attributed in Pietro Mingotti's production of *La finta cameriera* (Act II, Scene 7) for Hamburg in 1745 to the same Filippo Finazzi (the music is identical). See MÜLLER VON ASOW, 1917, pp. CCXII and XCVI.

most likely copied locally, possibly in Graz itself, by the same scribe.⁶³ For seven of them (Mpa 22, 25, 27, 28, 30, 39 and 42) the scribe used paper from the Seisenberg paper mill in Carniola (its watermark featuring the coat of arms of the Seisenberg mill, with the letters FAK as the countermark); he also wrapped the music – using the folders designed to indicate the number in the collection, the aria’s title, in some cases also the composer and Countess Josepha’s name (see Figure 5a) – in another kind of paper widely used locally (with a leaping stag as the watermark and the letters MIH as the countermark).⁶⁴ Another three Bernasconi arias were copied by the same scribe on a different locally used paper (with St Vitus in a cauldron of boiling oil enclosed by a pair of antlers as the watermark and the letters ZA as the countermark), this time without the use of separate folders (nos. 47, 52 and 55).

These arias all belong to a larger group of thirty-four manuscripts (Mpa 43-76) in the hand of the same copyist (I shall call him Scribe 1) employing two kinds of locally produced and/or used papers of Styrian and Carniolan origin, as described above. This group can be considered as forming the core repertoire of the Countess’s aria collection. Leaving aside Andrea Bernasconi, the composers so far identified include Hasse (with eight arias), Lampugnani, Vinci and Porta (with one apiece). It is impossible to ascertain why these particular arias, including the ones by Bernasconi, were copied locally at the present stage of research.

However, one pointer, as hinted earlier, could well be the flourishing operatic life during the period 1736-1743 in Graz, where the two Venetian impresarios, the brothers Angelo and Pietro Mingotti, settled with their companies in 1736 and also erected a permanent theater. We have already learnt that both the Count and his wife were great devotees of opera, so they would surely not have neglected this kind of entertainment so close to home, especially since the Attems family had become one of the richest in the town by then, Ignaz’s father being one of the leading members of the provincial estates, the patrons of Mingotti’s theater. Although no documents have as yet surfaced to confirm Ignaz’s personal involvement with this local theater, it is perhaps telling that his eldest son

63 Only two arias identified as being by Bernasconi do not belong to this larger group; both are copied on a variety of Venetian papers with three crescents in the watermark.

64 Paper with a stag in the watermark also appears in some of the printed librettos for operatic productions in Graz during the period around 1740.

Ferdinand, later elected provincial governor, took over the direction of the Graz opera theater in 1784, while the latter's son, Count Ignaz Maria III, was involved in the building of a theater to replace it in the early nineteenth century.⁶⁵

How closely Ferdinand's parents were actively involved in the operatic life of Graz in their own time awaits investigation, as pointed out above. Precise documentation on the Mingotti *impresa* in Graz is scarce. In view of the complete absence of unequivocal related musical sources, the best available evidence at present comes from preserved librettos, which alone provide a solid basis for further deductions.

Nevertheless, even a cursory glance at the titles of the arias in the Attems collection and at those documented in opera librettos for the various productions overseen by the Mingotti brothers in Graz and Ljubljana, as well as for other productions following on immediately from their joint venture in Graz (in Linz, Hamburg, Leipzig and Dresden)⁶⁶ reveals a remarkable fact: no fewer than seventeen out of thirty-four arias occur in both repertoires. An instructive example is the aria *No, non vedrete mai*. Its text was written by Pietro Metastasio for the opera *Ciro riconosciuto*. The composer of Mpa 33 (copied by Scribe 1) is not identified; the aria is scored for soprano, two violins and basso continuo. The same text occurs also in the libretto for the 1740 production in Graz of *Amor, odio e pentimento* as well as the Graz 1743 libretto for *Semiramide*. Strangely, in the libretto for *Amor, odio e pentimento* one encounters further arias with matches in the Attems collection: for example, the aria *Risponderti vorrei*, composed by Giuseppe Arena in 1738 for his *Achille in Sciro* (Mpa 3).

A close look at the librettos for the operatic productions in Graz in the two years following Count Attems's return from Italy (i.e., 1739 and 1740) uncovers an even more astonishing fact: as many as ten arias written variously by Latilla, Leo, Logroscino and Arena – the same as those brought back to Graz by Count Attems – may have been used in the pasticcio operas mounted by Pietro Mingotti. I hardly believe this to be a coincidence.

Any comparison based solely on textual factors is, however, potentially misleading, since the same text may well have been set by any

65 On Ferdinand Attems, see ILWOF, 1897, p. 27, and FEDERHOFER/SCHMEISER, 1971, p. 80; on his son, see SUPPAN, 2009, pp. 18f.

66 MÜLLER VON ASOW, 1917. For the productions in Ljubljana, see KOKOLE, 2012b or KOKOLE, 2013.

number of composers.⁶⁷ A case in point taken from the Attems collection itself (and belonging in both cases to the section copied by the local Scribe 1) is *Non vi piacquè, ingiusti Dei*. There are two settings of this aria in our collection, both for soprano, two violins, viola and basso continuo. One has been identified as that of Hasse's *Siroe* of 1733 (Mpa 31); the other as that of Vinci's *Siroe* of 1736 (Mpa 43). The text itself appears in two librettos associated with Mingotti productions: that for the 1738 production of *La verità nell'inganno* in Graz and that for the 1746 production of *Lucio Vero* in Hamburg. These examples cause us to wonder whether the arias of the Attems collection sourced and copied locally originated mainly from the complex transmission tradition of pasticcio operas.

We may even speculate on some kind of special association between the opera producers in Graz and the opera-loving Attems couple. Perhaps they shared a common taste, or even exchanged music materials for further use, so that some of the pieces pleasing to the ears of Countess Josepha when she heard them in the Graz theater were subsequently copied for her own personal use. Further research into the Attems family archives will perhaps one day provide us with some answers, but at present this explanation must remain a mere hypothesis.

The third, larger group of arias that were possibly copied locally and which may likewise be connected with the Mingotti opera company is written on a variety of Venetian paper with three crescents in the watermark and a bow traversed by an arrow as the countermark. These copies were written by a scribe who could either be an 'Italianized' German musician or an Italian working in a German-speaking milieu. The handwriting is indeed the same as, or at least very close to, one encountered in some of the copies attributed to Graz musicians working during the mid-eighteenth century.⁶⁸

67 Two cases of conflicting attribution have been discussed earlier in notes 58 and 62.

68 The handwriting seems very close to the one attributed to a local violinist and composer of Italian origin in Graz, Antonio Sgattberoni, who was the composer of some instrumental pieces possibly once belonging to a member of the same Attems family, such as Ignaz's uncle resident at Dornava castle; today, these manuscripts are held by the public library at Ptuj: SI-Pk, Domoznanski oddelek, inv. št. 9, 11, 29, 51, 56, 154 and 157. See also the literature cited earlier in note 24.

This group consists of 14 arias listed in the final part of the Countess's inventory (original numbers 77, 78, 80-88, 91, 93 and 95).⁶⁹ The repertoire – judging from the identified composers – Johann Adolf Hasse, Leonardo Leo and Leonardo Vinci – could indeed have been copied in Graz or else brought from Vienna or some other musical center visited by the young Count Ignaz Attems after returning from his Grand Tour and where he had maintained good connections. Such cities undoubtedly included at least Vienna and Prague. The Count is even known to have been involved in the import of Italian music to serve the needs of Czech aristocrats.⁷⁰

Other papers and handwritings appear in smaller quantities. The paper used for these copies is mostly either Venetian (featuring different varieties of three crescents paper) or Austrian, from various Styrian paper mills. Some smaller groups of arias could well have been brought back

69 Mpa 56, 58, 60-67, 70, 72, 74, 75, 77, 87 and 89; the last two pieces do not appear in the original inventory.

70 He had, for example, been in touch with Count Johann Adam von Questenberg's *Hofmeister* Hoffmann in 1739, and was even acting as an intermediary for the acquisition of some music manuscripts. He was asked through Hoffmann to obtain music from the opera *La comedia in comedia* by Rinaldo di Capua (well known to Count Attems from the Roman premiere at Carnival 1738; see earlier, and also note 49) and Giovanni Battista Pergolesi's *La Salustia* (Naples 1732). See the letters by Hoffmann to Questenberg in the Moravian Provincial Archive, Fund G 436, carton 748, Inv. no. 6133. I am citing here the two letters concerning Count Attems by kind permission of Jana Perutková, to whom I am indebted for this information. Letter of 24 March 1739: "[...] Der junge Graf Athimis empfehlet sich Ewer Excellenz, zur nachricht dienend, er hatte schon in antworth bekommen, daß die opera La comoedia in comoedia genannt den 7. hujus seÿe angefangen worden zu copieren, und die Salustia, weilen ohne deme ein guter freund Mr. Henighen haushoffmeistern von Gr: Harrach nach Neapel gereist, will dieser allda auch copieren lassen, und nachdeme dem 2.te oster-feuertag ein gelegenheit von Rom anhero kommen solle, so hoffet H: Gr: Athimis beedes zu erhalten. [...]" and the letter of 17 October 1739: "[...] der junge graf Atthymis aber, so wieder in Passauer Hoff logiert, empfehlet sich Ewer Excellenz, zugleich andienend, wie dass er glaube, die eine opera [= probably *La commedia in comedia*] seÿe schon auf den weeg, allein die Salustia könnte er nicht bekommen, ohngeachtet einer seiner guten freunden von Rom nach Neapolis gereÿst, solche allda selbst zu sollicitieren [...]" See PERUTKOVÁ, 2015.



Figure 6:

The first page of the aria *Se viver non poss'io* (Mpa 65; by kind permission).

home by the Count from his numerous travels in Europe, or else were acquired from acquaintances, such as is probably the case with at least the aria *Dal sen del caro sposo* by Rinaldo di Capua (Mpa 8), composed in 1739 for the production in Rome of his *Vologeso, re de' Parti*. The manuscript copy of this aria was sent to Count Attems attached to a letter – probably in 1739, following its success on the Roman stage.

Whatever the case may be, the Attems collection of arias and its history provides a good illustration of some of the many possible ways in which musical repertoire could travel from one theater to another through personal initiative, as well as from public theaters to the sphere of private music-making, as exemplified by the Attems household in Graz (and also Slovenska Bistrica) during the mid-eighteenth century.

Appendix

The list of extant musical items belonging to the Attems collection from Slovenska Bistrica

Square brackets denote editorial identifications (as of November 2014).

Mpa no.	ARIAS – textual incipits	COMPOSER and OPERA
1	Questo che bagna	LOGROSCINO, Nicola Bonifacio <i>Il Quinto Fabio</i> , Rome, 1738
2	Scherza il nocchier talora	LEO, Leonardo [<i>Il Demetrio</i>], Naples, 1738
3	Risponderti vorrei	ARENA, Giuseppe <i>Achille in Sciro</i> , Rome, 1738
4	Potria frà tante pene	ARENA, Giuseppe <i>Achille in Sciro</i> , Rome, 1738
5	Risolver no[n] poss'io	LEO, Leonardo <i>Il conte</i> , Naples, 1738
6	Dille che si consoli	ARENA, Giuseppe <i>Achille in Sciro</i> , Rome, 1738
7	Non paventar, ben mio	ARENA, Giuseppe <i>Achille in Sciro</i> , Rome, 1738
8	Dal sen del caro sposo	[RINALDO DI CAPUA] [<i>Vologeso, re de' Parti</i>], Rome, 1739
9	Amo, sospiro, e peno	LAMPUGNANI, [Giovanni] Battista
10	Parto, se vuoi così	[HASSE, Johann Adolf] [<i>Issipile</i> , Rome, 1732] = RISM ID no.: 852022219 etc.
11	Cara, t'inganna	JOMMELLI, Niccolò
12	Amo te solo	HASSE, Johann Adolf (= Adolfo Sassone) [<i>La clemenza di Tito</i> , i.e., <i>Tito Vespasiano</i> , Pesaro, 1735] = RISM ID no.: 270000660 etc.

13	Tu m'offendi	[VINCI, Leonardo] [Flavio Anicio Olibrio, Naples, 1728] = transposition of RISM ID no.: 852028214 and 000140522
14	Spero per la germana	[GIACOMELLI, Geminiano] [music of the aria "Sposa non mi conosci" in <i>Merope</i> , Venice, 1734] = score; identified by R. Strohman
15	Amor, dover, affetto	[GIACOMELLI, Geminiano] [music of the aria "Amor dover rispetto" in <i>Merope</i> , Venice, 1734] = score; identified by R. Strohman
16	Oh Dio! mancar mi sento	BERNASCONI, Andrea [Metastasio: <i>Adriano in Siria</i> ; not in Munich, 1755] = RISM ID no.: 703001893 and 200021411 (text only)
17	Speranza foriera	GIACOMELLI, Geminiano [<i>Scipione in Cartagine Nuova</i> , Parma, 1728] = score
18	Mio ben, ricordati	HASSE, Johann Adolf (= Adolfo Sassone) [? <i>Alessandro nelle Indie</i> , Venice, 1736]
19	La destra ti chiedo (duetto)	
20	Arse ormai	CIOCCHETTI, [Pietro Vincenzi]
21	Mi vuoi tradir, il sento	[VINCI, Leonardo] [<i>Ernelinda</i> , Naples, 1726] = score
22	Se non ti moro allato	[BERNASCONI, Andrea] [Metastasio: <i>Adriano in Siria</i> ; different to Munich, 1755] = transposition of RISM ID no.: 451002381,000110978 and 000101180
23	Madre diletta, abbracciami	[PORTA, Giovanni] = RISM ID no.: 150204742 [<i>Ifigenia in Aulide</i> , Munich, 1738]

24	Deh, deh, deh se piacer	HASSE, Johann Adolf (= Sassone) [<i>Tito Vespasiano</i> , Pesaro, 1735] = RISM ID no.: 451500558, 000122520, 703001519, and 452011892 (one of the versions of this aria written for F. Bordoni)
25	Ch'io mai vi possa	BERNASCONI, Andrea
26	Quanto mai felici siete	LAMPUGNANI, Giovanni Battista [<i>Ezio</i> , Venice, 1737 and 1743] – identi- fied by R. Strohm
27	Parto, se vuoi così	BERNASCONI, Andrea
28	Numi, se giusti siete	BERNASCONI, Andrea [Metastasio: <i>Adriano in Siria</i> , Munich, 1755] = RISM ID no.: 702002522 et al.
29	Son sventurato	[Metastasio: <i>Adriano in Siria</i>]
30	È vero, che oppresso	BERNASCONI, Andrea [Metastasio: <i>Adriano in Siria</i> , differ- ent to Munich, 1755] = RISM ID no.: 851000191 and 840001029
31	Non vi piacque, ingiusti Dei	[HASSE, Johann Adolf] [<i>Siroe, re di Persia</i> , Bologna, 1733] = RISM many variants
32	Sù gl'occhi miei dolenti	
33	Nò, non vedrete	
34	Almen, se non poss'io	
35	Se tu mi vuoi felice	HASSE, Johann Adolf (= Sassone) [<i>Siroe, re di Persia</i> , Bologna, 1733] = RISM ID no.: 700001642 et al.
36	Che legge spietata	HASSE, Johann Adolf (= Sassone) [<i>Catone in Utica</i> , Turin, 1731] = RISM ID no.: 703001994 et al.
37	Pensa a serbarmi, ò cara	= RISM ID no.: 456011368 (<i>Ezio</i>)
38	Bell'alme fortunate	
39	Il mio caro e dolce amore	[BERNASCONI, Andrea] = RISM ID no.: 550018292 (sacred contrafactum)

40	Già presso al termine	HASSE, Johann Adolf (= Sassone)
41	Alla fida sua costanza	=RISM ID no.: 806930383; Carlo Arrigoni in RISM ID no.: 000101152 (transposed)
42	Amor mio, la cruda sorte	[BERNASCONI, Andrea] [<i>Il giorno felice</i> , Vienna, 1737] = RISM ID no.: 450059470
43	Non vi piacque, ingiusti Dèi	[VINCI, Leonardo] [<i>Siroe, re di Persia</i> , Venice, 1726] = score; transposed also in RISM ID no.: 850011608
44	Parto, mà tu, ben mio, ritorna	[HASSE, Johann Adolf (= Sassone)] [<i>La clemenza di Tito</i> , i.e., <i>Tito Vespasiano</i> , Pesaro, 1735] = RISM ID no.: 270000660 etc.
45	Non so frenare il pianto	= RISM ID no.: 452017151 (in a collection dated 1740)
46	Fissa ne' sguardi	[HASSE, Johann Adolf (= Sassone)] [<i>L'Ulderica</i> , Naples, 1729] = RISM ID no.: 451500501 etc.
47	Ah! Che s'avessi il seno	[BERNASCONI, Andrea] = RISM ID no.: 550018291
48	Se m'accosto bel ruscello	? [HASSE, Johann Adolf (= Sassone)] text "Se m'accosto al bel' ruscello" from <i>Il Sesostrate</i> , Naples, 1726 – identified by R. Strohm
49	Quel folle nocchierò	
50	Meco perche s'ingrata	
51	Di questo cor fedele	
52	La raggion, gl'affetti	[BERNASCONI, Andrea] [Metastasio: <i>Adriano in Siria</i> ; not in Munich, 1755] = RISM ID no.: 851000189, 702002517 and 212008218; cf. also 806351387
53	Il Ciel mi vuole oppresso	
54	Basta talora un' sguardo	

55	Digli, ch'è un infedele	[BERNASCONI, Andrea] [Metastasio: <i>Adriano in Siria</i> , different to Munich, 1755] = RISM ID no.: 200021404 (text only)
56	Per così dolce amplesso	VINCI, [Leonardo]
57	Perder l'amato bene	[VINCI, Leonardo] = RISM ID no.: 212008254 (transposition)
58	Non vi dolga, ò piagge amene	HASSE, Johann Adolf (= Sassone) [<i>Asteria</i> , Dresden, 1737] = RISM ID no.: 190015001 et al.
59	Se la sorte mia tiranna	
60	Chi mai non vidde uniti	
51	Un lampo di speranza	
62	Dirti di più non posso	
63	Se a me sola fosse dato	
64	Non odo gli accenti	
65	Se viver non poss'io	
66	Dirti, ben mio, vorrei	[LEO, Leonardo] [<i>Alessandro in Persia</i> , London, 1741 – pasticcio] = RISM ID no.: 211005238 and 850032591
67	Se sciogliere non vuoi delle catene	[VINCI, Leonardo] [<i>Catone in Utica</i> , Naples, 1729] = score
68	Dice che t'è fedele	? [BERNASCONI, Andrea] [<i>Il Demetrio</i>], “Mitrane atto 2do, scena 4ta” = very close to RISM ID no.: 456008430
69	Voglio sperare, che'l nume arciero	
70	Grazie a l'inganni tuoi (canzonetta)	
71	Voglio sperare, che'l Nume arciero	
72	Grazie agl'inganni tuoi (canzonetta)	

73	Per pietà, voi, che vedete	
74	Grazie à gl'inganni tuoi (canzonetta)	
75	CANTATA – Perdona, ò cara amorosetta [Mira là quell'angue (Aria); Dunque se il Ciel dispose (Recit.); Vorrei potervi amare (Aria)]	
76	Quando sperava un dì	= Contrafactum <i>Veni o Jesu amor</i> , RISM ID no.: 551000832
77	Che bel diletto	[HASSE, Johann Adolf (= Sassone)] = RISM ID no.: 852024115 (transposi- tion)
78	Io son qual pellegrino	[TERRADELLAS, Domingo] [<i>Artaserse</i> , Venice, 1744] = RISM ID no.: 450059318
79	Passaggier che su la sponda	
80	Sono innocente	
81	Se la tua fè mi rendi	
82	Vedi se grato io sono	[HASSE, Johann Adolf] [<i>Euristeo</i> , Venice, 1732] = RISM ID no.: 270000652 (transposition)
83	Vengo à darti, anima bella	[GIACOMELLI, Geminiano] [<i>Lucio Papirio dittatore</i> , Parma, 1729] = RISM ID no.: 703002271 and 190011430
84	Quanto mai felici siete	
85	Ch'io mai vi possa lasciar	[GLUCK, Christoph Willibald] [<i>La finta schiava</i> , Venice, 1744] = RISM ID no.: 400110572 and 400110700
86	Vorrei del caro bene	
87	Allegri sù bevemo (canzo- netta)	
88	Pietà d'un core	

89	Aure lievi che spirate	
90	Se libera non sono	Only parts for vl1 and vl2 survive; probably belonging to an aria originally numbered 10 [LEO, Leonardo] [? <i>Il Demetrio</i> , Naples, 1738] = see libretto
91	Non temer sai quanto io t'amo (duetto)	ARENA, Giuseppe <i>Achille in Sciro</i> , III/4, Rome, 1738
92	Quando senti la campana (duetto)	LATILLA, Gaetano <i>La Serva Padrona</i> , II/13, Rome, 1738
93	<i>Ouverture con VV e Viola</i>	HASSE, Johann Adolf [<i>Asteria</i> , Dresden, 1737]
94	<i>Concerto</i> (vl1, vl2, vla, tr1, tr2, cor1, cor2, ob1, ob2, b)	[CORDOBA Y LANTE, Alejandro Fernandez de] “Del Ecc.mo Sig.r Duca di S.to Gemini”
95	<i>Concerto</i> (vl1, vl2, vla, cor1, cor2, ob1, ob2, b)	[CORDOBA Y LANTE, Alejandro Fernandez de] “Del Ecc.mo Sig.r Duca di S. Gemini”
96	<i>Sonatina</i> (fl, vlc)	
97	<i>Sonata</i> (fl, vlc)	SARRI, Domenico
98	<i>Sonata</i> (fl, b)	S. MARTINO, Giuseppe (SAMMARTINI)
99	<i>Sonata</i> (fl. vlc)	
100	<i>Partita à 5 voci</i> (vl1, vl2, cor1, cor2, cemb)	
101	[no title] (vl1, vl2, vla)	
102	<i>Amen</i> (S)	

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