

A case of *damnatio personae*

Andrea Luchesi, and his role in the birth

of Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven myths

(Giorgio Taboga)

I would like to thank the Department of Mathematics of the University of Bergamo, and especially professor Emilio Spedicato, who asked me to give a lecture on Andrea Luchesi. This allows me to reveal some falsities and reticences which hinder this musician's right appraisal and the understanding of his role in the birth of Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven's myths. Already in 1806, abbot Giannantonio Moschini described him as *the well-known Luchesi della Motta, then music master at the Cologne Elector's court (in Bonn), where he richly married and where he enjoyed every privilege.*¹ Although his name can be found on the head of the chapel in twenty Cologne court calendars, and his contacts with the three mythical figures are supported by documentary evidence, his name was expunged from their biographies. It is therefore only right to talk of *erased genius*, and not *misunderstood*, as the German musicologists have always been aware that his reappearance would cancel the myths built around the great self-taught people of the "*Wiener Klassik*".

About *Riccati*, I must point out that among the 18th century mathematicians we can find four members of the count family *Riccati* from Castelfranco Veneto: count Jacopo and three sons of his: Vincenzo, Giordano and Francesco. Jacopo owes his celebrity to the differential equation of second degree carrying his name. In his research on the Riccati brothers, my friend professor Giorgio Tomaso Bagni recollects an application made by the group of via Panisperna (Panisperna Street), witnessed by the physicist Edoardo Amaldi:

"Ettore Majorana drew a small piece of paper out of his pocket It was a schedule that he had calculated in the last 24 hours turning the Thomas-Fermi's non linear equation of second degree, following Segre's recollection, into a Riccati's equation, that he had then numerically integrated".

Jacopo initiated his son Giordano (1709-1790) into mathematics. Giordano had a didactic and artistic relationship with Andrea Luchesi. Vincenzo, a Jesuit, was compared for his importance to Euler, Leibnitz and Daniel Bernouilli. He was considered as the best Italian mathematician of his time; Francesco stood out in the field of architecture.

Once achieved his studies in Padua with the mathematician Ramiro Rampinelli, Giordano graduates in law in 1733. Meanwhile he attends marchese Giovanni Poleni's lessons on hydraulics; he is interested in literature, philosophy, theology, physics (he'll become the best acoustic physicist of his time), architecture and musical theory. With Vincenzo, he studies the logarithms of the negative numbers, the isoperimeters and the resolution of the Cardano's equation of third degree. Now his success in the physical-mathematical

field has overshadowed other aspects of his activity as a man of science and culture. In December 1992 I wrote "*Giordano Riccati un teorico musicale trevigiano dimenticato*" ("Giordano Riccati, a forgotten music theorist from Treviso")² to remind his contributions to the science of music in the sphere of the "*physical-mathematical harmonists*" school, which was so flourishing during the 18th century in Padua. The innovative "Paduan school" involved musicians and mathematicians, among whom there were some Friar Minors, such as the Venetian Francesco Antonio Calegari (he was the founder of the school, and anticipated Rameau) and the Piedmontese Francesco Antonio Vallotti (the encoder of the theory of the dissonance); then there were the Bohemian Bohuslav Cernohorsky and his pupil Giuseppe Tartini, the count Giordano Riccati and several musicians. Among them we can find St. Mark's master Giuseppe Saratelli, Andrea Luchesi (Beethoven's and Antonin Reicha's teacher) and abbot Joseph Georg Vogler (Weber's and Meyerbeer's teacher). Giordano Riccati, with his "**Saggio sulle leggi del contrappunto**" (1762) ("Essay on the counterpoint laws") published Vallotti's system aiming to "**demonstrate, against the opinion of the modern mathematicians, that music is not just a sentimental art or an art of pure practice, but that it is a real mathematical science**". Only in 1779 Vallotti published the first of four planned volumes; two more tomes were published in 1950, but they didn't reflect his thought. Riccati attended to Vallotti's theory application through the teaching activity and the careful correction of the works done by several musicians addressing to him for suggestions and judgements. Riccati entrusted Luchesi to Vallotti. Until he left for Bonn, in 1771, Luchesi kept in touch with both; seven letters sent to the count between 1764 and 1770 witness this relationship. On 9 January 1764 Luchesi gives back to Vallotti his basses and he writes to him:

*(...) poi vi è una fuga a quattro che io feci la quale avrei piacere che fosse corretta da Lei e mi dicesse il suo sentimento. Mi presi l'ardire di scriverle confidato dalla sua innata bontà.**

After a short time he writes another letter, with no indication of date:

*Dalla sua pregiatissima lettera intesi una favorevole decisione intorno alla mia fuga; non mancherò per l'avvenire di approfittarmi sempre più e di mettere in pratica le cognizioni che Vostra Signoria si è degnato di comunicarmi a Castel Franco. Mi sono preso il coraggio di rassegnarle i bassi del Saratelli avendoli per mio divertimento copiati egualmente con la fuga. Attendo con piacere i soggetti del Padre Minore Vallotti che lei si esibisce di spedirmi.***

In a letter dated 17 February, Luchesi shows to be enthusiast about three of Vallotti's works, that the count had sent to him for a judgement;³ Luchesi is ready to adopt the new method of composition:

*Ricevei con sommo piacere la sua gentilissima lettera con tre soggetti del P. M. Vallotti. Io non mi sazio di sempre guardarli e riguardarli per sempre più intendere l'artificio e il lavoro, qui con una unità costante scorgo modulare nei suoi suoni accessori senza aggiungere inutili riempiture, qui scorgo un maneggio di rivolti e di dissonanze disposto con tanta arte che pare ch'ognuno potrebbe fare lo stesso, ma qui è anzi dove consiste l'arte maggiore. Insomma da questi io spero d'imparare molto; mi dispiacerebbe che Lei avendomi lusingato il palato col spedirmeli mi lasciasse senza spedirmi altre cose preziose per saziar il mio appetito. Questa Fiera di Padova, ho d'andare a suonare il cembalo nel Teatro Nuovo, con questa occasione, (benché sia poco tempo), farò in tal maniera da prendere lezione dal P. M. Vallotti e forse anche per mezzo di V. S. Illustrissima.****

The news concerned the origin of the diatonic scale and the turnings of the ninth, twelfth and thirteenth chords. For the details, I refer the reader to Patrizio Barbieri's study on "Padre Martini e gli armonisti fisico-

matematici" ("Father Martini and the physical-mathematical harmonists")⁴. I only briefly mention Vallotti's disappointment because Riccati had spread his system without his agreement, and the theoretical differences of opinion between Riccati and Tartini, that the count treated with respect despite his obvious lack of mathematical knowledge. This is what G. T. Bagni⁵ writes about the value of Riccati as an example of ability and seriousness for Luchesi:

*La concezione che Giordano Riccati ha dell'architettura è facilmente confrontabile con quella che lo studioso chiaramente manifesta nei confronti della musica: la matematica, e più in generale l'approccio razionale, non possono essere esclusi dall'impegno culturale umano, in ogni disciplina, in ogni fase di elaborazione di un'opera. Anzi la ragione umana, coltivata ed educata attraverso lo studio e la pratica delle scienze esatte, viene ad essere la traccia, la guida sicura, il sostegno nella corretta concezione e realizzazione dell'opera d'arte. Da questo punto di vista lo studio delle leggi del contrappunto o l'uso della media armonica nel tentativo di immaginare e progettare una costruzione dalle proporzioni ideali sono espressioni della medesima volontà di raggiungere e codificare il controllo, da parte della ragione dell'emozione che da sempre giunge all'uomo attraverso il messaggio artistico".*****

Thanks to his strict coherence, characterizing every moment of his artistic or scientific activity, Luchesi learns from the theorist Riccati (more than from the more skilled Vallotti) the correct way to get music problems underway and to solve them. Beethoven, Antonin Reicha (teacher of Liszt, Gounod and Berlioz) and the other pupils who had him as a teacher in Bonn, through him could discover the theoretical studies begun by Calegari, carried on by Vallotti and spread by Riccati. A long musical path, which went far, and that therefore deserves to be reconstructed in a more exact way than we can do here.

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Andrea Luchesi was born in Motta di Livenza on the 23 May 1741; his father Pietro was a rich corn wholesaler. His elder brother Matteo, a priest, an organ player and a public tutor gives him a culture allowing him to attend Venice noble salons. He associates an inborn fondness for music and deep studies with the best teachers of the town and he improves thanks to his relationships with the Paduan school's representatives. At the age of 22, on suggestion of the count Giacomo Durazzo, he gives prince Nikolaus Esterhazy the first of several symphonies nowadays thought to be Haydn's⁶. In 1764 he sets to music the important service for S. Lorenzo convent; the following year he starts out in the Hoftheater of Vienna with "L'isola della fortuna" ("The island of fortune"), an opera buffa which will be performed once again in 1767 at the Royal Theatre of Lisbon. Perhaps Luchesi is the first one to compose concerts for cembalo in the form of a sonata; in February 1771 he lends one of them to Mozart, who uses it still in 1777-78 during his travel to Mannheim and Paris. When he arrives in Bonn, the "famous Luchesi" has operas, cantatas, symphonies, quartets, sonatas and a lot of sacred music for public and private holidays to his credit. Thanks to the Notatori of the N.H. (Nobil Homo) Pietro Gradenigo I could ascertain that the Elector of Cologne called for Luchesi to remedy the damages caused to the chapel of Bonn by the direction of Ludwig van

Beethoven, the Titan's grandfather. Luchesi's assignment in Bonn can be compared only to Galuppi's three-year long stay in St. Petersburg to give a new life to the chapel of Catherine II of Russia. Beethoven was a life-long Kapellmeister, but when he suddenly died, the prince offered the position to Luchesi, rather than to Johann van Beethoven, the Titan's father. As his new position would compell him to put his works anonymously and free in the music archives, Luchesi reaches an agreement and begins to create instrumental and theatre works under the names of Joseph Haydn and his brother-in-law Ferdinand d'Anthoin; these works will be payed to him as purchases from outside until 1784. Since May 1774 Luchesi officially produces sacred works that today are still considered as anonymous; today you can find these works in the Estense Library of Modena, where the music file of Bonn arrived during the 19th century. But the contractor and musicologist Benjamin de La Borde points out that in Germany his symphonies were hunted for the new ideas, the terse plot and the special gracefulness of the style⁷.

During April 1783 Luchesi is in Italy to settle some family matters. The organ player Christian Gottlob Neefe, taking temporarily his place, will also train Luchesi's pupils during his absence. As Neefe is busy with conducting, Luchesi assigns the organ service to the 12 years old Beethoven, also playing the cembalo during the singing rehearsal of the Grossmann's theatrical company and at the theatre. Beethoven has been Luchesi's pupil for quite a long time; violoncellist Bernhard Joseph Maeurer witnesses that Beethoven's first work, the cantata on the death of the English minister George Cressner in 1781, was corrected by Luchesi and, following his will, it was sung by the choir⁸. In Venice Luchesi composes the serious opera "Ademira" for the Ascension Day of 1784; with this piece of work Venice pays honour to a special guest: Gustavus III of Sweden. During the preparation the news of prince Max Friedrich's death in Bonn arrives. When Luchesi comes back, he will find the new elector Max Franz of Austria, who has promised to his friend Mozart (they are of the same age) the position of Kapellmeister in Bonn. As Max Franz wants Luchesi to resign, he reduces his wages, but he finally gives up his aim to avoid possible consequences on Haydn's fame and on Austrian music. Max Franz forbids to put Haydn's handwritten symphonies, as they create paternity problems, and he obtains Luchesi to stop using his brother-in-law's name and to adopt that of Mozart. Max Franz hopes that through Mozart's celebrity the glory of the Austrian music could spread. Ferdinand d'Anthoin will reappear only after Mozart's death. In 1784 Mozart's symphonies, quartets, sonatas and concerts for piano, completely unknown till then, begin to circulate.⁹

As Max Franz is always looking for reasons to get rid of Luchesi, as soon as he arrives in Bonn he orders Neefe to draw up the musical inventory, under notary Fries's control. Following Luchesi's outline, drafted before his departure, Neefe finishes his task on 8th of May 1784. The comparison between Neefe's inventory and the current evidence of the "*Fondo Lucchesi*" (Luchesi's File) in Modena witnesses that the 28 Modenese symphonies D-131/158, registered in the name of Haydn and all written before 1784, are the 28 symphonies that Neefe describes at page 258 as "de differents auteurs" ("by different authors"), and the nine symphonies in the name of Mozart E-154/162, to which we have to add the anonymous D-640 (K.551 Jupiter), are the ten symphonies entered as "de differents auteurs" ("by different authors") at page 260. Already in 1984 Luchesi's biographer Claudia Valder-Knechtges supposed that among Modena's anonyms there were Luchesi's symphonies¹⁰. Surprisingly doctor Alessandra Chiarelli of the Estense Library, after having examined some Modenese manuscripts and some others transferred from Modena to the National Library in Vienna, writes:

"The name NIC HEISLER, that can easily be found as watermark in the Este manuscripts containing Andrea Luchesi's music produced for the musical chapel of Bonn, and therefore of sure Electoral origin, (...) this name relates them to D-136-141 (...) the presence (of the letters A. R. and A. F.) on D-137

excludes the mere confluence of these sources in the Modenese file; however it allows us to think that they are parts of two linked paths or two stages of a shared path".

The initials A. F. and A. R. don't allow us to think anything different. They are the initials of those who helped in the inventory drafting, included the one finished on 8 May 1784, the last one drafted in Bonn. If the number stays the same, only the initials can witness the actual filing. The presence of the initials only tells us that D-137 was registered three times under the number 12. D-146, bearing the numbers 9 and 31 and an initial, was also inventoried three times, and once the number was changed. (See **documents** 5, 6 and 7). However the watermark NIC HEISLER singled out Swiss paper factory belonging to the Heusler family of S. Albantal, near Basel, and it is almost impossible to find it in places far from the Rhine Valley after 1784¹¹. This bereaves Robbins Landon's theory of any value; he says that the Modenese copies deserve no attention because they are late, as the watermark NIC HEISLER would indicate a 1820 Modenese paper factory¹². Moreover, the Lockenhaus-Esterhazy paper on which Haydn writes D-138 and other autographs dated 1762/75, is surely later than 1795¹³. Therefore Haydn's copies were born twenty years after the composition. The 28 symphonies D-131/158 were therefore inventoried in Bonn as "de differents auteurs" ("by various authors") and the current registration under the name of Haydn proves that the group has been tampered with after the inventory. The expression "by various authors", approved by notary Fries, assures that the authors of the symphonies were at least two. Haydn became therefore the author of those works which, in the inventory of 8 May, hadn't been assigned to him. The title pages removed in four symphonies prove this theory. We are equally sure that also the ten Mozart's symphonies have been tampered with; here there is an aggravating circumstance: the name of Mozart doesn't appear in Neefe's inventory. Independently from the Modenese file we have two (unrelated) pieces of evidence proving that the paternity of K.297 Pariser is wrongly assigned to Mozart. In June 1778 at the Concert Spirituel Mozart tried to pass off it as his, and as a result he was **ignobly** thrown out of Paris; baron Melchior von Grimm put him on the first stage coach to Strasbourg¹⁴. In a copy kept in Regensburg, Mozart's name is written on another one, erased but still visible (see **documents** 1 and 2). We are sure that the Modenese copies of K.504 Prague (**document** 3) and K.551 Jupiter (**document** 4) in May 1784 were in Bonn and this excludes Mozart's paternity. Mozart records them in his private catalogue on 6 December 1786 and on 10 August 1788. The Koechel catalogue says nothing about them because their presence in Modena is the obvious consequence of their presence in Bonn during the month of May 1784. The *Hapsburg establishment* hid the dangerous musical file of Bonn, not to leave it to the enemy Prussia, heir of the Principality of Cologne. The archives weren't Max Franz's, but they belonged to the principality, therefore the Hapsburg family is guilty of **embezzlement** and the duke of Modena of **receiving stolen goods**, two crimes which can be easily justified if we take into account the importance of the stakes. This file has always been managed by Vienna and the Austro-German musicology has always been aware of how dangerous the *Fondo Lucchesi* (the Luchesi File) was for the Wiener Klassik myths.

However Beethoven was among the German composers listed in Forkel's almanac far 1789, three years before arriving in Vienna¹⁵. Luchesi's biographer T. A. Henseler excludes any reliable recreation of Beethoven's education if we don't consider Luchesi¹⁶. Beethoven learned nothing from Haydn. On 23 December 1793 Max Franz told Haydn that the works sent to witness Beethoven's improvements under his guidance had been achieved in Bonn before November 1792. The artistic dimension reached by Beethoven proves the rule that art "geniuses" educate themselves along precise and exclusive paths¹⁷:

"Appare certo che la carriera di ogni artista creatore (...) si divide in tre periodi diversificati tra loro dal carattere delle opere: imitazione, transizione e riflessione. Nel primo periodo, dopo aver studiato più o

*meno lungamente le regole ed i procedimenti tradizionali del mestiere, l'artista imiterà... A questa regola non è sfuggito nessuno dei grandi pionieri della poesia, della pittura o della musica, non un Alighieri nè un Molière, non un Gozzoli nè un Rembrandt, non un Bach nè un Wagner Davanti a questa regola cade la troppo comoda teoria dei geni **autodidatti**, teoria della quale, si deve convenire, la storia dell'arte non offre alcun esempio."******

I now dare to enunciate a very plain **theorem**, which could be denied only through exact (but absolutely improbable) scientific evidence:

There are no self-taught geniuses.

A master's tuition allows a quick acquisition of the previous achievements, and the older is the science taken into account, the more useful this tutor is. From this theorem takes origin the following corollary:

Every time that an artist produces works whose level is not justified by a demonstrable curriculum of his studies, there are only two possibilities:

a) the master has been hidden;

b) the works are not made by him.

In both cases we can talk of mystification.

Ludwig van Beethoven belongs to the **case a)**. The hidden master is Andrea Luchesi, Kapellmeister in Bonn from 1771 to 1794. His teaching concerns the whole Beethoven's education in Bonn¹⁸. During the Beethovenian meeting held in Berlin in July 1999, Dr. Luigi della Croce pointed out that Luchesi is the only master able to give an explanation for Beethoven's greatness, and on 25 January 2000, at the Associazione Mozart Italia (Italian Mozart Association) in Brescia, he indicated him as Mozart's master as well. At the same time Dr. Della Croce singled out two exact reasons why Luchesi had been wiped out by the Austro-German musicology which, in the past two centuries, has been lavishing care and arrogance. This is why Luchesi was stolen his three quartets with piano WoO36¹⁹ - from which Beethoven took inspiration for a sonata included in the op. 2 and for the Patetica - and his cantatas dedicated to Giuseppe II (WoO 87) and to Leopoldo II (WoO 88). The first one is especially dangerous for Beethoven's myth because *the "cantabili", the expressive and tied melodies which appear in this work will be found once again in the Fidelio, in the Missa Solemnis and even in the Ode to the Joy of the Ninth Symphony*²⁰.

To the **case b)** belong the two other "*Wiener klassik*" mythical figures, who give us other reasons which can explain why Luchesi had been wiped out. Haydn owes his fame and fortune to the great advertising operation made by Giacomo Durazzo, who tried to increase family Esterhazy's glory. The prince exclusively bought the works he then registered in the name of Haydn, but the only one who was authorized to grant **Haydn's griffe** was Bernhard von Kees from Vienna, who also kept a catalogue. "Haydn's symphonies" are Giovan Battista Sammartini's from Milan²¹ and, since 1763, Andrea Luchesi's as well²². In 1776 Haydn forgot to list in his curriculum the 60 symphonies which at the time were thought to be his; this shows that he ignored the existence of many of them. Once 256 symphonies were registered in his name, but today they are only 104; all these remaining should be returned to Sammartini and Luchesi, except Hob.25, probably written by Dittersdorf.

Maynard Solomon tells us that before 1771 Mozart would have composed 25 symphonies, but we know for certain that only ten are his, and just the autograph of one has been preserved²³. Leopold Mozart's letter dated 24 September 1778 bears witness to their quality. Mozart had informed his father that in Paris they didn't like his symphonies; Leopold answered writing that: "**What doesn't you credit, we'd better not spread it. This is why I kept all of your symphonies, since I can foresee that, in later times, when your critics awareness will be higher, you'll be truly happy that nobody would possess them. We become more and more demanding**"²⁴. Mozart embezzled Abel's and Michael Haydn's symphonies and, after 1784, Luchesi's works which can explain the qualitative leap. It was an appropriation arranged with Max Franz, it was granted and protected by law, as the Walsegg/Mozart's Requiem case assures, and it was not always limited to the registration of the works in Mozart's name. The private purchase of Luchesi's works is the reason for the dreadful conditions of Mozart's finance and the decrease in the number of his symphonies. Only a Esterhazy prince could afford what turned out to be an unbearable cost. Anyway, it is clear that Mozart's and Haydn's symphonic masterpieces have to be registered in the name of Andrea Luchesi, Kapellmeister in Bonn. To hide such a truth, Jacob even appeals to supernatural entities:²⁵

"On Monday Mozart composes like Haydn and on Tuesday Haydn composes like Mozart. This was a favourite Viennese joke in the middle of the nineteenth century (p. 202). (...) Haydn's share in the tragedy of Mozart death was spiritual; with the death of Mozart the sense of an invisible communion increased. Haydn felt as though strengthened and befriended by some supernatural agency. Traces of this effect can be discovered in his works of 1791. In the following year, which began for Haydn with the news of Mozart's death, it is far more evident. It is not necessary to interpret this influence in any mystical sense, what happened was no more mysterious than spiritual changes always are. After the old master had for so long been the giver, the relationship between the two composers changed with a suddenness that, indeed, was Mozartian in character. As we know, nine years earlier Mozart had suddenly become a disciple of Haydn; now Haydn became a disciple of Mozart. Now the latter was paying posthumously his debt of gratitude by adding his genius to the genius of the older master" (p.201).

For the last two centuries the correctness of the attributions and the greatness of the two "music geniuses" are thought to be confirmed by such nonsense and by Robbins Landon's forgeries, that can be found, in more or less imaginative versions, in Haydn's and Mozart's biographies. Logic excludes any odd hypothesis and ectoplasm. Luchesi diversified his production; he wrote ordinary symphonies for Haydn, and more sophisticated works for Mozart. Christmas 1790: during his trip to London, where he was involved in an undertaking with Johann Peter Salomon, Luchesi's brotherly friend, Haydn stops in Bonn where, of course, the Italian Kapellmeister gives him works similar to those he gives to Mozart. The resemblance among the works dated 1791 comes before Mozart's death on 5 December 1791. But "Mozart's" symphonies dated 1792 bear witness that their author wasn't dead on 5 December 1791 but, however, he keeps working for Haydn. On the other hand, the official end of Haydn's production testifies that Luchesi's death on 21 March 1801 stops the necessity to pretend any productive skill in Haydn, who for the last years had been living in a larval condition because of the encephalosclerosis²⁶. This is the mystery. The self-evident Beethoven's dependence on Mozart's and Haydn's models is simply the natural consequence of Luchesi's long lasting teaching, as we knew that the school style spreads like in a family, from master to pupils"²⁷.

Therefore we should consider the *Wiener Klassik* as a whole Italian phenomenon. The *famous idiot* Haydn²⁸ didn't compose any symphony, and those which are still registered in his name are Sammartini's and Luchesi's; the high masses and the oratori aren't his as well. We have discovered seventy works which aren't his and this witnesses that Mozart is still a common name²⁹. His best symphonies have to be ascribed to

Luchesi; Beethoven could become a genius of music thanks to the long and accurate teaching he received in Bonn from the Kapellmeister Andrea Luchesi.

Since 216 years ago, since 8 May 1784, one has attempted to hide the truth.

Note

¹ G.Moschini, *Della letteratura veneziana ecc.*, Venezia 1806 p.221.

² *Restauri di Marca n.2* (December 1992), Ed.Coop. DiEmmeCi, Villorba (Tv) 1992, p.88-90.

* (...) then I created a four fugue and I would like you to correct it and tell me your impression. I dared write you as I know your innate kindness.

** Reading your letter, it seemed to me that you appreciated my fugue; I'll surely continue to take advantage of your opinions and I'll try to put into practice the knowledge you conveyed me in Castel Franco. I dared send you Saratelli's basses as I enjoyed copying them together with the fugue. It is with pleasure that I wait for Friar Minor Vallotti's themes, that you'll kindly send to me.

³ P. Revoltella, *Musiche di Vallotti nell'epistolario di Giordano Riccati*, in AA. VV. *Contributi per la storia della musica sacra in Padova*, Padova 1993, p.269 and following.

*** I was extremely glad to receive your letter with the three Friar Minor Vallotti's themes . I read them over and over to understand the stratagems and the work: here, in a constant unity, I can see how he modulated the subsidiary sounds, he didn't fill up with useless sounds; there I can see how he worked with turnings and dissonances, which are organized with so much skill that it seems that everybody could do the same, but there is the greatest art. I hope to learn a lot from them; I would be disappointed if you, after having excited my curiosity, left me without sending me other precious things to satisfy my longing to Knowledge. During Padua Fair I'll be at the Teatro Nuovo (New Theater) to play the harpsichord. I'll see that Friar Minor Vallotti gives me a lesson, perhaps also thank to you.

⁴ AA. VV, *Padre Martini. Musica e cultura del '700.*(A.Pomilio) Firenze 1987, p.173-209.

⁵ G.T. Bagni, *Vincenzo, Giordano e Francesco Riccati*, Treviso 1993, p.123.

**** Giordano Riccati's conceiving of architecture can easily compared to that of music: mathematics and, more in general, the rational approach, cannot be left out from the human, culturale engagement, in every discipline, in every phase of the creating process of a work. Human reason, built and educated through the

study and the practice of exact science, become the path to follow, the sure guide, the support in the right conceiving and carrying out of a work of art. From this point of view the study of the counterpoint laws or the use of the harmonic mean when trying to imagine and planning an ideal proportioned construction, are expressions of the will to reach and code the reason's control of the emotions, that have always reached men through the artistic message.

⁶ G. Taboga, *A.Luchesi.L'ora della verità*, Ponzano Veneto (Tv) 1994, p.84 and 86.

⁷ J.B. de La Borde, *Essai sur la musique*, Paris 1780, Vol.III, Luchesi André.

⁸ Grove 5° 1964, Lucchesi Andrea.

⁹ J.N. Forkel, *Musikalische Almanach für das Jahr 1789*, Leipzig 1788, p.84 - Reprinted Olms 1974.

¹⁰ C. Valder-Knechtges, *Die weltliche Werke A.Luchesis*, Merseburger, 1984, p.100 and following.

¹¹ Johnson-Tyson-Winter, *Beethoven's Sketches*, Oxford U.P., p.516.

¹² H.C.Robbins Landon, *The symphonies of J.Haydn*, London 1955, p.611 and 613.

¹³ *Ibidem* p. 61. The author tries to make J.P.Larsen responsible for the forgery.

¹⁴ Leopold Mozart's letter to his son dated 10 October 1778, in *J. et B. Massin, Mozart*, Paris 1988, p.280.

¹⁵ *Musikalische Almanach für das Jahr 1789*, ref. p. 69.

¹⁶ T.A. Henseler, *Andrea Luchesi, der letzte Bonner Kapellmeister zur Zeit des jungen Beethoven*, Bonn 1937, Introduction.

¹⁷ Vincent d'Indy, *Beethoven*, Paris 1952, p. 6.

***** "It seems clear that each artist-creator's career should be divided into three periods, which are different because of the kind of their works: the three periods could be identified as imitation, transition and meditation. During the first one, after having studied the rules and the traditional procedures of the profession, the artist will imitate... All the great pioneers of poetry, painting or music, Alighieri, Molière, Gozzoli, Rembrandt, Bach and Wagner included, all of them were subjected to this rule. It disproves the too easy theory of the self-taught geniuses, a theory which, you should agree with me, is not represented by any example in the whole history of art".

¹⁸ G. Taboga, *A. Luchesi e la cappella di Bonn*, *Restauri di Marca* n.3 (special issue), ref. p.11-41.

¹⁹ G. Taboga, *L'assassinio di Mozart*, Lucca 1997, p.190.

²⁰ Poggi-Vallora, *Beethoven*, Torino 1995, p.578.

²¹ G. Carpani, *Le Haydine*, Padova 1823, p.62.

²² See note 6.

²³ M. Solomon, *Mozart*, Milano 1999, p.74 and 79.

²⁴ H. Abert, *Mozart*, Milano 1956, Volume I, p.461.

²⁵ H.E. Jacob, *Joseph Haydn*, New York and Toronto, 1950, p.201 and following.

²⁶ Graphologic study made by professor Sante Bidoli on Haydn's mental condition in 1802, never published.

²⁷ P. Lichtenthal, *Dizionario e bibliografia della musica*, Milano 1836, Volume II, ref. Stile.

²⁸ Carpani, *Le Haydine* , p.252.

²⁹ B. e J. Massin, *Mozart*, Introduction II.

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Giorgio Taboga è nato a Venezia nel 1933, e si è laureato in Scienze Economiche all'Università "L. Bocconi" di Milano. Dopo diverse esperienze di lavoro in Lombardia, Toscana ed Emilia-Romagna, è rientrato nel natio Veneto e si è dedicato all'insegnamento. A Motta di Livenza, dove è vissuto per oltre quindici anni, ha preso origine il suo interesse per il musicista Andrea Luchesi, artista che lo affascina come persona al di là del valore della sua musica. A seguito di quasi vent'anni di studi è giunto alla convinzione che il caso di Andrea Luchesi sia forse il più eclatante di una lunga serie di artisti e scienziati italiani ingiustamente

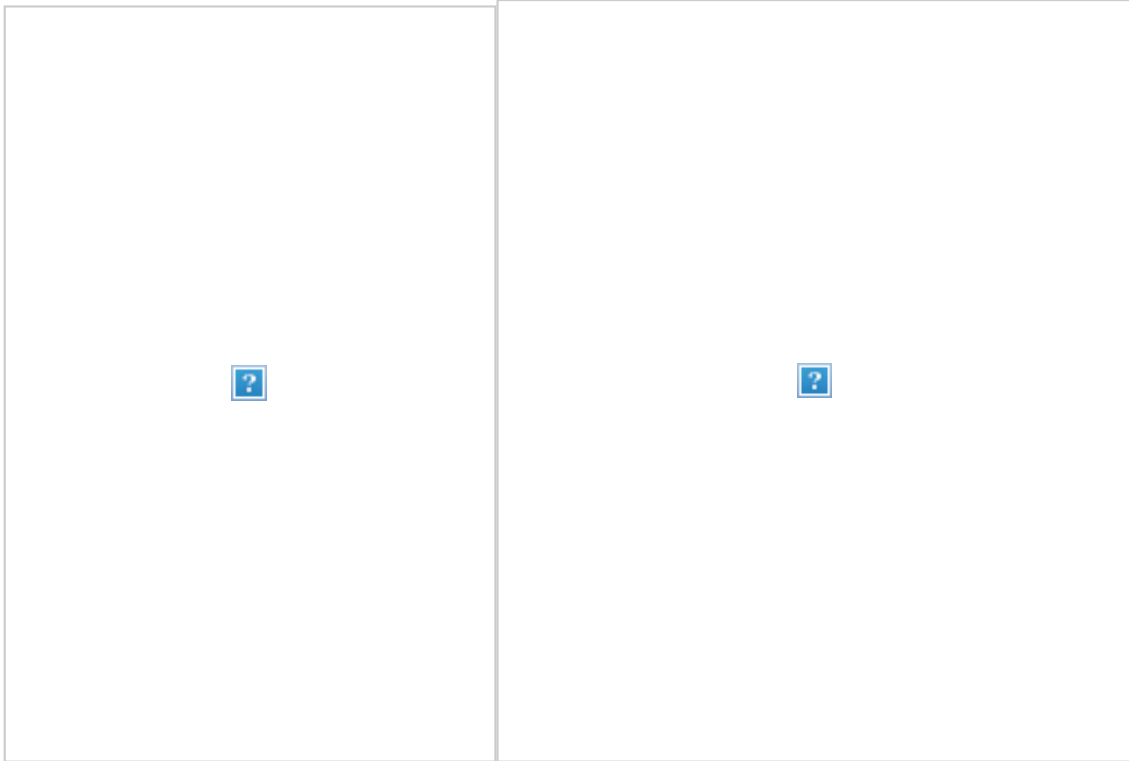
ignorati o cancellati. Da questa convinzione nascono i suoi lavori Andrea Luchesi e la cappella di Bonn (1993), Andrea Luchesi. L'ora della verità (1994) e L'assassinio di Mozart (1997), oltre a numerosi articoli su riviste italiane e straniere. Ha anche dedicato la sua attenzione a Faustino Perisauli (1450?-1523), poeta romagnolo precursore ignorato di Erasmo da Rotterdam. Attualmente sta completando la seconda parte della biografia di Luchesi, gli anni di Bonn (1771-1801), quando il Maestro fu l'insegnante di Beethoven e fornì sua musica a J. Haydn e W.A. Mozart. Dai suoi studi emerge la certezza che la storia della musica della fine del '700 vada riscritta in base a documenti, rifiutando il miracolismo interessato e fideistico che impera oggi negli scritti sui tre grandi della "Wiener Klassik", Haydn, Mozart e Beethoven, tutti e tre seppur in diversa misura debitori della loro grandezza all'oscuro e cancellato maestro italiano.

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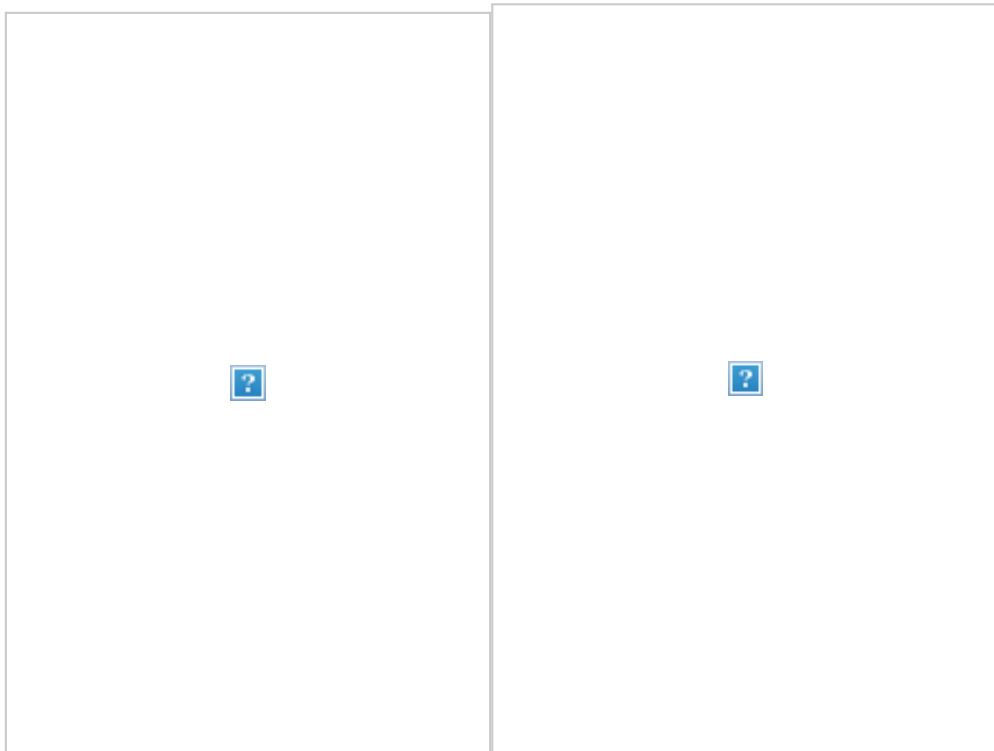
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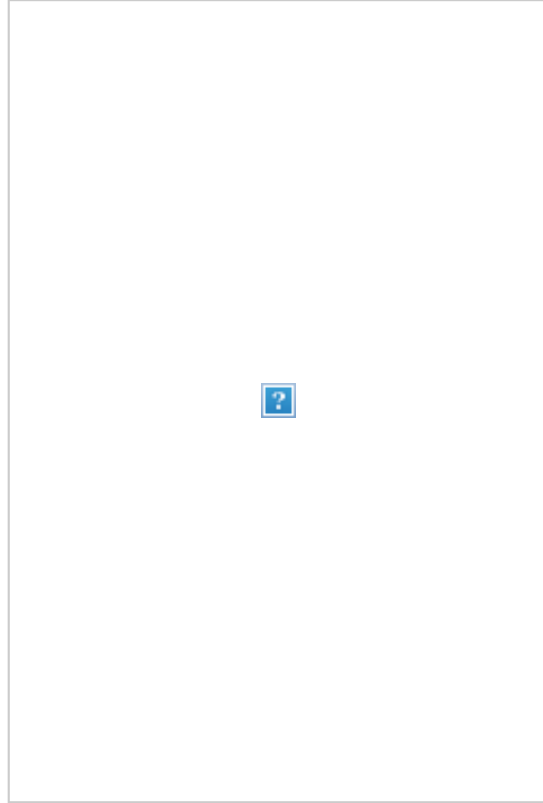
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