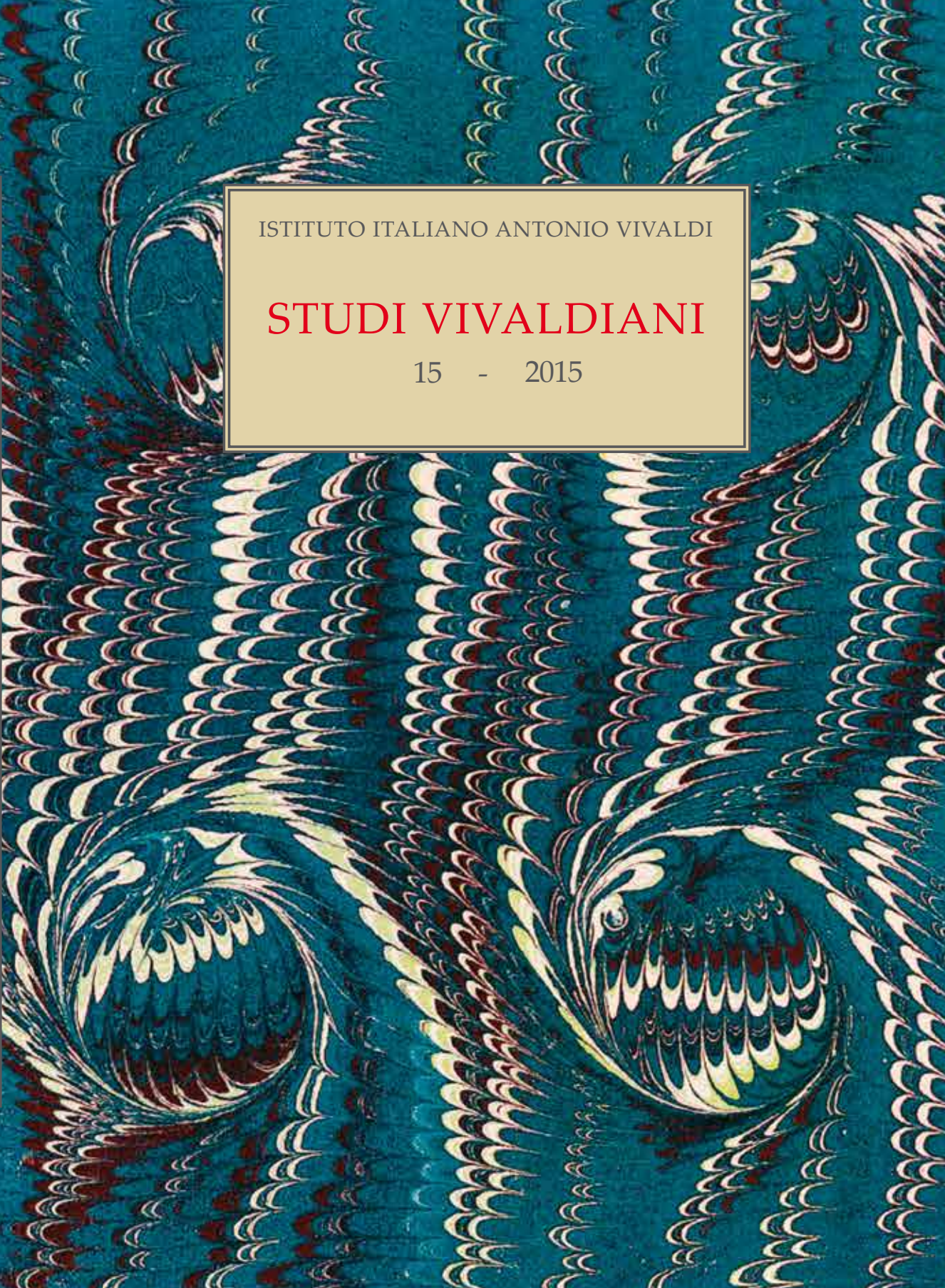




ISTITUTO ITALIANO ANTONIO VIVALDI

STUDI VIVALDIANI

15 - 2015

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STUDI VIVALDIANI

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UN MESSAGGIO DAI CURATORI

Subito dopo la pubblicazione del 2014 di «Studi vivaldiani», quello che era stato fin da principio l'editore, Studio Per Edizioni Scelte (S.P.E.S.) di Firenze, ci informò che avrebbe di lì a poco cessato la propria attività. Questa situazione, che richiedeva una soluzione efficace e tempestiva, ci offriva al tempo stesso l'opportunità di considerare più attentamente quali avrebbero potuto essere le forme attraverso cui portare avanti e diffondere la rivista, anche in virtù dei progressi scientifici e tecnologici di questi ultimi anni, soprattutto nel campo informatico. Eravamo ben consapevoli che l'accesso alla rivista non era stato sempre semplice, soprattutto per gli studiosi residenti fuori dai confini europei e nordamericani, perciò ci premeva fare tutto il possibile per migliorarne la circolazione e la diffusione a livello internazionale.

Il caso ha voluto che quasi contemporaneamente fossimo contattati dai responsabili del RILM (Répertoire International de Littérature Musicale), desiderosi di includere l'intera serie di «Studi vivaldiani» (compresi tutti gli arretrati a partire dal 1980) in un archivio *online* accessibile ai propri sottoscrittori, sia istituzionali che privati. Abbiamo subito accettato l'invito a partecipare a questa importante iniziativa. L'indirizzo attraverso cui accedere alla collezione di testi che il RILM distribuisce in formato digitale è il seguente: <<https://www.ebscohost.com/academic/rilm-abstracts-of-music-literature>>. I nostri lettori affiliati a una qualsiasi istituzione universitaria avranno perciò la possibilità di accedere senza costi a tutti i numeri della rivista nella sua veste elettronica, comprese le annate che verranno pubblicate. Inoltre, il contratto stipulato con il RILM non ci impedisce, com'è nelle nostre intenzioni, di ospitare la rivista sul sito web dell'Istituto Italiano Antonio Vivaldi.

Siamo d'altro canto consapevoli che una parte dei nostri lettori potrebbe preferire continuare a ricevere la rivista in formato cartaceo. Chi desiderasse avvalersi di questa opzione avrà la possibilità di richiederlo, contattando direttamente l'Istituto Italiano Antonio Vivaldi all'indirizzo di posta elettronica <segreteria.vivaldi@cini.it>. Il prezzo di ciascun volume ammonterà a 35 euro, più i costi di spedizione.

Speriamo vivamente che i cambiamenti introdotti nelle modalità di pubblicazione e distribuzione della rivista saranno apprezzati da tutti i sottoscrittori, attraendone nel contempo di nuovi.

Le ricerche su Vivaldi sono in piena fioritura e siamo certi che negli anni a venire non mancherà il materiale da pubblicare.

FRANCESCO FANNA E MICHAEL TALBOT

A MESSAGE FROM THE EDITORS

Shortly after the publication of the volume for 2014 of *Studi vivaldiani* it was announced that our publisher since the inception of the journal in 2000, Studio per Edizioni Scelte (S.P.E.S.), was ceasing operations. This development naturally forced us to take speedy action, but it also provided us with an opportunity to consider carefully in what way it would be best to continue to produce and circulate the journal, given that the world has moved on since the start of the present century, especially with regard to electronic media. We have been aware for a long time that access to the journal has proved difficult for many scholars, especially outside Europe and North America, and we are naturally anxious to do what we can to improve international access and diffusion.

Quite by chance, but very opportunely, we received information only a short time afterwards that RILM (*Répertoire International de Littérature Musicale*) was hoping to include *Studi vivaldiani* in an online archive of current journals (including their back numbers) to be made available to paying subscribers, institutional or personal. We naturally agreed very readily to this new initiative. The web address for access to RILM's electronic library of journals is <<https://www.ebscohost.com/academic/rilm-abstracts-of-music-literature>>. Those of our readers with university affiliations will in many cases be able to access the journal (including all the volumes to be published from 2015 onwards) without cost via this route. But the new contract with RILM does not prevent the Istituto Italiano Antonio Vivaldi from hosting the journal electronically on its own web site, and we plan to do this as well.

However, we realize that many, perhaps most, readers will prefer to receive the journal in hard copy as before. This will also be possible, and persons wishing to receive the journal in this form are asked in the first instance to contact the Istituto Italiano Antonio Vivaldi at the e-mail address <segreteria.vivaldi@cini.it>. The price of each volume will be 35 euros plus postage.

We hope very much that these changed modalities of publication and distribution will please existing readers and attract new readers.

Research into Vivaldi continues to thrive, and we are certain that we will not lack material to publish in the years to come.

FRANCESCO FANNA AND MICHAEL TALBOT

Günther Grünsteudel

„VIENNA 5 MAGGIO 1741“: EIN UNBEKANNTER BRIEF
ANTONIO VIVALDIS AN GRAF JOHANN FRIEDRICH ZU
OETTINGEN-WALLERSTEIN

Antonio Vivaldis letzter Lebensabschnitt in Wien ist nur äußerst spärlich dokumentiert. Vergegenwärtigen wir uns die wichtigsten Fakten: Der letzte Beleg für seine Anwesenheit in Venedig datiert vom 12. Mai 1740; es handelt sich dabei um eine Quittung für den Erhalt von 440 Lire für 20 „Concerti“, die er für das Ospedale della Pietà komponiert hatte.¹ Innerhalb der nächsten 12 Tage muss Vivaldi die Stadt verlassen haben, da seine Nachbarn, als ihm am 24. Mai eine Vorladung zu einer Aussage vor Gericht zugestellt werden sollte, erklärten, er sei außer Landes gegangen.² Über seine Lebensumstände während der nächsten achteinhalb Monate ist nichts bekannt. Ob Wien von Anfang an erklärtes Ziel seiner Reise war, ob es auf dem Weg dorthin wichtige Zwischenaufenthalte gab, oder ob er am Ende gar nochmals nach Venedig zurückkehrte und erst später in die Kaiserstadt aufbrach, ist ebenso wenig bekannt wie der Zeitpunkt seiner dortigen Ankunft. Der früheste Beleg für seine Anwesenheit in Wien stammt vom 7. Februar 1741 und ist eine Tagebuchnotiz eines Gönners, des Prinzen Anton Ulrich von Sachsen-Meiningen (1687-1763).³ Eine Empfangsbestätigung, mit der Vivaldi am 28. Juni 1741 dem Sekretär des Grafen Vinciguerra Tommaso Collalto (1710-1769) den Erhalt von 12 ungarischen Dukaten „per tanta Musica vendutali“ quittierte, galt bisher als einziges eigenhändiges Dokument aus den letzten Monaten vor seinem Tod in der Nacht vom 27. auf den 28. Juli 1741.⁴

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Für die Einladung, diesen Beitrag in den „Studi vivaldiani“ zu veröffentlichen, und eine Reihe wichtiger Hinweise bedankt sich der Verfasser bei Herrn Prof. Dr. Michael Talbot (Liverpool) und Herrn Prof. Dr. Karl Heller (Rostock) ganz herzlich.

¹ MICKY WHITE, *Antonio Vivaldi. A Life in Documents* („Quaderni vivaldiani“, 17), Firenze, Olschki, 2013, S. 260-261.

² Ebd., S. 262: „esser fuori di Venezia“.

³ KARL HELLER, *Antonio Vivaldi. Kalendarium zur Lebens- und Werkgeschichte* („Studien zur Aufführungspraxis und Interpretation der Musik des 18. Jahrhunderts“, 33), Michaelstein / Blankenburg, Kultur- und Forschungsstätte Michaelstein, 1987, S. 47.

⁴ MICKY WHITE, *Antonio Vivaldi*, cit., S. 266-268. Dem Totenbeschauprotokoll und dem Totenbuch der Dompfarre zufolge wohnte Vivaldi im „Wallerischen“ oder „Satlerischen“ Haus nahe dem Hoftheater am Kärtnerort zur Miete.

Im Rahmen seiner Forschungen zur Geschichte der Hofmusik des gräflichen und seit 1774 fürstlichen Hauses Oettingen-Wallerstein im Nördlinger Ries (Bayerisch-Schwaben)⁵ fand der Verfasser im fürstlichen Hausarchiv auf Schloss Harburg kürzlich ein weiteres eigenhändiges Schriftstück aus den letzten Lebensmonaten, einen Brief, den Vivaldi am 5. Mai 1741 an den Grafen Johann Friedrich zu Oettingen-Wallerstein (1715-1744) richtete. Hier der genaue Wortlaut (s. Abbildung 1-2):

Eccellenza

Quanto piacere hò avuto nel sentire, che V[ostra] E[ccellenza] era ritornato in Vienna, altre tanto dispiacere hò provato nel sentire, ch'era nuovam[en]te partito senza, ch'io prima abbia avuto il pregiatis[si]mo onore di presentarle la mia umilis[si]ma osservanza. Questo è nato, perche nelli giorni della dimora di V. E. io son stato molto amalato; E poi perche son stato due volte per riverirla senza avere la fortuna di ritrovarla in Casa. Ora permetta V. E., che se non hò potuto con la viva voce almeno con questo foglio le renda mille Grazie di tanti generosi favori che n'è compiaciuto farmi per mano del suo Cameriere, protestando à V. E., che la mia debolis[si]ma Musica non meritava alcuna recognizione, mà tutto è stato un puro contrasegno della di lei som[m]a Benignità. Con tale incontro mi prendo la libertà di occluderle [*sic*] un Concerto per il Flauto Traver[sier]e tanto più che ora hò fatto sei Concerti intitolati La Francia, l'Inghilterra [*sic*], L'Olanda, la Germania, la Spagna, e l'Italia, et con ogni Concerto esprimo il gusto Musicale della Nazione. Spedisco à V. E. la Francia, e spero, che V. E. sentirà, che questo è il vero gusto Francese, et che goderà il di Lei Benignis[si]mo compatimento.

Arricordo frà tanto à V. E., che quivi hà un umilis[si]mo, e riverente Servitore che cerca tutte le strade possibili per ubbidirla, e per incontrare li di Lei pregiatis[si]mi cenni, per sempre più rassegnarmi e per genio e per debito con la più profonda venerazione Di V. E.

Vien[n]a 5 Maggio 1741 Hu[milissi]mo De[votissi]mo Ob[ligatissi]mo Servitore
Antonio Vivaldi⁶

Der seit 1738 regierende Graf Johann Friedrich zu Oettingen-Wallerstein unterhielt eine kleine, wohl keine zehn Musiker zählende Hofmusik, die vor allem aus Mitgliedern der Hofdienerschaft bestand⁷ und die der Graf, der selbst

⁵ Eine auf dem reichhaltigen Quellenfundus im Fürstlich Oettingen-Wallerstein'schen Archiv Schloss Harburg (FÖWAH) basierende Geschichte der Wallersteiner Hofkapelle zwischen ca. 1740 und 1825 erscheint voraussichtlich im Lauf des Jahres 2016 in Buchform. Unter Fürst Kraft Ernst zu Oettingen-Wallerstein (1748-1802, reg. seit 1773) avancierte die Kapelle zu einer der führenden Hofmusiken in Deutschland. Ein gewichtiger Teil des Repertoires der Hofkapelle ist in der ehemaligen Hofbibliothek erhalten geblieben und heute Bestandteil der Universitätsbibliothek Augsburg.

⁶ FÖWAH, Personalakten Graf Johann Friedrich, VIII.12.7a (Nr. 9): Vivaldi an Graf Johann Friedrich, Wien, 5. Mai 1741. Der Abdruck des Briefes im Faksimile erfolgt mit freundlicher Genehmigung Seiner Durchlaucht des Fürsten zu Oettingen-Wallerstein.

⁷ GÜNTHER GRÜNSTEUDEL, *Die Wallersteiner Hofkapelle 1740 bis 1773*, „Rosetti-Forum“, 16, 2015, S. 3-24: 1-2.

ein leidenschaftlicher Flötenspieler war, teilweise sogar mit auf Reisen nahm.⁸ Als er im Juli 1744 nur 29-jährig einer schweren Verwundung erlag, die er als kurbayerischer Generalmajor im Österreichischen Erbfolgekrieg vor der Reichsfestung Philippsburg (Baden) erlitten hatte, wurde sein Nachlass inventarisiert. Das im fürstlichen Hausarchiv erhaltene Inventarverzeichnis⁹ enthält zahlreiche Musikinstrumente und mehr als 400 pauschal nach Gattungen erfasste Kompositionen, darunter nicht weniger als 156 Konzerte für die Traversflöte.¹⁰ In adeligen Kreisen (aber nicht nur hier) erfreute sich dieses Instrument im 18. Jahrhundert einer außerordentlichen Beliebtheit und avancierte zum ‚galanten‘ Modeinstrument schlechthin. Aus der Zeit zwischen etwa 1720 und 1800 sind weit über 2000 Flötenkonzerte entweder erhalten oder zumindest nachweisbar.¹¹

Das Haus Oettingen-Wallerstein verfügte über mannigfache Beziehungen nach Wien. Die Grafen hatten über Generationen hinweg wichtige Positionen in der kaiserlichen Verwaltung inne.¹² Da sie einen großen Teil des Jahres vor Ort präsent zu sein hatten, ist davon auszugehen, dass man in Wien über eine repräsentative Stadtwohnung verfügte, die auch Graf Johann Friedrich, der selbst nicht in Diensten des Kaisers stand, gelegentlich – und so auch im Frühjahr 1741 – nutzte. Die Tatsache, dass Vivaldi persönlich vorstellig wurde, um dem Grafen für seine Gunstbezeugungen („tanti generosi favori“) Dank abzustatten, macht deutlich, dass Letzterer ein Verehrer von dessen Kunst gewesen sein muss, vielleicht sogar eine Art Gönner. Vivaldis finanzielle Situation war damals alles andere als rosig. Während der nach dem Tod Kaiser Karls VI. (1685-1740) im Oktober 1740 angeordneten 14-monatigen Hoftrauer¹³ blieben die Theater der Stadt geschlossen, so dass die Haupteinnahmequelle des Komponisten, der in Wien wohl vor allem Opernprojekte zu realisieren hoffte, auf längere Zeit ausfiel. Um sich seinen Lebensunterhalt zu verdienen, war er nun in erster Linie auf die Vermarktung seiner Kompositionen angewiesen.

⁸ So ordnete der Graf etwa am 20.12.1742 an, dass sich die Mitglieder der Hofmusik samt ihren Instrumenten und einer Auswahl an Noten zur Abreise ins oberbayerische Trostberg, wo er sich gerade aufhielt, „parat halten“ sollten; FÖWAH, Ältere Kabinetts-Registratur, II.4.55-1 (Nr. 216: 20.12.1742).

⁹ FÖWAH, Personalakten Graf Johann Friedrich, VIII.12.10b-1 (Nr. 111).

¹⁰ Vgl. GÜNTHER GRÜNSTEUDEL, *Die Wallersteiner Hofkapelle*, cit., S. 1-2. Die in Johann Friedrichs Nachlass-Inventar aufgeführten Musikalien müssen allesamt als verschollen gelten.

¹¹ Vgl. INGO GRONEFELD, *Die Flötenkonzerte bis 1850*, Tutzing, Schneider, 1992-1994.

¹² Johann Friedrichs Vater, Graf Anton Karl (1679-1738), war kaiserlicher Wirklicher Geheimer Rat und Kämmerer; der Großonkel, Graf Wolfgang IV. (1629-1708), und der Urgroßvater, Graf Ernst II. (1594-1670), amtierten als Reichshofräte und Reichshofratspräsidenten. Alle drei sind in Wien gestorben. Vgl. *Europäische Stammtafeln*, hrsg. Detlev Schwennicke, Neue Folge, Bd. 16, Bayern und Franken, Berlin, Stargardt, 1995, Tafel 105.

¹³ MICHAELA KNEIDINGER – PHILIPP DITTINGER, *Hoftrauer am Kaiserhof, 1652 bis 1800*, in *Der Wiener Hof im Spiegel der Zeremonialprotokolle, 1652-1800*, hrsg. Irmgard Pangerl et al. („Forschungen und Beiträge zur Wiener Stadtgeschichte“, 47), Innsbruck-Wien-Bozen, Studienverlag, 2007, S. 529-572: 529-530.

Warum Vivaldi angesichts der Umstände nicht nach Venedig zurückkehrte, wissen wir nicht. Die Bandbreite möglicher Gründe hierfür reicht von Stolz oder Hartnäckigkeit im Verfolgen seiner Ziele bis zum Fehlen der für eine Rückkehr erforderlichen Finanzmittel. Vielleicht hatte sein Bleiben aber auch mit der schweren Erkrankung zu tun, die der 63-jährige dem Grafen Johann Friedrich gegenüber erwähnt („son stato molto amalato“). Das klare, schwungvolle Schriftbild des Briefes vom 5. Mai liefert allerdings keinerlei Hinweis auf eine (überstandene) schwere Krankheit, geschweige denn das Alter des Komponisten oder seinen Tod nur zwei Monate später. Gleiches gilt übrigens auch für die eingangs erwähnte Empfangsbestätigung für den Grafen Collalto vom 28. Juni 1741.¹⁴

Da Vivaldi den Grafen Johann Friedrich trotz mehrerer Anläufe nicht persönlich antraf und sich daher bei ihm auch nicht „con la viva voce“ bedanken konnte, übergab er dem ihm öffnenden Diener den hier vorzustellenden Brief zusammen mit dem Manuskript eines Flötenkonzerts, dem er den Titel „La Francia“ gegeben hatte. Es gehörte zu einer Serie von sechs neu komponierten Flötenkonzerten, die nach europäischen Nationen benannt waren („La Francia, l’Ing[h]ilterra, L’Olanda, la Germania, la Spagna e l’Italia“) und den musikalischen Geschmack des jeweiligen Landes charakterisieren sollten. Vermutlich verfolgte Vivaldi, der für Werke mit programmatischen Titeln aller Art bekanntermaßen ein besonderes Faible hatte, mit diesem Präsent nebenbei auch die Absicht, den Grafen zum Erwerb der übrigen fünf Konzerte zu stimulieren. In seinen späteren Jahren zog er es vor, seine Konzerte nicht mehr im Druck herauszugeben, sondern sie im Manuskript zu vermarkten, da er, eigenen Angaben zufolge, so größere Verkaufserlöse erzielen konnte.¹⁵

Drei der genannten Konzerte sind der Forschung bereits seit Längerem bekannt. Sie finden sich in einem Verkaufskatalog aus dem Jahr 1759, dem sog. ‚Selhof-Katalog‘, in dem unter der Überschrift „Pour les flutes“ eine Reihe von Konzerten Vivaldis für Flöte und Streicher aufgeführt ist: drei lediglich als „Concerto“ bezeichnete Werke sowie „La Francia“, „La Spagna“ und „L’Inghilterro“ [sic] sowie „il Gran Mogol“. ¹⁶ Alle sechs ‚Nationen‘-Konzerte sind nach heutigem Kenntnisstand nicht erhalten; das erst kürzlich wieder aufgefundene Flötenkonzert d-Moll, *Il Gran Mogol* (RV 431a),¹⁷ gehört entstehungszeitlich wohl in deren Umfeld.

¹⁴ Vgl. die Abbildung etwa bei SIEGBERT RAMPE, *Antonio Vivaldi und seine Zeit* („Große Komponisten und ihre Zeit“), Laaber, Laaber-Verlag, 2010, S. 342.

¹⁵ MICHAEL TALBOT, *Charles Jennens and Antonio Vivaldi*, in *Vivaldi veneziano europeo*, hrsg. Francesco Degradà („Quaderni vivaldiani“, 1), Firenze, Olschki, 1980, S. 67-75: 71; Id., *The Vivaldi Compendium*, Woodbridge, The Boydell Press, 2011, S. 11, 97. Die letzte vom Komponisten autorisierte Druckausgabe erschien 1729 als Opus 12.

¹⁶ „La Francia“ ist in dieser Auflistung doppelt aufgeführt. Vgl. hierzu MICHAEL TALBOT, *Vivaldi in the Sale Catalogue of Nicolaas Selhof*, „Informazioni e studi vivaldiani“, 6, 1985, S. 57-63: 60; PETER RYOM, *Antonio Vivaldi. Thematisch-systematisches Verzeichnis seiner Werke* (RV), Wiesbaden, Breitkopf & Härtel, 2007, S. 531 unter RV 750.

¹⁷ Vgl. ANDREW WOOLLEY, *An Unknown Flute Concerto by Vivaldi in Scotland*, „Studi vivaldiani“, 10, 2010, S. 3-38; MICHAEL TALBOT, *The Vivaldi Compendium*, cit., S. 91.

Excelleza

Quanto piacere ho avuto nel sentire che V.E. era ritornato in Vienna
altri tanto di piacere ho provato nel sentire ch'era nuovan^{te}
partito senza ch'io prima abbia avuto il prepar^{to} m^o onore
di presentarle la mia umil^e m^o memoria. L'ubito è nato
perchè nelle giorni della dimora di V.E. io sono stato molto
ammalato. E poi perchè son stato due volte per venirci senza
avere la fortuna di ritrovarla in casa. Dio permetta
V.E. che se non ho potuto con la buona voce almeno con
questo foglio le renda mille grazie di tanti generosi favori
che n'è compiaciuto farmi per mezzo del suo cameriere pro=
= testando a V.E. che la mia debol^e m^o Marica non meritava
alcuna riconoscenza ma tutta è stato un puro contrassegno
della di lei tanta Benignità. Con tale incontro mi avendo
la libertà di ocludere un Concerto per il Flauto Traverso:
tanto più che ora ho fatto dei Concerti intitolati.

ABBILDUNG 1. Erste Seite des Briefes von Antonio Vivaldi an Graf Johann Friedrich zu Oettingen-Wallerstein (Wien, 5. Mai 1741). Fürstlich Oettingen-Wallerstein'sches Archiv Schloss Harburg, Personalakten Graf Johann Friedrich, VIII.12.7a (Nr. 9; mit Genehmigung).

Ho Francis l'Impilero, G. Glauco, los Desmaria, los Spagna e
 l'Italia et con ogni Concerto esprimono il gusto Nazionale
 della Nazione. Spedisco a V.E. la Fiancia e spero, che
 V.E. sentiva che questo è il vero gusto Francese, et
 che godersi il di G. Benignis e comparimento
 Avendo spia tanto a V.E. che qui ha un unia e niueve
 servitor che cerca in le loro popoli per ubbidire
 e per incorbava li di G. pregiantesi centi per sempre più
 rassegnarmi e per genio e per debito con la più profonda
 venerazione
 V.V.E.

Vienna 5 Maggio 1741
 Antonio Vivaldi

ABBILDUNG 2. Zweite Seite des Briefes von Antonio Vivaldi an Graf Johann Friedrich zu Oettingen-Wallerstein (Wien, 5. Mai 1741). Fürstlich Oettingen-Wallerstein'sches Archiv Schloss Harburg, Personalakten Graf Johann Friedrich, VIII.12.7a (Nr. 9; mit Genehmigung).

Günther Grünsteudel

«VIENNA 5 MAGGIO 1741». UNA LETTERA SCONOSCIUTA
DI ANTONIO VIVALDI AL CONTE JOHANN FRIEDRICH
DI OETTINGEN-WALLERSTEIN

Sommario

L'ultimo soggiorno viennese di Vivaldi è scarsamente documentato. Fino ad oggi, le uniche tracce della sua presenza in città erano una nota del 7 febbraio 1741 riportata nel diario del principe Anton Ulrich di Sassonia-Meiningen e una quietanza rilasciata dal compositore al segretario del conte Collalto, il 28 giugno dello stesso anno, relativa alla somma di dodici ducati ungheresi ricevuta per le sue spettanze. Quest'ultimo, in particolare, è ritenuto l'ultimo documento scritto da Vivaldi di suo pugno nei mesi antecedenti la morte, avvenuta nella notte fra il 27 e il 28 luglio del 1741. Recentemente l'autore di questo contributo ha ritrovato nell'archivio della casa regnante Oettingen-Wallerstein, conservato nel castello di Harburg, un altro documento autografo risalente agli ultimi mesi di vita del compositore: una lettera che Vivaldi indirizzò al conte Johann Friedrich il 5 maggio 1741.

I conti di Oettingen-Wallerstein, che mantenevano una residenza di rappresentanza a Vienna, occupavano da generazioni una posizione di rilievo all'interno dell'amministrazione imperiale. Johann Friedrich era un flautista dilettante e un appassionato ammiratore dell'arte vivaldiana, forse anche una sorta di protettore; in ogni caso, il compositore aveva una familiarità tale da chiedergli personalmente di essere ricompensato per i suoi favori. A causa del lutto seguito alla morte dell'imperatore Carlo VI, avvenuta nell'ottobre del 1740, e alla conseguente chiusura dei teatri per i quattordici mesi successivi, a Vivaldi – che a Vienna sperava probabilmente di realizzare soprattutto dei progetti operistici – venne a mancare anche la principale fonte di reddito. Tanto che per guadagnarsi da vivere si trovò costretto a vendere le proprie composizioni. Dopo svariati infruttuosi tentativi di incontrare Johann Friedrich di persona, egli riuscì a consegnare la lettera a un servitore del duca, insieme con il manoscritto di un suo concerto per flauto intitolato *La Francia*, il quale faceva parte di una serie di sei nuovi concerti per flauto, intitolati ad altrettante nazioni europee (la Francia, l'Inghilterra, l'Olanda, la Germania, la Spagna e l'Italia) e rappresentativi del gusto musicale coltivato in ciascun Paese. Per quanto ne sappiamo, i concerti sono andati tutti perduti; tre di essi sono tuttavia noti da tempo alla ricerca musicologica, poiché sono menzionati nel cosiddetto «Catalogo Selhof» (1759).

Margherita Gianola e Eleanor Selfridge-Field

LA FAMIGLIA MATERNA DI ANTONIO VIVALDI

Nuove scoperte archivistiche stanno portando alla luce aspetti inediti della famiglia materna di Vivaldi, vicende famigliari che hanno forse influito sullo sviluppo del piccolo Antonio, incidendo sulla formazione del suo carattere e sulle sue imminenti scelte di vita.

Le industriose e prolifiche ricerche condotte da Micky White – la maggior parte delle quali incluse nel suo *Antonio Vivaldi: A Life in Documents*¹ – hanno fondato le basi per esplorare le origini veneziane del compositore, grazie al ritrovamento di un atto notarile sottoscritto nel 1675 – ben prima della nascita del musicista – da Giovanni Battista Vivaldi e Zanetta Temporini, nonna materna di Antonio Vivaldi. Attorno alla figura di quest'ultima si sono concentrati gli studi delle autrici di questo articolo.

Zanetta Temporini non compare in nessun documento anteriore al 1650, per quanto finora rinvenuto negli archivi. Attenendosi all'atto di morte² – redatto il primo gennaio 1690, nel quale si dichiara che la defunta è mancata all'età di circa settant'anni – si può comunque fissare l'anno di nascita attorno al 1619-1620.

Ha circa trent'anni, quindi, quando si sposa con Giovanni Camillo Calicchio,³ il 12 ottobre 1650 nella chiesa di Sant'Agnese. Il marito, appena ventiduenne, è arrivato da poco a Venezia, essendo nato e cresciuto a Pomarico, antico borgo agricolo della diocesi di Matera, sotto il Regno di Napoli, nell'attuale Basilicata. Come 'forestiere', per poter sposare una donna veneziana, deve presentare alla Curia un «documento di stato libero» (Appendice 1), per il quale sono necessari

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¹ MICKY WHITE, *Antonio Vivaldi: A Life in Documents* («Quaderni vivaldiani», 17), Firenze, Olschki, 2013.

² Archivio Storico Patriarcale di Venezia [=ASPV], Parrocchia di S. Giovanni in Bragora, Registri dei Morti, Reg. 15, f. 34. Vedi Illustrazione 8. Si ringrazia in modo particolare l'archivista dott. Davide Trivellato.

³ Notizie su Calicchio sono state pubblicate per la prima volta in GASTONE VIO, *Antonio Vivaldi e i Vivaldi*, «Informazioni e studi vivaldiani», 4, 1983, pp. 82 e 96.

dei referenti che attestino la libera condizione civile dell'aspirante coniuge: in questo caso vengono raccolte le dichiarazioni di due conoscenti, insieme ad altrettanti certificati rilasciati l'uno dal sindaco di Pomarico e dai suoi consiglieri, l'altro dall'Arciprete di Matera.

Dei due testimoni che accertano lo stato libero di Camillo Calicchio,⁴ in data 4 ottobre 1650, il primo è il reverendo Francesco Antonio Giliolo, un prete di Fasano, in Puglia. Giunto a Venezia da tre mesi e abitante nella parrocchia di Santa Maria Formosa, dichiara di aver conosciuto Camillo un anno prima, quando questi era a Fasano, dove per ben sei mesi si fermò «per far scola», accompagnato dallo zio Francesco de Rossi, fratello della madre Catarina. Dopo la partenza di Camillo da Fasano, il testimone ebbe l'occasione, nel giugno 1650, di far visita alla famiglia Calicchio a Pomarico. Qui, ricevuto dal padre e dalla «donna di casa», venne informato che zio e nipote erano a Venezia, dove in effetti li incontrò al suo arrivo nella Serenissima. Giliolo afferma che Camillo Calicchio, a Fasano, «faceva l'amore» – termine usato per indicare il corteggiamento – con l'idea di sposarsi lì, ma che poi lasciò il paese senza impegnarsi in alcun modo.

Il secondo testimone è un compagno d'infanzia di Camillo, il ventunenne pomaricano Francesco Paolo Fanizza, anch'egli giunto a Venezia da circa due mesi e residente a Santa Maria Formosa. La deposizione di quest'ultimo in parte contrasta con quella precedente, perché viene dichiarato che Calicchio ha vissuto costantemente a Pomarico fino a dieci mesi prima, quando è partito per Venezia assieme allo zio Francesco de Rossi – e che poco dopo scrisse alla madre che si era già stabilito in città – non alludendo però ai sei mesi passati a Fasano. La sua testimonianza è importante invece per attestare l'età di Camillo – che Fanizza conferma di circa ventidue anni – e soprattutto il suo stato civile: conoscendolo bene fin da bambino, può affermare con certezza che l'amico non è mai stato sposato né promesso.

Nel primo certificato, rilasciato e sottoscritto dal sindaco – con un semplice segno di croce – e da altri quattro eletti nel Consiglio dell'Università⁵ di Pomarico, Giovanni Camillo Calicchio, figlio di Giuseppe Calicchio⁶ e Catarina de Rossi, è definito «persona sbrigata, libera, e senza peso di Moglie e figli». È interessante notare che la data riportata sul sigillo è «26 maggio 1650» (Illustrazione 1), ragion per cui è da supporre che Camillo e Zanetta abbiano deciso di sposarsi fin dall'aprile-maggio 1650.

La coppia deve comunque aspettare il certificato di avvenute pubblicazioni a Pomarico, che viene inviato dall'Arciprete di Matera soltanto il successivo 20 agosto. È l'arrivo a Venezia di questo documento che rende possibile l'avvio dell'iter matrimoniale presso la Curia veneziana.

⁴ Il cognome di origine greca 'Calicchio' è del tutto sconosciuto a Venezia, sia nei secoli passati che al presente.

⁵ Per 'Università' si intende il Comune preunitario del Regno di Napoli (sec. XIII-1806). Vedi ANTONIO ALLOCATI, *Lineamenti delle istituzioni pubbliche nell'Italia meridionale*, Roma, Periccioli, 1968.

⁶ Giuseppe Calicchio, che nei testi prodotti a Venezia viene citato anche come «Iseppo», morirà tra giugno e settembre 1650: nei documenti matrimoniali del 4 ottobre 1650, infatti, Camillo è indicato come orfano di padre.

Il 6 ottobre, due giorni dopo aver ascoltato i testimoni, il cancelliere patriarcale firma finalmente il permesso.⁷ Lo stesso giorno Camillo riceve l'assoluzione sacramentale – impartita dal canonico di San Marco e parroco di San Vio don Giovanni Battista Prelli (Illustrazione 2)⁸ – e mercoledì 12 ottobre 1650 i due convolano a nozze (Illustrazione 3):⁹

Adi 12 ottobre 1650

Doppo le tre solite pubblicazioni in tre g[ior]ni festivi come appar nel libro delle stride fu contrato matr[imon]io per il R[everen]do S[igno]r D[on] Vidal Bognolo Piovan et suo [Parroco], tra la sig[no]ra Zanetta fia del Sig[no]r And[re]a Temporin con il Sig[no]r Camillo q[uondam] Isepo Calichi di Regno di Napoli tutti doi della nostra contrà, et poi subito sposati li sop[rascritt]ti nella nostra Chiesa per il sop[rascritt]to S[igno]r Piovano, alla presenza dell'Ill[ustriss]mo S[igno]r Polo Ant[onio] Miani fu de q[uondam] Jac[op]o della Contrà di S[an] Samuel et di m[es]s[er] And[re]a Balbi Barbier della nostra Contrà, osservati p[er]ò p[ri]ma tutti li ord[i]ni del Sacro Concilio di Trento, et sinodali.

Nel registrare i nubendi, il parroco di Sant'Agnese osserva che sono «tutti doi della nostra contrà», ovvero entrambi abitanti in Parrocchia. Si potrebbe desumere che la famiglia di Zanetta avesse la sua residenza a Sant'Agnese, nel sestiere di Dorsoduro. Invece, nel registro dei battesimi della parrocchia di S. Giovanni in Bragora, un documento attesta che nell'aprile 1650 il fratello di Zanetta Giovanni Francesco tiene a battesimo, come padrino, un bambino in pericolo di vita: è citato come «d. Francesco de Andrea Temporin stà in contrà».¹⁰ Il ragazzo ha circa diciassette anni e sta studiando per diventar prete, come chierico della Bragora,¹¹ abitando presso la famiglia, che ha, quindi, residenza nel territorio della parrocchia della Bragora, nel sestiere di Castello. Se Zanetta, come attesta il par-

⁷ Archivio della Parrocchia di S. Maria del Rosario [=APMR], Parrocchia di S. Agnese, Filze dei matrimoni 1, fasc. 1646-1650, f. 41: «Si fa fede per la Cancelleria Patri[arc]ale di Venetia, qualm[ent]e à stato provato per testimoniali di Pomarico, et testimonij essaminati in essa Cancelleria, che S[ignor] Gio[vanni] Camillo Calichi q[uondam] S[ignor] Giosepe da Pomarico Diocese di Mathera, d'età d'anni 22 in c[ir]ca habita in Venetia continuam[en]te da dieci mesi in qua, et non s'è mai maritato, ne promesso in alcun luogo; et però potrà admettersi alla celebrat[i]on[e] di matrimonio servatis servandis etc. In quorum fidem etc. Datum Venetijs ex Patriarchale Palatio die 6 octobris 1650. Cl. Franc. Montanarius Canc.» I registri della parrocchia di S. Agnese, soppressa, sono conservati presso i locali della Parrocchia di S. Maria del Rosario: si ringraziano la dott. ssa Silvia Lunardon e Maurizio Biasiol per averne reso possibile la consultazione. Un sentito ringraziamento anche al dott. Giuseppe Ellero, che ha preventivamente indagato sui registri di questa parrocchia, e al dott. Loris Stella, curatore dello schedario lasciato da monsignor Gastone Vio, per la parte riguardante la ricerca.

⁸ Nella stessa facciata della pagina nella quale il cancelliere – ruotato il foglio – attesta lo stato libero di Camillo, don Giovanni Battista Prelli scrive: «Faccio fede con mio giuramento Jo Pre Gio[vanni] Batt[ist]a Prelli Piovano in San Vio e Can[oni]co in S. Marco come hoggi che è li 6 del mese di ott[ob]re ho confessato il S[igno]r Camillo Canichi [sic] et sacramentalmente assolto ecc[etera]. Data di chiesa li 6 d'ott[ob]re 1650. In quorum fidem.»

⁹ APMR, Parrocchia di S. Agnese, Registri dei Matrimoni, Reg. 6, f. 216.

¹⁰ ASPV, Parrocchia di S. Giovanni in Bragora, Registri dei Battesimi, Reg. 9, f. 14v.

¹¹ Dopo la 'vestizione clericale', che era il primo passo della carriera ecclesiale e che avveniva in

roco che celebra il suo matrimonio, abita invece a Sant' Agnese – parrocchia geograficamente lontana – vive perlomeno da sola, se non in casa del futuro sposo ancor prima del matrimonio.

Il 24 settembre 1651 nasce Salvador Calicchio, figlio di Zanetta e Camillo. Viene battezzato il 2 ottobre nella chiesa di Santa Maria Nova, nel sestiere di Cannaregio.¹²

Dopo due anni, nei registri della parrocchia di Sant' Antonin – confinante con quella di S. Giovanni in Bragora – viene documentato il battesimo di Camilla Calicchio – che sarà la madre di Antonio Vivaldi – impartito il 29 dicembre 1653, cinque giorni dopo la sua nascita.¹³ Le vengono imposti i nomi di Camilla e Cattarina:

Adì 29 Xmbre 1653

Camilla e Cattarina, fig[lio]la del S[igno]r Camillo d[e] q[uondam] Iseppo Calicchio Sartor e della S[igno]ra Zanetta sua Consorte nata à dì 24 del corrente fù battezzato [sic] da me Piovan contras[critt]o Comp[ar]e Z[uane] Batt[ist]a Zaccalletti tentor sta à S. Zuane [in] Brag[or]a q[uondam] Troilo.

Da questo documento veniamo anche a sapere che il mestiere esercitato a Venezia da Camillo Calicchio è il sarto.

Non ci sono ulteriori tracce documentarie della vita di Camillo Calicchio, dopo la nascita della figlia. Il suo nome non compare nell'elenco dei sarti di Venezia compilato nel 1662 dall'Arte dei Sartori;¹⁴ la contabilità di questa corporazione non era purtroppo regolarmente aggiornata. Le ricerche sulla sua morte sono state condotte consultando i registri dei morti di San Giovanni in Bragora, delle parrocchie limitrofe – Sant' Antonin, San Martino, Santa Maria Formosa, Santa Maria Nova, San Canciano, San Giovanni Novo – e di Sant' Agnese (mancante dal 1653 al 1657), nonché presso l'Archivio di Stato di Venezia dove sono stati consultati i Necrologi degli anni 1656, 1658 e 1661.¹⁵

genere attornio ai dieci-tredici anni, il chierico, continuando a vivere in casa della propria famiglia, compiva i suoi studi presso una 'scuola sestierale' e veniva affidato a una chiesa capitolare – non necessariamente la sua parrocchia –, previo accordo con il parroco. Vedi GASTONE VIO, *Antonio Vivaldi prete*, «Informazioni e studi vivaldiani», 1, 1980, pp. 32-56 e anche ID., *Antonio Vivaldi chierico veneziano*, «Informazioni e studi vivaldiani», 16, 1995, pp. 123-130.

¹² ASPV, Parrocchia di S. Maria Nova, Registri dei Battesimi, Reg. 1, f. 704. «1650 à dì 2 Ottobre. Salvador, et Anzolo fig[lio]lo del Sig. Camillo Calichi del Luoco di Pomarichi Diocese di Matera in Regno di Napoli et della Sig[nor]a Zanetta sua leg[itim]a Consorte nato li 24 di Settembre pross[im]o pass[at]o, fù il compadre l'Ill[ustrissim]o Sig[nor] Alvise Bembo fù de q[uondam] E[ccellentissimo] Mattio della mia Parochia, la Comare Marina della Parochia de S. Canzian; battezzò il m[esse]r R[everen]do Sig[nor] Dottor Alvise Zane Piovano».

¹³ ASPV, Parrocchia di S. Antonin, Registri dei Battesimi, Reg. 3, ricerca per data.

¹⁴ *I-Vas*, Milizia da Mar, b. 552.

¹⁵ Nei Necrologi, i funzionari dei Provveditori alla Sanità riportavano quotidianamente tutti i morti della Città, così come veniva segnalato loro dalle diverse parrocchie. Sono rilegati per anno, secondo il *more veneto* (1 marzo - 28 febbraio), dal 1537 al 1805. Purtroppo ci sono varie lacune, tra cui molte annate di interesse per questa ricerca.

È certo che il 17 dicembre 1662 Zanetta è vedova: in questa data vengono eseguite nella chiesa di S. Giovanni in Bragora le pubblicazioni di matrimonio tra Zanetta Temporini e Gabriel Berti (Illustrazione 4),¹⁶ nelle quali la futura sposa è definita «R[elic]ta del q[uondam] M[esser] Gio[vanni] Camillo Chalic[c]hi[o]». In questo documento troviamo anche altre due interessanti notizie: vi si legge che entrambi gli sposi prima del matrimonio abitano nelle case del «N[obil]H[omo] E[ccellentissimo] Antonio Barbarigo» nella «Calle vicino al Ponte dei Corazzeri», e che Gabriel lavora come «pignater»¹⁷ presso la bottega di Zuanne Olivo in parrocchia della Bragora. Il Ponte dei Corazzeri oggi non esiste più, essendo stato interrato il Rio di Sant'Antonin da esso varcato, ma con buona approssimazione possiamo localizzare le case della famiglia Barbarigo nel caseggiato d'angolo formato dall'attuale Calle dei Corazzeri con la Salizada del Pignater. Non è un caso che quest'ultima strada abbia tale nome: si tratta dell'interrato canale di Sant'Antonin, sul quale si affacciava la Fondamenta dei Corazzeri con la bottega del *pignater* Olivo, datore di lavoro di Gabriel.¹⁸ È facile immaginare che Zanetta e Gabriel si siano conosciuti grazie alla vicinanza tra l'abitazione della prima con il luogo di lavoro dell'altro.

Le pubblicazioni, eseguite, come di consueto, nelle tre successive festività (17, 21 e 24 dicembre), devono essere però replicate perché il cognome del padre dello sposo è stato sbagliato: Gabriel è conosciuto da tutti come 'Colpi' – un semplice soprannome, che verrà comunque adottato anche da Zanetta, d'ora in poi citata nei registri di chiesa come Zanetta Colpi – e perciò nell'atto si trova scritto «figlio di Lucio Colpi, servidor». Evidentemente qualcuno, l'ultimo giorno delle pubblicazioni, rileva l'errore. I nubendi, che avevano già programmato di sposarsi la vigilia di Natale, devono aspettare il primo gennaio 1663 per celebrare le nozze (Illustrazione 5).¹⁹ L'officiante è il reverendo Giacomo Fornasieri, «primo Prete Titolato di chiesa» che pochi anni dopo, da parroco, sposterà anche Camilla Calicchio e Giovanni Battista Vivaldi, e che battezzerà Antonio e la sorella maggiore Gabriela. I testimoni scelti dagli sposi sono Pelegrin Colle, figlio di Mattio, abitante a S. Zulian, e Giovanni Battista Zachaletto [*sic*], figlio del defunto Troilo, abitante alla Bragora: evidentemente il secondo è il testimone della sposa, essendo già stato padrino di battesimo di Camilla.

¹⁶ ASPV, Parrocchia di S. Giovanni in Bragora, Registri dei Matrimoni, Reg. 10, f. 90d.

¹⁷ *Pignater* o *boccaler* era l'artigiano che forgiava e vendeva pentole, boccali, stoviglie e altri oggetti in terracotta e ceramica.

¹⁸ Queste informazioni di toponomastica sono state tratte dalla Redecima del 1661 (Vedi *I-Vas*, Dieci Savi alle Decime di Rialto, 420) confrontata con la pianta di Venezia raffigurata in LUDOVICO UGHI, *Iconografica rappresentazione della inclita città di Venezia consacrata al Reggio Serenissimo Dominio Veneto*, 1729 (Vedi *I-Vas*, Miscellanea mappe, dis. 1234).

¹⁹ ASPV, Parrocchia di S. Giovanni in Bragora, Registri dei Matrimoni, Reg. 10, f. 91d. Nelle nuove pubblicazioni del 31 dicembre 1662, a scanso di equivoci, si specifica: «Gabriel di Bortoli chiamato di Colpi, fio de Messer Lucio servidor». Il cognome «di Bortoli» è scritto così solamente in tale occasione: sebbene forse sia questa la forma corretta – visto che le prime pubblicazioni erano state annullate per l'imprecisione nel cognome, è probabile che siano state condotte ricerche precise, che hanno ritardato il matrimonio di una settimana –, si ritiene in questo articolo di continuare a chiamare Gabriel con il cognome che lo identifica in tutti gli altri documenti, cioè «Berti» (a volte «di Berti»).

Gabriel ha circa trent'anni, ben dodici meno di Zanetta, la quale ha anche la responsabilità del figlio Salvador, di dieci anni, e della piccola Camilla, di otto. Come specificato nel documento parrocchiale, entrambi vivono, in affitto, nelle case dei Barbarigo, ma non abbiamo documenti per certificare che abitassero insieme nello stesso appartamento. Che tra i due ci fosse già una notevole familiarità prima del matrimonio è comunque accertato dal fatto che dopo soli sei mesi, il 9 luglio successivo, nasce la loro figlia, Maria. Non si tratta di un parto prematuro: infatti la bambina, non essendo in pericolo di vita, viene portata in chiesa alla Bragora dopo due giorni per essere battezzata. L'11 luglio 1663 il parroco Giovanni Battista Vitalba le impartisce il sacramento, con i nomi di Maria e Iseppa (Illustrazione 6);²⁰ padrino è Pelegrin Colle, figlio di Mattio, causidico,²¹ già testimone di Gabriel al matrimonio,²² mentre la levatrice Margarita è la stessa che assisterà alla concitata nascita di Antonio Vivaldi quindici anni più tardi.

Da quest'atto di battesimo veniamo anche a conoscenza della morte di Lucio Berti, suocero di Zanetta, avvenuta tra gennaio e luglio 1663.²³

Nemmeno otto anni dopo anche Gabriel muore, il 28 ottobre 1670, all'età di circa trentott'anni, come si legge nel Libro dei Morti della Bragora (Illustrazione 7).²⁴ Nella stessa pagina del registro è segnalata, il primo novembre, la morte della madre di Zanetta, la sessantottenne Cattarina.²⁵ Entrambi sono stati assistiti dal rinomatissimo medico Nicolò Leonardi – la cui lapide tombale è posta tuttora davanti all'altare della chiesa della Bragora –, che attribuisce i decessi a «febre», come molto spesso si legge negli atti di morte dei registri veneziani. Mentre per la sepoltura di Cattarina si incarica il figlio prete Giovanni Francesco Temporini, di Gabriel è la stessa Zanetta a prendersi cura.

La malattia di Berti si era protratta per diciotto giorni. Il 17 ottobre – quindi dopo una settimana circa di «febre» – Gabriel decide di fare testamento, e chiama al suo capezzale il notaio veneziano Biasio Reggia, al quale detta le sue ultime volontà (Appendice 2).²⁶ Il testamento, aperto e «pubblicato» il giorno stesso della morte del testatore, prevede che i suoi 371 ducati siano distribuiti in questo modo:

1. dei settantuno ducati che si trovano nel luogo «dove parla il mio libro de riceveri», cinquantuno saranno destinati alla celebrazione di cento messe – cinquanta per la sua anima e altrettante per quella della moglie – con due candele per ogni altare nella parrocchia della Bragora; i restanti venti ducati saranno divisi tra due persone «dabbene» che si impegneranno a pregare per il defunto

²⁰ ASPV, Parrocchia di S. Giovanni in Bragora, Registri dei Battesimi, Reg. 9, f. 122d.

²¹ 'Causidico' era il termine popolare veneziano per 'avvocato'.

²² Viene così compiuta una sorta di *par condicio* tra Gabriel e Zanetta: se al matrimonio il testimone di Zanetta era stato il padrino della figlia avuta dal primo marito, ora Gabriel per Maria sceglie il suo stesso testimone di nozze.

²³ Anche l'altro suocero di Zanetta, il padre di Camillo Calicchio, era morto in prossimità del matrimonio del figlio, nei due mesi precedenti la cerimonia.

²⁴ ASPV, Parrocchia di S. Giovanni in Bragora, Registri dei Morti, Reg. 14, f. 45d.

²⁵ Il padre di Zanetta, Andrea Temporini – di cui non si hanno notizie dirette tramite documenti intestati a lui – alla morte della moglie, nel 1670, vive ancora, ma verrà a mancare nei cinque anni successivi, essendo Zanetta orfana di padre in un documento del 1675.

²⁶ *I-Vas*, Notarile, Testamenti, 871 (Biasio Reggia), n. 66.

e per la sua consorte alla prima occasione del 'Perdon d'Assisi' – l'indulgenza plenaria che, nella Chiesa Cattolica, può essere tuttora ottenuta dai suoi fedeli dal mezzogiorno del primo agosto alla mezzanotte del giorno successivo.²⁷

- 2a. i trecento ducati investiti presso i Provveditori al Sal, con interesse annuo del sei per cento, dovranno servire per il matrimonio o l'eventuale vestizione monacale della figlia Maria, la quale è espressamente scritto debba «star (che cossì voglio et ordino) con la Signora Zanetta, mia consorte e sua madre»; quest'ultima avrà il diritto di riscuotere la rendita annua (quindi 18 ducati) per le spese di alimentazione della bambina.
- 2b. nel malaugurato caso che la figlia, raggiunta la maggiore età, muoia prima del matrimonio o della vestizione, dei trecento ducati, cento saranno a disposizione di Maria stessa – non è chiaro se li potrà spendere al compimento della maggiore età o se serviranno per la sua sepoltura –, cento resteranno a Zanetta, mentre altri cento verranno devoluti alla chiesa della Bragora, che li continuerà ad investire, utilizzando gli interessi per celebrare un anniversario nel giorno della morte di Gabriel (due ducati) e nello stesso giorno altre messe per la sua anima.
- 2c. se Maria morisse invece prima della maggiore età, in quel caso, dei trecento ducati, cento andranno a Zanetta, sessanta saranno divisi equamente tra la madre, la sorella e i quattro fratelli del defunto, mentre i rimanenti centoquaranta andranno alla chiesa della Bragora, con le stesse modalità del punto precedente ma con maggiore rendita destinata alle messe. Viene specificato che, nel caso l'interesse annuo venga abbassato al cinque per cento, il parroco *pro tempore* sarà tenuto a reinvestire il capitale in «locco sicuro» per un'adeguata e sicura rendita.
3. a Zanetta restano gli altri eventuali beni di proprietà del defunto, assieme alla sua stessa dote di cinquecento ducati – che scopriamo così essere ben più cospicua dell'intera eredità di Gabriel.²⁸

Zanetta esegue le volontà del marito nel destinare alla chiesa della Bragora i settantuno ducati per le pratiche religiose: negli archivi della parrocchia si trova la descrizione della «Mansioneria et anniversario instituiti dal fu Gabriel Berti detto Colpi».²⁹

I restanti trecento ducati restano depositati «al Sal», ma in prossimità dell'estate del 1675 gli interessi vengono abbassati dal sei al cinque per cento. Zanetta – nel timore che il tasso possa ancora scendere – decide di stipulare un contratto con un agente al quale, previa cauzione, affida la somma da investire come meglio crederà per tre anni, al termine dei quali affrancherà il debito. Durante questi tre anni, l'agente corrisponderà alla vedova di Gabriel il cinque per cento annuo,

²⁷ Vedi www.assisiiofm.it/l-indulgenza-della-porzioncola-3104-1.html.

²⁸ Stupisce il fatto che in un testo così dettagliato non sia presa in considerazione la possibilità che sia la stessa Zanetta a morire.

²⁹ Archivio di S. Giovanni in Bragora, Fabbriceria di S. Giovanni in Bragora, Chiesa Parrocchiale di S. Giovanni in Bragora, Atti Generali, 204. Durante la nostra ricerca alcune parti dell'Archivio della Bragora erano ancora conservate nell'omonima parrocchia: si ringrazia per la disponibilità il parroco monsignor Giovanni Favaretto.

in due *tranche* di sette ducati e mezzo, per le spese della figlia Maria, come indicato nel testamento. Con sorpresa, scopriamo che l'agente incaricato di queste operazioni finanziarie, e che firma l'accordo con Zanetta, è Giovanni Battista Vivaldi, un anno prima del suo matrimonio con Camilla.

Il notaio Flaminio Giberti prepara un contratto assai scrupoloso e preciso (Appendice 3),³⁰ nel quale viene specificato che Zanetta è arrivata a questa decisione «dubitando» che il profitto «al Sal» possa venir ancora minorato, e, per il «beneficio» dell'eredità, «ha considerato esser cosa havantaggiosa il farne de med[esi]ma investita cauta»: credendo di interpretare i desideri del defunto marito affida l'eredità di Maria al suo futuro genero. Questi, non avendo nessun bene prezioso da contrapporre come cauzione, pone a garanzia del prestito una proprietà dell'amico Antonio Rossi, *muschiaro*³¹ in Piazza San Marco «all'Insegna delli tre Calici». ³² Si tratta di un «cason con un pezzo di terra» posto in Villa delle Gambarare,³³ di cui non è quantificato il valore, ma la rendita: l'immobile è dato in locazione a tale Tonin Tabaco, che paga all'anno ventiquattro ducati, ben di più dei quindici ducati d'interesse dell'eredità di Berti.

Anche in questo contratto si tiene conto della eventuale morte di Maria nei tre anni dell'accordo: se ciò dovesse accadere, Giovanni Battista Vivaldi dovrà versare alla parrocchia della Bragora i cento ducati spettanti – sebbene la volontà di Gabriel indicasse centoquaranta ducati nel caso la figlia morisse prima della maggiore età, come sarebbe avvenuto se fosse mancata nei tre anni successivi al 1675 (vedi paragrafo 2c).

Il documento è firmato da Pietro Gonella e Giovanni Marco Gasparini, oltre che dai contraenti, per i quali vengono chiamati ad apporre la loro firma anche Bartolomeo Valentini, figlio del defunto Giovanni (titolare della *bottega dalle acque*³⁴ all'insegna del Mondo sotto i portici della Zecca a San Marco), per autenticare quella di Vivaldi, Antonio Casari³⁵, figlio del defunto Antonio (per il quale

³⁰ *I-Vas*, Notarile, Atti, 6924 (Flaminio Giberti), prot. 1675, ff. 214r-217v.

³¹ Il *muschiaro*, o *muschier*, è il guantaio e profumiere, venditore di oggetti profumati, nella cui bottega spesso si faceva commercio anche di libretti a stampa: è noto il caso di Biagio Perugino, *muschier* sul ponte di Rialto, che nel 1543 è anche l'editore di un volume di Sonetti di Pietro Aretino.

³² Abbiamo trovato riferimento a questa bottega in EMANUELE CICOGNA, *Delle iscrizioni veneziane riportate e illustrate da Emanuele Cicogna*, III, Venezia, Giuseppe Picotti stampador, 1830, dove, a p. 488, viene citato il «Libro IV dei Morti in San Marco» che racconta della morte, avvenuta il 7 febbraio 1688, del canonico di San Marco «Rev.mo P. Zuanne Ziotti arciprete della Vener[anda] Congregazione di san Silvestro, d'anni 74 in circa, morto all'improvviso alla Bottega del Muschier all'insegna dei tre calici sotto l'Horologio in piazza». Veniamo dunque a conoscenza dell'esatta ubicazione della bottega di Antonio Rossi: sotto la torre dell'Orologio, un posto molto prestigioso, che ci lascia immaginare che il proprietario fosse economicamente stabile.

³³ Località sul fiume Brenta, ambito luogo di villeggiatura della Serenissima, nel cui territorio sorge anche la celebre Villa Foscari, progettata da Andrea Palladio nel 1556-1559. Al tempo di Vivaldi era in territorio padovano, ora è provincia di Venezia.

³⁴ Nelle *botteghe dalle acque*, numerose in Piazza San Marco, si serviva non solo acqua pura, ma anche sciroppi e bevande dissetanti in genere. Verso la fine del Seicento molte di esse si trasformarono in *botteghe del caffè*.

³⁵ Antonio Casari, qui ventiseienne, è il fratello di latte di Giovanni Battista, essendo «nato in casa dei suoi genitori» e allattato dalla madre dei Vivaldi. Cresciuto come un figlio a Brescia fino alla

fa fede lo stesso Valentini), per certificare quella di Zanetta, e infine Bartolomeo Saviati (titolare della *bottega dalle acque* all'insegna di San Michele sotto le Procuratie Nuove a San Marco) per la convalida della firma di Antonio Rossi.

Non abbiamo notizie sull'esito dell'investimento e su come il capitale sia stato messo a frutto. Non sappiamo neppure se allo scadere dei tre anni i trecento ducati siano stati restituiti alla legittima proprietaria o se siano stati reinvestiti o altrimenti spesi. A distanza di circa un anno, invece, troviamo Giovanni Battista impegnato in un altro tipo di contratto: sono in corso i preparativi per il matrimonio con Camilla Calicchio.

Il 6 giugno 1676, nello stesso giorno in cui vengono ascoltati in Curia Patriarcale i testimoni dello sposo sullo stato libero dello stesso, e mentre in chiesa della Bragora vengono eseguite le pubblicazioni, Zanetta, nella propria abitazione, perfeziona le sue ultime volontà testamentarie davanti al notaio Pietro Antonio Bozzini (Appendice 4 e 5).³⁶

Non possiamo dimostrare se la madre della sposa si sentisse davvero in punto di morte o se invece volesse assicurare in modo chiaro e formale a Camilla il suo apporto economico; resta che il documento non è stato aperto negli anni successivi perché Zanetta è rimasta in vita molto a lungo.

È interessante notare come nel testamento – datato 31 maggio 1676 e modificato con l'aggiunta di un codicillo il 6 giugno – Zanetta commetta la grave ingiustizia di lasciare in dote a Camilla tutti i beni depositati «al Sal» e che erano appartenuti a Gabriel,³⁷ specificando che la figlia «deve esser moglie del S[ignor] Gio[vanni] Batt[ist]a Vivaldi». Camilla, erede «ressiduarìa» di tutto, ha l'obbligo di passare a Maria – alla quale i beni del padre sarebbero spettati di diritto – solamente un paio di lenzuola, biancheria, «et altro». Al figlio maggiore Salvador resta solo una camicia, alla quale nel codicillo viene aggiunta una piccola somma *una tantum* di cinque ducati. Non viene neppure citata la dote della stessa Zanetta, che nel 1670 era di 500 ducati e che probabilmente è già stata spesa. Alla stesura del testamento e del codicillo assistono due testimoni: Antonio Gandolfi, «barbier», e il fruttivendolo Carlo Cambianega.

Sebbene il testamento non sia stato eseguito in quanto tale – non essendo morta la testatrice –, possiamo però ipotizzare che il capitale con cui Berti avrebbe voluto assicurare alla figlia Maria un discreto benessere economico sia stato invece impiegato da Zanetta per le nozze di Camilla: anzi, siccome era ancora in

morte del padre Agostino Vivaldi, partì nel 1664 insieme alla vedova Margherita con i figli Cecilia, Agostino e Giovanni Battista per Venezia, dove la famiglia si stabilì, prima ai SS. Apostoli e poi in parrocchia di San Martino e dove Antonio Casari abitò ininterrottamente almeno fino al giugno 1676. È lo stesso Casari, assieme ad Agostino Vivaldi, a testimoniare sullo stato libero di Giovanni Battista per le pratiche matrimoniali di quest'ultimo. Vedi GASTONE VIO, *Antonio Vivaldi prete*, cit., pp. 33-34 e ID., *Appunti vivaldiani*, «Informazioni e studi vivaldiani», 12, 1991, p. 70.

³⁶ *I-Vas*, Notarile, Testamenti (Pietro Antonio Bozzini), 186-188, n. 424-425 rosso.

³⁷ Il contratto stipulato con Giovanni Battista Vivaldi nel 1675 lasciava invece supporre che il deposito sarebbe stato ritirato e diversamente investito dal contraente, a un tasso migliore del cinque per cento, mentre qui lo troviamo ancora impegnato «al Sal».

corso il contratto stipulato l'anno precedente con Giovanni Battista Vivaldi, è facile immaginare che la nuova famiglia abbia incominciato la vita matrimoniale facendo diretto affidamento su quel fondo.

Camilla Calicchio e Giovanni Battista Vivaldi, dispensati dalla seconda e terza pubblicazione, si sposano l'11 giugno 1676 nella chiesa di San Giovanni Battista alla Giudecca,³⁸ liturgia celebrata dal parroco della Bragora, il reverendo Giacomo Fornasieri, che aveva già unito in matrimonio Zanetta e Gabriel. Anche in questo caso la sposa è incinta, e questa volta è piuttosto evidente, essendolo già da quattro mesi: il 13 novembre nascerà Gabriela Antonia, primogenita della coppia.³⁹ A testimoniare le nozze troviamo Ottavio figlio di Iseppo Enz, «orese all'Insegna dell'Europa», abitante a S. Polo e Andrea figlio del defunto Zuanne Vedova detto «Tremamondo», gondoliere, abitante a S. Martino. Tra gli invitati ci sono Paolo Afabris e lo stesso Antonio Gandolfi, che nel 1693 saranno convocati da Antonio Vivaldi per certificare col loro giuramento – davanti al Cancelliere della Curia Patriarcale – l'avvenuto spotalizio dei genitori.⁴⁰

Nell'atto di matrimonio,⁴¹ redatto nell'apposito registro della parrocchia della sposa, si legge che Giovanni Battista abita «alli forni in contrà de S. Martin», e Camilla «in Campo Grando, nelle case dà Ca' Salamon» alla Bragora. Il Campo Grando – oggi Campo Bandiera e Moro – è la piazza antistante la chiesa parrocchiale, e le case che la famiglia Salamon dava in locazione erano i locali dell'edificio posto tra la chiesa stessa e la Calle del Dose, che porta alla Riva degli Schiavoni.⁴² Non è possibile – allo stato attuale delle ricerche d'archivio – precisare da quanti anni Camilla risiedesse in questa abitazione, né se fosse la residenza della famiglia di Zanetta con i figli, anche se l'ipotesi è assai probabile. Non è chiaro neppure se, dopo il matrimonio, i due rimasero a vivere presso quest'indirizzo o se fissarono il loro domicilio altrove in parrocchia. È comunemente condivisa la supposizione che Antonio Vivaldi sia nato in campo alla Bragora, nelle case dei Salamon, anche se resta una tesi da avvalorare con documenti per ora mancanti.

Zanetta Temporini muore alla Bragora il primo gennaio 1690. Nell'atto di morte (Illustrazione 8) è nominata «Zanetta r[elic]ta del q[uonda]m Gabriel

³⁸ La chiesa di San Zuanne della Zuecca era, secondo le cronache del Seicento, «per tempio, per grandezza, per chiostri, per orti, e per molte altre abitazioni assai nobile». Situata all'estrema punta dell'isola verso il canale di San Giorgio Maggiore, è riprodotta in molte iconografie di epoche diverse, tra cui segnaliamo per la chiarezza quella di Jacopo de' Barbari (1500). Eretta nel 1333 da monaci camaldolesi, nel 1771 – soppresso il monastero – venne officiata dal clero secolare; la chiesa continuò a funzionare fino al 1808, quando la dominazione austriaca ne cambiò l'uso. Fu demolita nel corso dell'Ottocento.

³⁹ La breve esistenza di Gabriela Antonia – che morirà «da spasemo» all'età di diciotto mesi, appena tre mesi dopo la nascita del fratello Antonio – è riportata in MICKY WHITE, *Antonio Vivaldi: A Life in Documents*, cit., pp. 7-8. Il padrino fu Simon Vaccio (o Vazzio), che nel 1667 era diventato uno dei pifferi del Doge (vedi ELEANOR SELFRIDGE-FIELD, *Venetian Instrumental Music from Gabrieli to Vivaldi*, 3a ed., New York, Dover, 1994, pp. 347-348).

⁴⁰ Vedi GASTONE VIO, *Antonio Vivaldi prete*, cit., p. 32.

⁴¹ ASPV, Parrocchia di S. Giovanni in Bragora, Registri dei Matrimoni, Reg. 11, f. 73.

⁴² Vedi GASTONE VIO, *I luoghi di Vivaldi a Venezia*, «Informazioni e studi vivaldiani», 5, 1984, p. 91.

Colpi»; nell'indice del registro figura alla lettera Z come «Zanetta Colpi». Il medico Mesavi sottolinea che la causa del decesso – oltre a otto giorni di «febbre maligna» – è da attribuirsi alla «vecchiezza»: Zanetta ha vissuto circa settant'anni, un'età considerevole per l'epoca. Non è stato trovato negli archivi nessun testamento che regolasse i beni della defunta, anche se crediamo che ormai non ci fosse più alcuna 'necessità' nella destinazione dell'eredità, che immaginiamo assai poco cospicua, anche in riferimento ai fatti che riguardano Maria Berti qui di seguito esposti.

Ad incaricarsi della sepoltura è il «Rev[erendissi]mo Sig[no]r Piovan suo fratello». Si tratta di Giovanni Francesco Temporini, figlio di Cattarina e Andrea, più giovane della sorella di circa dodici anni, essendo nato attorno al 1632-1633. Nulla si sa di lui prima del 1650, quando – come accennato – lo troviamo giovane chierico mentre tiene a battesimo il figlio neonato in pericolo di morte di un parrochiano della Bragora. Il suo nome compare ancora nei registri parrocchiali attorno agli anni Settanta, quando celebra matrimoni e battesimi in qualità di suddiacono titolato.⁴³ Nell'ottobre 1678 il Capitolo lo elegge parroco di San Giovanni Battista in Bragora. Alla morte di Zanetta rimane certamente lui il punto di riferimento della famiglia: ne abbiamo prova l'anno successivo, quando avvengono le nozze della nipote Maria, figlia di Zanetta e Gabriel, ormai ventottenne.

Il 24 settembre 1691 Maria Berti sposa Alberto Zannetti, *beretter*,⁴⁴ con una cerimonia «in casa della sposa», registrata presso la parrocchia della Bragora, per la quale sono dispensate «le tre solite pubblicazioni» (Illustrazione 9 e 10).⁴⁵ Sembra veramente un matrimonio celebrato con grande urgenza: sorge il dubbio che la sposa fosse in pericolo di morte, e che anche Maria – come già la madre e la sorella – fosse incinta e portasse avanti una gravidanza problematica che ne metteva a rischio la vita. I testimoni che presenziano al rito sono un collega *beretter* dello sposo, tale Federico «Pizzini» (Piccini) figlio del defunto Evangelista, e il reverendo padre Lorenzo de Gobbi, abitante in parrocchia, persona di grande fiducia dello zio parroco; quest'ultimo non celebra, concedendo la «licenza» al reverendo padre Zuanne Toselli, suddiacono titolato della Bragora.

Maria evidentemente torna in salute in breve tempo, perché solo cinque giorni dopo, il 29 settembre, i novelli sposi ricevono la solenne benedizione sponsale in chiesa della Bragora alla presenza ancora una volta del signor Piccini, mentre al

⁴³ 'Suddiacono titolato' è il minore dei titoli capitolari cui potesse aspirare un sacerdote tramite la votazione del Capitolo di una chiesa, a cui seguono 'diacono' e 'prete', qualifiche che potevano arrivare fino a tre per titolo, cioè 'primo, secondo e terzo suddiacono titolato', 'primo, secondo e terzo diacono titolato' e 'primo, secondo e terzo prete titolato'. Dal titolo minore si passava, per votazione del Capitolo, a quelli superiori mano a mano che si rendevano vacanti. Vedi GASTONE VIO, *Antonio Vivaldi chierico veneziano*, cit., p. 125 e 129 nota 8.

⁴⁴ *Beretter* è il termine veneziano che indica il cappellaio. Alberto Zannetti (o «Zanetti») è figlio del defunto Polidoro: nei registri di S. Martino sono certificate le nascite di alcuni fratelli di Alberto, e Polidoro risulta essere a sua volta «beretter».

⁴⁵ ASPV, Parrocchia di S. Giovanni in Bragora, Registri dei Matrimoni, Reg. 11, ff. 299s. e 299d.

posto di padre Lorenzo de Gobbi troviamo padre Domenico Pleunitz figlio del defunto Zuanne «di Chiesa nostra», un altro sacerdote della Bragora.

Maria si sposa senza poter far conto su alcuna dote, nonostante le precise volontà del padre. Questo ci viene confermato da un documento redatto poco tempo dopo, il 25 gennaio 1692, quando il «reverendissimo» Giovanni Francesco Temporini, due giorni prima di morire in seguito a un «colpo apoplettico»,⁴⁶ detta il suo testamento a padre Lorenzo de Gobbi. Nel documento, autenticato dal notaio Bonaventura Scarella e pubblicato il giorno successivo la morte,⁴⁷ vengono citate – oltre ai poveri della parrocchia, la chiesa della Bragora, lo stesso padre Lorenzo de Gobbi, il medico curante e la serva – le nipoti Camilla e Catterina, definite «sorelle» di Maria (Illustrazione 11).

A Camilla, ~~mia~~, e Catterina mie Nipoti lascio ducati cento per cadauna per una volta tanto in segno d'amore; non lasciando à Maria altra mia Nezza [= nipote] cosa alcuna in riguardo che hà havuto molto più delle sud[det]te sue sorelle in tempo che si è maritata, havendola io soccorsa, et assistita di tutto il possibile, et che eccede', come dissi al sud[det]to legato dell'altre due sue sorelle, e miei [*sic*] Nipoti.

Nello stesso pomeriggio del 25 gennaio, il moribondo detta ancora a padre Lorenzo un codicillo nel quale, oltre a lasciare alcuni ducati ai capitolari e ai chierici della chiesa della Bragora, ha un ripensamento e destina a «Maria moglie di Alberto mia Nezza» una «figura di cerva in segno di cortesia».

Non ci sono dubbi che le tre sorelle siano le figlie di Zanetta, proprio perchè viene specificato che a Maria non viene lasciato nemmeno un ducato, avendola lo zio già aiutata economicamente più di quanto venga lasciato alle altre due sorelle – più di cento ducati, quindi – in occasione, cioè, del matrimonio celebrato solo quattro mesi prima.

Oltre a fornirci elementi utili per sospettare che Maria non possedesse nulla al momento delle nozze,⁴⁸ questo testamento ci mette a conoscenza dell'esistenza,

⁴⁶ ASPV, Parrocchia di S. Giovanni in Bragora, Registri dei Morti, Reg. 15, f. 60. «Adi 28 d[etto] [gennaio 1691 *more veneto*]. Il R[everendissi]mo Sig[no]r D[on] Gio[vanni] Fran[cesc]o Temporin[us] Piovano della nostra Chiesa d'anni 58 in c[irca] caduto Popletico già g[lor]ni 4 medico il Mesavi lo dà in nota e fa sepelir il R[everendo] P[adre] Lorenzo de Gobbi come Commissario. Cap[ito]lo gioveni Cong[regazio]n[e] Fraterna in mezzo la C[hies]a.» Tra le carte del testamento, in uno scritto che porta la data del 27 gennaio, padre Zuanne Toselli afferma che la morte del parroco è avvenuta quello stesso giorno. Confrontando la grafia dei due documenti, si può dedurre che sia lo stesso padre Toselli a redigere l'atto di morte nel registro parrocchiale il giorno dopo. Sarà questo sacerdote, per ora suddiacono, a succedere a Temporini come parroco della Bragora.

⁴⁷ *I-Vas*, Notarile, Testamenti (Bonaventura Scarella), 109, n. 139.

⁴⁸ A maggior riconferma dell'indigenza nella quale si trovano Maria e Alberto, osserviamo che il 26 febbraio 1696 nel Registro dei Morti della Bragora (ASPV, Parrocchia di S. Giovanni in Bragora, Registri dei Morti, Reg. 15, f. 126) viene segnalata la morte di Cattarina figlia di Alberto Zanetti, deceduta «da spasemo» a ventotto mesi circa (la stessa non è registrata tra i battezzati della Bragora). Si incarica di seppellirla la chiesa della Bragora «per Carità», quando normalmente se ne incaricava un parente, e generalmente il padre, come avviene per i figli di Camilla – Iseppo Santo e Gerolima Michiella – la cui morte per vaiolo è registrata nella pagina precedente dello stesso registro.

mai documentata prima, di una terza figlia di Zanetta, Catterina. Di lei non si conosce l'età, né l'identità del padre: nonostante le ricerche negli archivi della Bragora, di Sant'Agnese, di Santa Maria Formosa e delle parrocchie con le quali Zanetta era stata in contatto, non è stata ancora trovata nessun'altra traccia della sua esistenza, della quale però non si può dubitare, essendo le parole dello zio molto precise, oltre al fatto che il redattore del testo era padre Lorenzo de Gobbi, che conosceva bene la famiglia e avrebbe emendato subito un tale errore. La madre non fa menzione di questa figlia nella stesura del suo testamento del 1676, ma ciò non significa che l'abbia volutamente penalizzata: è possibile che Catterina si fosse già sposata o fosse entrata in convento, avendo quindi già ricevuto il necessario. Questo potrebbe essere avvenuto tra il 1670 e il 1676, quando Zanetta era in possesso della sua dote di 500 ducati – citati nel testamento del marito nel 1670 e non più nel suo sei anni dopo – che potrebbe aver utilizzato per la figlia Catterina.

Con la morte di Giovanni Francesco Temporini si chiude la storia della famiglia di origine di Camilla Calicchio. Ancora molti documenti attendono di essere ritrovati negli archivi veneziani per completare la narrazione delle vicende qui esposte, ma già da quanto è stato finora rinvenuto è possibile farsi un'idea precisa di come Zanetta Temporini, nonna materna di Antonio Vivaldi, abbia potuto influenzare, con i suoi atti pubblici e con la sua stessa vitalità, il corso degli eventi che hanno investito la sua famiglia.

Il fatto che la sua morte sia avvenuta nel 1690, inoltre, ci autorizza a pensare che Zanetta abbia influito fortemente anche sulla stessa formazione del nipote, che per ben dodici anni ha vissuto a stretto contatto con una nonna dal carattere tanto forte e determinato.

Inoltre, la circostanza che lo zio della madre fosse non un semplice sacerdote, ma addirittura il parroco della Bragora – comunità assiduamente frequentata dalla famiglia Vivaldi – sollecita la deduzione che la vocazione sacerdotale di Antonio sia sopraggiunta anche come conseguenza dell'esempio: i primi passi nella carriera ecclesiastica del futuro compositore iniziano nel 1693, solo un anno dopo la scomparsa del compianto zio prete.

APPENDICE 1. *Documento di stato libero* di Giovanni Camillo Calicchio

Archivio Storico Patriarcale di Venezia, Sezione Antica, Examinum matrimoniorum, Reg. 53, ff. 556-559.⁴⁹

[f. 556r]

[A margine] Pro | Jo[hannis] Camillo Calicchio | atto libertatis

Die 4. octobris 1650.

Coram etc comparuit D[ominus] Jo[hannis] Camillus Calicchius q[uondam] D[omini] Josephi de Pomarico Provincię Basilicatę Matheren[sis] Diçes[iae] degens Venetijs decem ab hinc mensibus circiter in Parochia S[anc]ta Agnitis, et institit se admitti ad probandum ar[ticu]lum infras[crip]tum producens et testimoniales tenoris et instantis etc
Che D[omino] Gio[vanni] Camillo Calicchio q[uondam] D[omini] Gioseppe da Pomarica Provincia di Basilicata (nel Regno di Napoli) Diocese di Mathera, d'età d'anni 22. habita in Venetia continuam[en]te da dieci mesi in qua, e non s'è mai maritato, ne promesso con alcuna p[er]sona in alcun luogo, vel prout p[re]s[e]ntes et testimoniales ut suprà productas etc

Testes

Rev[erendu]s D[ominus] Franc[iscus] Ant[oni]us Giliolo
D[ominus] Franc[iscus] Paulus Fanizza

Die d[ict]a

R[e]v[erendu]s D[ominus] Franc[iscus] Antonius Giliolus q[uondam] Iacobi de Fasano nullius Diçesis Provincię Baren[sis], Regni Neapolis degens Venetijs tribus ab hinc mensibus in Parochia S[anc]ta Marię formosę, ętatis annos 28. circ[ite]r prout asseruit etc testis inductus, citatus, monitus, et iuratus, prout tactis etc iuravit etc ac de mandato etc examinatus.

Int[errogatus] etc res[pondi]t conosco il S[ignor] Gio[vanni] Camillo Calicchio da Pomarico Nap[olitan]o [f. 556v] da un'anno in qua con occas[i]one che lui già tanto tempo capitò insieme con Don Fran[ces]co Rossi suo Ziano à Fasano mia Patria p[er] far scola, come fece p[er] sei mesi, e poi venne à Venetia; perche il mese di Giugno che passai io da Casa sua non trovai alcuno di loro, mà se bene il Padre e la donna di casa del d[ett]o S[ignor] Gio[vanni] Camillo, che mi ricevettero in Casa p[er]che mi diedi à conoscere per amico del d[ett]o s[igno]r Don Fran[ces]co, e Gio[vanni] Camillo, e lui mede[si]mo, cioè suo Padre mi disse ch'erano venuti à Venetia, ove gl'hò ritrovati quando capitai quì già tre mesi.

Int[errogatus] etc res[pondi]t io sò che il d[ett]o S[igno]r Gio[vanni] Camillo non è maritato, perche allo paese mio faceva l'amore con animo di maritarsi là, e p[er] questo io ne stò sicuro p[er]che partì poi senza maritarsi, ne promettersi con alcuna.

Int[errogatus] super g[e]n[er]alibus rectè res[pondi]t et in fidem etc se subscripsit
Io D[on] Francesco Antoni[o] Gileolo lo affermo come di sop[r]a con giuram[ent]o

Die d[ict]a

D[ominus] Franc[iscus] Paulus Fanizza f[iliu]s Antonij de Pomarico Matheren[sis] Diçes[iae] degens Venetijs duobus ab hinc mensibus circ[ite]r in Parochia S[anc]tę Marię formosę, ętatis annos 21 prout asseruit etc testis inductus, citatus, monitus, et iuratus, prout [f. 557r] tactis etc iuravit etc ac de m[andat]o etc examinatus.

⁴⁹ Nei *documenti di stato libero* si alterna il latino con l'italiano.

Int[errogatus] etc res[pondi]t conosco il S[igno]r Gio[vanni] Camillo Calicchio da Pomarico da piccolo in sù p[er]che anch'io son dell'istesso luogo, et p[er]ciò sò che lui ha vintidoi anni in circa, et che da dieci mesi in qua in circa stà in Venetia perche già tanto tempo parti dal paese con D[on] Franc[es]co de Rossi suo Barba, e disse di venir à Venetia, e poco doppo scrisse à sua madre ch'era a Venetia, e quando io son venuto a Venetia, che sono doi mesi, lo trovai qui in Venetia.

Int[errogatus] etc res[pondi]t sò certo che lui è stato sempre al paese insino ch'è venuto à Venetia, e non s'è mai maritato, ne promesso, e se fosse maritato ò promesso, io lo saprei, perche hò praticato sempre con lui me[n]tre è stato la.

Int[errogat]us super g[e]n[er]alibus rectè respo[n]di[t] et in fidem etc se subscripsit Io Fra[n]ces[c]o Paolo Faniza affermo qua[n]to di so Pra [sic] con giuramento

Die 6 octobris 1650.

Coram me Cancell[ari]us etc personalit[er] constitutus D[ominus] Jo[hannis] Camillus Callicchius principalis [illeggibile] monitus de penis statutis ab iure contrà poliigamos et peierantes iuravit tactis etc se esse liberum [f. 557v] et solutum ab omni vinculo matrimonij, et hoc de mandato speciali Rev[erendissi]mi D[omi]ni provicarij P[at]ri[arcali]s etc quo facto et visa su[b]s[tan]tiali sacr[ament]alis conf[essio]nis, ei consignata fuit testimonialis libertatis in forma etc

Ita est Jo[hannis] Franc[iscu]s Montanarius Cancell[ari]us Path[riarc]alis etc

[f. 558r]

1. Noi infrascritti Sindaco et Eletti dell'Uni[versit]à della Terra di Pomarico Pr[ovinci]a di Basilicata faci[a]mo piena, et indubitata fede a chi la pr[esen]te spetterà vedere, o sara quomodolibet presentata in Giudicio nel extra qualmente il Sig[nor] Gio[vanni] Gamillo figlio delli Sig[nor]i Gioseppo Calicchio, et Catarina de Rossi coniugi, é p[er]sona sbrigata, libera, e senza peso di Moglie e figli, p[er] no[n] essere esso casato con donna alcuna, se no[n] solo al p[resen]te, che qui se' inteso, che sia, o si voglia casare in Venetia, che in fede di cio havemo fatta la p[resen]te p[er] mano del sottos[crit]to n[ost]ro ordinario Cancelliero, firmata et croce signata di n[ost]re p[ro]p[ri]e mani e sigillata col solito sigillo di detta Un[iversit]à Pomarico. 26 di Maggio 1650

+ Segno di Croce di Leonardo d'Alessandro Sindaco

S[igno]r Gio[vanni] Batt[ist]a Cattaldi eletto

D[otto]r Carm[el]o falco eletto

fran[ces]co de Leonardis eletto

Costantino gorrisio eletto

Fide[m] facio Ego N[otariu]s Egidius Falconus Terrę Pomarici Prov[incię] Basilicatę Regni Neapolitani ordinarius Cancell[ari]us Un[iversita]tis Terrę Pomarici predictę sup[r]a scr[i]pta fidem fuisse mea propria manu de voluntate sup[r]adictor[um] sindici, et Elector[um] scripta, ac illarum proprijs mani[bus] subscripta[m], et Signo Crucis signata[m], ac sigillata[m] proprio sigillo qua Uni[versit]as dictę Terrę, insimilisq[ue] et alijs scriptoris utitur, et in fide signavi rog[at]us Pomarici die 26 Mensis qui sup[r]a etc

[f. 559r]

2. N[ost]r[us] D[omi]nus Iosephus Falius Archipresbiter Mat[er]n[is] Ecclesię Terrę Pomarici fidem facimus atq[ue] testamur qualiter per nos in tribus diebus festivis, inter missa no[n] sollempnia factę, fuerunt p[re]conia de matrimonio contrahendo inter Dominos

Joannem Camillum huius Terre et Zannettam Temporina[m] Civitatis Venetiaru[m],
et no[n] invenimus nullum impedimentu[m] dirimentem, et impredientem, nec per nos,
neq[ue] per nostros Confessarios. In quoru[m] fidem hec scripsi, et subscripsi, et meo
proprio signo signavi datu[m] Pomarici die 20 A[u]gusti 1650
Ego D[ominu]s Josephus Falius Archipresbiter qui supra etc

APPENDICE 2: Testamento di Gabriel Berti

I-Vas, Notarile, Testamenti, 871 (Biasio Reggia), n. 66.⁵⁰

[A margine] 1670: 28 ottob[r]e | Pub[lica]to il cont[rascrit]to testam[en]to

Anno ab Incarnat[i]o[n]e D[omine] N[ostri] J[esu] C[hristi] 1670: ind[iction]e 8^a Die verò
Veneris decima septima m[ens]is octobris R[ivoal]ti.

Il sig[no]r Gabriel q[uondam] Lucio di Berti d[ett]o Colpi boccaller in contrà di sa[n]
Gio[vanni] Batt[ist]a in Bragora, sano p[er] gra[tia] di S[ua] D[ivina] M[aestà] della mente,
sensi et intelletto, ben[ché] del corpo infermo, hà fatto chiamar, et andar à se nella casa
della sua sollita habitacion posta nella contrà sudetta, me Biasio Reggia nodaro pub[li]co
di questa Città, et stando lui nel letto, alla presenza delli qui sott[oscri]tti testij mi hà
pregato scriver il p[rese]nte suo Testam[en]to, et accadendo il caso della morte sua, lò vogli
apprire, pubblicare, et roborare, giusta le leggi di questa Ser[enissi]ma Rep[ubbli]ca, et
poi cossi ordinò.

Raccomando l'a[n]i[m]a mia al salvator n[ost]ro Gesù C[hrist]o, alla Gloriosa V[er]gin[e]
M[ari]a, e tutti li santi, et sante del Paradiso, et particularm[en]te al Glorioso S[an] Iseppo
mio Protettor, pregandoli tutti interceder p[er] me app[ress]o S[ua] D[ivina] M[aestà]
p[er] la remissione de miei peccati .

Mi ritrovo haver d[uca]ti settanta uno, qualli sono nel luoco, dove parla il mio libro de
receveri, delli qualli voglio ch[e] siano celebrate cento messe, cioè cinq[uan]ta p[er]
l'a[n]i[m]a mia, et cinq[uan]ta p[er] l'a[n]i[m]a della s[igno]ra Zanetta mia consorte, mà
che siano celebrate subito con candelle due p[er] ogni altar qui nella mia contrada, et di
più che subito la prima occasion del perdon di Sisa [Assisi], che sia mandato due persone
a tior il perdon, una per l'anima mia, et l'altra p[er] l'a[n]i[m]a della d[ett]a mia consorte,
et voglio ch[e] siano datti d[uca]ti dieci p[er] cadauno di quelli, ch[e] anderà; ma sopra il
tutto voglio ch[e] siano persone da ben.

Di più mi ritrovo haver d[uca]ti tresento investiti al Sal alle sie p[er] cento, li qualli intendo
ch[e] esser debbano p[er] il maritar, ò monacar di mia figliola Maria, la qual debba star
(ch[e] cossi voglio, et ordino) con la s[igno]ra Zanetta [f. 1v] mia consorte, et sua m[ad]re,
la qual sua m[ad]re possa lei scoder li prò delli detti d[uca]ti 300 p[er] allimentar la detta
Maria; et datto il caso ch[e] la d[ett]a Maria morisse, vanti ch[e] fosse maritata ò monacata;
mà ch[e] fosse però in età ottima, voglio ch[e] possi disponer di solli d[uca]ti cento, et li
altri d[uca]ti 200 lasso ch[e] siano, cento di mia consorte, et cento alla Chiesa di sa[n]

⁵⁰ Un profondo ringraziamento al Dott. Franco Rossi che ci ha assistito nell'interpretazione della grafia, a volte assai dubbia, con la quale sono stati redatti i testi dei documenti in Appendice 2, 3, 4 e 5.

Gio[vanni] Batt[ist]a in Bragora, acciò con il prò di quelli mi sia fatto celebrar ogni anno nel giorno della mia morte un'anniversario et ch[e] p[er] quello siano datti d[uca]ti due del prò delli detti d[uca]ti cento, et il restante del prò d'essi d[uca]ti cento, mi siano fatte celebrar tante messe p[er] l'a[n]i[m]a mia il giorno sud[ett]o; et voglio ch[e] li d[uca]ti cento, ch[e]llasso alla Chiesa star debbano sempre investiti p[er] l'effetto sudetto; et se p[er] caso la detta mia figliola morisse vanti fosse ottima, voglio ch[e] delli detti d[uca]ti 300 esser debbano cento di mia consorte, d[uca]ti 60 ch[e] siano dispensatti in questo modo cioè d[uca]ti dieci à mia madre, et d[uca]ti dieci p[er] cadauno di miei fratelli, et sorella, à tutti p[er] una volta tanto, et li restanti d[uca]ti 140 esser debbano della Chiesa sud[ett]a, et del prò d'essi ogn'anno il g[ior]no sud[ett]o della mia morte, mi sia fatto un'anniversario con ellemosina de d[uca]ti doi, et del resto del prò delli d[uca]ti 140 mi siano esso g[ior]no fatte celebrar tante messe p[er] l'a[n]i[m]a mia, et ch[e] sempre essi d[uca]ti 140 star debbano investiti p[er] il ben sud[ett]o; et datto il caso ch[e] il Publico volesse ò collar il prò più delle cinq[ue]; ò affrancarsi dal capital in questo caso voglio ch[e] il R[everendissi]mo sig[no]r Piova[n] p[rese]nte, et q[ue]llo ch[e] sarà prò tempore della d[ett]a Chiesa di S. Gio[vanni] Batt[ist]a in Bragora possano ricever li detti soldi, et quelli investir di novo in locco sicuro p[er] l'effetto sopradetto.

Il residuo di tutto quello mi ritrovo, et ch[e] aspettar mi potesse, detratta la dotte de d[uca]ti 500 di mia consorte Zanetta, voglio ch[e] sia della d[ett]a mia consorte Zaneta [f. 2r] et se non li potessi lassar li dono, overo lasso p[er] l'amor de Dio, ne altro voglio ordenar.

Interogato da me nodaro delli lochi Pij, giusto l'obbligo mio: R[ispo]se se ne havessi d'accontato ne lasseria: Preterea etc si quis etc signum etc

Io Giacomo Fornasieri Canc[ellie]r Ap[osto]lico Piovano in S[an] Gio[vanni] Batt[ist]a in Bragora fui testimonio pregato et in pectore giurato al sud[et]o testamento.
Io Giacomo Moneri Zavater fui testimonio pregato et giurato al sudeto testamento

1670: 28 supradicti

Publicatum fuit suprad[ictu]m Testam[entu]m ob mortem supradicti testatoris visu cadavere et hoc ad instantiam supradictae D[omin]ae Joanetae ejus uxoris cui fuit p[er] me not[ariu]m intimata pars officij sup[e]r aquis

[Sul retro: Rogito]

Testam[en]tum D[omini] Gabrielis q[uondam] Lucij De Bertis dicti Colpi de quo rogatus fui ego Blasius Reggia Pub[licu]s Venet[iaru]m Not[ariu]s hac die 17 mensis Octob[ri]s 1670

5 Nov[embre] 1670

Alessandro Contarini Canc[ellie]r Duc[ale]

Adì 22 Gen[nai]o 1670 [M. V.]

Reg[istra]to alle Acque A. F.

APPENDICE 3: Contratto tra Zanetta Temporini e Giovanni Battista Vivaldi
I-Vas, Notarile, Atti, 6924 (Flaminio Giberti), prot. 1675, ff. 214^r-217^v

[f. 214^r]

Die Jovis 29 mensis Augusti 1675 ad Canc[ellum]

Attrovandosi; com'afferma la Sig[no]ra Zanetta q[uondam] Andrea Temporin Cons[ervatric]e r[elicta] del q[uondam] D[omi]no Gabriel q[uondam] Lucio di Berti già Bocalaro in questa Città, nella Contrà di San Gio[vanni] Batt[ist]a in Bragora; li d[uca]ti Tresento cor[ren]ti, che fur[o]no lasciati da esso q[uondam] D[omino] Gabriel alla Sig[no]ra Maria sua figliola, con le conditioni, come nel di lui testamento pregato, disse, negli atti di D[omi]no Biasio Reggia Nod[aro] Ven[eto], de di 17 Ott[obr]e 1670, et publicato, stante morte, a[l] 28 del mese stesso, investiti per anco all'Ill[ustrissim]o Ecc[ellentissim]o del Sal con la corrispon[sion]e al p[rese]nte de prò, in rag[i]one [f. 214^v] di cinque p[er] cento, et dubitando essa Sig[no]ra Zanetta, che possi esser ancora minorato detto prò, il che sarebbe con pregiuditio, et dan[n]o di essa heredità; Per beneficio però di quella hà considerato esser cosa vantaggiosa il farne de med[esi]mi altra investita cauta, per l'effetto delle ordinationi del detto Testatore. La onde così ricercata dal Sig[no]r Gio[vanni] Batt[ist]a Vivaldi q[uondam] Sig[no]r Agostin, hà stimato partito sicuro, et stabilito conceder al med[esi]mo nella sua spetialità essi d[ucat]i 300 c[or]renti à liv[ell]o affrancabile, in rag[i]one di cinque p[er] cento netti d'ogni aggravio, et fondarli sopra beni di ragione del Sig[no]r Antonio Rossi q[uondam] altro Sig[no]r Antonio, Muschiaro in questa Città in Piazza di San Marco, all'Insegna delli tre Calici, et con la di lui pieggiaria, et general obligat[i]on[e] di cad[au]ni altri suoi beni, p[er] intenderse essa investita livellaria Sogetta, in vece delli detti denari in detto Offitio, à tutte le conditioni apposte dal detto Berti, nell'acen[n]ato, suo testamento, à cui s'habbi relatione.

Quindi è per tanto, che ad ogetto, et effetto delle cose prenarrate, il sop[radet]to Sig[no]r Gio[vanni] Batt[ist]a Vivaldi, facendo di consenso, et libera volontà [f. 215^r] dell'antedetto Sig[no]r Antonio Rossi q[uondam] altro Sig[no]r Antonio, qui p[rese]nte, et contentante p[er] sè heredi, et sucessori suoi favorirlo d'imprestargli gl'infradescritti beni, acciò possa fondare sopra quelli il livello affrancabile pred[et]to per non attrovarsi egli Sig[no]r Vivaldi stabili, nè fondi di propria ragione, sponte cede, vende, transferisce, et aliena, acciò seguir debbi detto livello affrancabile, ne altrim[en]ti alla sop[radet]ta Sig[no]ra Zanetta, già moglie del sud[et]to q[uondam] Gabriel Berti, accettante, come rapp[resenta]nte, disse, lo stesso q[uondam] D[omi]no Gabriel, et sua heredità, come nel suo Testamento.

Un cason con un pezzo di terra, della qualità, et quantità, che s'attrovano di ragione d'esso Sig[no]r Rossi, posti in Villa delle Gambarare Territorio Padoano, di p[rese]nte affittati a Tonin Tabaco, che paga d[uca]ti vintiquattro all'anno d'affitto, trà li Confini, et con qualu[n]que raggioni, attioni giurisditt[i]oni, habentie, et pertinentie ad essi Cason, e Terra quovismode spettanti, et attinenti. Di modo che per l'avenire la detta Sig[no]ra Zanetta nel nome pred[et]to sia, et s'intenda Patrona, et come tale voglia, et possa detti beni haver, tener, et di essi [f. 215^v] disporne, che perciò detto Sig[no]r Vivaldi la pone in ogni di detto Sig[no]r Rossi, et col suo assenso luoco stato, et essere, et la costituisce Procuratrice irrevocabile, com'in cosa propria. Promettendogli in oltre di manutent[i]on[e], et Legitima difens[i]on[e] di detto Cason, e terra in ogni caso d'evit[ar]e disturbo, ò molestia, contra quoscumque in giuditio, e fuori, à tutte di lui Sig[no]r Vivaldi spese, dan[n]i, et interessi.

Et questa vendita, et alienat[i]on[e] fa detto Sig[no]r Vivaldi per il prezzo delli d[ucat]i tresento soprasc[rit]ti, quali insieme con suoi prò essa Sig[no]ra Zanetta come

rappresentante, disse, ut supra l'heredità di detto q[uondam] D[omi]no Gabriel dà, et concede ampla libertà, et facoltà allo stesso Sig[no]r Vivaldi di poter, et dover, in vigor del p[rese]nte publico Instr[ument]o, liberam[en]te elevare, et ricevere dal Sop[radet]to Ill[ustrissim]o Ecc[ellentissim]o del Sal, e da qualsivoglia altro app[ost]o della Cecca, Luoco, et persona publica, à chi spettasse, ac etiam quelli girar, ceder, liberam[en]te rinontiar ad altri, et disporli à chi si sij, come di cosa propria, che perciò lo costituisce Proc[urato]re irrevocabile; per quali d[uca]ti 300 s[oprad]etti esso Sig[no]r Vivaldi nunc prò tunc fà à detta Sig[no]ra Zanetta, et heredità sudetta, quietatione in forma.

[f. 216r]

Saluis premissis im[m]ediate la d[et]ta Sig[no]ra Zanetta, facendo p[er] raggion di livello affrancabile, che habbi à durar p[er] an[n]i tre prossimi in avvenire, da incominciarsi nel giorno del lievo, over giro di detti denari, spon[taneam]ente, et respettivam[en]te per il nome predetto hà investito, et investe il detto Sig[no]r Vivaldi, sivè il Sig[no]r Rossi, et heredi, quest'investit[i]one accettanti nelli beni come sopra acquistati. Et questo hà fatto, et fa p[er]ché all'incontro promette, et s'obliga lo stesso Sig[no]r Vivaldi prontam[en]te pagherà, et corrisponderà di livello an[n]uo, et in rag[i]o[n] di an[n]o alla detta Sig[no]ra Zanetta, per li alimenti della detta Sig[no]ra Maria sua figliola, overo à chi s'aspetterà conform'al detto Testamento, D[uca]ti quindici cor[ren]ti all'an[n]o in rate due, cioè ogni mesi sei finiti, D[uca]ti sette e mezzo, et così sucessivam[en]te di an[n]o in an[n]o, et di rata in rata, durante il p[rese]nte livello, in rag[i]o[n] di cinque p[er] cento, netti, im[m]uni, liberi, et esenti da qualunque Decime, e gravezze, et ogn'altra imposit[i]one ordinaria, et estraord[inari]a, p[rese]nte, et futura, posta, et che s'imponesse, non ostante qualsi fosse Lege, terminat[i]one, ò altro atto publico contrario, e derogante al p[rese]nte patto spetiale, et espresso [f. 216v] tra detti parti, le quali convengono inoltre che dà detta an[n]ua corrispons[i]one livellaria non possi alcuna d'esse pretendere affrancat[i]one, se non saran[n]o prima trascorsi li an[n]i tre sopra pattuiti, quali spirati possi tanto il d[et]to Sig[no]r Vivaldi livellario affrancarsi, et liberarsi con l'attuale, ed effettivo sborso del Cap[itale] de d[uca]ti 300 c[orrenti] Sop[radet]ti insieme con li prò decorsi, quanto la Sig[no]ra Livellatrice sud[et]ta, et chi haverà all'ora in ciò raggione, et causa, con forme al Testamento sopracitato, a stringere il detto Sig[no]r Vivaldi all'affrancat[i]one soprad[ett]a, con la restit[ut]ione et pagamento delli d[et]ti d[uca]ti 300 c[orrenti] di Cap[itale], et di tutti li prò, et spese, rimanessero insodisfatti; et fossero seguite p[er] detta causa, et non pagati; Dovendo quella parte intenderà affrancarsi haver fatto correr prima una publica intimat[i]one in scr[ittur]a di mesi tre inanzi all'altra, per patto espresso, et niente dimeno la pens[i]one Livellaria pred[et]ta continuar debba sin all'attuale, et effettiva affrancat[i]one ut Supra. Nel caso della qual affrancat[i]one doverà il sop[radet]to Cap[itale] di d[uca]ti 300 c[orrenti] esser di nuovo reinvestito, overo esser liberam[en]te dato à chi, et conf[orm]e all'ora sarà il Caso, che viene ordinato dall'anted[et]to D[omi]no Gabriel [f. 217r] Berti Testatore; Et se per sorte, prima dell'affracat[i]one sop[radet]ta mancasse di vita la d[ett]a Sig[no]ra Maria, sia obligato in tal caso, come così promette, et s'obliga detto Sig[no]r Vivaldi esborsare del corpo delli sudetti d[uca]ti 300 c[orrenti] come sopra pigliati à livello D[uca]ti cento alla Chiesa di San Gio[vanni] Battista in Bragora, per dover esser quelli investiti, nella conformità dell'ordinat[i]one del sudetto Testamento; seguita la quale affrancat[i]one totale il p[rese]nte Instr[ument]o s'intenderà casso, et nullo, et il Sig[no]r Vivaldi, nec non il Sig[no]r Rossi, con li suoi beni tutti liberi, et disobligati dall'aggravio, et obligat[i]one sudetta.

A maggior caut[i]one della sop[radet]ta Sig[no]ra Zanetta, et heredità pred[et]ta il sop[radet]to Sig[no]r Antonio Rossi, spontaneam[en]te per sè stesso, heredi, et sucessori

suoi lauda, approba, et ratifica la vendita sopraffatta, et susseguente livello, come buoni, cauti, et sicuri, et si costituisce pieggo, manutentore, fideiussore, et principal pagadore simul, et in solidum con il sop[ra]d[et]to Sig[no]r Vivaldi, non solo per quelli, ma etiam p[er] il sop[ra]d[et]to cap[ita]le di d[ucati] 300 c[orrenti], et p[er] tutti li prò, et spese sin all'attuale affrancat[i]on[e] pred[et]ta, in tutto, et p[er] tutto sicome è tenuto, et obligato il detto Sig[no]r Vivaldi ut s[opr]a.

[f. 217v] Per osservanza, et manutent[i]on[e] di tutte le cose sopra espresse, et dichiarite obliga cad[au]na delle parti sopra intervenute nel nome, et p[er] l'interesse à se tangente, come sopra, sè sè con qualunque beni suoi generalm[en]te p[rese]nti venturi, ovu[n]que essistenti; Super quibus

Clar[issi]mus D[ominus] Petrus Gonella f[iliu]s Clar[issi]mi D[omini] Ioan[n]is et D[ominus] Marcus Gasparini q[uonda]m D[omi]ni Georgij

Fidem verò fecit de sup[radic]to D[omi]no Jo[anne] Bap[tis]ta Vivaldi, D[omi]nus Bartolameus Valentini ab Aquis ad insignam Mundi sub porticis Cecca Pubblice, Sancti Marci, filius D[omi]ni Ioan[n]is, e de sup[radic]ta D[omi]na Ioan[n]etta, fidem fecit D[ominus] Ant[oni]us Casari q[uonda]m alterius Antonij, de cuius cognitione pariter fidem fecit iddem Bartolameus Valentini, ac

De D[omi]no Antonio de Rubeis, antescritto fecit fidem D[omi]nus Bartolomeus Saviati q[uondam] Antonij ab Aquis sub porticis novis d[icta]e Platee S. Marci ad insignam Sancti Michaelis.

APPENDICE 4: Testamento di Zanetta Temporini

I-Vas, Notarile, Testamenti (Pietro Antonio Bozini), 186-188, n. 424 rosso [Aperto il 6 luglio 2012, Verbale n. 1127]⁵⁰

Milles[im]o Sexcent[im]o Septuages[im]o Sesto Ind[ition]em 14 Die vero Dom[ini]co ultimo Mensis Maij R[ivoal]ti

Considerando li pericoli de q[ue]sta fragile vita Io Zanetta Colpi r[elic]ta del q[uon]d[am] Gabriel Colpi non esser cosa più certa della morte et incerta l'hora di quella sana p[er] gratia del S[igno]r Iddio di mente et Intellecto benchè del corpo indisposta. Hò fatto chiamar e venir à me nella Casa della mia solita hab[itation]e posta in Contrà di S. Z[uan]e Batt[ist]a in Bragora m[esser] Pietro Ant[oni]o Bozini, Nod[ar]o di questa Città qual ho p[re]gato vogli scriver q[ues]to mio test[ament]o et ult[ima] mia volontà raccomandando il caso della mia morte quello pub[lica]re, compire et roborare con tutte le clausole della Città.

Et p[ri]ma rac[coman]do l'anima mia all'Omnip[oten]te Iddio alla Gloriosa Sempre Verg[in]e Maria, et tutta là corte Celestiale.

Li soldi che sono al Sal di Ragg[i]on del q[uon]d[am] mio Marito che siano dati in dote à Camilla mia figliola che deve esser moglie del S[igno]r Gio[vanni] Batt[ist]a Vivaldi.

Lasso Recessuaria d[ett]a Camilla mia fig[li]o[la] del tutto con obligo di dar un par di Lintiole: Camise et altro à sua sorella Maria.

⁵⁰ Un ringraziamento particolare alla Dott.ssa Michela Dal Borgo che ha facilitato le pratiche per l'apertura del testamento e del codicillo di Zanetta Temporini.

A mio fio Salvador ghe lasso una Camisa da homo.
Inter[ro]g[a]ta da mi Nod[ar]o delli 4. Osped[a]li lochi pij et altro R[ispos]e non voler
ordinar altro.
Preterea etc si quis signum etc

Io Antonio Gandolfo [Gandolfi] barbier fui testimonio pregato et giurato
Io Carlo Cambianega frutariol fui Testimonio pregato et giuratto

[Sul retro: Rogito]
[No. 424 rosso] Testam[en]to della Sig[no]ra Zanetta r[elic]ta del q[uon]d[am] Gabriel
Colpi Rogato p[er] me Pietro Ant[oni]o Bozini Nod[ar]o li 31. Maggio 1676.

1676. 2 Zugno
Ag[osti]n Zon C[ancelliere]D[ucale]

APPENDICE 5: Codicillo al testamento di Zanetta Temporini
I-Vas, Notarile, Testamenti (Pietro Antonio Bozini), 186-188, n. 425 rosso [Aperto il 6
luglio 2012, Verbale n. 1128]

1676 Die Sabb[a]to M[ensi]s Junij R[ivoalt]i
Havendo Io Zanetta r[elic]ta del q[uon]d[am] Gabriel Colpi fatto Il mio Testa[men]to li
giorni passati pregato p[er] Pietro Ant[oni]o Bozini Nod[ar]o di q[ues]ta Città, Hora
volendo quello regolare Hò di nuovo fatto chiamar, e venir da mè quì nella Casa della mia
solita habitat[i]on[e], posta in Contrà di S[an] Gio[vanni] Batt[ist]a in Bragora d[ett]o
Nod[ar]o qual hò p[re]legato vogli scriver q[ue]sto mio Codicillo, et haggionta al d[ett]o
mio Testa[ment]o col quale dichiaro
Che lasso à mio fig[lio]lo Salvador Ducati Cinque per legato p[er] una volta tanto. Nel
resto confermo il d[ett]o mio Testa[ment]o in tutto come sta, e giace.
Preterea etc si quis signum etc

Io Antonio Gandolfi fui testimonio pregato e giurato
Io Carlo Cambianega fui testimonio pregato et giurato
[Sul retro: Rogito]
[No. 425 rosso] Codicillo di Mad[onn]a Zanetta r[elic]ta del q[uon]d[am] Gabriel Colpi
pregato per me Pietro Ant[oni]o Bozini Nod[ar]o li 6 Zug[n]o 1676 della Contrada de
S. Gio[vanni] Batt[ist]a in Bragora

APPENDICE 6: Cronologia essenziale

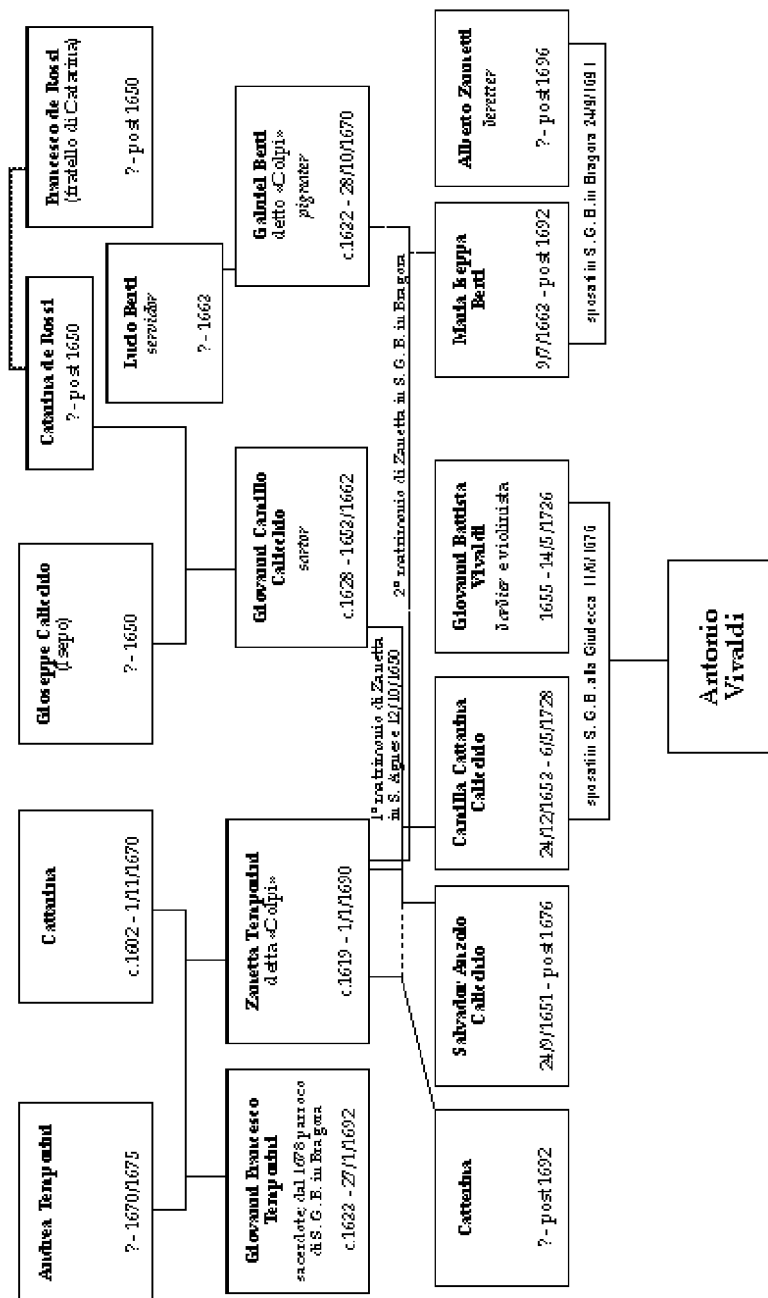
Sono indicati in corsivo i dati che, in questo saggio, vengono presentati per la prima volta.

- 1650 12 ottobre: matrimonio tra Zanetta Temporini e Giovanni Camillo Calicchio presso la chiesa di Sant'Agnese.
- 1651 24 settembre: nasce Salvador Calicchio, figlio di Zanetta e Camillo.
- 1653 24 dicembre: nasce Camilla Calicchio, figlia di Zanetta e Camillo.
- 1662 17 dicembre: *pubblicazioni di matrimonio tra Zanetta Temporini e Gabriel Berti nel registro dei matrimoni della Bragora, replicate il 31 dicembre.*
- 1663 1 gennaio: *matrimonio tra Zanetta Temporini e Gabriel Berti presso la chiesa della Bragora.*
- 1663 9 luglio: *nasce Maria Berti, figlia di Zanetta e Gabriel, battezzata l'11 luglio presso la chiesa della Bragora.*
- 1670 17 ottobre: *Gabriel Berti detta il suo testamento al notaio Biasio Reggia.*
- 1670 28 ottobre: *muore alla Bragora Gabriel Berti all'età di circa trentotto anni.*
- 1670 1 novembre: *muore alla Bragora Cattarina Temporini, moglie di Andrea e madre di Zanetta, all'età di circa sessantotto anni.*
- 1675 29 agosto: *Zanetta stipula un contratto triennale con Giovanni Battista Vivaldi per la gestione dell'eredità di Gabriel Berti depositata «al Sal». Notaio Flaminio Giberti.*
- 1676 31 maggio: *Zanetta detta il suo testamento al notaio Pietro Antonio Bozini [testamento non eseguito, aperto solo nel 2012].*
- 1676 6 giugno: *Zanetta detta un codicillo al suo testamento al notaio Pietro Antonio Bozini [codicillo non eseguito, aperto solo nel 2012].*
- 1676 6 giugno: *pubblicazioni di matrimonio tra Camilla Calicchio e Giovanni Battista Vivaldi nel registro dei matrimoni della Bragora.*
- 1676 11 giugno: *matrimonio tra Camilla Calicchio e Giovanni Battista Vivaldi presso la chiesa di San Giovanni della Zuecca, registrato comunque presso la parrocchia della Bragora.*
- 1676 13 novembre: *nasce Gabriela Antonia Vivaldi, figlia primogenita di Camilla e Giovanni Battista.*
- 1678 4 marzo: *nasce Antonio Vivaldi, figlio di Camilla e Giovanni Battista.*
- 1678 9 giugno: *muore all'età di circa diciotto mesi Gabriela Antonia, figlia primogenita di Camilla e Giovanni Battista.*
- 1678 *ottobre: il reverendo Giovanni Francesco Temporini, fratello di Zanetta, viene eletto parroco di San Giovanni in Bragora.*
- 1690 1 gennaio: *muore alla Bragora Zanetta Temporini, all'età di circa settant'anni.*
- 1691 24 settembre: *matrimonio in casa della sposa tra Maria Berti e Alberto Zannetti, registrato presso la parrocchia della Bragora.*

LA FAMIGLIA MATERNA DI ANTONIO VIVALDI

- 1691 29 settembre: solenne benedizione sponsale in chiesa della Bragora per Maria Berti e Alberto Zannetti.
- 1692 25 gennaio: il reverendissimo Giovanni Francesco Temporini detta il suo testamento al padre Lorenzo de Gobbi, autenticato dal notaio Bonaventura Scarella.
- 1692 27 gennaio: muore alla Bragora il «reverendissimo» Giovanni Francesco Temporini all'età di circa cinquantotto anni.

APPENDICE 7. Albero genealogico della famiglia materna di Antonio Vivaldi.



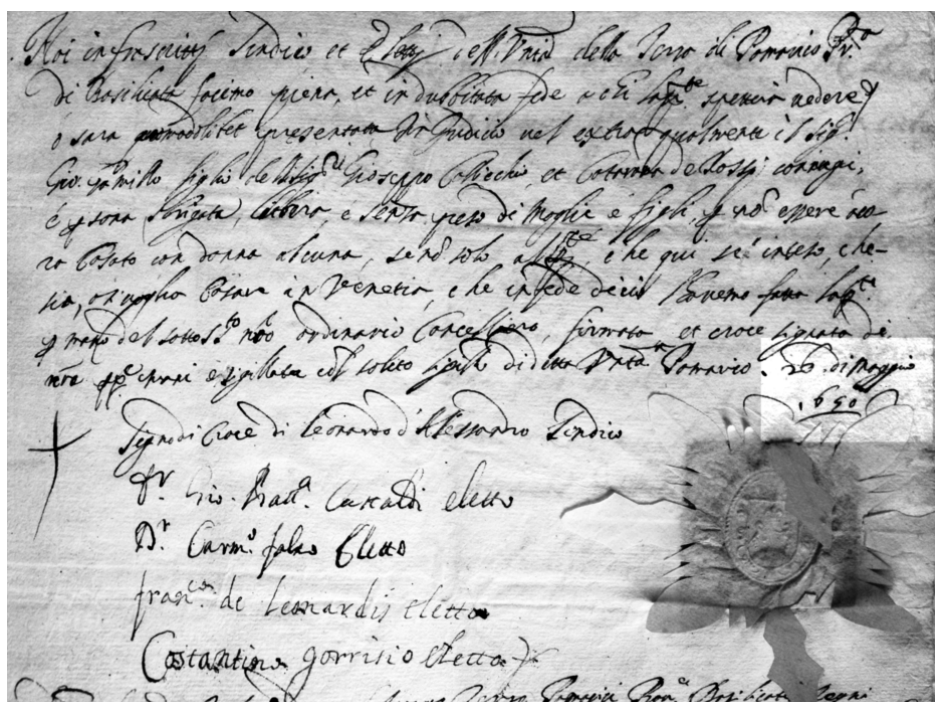


ILLUSTRAZIONE 1. ASPV, Archivio Storico, Ser. Examinum matrimoniorum, Reg. 53, f. 558. Certificato di stato libero di Giovanni Camillo Calicchio, rilasciato dall'Università di Pomarico (26 maggio 1650).

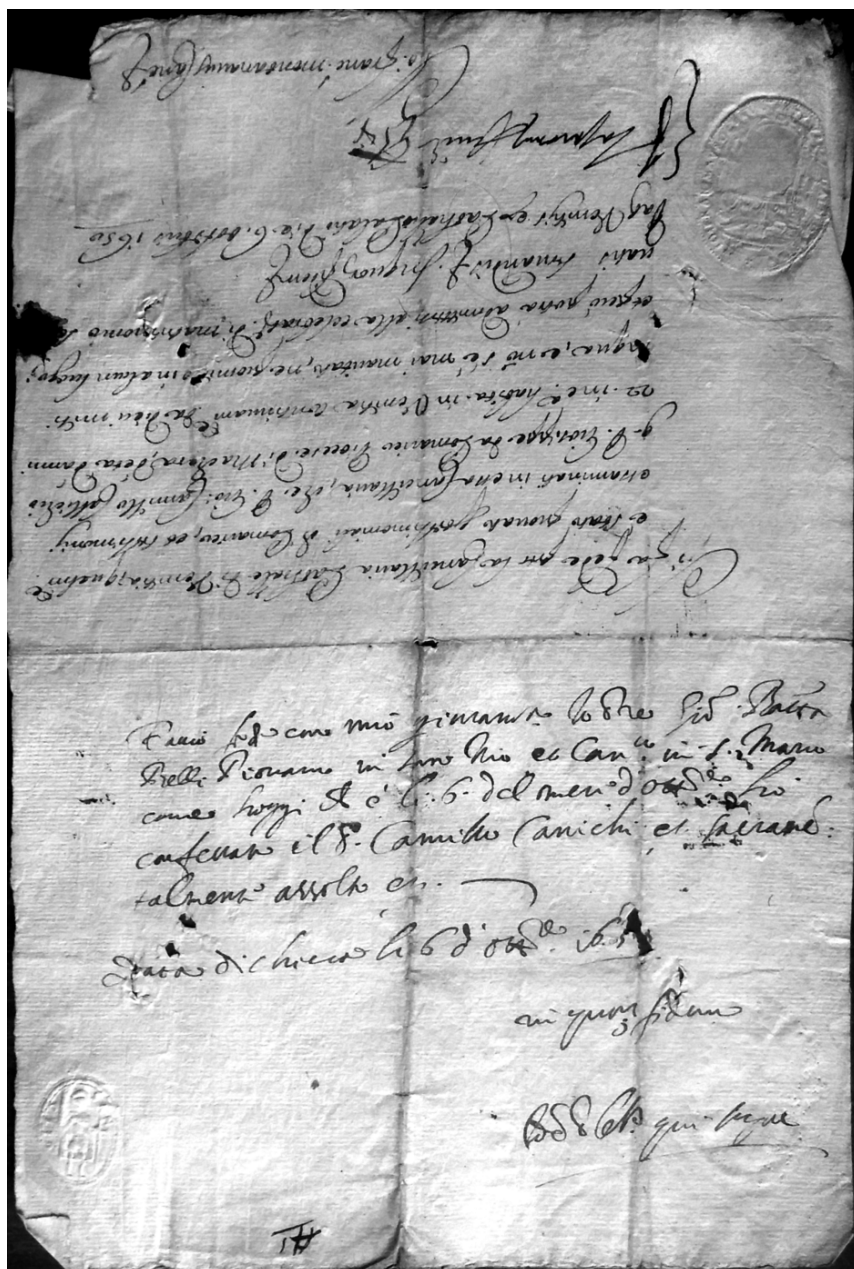


ILLUSTRAZIONE 2. APMR, Parrocchia di S. Agnese, Filze dei Matrimoni 1, fasc. 1646-1650, f. 41. Attestazione di stato libero di Giovanni Camillo Calicchio firmato dal cancelliere patriarcale e di assoluzione sacramentale impartita dal canonico di S. Marco (6 ottobre 1650).

Ad in ottobre 1650
 Dopo le tre solite publicationi in tre g.ⁿⁱ
 festivi come appar nel libro delle scrit-
 te contrattate marit. p. il P.^{ro} Fr.^{co} Vidol
 Boynolo Pion et suo, ha la sig.^{na}
 Zanetta fia del sig.^{ro} And.^{ro} Temporini
 con il sig.^{ro} Camillo g. Negro Calicchi
 di Bagno di Napoli mar. dori della
 nostra contr.^a et poi subito sposati
 li sot.^{ti} nella nostra Chiesa p. il sof.^{ro}
 Fr.^{co} Pion, alla presenza dell' M.^{ro}
 S.^{ro} Paolo And.^{ro} Miani fu dez lui.^{ro} della
 contr.^a di S. Samuel, et di M.^{ro} And.^{ro} Balli
 Burrier della nostra contr.^a onerati
 p. S.^{ro} X.^{ro} tutti li and.^{ri} del sacro Consilio
 di Trento, et sinodali.

ILLUSTRAZIONE 3. APMR, Parrocchia di S. Agnese, Registri dei Matrimoni, Reg. 6, f. 216. Atto di matrimonio tra Zanetta Temporini e Giovanni Camillo Calicchio (12 ottobre 1650).

Adi 17 Dec: 1662
 È da contrager matrimonio tra me^{ra}.
 Zanetta fia de M. Andrea Temporin
 et M^{ra} del G. M. Gio: Camillo da Lichi
 et M. Gabriel fio de M. Lucio colpi
 hanno de signator nella borga
 de M. Giuliano Olivo tutti diranno
 nella nostra contradin nella calle
 vicin al ponte di Corazeri nelle
 case del N. H. G. Antonio Barbisigo
 La 1^a li 17 detto Dominica
 la 2^a li 18 detto S. Tomaso
 la 3^a li 19 detto Dominica
 replicando le publicationi per espor
 talato il cognome de M. Lucio.

ILLUSTRAZIONE 4. ASPV, Parrocchia di S. Giovanni in Bragora, Registri dei Matrimoni, Reg. 10, f. 90d. Prime pubblicazioni di matrimonio tra Zanetta Temporini e Gabriel Berti (17 dicembre 1662).

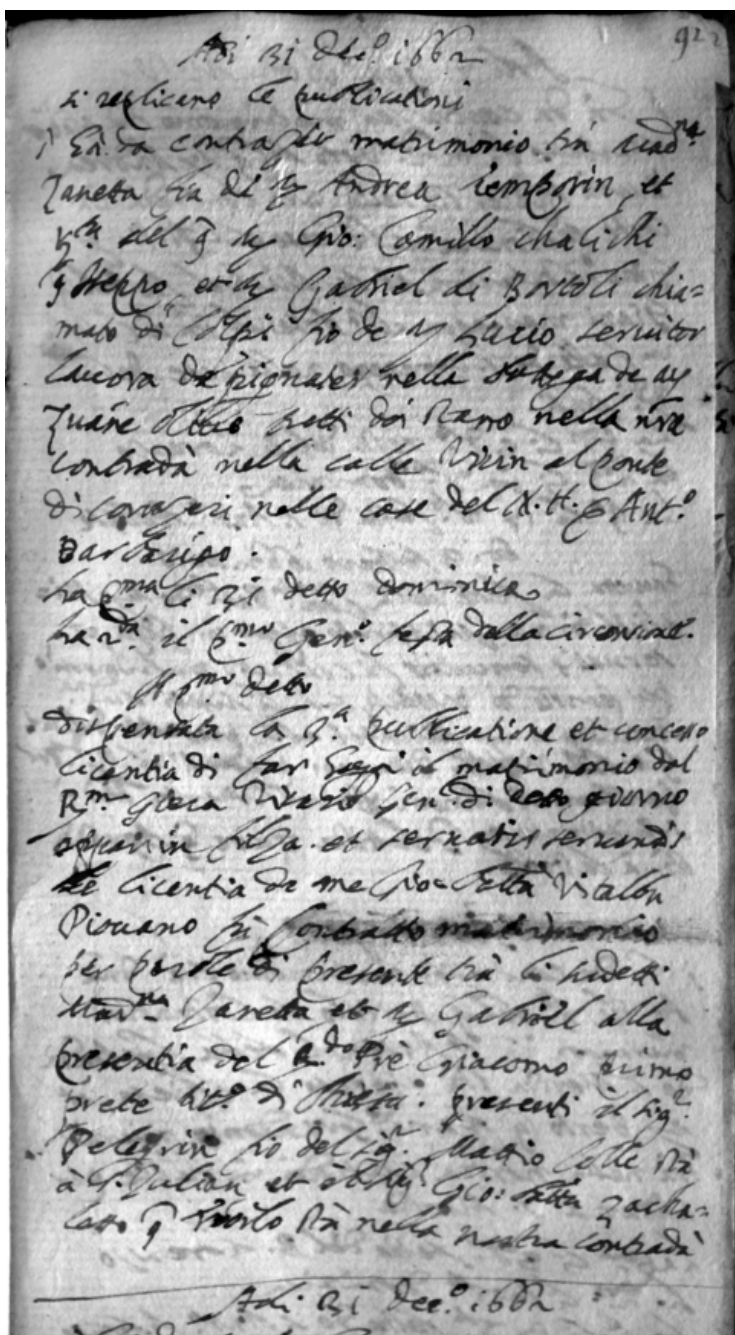


ILLUSTRAZIONE 5. ASPV, Parrocchia di S. Giovanni in Bragora, Registri dei Matrimoni, Reg. 10, f. 91d. Seconda pubblicazione e atto di matrimonio tra Zanetta Temporini e Gabriel Berti (31 dicembre 1662).

la Comare all'educatrice m^{ra} Margarita de
 Contrada

Adi 11^{to}
 Maria Berti ha de m^{ro} Gabriel Gay
 Lucio di Berti detto tutti pignatelli
 de m^{ra} Zanetta ha de m^{ro} temporina
 sua consorte

data li 9^{to} del
 mese alla font^e di S^{to} Pellegrino tutti pio
 del m^{ro} Matteo campolongo di s^{to} Zulian.
 la Comare all'educatrice m^{ra} Margarita de
 Contrada

Batt^o di R^o Gio: Batt^o Vitalba Piccaro.

ILLUSTRAZIONE 6. ASPV, Parrocchia di S. Giovanni in Bragora, Registri dei Battesimi, Reg. 9, f. 122d. Battesimo di Maria Berti (11 luglio 1663).

Ad. 12. 8. 1670
 haue uarieta di morbi, de quali
 ne del grande d'anni 8 in c. da febre
 febre in un mese medico di
 la da in nota e fa seceli
 not. Elena G. del 3. 7. 1670
 Corron sua nuova
 [Signature]

Ad. 12. 8. 1670
 Sig. Gabriel di Berta G. Colpili
 maten d'anni 3 in c. da febre
 in g. 12 medico, se conardi lo da
 in nota e fa seceli lo sig. 7. 1670
 nella sua moglie
 in Chiesa [Signature]
 [Signature]

Ad. 3. 1. 1670
 Sig. [Signature] [Signature] del 12. 1. 1670
 gonco d'anni 64 in c. da febre
 in g. 12 medico di [Signature]
 da in nota e fa seceli suo [Signature]
 [Signature]

Ad. P. 1. 1670
 Sig. Ligia Cattarina Conforte del 12. 1. 1670
 [Signature] Temporini d'anni 6 in c.
 da febre, et nel della matrice in
 g. 9 medico, se conardi la da in
 nota, et fa seceli il 12. 1. 1670
 non. Francesco Temporini suo figlio
 nota in Chiesa [Signature]
 [Signature] nel [Signature]

Ad. 12. 1. 1670
 Sig. [Signature] [Signature] [Signature]
 [Signature] [Signature] [Signature]
 felio Cirico d'anni 12 in c. da
 febre in g. 12 [Signature]
 in nota il suo celente [Signature]
 lo Belentani
 [Signature]

ILLUSTRAZIONE 7. ASPV, Parrocchia di S. Giovanni in Bragora, Registri dei Morti, Reg. 14, f. 45d. Atto di morte di Gabriel Berti (28 ottobre 1670) e di Cattarina Temporini (1 novembre 1670).

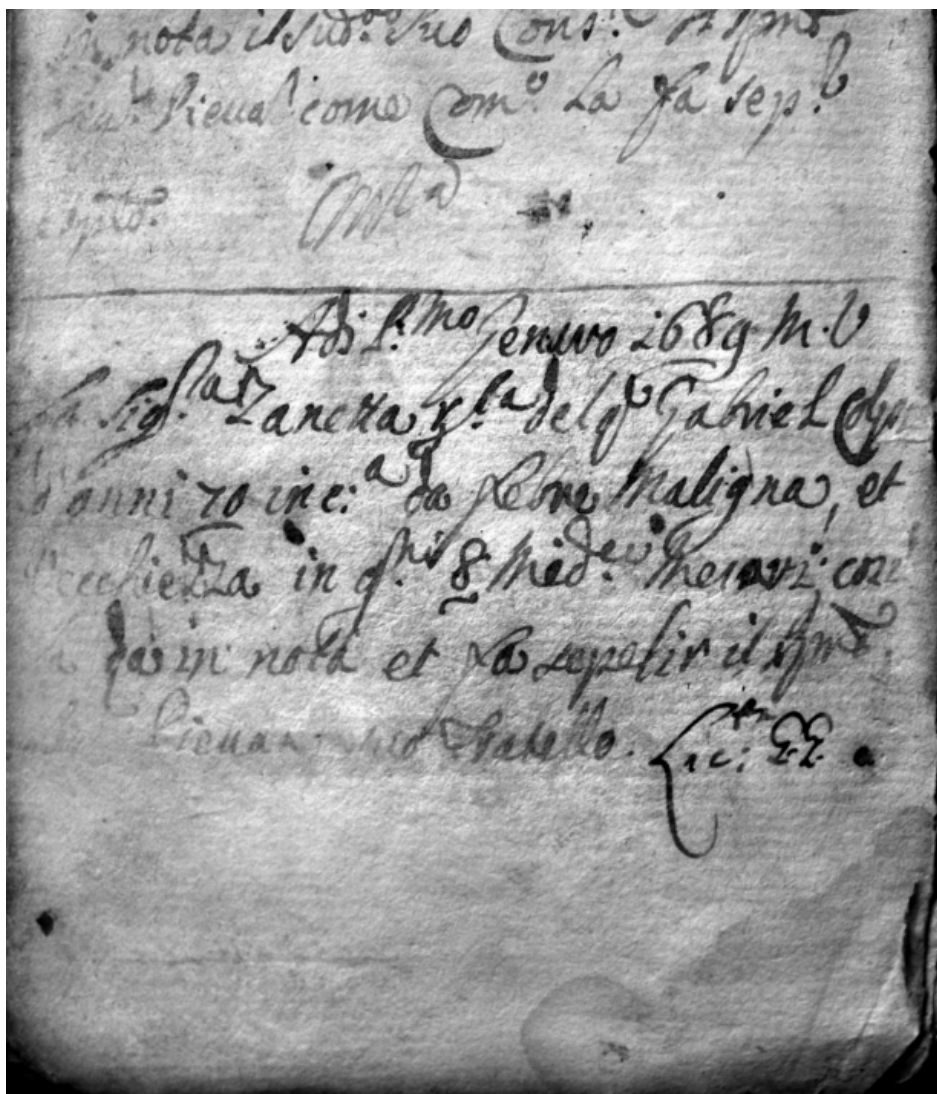


ILLUSTRAZIONE 8. ASPV, Parrocchia di S. Giovanni in Bragora, Registri dei Morti, Reg. 15, f. 34. Atto di morte di Zanetta Temporini (1 gennaio 1689 *more veneto*).

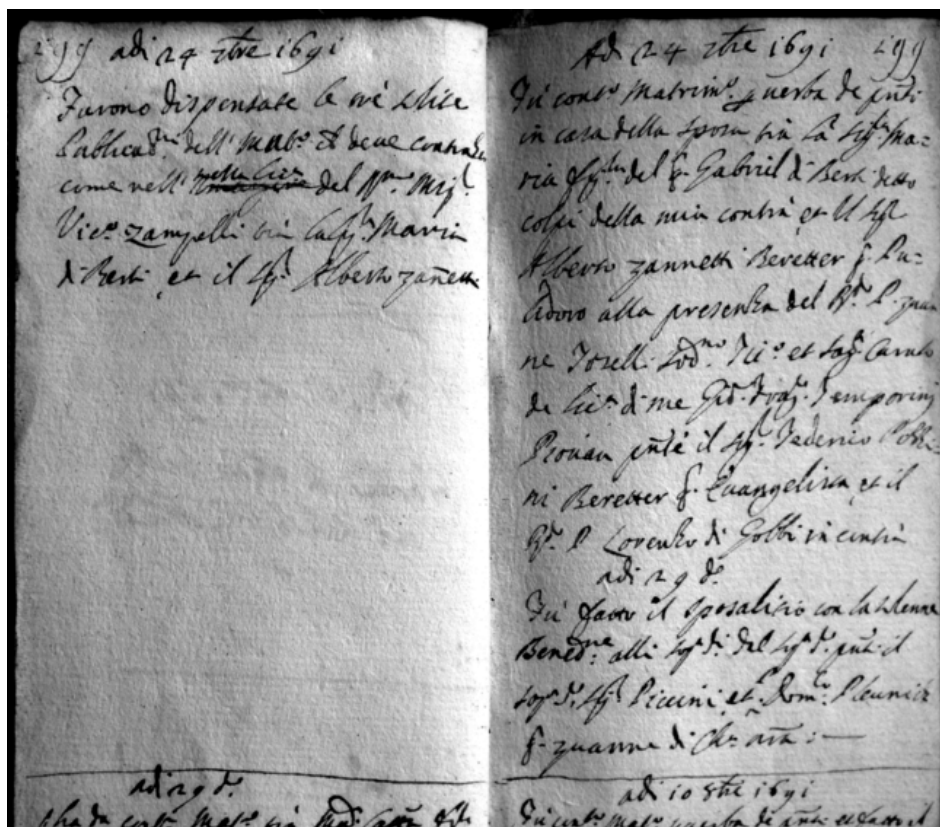


ILLUSTRAZIONE 9.

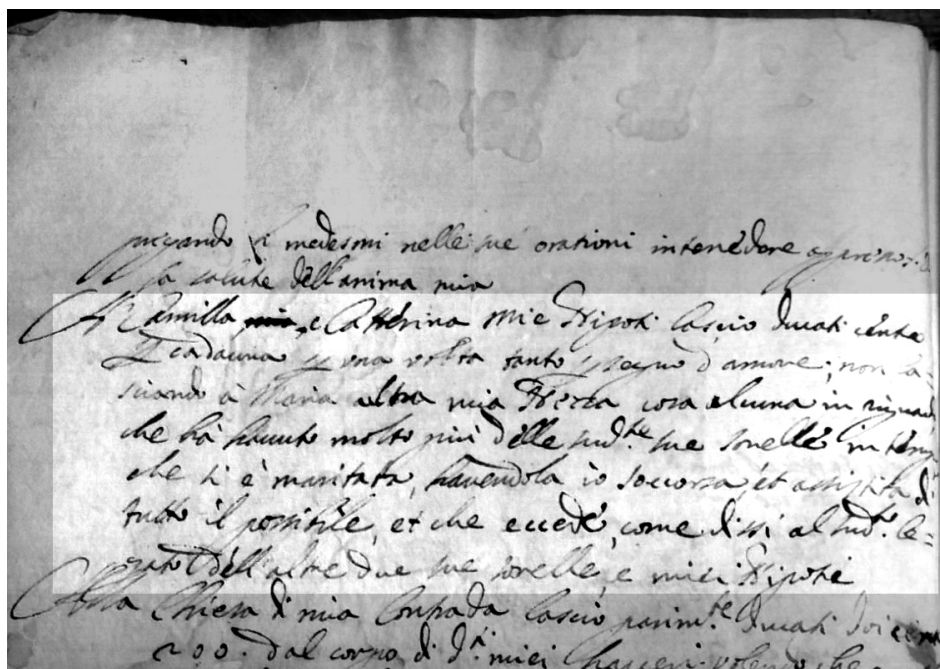
ASPV, Parrocchia di S. Giovanni in Bragora,
Registri dei Matrimoni, Reg. 11, f. 299s.

Dispensa delle pubblicazioni di matrimonio tra Maria Berti e Alberto Zannetti (24 settembre 1691).

ILLUSTRAZIONE 10.

ASPV, Parrocchia di S. Giovanni in Bragora,
Registri dei Matrimoni, Reg. 11, f. 299d.

Atto di matrimonio tra Maria Berti e Alberto Zannetti (24 settembre 1691).



mirando se medesimo nelle sue orazioni intendere a...
 la salute dell'anima mia
 Che Camilla mia e Caterina mie figlie lascio l'una e l'altra
 e ciascuna a una vostra santa sposa d'amore; non a
 risando a Maria altra mia sposa cosa alcuna in ragione
 che ha sempre molto più delle mie sorelle in bene
 che si è maritata, facendola io soccorra et assista di
 tutto il possibile, et che eueri, come li si al d. e
 degli altri due mie sorelle, e miei figlie
 Che Maria di mia consorte lascio parimente l'una e l'altra
 a o. dal corpo di d. miei parenti volendo che

ILLUSTRAZIONE 11. I-Vas, Notarile, Testamenti (Bonaventura Scarella), 109, n. 139, f. 1v. Testamento del reverendo Giovanni Francesco Temporini (25 gennaio 1692).

Margherita Gianola and Eleanor Selfridge-Field

THE MATERNAL FAMILY OF ANTONIO VIVALDI

Summary

Regarding the maternal side of Antonio Vivaldi's family, the broad lines of which were reconstructed by Don Gastone Vio over thirty years ago, the essential details of the birth, marriage and death of Camilla Calicchio, the composer's mother, were already known, as was also a certain amount of information about her father, Camillo, a tailor originating from Pomarico (Basilicata) who had married the Venetian-born Zanetta Temporini in 1650.

The intensive and copious researches carried out by Micky White, most of which have found a place in her book *Antonio Vivaldi: A Life in Documents*, have provided the basis for a deeper investigation into the composer's Venetian origins, the starting point for which was the discovery of a notarial act jointly signed in 1675 – well before the composer's birth – by Giovanni Battista Vivaldi and Zanetta Temporini, the maternal grandmother of Antonio Vivaldi. It is this last-named person who has become the central focus for the studies of the two authors of the present article.

Zanetta Temporini appears in no document earlier than 1650 that archival research has so far produced. But on the evidence of her death notice, written on 1 January 1690 and stating that her age at death was about seventy, her year of birth can be estimated as 1619-1620.

So she was around thirty years old when she married Giovanni Camillo Calicchio on 12 October 1650 in the church of Sant' Agnese. Her husband, just turned twenty-two, had arrived in Venice a short while before. Camillo was born, and grew up, in Pomarico, an ancient small market town within the diocese of Matera in the Kingdom of Naples (today, Basilicata). As a *forestiere* (a citizen of a foreign state), he needed, before marrying a woman of Venetian nationality, to place before the Curia a "documento di stato libero" (Appendix 1), for which were required witnesses willing to attest to the unmarried state of the intending husband: in this instance, attestations were taken orally from two acquaintances: a priest from Puglia, Don Francesco Antonio Giliolo, and a resident of Pomarico, Francesco Paolo Fanizza – both of whom had come to Venice shortly after Camillo; these were supported by two written statements, one of which was from the mayor of Pomarico together with his councillors, and the other from the *arciprete* (archpriest) of Matera. In the first statement Calicchio is called "a person free to marry and unencumbered by a wife and children"; the date on the seal is 26 May 1650 (Illustration 1), leading one to suppose that Camillo and Zanetta had decided to get married already in April-May 1650. The second statement confirms the posting of banns in Pomarico.

On 6 October 1650, two days after having heard the witnesses, the patriarchal chancellor finally gave his signed permission. On the same day Camillo received his sacramental absolution (Illustration 2), and on Wednesday, 12 October 1650 the pair were married (Illustration 3).

In writing down the details of the couple, the priest at Sant' Agnese noted that both resided within the parish. One could infer from this that Zanetta's family also resided there, in the *sestiere* of Dorsoduro. However, in the register of baptisms for the parish of San Giovanni in Bragora, a document affirms that in April 1650 Zanetta's brother Giovanni Francesco held at baptism, as the godfather, an infant whose life was in danger; there, he is described as "d. Francesco de Andrea Temporin stà in contrà" (Don Francesco, son of Andrea Temporini living in this parish). The boy was aged about seventeen, was studying for the priesthood as a *chierico* attached to San Giovanni in Bragora, and was living with his family, which must, therefore, have resided within the Bragora parish in the *sestiere* of Castello. If Zanetta, as stated by the priest who officiated at her wedding, resided instead in the parish of Sant' Agnese, a considerable distance away, she must have lived prior to her marriage either alone or in the dwelling of the bridegroom.

On 24 September 1651 Salvador Calicchio, the son of Zanetta and Camillo, was born. He was baptized on 2 October in the church of Santa Maria Nova, in the Cannaregio *sestiere*. After two years, on 29 December 1653, the baptism of Camilla Calicchio took place, five days after her birth, in the church of Sant'Antonin in the Castello *sestiere*: she was to become the mother of Antonio Vivaldi. It is from this last document that we learn that the trade plied by Camillo Calicchio in Venice was that of tailor.

After the birth of his daughter we lose all trace of the life of Camillo Calicchio. His name is missing from the list of tailors operating in Venice compiled in 1662 by the *Arte dei Sartori* (the official tailors' guild). Unfortunately, however, the accounts of this body were not regularly updated. A trawl for his date of death through the death registers of San Giovanni in Bragora, its neighbouring parishes and Sant' Agnese (missing for 1653-1657), as well as at the Archivio di Stato di Venezia (in the *Necrologi* for 1656, 1658 and 1661), yielded no result.

It is certain that by 17 December 1662 Zanetta was a widow: this fact is established by the banns for the marriage between Zanetta Temporini and Gabriel Berti (Illustration 4), where the wife-to-be is described as Calicchio's widow. In this document we also read that both bride and groom lived before their wedding in a house owned by the nobleman Antonio Barbarigo in the "Calle vicino al Ponte dei Corazzieri" (alley close to the Bridge of the Armourers), and that Gabriel worked as a "pignater" (maker and seller of pots) at the shop of Zuanne Olivo in the Bragora parish. The Ponte dei Corazzieri no longer exists, since the Rio di Sant'Antonin that it crossed has been filled in, but we can place the site of the houses of the Barbarigo family with some accuracy at the junction of the present-day Calle dei Corazzieri and Salizada del Pignater. It is not fortuitous that the last-named street bears the name it does: this is the filled-in Rio di Sant'Antonin, on to which faced the Fondamenta dei Corazzieri, where stood the shop of the

pignater Olivo, Gabriel's employer. It is easy to imagine how Zanetta and Gabriel became acquainted thanks to the closeness of the home of the first to the place of work of the second.

However, the banns posted on 17, 21 e 24 December had to be repeated, since the surname of the groom's father was given incorrectly: Gabriel was universally known by the surname "Colpi" – a simple nickname later adopted also by Zanetta, who from that point onwards appeared in church registers as "Zanetta Colpi" – and that is the reason why he is described in the banns as "figlio di Lucio Colpi, servidor" (son of Lucio Colpi, servant). Evidently, someone noticed the mistake on the last day of the postings. The eager couple, who had reckoned on being married on Christmas Eve, had to wait until 1 January 1663 to celebrate their wedding. Officiating was the Reverend Don Giacomo Fornasieri, "primo Prete Titolare di chiesa" (senior titular priest of the church), who a few years later would, as parish priest, marry Camilla Calicchio and Giovanni Battista Vivaldi, and who would also baptize both Antonio and his elder sister Gabriela. The witnesses chosen by the couple were Pelegrin Colle, son of Mattio, dwelling in the San Zulian parish, and Giovanni Battista Zachaletto, son of the late Troilo, dwelling in the Bragora parish: evidently, the second-named man was the bride's witness, since he had already stood godfather to Camilla (Illustration 5).

Gabriel was then aged around thirty, being a good twelve years younger than Zanetta. As stated in the parish document, both lived as tenants in the Barbarigo houses, but there are no documents establishing that they co-habited in the same apartment. That there was already a noteworthy familiarity between the two prior to their marriage is shown, however, by the fact that only six months later, on 9 July 1663, Zanetta gave birth to a daughter, who was baptized with the names of Maria and Iseppa at the church of the Bragora on 11 July by its parish priest, Giovanni Battista Vitalba; the godfather was Pelegrin Colle, son of Mattio, "causidico" (solicitor), who had already acted as Gabriel's witness at his marriage, while the midwife, Margarita, was the same person who would supervise the fraught birth of Antonio Vivaldi fifteen years later (Illustration 6).

After a mere eight years of marriage Gabriel, too, died: on 28 October 1670, aged about thirty-eight (Illustration 7). The same page of the death register for the Bragora parish records, for 1 November, the death of Zanetta's mother, the sixty-eight-years-old Cattarina. The doctor, Leonardi, noted the cause of the two deaths merely as "febre" (fever). While Cattarina's burial was entrusted to her son, the priest Giovanni Francesco Temporini, Zanetta herself took charge of Gabriel's funeral.

Berti's illness had lasted 18 days. On 17 October Gabriel had dictated to the notary Biasio Reggia his last will and testament (Appendix 2), instructing that his 371 ducats be distributed in the following fashion:

1. seventy-one ducats for the celebration on 100 Masses – for his own soul and that of his wife – and for the prayers needed to obtain the plenary indulgence of the "Perdon d'Assisi";

2. 300 ducats, invested with the magistracy of the Provveditori al Sal at an annual rate of interest of six per cent, for (2a.) the marriage or possible taking of the veil of his daughter Maria, who will be required, meanwhile, to live with Zanetta, who will have the right to draw on the annual income (18 ducats) to meet the cost of feeding the child; in the eventuality that Maria dies after attaining her majority but before making either commitment (2b.) 100 ducats will be made over to her – it is unclear whether this refers to her reaching her majority or to her burial expenses – while Zanetta and the church of the Bragora will each receive the same; if Maria dies before attaining her majority, (2c.) 100 ducats will go to Zanetta, sixty to Gabriel's mother and brothers and 140 to the church of the Bragora.
3. Zanetta is to inherit whatever other assets the deceased owns, as well as recovering her dowry of 500 ducats – which, we now discover, is appreciably more valuable than the entire estate pertaining to her husband.

Zanetta gave the church of the Bragora the stipulated seventy-one ducats for the religious observances; when, however, the interest on the ducats deposited with the "Sal" was lowered from six to five per cent in 1675, she made a contract with her future son-in-law Giovanni Battista Vivaldi, to whom, with a safeguard in place, she entrusted the sum for three years, during which time she was to receive the annual five per cent interest for Maria's expenses.

The contract drawn up by the notary Flaminio Giberti is scrupulous and exact (Appendix 3). The collateral is spelt out: a "cason con un pezzo di terra" (house with a plot of land) in Gambarare sul Brenta belonging to his friend Antonio Rossi, a "muschiaro" (glovemaker and perfumer) in Piazza San Marco "all'Insegna delli tre Calici" (at the sign of the Three Cups). This property brings in a rent of twenty-four ducats each year – much more than the fifteen ducats earned by the interest on the investment.

We have no information on the outcome of the investment and how the capital was put to use, nor on whether at the end of the three years it was returned to its rightful owner or otherwise disbursed. In the following year, 1676, Giovanni Battista was making preparations for marriage to Camilla Calicchio. On 6 June 1676, while the bridegroom's witnesses were making their statements to the Curia and the banns were being read out in the church of the Bragora, Zanetta, in her own home, dictated her will to the notary Pietro Antonio Bozini (Appendices 4 and 5).

We cannot say whether the bride's mother really felt that her end was coming or merely wished to assure Camilla in a clear and formal manner of her financial support; the fact remains that the document was not opened during the following years, since Zanetta remained alive for a good many years to come.

It is interesting to note how Zanetta's will, dated 31 May 1676 and modified by the addition of a codicil on 6 June 1676, commits the serious injustice of leaving Camilla for her dowry all the money deposited with the "Sal", previously belonging to Gabriel, specifying that the daughter is to marry Giovanni Battista

Vivaldi. Camilla, the universal heir, has the obligation to pass on to Maria – who by right should have had first claim on her father's assets – merely a pair of sheets, linen “et altro”. The eldest son, Salvador, gets only a shirt, to which the codicil adds the meagre one-time payment of five ducats. There is no mention of Zanetta's own dowry, which in 1670 had amounted to 500 ducats and had probably already been spent. There were two witnesses to the will and codicil: the barber Antonio Gandolfi and the fruit-seller Carlo Cambianega.

Although the will was not put into effect, the testatrix not having died, we may hazard a guess that the capital with which Berti would have wished to secure his daughter Maria a measure of financial well-being was instead used by Zanetta to pay for Camilla's wedding; indeed, since the contract agreed with Giovanni Battista Vivaldi the previous year was still in force, it is easy to imagine that the new family began married life with direct reliance on this source of money. Camilla Calicchio and Giovanni Battista Vivaldi were married on 11 June 1676 in the church of San Giovanni Battista on the Giudecca by the same celebrant, Reverend Giacomo Fornasieri, who had earlier presided over the marriage of Zanetta and Gabriel. The bride was expecting: on 13 November Gabriela Antonia would arrive. As witnesses to the marriage we find Ottavio, son of Iseppo Enz, “orese all'Insegna dell'Europa” (goldsmith at the sign of Europa), who lived in the parish of San Polo, and Andrea son of the late Zuanne Vedova nicknamed “Tremamondo” (the world trembles), a gondolier living in the parish of San Martino. Among the others who attended were Paolo Afabris and the previously mentioned Antonio Gandolfi, both of whom would be summoned in 1693 by Antonio Vivaldi to testify on oath before the chancellor of the Patriarchal Curia that the marriage of his parents had indeed occurred.

In the marriage register we read that Giovanni Battista lived “alli forni in contrà de S. Martin” (at the bakery in the parish of San Martino), and that Camilla lived “in Campo Grando, nelle case dà Ca' Salamon” (in Campo Grando, in the houses of the Salamon family) in the Bragora parish. “Campo Grando” – today, Campo Bandiera e Moro – is the square in front of the parish church, and the houses that the Salamon family rented out were those lying between the church itself and the Calle del Dose, which leads down to the Riva degli Schiavoni. It is not possible at present to state for how many years Camilla had been living there, nor whether this was where Zanetta also resided with her children, even if that hypothesis is very likely. Nor is it even clear whether, after their marriage, the couple continued to live at this address or moved elsewhere within the parish. It is a commonly accepted supposition that Antonio Vivaldi was born in the Campo alla Bragora, in one of the Salamon houses, even if this remains only a theory needing confirmation from documents that are at present missing.

Zanetta Temporini died in the same parish on 1 January 1690. In the death register (Illustration 8) she is named “Zanetta r[elic]ta del q[uonda]m Gabriel Colpi” (Zanetta, widow of the late Gabriel Colpi); in the index to the register she appears under the letter Z as “Zanetta Colpi”. The doctor, Mesavi, emphasizes that the cause of death – leaving aside eight days of “febbre maligna” (malign

fever) – was “vecchiezza” (old age): Zanetta lived to an age of about seventy, which was considerable for the time. The archives have not yielded any will indicating how the deceased’s property should be treated, but perhaps by now there was no need to make one, since one imagines that very little remained to her, as is also suggested by the facts regarding Maria Berti, to which we now turn.

Taking charge of the burial was the parish priest at the church of the Bragora, Zanetta’s brother Don Giovanni Francesco Temporini. His name appears often in the parish registers in the 1670s, when he celebrates weddings and baptisms as the titular subdeacon. In October 1678 the chapter elected him parish priest of San Giovanni Battista in Bragora. On Zanetta’s death it was without doubt he who took over the reins of the family: we receive proof of this when, on 24 September of the following year, 1691, his niece Maria, the daughter of Zanetta and Gabriel, and now aged twenty-eight, married Alberto Zannetti, a “beretter” (cap-maker), in a ceremony held “in casa della sposa” (in the bride’s home), which was registered in the Bragora parish, where the banns were dispensed with (Illustrations 9 and 10). This seems to have been, in truth, a marriage conducted with the utmost haste: the suspicion arises that the bride was in danger of death and that Maria, exactly like her mother and sister before her, was expecting – and was faced in addition with a problematic pregnancy that put her life at risk. Maria married without any dowry, contrary to the declared wishes of her father. This is confirmed by the will of her uncle, who died of an apoplectic fit on 27 January 1692 at the age of around fifty-eight. The document mentions his nieces Camilla and Catterina, described as Maria’s sisters (Illustration 11), to each of whom he leaves 100 ducats; whereas, in an attached codicil, the dying man reserves for “Maria moglie di Alberto mia Nezza [nipote]” (Maria, the wife of Albert, my niece) a “figura di cerva in segno di cortesia” (figure of a deer as a mark of courtesy). There can be no doubt that the three sisters were Zanetta’s daughters precisely because it is stated that Maria is to receive not even one ducat since her uncle has already aided her financially – to a value greater than the 100 ducats left to the two other sisters – on the occasion of her marriage celebrated shortly before.

From this will we discover the existence, never previously documented, of a third daughter of Zanetta: Catterina. We know neither her age nor the identity of her father: despite much searching in the archives no other trace of her has yet surfaced. But of her existence there is no doubt, given her uncle’s very exact words. Her mother does not mention any daughter of this name in her will of 1676, but it is possible that Catterina had already married or entered a convent, and hence had already received what was due to her. This could have occurred between 1670 and 1676, when Zanetta was in possession of her dowry of 500 ducats – cited in her husband’s will of 1670 but not mentioned in her own of six years later – which could have been used for the benefit of her daughter Catterina.

With the death of Giovanni Francesco Temporini we come to the end of our tale of the family of origin of Camilla Calicchio. Many documents that will help us to complete the chronicle of the events related here still await discovery in the Venetian archives, but from what has already emerged it is possible to form a

clear idea of the way in which Zanetta Temporini, the maternal grandmother of Antonio Vivaldi, will have been able to influence, in her public acts and through her sheer vitality, the course of events that shaped her family.

Moreover, the fact that her death occurred in 1690 encourages us to think that Zanetta had a strong influence particularly on her grandson, who for a good twelve years grew up in proximity to a grandmother with this particularly firm and resolute personality.

Also, the fact that Antonio Vivaldi's uncle was not just a simple priest but the titular priest of the Bragora church – a focal point for the Vivaldi family – leads one to imagine that Antonio's priestly vocation came about at least in part through a desire to follow his example: the first steps in the ecclesiastical career of the future composer were taken in 1693, only a year after the death of this well-respected priest and uncle.

Michael Talbot

GIOVANNI BATTISTA VIVALDI COPIES MUSIC BY TELEMANN:
NEW LIGHT ON THE GENESIS OF ANTONIO VIVALDI'S
CHAMBER CONCERTOS

1. A DISCOVERY IN DRESDEN

It is said that good things come in threes, and so it was in this instance. In December 2014 I was contacted by Jóhannes Ágústsson, well known to readers of this journal, who asked me for my opinion on the identity of the scribe responsible for the copied parts of three so-called “Concerti à tre” by Telemann preserved in the Sächsische Landesbibliothek – Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Dresden (or SLUB, with the RISM siglum *D-Dl*). This copyist had been identified by Ortrun Landmann in 1983 as Giovanni Alberto Ristori (1692-1753), official “Compositeur de la musique italienne” at the Saxon-Polish court and as such one of its most highly placed musicians,¹ and this identification had subsequently been accepted by the library catalogue itself and by RISM. But Ágústsson could not reconcile the handwriting of these trios with what he had encountered in other compositions copied by Ristori, including works by that musician himself; nor did it seem probable that a composer concerned primarily with vocal repertoire would busy himself with copying small-scale instrumental ensemble music. On the other hand, the writing looked to him rather like that of Giovanni Battista Vivaldi (c. 1655-1736), the composer’s father, which was the reason why he sought my advice.

The identification of G. B. Vivaldi’s scribal hand dates back to 1990, when Paul Everett concluded from very cogent circumstantial evidence that the copyist known as “Schreiber e” to Karl Heller and classified by Everett himself as “Scribe 4” (or “Hand 4”) could be none other than Vivaldi senior.² Even though no

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¹ ORTRUN LANDMANN, *Die Telemann-Quellen der Sächsischen Landesbibliothek. Handschriften und zeitgenössische Druckausgaben seiner Werke* (“Studien und Materialien zur Musikgeschichte Dresdens”, 4), Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek, 1983, p. 149. On Ristori’s career at the Saxon-Polish court, see JÓHANNES ÁGÚSTSSON, *Giovanni Alberto Ristori at the Court of Naples, 1738-1740*, in *Studi pergolesiani – Pergolesi studies* 8, eds Claudio Bacciagaluppi, Hans-Günther Ottenberg and Luca Zoppelli, Bern, Peter Lang, 2012, pp. 53-100.

² KARL HELLER, *Die deutsche Überlieferung der Instrumentalwerke Vivaldis*, “Beiträge zur musikwissenschaftlichen Forschung in der DDR”, 2, Leipzig, Deutscher Verlag für Musik, 1971; PAUL EVERETT, *Vivaldi’s Italian Copyists*, “Informazioni e studi vivaldiani”, 11, 1990, pp. 27-88.

specimen of G. B. Vivaldi's ordinary handwriting – not even a signature on a receipt – has emerged from non-musical sources to validate this identification, it has stood the test of time and is accepted without dissent by Vivaldi scholars. Illustrations of it in Vivaldian literature and in digitized reproductions online are exceedingly copious.³ It took me only a few seconds to realize that Ágústsson had struck gold: the copies were indeed G. B. Vivaldi's handiwork.

The description of the three manuscripts can conveniently start with a simple table:

SHELFMARK	TWV	WATERMARK	TITLE ON MS	TITLE ON COVER LABEL
2392-Q-31	42: D 15	W-DI-337	Concerto à Tre Un Flauto Traversier, Un Violino Scordato Con Basso Continuo Del S ^r Telemann	Cover and label both lost. The original location was Schrank II, 24. Fach, 23. Lage.
2392-Q-37	42: e 7	W-DI-107	Concerto à Tre Del S ^r Telemann	Schranck No: II. 24: Fach 22. Lage. Concerto. Flauti VV ⁿⁱ e Basso 3. St. De Sig. ^r Telemann.
2392-Q-55	42: A 9	W-DI-106 A	Concerto à Tre Del S ^r Telemann	Schranck No: II. 24: Fach 21. Lage. Concerto. Flaut: Ob: d'am: e Basso 3. St. Del Sig. ^r Telemann.

To explain: column 1 gives the SLUB shelfmarks, omitting only the standard prefix "Mus.".

Column 2 gives the individual identification code in the standard modern catalogue of Telemann's works.⁴ The prefix "42" defines the category (chamber music for two instruments and basso continuo); the letter, the key (upper case for major, lower case for minor); the final number differentiates works in the same category sharing a key.

Column 3 gives the watermark classification (which also defines the paper type) according to the library's own specially devised system.⁵ All three papers represented are Venetian, featuring the generic watermark of three crescent

³ See, for instance, PAUL EVERETT, *Vivaldi's Italian Copyists*, cit., pp. 68-69. For a digitized reproduction of the hand, see the set of parts in the SLUB for the violin concerto RV 189 (Mus. 2389-O-66a), which is probably coeval with the parts for the "Concerti à tre".

⁴ Georg Philipp Telemann: *Thematisch-Systematisches Verzeichnis seiner Werke: Telemann Werkverzeichnis (TWV)*. Band 2, ed. Martin Ruhnke, Kassel etc., Bärenreiter, 1992.

⁵ The digitization and bibliographical analysis of the instrumental music once belonging to the Saxon Hofkapelle was undertaken at the SLUB as a large-scale research project supported by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft and concluded in 2011: "Die Instrumentalmusik der Dresdner Hofkapelle zur Zeit der sächsisch-polnischen Union. Erschließung, Digitalisierung und Internet-präsentation". The bulk of the collected data, including the digitized scores and parts, is accessible via the RISM portal at <<https://opac.rism.info/>>.

moons (*tre mezze lune*). W-DI-337 and W-DI-107 are unique within the SLUB collection, while W-DI-106 A, classified earlier by Heller as “*tre lune III*”, is employed also by the parts for the Vivaldi Concerto RV 189 (Mus. 2389-O-66a).⁶ The paper for all nine parts is in oblong format with pre-ruled rastography, as normal for Venetian music papers, and each part occupies a single bifolio.

Column 4 gives a diplomatic transcription (but differentiating U and V according to modern norms) of the title as it appears on the manuscript. Mus. 2392-Q-31 has a title page (the opening *recto* of the Violino part, which presumably served originally as an enclosing folder) giving the full instrumentation,⁷ whereas the other two manuscripts are content to identify each instrumental part only via a heading positioned in the top right-hand corner of the respective opening page.

Column 5 contains a diplomatic transcription (minus the musical incipit placed at the end) of the title as it appears on the label affixed to the thick paper folder added by the Hofkapelle c. 1765, when, closely following on from the accession to the royal library of what had earlier been the private collection of Johann Georg Pisendel (1687-1755), built up assiduously by its principal violinist and concertmaster since his teenage years, the storage of its music was reorganized. The instrumental works were kept in a designated cupboard (*Schrank II*) with several drawers (*Fächer*), each of which contained several such folders in a numbered stacking order (*Lage*). The label also contained information about the genre, the instrumentation and, in the case of separate parts (*Stimmen*), their number. The three works were stored contiguously in a drawer (24. *Fach*) containing concertos by Telemann. The scribe responsible for the label must have mistakenly believed that their description as concertos automatically presupposed the orchestral doubling of parts (hence the plural forms “*Flauti*” and “*V[ioli]ni*”).

It is evident from the table that the three works form a set, or at least part of one. All contain a part for transverse flute as well as one for violin (in 42: A 9 as an alternative to oboe d’amore; in 42: D 15 employing *scordatura*) besides the continuo. Nevertheless, the use of three different (albeit exactly equivalent) music papers could imply that the copying occurred on three different occasions rather than just one, which is to say as and when the immediate need for the parts arose.⁸ While accepting that the three “*Concerti à tre*” form a set, one does not have to assume that they were conceived as one: their tailoring to a common instrumentation could be due to an act of selection rather than one of creation, and a suspicion that 42: A 9 did not originally offer the option for a violin in place of the oboe d’amore is probably well founded, as we shall see later on from its concordant sources.

⁶ See earlier, note 3, and KARL HELLER, *Die deutsche Überlieferung*, cit., p. 73.

⁷ Mus. 2392-Q-31 was heavily damaged during World War II, with the result that it remains only partially legible. The transcription of the title page mostly follows that provided by the SLUB to RISM.

⁸ Of course, the mixture of paper types could also have arisen from a decision on G. B. Vivaldi’s part to use up ‘oddments’ left over from earlier copying tasks, so no firm conclusion is possible.

At some later point, probably in or around the 1720s, Pisendel produced his own copies of the separate parts for 42: D 15 and 42: e 7. These can be tabulated as follows:

SHELFMARK	TWV	WATERMARK	TITLE ON MS	TITLE ON COVER LABEL
2392-Q-58	42: D 15	W-DI-081	A: 3 Trio à Flauto Travers e Viol d'Amour e Cembalo. Del Sig ^r Telemañ.	Schranck No: II. 25. Fach 25. Lage. Trio. co[n] VV ⁿⁱ Fl: e Basso 3. St. Del Sig. ^r Telemann.
2392-Q-36	42: e 7	W-DI-081	A: 3 Trio à Flauto Travers e Violino con Basso. Del Sig ^r Telemañ.	Schranck No: II. 25. Fach 42. Lage. Trio. co[n] V ^{no} Flauto e Basso 3. St. Del Sig. ^r Telemann.

The watermark W-DI-081, a posthorn in a crowned shield,⁹ occurs in no fewer than 66 items from the SLUB listed by RISM. The paper, presented in the upright format preferred in Germany, appears to be of local manufacture: a type supplied in bulk to the Hofkapelle (and also accessible to Pisendel for his private copying) over a longish period. Pisendel, working alone or in collaboration with *Hofnotisten* or other Dresden musicians, dominates the roster. Whether, in this particular instance, he worked only for himself or acted on behalf of the Hofkapelle is a matter for guesswork. Certainly, the court had a need for *Tafelmusik* (or its equivalent) in the shape of chamber works in addition to its orchestral repertoire.

Why Pisendel took the trouble to copy the two works when they were already to hand in the same form (of separate parts) is not obvious, but the replacement, in 42: D 15, of a *scordato* violin (with *accordatura* a–e'–a'–d'') by a viola d'amore (with *accordatura* a–e'–a'–d'–e'–a'–d'') presumably provides part of the reason.¹⁰ Another factor could be that one set was functional and the other archival, or one set for private use and the other for court use, as Nicholas Lockey has pointed out to me. For both works, Pisendel altered the violin phrasing in places, made some small corrections (plus a few hypercorrections!) and amplified the very sparse bass figuring added by G. B. Vivaldi. He could conceivably have worked directly from the Italian's parts rather than from the lost German (autograph?) source or sources that had served the latter as copy text, since he retains the Italianate spelling "Teleman", even if he then shows off his learning by capping the "n" with a superscript bar (*tilde*) indicating the letter's duplication.¹¹

⁹ Illustrated and discussed (as Watermark 10) in STEVEN ZOHN, *Music Paper at the Dresden Court and the Chronology of Telemann's Instrumental Music*, in *Puzzles in Paper: Concepts in Historical Watermarks: Essays from the International Conference on the History, Function and Study of Watermarks, Roanoke, Virginia*, eds Daniel W. Mosser, Michael Saffle and Ernest W. Sullivan II, Newcastle, DE, Oak Knoll Press / London, British Library, 2000, pp. 125-168: 148-149.

¹⁰ Pisendel had learnt to play the viola d'amore, perhaps from Kaspar Schweitzelsperger, by the end of his Ansbach years (1696-1709). See KAI KÖPP, *Johann Georg Pisendel (1687-1755) und die Anfänge der neuzeitlichen Orchesterleitung*, Tutzing, Hans Schneider, 2005, p. 49. His fondness for the instrument was shared by Vivaldi.

¹¹ The scribe who wrote out the labels ignored the superscript bars. In his literal-minded way, he also retained a small-size g' interposed between the first two notes of the violin part (Pisendel's initial

The titles for the two works copied by Pisendel, appearing on the first *recto* side of the bifolio containing the bass part, substitute “Trio” for “Concerto à tre”. It is also interesting that Pisendel has “Cembalo” for the title of the bass part in 42: D 15, but “Basso” in 42: e 7. Perhaps the difference arose from the fact the bass part for the first work can be played successfully on harpsichord alone, since it has nothing of thematic significance, whereas in 42: e 7, which has a fugue as second movement, it participates more fully in the thematic discourse.

Since the works were described in Pisendel’s copies as trios, the writer of the labels, who was evidently also responsible for deciding the location of all the compositions within *Schrank II*, accordingly placed them in the twenty-fifth *Fach*, containing among other things Telemann’s trios, although this time their *Lage* position was not adjacent. For 42: D 15 he subverted Pisendel’s intention by writing “VVⁿⁱ”, an error not repeated for 42: e 7.

2. GIOVANNI BATTISTA VIVALDI AS COPYIST

In the annals of music it is not unusual for sons to act as amanuenses for their fathers. What is less common is that fathers act in the same way for their sons, except where the latter are too young to have the requisite expertise. G. B. Vivaldi fulfilled the second role for twenty or more years in a manner only describable as heroic. Remarkably Antonio was already in his mid-thirties, and Giovanni Battista approaching sixty when this collaboration, so far as we have evidence for it, began. Until the period immediately following the publication of *L'estro armonico* in latish 1711, G. B. Vivaldi was definitely the senior partner in their joint enterprise for everything except, perhaps, musical composition. He held a stable and prestigious post as co-leader of the violins in the ducal *cappella* at S. Marco and had tried his hand at operatic management. But he also had an essential ‘caring’ role in relation to his son, who, as we know, moved around with difficulty on account of his chest constriction (*strettezza di petto*), and it was therefore foreseeable that in time Giovanni Battista would put aside personal ambition and act as his son’s ever-present assistant also in one of the most vital of musical tasks: making copies. Fortunately, he had an elegant, almost calligraphic, hand. Even more important was the fact that he resided in the same house as his son and could be relied on – as a normal commercial copyist could not – to refrain from making extra copies surreptitiously in order to trade independently in the composer’s music.

idea for the correction of a clearly wayward *a'* in G. B. Vivaldi’s part) that in the German’s manuscript has been incompletely scratched out in favour of *b'*. The absence of a second, fully written out “*n*” does not in itself constitute proof that Pisendel copied directly from G. B. Vivaldi, however, since Telemann himself affected the “Italianate” spelling in certain works – for example, the set of six sonatas for two violins, two violas, cello and bass (TWV 44: 5, 11, 32, 33, 34 and 35) clearly written in imitation of the sonatas in Tomaso Albinoni’s *Sinfonie e concerti a cinque*, Op. 2 (1700).

The copies of Antonio Vivaldi's music made by – or involving the participation of – G. B. Vivaldi fall into several categories. First, there are the copies of works (or series of works) made for presentation to patrons or sale to customers, the composer retaining the autograph composition manuscripts. In this group we may place, for instance, the twelve 'Manchester' sonatas (*GB-Mp*, MS 624.1 Vw81), the twelve 'Paris' concertos (*F-Pc*, Ac.e⁴.346) and the Dresden score of the *Laudate pueri*, RV 601 (*D-Dl*, 2389-E-3). In other cases, the composer apparently used his father to prepare an archival duplicate copy of a work of which an autograph manuscript was to be dispatched elsewhere. Such is the Turin score of the serenata *La Senna festeggiante*, RV 693 (*I-Tn*, Foà 27, ff. 146-253). And then there are simply dozens of instances where Giovanni Battista collaborated on a manuscript with his son and/or with other copyists. An interesting case not unrelated to the present one concerns the ten parts for the *Nisi Dominus*, RV 608 (*I-Tn*, Foà 40, ff. 251-298), dating from c. 1717, which were copied partly by Antonio Vivaldi himself, partly by G. B. Vivaldi and partly by two further scribes. Perhaps of significance for the present context is the fact that it was Vivaldi senior who was entrusted with the responsibility of copying out the part for viola d'amore required in one movement, a task that entailed the use of bizarre-looking 'finger' notation dictated by the chosen *accordatura* of the instrument.¹²

A mere two copies break the general pattern by transmitting music not composed by Antonio Vivaldi himself. One is of an offertory for SATB and organ by G. A. Bernabei, *Ad te levavi animam meam* (RV Anh. 36), the other of an anonymous four-part introit, *Confessio et pulchritudo* (RV Anh. 37). Since Bernabei was resident in distant Munich, one wonders how access was gained to his unpublished offertory. The suggestion has cautiously been made that Bernabei's former teacher, the violinist F. M. Veracini (who visited Venice in 1716, dedicating a volume of sonatas to the electoral prince of Saxony, of whom more anon), was the conduit.¹³ The motivation behind the two copies might seem obscure, were it not for the fact that since 1713 Antonio Vivaldi had unofficially been acting as *maestro di coro* at the Pietà – an untypical responsibility for a string player – and had in consequence been forced to become speedily conversant, as a composer, with the *stile osservato*, an idiom foreign to his experience and perhaps also to his nature, judging from the frequency with which he furtively borrowed from others when writing in this style. So these two copies may have been intended to serve as compositional models for his reference, or even as raw material for possible future arrangement.

¹² Since the viola d'amore was an instrument normally played by violinists, it was logical to notate whatever was played on the highest four strings as if fingered on a normally tuned violin. The same applied, naturally, to a *violino scordato*. The unorthodox *accordatura* chosen for Pisendel's version of 42: D 15, with its major second between the central strings, probably arose from a desire to retain, for simplicity, the tuning of the three highest strings employed in the original version with *violino scordato*.

¹³ See MICHAEL TALBOT, *The Sacred Vocal Music of Antonio Vivaldi* ("Quaderni vivaldiani", 8), Florence, Olschki, 1995, pp. 140-141.

But the three Telemann works belong to a category not previously encountered among G. B. Vivaldi's copies: instrumental music by a contemporary composer other than his son. The ramifications of this unexpected discovery will now be explored.

3. THE VENETIAN CONJUNCTURE: TELEMANN, PISENDEL AND THE VIVALDIS

The close personal and professional association of Pisen del and Antonio Vivaldi in Venice during the latter part of 1716, and perhaps also very briefly in the autumn of 1717 just before the German's return to Venice in the company of the newly recruited Italian musicians led by Antonio Lotti, is a byword in the biographies of both men that needs no filling out here. Pisen del reached Venice at the end of April 1716, in the company of his colleague in the Hofkapelle, the wind player Johann Christian Richter. There they joined the Saxon keyboard player Christian Pezold (or Petzold). This three-piece ensemble comprising a string player (primarily a violinist, but perhaps also a player of the viola d'amore),¹⁴ a wind player (on oboe, recorder and transverse flute) and a keyboardist constituted the chamber ensemble (*Kammermusik*) attached to the retinue of the young Saxon-Polish *Kurprinz*, Friedrich August.¹⁵ Exactly the same ensemble had accompanied Friedrich August on a visit to France two years earlier.

The point scarcely needs repeating that the three Telemann "Concerti à tre" are, if not precisely tailor-made for this core ensemble of three players, eminently playable by it without supplementation. What is interesting is that one out of the three chamber concertos by Vivaldi preserved in the SLUB, RV 84 (*D-DI*, Mus. 2389-Q-8), which was presumably taken back to Dresden by Pisen del although surviving only in a later copy made by the *Hofnotist* J. G. Grundig, is similarly scored for the pared-down ensemble of flute, violin and bass.¹⁶ This has very much the appearance of a companion work to the three by Telemann.

At the beginning of January 1717 Pisen del initiated the second phase of his Italian sojourn, undertaking a study and music-collecting tour that took him to Bologna, Naples, Rome and Florence. One imagines that during his extended absence Richter and Pezold found a substitute violinist among the local

¹⁴ Köpp (*Johann Georg Pisen del*, cit., p. 88) suggests that Pisen del travelled to Venice with more than one instrument, his evidence being the phrase "mit seinen Instrumenten" ("with his instruments"), which occurs in the obituary of the violinist published in 1756. Of course, Pisen del could have taken multiple violins with him, but it would seem more rational for him to bring one or more alternative types of instrument in order to lend more variety to the repertoire of the *Kammermusik*.

¹⁵ It remains uncertain whether the double-bassist and composer J. D. Zelenka was a member of the prince's *Kammermusik* in 1716-1717, as earlier secondary literature assumed, but the current consensus is that there is no positive evidence for his presence in Venice, so that any visit, if one took place, must have been fleeting. Zelenka's absence from the *Kammermusik* taken to France in 1714 implies that the chamber ensemble could function perfectly well without a stringed bass.

¹⁶ For this very reason, lacking a title on the parts themselves and with its cover label mostly destroyed, RV 84 has been misleadingly placed among the trio sonatas in the Ryom catalogues.

musicians. Antonio Vivaldi, obviously, would have been a prime candidate. So too – in theory – would have been Giovanni Battista, except that his duties at S. Marco and the subordination of his own interests to those of his son, would have acted as powerful inhibiting factors.¹⁷ At some point, the *Kammermusik* appears also to have co-opted a bassoonist, to judge from the other two Vivaldi chamber concertos in Dresden, RV 96 and RV 107, since both have obbligato parts for this instrument.

If his own son was playing by invitation with the *Kammermusik*, this would provide a perfect rationale for the existence of the Telemann copies. Of course, an alternative scenario is conceivable: G. B. Vivaldi, who seems otherwise never to have copied music for third parties, could have performed the task at the request of his son as a special favour to Pisendel. Either way, the copies provide the first irrefutable proof of a link between the Vivaldis and Pisendel in the specific context of the activity of the *Kammermusik* in Venice.

We need not dwell here on the close link, once again as personal as it was professional, between Pisendel and Telemann, which went back to their first encounter in Leipzig in 1709. It is entirely credible that Pisendel should have requested from the composer, or alternatively that Telemann should have offered to the violinist, chamber works for performance during the stay of the *Kammermusik* in Venice. From perusal of the copies, if not also from direct experience of performing the music, Antonio Vivaldi will have become acquainted, perhaps for the first time, with chamber music for a trio (or quartet) ensemble bearing the title “concerto”.

4. THE TITLING OF THREE-PART CHAMBER COMPOSITIONS: SONATA, CONCERTO AND TRIO

If one were asked to play the game of identifying the ‘odd one out’ (in purely typological terms) in the triad Sonata–Concerto–Trio, the answer would be clear: Trio. Whereas the titles “sonata” and “concerto” refer principally to the character of the music (form, style, performing context, even mood), “trio” identifies just one, entirely objective, feature: the number of separate parts (which, at least since the Baroque period, corresponds to the number of actual players). It is unsurprising that, for chamber music in upwards of three parts, “trio”, “quartet” etc. have, ever since the advent of the Classical period, become the standard primary designation. Even before the middle of the eighteenth century, these

¹⁷ Giorgio Gentili, *primo violino* of the S. Marco orchestra, is proposed as a ‘member of the musical entourage that the elector [*recte*, electoral prince] assembled during his long stay in Venice’ in ELEANOR SELFRIDGE-FIELD, *Venetian Instrumental Music from Gabrieli to Vivaldi*, 3rd edition, Mineola, New York, Dover Publications, 1994, p. 316. It is true that Gentili presented a manuscript set of concertos (Op. 6) to Friedrich August, but this hardly constitutes evidence that he made music with members of the *Kammermusik*. The other fact adduced by Selfridge-Field, that Gentili’s departure in 1717 from the Mendicanti, where he was *maestro d’istrumenti*, coincided approximately with the departure of three S. Marco musicians to Dresden, has little relevance, seeing that the termination of his post at the *ospedale* was for economic reasons, and that he remained in Venice up to 1731, when his service in the *Cappella ducale* ceased.

titles had begun to supplant the earlier “sonata” and “concerto”, which survived, however, in music for a single instrument with or without piano accompaniment (sonata) and, of course, in orchestral music (concerto). One incontestable advantage of primary titles based on the number of parts was certainly a purely practical one connected with the formation and storage of the repertoire of a given ensemble: hence the predominance of “Trio” on the Dresden cover labels, and also the predilection for the same term among the composers of the Hofkapelle, including Pisendel. The same bias in nomenclature is replicated in countless instances elsewhere, as one may observe in eighteenth-century manuscript and published catalogues.

The best way to evaluate a title chosen by a composer for a work is to regard it in the first instance as a paratext: a word or phrase aiming to provide a helpful frame of reference for performer and audience alike.¹⁸ Most paratexts serving as titles are at least in part genre-linked or medium-linked: that is, they suggest a family likeness to other works with the same title. The concept of a “generic contract”, a term coined by Jeffrey Kallberg,¹⁹ arises from this associative quality. But titles can equally well be non-generic, which opens up the possibility of making them deliberately original, thus different from any previously employed titles. Such are Schubert’s *Moments musicaux* or Satie’s *Gymnopédies*. Here, the composer’s twin priorities are to suggest character and lend distinctiveness to the title. Since the late nineteenth century non-generic, individualized titles have become increasingly common, although within the realm of programme music their use extends back many centuries. A third kind of title, the one particularly relevant to our present argument, is genre-linked – but in an unfamiliar, even contradictory way: the title itself is familiar, but the use to which it is put is not. The compound expression “chamber concerto”, as employed today, is a perfect example of this type, since the performing ensemble and the species of composition are apparently dissonant.

But amid all this analytical finesse one must recognize a further, uncomfortable truth. Composers are not scholars with semantic exactitude uppermost in their mind. They often give titles hastily, whimsically and even, as it appears to others, arbitrarily. In other words, greater or smaller inconsistencies in a given composer’s approach to titling are not exceptional, requiring agonized explanation on the part of scholars, but almost normal.

5. TELEMANN’S CHAMBER ‘CONCERTOS’

In the light of the foregoing remarks, Telemann’s choice of the title “concerto” for certain of his three-part compositions may not be as strange as it at first seems when viewed in the context of the nascent, specifically German tradition of the “concerto-like sonata” (*Sonate auf Concertenart*), of which he himself can possibly

¹⁸ On the nature of paratexts, see especially GÉRARD GENETTE, *Paratexts*, transl. Jane E. Lewin, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1997.

¹⁹ JEFFREY KALLBERG, *The Rhetoric of Genre: Chopin’s Nocturne in G minor*, “19th Century Music”, 11, 1987-1988, pp. 238-261.

lay claim to being the founding father. In other circumstances, it would be hard to explain why, if a piece retaining the name of “sonata” is in any case permitted to adopt structures and stylistic traits associated with the conventionally scored concerto, a variation of name is needed. But are there nevertheless any common features in Telemann’s *sonate a tre* not shared by his *concerti a tre*? To evaluate this possibility, let us begin by tabulating all the known pieces for the trio medium designated by Telemann “concerto” or “concerto à tre”.²⁰

TWV 42	MOVTS	FIRST TREBLE INSTRUMENT	SECOND TREBLE INSTRUMENT	OBSERVATIONS
D 6	4	flute	harpsichord/violin	<i>VI Concerts et VI suites</i> , no. 1
D 15	4	flute	<i>violino scordato</i>	
E 6	3	violin	viola da gamba	
				2 out of 3 parts headed “Concerto”
e 3	4	flute	harpsichord/violin	<i>VI Concerts et VI suites</i> , no. 4
F 4	4	oboe	violin	
F 14	3	flute	horn	
G 1	4	flute	violin	also published in <i>Six trio</i> “Concerto à 3”
G 9	4	violin 1	violin 2	
g 2	4	flute	harpsichord/violin	<i>VI Concerts et VI suites</i> , no. 2
A 3	4	flute	harpsichord/violin	<i>VI Concerts et VI suites</i> , no. 3
A 9	3	flute	oboe d’amore/violin	also attr. Lotti
a 2	4	flute	harpsichord/violin	<i>VI Concerts et VI suites</i> , no. 6
h 1	4	flute	harpsichord/violin	<i>VI Concerts e six suites</i> , no. 5
Anh. F 1	4	oboe 1	oboe 2	authenticity doubtful
Anh. F 3	3	violin	horn	= TWV 43: F 6
Anh. G	3	flute	oboe d’amore	= TWV 42: A 9
Anh. A 1	4	<i>violino scordato</i> 1	<i>violino scordato</i> 2	= TWV 43: A 7

The first thing to strike one is that in a clear majority of cases the flute is the preferred first treble instrument, the violin the preferred second treble instrument, at least as an alternative. But this is equally true of the generality of Telemann’s trios. There is a small preference for a mixture of instruments and timbres, with the conspicuous exception of G9 (Anh. F 1, being of uncertain authenticity, should not be counted). Here again, there is nothing out of the ordinary. The variation between three and four movements, with the second option predominant, is typical for Telemann’s multi-movement works, regardless of genre and scoring. Were one to examine closely the microstructure of the movements, as Steven Zohn has done for Telemann’s trio settings as a whole,²¹

²⁰ Especially since none of the surviving manuscripts of Telemann’s trios in Ruhnke’s catalogue is identified as autograph, one must suspect the operation of a ‘filtering’ process in the manuscript tradition whereby further pieces originally entitled “concerto” have come down to us only as “trios” or “sonatas”.

²¹ STEVEN ZOHN, *Music for a Mixed Taste: Style, Genre and Meaning in Telemann’s Instrumental Works*, Oxford etc., Oxford University Press, 2008, (“Telemann and the *Sonate auf Concertenart*”), pp. 283-331. On p. 313 Zohn has a useful table showing *inter alia* Telemann’s rather more frequent use of the title “concerto” for quartet settings.

one would find a rich mixture of ritornello, aria-derived, binary, rondo, fugal and through-composed (unitary) forms, with no particular concentration related to title. A 'blind' test after the fashion of wine-testing would, I am convinced, defeat anyone who claimed to be able to tell apart Telemann's three-part "concertos" from his similarly scored "sonatas" by sound alone.

In the absence of clear morphological signs, Zohn wonders whether Telemann understands "concerto" in a pre-Vivaldian, in fact more seventeenth-century, sense, one preserved in the cognate French word "concert".²² This argument certainly has some traction when applied to the *VI Concerts et VI suites* published in 1734, even if the titles for the individual pieces substitute the Italian form "Concerto". But I think there is a broader explanation bringing us back to the idea of titles as variously genre-linked (or medium-linked), non-generic and 'dissonantly' generic. If one examines Telemann's titling practice in general, one notices a marked propensity for innovative, even slightly piquant or jocular titles. The trio settings listed under TWV 42, after all, comprise not merely pieces labelled sonatas, concertos and trios but also "trietti" and "scherzi". In paratextual terms, Telemann is clearly seeking memorability and distinctiveness at the expense of cladistic precision. It is the 'aura' of a concerto, not its taxonomy, that animates him, even if from time to time, exactly as in his similar works entitled "Sonata" or "Trio", genuinely concerto-like features surface.

6. VIVALDI'S CHAMBER CONCERTOS

Moving on to Vivaldi, the first question to settle is whether he ever used the title "Concerto" for a chamber work without orchestra prior to his encounter with Telemann's music via Pisendel. The answer does indeed seem negative. The one known work that might challenge such a conclusion is the "Sonata à 4" RV 801 (formerly RV Anh. 66), originating from the Sonsfeld collection and today preserved in the Fürstenberg collection at Schloss Herdringen, Westphalia. This title is not necessarily original, even if the full-length opening Adagio, very different from the brief prefaces in slow tempo found in a couple of Vivaldi's chamber concertos (RV 87 and RV 97), might well have been enough in the composer's eyes to exclude it *a priori* from classification as a concerto.²³ But in any case, the argument by Federico Maria Sardelli that it is an early work dating from c. 1710,²⁴ revising my earlier suggestion of a date closer to 1720,²⁵ now seems

²² *Ibid.*, pp. 292-293.

²³ The six-movement *La notte*, RV 104, which opens with a slow movement, is, as a programme concerto, exempt from the normal practice of a Vivaldi concerto to have three movements in the configuration fast-slow-fast.

²⁴ FEDERICO MARIA SARDELLI, *Vivaldi's Music for Flute and Recorder*, transl. Michael Talbot, Aldershot, Ashgate, 2007, pp. 96-98.

²⁵ MICHAEL TALBOT, *Vivaldi's 'Quadro'? The Case of RV Anh. 66 Reconsidered*, in *Italianische Instrumentalmusik des 18. Jahrhunderts: Alte und Neue Protagonisten* ("Analecta musicologica", 32), eds Enrico Careri and Markus Engelhardt, Laaber, Laaber-Verlag, 2002, pp. 9-32: 26.

weak – ironically, as a result of applying an investigative technique pioneered by Sardelli based on thematic concordances between works, which reveals a ‘cluster’ of such concordances around the later date.²⁶ Indeed, RV 801 could even be a companion work to the similarly scored RV 96, which is linked, as we saw, to Pisendel’s presence in Venice.

Accepting that Vivaldi may have taken from Telemann the initial idea of using the title of “concerto” for a chamber work, one must immediately recognize that from the start, in contrast to the German, he gave the works so named a distinct and stable taxonomic identity: the title therefore stood for a genuine subgenre. The concerto characteristics listed by Zohn, “ritornello forms, a single dominant upper part, ‘orchestral’ gestures, and [...] soloistic figuration”,²⁷ to which three-movement format could be added, are all present in literal or cleverly simulated guise.²⁸ Vivaldi seems also to have regarded the mixture of string and wind timbre (or of contrasted wind timbres) as a basic ingredient, even if this property is sometimes overridden for pragmatic reasons through the provision of alternative scorings permitting the replacement of the original wind instruments by strings. It is revealing that in every trio setting where two like instruments are specified with no alternative (two violins in RV 74, two oboes in RV 81, two flutes in RV 800) the title and traditional physiognomy of a sonata remain operative.²⁹ So Vivaldi’s chamber concertos reflect a general tendency observable in Italian music after about 1710, which is to emphasize and (as it were) celebrate the distinction between sonata and concerto, which draw steadily apart.

7. EXCURSUS: LOTTI AS POSSIBLE AUTHOR OF TWV 42: A 9?

Before we review the implications for Telemann and Vivaldi of their long-distance encounter mediated by Pisendel, as well as the wider meaning of the new discovery for the evolution of music for chamber ensemble in the decades that followed, a peripheral but interesting problem needs to be addressed: the attribution to Lotti of TWV 42: A 9 in several eighteenth-century and modern

²⁶ These ‘concordances’, as Sardelli terms them, are not of whole movements but of shorter units (themes and motives) that constantly recur in Vivaldi’s works over a shorter or longer period as a consequence of his favoured ‘modular’ compositional technique and his fondness for self-borrowing. See FEDERICO MARIA SARDELLI, *Catalogo delle concordanze musicali vivaldiane* (“Quaderni vivaldiani”, 16), Florence, Olschki, 2012, pp. 22-23.

²⁷ STEVEN ZOHN, *Music for a Mixed Taste*, cit., p. 292.

²⁸ Vivaldi manages to suggest ‘tutti’ scoring merely by employing all the solo instruments together, whereas ‘solo’ scoring is conveyed by temporarily removing selected upper parts. See MICHAEL TALBOT, *Vivaldi*, third edn., London, Dent, 1993, pp. 126-127, for a succinct description of the chamber concertos.

²⁹ Strangely, however, Vivaldi refers, in a letter written in 1729 to a German patron, to “concerti à 3”, by which he does indeed appear to mean works for two flutes and bass, one of which could conceivably have been RV 800. Perhaps he was attempting to customize his terminology to fit what he imagined to be German usage. See MICKY WHITE, *Antonio Vivaldi: A Life in Documents* (“Quaderni vivaldiani”, 17), Florence, Olschki, 2013, p. 187.

sources. Indeed, the eagerness of modern editors and players to claim at least a tiny handful of instrumental works for Antonio Lotti (1666-1740), generally regarded as a specialist in sacred and secular vocal music, has led to a situation where this “Concerto à tre” today circulates predominantly (with the title of “Sonata”) under his name.³⁰

On the face of it, there should be no doubt whatsoever about Telemann’s authorship of the piece. He is named as composer in what is probably the earliest surviving manuscript, the one written out by G. B. Vivaldi, and also in the copy by his friend Pisendel that was later prepared from it. Telemann is the named composer in a further two contemporary manuscripts: a score in Darmstadt (*D-DS*, Mus. ms. 1042/23) specifying violin as the second treble instrument and employing the title “Sonata” (the fact that Christoph Graupner, an assiduous collector of Telemann’s music, was kapellmeister in Darmstadt adds plausibility to the attribution) and an incomplete copy in Rostock (*D-ROu*, Mus. Saec. XVII.18.45²³) that specifies the oboe d’amore, is transposed down to G major and retains the title “Concerto”. Add to this the fact that G. B. Vivaldi’s copy of TWV 42: A 9 is partnered by copies of two complementary works of unimpeachable authenticity and that the musical style of the piece is quintessentially Telemannian, and the case looks unchallengeable.

Or is it? Lotti must have come into contact with Friedrich August and his entourage, including the *Kammermusik*, before his short-lived appointment as principal kapellmeister, and he probably needed to demonstrate his gifts as a composer and performer to his prospective employer not only in the opera house or at S. Marco but also *in camera*. The oboe d’amore was virtually unknown in Italy at the time (Vivaldi never writes for it), but Richter could have brought the instrument to Venice with him, or – if Telemann was not, after all, the true author – Lotti could have composed the second treble part initially for violin. This scenario is admittedly rather far-fetched, but not intrinsically impossible; and even if does not seriously challenge the work’s attribution to Telemann, who frequently wrote parts for the oboe d’amore, it at least suggests a context in which a change of attribution, accidental or deliberate, might have occurred. A similar context favourable to the confusion of names existed during the two years (1717-1719) of Lotti’s residence in Dresden. Because the instrumental chamber works bearing Lotti’s name are so few (and, as we shall see, at least two more of them are probably by someone else), any stylistic comparison with them has little point.

It may or may not be pure coincidence, but there is an aria in Lotti’s opera *Ascanio, ovvero Gl’odi delusi dal sangue* (Dresden, 1718) that mirrors the melodic contour of the theme played by the second treble part at the start of TWV 42: A 9. Example 1 shows the two openings for comparison.

³⁰ Ruhnke, in his catalogue, lists among the published editions of TWV A 9 one by Hugo Ruf under Lotti’s name for Deutscher Ricordi-Verlag. In the world of recordings Lotti’s authorship receives even stronger support.

EXAMPLE 1.

(a) Lotti, aria *Un vapor al ciel innalza* (*Ascanio, ovvero Gl'odi delusi dal sangue*, I.6), Silvia, bars 16-19.

(b) Telemann, *Concerto a tre*, TWV 42: A 9, first movement, second treble part, bar 1.



But there are so many possible explanations for the similarity, if it is not coincidental, that further comment seems fruitless. Another possible line of enquiry to pursue would be to consider whether the Lotti in question was not perhaps intended to be Antonio Lotti, whose forename never appears in the sources for the work bearing his name, but rather his younger brother Johann Friedrich Lotti, employed as a violinist at the Saxon Hofkapelle. This other Lotti was a rank-and-file player and not known as a composer, so this hypothesis barely gets off the ground.

The three sources naming Lotti comprise a catalogue entry and two musical manuscripts:

- (i) *Supplemento I dei Catalogi delle sinfonie, partite, ouverture, soli, duetti, trii, quattri e concerti* [...] *che si trovano in manoscritto nella officina musica di Breitkopf, Lepzig, 1766*, p. 49: “Trio del Sigr. LOTTI a Ob. d’am, flute trav. e Basso” (ending with an incipit giving the opening theme for oboe d’amore notated in C major).
- (ii) *B-Bc*, Litt. V, no. 16.932. Score (9 pp.) headed: “Trio | à | Flute Traversieur [sic] | Hautbois de [sic] Amour | et | Basse Chiffrée | del | Seigneur Lotti”.³¹
- (iii) *D-B*, Mus. ms. 13216. Three parts: “TRIO | à Flute Traversière | Hautbois d’Amoure [sic] | et | Basse Chiffrée | del | Seigneur Lotti”.

From the wording of their titles, it certainly appears that the two manuscripts were products of Breitkopf’s copying shop. In both of them the part for oboe d’amore is written in the standard transposing notation, hence the appearance of C major in Breitkopf’s incipit. Strangely but significantly, they all open with a deformed version of the initial half-bar for the oboe d’amore, in which the four

³¹ I am grateful to Olivia Wahnon de Oliveira at the Conservatoire royal de Bruxelles for information about this source.

rising quavers shown in Example 1(b) are replaced by four semiquavers, an ugly repetition of the notes *e''* and *f''* (sharp) in quavers coming in to fill the resulting void second beat.

That the practice of attributing instrumental works seemingly arbitrarily to Lotti commenced long before Breitkopf opened his copying shop is shown by two interesting parallel cases. The library of the Fürstlich zu Bentheim-Tecklenburgische Musikbibliothek in Rheda (*D-RH*, Ms 390) possesses copied parts, dated 1734, for a concerto for oboe d'amore and strings in A major attributed to Lotti. This work once had two concordances (Mus. mss. 6036 and 6037, destroyed in World War II) in Darmstadt. According to the catalogue of Johann David Heinichen's instrumental works appended to Günter Hausswald's published thesis on that subject,³² which can be supplemented by information given on the old catalogue card,³³ the concerto is attributed unambiguously in Mus. ms. 6036 to Heinichen ("del Sgr. Heinichen"); but Mus. ms. 6037, copied by Graupner, was originally headed "Lotti", before another hand added Heinichen's name, using the same formula. Known catalogue references unanimously give Lotti's surname (once again, never with the forename added). The manuscript inventory of music in the *Concert-Stube* at the court of Zerbst, where Johann Friedrich Fasch was *Kapellmeister*, lists what is evidently the same concerto on p. 147 as "[Concert] à Hautb d'Amour 2 Violini Viola et Cembalo di Lotti",³⁴ while the published Selhof sale catalogue of 1759 lists it under lot 2525 as "Lotty, Concerto a 5, Haubois d'Amour, 2 Violini, Alto & Basso".³⁵ Breitkopf listed it under Lotti's name on p. 30 of the third part (1763) of his catalogue. Interestingly, there is an earlier reference to a different concerto by Lotti in the sale catalogue (Copenhagen, 1732) of the vast music and musical instrument collection of the Helsingør customs master Stephan Kenckel, which lists the work under lot 82 as a "Concerto a 6" for two oboes and strings.³⁶ Perhaps this work and its attribution were a chip off the same block.

Like Telemann, Heinichen, a colleague of Lotti and Pisendel at Dresden, was a devotee of the oboe, as Hausswald's catalogue amply evidences, and the

³² GÜNTER HAUSSWALD, *Johann David Heinichens Instrumentalwerke*, Wolfenbüttel and Berlin, Kallmeyer, 1937, pp. 148-168.

³³ Reproduced digitally under *Kriegsverluste* (war losses) in the library's online catalogue.

³⁴ This catalogue is reproduced in facsimile, with a commentary by Eitelfriedrich Thom, as volume 4 of the *Documentationen, Reprints* subsection of the series "Studien zur Aufführungspraxis und Interpretation der Musik des 18. Jahrhunderts", Michaelstein/Blankenburg (Harz), 1983.

³⁵ *Catalogue d'une très belle bibliothèque de livres [...] deslaissez par feu Monsieur Nicolas Selhof*, The Hague, veuve Moetjens, 1759, p. 226. A facsimile, with an introduction by A. Hyatt King, is published as *Catalogue of the Music Library, Instruments and Other Property of Nicolas Selhof, Sold in The Hague*, 1959, Amsterdam, Frits Knuf, 1973.

³⁶ This little-known catalogue is transcribed and discussed in JENS HENRIK KOUDAL – MICHAEL TALBOT, *Stephan Kenckel's Collection of Music and Musical Instruments: A Glimpse of Danish Musical Life in the Early Eighteenth Century*, "Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle", 43, 2010, pp. 39-83: 70-77.

balance of evidence strongly supports his authorship of the A major concerto. A little more straightforward is the case of a trio sonata in F major for flute, viola da gamba or cello and harpsichord attributed variously to “Lotti” (B-Bc, 6829) and to Arcangelo Califano (D-SW, Mus. 1425). Califano was a cellist engaged by the Dresden Hofkapelle in 1732, and the composer of a small but not inconsiderable corpus of instrumental chamber music into which this sonata fits perfectly in every respect.

One thing at least seems certain: if the riddle of these unconvincing Lotti attributions is ever solved, the solution is likely to be found within the ambit of the Dresden Hofkapelle.

8. THE INVENTION OF THE CHAMBER CONCERTO RECONSIDERED

When I wrote my article on the former RV Anh. 66,³⁷ I had two main aims. The first, in which I succeeded quickly, was to have this “Sonata à 4” admitted to the canon of authenticated Vivaldi works and catalogued as such. The second was to propose Vivaldi as, in some shape or form, an inspirational presence behind the brief efflorescence of the *quadro* genre (which contains within it many works styled and/or titled as concertos). This second aim now seems to me, in retrospect, rather misconceived. The composers of *quadri* were predominantly Germans within the orbit of Telemann, who, if he did not literally invent the genre, was indisputably its first great popularizer. In contrast, Vivaldi’s chamber concertos, whether for two, three or more instruments plus bass, constitute a strangely isolated side-show. They have no Italian progeny to speak of, and their tenuous presence in Dresden is the result of Pisendel’s brief sojourn in Venice and his enthusiasm for Vivaldi’s music. It may well be – and this is a subject deserving future investigation – that the great majority of Vivaldi’s twenty-odd chamber concertos were composed precisely for the *Kammermusik* in 1716 or 1717, with few, if any, written subsequently.³⁸ Viewed in that perspective, they are classifiable almost as ‘occasional’ works.

So the Vivaldi chamber concerto and the Telemann work for chamber ensemble, one possible title of which is ‘concerto’ (and which, when appropriately scored, may go under the name of ‘quadro’), belong to separate traditions, not to a single tradition going under different names. This distinction, reflecting different approaches in Italy and Germany, is borne out both stylistically and taxonomically. Vivaldi’s chamber concertos relate very obviously to his concertos with orchestral strings,³⁹ and the high incidence of thematic transfer between chamber and orchestral concerto confirms this, whereas his

³⁷ See earlier, note 25.

³⁸ This is only a slightly more radical conclusion than that already reached in FEDERICO MARIA SARDELLI, *Vivaldi’s Music for Flute and Recorder*, cit., pp. 91-138 *passim*.

³⁹ I use the term “orchestral” here in its modern sense, recognizing that in early eighteenth-century practice part-sharing was rarely mandatory, so that potentially ‘orchestral’ performances could sometimes assume a ‘chamber’ quality in the absence of such doubling.

sonatas for similar ensembles virtually always display different characteristics, especially in their fast outer movements. Telemann, in contrast, operates eclectically, mixing and matching titles, genres, musical forms and national styles in a manner hard to pin down. The fact that in his concertos and chamber works alike (leaving aside the more obviously French-inspired pieces) four movements remain the norm – Telemann seems reluctant to jettison, in any multi-movement instrumental genre, the lyrical but stately kind of moderately slow opening movement that becomes almost a calling card of his musical language – is symptomatic of the personal stamp he habitually sets on his compositions.

Yet these otherwise parallel manifestations find a brief meeting point in Venice, where Pisendel, the two Vivaldis and Telemann *in absentia* came together. Vivaldi junior and Pisendel each took away from this encounter something of lasting value for their work as composers. Telemann, however, may well have remained completely unaware of, and unaffected by, the involvement of the younger Vivaldi with his music. But even if there was never any direct contact between the two men, G. B. Vivaldi must have appreciated while he copied that in one small respect (other than their compositional fertility) his son and Telemann were kindred spirits: the tempo marking for the third movement of TWV e 7 is “Con gravità mà non grave”, a witty near-oxymoron that finds its Vivaldian counterpart in a direction such as “Allegro molto più che si può” from *La fida ninfa*. Brothers under the skin Vivaldi and Telemann may not have been, but both enjoyed a joke.

Michael Talbot

GIOVANNI BATTISTA VIVALDI COPISTA DI TELEMANN. NUOVA LUCE
SULLA GENESI DEI CONCERTI DA CAMERA DI ANTONIO VIVALDI

Sommario

L'articolo prende le mosse da una segnalazione di Jóhannes Ágústsson, che ha giustamente identificato in Giovanni Battista Vivaldi il copista di una raccolta di tre «Concerti à tre» di Georg Philipp Telemann conservati presso la SLUB di Dresda: i concerti TWV 42: D 15 (per flauto, violino in scordatura e basso), TWV 42: e 7 (per flauto, violino e basso) e TWV 42: A 9 (per oboe d'amore o violino, flauto e basso), l'ultimo dei quali è stato a volte erroneamente attribuito ad Antonio Lotti. Perché il padre di Antonio Vivaldi, noto in precedenza per aver copiato solo opere del figlio – o di stretta pertinenza rispetto alla sua attività di compositore – riprodusse la musica di un compositore geograficamente lontano e, almeno in apparenza, privo di relazioni con la loro cerchia?

Esistono fondate ragioni per ritenere che Telemann abbia spedito questi tre trii a Venezia fra il 1716 e il 1717, a uso della ristretta cerchia di musicisti dresdensi al servizio del principe elettorale in visita nella laguna. Poiché il violinista Johann Pisendel si assentò dalla città per gran parte del 1717, attraversando l'Italia per ragioni di studio e per incrementare la propria collezione musicale, è possibile che Vivaldi lo abbia sostituito all'interno del gruppo; ciò spiegherebbe il coinvolgimento di Giovanni Battista in qualità di copista. Oppure, Vivaldi *senior* potrebbe aver realizzato le copie per conto dello stesso Pisendel, allievo e amico di suo figlio.

L'apparente designazione di questi lavori come altrettanti «concerti» non esclude un possibile collegamento fra i trii di Telemann e i concerti di Vivaldi senza orchestra, notoriamente associati alla visita dei musicisti provenienti dalla corte sassone. Il titolo scelto da Telemann, tuttavia, pare piuttosto capriccioso e privo di relazioni con il genere del concerto, mentre i concerti da camera di Vivaldi sono delle autentiche trasposizioni – nel nuovo *medium* espressivo – del tradizionale idioma concertistico. Anche se i titoli di Telemann potrebbero aver stimolato l'immaginazione di Vivaldi, il carattere di questi brani non lasciò alcuna traccia nel collega veneziano.

L'articolo riconsidera, infine, il rapporto fra i concerti da camera di Vivaldi e i 'quadri' composti da Telemann e da altri compositori tedeschi dell'epoca. Sembra, infatti, che durante gli anni Dieci del Settecento Telemann e Vivaldi abbiano definito le caratteristiche della loro musica per gruppi cameristici 'misti' percorrendo due strade parallele ma indipendenti, e che, al di là di alcune somiglianze esteriori, non vi sia stata alcuna influenza diretta da parte di un genere compositivo rispetto all'altro.

Ana Lombardía

TWO SPRINGS: THE RECEPTION OF VIVALDI'S VIOLIN CONCERTOS IN MADRID (1726-1776)

[...] Today there are being created an infinitude of excellent works, capable of casting a shadow over all those of the past; good examples are those by [...] a marvel of good taste and dexterity, Archangelo Coreli [*sic*], by an Albinoni, very profound in all his compositions, by a Vivaldi [*sic*], celebrated by every performer of good taste, whose *extravagances* testify well to the high degree of excellence to which he has risen in this kind of composition.¹

These words were written in Salamanca, not far from Madrid, by a contemporary of Vivaldi, the Spanish violinist Juan Francisco Corominas, who was the author of the essay *Aposento anticrítico desde donde se ve representar la gran comedia, que en su Theatro crítico regaló al pueblo el RR. P. M. Feijóo* (1726). As the title makes clear, this source, well known to Spanish musicology,² was

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¹ JUAN FRANCISCO COROMINAS (1726), *Aposento anticrítico desde donde se ve representar la gran comedia, que en su Theatro crítico regaló al pueblo el RR. P. M. Feijóo, contra la música moderna y uso de los violines en los templos, o carta que en defensa de uno y otro escribió D. Juan Francisco de Corominas, músico, primer violín de la Grande Universidad de Salamanca*, Salamanca, Imprenta de la Santa Cruz, 1726, pp. 21-22: "[...] salen oy infinitas obras excelentísimas, capaces de hazer sombra à toda la antigüedad; buenos testigos son las de [...] un assombro del gusto y la destreza, Archangelo Coreli, de un Albinoni, profundissimo en todas sus composiciones, de un Vivaldi, celebrado de todo executor de buen gusto, cuyas extravagancias dizen bien los escalones que subió de primor en este genero de composicion". All translations in this article are by the author.

² Studies that discuss this essay include FRANCISCO JOSÉ LEÓN TELLO, *La teoría española de la música en los siglos XVII y XVIII*, Madrid, CSIC, 1974, pp. 184-188; ANTONIO MARTÍN MORENO, *El padre Feijóo y las ideologías musicales del XVIII en España*, Orense, Instituto de Estudios Orensanos Padre Feijóo, 1976, pp. 187-266; ANTONIO MARTÍN MORENO, *Historia de la música andaluza*, Sevilla, Editoriales Andaluzas Unidas, 1985, pp. 419-425; and MARIANO LAMBEA CASTRO, *Edición facsimil del Aposento anti-crítico de Juan Francisco Corominas*, "Revista de musicología", 24/1, 2001, pp. 299-332. The last-mentioned study includes a facsimile edition of the example preserved in the Biblioteca Nacional de España together with a brief commentary quoting some of the passages in Feijóo's essay to which Corominas responded.

conceived as a riposte to an essay (Discurso XIV: *Música de los templos*) published that same year by the Benedictine philosopher Benito Jerónimo Feijóo.³ The latter opposed the performance of Italian-style music with violin in Spanish churches, while Corominas, who was the leader of the violinists attached to the *capilla* of Salamanca University, was an admirer of the works of Corelli, Albinoni and Vivaldi.⁴ Corominas's use of the term "extravagancias" in association with Vivaldi is doubtless a deliberate reference to the latter's collection of twelve concertos entitled *La stravaganza*, Op. 4, first published in 1716,⁵ only ten years before the appearance of *Aposento anticrítico*.

This is a remarkable testimony to the reception of Vivaldi's concertos in Spain during the composer's lifetime; for this reason, it attracted the attention of Marc Pincherle as early as 1955.⁶ However, Spain is virtually ignored in scholarly writings on the Venetian composer, even if the influx of Italian musicians to Madrid's royal court was notable throughout the eighteenth century.⁷ For example, the Venetian Giacomo Facco, the composer of a set of string concertos published in Amsterdam around 1720, became a violinist in the *Capilla Real* of Madrid and harpsichord teacher to Prince Luis that same year.⁸ Facco organized some kind of instrumental music-making described as "conciertos"

³ BENITO JERÓNIMO FEIJÓO Y MONTENEGRO, *Teatro crítico universal o discursos varios en todo género de materias, para desengaño de errores comunes*, Madrid, Real Compañía de Impresores y Libreros, vol. 1, 1778, pp. 285-309. The first volume of the original impression was published in 1726.

⁴ Just before the extract quoted above Corominas explicitly mentions Section 5 of Feijóo's essay. On the early and long-lasting success of Corelli's music in eighteenth-century Spain, see MIGUEL ANGEL MARÍN, *La recepción de Corelli en Madrid (ca. 1680-ca. 1810)*, in *Arcangelo Corelli fra mito e realtà storica: nuove prospettive d'indagine musicologica e interdisciplinare nel 350° anniversario della nascita (Atti del Congresso internazionale di studi, Fusignano, 11-14 settembre 2003)*, eds Gregory Barnett, Antonella D'Ovidio and Stefano La Via, Florence, Olschki, 2007, vol. 1, pp. 573-637.

⁵ ANTONIO VIVALDI: *La Stravaganza. Concerti [...] opera quarta, libro primo/secondo*, Amsterdam, Estienne Roger, [1716], nos. 399-400. RISM A/I, V2214. For the dates of Vivaldi's Amsterdam publications from around the same time, see PETER RYOM, *Antonio Vivaldi: Thematisch-systematisches Verzeichnis seiner Werke (RV)*, Wiesbaden, Breitkopf & Härtel, 2007, pp. 591-595, with information partly taken from RUDOLF RASCH, *La famosa mano di Monsieur Roger: Antonio Vivaldi and his Dutch Publishers*, "Informazioni e studi vivaldiani", 17, 1996, pp. 89-137.

⁶ MARC PINCHERLE, *Vivaldi*, Paris, Plon, 1955, p. 227.

⁷ On the presence of Italian musicians at the royal court in Madrid during the eighteenth century, see the following studies, which focus on different reigns: NICOLÁS MORALES, *L'artiste de cour dans l'Espagne du XVIII^e siècle: étude de la communauté des musiciens au service de Philippe V (1700-1746)*, Madrid, Casa de Velázquez, 2007 (Felipe V); LOTHAR SIEMENS, *Los violinistas compositores en la corte española durante el período central del siglo XVIII*, "Revista de musicología", 11/3, 1988, pp. 657-766 (Fernando VI's kingdom); JUDITH ORTEGA, *La música en la corte de Carlos III y Carlos IV (1759-1808): De la Real Capilla a la Real Cámara*, Doctoral dissertation, Universidad Complutense de Madrid, 2010.

⁸ On Facco's life, see ANNIBALE CETRANGOLO, *Facco, Giacomo*, in *Diccionario de la música española y hispanoamericana* (hereafter, DMEH), eds Emilio Casares and others, Madrid, Sociedad General de Autores y Editores, 1999-2002, vol. 4, pp. 876-879. Up to 1713 Facco had been based in Sicily as a musician in the service of Carlo Filippo Antonio Spinola, Marquis of Los Balbases, to whom he dedicated the collection *Pensieri adriarmonici o vero concerti a cinque*, Amsterdam, Jeanne Roger, c. 1720-1721, RISM A/I/3 F48.

in the prince's apartments,⁹ and there is evidence that players of keyboard and bowed instruments were active in that context before 1724.¹⁰ It is therefore likely that some string concertos were performed in the Spanish court during those years – possibly in chamber versions with a reduced number of instruments. As regards Vivaldi's output, several collections of his violin concertos circulated in Madrid and neighbouring cities between 1726 and 1776, as attested not only by Corominas's essay but also by four different music inventories discovered over the past fifteen years, which are discussed below.¹¹ These documents have until now gone unnoticed in writings about Vivaldi, but they are central to any understanding of the early introduction of his music to Spain.

Precisely during the period just mentioned the composition of violin music received a boost in Madrid, where over twenty violinist-composers worked at the private dwellings of various members of the local elite.¹² These included a roughly equal number of Italian and Spanish musicians, alongside ones of other nationalities. Two of the most prolific violinist-composers were José Herrando (c. 1720-1763) from Valencia, who was active in Madrid from the 1730s onwards, and Francesco Montali (*fl.* 1751-1782) from Naples, who was active in Madrid and Toledo from 1751 onwards.¹³ Herrando and Montali each wrote over thirty violin sonatas. The sonata was undoubtedly the favourite solo violin genre cultivated in Madrid between c. 1740 and 1776, when composers based in the city wrote over 150 violin sonatas, although only 62 of these have been located to date.¹⁴ In contrast, only two solo concertos by composers active in Madrid during that period have been found. These were respectively written by

⁹ On Facco's engagement by Prince Luis, see JOSÉ SUBIRÁ, *Jaime Facco y su obra musical en Madrid*, "Anuario musical", 3, 1948, 109-132.

¹⁰ Nicolás Morales has documented the activity of several musicians in Prince Luis's household during the early 1720s: Giacomo Facco, a player of violin, *violón* (a cello-sized instrument) and harpsichord; Nuncio Brancati, a *violón* player; and Francisco-José Fleury, also a *violón* player. See NICOLÁS MORALES, *L'artiste de cour*, cit., pp. 202-206 and 234.

¹¹ With regard to the reception of Vivaldi's concertos, the inventories belonging to the following persons are significant: the violinist José Peralta (Toledo, 1734); the dancing master Sebastián Christiani (Madrid, 1737); the singer Carlo Broschi "Farinelli" (Madrid, 1759 / Bologna, 1782); the 12th Duke of Alba (Madrid, 1777). They are studied, respectively, in CARLOS MARTÍNEZ GIL, *La capilla de música de la Catedral de Toledo (1700-1764). Evolución de un concepto sonoro*, Toledo, Junta de Comunidades de Castilla-La Mancha, 2003, pp. 359-361; NICOLÁS MORALES, *L'artiste de cour*, cit., pp. 318-321, 472-474 and 481; SANDRO CAPPELLETTI, *La voce perduta. Vita di Farinelli, e virato cantore*, Turin, EDT, 1995, pp. 220-221; GEORGE TRUETT HOLLIS, *Inventario y Tasación de los Instrumentos y Papeles de Música, de la Testamentaria del Exmo. Sr. D. Fernando de Silba Albarez de Toledo, Duque que fue de Alba (1777)*, "Anuario musical", 59, 2004, pp. 151-172. For more details, see later, Section 1.

¹² ANA LOMBARDÍA, *Violin Music in Mid-18th-Century Madrid: Contexts, Genres, Style*, Doctoral dissertation, Universidad de La Rioja, 2015.

¹³ For a list of the names and nationalities of the violinist-composers active in mid-18th-century Madrid, see ANA LOMBARDÍA, *Violin Music*, cit., pp. 727-743 (conclusions). On Herrando's life, see LOTHAR SIEMENS, *Los violinistas compositores*, cit., pp. 713-724. On Montali's life, see CARLOS MARTÍNEZ GIL, *La capilla de música de la Catedral de Toledo*, cit., pp. 364-370 and 429; JUDITH ORTEGA, *Montali, Francesco*, in DMEH, cit., vol. 7, p. 701.

¹⁴ ANA LOMBARDÍA, *Violin Music*, cit., pp. 485-516.

Francesco Montali and by Manuel Pla (c. 1720-1766), an oboe player at the Descalzas Monastery as well as a composer of stage music.¹⁵ In the preserved copies of these two concertos the solo part is written for flute, but it is very likely that Montali's concerto was also performed on the violin, judging from his biography and from the fact that music for violin and flute was generally treated as interchangeable at the time.¹⁶

This article constitutes an initial approach to the reception of Vivaldi's music in Madrid and neighbouring cities during the central decades of the eighteenth century, focusing on two main aspects. The first task is to identify and date the copies of Vivaldi concertos that arrived in the Spanish capital before 1777 through an examination of the four extant located music inventories (Section 1). The second is to assess the stylistic impact of Vivaldi's concertos on works for violin by Madrid-based composers, taking as case studies the solo concerto by Montali and the best known of Herrando's violin sonatas, his programmatic *El Jardín de Aranjuez* (Section 2).

1. THE INTRODUCTION OF VIVALDI'S CONCERTOS TO MADRID

As is well known, Vivaldi's instrumental concertos enjoyed a wide international dissemination during his lifetime and the decades immediately following his death. In particular, the nine concerto collections published in Amsterdam between 1711 and 1729 (Opp. 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11 and 12), which mostly contain violin concertos, enjoyed instant international success. In England and Ireland those of *L'estro armonico*, Op. 3 (1711), soon became repertory favourites, especially the fifth concerto (RV 519), which was arranged in various versions until as late as 1773.¹⁷ Another favourite in the British Isles was *Il cucù* or *The Cuckoo* (RV 335) – probably an early work by Vivaldi, although no autograph of it survives.¹⁸ On the territory of modern Germany

¹⁵ On Manuel Pla's life and works, see RUIZ TARAZONA, Andrés "Pla Ferrusola", in DMEH: vol. 8, pp. 842-843. He was a brother of the famous wind virtuosos Juan Bautista and José Pla; on their lives, see MATTHEW HAAKENSEN, *Two Spanish Brothers Revisited: Recent Research Surrounding the Life and Instrumental Music of Juan Bautista Pla and José Pla*, "Early Music", 35/1, 2007, pp. 83-96. See also the modern edition of Pla's concerto: *Manuel Pla: Concert per a flauta en si bemoll major (IV-2)*, ed. Josep Dolcet, Barcelona, Tritó, 1995.

¹⁶ For example, in 1771 Carlo Canobbio published in Madrid a set of six duets allegedly performable by violins or flutes, although this is not true in all cases: *Seis duos para flauta ô violines | de don Carlos Canobio primer violín de la ópera de los sitios reales opera I* (Madrid, engraved by Palomino, c. 1771).

¹⁷ On the various versions and arrangements of this concerto in the British Isles, both instrumental and vocal, see MICHAEL TALBOT, *The Golden Pippin and the Extraordinary Adventures in Britain and Ireland of Vivaldi's Concerto RV 519*, "Studi vivaldiani", 10, 2010, pp. 87-124.

¹⁸ KEES VLAARDINGERBROEK, *The Violin Concerto RV 335: A Cuckoo in Vivaldi's Nest?*, "Studi vivaldiani", 4, 2004, pp. 9-23. This concerto was published as *The Cuckoo* in numerous editions of "Celebrated Concertos" brought out by John Walsh and Joseph Hare, who also published some of Vivaldi's "Extravagances" – selected concertos from *La stravaganza*, Op. 4, in some cases partnered by other concertos. Walsh and Hare's Vivaldi editions are listed in RISM A/I/9 as V2217-2218 and V2234-2240.

L'estro armonico was similarly known very soon: J. S. Bach made keyboard transcriptions of six concertos from this collection around 1714. In France *The Four Seasons* – the first four concertos of *Il cimento dell'Armonia e dell'Invention*, Op. 8 (1725) – rapidly became Vivaldi's 'greatest hits', especially *La primavera*. This concerto was performed at Paris's Concert spirituel no fewer than fifteen times between 1728 and 1763 and arranged for at least three different combinations of instruments before 1776.¹⁹ Vivaldi's concertos even reached the United States, where, in 1764, the amateur musician Francis Hopkinson made a keyboard arrangement of the concerto RV 519.²⁰

And what about Madrid? To date, the only instrumental works by Vivaldi documented in the Spanish capital and neighbouring cities before 1780 are his collections of concertos Opp. 3, 4, 8 and 9 (see Table 1). Most of these works are for solo violin, strings and continuo, except for a few concertos for more than one soloist in which the violin is similarly the protagonist.²¹ The earliest known testimony to this relatively intensive circulation of Vivaldi's music remains Corominas's essay of 1726. Nevertheless, four different inventories of private libraries made in Madrid and Toledo (close to the capital) between 1734 and 1776 include references to this repertoire. The earliest of these inventories describes the large music collection belonging to José Peralta, head of the violinists of Toledo Cathedral (the leading religious centre in the national hierarchy) between 1716 and his death in 1734.²² This church musician, like Corominas, was familiar with a large number of violin works composed in Italy in the first third of the eighteenth century, including collections of sonatas and concertos by Corelli, Albinoni, Valentini and Vivaldi.²³ In particular, Peralta possessed a copy of "La estrabaganzia de Bibaldi" (listed on f. 448r of the inventory): that is, *La stravaganza*, Op. 4 – the same collection referred to by Corominas. It was valued at 60 "reales de vellón", a low price by comparison

¹⁹ For an overview of Vivaldi's reception in eighteenth-century France paying particular attention to the arrangements of *La primavera*, see SYLVIE MAMY, *Le Printemps d'Antonio Vivaldi revu et corrigé à Paris par Nicolas Chédeville, Michel Corrette et Jean-Jacques Rousseau, "Informazioni e studi vivaldiani"*, 13, 1992, pp. 51-65.

²⁰ On the early reception of Vivaldi's music in the United States, see ROBERT KINTZEL, *Vivaldi in Colonial America: The Cases of Francis Hopkinson, Peter Pelham and Thomas Jefferson, "Early Music"*, 42/3, 2014, pp. 421-433.

²¹ In the following concertos of Vivaldi's Opp. 3, 4, 8 and 9 there are parts for multiple soloists: Op. 3 nos. 5 and 8 (two violins); Op. 3 nos. 2 and 11 (two violins and cello); Op. 3 nos. 4 (four violins); Op. 3 nos. 1, 7 and 10 (four violins and cello); Op. 4 nos. 1, 4, 9 and 11 (two violins); Op. 4 no. 7 (two violins and cello); Op. 9 no. 9 (two violins). In Op. 8, concertos nos. 9 and 12 were published for optionally violin or oboe. See the summary in MICHAEL TALBOT, *Vivaldi*, 2nd edition, London, Dent, 1993, pp. 112-113.

²² Peralta's inventory is preserved in the Archivo Histórico Provincial de Toledo (shelfmark 31992, P-778: Escribano Francisco Juárez López, 1734, ff. 420-473v). Its musical items are listed on f. 431r (inventory) and ff. 447v-448v (valuation, more detailed). This document is partially described in CARLOS MARTÍNEZ GIL, *La capilla de música de la Catedral de Toledo*, cit., pp. 359-361.

²³ For a detailed analysis of this document, see ANA LOMBARDÍA, *Violin Music*, cit., pp. 298-305.

with other items in the list, so it is likely that this was a manuscript copy, possibly incomplete or in a poor state of preservation.²⁴

TABLE 1. Reception of Vivaldi's concertos in Madrid and neighbouring cities (1726-1776).

COLLECTION	FIRST EDITION (AMSTERDAM)	LOCATION AND DATE OF RECEPTION
L'estro armonico, Op. 3	1711	Farinelli's library (Madrid, 1759 / Bologna, 1782)
La stravaganza, Op. 4	1716	Juan F. Corominas, Aposento (Salamanca, 1726) José Peralta's library (Toledo, 1734)
Il cimento, Op. 8	1725	12th Duke of Alba's library (Madrid, c. 1750-1776)
La cetra, Op. 9	1727	Sebastián Christiani's library (Madrid, 1737); possibly also other concertos in manuscript
<i>La stravaganza, Op. 4</i>	1716	<i>Inventory of Santiago de Compostela Cathedral (1792)</i>
<i>Sei concerti, Op. 11</i>	1729	

Key: italic = not directly related to Madrid.

Like other Italian instrumental works, Vivaldi's concertos presumably had two main functions within Spanish religious institutions: as material for practising violin technique and for the playing of selected excerpts or movements in ceremonies. In fact, Feijóo stated in 1726 that excerpts from Italian instrumental works were performed at specific moments during religious ceremonies, constituting a particular kind of "hurto" (theft).²⁵ There is solid evidence for this practice: the instrumental introduction to the sacred cantata *Prosigue acorde lira* (1740) by Francés de Iribarren, the musical director at Málaga Cathedral, consists of the first two movements of Corelli's Sonata Op. 5 no. 4.²⁶ In addition, Corelli's set of violin sonatas enjoyed a long-lasting didactic use in Spain, as several manuscript copies and an edition published in Madrid as late as 1772 clearly show.²⁷ In the particular case of Vivaldi's *La stravaganza*, the high technical level of the solo part, on which Corominas himself comments,

²⁴ The author of this valuation, the singer Gerónimo Romero, estimated the price of the copy of Vivaldi's *La stravaganza*, Op. 4, at half that of Corelli's Op. 5. This is striking, bearing in mind that Vivaldi's Op. 4 is a set of twelve concertos for five instrumental parts comprising over 200 pages of music in the six partbooks of its first edition, whereas Corelli's Op. 5 is a set of sonatas for violin and continuo comprising merely 66 pages of music in its first edition. This disparity could have been due to the high prestige of Corelli's music in Spain; on that question, see MIGUEL ANGEL MARÍN, *La recepción de Corelli en Madrid*, cit.

²⁵ 'Hoy le sucede a la Música lo que a la Cirugía [...] y en las pausas de la voz entra la bulla de los Violines, por el espacio de diez, o doce compases, o muchos más, en la forma misma que la hallaron en la sonata de donde hicieron el hurto.' BENITO JERÓNIMO FEIJÓO Y MONTENEGRO, *Teatro crítico universal*, cit., Section 15.

²⁶ FRANCÉS DE IRIBARREN, *Prosigue acorde lira. Cantada con violines al SSmo ay primero una tocata antes del Recit[ado]* (E-MA, 77-14). Described in MIGUEL ANGEL MARÍN, *La recepción de Corelli en Madrid*, cit., p. 629.

²⁷ A manuscript copy of Corelli's violin sonatas exhibiting clear signs of didactic use is preserved in Monserrat Monastery; this copy belonged to the violinist Pablo Marsal around 1770:

suggests strongly that Spanish church violinists used this music for practice: either solitary or in collective *academias*, such as the ones organized in Oviedo Cathedral in 1741.²⁸

Outside the church context, Vivaldi's instrumental music was introduced in a chamber context from the 1730s at the latest. This is shown by the inventory and valuation of the music library belonging to the dancing master of the royal family Sebastián Christiani de Scío, which is dated 1737.²⁹ Scío owned a large library that contained not only over 200 books on dance and theatre – as might be expected, considering his profession – but also seventy-two volumes of instrumental music, which include “fifty-three manuscript concertos by different composers”³⁰ and “sonatas” by Corelli, “Mascheti” (Michele Mascitti) and Vivaldi. Actually, this description is imprecise: a detailed analysis of the inventory makes clear that Scío did not own copies of sonatas by Vivaldi, as was earlier assumed,³¹ but rather a set of concertos in six partbooks: “Six books of sonatas by Vivaldi tied together with parchment, comprising Violin I, Violin II, Violin III, Viola, Organ and Bass”.³² This precise scoring and nomenclature occurs in only one of Vivaldi's printed collections of concertos: *La cetra*, Op. 9 (Amsterdam, 1727). Again, as in the case of Corominas and *La stravaaganza*, only ten years separate the first edition of the collection and the year when it is documented in Spain, evidencing the relative rapidity of its introduction.

Scío's inventory also mentions six instruments: a guitar, two small pocket violins (*pochettes*, used in dancing lessons at the time) and no fewer than three violins, one of them made by Antonio Stradivari.³³ From the last fact one may deduce that this dancing master was also an amateur of the violin, and that the music of his personal library was used in chamber music gatherings in Madrid: two considerations that have gone unnoticed up to now. Presumably, Scío and

Obras de Corelli para el estudio del violín y el manejo del arco. Son del estudio de Pablo Marsal. Estas obras son de estudio del violín que se hace en los conservatorios y colegios de Italia, Francia, Alemania y España (manuscript in E-MO, Ms. 1071); discussed in MIGUEL ANGEL MARÍN, *La recepción de Corelli en Madrid*, cit. The Madrid edition of Corelli's Op. 5 appeared under the title of *XII Sonate a violino e violongello* [sic] d'Arcangelo Corelli da Fusignano opera quinta (1772) and was dedicated to the violinist-composer Gaetano Brunetti, a chamber musician of the Prince of Asturias (example in US-Wc, M219 C8).

²⁸ RAÚL ARIAS DEL VALLE – MELQUIADES CABAL, *La orquesta de la S. I. catedral de Oviedo (1572-1933)*, (en los orígenes y desarrollo de la música culta en Asturias): discurso de ingreso en le Instituto de Estudios Asturianos (6 de noviembre de 1986), Oviedo, Instituto de Estudios Asturianos, 1990, pp. 119-120.

²⁹ The valuation of Sebastián Christiani de Scío's property (Madrid, 12 July 1737) is preserved in the Archivo Histórico de Protocolos de Madrid, Joaquín Becerreiro Quiroga, Protocolo 16856, ff. 418-422 and 438 (music), 411 and 443 (instruments); transcribed in NICOLÁS MORALES, *L'artiste de cour*, cit., pp. 318-321; commented on pp. 472-474 and 481.

³⁰ “53 conciertos de diferentes autores de mano escritos”, in the valuation of Sebastián Christiani de Scío's property (see earlier, note 29), ff. 418-422 and 438.

³¹ NICOLÁS MORALES, *L'artiste de cour*, cit., pp. 318-321.

³² “6 libros de sonatas de Vivaldi atados en pergamino que se componen, [de] primer violin, segundo y tercero violin, viola, organo y vaxo”; in the valuation of Sebastián Christiani de Scío's property (see earlier, note 29), ff. 418-422 and 438.

³³ In the valuation of Sebastián Christiani de Scío's property (see earlier, note 29), ff. 411 and 443.

other amateur and professional musicians performed the concertos of Vivaldi's Op. 9 in Madrid's private spaces during the 1730s and 1740s. No explicit testimonies regarding the performance practice of concertos in this kind of locale have come to light, but it is probable that they were performed in 'chamber' style with only one instrument per part. However, the possibility of performances with relatively large ensembles should not be excluded: Queen, Maria Bárbara de Bragança (1711-1758) owned copies in triplicate of Lorenzo Gaetano Zavateri's *Concerti da chiesa e da camera*, Op. 1 (?Bologna, 1735).³⁴ Considering that the queen was herself a harpsichord player, it is very likely that this instrument was used in Madrid for the accompaniment of string concertos.

Vivaldi's concertos continued to circulate in the Spanish capital's elite spaces during the subsequent decades – in particular, in the palaces of the 12th Duke of Alba (1714-1776) and of the famous singer Carlo Broschi "Farinelli" (1705-1782). The inventory and valuation of the Duke of Alba's collection (1777) mentions "twelve concertos by Vivaldi in six part-books".³⁵ This description conforms to the physical layout of only one of the editions of this composer's concertos published before 1777: Charles Nicolas Le Clerc's edition of *Il cimento dell'Armonia e dell'Invention*, Op. 8 (Paris, c. 1739), shown as Illustration 1.³⁶ This same aristocrat had been Spanish ambassador in Paris between 1746 and 1749, a time when Vivaldi's Op. 8, especially *La primavera*, enjoyed great popularity there.³⁷ Moreover, this same duke was most likely the owner of several collections of violin music by Italian composers sold by Le Clerc in the late 1740s that the House of Alba possessed up to the Spanish Civil War.³⁸ Most especially, a catalogue of Le Clerc datable to c. 1747 contains three collections of violin works owned by this aristocratic house: Locatelli's violin sonatas and trio

³⁴ The queen's music library was inherited by Farinelli after her death in 1758. The inventory of both collections is transcribed in SANDRO CAPPELLETO, *La voce perduta*, cit., pp. 211-220.

³⁵ Inventory and valuation of the 12th Duke of Alba's music library, preserved in the Medina Sidonia archive, Leg. 5788, ff. 4r and 9v. See the transcription of the full document, with suggestions for identifications, in GEORGE TRUETT HOLLIS, *Inventario y Tasación*, cit., 2004.

³⁶ IL | CIMENTO | DELL'ARMONIA | E DELL'INVENTIONE. | Concerti a quattro e a cinque. | CONSACRATI | All' Illustriss.^{mo} Signore Il Signor | Venceslao Conte de Marzin &c. | DA | D. ANTONIO VIVALDI. | OPERA OTTAVA. | Gravé par Le S.^r Hue. | Prix 24^{li} | A PARIS | Chez | Le S.^r Le Clerc le Cadet [...], c. 1739. Reprinted in 1743 and 1748. Edition described in PETER RYOM, *Répertoire des Œuvres d'Antonio Vivaldi: Les Compositions instrumentales*, Copenhagen, Engstrøm & Sødning, 1986, pp. 28-29. RISM V2226-2228.

³⁷ For a summary of the 12th Duke of Alba's life, see JOSÉ LUIS GÓMEZ URDÁÑEZ, *Fernando VI*, Madrid, Arlanza, 2001, p. 286. On the massive popularity in France of *La primavera*, see SYLVIE MAMY, *Le Printemps d'Antonio Vivaldi*, cit.; MICHAEL TALBOT, *Pierre Pagin's Capriccios for Antonio Vivaldi's Violin Concerto La primavera, RV 269*, in *Locatelli and the Violin Bravura Tradition* ("Studies on Italian Music History", 9), ed. Fulvia Morabito, Turnhout, Brepols, 2015, pp. 165-193.

³⁸ In 1936, during the Spanish Civil War, these collections were destroyed in a fire. Fortunately, Subirá's well-known study of the House of Alba's music collection had been published a few years earlier. The collections of violin music sold by Le Clerc are described in JOSÉ SUBIRÁ, *La música en la Casa de Alba: estudios históricos y biográficos*, Madrid, Tipografía Sucesores de Rivadeneira, 1927, pp. 109-122 and 210-213.

sonatas Op. 8; Telemann's violin sonatas, Op. 13; and Veracini's violin sonatas, Op. 1.³⁹ All this strongly suggests that the 12th Duke of Alba purchased a copy of the Paris edition of Vivaldi's Op. 8 before he returned to Madrid in 1749. In the 1750s the duke was an outstanding politician and also a very active amateur musician in the Spanish capital: he played the violin and the viola, and employed several chamber musicians who dedicated to him violin sonatas, trios and "lessons", including the above-mentioned Herrando and Montali.⁴⁰ It seems probable that these musicians, together with Alba and other amateurs, performed some of Vivaldi's concertos in musical gatherings hosted by this aristocrat. So Madrid-based composers could have become familiar with this music, as an analysis of one of Herrando's violin sonatas strongly suggests (see later, Section 2).



ILLUSTRATION 1. *Il cimento dell'Armonia e dell'Inventione, Opera Ottava*, c. 1739. Reprint of 1743 (RISM A/I V2227), title page. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Ac e⁷ 20. Reproduced with permission.

³⁹ ANIK DEVRIÈS – FRANÇOIS LESURE, *Dictionnaire des éditeurs de musique français*, Geneva, Minkoff, 1979, I.2, Catalogue no. 128, Le Clerc, c. 1747. These collections were advertised again in Catalogues 129 (1748-1749) and 130 (1749-1750).

⁴⁰ See JOSÉ SUBIRÁ, *La música en la Casa de Alba*, cit.; especially the sections on Montali (pp. 137-157) and Herrando (pp. 165-189).

As for Farinelli, who was a privileged member of Madrid's royal court from 1737 to 1759 (when he moved to Bologna), by the end of his life he owned a large music library. It included several volumes inherited from Queen Maria Bárbara de Bragança as well as a personal collection styled "Musica personale" in the inventory.⁴¹ This section included, among other works, a collection of six *Sonatine per violino di cinque corde* (1754) by Herrando, which were written for a five-string violin (also called *viola pomposa* at the time) and dedicated to Farinelli; these still survive in Bologna.⁴² This fact shows that Farinelli had already begun to assemble his music library in Madrid. One of the last composers mentioned in the inventory is Vivaldi: "Musica di Vivaldi; Opere trè". The last two words could be a reference to the Venetian composer's *L'estro armonico*, Op. 3 (Amsterdam, 1711), which was particularly popular in the British Isles before and during Farinelli's sojourn in London in the 1730s, and even in subsequent decades.⁴³ Alternatively, taking into particular consideration the use of the plural form, "Opere trè" could be understood as equivalent to "Tre opere" – three different printed collections with opus numbers by Vivaldi (perhaps bound together), all of them containing concertos and sonatas for strings and published before 1730.

At all events, there is no doubt that by the time Farinelli left Madrid Vivaldi's concertos had become relatively well known in Spain. Moreover, further string concertos printed by Roger and Le Cène in Amsterdam before 1740 were still in demand in Madrid twenty years later. A revealing testimony to this is an advertisement that the bookseller José Batanero placed in the *Diario de Madrid* on 3 June 1760:

For sale, 6 books of *Ópera de concierto* [i.e., printed collections of concertos with opus numbers], composed by Gerónimo Laurenti [sic], printed in Amsterdam, bound in cardboard[:] another six, by Arcangelo Corelli[:] another six by Cayetano Maria Schiassi [sic] [:] another six by Pietro Locatelli[:] another six by Giuseppe Mathèo Alberti [sic] [:] another six by Carlo Thesarini [sic] [:] a *Stabat Mater* by Pergolesi, and a *Salve* by the same composer[.] To discuss prices, come to José Batanero's Bookshop in the Calle del Arenal.⁴⁴

Besides Pergolesi's *Stabat Mater* and *Salve*, Batanero evidently stocked six printed collections of concertos by six different composers. All of them had been engraved in Amsterdam with "opera" (i.e., opus) numbers. The collections were probably the following (RISM A/I series numbers are given):

⁴¹ Archivio di Stato di Bologna, Fondo Notarile Gambarini, *Inventarium Legale Bonorum Haereditariorum bonae memoriae D. Equitis Don Caroli Broschi nuncupati Farinello*, Bologna, pp. 122-143; transcribed in SANDRO CAPPELLETO, *La voce perduta*, cit., pp. 220-221.

⁴² Manuscript preserved in I-Bc, EE. 188.

⁴³ The most popular concerto from Vivaldi's Op. 3 in the British Isles was the fifth (RV 519), which was arranged in various instrumental and vocal guises until as late as 1773. See MICHAEL TALBOT, *The Golden Pippin and the Extraordinary Adventures in Britain and Ireland of Vivaldi's Concerto RV 519, "Studi vivaldiani"*, 10, 2010, pp. 87-124.

Girolamo Nicolò Laurenti

VI Concerti a tre violini, alto, violoncello e basso continuo, Op. 1. Amsterdam, M.-C. Le Cène, [1727], L1092.⁴⁵

Arcangelo Corelli

Concerti grossi con duoi violini e violoncello di concertino obligato e duoi altri violini, viola e basso di concerto grosso [...], Op. 6. Amsterdam, E. Roger, [1714], C3844. Published under the imprint of E. Roger and M.-C. Le Cène, [1723 or later], C3846.

Gaetano Maria Schiassi

[XII] *Concerti a violino primo principale, violino primo di ripieno, violino secondo obligato, alto viola, violoncello o cembalo [...]*, Op. 1, Amsterdam, M.-C. Le Cène, [1727], S1531.

Pietro Antonio Locatelli: one of these collections:⁴⁶

– *Concerti grossi a quattro, e a cinque*, Op. 1 (Amsterdam, J. Roger, [1721]), L2599. Published under the imprint of M.-C. Le Cène, [1729], L2600.

– *L'arte del violino. XII Concerti cioè, violino solo, con XXIV capricci ad libitum*, Op. 3 (Amsterdam, M.-C. Le Cène, [1733]), L2605.

– *VI concerti, violino primo, secondo, alto e violoncello soli, violino primo, secondo, alto e basso ripieno*, Op. 4, *parte seconda* (Amsterdam, M.-C. Le Cène, [1735]), L2609.

Giuseppe Matteo Alberti

Concerti per chiesa e per camera a violino di concertino, due violini, alto viola e basso continuo [...], Op. 1 (Amsterdam, Roger, [1716]), A666. Published under the imprint of E. Roger and M.-C. Le Cène, [1723 or later], A667.⁴⁷

Carlo Tassarini: one of these collections:

– *Concerti a cinque*, Op. 1 (unauthorized). Amsterdam, M.-C. Le Cène, [1724], T580.

– *Concerti a più strumenti*, Op. 3 (unauthorized). Amsterdam, M.-C. Le Cène, [1729-1730], T584.

– *La stravaganza, divisa in quattro parti*, Op. 4 (unauthorized). Amsterdam, M.-C. Le Cène, [1737], T587.

⁴⁴ “Se vende[n] 6. Libros de Ópera de concierto, hechos por Gerónimo Laurenti, impresos en Ámsterdam, encuadernados en pasta: otros seis, por Arcangelo Corelli: Otros seis por Cayetano Maria Schiassi: otros seis por Pietro Locatelli: Otros seis por Giuseppe Mathèo Alberti: otros seis por Carlo Thesarini: Un *Stabat Mater* del Pergolesi, y una *Salve* del mismo Autor: para tratar de ajuste se acudiré a la Librería de José Batanero, que está en la calle del Arenal.” *Diario de Madrid*, 3 June 1760, transcribed in Yolanda Acker (ed.), *Música y danza en el Diario de Madrid. Noticias, avisos y artículos (1758-1808)*, Madrid, Centro de Documentación de Música y Danza, 2007, p. 28.

⁴⁵ Neither Estienne and Jeanne Roger nor their successor Michel-Charles Le Cène dated their engraved editions. All dates in this list are taken from Rudolf Rasch's online database *The Music Publishing House of Estienne Roger and Michel-Charles Le Cène, 1696-1743*, currently accessible via <<http://www.let.uu.nl/~Rudolf.Rasch/personal/Roger/Roger.htm>>.

⁴⁶ It is likely that the collection by Locatelli was his Op. 3, seeing that his “caprichos” are mentioned shortly afterwards in a Spanish violin treatise: FERNANDO FERANDIERE, *Prontuario para el instrumentista de violín y cantor*, Málaga, Dignidad Episcopal, 1771, p. 21.

⁴⁷ Alberti's relatively undemanding string concertos apparently even travelled to the Spanish colonies. See the reference to them by a Jesuit missionary in Paraguay cited in MICHAEL TALBOT, *The Vivaldi Compendium*, Woodbridge, The Boydell Press, 2011, pp. 19-21.

Two details in this advertisement strongly suggest that this batch of music put on sale by Batanero was second-hand.⁴⁸ First, “6 books” of printed concertos are offered, suggesting that there was only one copy of each. Second, Laurenti’s concertos come, very unusually for new music, in ready-bound form.

A similar repertoire continued in circulation – and presumably in active use in performances – in peninsular Spain until at least as late as 1792. In fact, a list of instrumental music submitted to the musical director at Santiago de Compostela Cathedral in that year mentions the following sets of concertos and sonatas by Italian composers published by Roger and Le Cène before 1730: Schiassi’s *Concerti*, Op. 1 (1727); Vivaldi’s *La stravaganza*, Op. 4 (1716); Vivaldi’s *Sei concerti*, Op. 11 (1729); Albinoni’s *Baletti e sonate [a tre]*, Op. 8 (1722); Laurenti’s *Concerti*, Op. 1 (1727); and Angelo Maria Scaccia’s *Concerti*, Op. 1 (1729-1730).⁴⁹ Significantly, several of these collections are also mentioned in earlier documents related to Madrid and neighbouring cities – for instance, Vivaldi’s Op. 4 in Corominas’s essay (1726) and Schiassi’s Op. 1 in Batanero’s advertisement (1760). All this strongly suggests that Vivaldi’s string concertos, together with those of other Italian composers published in Amsterdam during the same period, continued to be performed in peninsular Spain for several decades after his death.

2. STYLISTIC IMPACT ON VIOLIN WORKS BY MADRID-BASED COMPOSERS

As has been shown, the introduction of Vivaldi’s concertos to Madrid was intensive and relatively continuous. But did it have an impact on the instrumental repertoire composed in the Spanish capital? The question is investigated in this section via two case studies: Montali’s solo concerto and Herrando’s sonata *El Jardín de Aranjuez*. Both works are undated, but the study of contextual evidence, the musical sources and the music’s style allow us to date them at c. 1760, as will be shown. The musical analysis will focus on three of the most characteristic stylistic features of Vivaldi’s concertos: the three-movement cycle of Fast – Slow – Fast, ritornello form and the presence of descriptive elements.⁵⁰

Francesco Montali’s *Concerto di flauto traversiero*, in G major, was known as early as 1927,⁵¹ but no modern edition or stylistic analysis of it has appeared to date. The sole known copy is held by the Badische Landesbibliothek in

⁴⁸ I am grateful to Rudolf Rasch for his observations about this advertisement.

⁴⁹ *Razón de las obras de música que se entregaron al señor maestro de capilla Don Melchor López* (Archivo Catedral de Santiago, Legajo 188); transcribed in JOSÉ LÓPEZ CALO, *La música en la Catedral de Santiago*, La Coruña, Diputación Provincial de La Coruña, 1993-1999, vol. 4, p. 287.

⁵⁰ A useful overview of the scoring, antecedents, formal structures, types and characteristic features of Vivaldi’s concertos is provided in MICHAEL TALBOT, *Vivaldi*, cit., pp. 106-129. As Talbot points out, the three-movement cycle and ritornello form had already been used in concertos by Giuseppe Torelli and Tomaso Albinoni, but Vivaldi’s concertos popularized these features, and Vivaldi was the first composer to use ritornello form consistently.

⁵¹ Montali’s concerto is already mentioned in JOSÉ SUBIRÁ, *La música en la Casa de Alba*, cit., p. 142.

Karlsruhe (D-KA, Mus. Hs. 686), in five manuscript partbooks for Flauto Traverso (Solo), Violino Primo, Violino Secondo, and – in duplicate – an unfigured Basso. All these parts were copied by the same scribe (Copyist A) except for the solo part (by Copyist B), while a third scribe (Copyist C) added the title pages with the title *Concerto di flauto traversiero*. The solo part is perfectly appropriate for flute (for instance, there are no double stops, and the compass does not exceed the lower limit of *d'*), but it could equally well have been performed on the violin at the time, especially when we consider that Montali was a virtuoso of the violin. At any rate, this copy was most likely made in Germany: it is physically similar to other copies with flute music preserved in the Badische Landesbibliothek that bear the name of a certain Johann Reusch (fl. 1740-1785), who was possibly the owner.⁵²

How did this concerto arrive in Germany? Probably through Juan Bautista and José Pla, the brothers of the above-mentioned Manuel Pla. This Manuel and Francesco Montali collaborated in the composition of the serenata *L'Endimone* (not yet located) performed in Madrid in 1752.⁵³ Between 1755 and 1768 Juan Bautista Pla was a musician in the service of Duke Karl Eugen of Württemberg in Ludwigsburg (Stuttgart), where he played in Jommelli's orchestra. His younger brother José Pla joined him in Stuttgart between 1759 and 1762.⁵⁴ It is thus possible that José brought copies of Montali's concerto with him to Stuttgart, so that a copy of this work eventually arrived in Karlsruhe. It is worth noting that in the Badische Landesbibliothek there also survive copies of three trios by a "Sig.^r Pla" (D-KA, Mus. Hs. 740-742), although these are physically different from the copies connected with Reusch.

A stylistic analysis of this *Concerto di flauto traversiero* tends to confirm its authorship: it bears a similarity to the extant *Sonatas a violin solo y bajo* (1759) by Francesco Montali.⁵⁵ More specifically, all these works feature a wide variety of thematic material typical of the *galant* style; a restricted tonal ambit in which major keys (especially the home key and the dominant key) predominate; soloistic cadenzas at structurally important points and much use of unitary (through-composed) rather than binary forms. This last feature is a distinctive element of Montali's output, since in sonatas by contemporary violinist-composers based in Madrid a clear majority of movements are cast in binary form. Montali's unitary forms tend to feature a recurrent motive used to

⁵² Copyist A also copied other concertos preserved in Karlsruhe, such as *Concerto [...] del Sigl. Hasse*, (D-KA, Mus. Hs. 188), attributed to Johann Adolf Hasse, and *Concerto [...] del Sigl. Koehler* (D-KA, Mus. Hs. 243), attributed to Johann Hermann Köhler. See Badische Landesbibliothek, Electronic Catalogue, at <<http://digital.blb-karlsruhe.de/id/555601>> and <<http://digital.blb-karlsruhe.de/id/551515>>; accessed on 2 March 2015. RISM ID nos. 453002217 (Köhler) and 453002162 (Hasse).

⁵³ The serenata had two parts, the first composed by Pla and the second by Montali. See JOSÉ SUBIRÁ, *La música en la Casa de Alba*, cit., p. 15.

⁵⁴ For biographies of Juan Bautista and José Pla, see MATTHEW HAAKENSON, *Two Spanish Brothers Revisited*, cit.

⁵⁵ Montali's violin sonatas are examined in ANA LOMBARDÍA, *Violin Music*, cit., pp. 521-553.

demarcate structural divisions – one usually not long enough to have the status of a “theme”.⁵⁶ In the concerto this compositional technique is used in a more consistent manner; in fact, in all its movements we encounter a structure very close to ritornello form, though freer.

The concerto is cast in three movements making up the expected Fast – Slow – Fast sequence (see Table 2). All three movements are written in major keys: the home key (G major) in the outer movements, and the dominant key (D major) in the central one. The tonal plans are conventional in all cases, going from the home key to the dominant key and back to the home key. In the second movement there is also a section in the subdominant key. These features, together with the consistent use of quasi-ritornello forms, point to Vivaldi’s solo concertos as a probable model for Montali. However, the latter’s concerto lacks the dramatic contrasts of its Vivaldian counterparts. Instead, a generally serene and convivial mood predominates, the musical discourse frequently being interrupted by the caesuras and cadenzas so typical of the *galant* style of the 1750s and 1760s.⁵⁷

TABLE 2. Francesco Montali, *Concerto di flauto traversiero* (c. 1760-1770).

	I. ALLEGRO, C	II. LARGO ADAGIO, 3/4	III. ALLEGRO, 2/4
KEY	G major	D major (V)	G major
TYPE OF MOVEMENT	Fast ritornello	Slow ritornello	Fast ritornello
FORM	Ritornello form	Ritornello form	Ritornello form

TABLE 3. Francesco Montali, *Concerto di flauto traversiero* (c. 1760-1770), first movement, *Allegro*.

BARS	KEY CENTRE	SCORING	THEMATIC DERIVATION	REMARKS
1-16	I	Tutti	ABCDE	Ritornello+free
17-35.2	I-V	Solo	A'B'-free	Cadenza
35.3-43.2	V	Tutti	C'A'C'	Altered ritornello
43.3-53.2	V	Solo	free	Sequence
53.3-58.3	V/iii	Tutti	free-A'-free	Altered ritornello
59-66	iii	Solo	free	Sequence
67-69	I	Tutti	A	Ritornello
70-91	I	Solo	free-B'-free	Cadenza
92-99	I	Tutti	A-conclusion	Ritornello +closing

⁵⁶ On the definition of “theme”, see WILLIAM DRABKIN, *Theme*, in *Grove Music Online*, art. 27789.

⁵⁷ On the general musical features of the *galant* style, see ROBERT O. GJERDINGEN, *Music in the Galant Style*, New York, Oxford University Press, 2007. On *galant*-style traits in violin works by Locatelli, Tartini and Veracini, see DANIEL HEARTZ, *Music in European Capitals: The Galant Style, 1720-1780*, New York, Norton, 2003, pp. 208-229.

EXAMPLE 1. Francesco Montali, *Concerto di flauto traversiero* (c. 1760-1770), Flauto traversiero, Allegro, bars 1-21: first Tutti and first Solo. The first Tutti contains the ritornello (A) and four other musical ideas (B-E). The ritornello comprises two motives: *a1* and *a2*.



The opening Allegro illustrates Montali's use of ritornello form (see Table 3 and Example 1). This movement occupies 99 bars in common time and displays a clear-cut alternation of Tutti and Solo sections. The Solos are generally longer than the Tuttis and feature a texture of accompanied melody contrasting with the homophonic Tuttis. The opening Tutti introduces the ritornello (A) in bars 1-3, followed by the other thematic ideas (B-E). Throughout the movement the ritornello reappears in identical or abridged versions (respectively, A and A'), most often in the Tutti sections. Two ideas make up this ritornello: an opening fanfare-like figure (*a1*), typical in concertos of various kinds ever since the late seventeenth century,⁵⁸ and a falling dotted figure that reaffirms the tonic (*a2*). Thematically, the Solos and Tuttis are little contrasted: on the contrary, the entire movement consists of a succession of assorted rhythmic motives – quavers, triplets, syncopation, sextuplets, dotted figures etc. – many of them interrelated (in the table the re-uses of the opening motives are highlighted). As is typical of the *galant* style, many of these motives are based on scales and arpeggios, and sequences are frequent (for instance, in the Solo occupying bars 59-66).

⁵⁸ The origin of this type of opening figure can be traced back to the late seventeenth-century Bolognese trumpet sonata; see MICHAEL TALBOT, *Vivaldi*, cit., p. 108. A typical specimen of that genre is Corelli's *Sonata a quattro per tromba sola, due violini e basso*, WoO4. This work was known in Segovia and most likely in Madrid around 1705; see PABLO L. RODRÍGUEZ, *Música, poder y devoción. La Capilla Real de Carlos II (1665-1700)*, Doctoral dissertation, Universidad de Zaragoza, 2003, p. 365.

In short: Montali's ritornello forms unite the essential compositional strategies of Vivaldi's Solo concertos to stock *galant* style melodic materials. In both composers, specific melodic materials of the Solo episodes can usually be traced back to an element in the first Tutti, but Vivaldi's forms are usually clearer in this respect (as witnessed in the third movement of the *flautino* concerto RV 443).⁵⁹ Moreover, Vivaldi's concertos generally exhibit greater variety as regards tonal plans (the alternation of major and minor keys), character (the alternation of virtuosic and lyrical episodes) and formal structures (the employment of not only ritornello form but also fugue, binary form and variations).⁶⁰ In contrast, Montali's concerto, presumably composed in Madrid around 1760, is rather uniform and employs a limited number of compositional resources. Bearing in mind that by this time the innovative formal traits of Vivaldi's concertos had long since been integrated into mainstream compositional convention, it is virtually impossible to determine whether Montali specifically took Vivaldi's concertos as his model. To illustrate: this Neapolitan violinist could equally well have assimilated the use of Solo-Tutti contrast and ritornello-form from the concertos of Tessarini, Alberti and several other composers who were known in Madrid (see above), or else from works that he got to know in his formative years in (presumably) Naples.⁶¹

A more revealing case about the assimilation of Vivaldi's music in Madrid is that of José Herrando's *Sonata a solo yntitulada El Jardín de Aranjuez en tiempo de primavera, con diversos cantos de páxaros y otros animales*.⁶² The work was probably composed between c. 1750 and 1763, when Herrando was very active as a chamber musician in Madrid. The sole known copy appears in the manuscript *26 Sonatas de varios autores* (c. 1760-1770).⁶³ This sonata, which has enjoyed a measure of popularity since the publication of a modern edition in 1987,⁶⁴ may be considered an example of descriptive music: the preserved score contains written-down keywords that make explicit the programme that the composer intended to represent. At first sight, judging from the title, this might seem just

⁵⁹ In this movement by Vivaldi the first Tutti presents five melodic ideas (A-E), all of them restated in one or more solo episodes. See the analysis in MICHAEL TALBOT, *Vivaldi*, cit., p. 109.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 111.

⁶¹ Montali's life up to 1751 is unknown. No scores or documents with his name have been located at the Conservatorio San Pietro a Majella (Naples). I am grateful to Dinko Fabris and Tommaso Rossi for their help during my research in Naples.

⁶² Translatable as "Solo sonata entitled the Garden of Aranjuez in springtime featuring various songs of birds and other animals".

⁶³ This manuscript, which belonged to the 6th Count of Fernán Nuñez in the late eighteenth century, was discovered by Lothar Siemens, who includes a general description of it in *Los violinistas compositores*, cit. For a more detailed discussion of its contents and circumstances of origin, see ANA LOMBARDÍA, *Violin Music*, cit., pp. 186-198.

⁶⁴ Modern edition in José Herrando: *Tres sonatas para violín y bajo solo, y una más para flauta travesera o violín*, ed. Lothar Siemens, Madrid, Sociedad Española de Musicología, 1987. At least two sound recordings exist: Moreno and others (perfs.), Sedem, 2000; La Folía (perfs.), Dahiz, 2004. *El jardín de Aranjuez* was performed by Fabio Biondi in a concert at the Auditorio Nacional de Música (Madrid) in 2012.

another example of a programmatic work for violin in which animals are imitated, forming part of a long tradition traceable back to the time of Carlo Farina's *Capriccio stravagante* (1627),⁶⁵ if not earlier. However, there are clear parallels between Herrando's sonata and Vivaldi's concerto *La primavera* from Op. 8, which the violinist could well have performed in the palace of the 12th Duke of Alba, one of his patrons from 1751 to 1759.⁶⁶

Significantly, Herrando's sonata is not a mere arrangement of Vivaldi's concerto, as is the case with the works inspired by *La primavera* published in Paris by Nicolas Chédévile (1739)⁶⁷ and Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1779).⁶⁸ On the contrary, this is a new composition that imitates Vivaldi's style but adapts it to Madrid's musical scene. First, in this work Herrando transfers compositional strategies developed in one genre, the violin concerto, to another genre that was at the time more in demand in the Spanish capital: the violin sonata. Second, the subject of the programme of this sonata is not spring in general but spring in the Garden of Aranjuez, adjoining one of the main palaces of the Spanish court (still surviving), very close to Madrid. It is likely that this sonata was dedicated to a member of the court, such as the famous singer Farinelli, dedicatee of Herrando's above-mentioned *Sonatinas* for five-string violin (1754). None other than Farinelli was the organizer of entertainments in Aranjuez during the reign of Fernando VI (1746-1759), and the singer had owned a house in that town since at least 1750.⁶⁹

Nevertheless, other evidence points to the children of King Carlos III – and more specifically the *Infante* Gabriel (1752-1788) – as being the probable dedicatee of this sonata. In 1761 Herrando was involved in the *diversiones* (literally, “amusements”) of the *infantes* Don Gabriel, Don Antonio Pascual and Don Francisco Javier – who had all arrived from Naples in 1760 – in the royal palaces outside Madrid.⁷⁰ On April 1761 a certain Antonio Salinis received a payment from Don Gabriel's purse for the “care, feeding and teaching of Your

⁶⁵ For a brief comment of this work, see ROBIN STOWELL, *The Sonata*, in *The Cambridge Companion to the Violin*, ed. Robin Stowell, Cambridge-New York, Cambridge University Press, 1992, pp. 168-193: 169.

⁶⁶ On Herrando's compositions for the Duke of Alba, see JOSÉ SUBIRÁ, *La música en la Casa de Alba*, cit., pp. 165-189.

⁶⁷ NICOLAS CHÉDEVILLE, *Le Printemps ou les Saisons amusantes* [...], Paris, Boivin and Le Clerc, c. 1739. This is an arrangement of six concertos in four parts: “musette ou vielle; violino secondo; flauto ou violino terzo; organo e violoncello”. Example in *F-Pn*, Vm.⁷ 6743.

⁶⁸ JEAN-JACQUES ROUSSEAU: *Le Printems* [sic] de Vivaldi arrangé pour une flûte sans accompagnement par M. J. J. Rousseau en 1775, Paris, Au Bureau du Journal de musique, [c. 1779]; reprinted by Frère, c. 1785; reprinted by Bignon, c. 1785. Example of the 1785 reprint in *F-Pn*, K-10104.

⁶⁹ MARGARITA TORRIONE, *La casa de Farinelli en el Real Sitio de Aranjuez: 1750-1760 (nuevos datos para la biografía de Carlos Broschi)*, “Archivo español de arte”, 69 (275), 1996, pp. 323-333.

⁷⁰ The term “diversiones” is used in various documents related to the Spanish royal court in the eighteenth century. In contrast with “academias” and “conciertos”, which were generally serious gatherings involving instrumental chamber music, “diversiones” seem to have been less serious and could entail some type of theatrical performance. On the use of these terms in the royal court, see JUDITH ORTEGA, *La música en la corte de Carlos III y Carlos IV*, cit., vol. 1, pp. 137-139. “Diversiones” predominate over other types of entertainment in Don Gabriel's accounts until 1763, when he was

Majesties' birds" over the course of a year.⁷¹ That is, Don Gabriel owned pet birds, and these same creatures become protagonists in Herrando's sonata. In Aranjuez, where the court of Carlos III was based during the spring, Don Gabriel's room overlooked the garden.⁷² The *terminus ante quem* of this sonata is 4 February 1763, when Herrando passed away. Taking all these facts into account, it seems very likely that this undated work was composed for the young *infantes* in Aranjuez in the spring of 1761 or 1762, thereby becoming one of Herrando's last works. The naïve style of this programmatic sonata seems particularly appropriate for young children, and conforms to the mixture of theatrical and musical elements constituting their *diversiones*.

From a stylistic point of view, this sonata shows that Herrando assimilated the basic formal principles of Vivaldi's concertos, including the standard three-movement Fast – Slow – Fast cycle and the alternation of contrasting elements at different levels: sections with different functions (*ritornello vs. episode*), contrasting textures and sonorities (*Solo vs. Tutti*, *homophony vs. counterpoint*) and contrasting tonalities (movement between tonic and dominant, and also between these and their relative or parallel keys). Within each movement both composers use short motives generally lasting between one and six bars as building blocks. More tellingly, there are conspicuous parallels regarding the nature of the programme and the idiomatic use of the violin. However, the passage of time between Vivaldi's *La primavera* (1725) and Herrando's *El Jardín de Aranjuez* (c. 1750-1763) is felt in some stylistic differences, as will be shown.

The overall structure of both works displays considerable similarities, following the general trends of the time (see Tables 4 and 5). They are written in major keys that are particularly bright and idiomatic on the violin: A major in *El Jardín de Aranjuez* and E major (more difficult technically) in *La primavera*. The three movements feature contrasting tempos with generic titles (*Allegro*, *Andante*, *Allegro*), although Vivaldi's closing *Allegro* is headed "Danza pastorale *Allegro*"; there are no descriptions in the movement titles of the only known copy of Herrando's sonata. Regarding movement lengths, the proportions are similar in both cases: the first and third movements are lengthy and fast, while the second movement has a smaller number of bars, albeit in a slower tempo – the exact number of bars and the time signatures are shown in the tables. Nevertheless, in *El Jardín de Aranjuez* the outer movements are in

11 years old; see JUAN MARTÍNEZ CUESTA – BERYL KENYON DE PASCUAL, *El infante don Gabriel* (1752-1788), *gran aficionado a la música*, "Revista de musicología", 11/3, 1988, pp. 767-806: 796-97. The title "Infante" was (and is) used in Spain to refer to all the king's sons except for the heir, who is styled "Príncipe".

⁷¹ "Pago de tres reales diarios desde el 10 de abril del 60 hasta el 10 de abril de 61 [sic] por el cuidado, alimento y enseñanza de los pájaros de SS. AA. Importe de 550 reales". AGP, Infante Gabriel, Secretaría 910, entry dated 21 April 1761. The name of Antonio Salinis appears in AGP, Infante Gabriel, Contaduría 295. Both documents are cited in JUAN MARTÍNEZ CUESTA, *Don Gabriel de Borbón y Sajonia: mecenas ilustrado en la España de Carlos III*, Ronda/Valencia, Real Maestranza de Caballería de Ronda/Pre-Textos, 2003, p. 260.

⁷² JUAN MARTÍNEZ CUESTA, *Don Gabriel de Borbón y Sajonia*, cit., pp. 64-69.

binary form with repeats marked, so when these are played it becomes overall a longer composition.

TABLE 4. Structure of José Herrando's *El Jardín de Aranjuez* (c. 1750-1763). Analysis based on the modern edition by Lothar Siemens (Sedem, 1987).

MOVEMENT	I. ALLEGRO, ♩	II. ANDANTE, ♩	III. ALLEGRO MODERATO, 2/4
KEY	A major	E minor (dominant minor)	A major
TYPE OF MOVEMENT	Fast binary	Slow cantabile	Fast binary
FORM	Rounded binary $A_1E_1A_2E_2A_3E_3A_4E_4$: $A_5A_6E_5A_7E_2'A_8E_3'E_4'$ Keys: I, V	AA', no double bar, main key stable	Balanced binary $A_1E_1A_2E_2A_3E_3A_4$: $A_5E_1'A_6E_3'A_7E_2'A_3'E_5A_8E_4'$ Keys: I, V
BARS (Part I+Part II)	37+38= 75	55	64+73= 137
PROGRAMME	A: [spring] E_1 : canary E_2, E_6 : cuckoo E_3, E_7 : waters E_4, E_8 : trees E_5 : nightingale	Not specified [spring]	A: [spring] E_1 : tempest 1 E_2 : quail E_3 : dove, dialogue quail-dove E_4 : tempest 2 E_5 : dialogue quail-dove

Key: A = section that functions as an introduction or nexus, E = episode.

TABLE 5. Structure of Antonio Vivaldi's *La primavera* (originally published in 1725). Analysis based on the critical edition by Paul Everett and Michael Talbot (Ricordi, 1996).

MOVEMENT	I. ALLEGRO, ♩	II. LARGO, 3/4	III. DANZA PASTORALE, ALLEGRO, 12/8
KEY	E major	C sharp minor (relative minor)	E major
TYPE OF MOVEMENT	Fast in ritornello-form	Slow cantabile	Pastoral
FORM	Ritornello form $R_1E_1R_2E_2R_3E_3R_4E_4R_5E_5R_6$ Keys: I, V, vi, I	AA', no double bar, main key stable	Ritornello form $R_1E_1R_2E_2R_3E_3R_4$ Keys: I, vi, i
BARS	82	39	89
PROGRAMME	R: spring E_1 : birds E_2 : streams E_3 : thunder and lightning E_4 : birds E_5 : [joy]	General: sleeping goatherd plants' murmur barking dog	General: pastoral dance

Key: E = episode, R = ritornello.

In both cases, the central movement is a slow one in a continuous AA' form

and written in a closely related minor key: the dominant minor in Herrando's sonata and the relative minor in Vivaldi's concerto. In contrast, Herrando's first and third movements are cast in forms that were in vogue in Madrid in the 1750s and 1760s but are less commonly encountered in Vivaldi's concertos:⁷³ rounded binary form (in the opening Allegro) and balanced binary form (in the closing Allegro moderato).⁷⁴ Herrando combines these forms with ritornello-episode alternation, a synthesis that produces a genuinely eclectic result. Comparing the opening movements of these works, one finds notable formal differences. Vivaldi uses clearly defined ritornellos based on the ideas *a* and *b*, presented respectively in bars 1-3 and 7-10 of the introduction (the *R*₁ section in the analysis in Table 5) and repeated in full in the following repetitions (bars 28-31.1, 41-44.1 etc.). For his part, Herrando employs loosely-defined ritornello ideas, mostly interrelated but of variable length, such as *f* in *A*₂, *f'* in *A*₃, and *f'* in *A*₈ (see the detailed analysis in Table 6; remarkably, *f'* lasts for only one bar). For this reason, in *El Jardín de Aranjuez* one cannot speak of true ritornello sections, but only of sections that function as introductions or nexuses (in this analysis called *A*₁, *A*₂ and so on) between the descriptive episodes (termed *E*₁, *E*₂ and so on).

From the point of view of harmony, Vivaldi's work is in general more varied, employing the keys of the tonic, the dominant, the relative minor and, in the last movement, the parallel minor. In contrast, Herrando restricts himself to tonic-dominant alternation in all three movements, in part impelled towards this by the intrinsic polarity of binary forms. Moreover, he draws attention towards this polarity by having frequent perfect cadences, while Vivaldi is subtler in this regard (a significant instance being the second movement of *La primavera*, which is full of imperfect cadences). However, Herrando's sonata does also feature harmonic elements that resemble Vivaldi's own, such as sequences (as in *El Jardín de Aranjuez*, first movement, bars 8-11 and 14-15, based on motives *d* and *e*, respectively), chains of suspensions (e.g., second movement, bars 35-38), and long pedal notes (e.g., first movement, sections *E*₃ and *E*_{3'}; third movement, sections *E*₁, *E*₃, *E*₄, *E*_{1'}, *E*_{3'} and *E*_{4'}). By means of these long pedals a 'solo' effect is achieved. More importantly, in the first movement Herrando imitates the alternation of Solo and Tutti by writing the episodes *E*₁ and *E*₅ for unaccompanied violin, which is very unusual in the surviving violin sonatas by Madrid-based composers.

Regarding the programmes, there are similarities in the ideas represented, in

⁷³ Binary forms are more common in Vivaldi's sonatas than in his concertos; see CESARE FERTONANI, *La musica strumentale di Antonio Vivaldi* ("Quaderni vivaldiani", 9), Florence, Olschki, 1998, pp. 123-133. On ritornello forms in Vivaldi's Op. 8, see PAUL EVERETT, *Vivaldi: The Four Seasons and Other Concertos, Op. 8*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1996, pp. 36-49.

⁷⁴ In this analysis the terms "simple binary form", "balanced binary form" and "rounded binary form" follow the nomenclature adopted by W. DEAN SUTCLIFFE and MICHAEL TILMOUTH in their article *Binary form* in *Grove Music Online*, art. 03093.

their musical representation and even in the layout of the programme on the score. Herrando imitated Vivaldi's original captions (expanded to form the later explanatory *Sonetto dimostrativo*), by inserting keywords relating to the programme next to the episodes. Indeed, the surviving manuscript of *El Jardín de Aranjuez* includes the following programmatic keywords: in the first movement, *canario* (canary, E₁), *cuco* (cuckoo, E₂), *ruido de aguas* (sound of the waters, E₃), *árboles* (trees, E₄) and *ruiseñor* (nightingale, E₅); and in the third movement, *tempestad* (storm, E₁ and E₄), *codorniz* (quail, E₂) and *palomo* (dove, E₃). These keywords coincide in large part with those of *La primavera*, alluding to different types of bird (first movement, E₁, *ucelli/auelli*), waters or streams (*ibid.*, E₂, *fonti*), tempests or storms (*ibid.*, E₃, *lampi e tuoni*), plants (second movement, accompaniment), and of course spring itself (first movement, ritornello) – not mentioned within the score of Herrando's sonata but implicit in its title. Moreover, some of Herrando's keywords coincide with ones in Vivaldi's concerto *L'estate* (Summer): namely, the cuckoo (Vivaldi's *cucco*), the dove (*tortorella*) and, once again, a storm (*lampi e tuoni*).⁷⁵

Likewise, the musical motives that Herrando used to depict these elements of Nature resemble Vivaldi's. The clearest example is that of the storm episodes: in the third movement of *El Jardín de Aranjuez* and the first of *La primavera* these feature repeated notes and, in Vivaldi's case, rapid scale runs (see Example 2). However, Vivaldi's virtuosic lightning motives are absent from the Spaniard's composition. The imitations of the sound of running waters are not identical, but in both cases produce a graphic image of water rippling gently: Herrando's waters are vigorously undulating scalic swirls, while Vivaldi's streams are gentler alternations of neighbouring pitches with a more elaborate development (Example 3). As for the birdsong motives, common features are the use of a high register, the repetition of a single pitch, the oscillation of two or three notes a small interval apart (a second, third or fourth) and scalic motion. For example, Herrando's canary and nightingale sing oscillating thirds or fourths followed by a sustained note; his cuckoo sings a falling fourth responded to by a dotted motive in typical antecedent-consequent fashion;⁷⁶ his quail sings repeated pitches in acephalous rhythm; and his dove sings short melodies in ascending and descending scalic motion (see Example 4.a-e). Similarly, the birds of *La primavera*'s first Solo episode (first movement, bars 13.3-27) sing repeated pitches, oscillating alternations of nearby pitches and descending scalic motives (Example 4.h-j). This episode also includes, in the soloist's part, two elements absent from Herrando's birdsong motives (so far as the notation of the surviving

⁷⁵ See Vivaldi's explanatory sonnets with English translations in the modern edition by Paul Everett and Michael Talbot (Milan, Ricordi, 1996).

⁷⁶ The antecedent-consequent principle is very common in eighteenth-century instrumental music. It becomes essential for the construction of a musical 'period' – one of the fundamental building blocks of the Viennese Classical style; see WILLIAM CAPLIN, *Classical Form: A Theory of Formal Functions for the Instrumental Music of Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven*, New York, Oxford University Press, 1998, pp. 49-58.

manuscript indicates): trills and vibrato (indicated with an “m” sign in the editions by Le Cène and Le Clerc).⁷⁷

EXAMPLE 2. Comparison of Herrando, *El Jardín de Aranjuez* (c. 1750-1763), and Vivaldi, *La primavera* (1725). Storm episodes. Sources: respectively, 26 *Sonatas de varios autores* (private collection of Lothar Siemens) and the Le Clerc edition of 1743 (F-Pn, Ac e7 20). The spelling of the captions in the Spanish source has been normalized.

- a) Herrando, *El Jardín de Aranjuez*, III, bars 61-64
- b) Vivaldi, *La primavera*, I, Violino principale, bars 44-48.2



EXAMPLE 3 (a-b). Comparison of Herrando's *El Jardín de Aranjuez* and Vivaldi's *La*



primavera. Water episodes.

- a) Herrando, *El Jardín de Aranjuez*, I, Sound of waters, bars 32-33.2
- b) Vivaldi, *La primavera*, I, Violino principale, Streams, bars 31-32.2



EXAMPLE 4 (a-j). Comparison of Herrando's *El Jardín de Aranjuez* and Vivaldi's *La*



⁷⁷ On this notational sign, misinterpreted as a trill in some modern editions and performances, see the cited modern edition by Everett and Talbot (p. 152).

primavera. Birdsong episodes.

a) Herrando, *El Jardín de Aranjuez*, I, Canary, bars 16.3-22.2

b) Herrando, *El Jardín de Aranjuez*, I, Nightingale, bars 56-61.2



c) Herrando, *El Jardín de Aranjuez*, I, Cuckoo, bars 26.3-30.2



d) Vivaldi, *L'Estate*, I, Violino principale, Cuckoo, bars 31-34.2



e) Herrando, *El Jardín de Aranjuez*, III, Quail, bars 118-122



f) Herrando, *El Jardín de Aranjuez*, III, Dove and Quail, bars 127-129



g) Vivaldi, *L'Estate*, I, Violino principale, Dove, bars 58.2-61



h) Vivaldi, *La primavera*, I, Violino principale, Birds, bars 13.3-29



i) Vivaldi, *La primavera*, I, Violino primo (di ripieno), Birds, bars 13.3-29



j) Vivaldi, *La primavera*, I, Violino secondo, Birds, bars 13.3-29



The similarities of the birdsong motives of both works are partly determined



by the subject of these musical imitations: similar features can be found in other eighteenth-century instrumental works addressing the birdsong *topos*, such as Luigi Boccherini's string quintet *L'uccelliera* (1771), dedicated to his patron the *Infante* Don Luis (brother of Carlos III), who maintained an aviary (*pajarera*) in Boadilla del Monte, near Madrid.⁷⁸ The birds of Herrando's sonata are native to the centre of the Iberian Peninsula in springtime or had been domesticated before 1750 (as is the case with the canary), so they could well have been some of the inhabitants of Aranjuez's Royal Garden in that decade. In other words, it seems that the Spanish composer was imitating birdsongs that one could actually hear in that location in the 1750s and 1760s.⁷⁹ Significantly, Herrando's renderings of the cuckoo's and dove's songs differ markedly from those appearing in Vivaldi's *L'estate* (first movement, bar 31 onwards and bar 59 onwards, respectively), which alternate a high pitch with other pitches a sixth or an octave distant. So Herrando assimilated the essence of Vivaldi's procedures for mimicking birdsong but did not copy the Venetian composer slavishly. Further evidence of this occurs in Herrando's third movement (in sections E₃ and E₅), where the quail and the dove interact in an alternating dialogue (see Example 4.f) that slightly resembles the first episode of Vivaldi's *La primavera*, in which three different birds converse in a more complex, semi-contrapuntal texture (Example 4.h-j). Comparison of these excerpts also shows that while Vivaldi's birdsong motives have a fairly wide compass, Herrando's are limited to the span of a fourth, which is a particularly idiomatic choice when playing on the upper part of the violin's fingerboard. The Spanish composer was clearly employing a less virtuosic violin technique and simpler textures than Vivaldi (although this contrast is to some extent already implicit in the difference between a sonata and a concerto).

To sum up: Herrando's violin sonata *El Jardín de Aranjuez* clearly imitates Vivaldi's *La primavera*, showing that this concerto was known in Madrid before 1763 (when the Spanish composer died). Herrando's sonata reflects the

⁷⁸ Luigi Boccherini, *L'uccelliera*, Op. 11 no. 6 (G276), composed in 1771 (published Paris, Vénier, 1775, as Op. 13). Here, the birds of the first and fourth movements likewise sing oscillations of two high notes and trills. Boccherini's narrative procedures in this quintet have been examined in a conference paper: MATTEO GIUGGIOLI, *Le voliere di don Luis: modi e significati della rappresentazione nel Quintetto op. 11 n. 6 di Boccherini*, in *Colloquio Il Saggiatore Musicale*, Bologna, 2011 (I am grateful to the author for sharing with me this unpublished text). See also JAIME TORTELLA CASARES, *La música descriptiva o argumental en el catálogo de Luigi Boccherini*, "Nassarre: Revista aragonesa de musicología", 20/1, 2004, pp. 193-222. Boccherini arrived in Madrid only in 1768, thus after Herrando's death, and was probably not familiar with the latter's music.

⁷⁹ Five wild birds that live in the centre of the Iberian Peninsula in springtime can be identified with the ones portrayed in Herrando's sonata: the *codorniz común* (*coturnix coturnix*), the *cuco común* (*cuculus canorus*), the *paloma bravía* (*columba livia*), and the *ruiseñor común* (*luscinia megarhynchos*). As for the canary (*serinus canaria*), it is native to the Canary Islands but had been domesticated before the eighteenth century. See SEO/Birdlife, *Las aves de la A a la Z*, at <www.seo.org/listado-aves>; accessed on 27 November 2014. This website is based on *Enciclopedia de las Aves de España* (SEO/BirdLife – Fundación BBVA, 2008). I am grateful to José Antonio Cuadrado for providing me with recordings of these five birds singing.

assimilation of Vivaldi's formal strategies and descriptive techniques, adapted to a different genre and to a slightly lower technical standard. More specifically, Herrando reduces the scoring (violin and bass instead of five-part ensemble), simplifies the texture (alternation between birds rather than their contrapuntal conversation), synthesizes ritornello form with rounded and balanced binary forms and avoids excessively virtuosic writing (no passages comparable with Vivaldi's representations of lightning occur). It is possible that Herrando drew some inspiration from Vivaldi's *L'estate* as well, to judge from the coincidence of two of the birds imitated (the cuckoo and the dove), but in this instance there is no clear musical parallelism. In the light of the documentary evidence reviewed above, Herrando's listeners were probably familiar with Vivaldi's programmatic concertos, but the Spanish composer added extra value to his programmatic sonata by alluding to specific local elements: the garden of Aranjuez Palace and the birds encountered within it.

CONCLUSIONS

The reception of Vivaldi's violin concertos in Madrid and neighbouring cities during his lifetime and the decades after his death was more intense and varied than hitherto believed. It was already common knowledge that *La stravaganza*, Op. 4 (1716) had reached Salamanca in 1726, only ten years after its first edition, but a detailed inspection of four different music inventories dating from the period 1734-1777 has revealed that this instance was not isolated. *La cetra*, Op. 9 (1727), was known in the Spanish capital by 1737; *L'estro armonico*, Op. 3 (1711), could have formed part of Farinelli's library around that same year (when he took up residence at the Madrid court); and *Il cimento*, Op. 8 (1725), very likely adorned the shelves of the 12th Duke of Alba's library in the 1750s. Moreover, *La stravaganza* and the *Sei concerti*, Op. 11 (1729), continued to circulate in certain religious centres of peninsular Spain, such as Santiago Cathedral, as late as 1792.

Vivaldi's violin concertos seem to have served different functions in mid-eighteenth-century Spain: as practice material for amateur and professional violinists, but also for performance at religious ceremonies and at chamber music gatherings. This chamber music context very probably applied to *La primavera* within the 12th Duke of Alba's palace, where the Spanish violinist-composer José Herrando could have become acquainted with it during the 1750s. This hypothesis is seemingly confirmed by the fact that his violin sonata *El jardín de Aranjuez*, datable to c. 1761 and probably composed for Carlos III's children, bears a close similarity to Vivaldi's most famous violin concerto. In addition to the common presence of certain formal elements belonging to the conventional compositional make-up of the concerto (such as Solo-Tutti alternation), the programmes of the two works are very similar, and this resemblance extends even to the way in which each composer imitates specific natural phenomena such as a storm or running waters.

El jardín de Aranjuez shows that, despite the seemingly sparse composition of solo concertos in Madrid in the 1750s and 1760s, composers brought up in Spain

had by then already assimilated this genre's main compositional strategies and even applied them to other instrumental media. In this connection, another revealing case is that of the twelve *Oberturas y sinfonías* by Vicente Basset (1753); these are three- and four-part works for bowed instruments in which, among other resources, Solo-Tutti alternation is employed.⁸⁰ As for solo concertos composed by Madrid-based musicians, the one by Francesco Montali (c. 1760) clearly reflects the assimilation of ritornello form, which Vivaldi's concertos did the most to popularize. However, it is hard to determine whether Montali became familiar with this form through Vivaldi's own concertos or via ones by other composers, such as Alberti and Tessarini, that had reached Madrid by then. Herrando's programmatic sonata makes it clear that Madrid was to some extent integrated into the mid-eighteenth-century international vogue for Vivaldi's *Le quattro stagioni*. From a broader perspective, this sonata also reflects Madrid's integration into the Europe-wide fashion for birdsong and pastoral topics, detectable a few years later in Boccherini's string quintet *L'uccelliera* (1771). There is even some evidence that *Le quattro stagioni* inspired certain programmatic instrumental compositions advertised by the Spanish violinist, guitarist and composer Fernando Ferandiere in the 1790s. More specifically, between 1796 and 1799 Ferandiere announced in Madrid three collections of programmatic instrumental quartets, which have so far not been traced: *Los quatro tiempos de el año* (meaning literally: "The four times of the year" – in other words, "The four seasons") for guitar, violin, viola and bass; *La historia de el hijo pródigo* ("The story of the prodigal son") for the same instrumentation; and *El ensayo de la Naturaleza* ("The essay on Nature", concerning the different hours of the day) for guitar, violin, flute and bassoon.⁸¹ Future research may permit us to track down these works and find out whether some of them were inspired by Vivaldi's violin concertos over five decades after his death – which does not seem completely improbable in view of their long-lasting appeal in Spain.

⁸⁰ An analysis of these works is provided in ANA LOMBARDÍA, *Violin Music*, cit., pp. 689-700. See also the modern edition *Vicente Basset. Oberturas y sinfonías*, ed. Raúl Angulo Díaz, Sto. Domingo de la Calzada, Fundación Gustavo Bueno, 2013.

⁸¹ Ferandiere's works *La historia del hijo pródigo* and *Los quatro tiempos de el año* were advertised in the "Gazeta de Madrid" of 10 June 1796 (the announcements are transcribed in IGNACIO SUSTAETA, *La música en las fuentes hemerográficas del XVIII español: Referencias musicales en la Gaceta de Madrid, y artículos de música en los papeles periódicos madrileños*, Doctoral thesis, Universidad Complutense de Madrid, 1993, vol. 3, p. 267). *El Ensayo la naturaleza* was advertised in the "Diario de Madrid" of 31 August 1799 (transcribed in Yolanda Acker (ed.), *Música y danza*, cit., p. 294) and the "Gazeta de Madrid" of 6 September 1799 (transcribed in IGNACIO SUSTAETA, *La música en las fuentes hemerográficas del XVIII español*, cit., vol. 3, p. 291). All three sets of descriptive quartets are mentioned in a catalogue of works appended to Ferandiere's guitar treatise *Arte de tocar la guitarra por música* (Madrid, Aznar, 1799). The catalogue is transcribed in ALFREDO VICENT LÓPEZ – EDUARDO ALDANA ARTEAGA, *Fernando Ferandiere (ca.1740 – ca.1816) un perfil paradigmático de un músico de su tiempo*, Madrid, Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, 2002, pp. 249-250.

Ana Lombardía

DUE PRIMAVERE.

LA RECEZIONE DEI CONCERTI PER VIOLINO DI VIVALDI A MADRID

Sommario

Fino ad oggi, la Spagna è stata praticamente assente dalla ricerca accademica vivaldiana, nonostante la considerevole influenza esercitata dai musicisti italiani sulla corte reale madrilenia durante il diciottesimo secolo. Con questo studio si vuole esaminare le caratteristiche della recezione vivaldiana a Madrid e nelle città vicine, durante la vita del compositore e nei decenni successivi, con un'attenzione particolare ai suoi concerti per violino e secondo due prospettive principali.

Il primo scopo dell'articolo consiste nell'identificare e datare le copie dei concerti vivaldiani giunte nella capitale spagnola prima del 1777, attraverso un esame dei quattro inventari finora identificati, relativi alle corpose biblioteche musicali appartenute al violinista José Peralta (Toledo, 1734), al maestro di ballo Sebastián Christiani (Madrid, 1737), al cantante Carlo Broschi 'Farinelli' (Madrid, 1759 / Bologna, 1782) e al dodicesimo Duca d'Alba (Madrid, ca 1750-1776).

Il secondo obiettivo consiste nel valutare l'impatto dello stile concertistico vivaldiano sulle opere dei compositori residenti a Madrid, assumendo come casi particolari di studio il concerto di Francesco Montali (fl. 1751-1782) e la sonata a programma per violino *El Jardín de Aranjuez*, di José Herrando (ca 1720-1763).

Gli inventari, assieme al ben noto *Aposento anticrítico* (Toledo, 1726) di Juan Francisco Corominas, evidenziano come la recezione dei concerti per violino di Vivaldi a Madrid e nei centri limitrofi fu più intensa e articolata di quanto comunemente si creda. Pare che quattro differenti raccolte di concerti vivaldiani – le Opere III, IV, VIII e IX – siano state utilizzate nella Spagna di metà Settecento, sia come materiale di studio a disposizione di violinisti professionisti e dilettanti, sia per essere eseguite da gruppi cameristici oppure durante cerimonie religiose.

Negli anni Cinquanta del diciottesimo secolo, i violinisti-compositori cresciuti in Spagna, come Herrando, avevano ormai assimilato le principali strategie formali dei concerti vivaldiani – fra cui la forma ritornello e l'alternanza di Soli e Tutti – comunemente impiegate nei concerti solistici di Montali. Queste stesse tecniche erano utilizzate anche in altri generi strumentali, come testimonia chiaramente la sonata per violino *El Jardín de Aranjuez*, che presenta più di una somiglianza con *La primavera* di Vivaldi, a riprova del fatto che anche Madrid era a tutti gli effetti integrata nel più ampio contesto della voga europea per *Le quattro stagioni*.

Kees Vlaardingerbroek

“EXTRAVAGANT” VIVALDI OR “PLEASANT” CORELLI?
A HEATED DEBATE WITHIN AN
AMSTERDAM COLLEGIUM MUSICUM AROUND 1730

INTRODUCTION: SOME NOTES ON MUSICAL LIFE IN THE DUTCH REPUBLIC IN THE
EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

Even though music was ubiquitous in the Dutch Republic (also known as the Northern Netherlands or Republic of the Seven United Provinces) in the eighteenth century, the level of music-making in this country usually failed to impress a true connoisseur, whether he was a foreigner or a Dutchman. Zacharias Conrad von Uffenbach (1683-1734) – brother to Johann Friedrich Armand von Uffenbach, who heard and met Vivaldi in Venice in February 1715 – remarked after having visited the Amsterdam Stadsschouwburg on 17 May 1710: “After the last act there was nice singing in Dutch and German by a woman. The other music and the violins are extraordinarily bad, about which one should not be surprised, since music in Holland is worth nothing, with the exception of the carillons and organs”.¹ Things had not changed much for the better in 1772, when Charles Burney visited the Netherlands and notoriously described the country as a place “where little other music is encouraged or attended to, than the jingling of bells, and ducats”.²

The Dutch themselves usually acknowledged this lamentable state of affairs. The famous medical doctor Petrus Camper wrote a very critical *Letter by Mr. C. Concerning the Absence of Taste in the Netherlands*, published in the periodical “De

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The author wishes to dedicate this article affectionately to his father.

¹ ZACHARIAS CONRAD VON UFFENBACH, *Merkwürdige Reisen durch Niedersachsen, Holland und Engelland*, Ulm, Johann Friedrich Gaum, 1753, vol. 2, p. 415: “Nach der letzten Handlung [wurde] aber von einer Weibs-Person Holländisch und Teutsch artig gesungen. Die übrige Musick und Violons sind ganz ungemein schlecht, worüber sich nicht zu verwundern, weil die Musick, wenn man die Glockenspiel und Orgelwerk ausnimmt, in Holland mit einander nichts taugt”. Uffenbach is almost equally critical of the musical faculties of the English, adding, having noticed that the wonderful orchestra of the Haymarket Theatre consists exclusively of foreigners, mostly Germans and Frenchmen: “[...] because the English are not much better in music than the Dutch, which is to say rather bad” (“[...] dann die Engelländer sind in der Musick nicht viel besser als die Holländer, das ist zimlich schlecht” (vol. 2, p. 441).

² CHARLES BURNEY, *The Present State of Music in Germany, the Netherlands, and United Provinces, or the Journal of a Tour through those Countries, Undertaken to collect Materials for A General History of Music*, 2nd edition, 2 vols, London, Becket, Robson and Robinson, 1775, vol. 2, p. 290.

Philosooph” of 12 October 1767, in which he castigated his countrymen for their lack of taste, especially in literature and music but also in the visual arts. Camper makes an exception only for Rembrandt, who had died almost a century before!³ Since the Dutch Republic was still a very rich and highly urbanized nation, it did, however, attract many travelling virtuosos, many of whom seized the opportunity to give public concerts, often while on their way to and from Britain. It is clear that these professional travelling musicians provided many of the best opportunities to hear good musical performances in the Dutch Republic. The list of mainly German and Italian musicians who made themselves heard there is very long and includes the illustrious names of the Italian soprano Francesca Cuzzoni, the violinist-composers Jean-Marie Leclair, Giovanni Piantanida, Francesco Geminiani and Carlo Tassarini, George Frideric Handel, Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart and many others, some of whom returned regularly or even stayed for a relatively long period of time.⁴ This fact alone clearly shows that the Dutch Republic provided ample opportunities to find an affluent concert-going public. This is hardly surprising, since the country boasted relatively many well-to-do music enthusiasts, as becomes clear when one reads travel diaries of foreign visitors or studies the catalogues of book auctions throughout the century.⁵

³ See FRANS GRIJZENHOUT, *A Myth of Decline, in The Dutch Republic in the Eighteenth Century: Decline, Enlightenment and Revolution*, eds Margaret C. Jacob and Wijnand W. Mijnhardt, Ithaca and London, Cornell University Press, 1992, pp. 324-337: 330. The title of Grijzenhout’s article refers to the widespread feeling of decay that was present among the inhabitants of the Dutch Republic in the eighteenth century, which is described by many authors of the period, who usually contrasted their own days with the Republic’s virtues and glories in the seventeenth century, the so-called ‘Golden Age’.

⁴ Carlo Tassarini, for instance, worked in the Dutch Republic for possibly no fewer than eight years in total (1746-1747 and c. 1760-1766). See PAOLA BESUTTI – ROBERTO GIULIANI – GIANANDREA POLAZZI, *Carlo Tassarini da Rimini. Violinista, compositore, editore nell’Europa del Settecento*, Lucca, Libreria Musicale Italiana, 2012, pp. 123-127 and 136-147. Some composers lingered on in order to see their music through the press. One example is Francesca Cuzzoni, who requested from the States of Holland and West-Friesland a privilege for printing and selling her “componimento drammatico a 3”, *Il Palladio conservato*, during her stay in Amsterdam. In her request, dated 29 March 1742, she claims to have put a lot of effort into her composition. Fétis, however, gives a more prosaic reason for her stay in Holland. According to him, she was imprisoned because of her many outstanding debts. See JAN PIETER HEIJE, *Minut-octrooien ingediend bij de Staten van Holland en Westfriesland, in Bouwsteenen. Tweede jaarboek der Vereeniging voor Noord-Nederlands Muziekgeschiedenis (1872-1874)*, Amsterdam, Loman, Kirberger and Van Kesteren, undated, p. 197. Rudolf Rasch is not convinced of the truthfulness of Fétis’s claim. He points out that Cuzzoni’s first concert in Amsterdam was on 22 November 1741, in the “Doelenzaal”, and her last in the same hall on 31 March 1742. Between these dates she also performed several times in the inn named “De Zon”. On several occasions she collaborated with the violinist Giuseppe Verocai. See RUDOLF RASCH, *Geschiedenis van de Muziek in de Republiek der Zeven Verenigde Nederlanden 1572-1795* (= Mijn Werk op Internet, Deel Een), Hoofdstuk Dertien: Het Concertwezen, pp. 13-14: <<http://www.let.uu.nl/~Rudolf.Rasch/personal/Republiek/Republiek13-Concerten.pdf>>.

⁵ Many remarks on music by British and French travellers in the Dutch Republic can be found in KEES VAN STRIEN, *De ontdekking van De Nederlanden. Britse en Franse reizigers in Holland en Vlaanderen, 1750-1795*, Utrecht, Het Spectrum, 2011. Elkanah Watson noticed in 1784, while enjoying the trip on the barge (“trekschuit”) from Rotterdam to Delft, how often the owners of country estates were either

Nevertheless, the number of eighteenth-century travellers who chose the Dutch Republic as their destination for purely musical reasons is almost negligible, if one excepts the (presumably small) number of composers who travelled to Holland in order to see their works through the press personally. Then there are some special cases, such as those of Charles Burney, whose aim was to conduct research on musical life in the Dutch Republic, and John Montagu, 4th Earl of Sandwich, whose trip to Holland in 1769 was in part undertaken in order to give a protégé of his, the organist, scholar and concert organizer Joah Bates (1741-1799), a tour of the monumental Dutch organs.⁶ Admittedly, many visitors describe musical experiences in their diaries or letters, but in many cases these were by-products of other concerns. Sir John Perceval, 1st Earl of Egmont from 1733 onwards, was deeply impressed by the organ (and its blind organist) of the Nieuwe Kerk (‘New Church’), when he visited Amsterdam from 17 to 21 July 1718. He was especially enchanted by its vox humana register, which imitated the human tenor and bass voices so miraculously that this English nobleman rated the experience as “one of the greatest and most pleasing

drinking tea or making music in their gardens (KEES VAN STRIEN, *De ontdekking*, cit., p. 47). Much work has been done towards making an inventory of book auction catalogues in the eighteenth century, especially by Henk W. de Koker. To my knowledge, no systematic study has yet been made of the content of the catalogues published for auctions of music books and/or musical instruments. Rudolf Rasch provides an overview of the advertisements in Dutch newspapers relevant to music, including those for auctions of musical instruments and/or music books, in *Muzikale Advertenties in Nederlandse Kranten* (= Mijn Werk op Internet, Deel Twaalf), <<http://www.hum.uu.nl/medewerkers/r.a.rasch/Advertenties/Advertenties.htm>>.

The importance of these catalogues for our knowledge of music in general and of Vivaldi in particular is made abundantly clear in MICHAEL TALBOT, *Vivaldi in the Sale Catalogue of Nicolaas Selhof*, “Informazioni e studi vivaldiani”, 6, 1985, pp. 57-63. Without Selhof’s catalogue, we might never have known that Vivaldi composed no fewer than four ‘geographical’ flute concertos, titled *La Francia*, *La Spagna*, *L’Inghilterra* and *Il Gran Mogol*, respectively. Of these, only the music of the last-mentioned concerto is today known to us, thanks to its recent rediscovery by Andrew Woolley. See ANDREW WOOLLEY, *An Unknown Flute Concerto by Vivaldi in Scotland*, “Studi vivaldiani”, 10, 2010, pp. 3-38. A random example of a catalogue that tells us much about the popularity of Vivaldi’s music in the Dutch Republic is the one that the The Hague booksellers Ottho and Pieter van Thol published in relation to an auction held from 13 to 15 November 1741. In the afternoon of Tuesday 14 November 1741 music books along with musical and mathematical instruments were offered for sale. The music books consisted of 66 lots in total; these were mainly of publications of Italian instrumental music, among which one finds all the collections of Vivaldi’s music engraved in Amsterdam by Estienne Roger and Michel-Charles Le Cène, with the sole exception of the six violin concertos, Op. 6: Op. 1 (lot 18); Op. 2 (19); Op. 5 (20); Op. 3 (21); Op. 4 (22); Op. 7 (23); Op. 8 (24); Op. 9 (25); Op. 11 and Op. 12 together as lot 26; finally also Op. 10 (66). It is also interesting to note that Locatelli’s private library – the catalogue of which was printed by the Amsterdam bookseller Theodoor Craijenschot in 1765 – contained, apart from Vivaldi’s printed collections Op. 8 and Op. 9, a concerto by Vivaldi in manuscript. See AREND KOOLE, *Leven en werken van Pietro Antonio Locatelli da Bergamo 1695-1764*, “Italiaans musycmeester tot Amsterdam”, Amsterdam, Jasonpers Universiteitspers, 1949, pp. 91-137: 128 (Op. 8 and Op. 9) and 130 (manuscript concerto). For a facsimile of the catalogue, see ALBERT DUNNING, *Pietro Antonio Locatelli: Der Virtuose und seine Welt*, Buren, Frits Knuf, 1981, vol. 2, pp. 141-195.

⁶ NICHOLAS RODGER, *The Insatiable Earl: A Life of John Montagu, 4th Earl of Sandwich*, New York and London, Norton, 1994, p. 120.

curiosities that offers itself abroad".⁷ Another British traveller happened to hear, while visiting the Grote Kerk ('Great Church') of Alkmaar on 9 September 1711, "no bad consort of music".⁸ Even the previously mentioned Uffenbach is full of praise of the performance by the Delft carillonneur – presumably Dirk Scholl, who was the Nieuwe Kerk's organist and carillonneur from 1664 until his death in 1727 – "as he then played it [the carillon] in an incomparable and musical way, [including] just overtures and other pieces among the newest in music".⁹ He has some additional words of appreciation for the instrumental accompaniment in the Amsterdam Stadsschouwburg, though not for its music in general, as we saw earlier.¹⁰ The French cleric and architectural historian Marc-Antoine Laugier (1713-1769) was impressed by the music he heard while visiting the German Synagogue in Amsterdam in 1766, and some other travellers noted with astonishment the no less exotic ways of singing (to Western ears) cultivated in the Church of the Armenians.¹¹ An English traveller, Robert Morris, decided to attend two concerts given by Josef Pokorný and his two daughters, who played the horn, sang and danced, in Amsterdam on Friday 8 April 1774, and fell desperately in love with the younger sister.¹² The concert Morris attended took

⁷ Cited after KEES VAN STRIEN, *Touring the Low Countries. Accounts of British Travellers, 1660-1720*, Amsterdam, Amsterdam University Press, 1998, p. 48. Sir John Perceval also notes that the organist of the Nieuwe Kerk, though blind, is capable of entertaining his listeners with "[the imitation of] a complete consort of vocal and instrumental music". A similar remark is made by JOHANN MATTHESON, *Das beschützte Orchestre*, Hamburg, Schiller, 1717, pp. 129-130, where the writer describes his admiration for Jan Jacob de Graaf, the same blind organist of the Amsterdam Nieuwe Kerk as referred to by Sir Perceval above, "welcher alle die neuesten Italiänischen Concerten, Sonaten, Ec. mit 3 à 4 Stimmen auswendig wuste, und mit ungemeiner Sauberkeit auf seiner wunderschönen Orgel in meiner Gegenwart heraus brachte". According to HANS-JOACHIM SCHULZE, *Neue Ermittlungen zu Joh. Seb. Bachs Vivaldi-Bearbeitungen*, in *Vivaldi-Studien. Referate des 3. Dresdener Vivaldi-Kolloquiums*, ed. Wolfgang Reich, Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek, 1981, pp. 32-41, a direct link exists between the Amsterdam practice of playing Italian concertos on the organ and Bach's transcriptions of concertos by Vivaldi and other composers. It is interesting to observe that the vox humana register of the Nieuwe Kerk organ had an unusually wide compass, extending from C to c", and was therefore indeed capable of evoking the human voice in all its ranges, from bass to soprano. See 'Hemels overdaad. De orgels van de Nieuwe Kerk te Amsterdam', ed. Henk Verhoef, Zutphen, Walburg Pers, 2005, p. 354. I owe this reference to Margherita Gianola, to whom I offer my sincere thanks.

⁸ KEES VAN STRIEN, *Touring*, cit., p. 294.

⁹ ZACHARIAS CONRAD VON UFFENBACH, *Merkwürdige Reisen*, cit., vol. 3, p. 349: "[...] wie er es dann unvergleichlich und musicalisch spielte, lauter Ouyerturen, und andere der neuesten Stücke, so man in der Musik hat". The practice of performing orchestral pieces on the carillon was well known also in the Southern Netherlands, as shown by the carillon book compiled in 1746 by the Antwerp carillonneur, organist and violinist Joannes de Gruyters (1709-1772), which contains a complete transcription of Vivaldi's Violin Concerto in G major, RV 310, published in Vivaldi's lifetime as Op. 3 no. 3. A facsimile of De Gruyters' transcription appears in KEES VLAARDINGERBROEK, *Venetian Echoes on Northern Canals: Some Observations on Vivaldi's Music in the Netherlands*, "Informazioni e studi vivaldiani", 16, 1995, pp. 91-121: 107-112.

¹⁰ ZACHARIAS CONRAD VON UFFENBACH, *Merkwürdige Reisen*, cit., vol. 3, p. 364.

¹¹ KEES VAN STRIEN, *De ontdekking*, cit., p. 122.

¹² "Radical Adventurer": *The Diaries of Robert Morris 1772-1774*, ed. J. E. Ross, Bath, Adams & Dart, 1971, p. 162. The concert is advertised in the *Amsterdamsche Courant* of Thursday 7 April 1774. 'Joseph Pocorny', as his name is given, played the horn as well.

place in “Het Wapen van Amsterdam” (The Amsterdam Arms), one of the many inns in the city that provided rooms for public concerts throughout the eighteenth century. It was not until 1788, when the new building of the Society “Felix Meritis” was opened, that Amsterdam finally acquired its own official concert hall, the first in the city to be expressly built for this purpose.

THE COLLEGIA MUSICA

As noted earlier, in the eighteenth century the Dutch Republic constituted one of the most highly urbanized areas of Europe. Neither the Reformed Church nor the Stadholder’s court in The Hague served to stimulate musical developments to any great extent, although under William V (who reigned from 1766 until 1795) a genuine interest in music existed at court and a band of musicians was maintained. Still, it is no exaggeration to say that musical life centred on bourgeois society, and in particular on the many *collegia musica* active in the country.¹³

The Dutch musicologist Rudolf Rasch distinguishes between official, fully institutionalized *stadsmuziekcolleges* that were subsidized or supported in other ways by a municipality (usually over many years or even centuries) and private *collegia musica* that had to function without official support and usually were organized much more informally. Rasch also identifies an intermediate type in the form of a well-organized *collegium musicum* that nevertheless managed to operate without official support from the local city council.¹⁴ The primary goal of any *collegium musicum* was for amateurs to perform music together, usually under the guidance of a professional musician, who was more often than not the local organist employed and remunerated by the city. Eighteenth-century Dutch *collegia musica* normally numbered between ten and thirty members.

Amsterdam apparently never had an official *stadsmuziekcollege*. Shortly before 1700 there existed a group of professional musicians who collaborated in the organization of public concerts, as well as many informal *collegia* that existed for longer or shorter periods of time. In the first half of the eighteenth century no Amsterdam *collegium musicum* is known to have employed professional musicians on a fixed salary, in contrast to the Amsterdam Stadsschouwburg,

¹³ A good general introduction in English to Dutch musical life in the later decades of the seventeenth century and the first half of the eighteenth century is RUDOLF RASCH, *The Dutch Republic, in Music and Society: The Late Baroque Era. From the 1680s to 1740*, ed. George J. Buelow, Englewood Cliffs, Prentice Hall, 1994, pp. 393-410. Since that time Rudolf Rasch has published his *Geschiedenis van de Muziek in de Republiek der Zeven Verenigde Nederlanden 1572-1795* (‘History of Music in the Republic of the Seven United Provinces 1572-1795’). This monumental studies, a work in progress, is so far available only on the internet and has not been translated in English. See <<http://www.hum.uu.nl/medewerkers/r.a.rasch/Republiek/Republiek.htm>>. Rasch is similarly the world’s leading authority on the Amsterdam publishers Estienne Roger and Michel-Charles Le Cène: see RUDOLF RASCH, *The Music Publishing House of Estienne Roger and Michel-Charles Le Cène 1696-1743* (= My Work on the Internet, Volume Four).

¹⁴ See RUDOLF RASCH, *Geschiedenis van de Muziek in de Republiek der Zeven Verenigde Nederlanden 1572-1795* (= Mijn Werk op Internet, Deel I), Hoofdstuk 12, ‘De Muziekcolleges’.

which retained a small orchestra of professional musicians. In the second half of the century one finds the special case of a “Muziek Collegie” attached to the Roman-Catholic Mozes- en Aäronkerk (Church of Moses and Aron). This was not a *collegium musicum* in the normal sense of the word but the chosen name for a *cappella musicale* (to use the Italian appellation) responsible for providing liturgical music during services. This church’s choir and orchestra consisted of a mixture of amateur and professional singers and instrumentalists.¹⁵ The composer and violin virtuoso Pietro Locatelli, who lived in Amsterdam from 1729 until his death in 1764, seems to have abstained completely from giving public concerts in his adoptive city, but he is known to have performed there regularly in private. It is even claimed that Jean-Marie Leclair travelled to the Netherlands mainly in order to hear Locatelli play.¹⁶ That such private concerts did, at least sometimes, involve amateur musicians is established by Benjamin Tate’s well-known letter referring to Locatelli, which is dated “Amsterdam, 11 April 1741”: “If [the violinist-composer Gaspard] Fritz had been here with me, he would not have got to hear him [Locatelli]; for he is so afraid of People’s [*sic*] learning from him, that he won’t admit a professed musician into his Concert; and he never will play anywhere but with gentlemen”.¹⁷

THE CHAPTER ON A CONCERT HOSTED BY AN UNNAMED AMSTERDAM COLLEGIUM MUSICUM IN *DE HOLLANDSCHE WAERELD*

After this unavoidably sketchy introduction, it will perhaps come as no surprise that descriptions of concerts in Amsterdam are usually rather brief and lacking in detail.¹⁸ The music is often said to be bad, mediocre or (more rarely)

¹⁵ See PAUL WILLEM VAN REIJEN, *Het muziekcollege van de Mozes- en Aäronkerk te Amsterdam (1760-1820)*, in *Bouwstenen voor een geschiedenis der toonkunst in de Nederlanden*, 3, ed. Maarten Albert Vente, Amsterdam, Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis, 1980, pp. 11-35.

¹⁶ See ALBERT DUNNING, *Pietro Antonio Locatelli*, cit., vol. 1, p. 159, where the author refers to Leclair’s necrologist François Joachim de Pierre de Bernis. Jacob Potholt (1720-1782), organist of the Amsterdam Oude Kerk (“Old Church”), told Burney that he had been privileged to hear Locatelli perform at both public and private concerts. See CHARLES BURNEY, *The Present State*, cit., vol. 2, p. 290 (where Burney gives Potholt’s name as “Pothoff”). No proof has been found, however, to corroborate the assertion that Locatelli performed also at public concerts in his adoptive city.

¹⁷ Cited after ALBERT DUNNING, *Locatelli*, cit., vol. 1, p. 204. Johan Giskes suggests that Locatelli’s *Concerti a Quattro*, Op. 7, were composed for an Amsterdam *collegium musicum* (the name of which is unknown to us) that was frequented by professional players from the Stadsschouwburg orchestra as well as *dilettanti*. See JOHAN GISKES, *I dedicatari olandesi delle opere di Locatelli*, in *Intorno a Locatelli. Studi in occasione del tricentenario della nascita di Pietro Antonio Locatelli (1695-1764)*, ed. Albert Dunning, Lucca, Libreria Musicale Italiana, 2 vols, 1995, vol. 1, pp. 275-318: 313-314.

¹⁸ Ironically, we are much better informed about what went on in the *collegia musica* in smaller towns such as Groningen, Utrecht and Arnhem. As explained earlier, these medium-sized towns possessed *stadsmuziekcolleges* that were formally supported by the city council over a comparatively long period. For several of these stable organizations ordinances, minute books and other archival materials have survived. The Arnhem *collegium musicum*, known as the “St. Caecilia-concert”, was founded in 1591 and continued its activities up to the nineteenth century (with a break during 1795-1804). One of its preserved minute books gives us an ample description of the celebration of

good, but details concerning the quality of the performers or the nature of the programme are in short supply. This is the reason why Michael Talbot’s discovery of the book which is the main subject of this article came as a most pleasant surprise, since the book in question contains a long letter in which a concert given by a Amsterdam *collegium musicum* around 1730 is described in great detail.¹⁹

The book bears the title *De Hollandsche Waereld*. Translated into English, the title page reads as follows: “The Dutch World. A description of its nature and behaviour of its inhabitants described by a traveller to a friend abroad during his stay in Holland. In which are found several attractive events, curious encounters, entertaining love stories, amusing conversations and humorous observations etc. as experienced while visiting various towns and villages by Mr ***. Leiden, Abraham Kallewier, 1733, bookseller in the Nieuwesteeg, diagonally opposite the Zonneveldsteeg”.

As the reader will have noticed, the book was published anonymously. The publisher was the Leiden publisher and bookseller Abraham Kallewier, active there from 1723 to 1759. In bibliographical literature he is commonly styled “Abraham Kallewier I” in order to distinguish him from his son and successor “Abraham Kallewier II”, who took over in 1759 and headed the firm until 1773.

The publisher provided the book with a short introduction (“Voor-rede van den uitgever”), which is worth translating in part: “I present to you, dear reader, a collection of very rare letters, written not long ago by a distinguished, accurate traveller from Holland to his friend. At a certain point I gained possession of these letters and was given permission to publish them, as I am doing now, on condition that his name would not be disclosed”. The publisher then goes on to praise the originality of the observations contained in the book and the author’s new and entertaining style of writing. The author is said to be a Swedish gentleman of noble birth, who has recently sojourned for a period of almost a year in Holland. As the author never intended the letters – totalling twenty – to be published, he writes quite candidly and impartially about the qualities and the shortcomings of individual persons in Holland, without, however, disclosing their names. Being a Protestant himself, the author refrains from criticizing the nation’s government and [Dutch Reformed] Church, for which discretion he is praised by the publisher.

the *collegium*’s 150 years of existence on 22 November 1741, when an occasional piece by Michiel Ernst Heinsius was followed by “beautiful music of Corelli, Tassarini, Vivaldi, Valentini, Baustetter and other pleasant Turkish and rustic concertos [...]” (“fraaije muziek van Corelli, Tassarini, Vivaldi, Valentini, Baustetter en andere aangename Turksche en boeren concerten [...]"). See JAN PIETER HEIJE, *Het St. Caecilia concert te Arnhem*, in *Bouwsteenen. Derde jaarboek der Vereeniging voor Noord-Nederlands Muziekgeschiedenis* (1874-1881), Amsterdam, Loman, Kirberger & Van Kesteren, vol. 3, pp. 29-37: 30. In 1785 the *collegium* decided to discard the works of many ‘old-fashioned’ composers, among whom were Albicastro, Geminiani, Locatelli, Porpora, Tassarini and Vivaldi.

¹⁹ I would like to give special thanks to Michael Talbot for sharing his discovery of *De Hollandsche Waereld* and encouraging me to write an article on this subject.

The book immediately attracted the attention of Justus van Effen (1684-1735), one of Holland's foremost critics and writers. In fact, Van Effen dedicated the greater part of two separate instalments of his periodical *De Hollandsche Spectator* to a detailed review of *De Hollandsche Waereld*: no. 106, dated 31 October 1732, and no. 113, dated 24 November 1732.²⁰ These two dates are puzzling, seeing that 1733 is given as the year of publication on the book's title page. The reason is possibly a technical one connected with the printing process of books as practised in those days: the gathering containing the title page and sometimes the index and/or the table of contents, was usually printed last. Only after this last gathering had been printed would books go to the binder in order to be provided with a cover. That this is what happened in the case of *De Hollandsche Waereld* is shown by the fact that Kallewier announced the book's recent publication in an advertisement published in the *Leydse Courant* of 24 September 1732, also mentioning the book's price of 18 stuivers.²¹

Van Effen rejects the publisher's claim that the writer is a Swedish gentleman. According to the critic, we are in fact dealing with a Dutchman, but he does not speculate in public about the writer's identity. In Van Effen's view it is more important how the writer 'acts out' his assumed role than whether he is who he claims to be: he observes that nobody thinks less highly of the *Lettres persanes* because of the fact that they were written not by a Persian but by the Frenchman Montesquieu. But, alas, the anonymous author is hardly a Montesquieu. Van Effen notices many inadequacies, incongruences and contradictions in the text, and ridicules the author's presumption when he takes it upon himself to pass judgment even on the quality of the art of poetry in the Netherlands. Elsewhere, Van Effen criticizes the superficiality that he finds to be characteristic of many observations in the book.

In *De Hollandsche Spectator* no. 113 Van Effen considers the last ten letters of *De Hollandsche Waereld*. He is not amused that Dutch ladies are said to be gossipmongers, who have loose sexual morals and are more concerned with the tidiness of their homes than with their personal hygiene. This issue also contains a letter by a certain "A. Z.", in which the author of *De Hollandsche Waereld* is characterized as the leader of the community of hacks.

Unfortunately, the identity of the author remains, now as then, a mystery. As stated earlier, *De Hollandsche Waereld* consists of twenty, often rather long, letters, making up a total of 443 pages (plus two separately numbered pages of

²⁰ The complete instalments of *De Hollandsche Spectator* – 360 in total, running from 20 August 1731 to 8 April 1735 and all printed and published by Hermanus Uytwerf in Amsterdam – were assembled by Piet J. Buijnsters, who provided his edition of the text with an interesting introduction on Van Effen's life and works. See JUSTUS VAN EFFEN, *De Hollandsche Spectator*, ed. Piet J. Buijnsters, Deventer, Sub Rosa, 1984. Buijnsters's edition can also be consulted on the internet at <http://dbnl.nl/tekst/effe001holl01_01/effe001holl01_01.pdf>.

²¹ I owe the information on the apparent discrepancy between the year of publication on the title page and the publication dates of the two reviews in *De Hollandsche Spectator* to book historian Dr Rietje van Vliet, whom I wish to thank here cordially. Twenty stuivers is the equivalent of one Dutch gulden (guilder).

introduction). It must be added, however, that on average a full page contains hardly more than 200 words. The letter that concerns us here, no. 18, runs from page 391 to page 409 in the first and seemingly only edition. The letter in question deals with the dreadful experience the author had when attending a concert by an unspecified Amsterdam *collegium musicum*. What makes the letter especially interesting for us in the present context is the description of a heated debate between the members of the orchestra, some or all of whom were amateur musicians, over the relative merits of Corelli and his contemporaries vis-à-vis Vivaldi and other Italian composers of his generation. I have decided to offer here a complete English translation of this letter, despite its verbose style, which hardly deserves the positive epithets used by the publisher in the introduction to the book (which does have, truth to tell, its humorous moments). I have not included as well the original Dutch text, since that would almost double the length of this article and would benefit only those few readers capable of reading eighteenth-century Dutch. Those who wish to have the original text of *De Hollandsche Waereld* to hand can easily consult it on the internet.²²

ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF THE EIGHTEENTH LETTER IN *DE HOLLANDSCHE WAERELD*, PP. 391-409

Dear Sir!

Just as one finds in this country many hobbies, not only in [the form of] several useful arts and sciences, but also in [the form of] relaxations and pastimes of many sorts, so, too, one discovers here, among other things, also much fondness for music. The gentlemen and ladies who are favourably disposed towards this noble exercise often meet from approximately five until eight o' clock in the evening either in their own homes or in certain rented rooms, especially in winter time, and normally once a week, on which occasions every person who is capable of something makes himself heard, usually in the presence of a large crowd of listeners who have been invited to attend or who have permission to come without payment, [p. 392] because one is too generous to accept money for this unless the concert has been organized by professionals who have to make a living from their calling. Yesterday I was told by Mr L... that on that same night there would be a concert of certain music lovers of both sexes²³ at a certain place that he mentioned to me, and since he had been requested to attend together with his wife and intended to go, and since he had permission also to bring along a friend, he asked me whether I would like to go there as well. I was immediately attracted and did not turn down this offer, all the more since I was curious to see and hear how things would turn out there, having never before attended a concert in Holland. “You are acting very wisely, my dear Sir”, Mr L... said to me when he heard that I was willing to come along too, “in

²² See <<https://books.google.nl/books?id=Q9NXAAAACAAJ&pg=PA99&dq=De+Hollandsche+Waereld&hl=nl&sa=X&ved=0CCEQ6AEwAGoVChMIsOaO992cxwIVTAnbCh0S3ANc#v=onepage&q=De%20Hollandsche%20Waereld&f=false>>.

²³ “Liefhebbers en Liefhebsters” (cf. German “Liebhaber und Liebhaberinnen”), which refers to male and female *dilettanti*. Later on in the text one often finds only the male form “Liefhebbers”, which I have translated in most instances as “music lovers”, but sometimes instead as “performers”, when it is clear that the word is referring only to those who were actual members of the orchestra.

being present at this recreation. I think you will not regret it afterwards. You will hear something uncommonly beautiful and fine, at least I am told, because I have no knowledge of this matter myself. But the music lovers themselves testify that the art they practise there and the sweet chords they produce are so delightful and touching [p. 393] that a person feels as if transported to Heaven, while the soul is almost no longer aware that it inhabits the body, which is no surprise as I have heard that in the place where I will bring you there are none but music lovers of both sexes who have the reputation of being the first and foremost of their kind, since all bunglers and ignoramuses who are only partially capable of singing and playing are excluded from this illustrious society.²⁴ Admittedly, one finds people who are less sensitive to music than a block or a stone, and who maintain that they do not find this beauty [in music], but it is wise to reflect that this is due merely to their own defective understanding and in no way to the art itself. However this may be, I will let you be the judge of it, since I am aware that you have a deep understanding of music and are capable not only of singing but also of playing several instruments”.

At the appointed hour I came to the house of Mr L..., after which this gentleman had the kindness to bring me in the company of his wife to the place where the aforementioned concert was to take place. Having arrived there, I was brought into a spacious room, where on one side were several rows of chairs, placed one after the other in the form of a half moon, [p. 394] for the use of the male and female listeners who were to attend, of whom some – albeit only a few, since it was still early – had already taken a seat.²⁵ On the other side [of the room] one could see the music lovers who would perform in the concert standing in a group, having brought all the instruments and music books that were necessary for the exercise of their art. Mr L... and his wife sat down on two adjacent seats, but I positioned myself a little to the side and forward [from them] on a separate chair close to the wall, near the side where the performers were assembled, in order to be able to hear better what they said, since I noticed that they were having a lively discussion – and later, because of my proximity, to be better able to absorb their art when they played and sang, in the meantime intending to adopt the stance of a complete ignoramus [of music].

As soon as I sat down after we had greeted one another, they [the performers] after a short period of silence studied me intently from head to toe, seemingly because of the fact that they were not used to my face. But since they deduced from my clothing and all other circumstances [p. 395] that I was a foreigner and therefore concluded that I did not understand their language, they resumed their talk among themselves exactly as before, while in the meantime further gentlemen and ladies periodically entered the room and sat down on the seats that had been placed there for them, after every gentleman had led his lady there very politely by the hand, his hat under his arm, as is the custom in the Stadsschouwburg (“Comedie”).²⁶ The first subject of their discussions was the various

²⁴ Society: the word appearing in the text is “Collegie”, a term that immediately brings to mind the institution of the *collegium musicum* and was in fact interchangeable with it, and also with the expression “muziekcollegie” (<<http://www.hum.uu.nl/medewerkers/r.a.rasch/Republiek/Republiek12-Muziekcolleges.pdf>>).

²⁵ The Dutch word “zaal” refers to a hall or spacious room (cf. German *Saal*).

²⁶ The Dutch word “Comedie” had multiple meanings in the eighteenth century. In this instance, it is clear that the author is referring to the Theatre of Amsterdam, known as the “Stadsschouwburg”. In 1738, five years after the publication of *De Hollandsche Waereld*, the centenary of the Amsterdam Stadsschouwburg was celebrated with much pomp and circumstance. Among works by other composers, Vivaldi’s Concerto in D major RV 562a was performed to mark that occasion. See KEES VLAARDINGERBROEK, *Venetian Echoes*, cit., pp. 92-102, and RUDOLF RASCH, *Some Remarks on Vivaldi’s “Amsterdam Concerto” (RV 562a)*, “Informazioni e studi vivaldiani”, 19, 1998, pp. 33-43.

composers, about whom everyone expressed his thoughts. I heard them talk about the works of Corelli, Albinoni, Vivaldi, Valentini, Buonporti, Bononcini, Bassani, Pollaroli, Motta and countless others whose names they unaccountably remembered.²⁷ Corelli was rejected as being old-fashioned, although they had to admit that his melody was very nice and pleasant.²⁸ But Vivaldi and several other new composers resembling him were praised to the skies because their melody was wild, capricious, bound to no rules whatsoever, full of dissonances and everywhere so irregular that one could distinguish neither head nor tail, with the result that the ear found neither rest nor pleasure.²⁹

[p. 396] Admittedly, there were a few who protested that Vivaldi and several comparable [masters] were really somewhat too wild and strange in their compositions, for which reason this music was in many places not at all agreeable but, on the contrary, very repulsive to the ear. But all the others reacted [negatively] to this view, saying that this sort of talk was a sign of their ignorance of music, since true beauty resided in all this constant wildness, irregularity and extravagance;³⁰ there was no artistry in following the traditional manner: one had instead to deviate completely from it in order to distinguish oneself, and everything old was no longer any good, however beautiful it may once have been, since one had by now heard it really too often, whereas new things were always pleasant, even when distorted and extravagant.

²⁷ I have retained the names of the composers as they were spelled by the letter-writer. “Buonporti” refers of course to Francesco Antonio Bonporti (1672-1749); “Bononcini” probably to Giovanni Bononcini (1670-1747), the most famous member of the family; “Pollaroli” probably to Antonio Pollaro (1676-1746), but possibly to his father Carlo Francesco Pollaro (c. 1653-1723); finally, Motta to Artemio Motta, a priest-composer from Parma, whose *10 Concerti a cinque*, Op. 1, were published in Modena in 1701. The appearance of Motta’s name is surprising in view of his comparatively limited reputation and given the fact that his string concertos were published around three decades earlier. Motta’s Op. 1 did, however, enjoy a certain reputation for many years after its publication. Proof of this lies, for instance, in the fact that the Amsterdam publisher Estienne Roger, who published a reprint of it already in 1702, retained it in his catalogue, as did his successor Michel-Charles Le Cène (catalogues of 1735 and 1744). See RUDOLF RASCH, *The Music Publishing House of Estienne Roger and Michel-Charles Le Cène 1696-1743* (= My Work on the Internet, Volume Four, Part Four: “The Catalogue”), p. 47, at <<http://www.hum.uu.nl/medewerkers/r.a.rasch/Roger/Catalogue-Maasmann-Musicien.pdf>> (accessed 22 July 2015).

²⁸ “Melody” is my translation of the Dutch word “zang” used here, which could mean both “singing” and “melody”, as becomes clear when one browses Dutch eighteenth-century publications about music, such as JACOB WILHELM LUSTIG, *Twaalf redeneeringen over nuttige muzikale onderwerpen*, Amsterdam, Olofsen, 1756.

²⁹ Interestingly, SIR JOHN HAWKINS was to use the same characterizations of “wild” and “irregular” to describe Vivaldi’s music in *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music*, London, 1776, vol. 5, p. 214. This rather low estimation of Vivaldi was not uncommon in Britain, whereas contemporary French writers tended to term Vivaldi’s music as exemplary, even ‘classical’. See, for instance, FRANÇOIS GRANET, *Réflexions sur les ouvrages de Literature*, Paris, Pierre Gissey, 1737, vol. 2, p. 360: “On assure que le Ballet des Amours des Dieux, dont l’élégante musique est du Sr Mouret, va reparoitre incessamment sur le Théâtre de l’Opera, & on se flatte que cet Opera bravera la canicule, en attendant le Castor & Pollux du Sr Rameau, l’Andréasani [Andrea Zani], le Vivaldi, le Hindel [sic] de la France moderne”. The reception of Vivaldi’s music in France, and the possible reasons for the less enthusiastic response to his music in Britain, are the subject of a still unpublished study by MICHAEL TALBOT, “Le plus habile compositeur qui soit à Venise”: *Vivaldi’s Reputation in Eighteenth-Century France*. I am most grateful to the author for sending me his article prior to publication.

³⁰ The writer’s use of the words “extravagant” and “extravagance” may or may not be a conscious reference to Vivaldi’s Op. 4, *La stravaganza*.

After this spiritual and sensible reasoning had continued for a while, it was debated which pieces were to be performed and sung that night, and while this matter was being discussed and resolved, the hall had filled up in the meantime with so many people that it was considered high time to start, the more so as already more than an hour had elapsed since the time when the concert should have started. The [p. 397] pieces that were to be played first were therefore placed on the music stands, and every music lover then took his violin or bass in his hand in order to tune the strings. The tuning was not done individually but collectively, so that I failed to understand how it could be possible that everyone could make out his note amid such a disorderly sound. In fact, the instruments were tuned exactly in the excellent way that was to become clear later. After this tuning had continued continuously for approximately half an hour with a confused clink, clink, clink, during which time several quints or principal strings every so often snapped and had to be tuned all over again, without any evidence to me that the performance was commencing, I began to lose my patience and wonder whether this was all the delightful music that I was to hear. To be sure, it seemed certain that it would continue in like fashion all evening. Exasperated, I was on the verge of standing up and leaving until a gentleman who was seated next to me, and who also appeared bored, said to me: "This tuning certainly seems to be taking rather long; when will they finally begin?" I answered him: "I am not sure, Sir, if anything will emerge from it. I regard this custom as an oddity of this country. In my country, when one is planning [p. 398] to give a concert, the instruments are tuned before any listeners arrive and not when one wishes to begin. It is also normal for everybody to do this individually and in such a quiet manner that one can hardly hear anything, so that as soon as one decides to play it is necessary only to start playing together, which then pleasantly surprises the ear and confers on the music that magnificence and dignity which it inevitably loses through all that continuous clink, clink, clink".

Finally, after about forty-five minutes of tuning, a start was made on the first piece presented. However, this was so wretchedly executed that I could distinguish neither head nor tail, and this contribution matched perfectly in all respects the competence of the tuners, as I had expected. Most of the violinists played out of tune, partly because of the poor tuning of their violins and partly because – lacking a fine aural sense – they placed their fingers too high or too low [on the strings], which resulted in such a sweet harmony ["accord"] between them that one had the feeling of being pulled up by one's hairs. Not only this, but also since most of these amateur players did not play in time ["maatvast"] not one bar was performed correctly, even though everyone considered himself a better judge [of time] than [p. 399] everyone else and to this end made a thunderous noise, stamping his foot against the floorboards in every bar. This pounding by all the amateur players, who were rather numerous, executed earlier by some and later by others, resulted in such a confused noise that one could hardly hear the playing, which in itself was already difficult to grasp, and all this enhanced the beauty of this celestial music still further.

After this treatment had been meted out to the first piece, where every player believed he had done marvellously well, as one could deduce from the faces, which were shining from diligence, the gentleman in the next seat said softly to me: "I have to admit that this was a marvellous piece and that the players have given a fine performance of it". I confess that I had difficulty refraining from laughter when I heard this gentleman's words, which made his total ignorance quite evident to me. However, I did not betray this to him in any way but merely answered with a solemn face: "Yes, Sir, the piece is in itself not bad, and the players have done as well as they could. I am, however, of the opinion that people in my country have better ears and do not play so much out of tune [p. 400] as here. Also, people there refrain completely from beating time by moving either their hands or their

feet, even if the number of players is double that of tonight. One listens to one's fellows simply in order to stay in time, and this suffices in our country to perform all bars so neatly and correctly that the pendulum of a clock could not do it more evenly. The reason for this is that we have a better understanding of the geometry of time and the proportion thereof and are capable of regulating this more correctly”.

I could see that these words were not understood by this gentleman, for he looked at me with his mouth open in utter amazement, not knowing what to answer. Finally, after giving it some thought, he said: “Well, Sir, I thought that this stamping of the feet during the playing was very beautiful, adding sauce, as it were, to the music and lending it vigour and weight. I was not able to discern that the players were out of tune, as you maintain. I believe they played energetically and with a big sound, and if that is not sufficient to create a fine concert then perhaps I have no understanding of these matters. Their art is however praised by many people here, even though [p. 401] you seem rather to despise it. It may well be that in your country other customs prevail, as in other things, but this does not necessarily mean that your custom is better”.

I did not want to contradict this nice gentleman but pretended not to hear anything, all the more as a certain man positioned himself in front of the harpsichord and placed a vocal piece which he had in his hand upon the music stand in order to sing it, and everyone paid close attention in order to listen. I was among those who were all ears, but possibly with a somewhat better judgement than could be expected from most others. This vocal piece was more or less as beautiful as the instrumental music that I had just heard. When the singer started singing, he opened his mouth so much that a fist could easily have fitted into it, and the first sound that emerged from it was so melodious, sweet and pleasing that I would almost have fallen behind my chair if it had not been provided with an adequate back. He raised his voice in such a way that one had the impression of hearing a calf, apparently out of the conviction that the beauty of singing resided in screaming loudly, [p. 402] just as I had observed in all the precentors in the churches, who are more than a little proud of this and even try to excel each other in this practice in order to demonstrate their art and capability all the better.³¹ Besides this loud shrieking the fellow also constantly sang so much out of tune and out of tempo that I could not understand how the harpsichordist who accompanied him and seemed to be a rather competent person could keep up with him in order to maintain tempo: the more so as this person had a bass player sitting on his other side who made such a tremendous confused humming on his instrument – a person who was surely also thinking: the louder, the better – that this would have been enough to throw even the most confident musician into confusion.

After this exquisite vocal piece was over and the audience had unanimously expressed through handclaps what pleasure such a fine piece and the singer's artful performance had given it, my gentleman apparently lacked the courage to express to me his admiration in the same way as he had done earlier with regard to the playing, surely fearing that I

³¹ In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries one reads many complaints about the slow, coarse and loud manner of psalm singing in Dutch churches. The precentor was as a rule not a trained musician, but a sexton, schoolmaster or simple craftsman. See ELS STRATEGIER, *De taal der hartstochten. De visie van drie achttiende-eeuwse Nederlandse schrijvers op muziek en haar relatie met de dichtkunst*, “Amsterdamse Historische Reeks”, kleine serie, 43, 2011, pp. 99-101. The history of congregational singing in the Dutch Reformed Church is discussed extensively in JAN ROELOF LUTH, *“Daer wert om 't seerste uytgekreten [...]”. Bijdragen tot een geschiedenis van de gemeentezang in het Nederlandse Gereformeerde protestantisme ±1550–±1852*, 2nd edition, Kampen, Van den Berg, 1986.

would loathe this equally and [be displeased] that he was too favourably disposed towards the art of his countrymen. He therefore [p. 403] kept silent, preferring instead to take snuff from his small [tobacco-] box and immediately offering me a pinch as well after first having taken his own snuff, picking up with his two front fingers as much of it as he could decently hold – a polite offer that I could not refuse, so that I too took snuff. In the meantime a second sonata, or concerto for the violins, was presented, and after the strings had once again been tuned, although not so laboriously as the first time, they started playing: not playing together but one person consistently a little after the other, although this was not a fugue. The continuation of the piece was just like the beginning, being performed as wonderfully as the first piece: that is, I could make out neither its time nor its harmony [“accoord’], and what I discerned most clearly was the stamping with the feet, which occurred in succession like the bow movements.

After this second instrumental piece was over, one of the gentleman musicians was delegated to go up to a certain young lady who was fond of singing, and who was sitting among the listeners, in order to ask her to favour the public with a sample of her pleasing [p. 404] voice. But whatever this emissary did, he could not persuade her to agree, although he went to all the trouble in the world for almost a quarter of an hour. She made all kinds of excuses as to why she could not bring herself to sing: among others, that her voice was unfit, principally on account of a cold, as I could hear clearly, sitting at no great distance from her. This temporizing induced the players, who seemed to be fond of her and did not lend much credence to her excuses, to send another two emissaries in order to assist the first. This finally – after repeated requests and exhortations (which the lady singer seemed rather to enjoy) – resulted in her standing up, having herself escorted to the harpsichord with much ceremony by one of the gentlemen, producing her vocal piece from her pocket, putting it on a music stand, and singing it in such an exquisite way that one could indeed hear that she really had a cold. This vocal piece indeed pleased me very much, not only because it was in itself artful and pleasant but also because the lady had a fine voice and was completely unswerving in her musical delivery. I have to add that this was the only [p. 405] beautiful thing that I heard that night during the entire concert.

After the lady had sung and been escorted back to her seat by one of the gentlemen, a third instrumental piece was placed on the music stand and performed as artfully and beautifully as the previous two, the strings having been tuned again; for this had necessarily to be done before the beginning of every piece, and yet the instruments were never tuned in concord. After this piece had finished another lady was requested to sing. She certainly did not get herself begged to do so as the first lady had done, and had herself hastily escorted to the harpsichord; but alas! I could see from the pale colour and trembling of this sweet drudge that she was as dismayed as if she had been going to her death – this surely from confusion on account of having to sing before such a large assembly. After coughing and clearing her throat several times, while the short vocal piece that she had brought along was being placed on the music stand in front of her, she started singing with a tremulous and feeble voice. Her voice was in itself good enough, as I was able to ascertain, and the lady seemed to possess a rather good ear, had she only possessed enough courage – but this attribute was absent, alas!

[p. 406] After she had sung several bars that did not sound simultaneously with the instruments, she grew faint to such a degree as a result of her confusion that she had to cease singing and was taken to her seat by her arm, which created much consternation among the company, all the more as she was young and not ugly. Everyone produced his bottle of Eau de la Reine, Salvolatile and English Salt, which was placed under her nose as soon as she was seated, and with the aid of these she finally came round, so that playing could resume.

After this piece was over, a gentleman sang, meanwhile making such frightful gestures with his arms that it appeared as if he intended to fly. His head did not move any less [than his arms]. One moment, he shook his head several times from one side to the other, as if he wished to say no; the next moment, he nodded his head as if he wished to indicate yes. Then again, he tried to utter the words forcefully and violently enough for them to be clearly understood by the listeners, so that it seemed every time as if he were on the verge of vomiting, the more so as he invariably bent forwards at these moments. His voice was [p. 407] mediocre, and he appeared fairly capable in the art [of music], but he seemed much taken with, and proud of, his competence, judging from the jaunty attitude that he assumed. After this vocal piece was over, there was once again an instrumental piece, and after this had been despatched, a certain woman dressed in a rather ladylike way appeared uninvited by the side of the harpsichord in order to make her beautiful voice heard. I must confess that this proceeded in such a horribly charming way that it was exactly as if one were hearing the caterwauling of cats in March. It is not just that she was completely ignorant of both tempo and timekeeping [“pompstok”], but she also sang so terribly out of tune as I had never experienced in my earlier life. However, after she finished she was regaled with universal clapping, for this was an obligatory event at the end of each vocal piece, and without it any lady singer would have been offended in the utmost degree.

After there had been more performances of various kinds following this fine singing, usually as beautifully as before, the concert ended as the clock struck eight o’clock, and nobody would for any reason in the world have played a piece later than that point in time.³² Admittedly, [p. 408] I noticed that there were one of two of the violinists who were rather capable, as I heard from a solo [sonata] that was performed very well by one of them, even though the bass ruined it again; but those few [good] players among the multitude were not capable of giving leadership to all the others as would have been fitting during the performance, however bravely they bowed and however solidly they stamped their feet, and this was the reason why the others ruined it from start to finish and why there was not a single instrumental piece that was performed well.

After I had left the concert and reached the street with Mr L... and his wife in order to return home, he asked me how I had liked the music of that night. I started laughing and then answered that I had liked it so much that this one experience sufficed for me, and that I did not intend to attend any other Dutch concerts unless they were performed by some professional musicians, since otherwise it was only torment to a finely tuned ear. He seemed at first to be surprised by this answer, but when I offered the reason and explanation for it, he was able to understand it and resolved similarly to attend no more concerts, not because he was capable of judging [p. 409] them but because he had heard me give this testimony.

I have described, Sir, in this letter a concert that I attended. In my next letter, however, I hope to give a description of a very different place and pastime, whither I was brought yesterday night by chance, and where I did not endure the pain of cacophony but nevertheless had an experience that proved far from pleasant to me.

Respectfully Yours, Etc.

³² This strict observance of the length of the performance seems to have been a common feature of Dutch *collegia musica*. The ordinance of the Utrecht *collegium musicum*, drafted in 1721, insisted that the performance should not last under two hours, the exact time it took for the society’s sandglass to empty itself completely. See DIRK J. BALFOORT, *Het muziekleven in Nederland in de 17e en 18e eeuw*, Amsterdam, Van Kampen, 1938, p. 103.

Kees Vlaardingerbroek

LO «STRAVAGANTE» VIVALDI O IL «PIACEVOLE» CORELLI?
L'ACCESA DISCUSSIONE IN UN *COLLEGIUM MUSICUM* DI
AMSTERDAM ATTORNO AL 1730

Sommario

Il livello della vita musicale olandese del diciottesimo secolo non ha destato particolare interesse negli intenditori di allora, sia locali che stranieri. Pur disponendo di eccellenti organisti e suonatori di carillon, né la Chiesa riformata olandese né lo *stadtholder* di corte dell'Aja riuscirono a creare le condizioni per andare oltre un certo grado di sviluppo musicale. Le migliori esecuzioni erano quelle dei musicisti itineranti, mentre le uniche infrastrutture musicali dotate di una certa stabilità erano i *collegia musica* disseminati un po' ovunque nel Paese.

La principale funzione di un *collegium musicum* consisteva nell'offrire agli esecutori dilettanti l'opportunità di suonare insieme, generalmente sotto la guida di un musicista di professione. Molte città di medie dimensioni possedevano un proprio *stadsmuziekcollege*, formalmente gestito dal consiglio comunale. In molti casi, le ordinanze, i libri contabili e i materiali d'archivio che scandivano la vita di queste organizzazioni sono giunti fino a noi. Purtroppo non disponiamo di una documentazione analoga per la città di Amsterdam, che sembra non aver mai posseduto uno *stadsmuziekcollege* ufficiale. Basterebbe, dunque, questa semplice circostanza a giustificare l'interesse per la scoperta di un volume intitolato *De Hollandsche Waereld*, pubblicato anonimo, a Leida, nel 1733, ma già in circolazione a partire dalla seconda metà del 1732.

Il volume – che stando alla prefazione dell'editore sarebbe opera di un anonimo nobiluomo svedese – è una raccolta di venti lettere. La diciottesima di esse descrive una spiacevole esperienza accaduta all'autore durante un concerto tenutosi ad Amsterdam, in un *collegium musicum* non meglio precisato, attorno al 1730. Questo articolo inquadra il testo della lettera, fornendone una trascrizione completa in lingua inglese.

Il suo anonimo estensore ebbe occasione, fra le altre cose, di assistere a una animata discussione fra chi, all'interno dell'orchestra, sosteneva i meriti di Corelli rispetto a quelli dei compositori dell'epoca, in particolare di Vivaldi e di altri maestri italiani suoi contemporanei. Chi parteggiava per Corelli riteneva che la sua musica fosse piacevole e aggraziata, mentre quella di Vivaldi era criticata per il suo carattere rude, irregolare e stravagante. La maggioranza degli orchestrali fu tuttavia d'accordo nel preferire la novità alla tradizione, ritenendo che le critiche mosse nei confronti di Vivaldi potessero essere interpretate anche in una accezione positiva.

Jóhannes Ágústsson

“LA PERFETTA COGNITIONE”:

FRANCIS STEPHEN OF LORRAINE, PATRON OF VIVALDI

In memoriam Dr Alison J. Dunlop

INTRODUCTION

In May 1731 Vivaldi returned to the Italian stage, after a two-year absence, to direct his opera *Farnace*, RV 711 (1727), in the city of Pavia. The unusually long ‘silent’ period coincided with the composer’s receipt of an invitation to travel to “Germania” in autumn 1729, following his private and public performances for emperor Charles VI in Inner Austria in September 1728. That landmark event not only raised Vivaldi’s profile among the nobility of the Habsburg Empire,¹ but – it can now be argued – it also brought about an important stylistic change in his music.

The credentials of the composer would have impressed anyone who studied the libretto for the 1731 Pavia production. There, Vivaldi announces for the first time that he has entered the employment of two new patrons as their *maestro di cappella*: Francis Stephen, duke of Lorraine (later, grand duke of Tuscany and emperor as Francis I), and Joseph Johann Adam, ruling prince of the house of Liechtenstein. A third name mentioned in the libretto was that of landgrave Philip of Hesse-Darmstadt, governor of Mantua, whose long-lasting connection with Vivaldi following the composer’s service to him as “Maestro di Cappella di Camera” in 1718-1720 is well documented. Vivaldi’s relationship to his two other patrons has until now received little attention in the literature beyond reference to a possible meeting with the two men in Vienna during the composer’s sojourn in “Germania”.

Many similarities can be found between the two noblemen, who assumed leadership of their respective houses at a young age after the death of their

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I am very grateful to Michael Talbot for his generous advice and admirable patience with my many questions, and for providing all translations from primary sources in this article. I am similarly grateful to Renate Zedinger for her advice and for bringing the article of Walter Brauneis to my attention. I wish to thank the archivists in the Österreichisches Staatsarchiv – Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv (*A-Whh*) for their kind assistance during my research. Special thanks go to Kjartan Óskarsson for his assistance during my research in the Viennese archives, and for sharing with me his knowledge of the music and musicians of the Viennese *Hofmusikkapelle*.

¹ Vivaldi’s long-standing relationship with the Habsburg empire is well described in MICHAEL TALBOT, *Vivaldi and the Empire*, “Informazioni e studi vivaldiani”, 8, 1987, pp. 31-50.

fathers: Francis Stephen in 1729, when he was only twenty, and Joseph Johann Adam in 1721 at the age of thirty-one. Both inherited vast lands and property – but also massive debts left by their fathers. They proved to be astute businessmen who also demonstrated admirable diplomatic skills when defusing difficult financial and familial situations. The two men first met in Prague in 1723 during the coronation celebrations of Charles VI as King of Bohemia, and their love for the hunt brought them together in Vienna in the mid-1720s. As regards music, both wasted no time in setting up their private music ensembles only months after commencing their reign.

In 2009 Luigi Cataldi revealed that Francis Stephen and Joseph Johann Adam had witnessed the *Erbhuldigung* in Trieste in 1728.² This information was subsequently repeated in my report of the first meeting between the emperor and Vivaldi at the imperial stud farm in not very distant Lipica on 9 September, the eve of his public entry into Trieste.³ While Francis Stephen was certainly among the many princes present at the celebrations in that city, I have now learned that Joseph Johann Adam was not – the attender was his cousin, prince Joseph Wenzel of Liechtenstein.⁴ Nevertheless, many questions immediately arise: What were the musical interests of Francis Stephen and Joseph Johann Adam? What was Vivaldi's exact relationship to the two men: was his new title merely an honorific one, as has so often been suggested, or did it involve a more active role?

The present study, which forms the second part of a trilogy of articles centred around Vivaldi and his noble contacts in Vienna, focuses on the musical patronage of Francis Stephen and introduces a wealth of previously unknown archival sources. In a forthcoming article in *Studi vivaldiani* I plan to discuss the musical patronage of Joseph Johann Adam.

FRANCIS STEPHEN OF LORRAINE, PRINCE OF MUSIC

Born in Nancy on 8 December 1708 to Léopold, duke of Lorraine and Bar, and his consort Elisabeth Charlotte d'Orléans, Francis Stephen was the ninth of thirteen children, of whom only four reached adulthood. His elder brother, hereditary prince Léopold Clément, had been born in 1707, a year that marked a turning point in the cultural life of the Lorraine court with the engagement of the French composer Henry Desmarest as *surintendant de la musique*. Desmarest oversaw great changes to musical life at the Luneville palace, the residence of the duke and duchess. A modestly sized chamber group of twelve players grew

² See LUIGI CATALDI, *L'incontro di Vivaldi con l'imperatore Carlo VI a Trieste nel 1728*, in *Antonio Vivaldi. Passato e Futuro. Atti online. Convegno internazionale di studi, 13-16 giugno 2007, Isola di S. Giorgio Maggiore, Venezia*, eds Francesco Fanna and Michael Talbot, Venice, Fondazione Giorgio Cini, 2009, pp. 161-177, accessible at <<http://www.cini.it/publications/antonio-vivaldi-passato-e-futuro-it>>.

³ JÓHANNES ÁGÚSTSSON, "Zu Lippiza den venetian: Ersten Musico eine Medalie": *Vivaldi meets Emperor Charles VI, 9 September 1728*, "Studi vivaldiani", 14, 2014, pp. 3-14: 11.

⁴ A-Whh, OMeA, ÅZA, 34-33-1, Verzeichnisse verschiedener Hofstaaten und Hofbediensteter, die den Kaiser nach Innerösterreich begleiten sollen [1728], f. 1a.

within a short space of time into an orchestra numbering thirty-three musicians, a size that enabled Desmarest to perform revivals of operas of Lully and occasional pieces of his own. Italian music, too, was heard at the court. In 1708 the Italian kapellmeister at the Danish court, Bartolomeo Bernardi, visited Lorraine, where his pastorale *Diana amante* was performed.⁵ This music made a strong impression on the duke and led him to send four of his musicians to Rome to study the Italian style. While staying there, the future organist of the Lorraine chapel, François-Mathias Winand, studied with Bernardo Pasquini. One must assume that after their three-year sojourn the Lorraine musicians brought back manuscripts of music by composers working in Rome, which at that time was one of the most thriving musical centres in Europe. Following a visit to Luneville in 1711, Evaristo Felice Dall'Abaco dedicated his Op. 3 sonatas to Léopold, and no doubt these pieces were performed by the duke's musicians. Further reports of Italian music being heard by visitors to Luneville can be found in the sources.

Two important details have emerged of Francis Stephen's musical activity while growing up in Lorraine. First, in an undated petition (c. 1715) to duke Léopold,⁶ the horn players Johann Peter Hartmann and Daniel Gütter specifically mention their frequent performances for the young prince, whose fascination for this instrument is evident from the sources. Later, in Vienna, Hartmann and Gütter would serve Francis Stephen as horn-playing *valets de pied*, and in this capacity became the first musicians employed by the prince. After their horn-playing days were over the two men were retained as table-deckers, and they later enjoyed a pension. Second, we learn from a petition of Desmarest dating from 1723 that for several years he had been giving music lessons to Francis Stephen and his siblings,⁷ in which the young princes and princesses were made to study the French keyboard masters. With this information in mind, one may conclude that in his youth Francis Stephen received a sound musical education that would serve him well when he continued his musical studies in Vienna. This knowledge becomes all the more revealing in the light of reports in contemporary sources that Francis Stephen, unlike his elder brother (and wunderkind) Léopold Clément, had little patience for academic studies.

In the same year that Desmarest penned his petition disaster struck in Lorraine. On 4 June, shortly before he was due to leave for Prague to attend the coronation of Charles VI as king of Bohemia, Léopold Clément died of smallpox. Long-standing plans for a marriage between the hereditary prince of Lorraine and the Austrian archduchess Maria Theresa, the so-called “Grande

⁵ MICHEL ANTOINE, *Henry Desmarest (1661-1741): Biographie Critique*, Paris, Picard, 1965, p. 132.

⁶ *A-Whh*, Lothringisches Hausarchiv (hereafter, LHA), 82-4, Bitt- und Beschwerdeschriften an verschiedene Angehörige des Hauses Lothringen oder von den Empfängern an diese weitergeleitet, undated, unfoliated.

⁷ “Il y a cinq ans que le Sr Desmarestz a l'honneur d'enseigner Messeigneurs et Mesdames les princesses et, par le passé, quatre à feu Mesdames les princesses”: MICHEL ANTOINE, *Henry Desmarest*, cit., p. 133.

affaire", seemed to be over. Only the quick thinking of the ambassador of Lorraine in Vienna, baron Nicolas de Jacquemin, saved the day, when he proposed Francis Stephen or his eleven-year-old brother Carl as the obvious alternatives during the meeting with Charles VI at which he delivered the news of Léopold Clément's passing.⁸ Jacquemin praised the good-natured qualities of the two brothers and emphasized their loyalty to the house of Habsburg despite their 'French' upbringing. This assurance convinced the emperor that he should welcome Francis Stephen in Prague, and that the plan for an alliance of the two houses should proceed notwithstanding the tragic circumstances.

After receiving rapid instruction in etiquette, the fourteen-year-old Francis Stephen departed from Lorraine on 31 July for Prague, where he arrived two weeks later. Here he would get his first taste of the sacred and secular musical world of the Habsburgs while witnessing one of the great musical events of the eighteenth century, the highlight of which was an outdoor performance of the coronation opera *Costanza e fortezza* by the imperial kapellmeister Johann Joseph Fux. Celebratory works by the vice-kapellmeister, Antonio Caldara, and the Vienna court composers Francesco Bartolomeo Conti and Giuseppe Porsile were also performed, giving Francis Stephen a chance to listen to and become acquainted with the outstanding singers and instrumentalists of the Vienna *Hofmusikkapelle* and the musically talented nobility who performed Porsile's work. Since music was being played all over Prague during the celebrations he must have heard some of the musicians who came from near and far: Tartini from Italy, De Fesch from Amsterdam and many virtuosos from Dresden – Silvius Leopold Weiss, the Graun brothers, Johann Joachim Quantz and Jan Dismas Zelenka, to name just a few.

One of the main attractions for the many visiting dignitaries was the rich and varied sacred music on offer in the Bohemian capital. During his four-month sojourn Francis Stephen is known to have attended Mass and Vespers in some local churches, and this experience would have brought him into contact with a mixture of Neapolitan, Venetian, imperial and local styles: music that was radically different from the *grands motets* of Desmarest with which he had grown up. Any connoisseur visiting Prague in 1723 would have wished to attend a concert given by one of the aristocratic ensembles in that city: for example, count Franz Joseph Czernin's *Kapelle*, or count Wenzel Morzin's "virtuosissima orchestra",⁹ the latter group no doubt well stocked for these celebrations with new Vivaldi compositions sent from Venice in June. The duke of Saxe-Meiningen, Anton Ulrich, notes in his diary how he was invited at short notice to Morzin's palace,¹⁰ where later, in the presence of members of the

⁸ RENATE ZEDINGER, *Franz Stephan von Lothringen (1708-1765): Monarch – Manager – Mäzen*, Vienna, Böhlau Verlag, 2008, pp. 33-34.

⁹ VÁCLAV KAPSA, *Hofmusici a lokajové. K postavení hudebníka na šlechtickém dvoře v Čechách první poloviny 18. století [Hofmusici and Lackeys. To the Status of a Musician at the Aristocratic Court in Bohemia in the First Half of the 18th Century]*, "Theatrum historiae", 6/9, 2011, pp. 241-255.

¹⁰ "Hat mich der Oberhand Hoffmeister Graff von Nostitz auf künfftigen diensttag zu gäste bitten

nobility, music was heard during and after dinner: “Auch beÿ Tisch eine schöne *Music* unter andern des *de Fesch* Nachtigall, und nach Tisch noch eine kleine *Cammer Music*, sonderl[ich] auf den *Basson* gemacht wurde”.¹¹ This is most probably a reference to bassoon concertos by Vivaldi and the soloist Antonín Möser. The following day, the duke received a parcel from Morzin with copies of the music presumably performed the previous evening, including six concertos by the Venetian master.¹² Similar invitations must have been extended from the same host to other noble guests visiting Prague, and while it is possible that Francis Stephen had already heard Vivaldi’s music in Lorraine, he certainly would have had the opportunity to hear his concertos performed at Morzin’s palace. With Vivaldi fever sweeping Bohemia in that period,¹³ his music was very likely also in the repertory of count Czernin’s *Kapelle*,¹⁴ and if so, Francis Stephen would probably have heard it on numerous occasions. Letters written to Lorraine from members of the prince’s entourage often refer to the many hours spent in the company of Czernin, either at the hunt or in his palace, where, for example, Francis Stephen’s birthday was celebrated on 8 December with an assembly and dinner.¹⁵

In Prague Francis Stephen also got to know two great connoisseurs of music who would later provide him with advice and assistance when it came to musical matters: the director of the imperial court music, prince Luigi (Lodovico) Pio of Savoy, and the eighteen-year-old count Adam Philipp Losy

lassen, ich habe mich aber entschuldiget, weilen beÿ der Graff *Marcin* schon *engagiret* war”: Meiningen, Staatsarchiv, Geheimes Archiv, XV T 35/4, *Journal. Zeit wehrenden Sejours zu Prag und Wien*. 1723., Prague, Saturday, 9 October 1723, f. 21b. Morzin must have invited Anton Ulrich to his forthcoming concert when he visited the duke at his residence on 5 October: *Ibid.*, f. 18b. Anton Ulrich paid Morzin another visit on 11 October: *Ibid.*, f. 23a.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, Prague, Tuesday, 12 October 1723, f. 24a. Anton Ulrich added: “da mit den Graff *Ferdinand Lamberg*, des Bischoffs von *Bassau* bruder, wegen des *Fesch* und seines *Discipels*, welchen Er gerne annehmen wolte, gesprochen”: *loc. cit.* Count Ferdinand Lamberg became the imperial music director in 1732. The presence of De Fesch and his “Discipel” in Morzin’s palace adds yet another dimension to the patronage of the Bohemian count. On 2 October Anton Ulrich wrote in his diary: “Dann ist Graff Carl von *Colowrat* beÿ mir gewesen, welche 3. *Concerte von de Fesch*, vor den Grafen *Marzin* mitgegeben”: *Ibid.*, f. 17a. When Anton Ulrich left for Meiningen after his three-year sojourn in Vienna (1725-1728), he took with him prints of De Fesch’s Opp. 1-4: see Appendix 1. The count of Kolovrat (Colowrat) was Karel Josef Novohradský (1692-1744), to whom Vivaldi had personally dedicated the libretto of the pasticcio *Lucio Papirio* (Venice, S. Angelo, carnival 1715).

¹² HERTA OESTERHELD, *Autographe, ja oder nein?*, in *Wertvolle Objekte und Sammlungen in den Museen des Bezirkes Suhl*, Meiningen, Staatliche Museen, 1974, pp. 91-107: 106, note 15.

¹³ VÁCLAV KAPSA, *Account Books, Names and Music: Count Wenzel von Morzin’s Virtuossissima Orchestra*, “Early Music”, 40/4, 2012, pp. 605-620: 605.

¹⁴ The outstanding musician in this group was the bassonist Johann Jacob Friedrich, who became a member of the imperial court orchestra in 1725. A violin concerto by Wenzel Kozák (Kosaque, Cosaque), the director of Czernin’s *Kapelle* at some point, is held by the Sächsische Landesbibliothek – Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Dresden (SLUB), shelfmark D-DI, Mus. 2706-O-1. The concerto is clearly influenced by Vivaldi.

¹⁵ A-Whh, LHA, 25-2, Schreiben an Herzog Leopold von Lothringen über den Gesundheitszustand und den Aufenthalt Franz Stephans in Prag und Wien, Father Günther to duke Léopold, Prague, 11 December 1723, f. 83b.

(Logy) of Losymthal, son of the famous Bohemian lutenist Johann Anton Losy of Losymthal. Both men performed in Porsile's birthday serenata for empress Elisabeth, *Il giorno felice*, where Pio played the violin and Losy took one of the three vocal roles.¹⁶ But there are no reports of Francis Stephen performing music while in Prague, for he clearly possessed neither the experience nor the skills to share the musical stage with the other members of the nobility. Most of the time, he was attending to his studies, out hunting, visiting the palaces of the Bohemian aristocrats, sightseeing and slowly getting to know the imperial couple, who warmed to the young prince of Lorraine as time went by.

VIENNA

Francis Stephen left Prague in mid-December 1723 and arrived in Vienna one week later. He was accommodated at the Hofburg in the apartment of the late dowager empress Eleonor, mother of Charles VI. For the next four-and-a-half years Francis Stephen would follow a strict educational programme prepared by his father in order to compensate for his neglected studies in Lorraine, but there was no place for music in the timetable. However, since the emperor had agreed personally to oversee the education of Francis Stephen, room was specially made in the schedule so he could continue with his keyboard studies. The private accounts of the prince show that within three months of his arrival a small organ had been brought to his apartment,¹⁷ and some time between April and August a harpsichord was purchased through one of his servants.¹⁸ This clearly suggests that the emperor had already by then directed the composer and court organist Gottlieb Muffat to be Francis Stephen's teacher, a fact confirmed in the dedication to Muffat's second publication, his *Componimenti musicali* (1736/1739), where the composer styles himself keyboard teacher to Francis Stephen and the archduchesses Maria Theresa and Maria Anna.¹⁹ Payments from Francis Stephen for the tuning and repairs of his keyboard instruments show that they were in active use during the mid-1720s. Moreover, in a petition to the Vienna court from 1729, the organ-builder Johann Leydecker states that he had "Ihren König: Hoheit dem Herzog von Lothringen p. die Instrumenta stimme und verfertiget habe".²⁰ This information confirms that the keyboard – certainly harpsichord, but perhaps also organ – was the

¹⁶ ALFRED ERCK – HANNELORE SCHNEIDER, *Musiker und Monarchen in Meiningen 1680 bis 1763*, Meiningen, Bielsteinverlag, 2006, p. 192.

¹⁷ "a celuy qui a apporté une petite orgue a Mg.^r 1 [kreuzer]; pour l'orgue de son oyseau 20 [florins]: A-Whh, LHA, 26-2, Fast ausschließlich Höflichkeitsschreiben an Franz Stephan, 1723-1729, [January-March 1724], f. 654a.

¹⁸ "Zahlte Laut Rechnung und quitung an den Cammerdiener Asole pr ein erkaufftes Clauesin vor Ihro Durchl. f[lorins]. 100": *Ibid.*, f. 608a. This payment occurred between 16 April and 2 August 1724: *Ibid.*, f. 5a.

¹⁹ ALISON J. DUNLOP, *The Life and Works of Gottlieb Muffat (1690-1770)*, Vienna, Hollitzer Wissenschaftsverlag, 2013, p. 84.

²⁰ The petition of Leydecker is undated but was processed on 23 June 1729: A-Whh, Obersthofmeisteramtsakten (OMeA), Ältere Reihe (ÄR), 25, 1729, unfoliated. The organ and instrument

main instrument of Francis Stephen during the mid-to-late 1720s. As we will later see, the prince must also have taken singing lessons, perhaps with the tenor Francesco Borosini, since there are subsequent signs that he was on good terms with this singer.

The private accounts prove a valuable source of information about Francis Stephen's expenditure on music during his early years in Vienna. Sadly, the quarterly entries have survived only for the period from January 1724 up to October 1727,²¹ and payments are entered without specific dates. In addition to the examples given above, a payment is listed for a couple of horns bought from Johann Leichamschneider,²² who, together with his brother Michael, was the main brass instrument maker in Vienna. These horns were destined for Francis Stephen's valets from Lorraine, Hartmann and Gütter, who received a healthy supplement to their annual salaries and frequent bonuses for their playing,²³ both in the chamber and during the hunt. The horn players of the Viennese nobility benefited similarly from Francis Stephen's love of the instrument, as shown by generous payments to the “fameux sonneur du Cors de Chasse du Prince de Schwartzemberg”,²⁴ and “aux Cors de Chasse du Comte d'Altheim – ayant aussi fait musique à Monseigneur”,²⁵ plus numerous other, unnamed players. Further payments for musical services include, for example, ones to a trumpet-playing priest;²⁶ an “extraordinary flute player”;²⁷ a harpist – who might well have been Francis Stephen's doorkeeper, Leopold Ulrich von Kolbenthurn, who was specially engaged by the emperor himself, probably on account of his musical and linguistic abilities;²⁸ for copies of minuets, which the prince sent to his mother in Lorraine;²⁹ and “Aux valets de Francisquiello

maker Georg Rausch also tuned Francis Stephen's keyboards, according to his undated petition in 1733: *A-Whh*, OMeA, ÄR, 29, 1733, unfoliated.

²¹ *A-Whh*, LHA, 26-2, ff. 594a-741b.

²² “Payé a Jean Leichamschneider pour deux Cornes de Chasse et un etuit suivant son compte et quittance 40 [fl.]”: *Ibid.*, [January-March 1725], f. 604b.

²³ “Aux Valets de pied qui sonnent du Cor, p.r augmentation de gages ou gratification 67 [fl.] 40 [kr.]”: *Ibid.*, [October-December 1724], f. 677b.

²⁴ This is almost certainly Jan Černohorský, who was the favourite horn player of count Adam Franz Schwarzenberg; see JANA FRANKOVÁ, *Music at the Court of Adam Franz and Joseph Adam Von Schwarzenberg: Vienna, Český Krumlov and Paris and Transitions at [recte, up] to the End of Baroque Era*, “*Musicologica Brunensia*”, 47/1, 2012, pp. 159-177: 161-162. Černohorský received 6 ducats (25 fl.) for his playing: *A-Whh*, LHA, 26-2, [July-September 1727], f. 597b.

²⁵ These horn players were paid 16 fl., 40 kr.: *loc. cit.* During the same period a payment was made “à 4. sonneurs du Cors de Chasse ayant fait une musique à Monseigneur, 8 [fl.], 20 [kr.]”: *Ibid.*, f. 598a. Music for two and four horns was readily being offered for sale in manuscript in Vienna at that time: see Appendix 1.

²⁶ “a un pâtre qui a sonné de la Trompette”: *A-Whh*, LHA, 26-2, [July-September 1724], f. 667a.

²⁷ “a un homme qui joüoit extraordinairement de la flute et qui s'est fait entendre de Monseigneur, 2 [fl.]”: *Ibid.*, [April-June 1726], f. 725b.

²⁸ “a un joüeur de harpe, 1 [fl.]” (two payments): *Ibid.*, [April-June 1726], f. 726a. Kolbenthurn's petition can be seen in *A-Whh*, OMeA, ÄR, 26, 1730, unfoliated.

²⁹ “A celui qui a copié les menuets envoyés a S. A. R. Madame, 4 [fl], 15 [kr.]”: *A-Whh*, LHA, 26-2, [January-March 1725] f. 688a.

[Francesco Alborea] fameux musicien de Naples quand il à fait un Concert chés Monseigneur”,³⁰ shortly after the cellist arrived in Vienna in autumn 1726, having been summoned to the Habsburg capital by Charles VI.³¹

The most interesting payment occurred in the third quarter of 1727, when Francis Stephen made over a large sum to the musicians of count Losy, “ayant plusieurs fois fait musique à Monseigneur”.³² This act confirms that the two young men were already spending much time together and forming what would become a lifelong friendship.³³ Little is known about Losy’s *Kapelle*. The count himself played the double bass and, like his father, must have been competent on other instruments as well. Losy’s violinist and “erster Musico” Ferdinand Grossauer, who served the count from 1727, was “ein sehr guter Virtuos, welcher eine treffliche arcada, gute Intonation, perfectes Tempo und musicalisches Gehör hat”, according to Fux.³⁴ If the concertos of Vivaldi formed part of the repertory of Losy’s ensemble, which seems entirely plausible, given the count’s connection with Prague and Bohemia, a soloist of Grassauer’s calibre would have had no problems in executing them. Indeed, one might even speculate that the music played by an ensemble attached to a bright young

³⁰ *Ibid.*, [July-September 1726], f. 741a. The valets received 4 fl.

³¹ “Poiché con somma, e preziosa mia ventura ho avuta la sorte d’esser chiamato dalla clemenza Augustissima della Sacra Cesarea, e Cattolica Reale Maestà Vostra [...]” Alborea’s undated petition for salary and free lodging, accompanied by Fux’s remarks on the virtuosity of this cellist, was discussed and dealt with by the *Obersthofmeisteramt* and Charles VI on 14 November 1726: *A-Whh*, OMeA, ÄR, 22, 1725-1726, unfoliated.

³² Losy’s musicians shared 50 ducats (208 fl., 20 kr.): *A-Whh*, LHA, 26-2, [July-September 1727], f. 599a.

³³ Francis Stephen’s deep affection for Losy was well known. When the duke’s forthcoming marriage with Maria Theresa was discussed in 1734, it was thought that Losy would enter his service: “L’on ne doute quasi pas que Loggi sera fait Grand Ecuier du Duc, le Duc l’aime, et il est gendre de l’Aja, qui ira comme Grande maitresse”: *A-Wava*, FA, Harrach Fam. in spec 527.1, Harrach, Graf Ferdinand Bonaventura Harrach II., Korrespondenz mit Friedrich August Harrach, 1729-1739, Ferdinand Bonaventura Harrach to Friedrich August Harrach, 31 March 1734, unfoliated. Losy was married to countess Ernestine Fuchs, whose mother was countess Karoline Fuchs-Mollard, “Aja” (aide) to Maria Theresa and later her much-admired *Obersthofmeisterin*. Losy’s wife could well be the “La Frajla [Fräulein] Contessa Fixin” who sang in chamber works at court alongside Maria Theresa and her sister Maria Anna. In 1755 Maria Theresa’s *Obersthofmeister*, count Johann Joseph Khevenhüller-Metsch, recorded in his diary the emotional reaction of Francis Stephen on the day when Losy’s mother, countess Franziska Claudia Losy, née Strassoldo, suffered a stroke that led to her death: “Ich ware eben mit dem Kaiser in der französischen Comédie und begleite also selben im Hin- und Hergehen aus und wieder zuruck nach der Capellen. Da dieser Herr bekanter Massen sehr ville Freundschaft für den Losi und seine Frau heget, so sahe mann ihm die Empfindlichkeit über dise betrübte Begebenheit recht im Gesichte an”. See ELISABETH GROSSEGGGER, *Theater, Feste und Feiern zur Zeit Maria Theresias. 1742-1776. Nach den Tagebucheintragen des Fürsten Johann Joseph Khevenhüller-Metsch, Obersthofmeister der Kaiserin*, Vienna, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1987, entry for 23 November 1755, p. 160.

³⁴ In his undated (early 1732) application for a position in the *Hofmusikkapelle* Graussauer stated that he had been in the service of “count Sereni” for four years before entering the employment of count Losy: *A-Whh*, OMeA, ÄR, 28, 1732, unfoliated. He was engaged for the imperial orchestra at an annual salary of 500 fl.

spark such as Losy influenced the musical taste of Francis Stephen. Another important mentor for the prince on musical matters was Charles VI, whose preference for a strict contrapuntal style governed all music-making at his court. For the emperor, the learned style represented not only the musical traditions of his predecessors but also “the bond between the imperial house of Habsburg and the church”.³⁵ He would have made his future son-in-law aware of his responsibilities in this respect, and employing the contrapuntist Muffat as Francis Stephen’s teacher served that purpose well.

VIVALDI AND THE VIOLIN

In June 1728, the imperial couple, Maria Theresa, Francis Stephen and their retinue departed for the *Erbhuldigung* of Inner Austria. Following the celebrations in Graz, Klagenfurt, Ljubljana (Laibach) and Gorizia (Görtz),³⁶ the emperor continued his journey to Trieste. On 9 September, the evening before his public entry into the city, the emperor met Vivaldi at the stud farm in Lipica, where the composer held a private recital for him and a selected audience of his closest advisers. After the concert, where music from the *La cetra* manuscript collection was performed alongside other works, the composer received a medal as a reward for his playing – but no chain, as previously believed.³⁷ Later that night, Charles VI and Vivaldi engaged in a long conversation during which the emperor offered the composer his advice, no doubt emphasizing his view on the importance of counterpoint in composition. In these circumstances, Vivaldi would have had no choice but to take notice. Following this extraordinary meeting with the most powerful man in the empire, Vivaldi’s mind turned increasingly towards counterpoint, so much so that Michael Talbot has even written of the “Germanization” of his style.³⁸

Meanwhile, Francis Stephen remained in Graz, where he enjoyed the opera and the hunt before leaving for Trieste on 5 September. He arrived there in the afternoon of 10 September and was reunited with the emperor and formally introduced to the two specially appointed Venetian ambassadors, Pietro Cappello and Andrea Corner, before taking in the sights of the city. The next day, Francis Stephen witnessed the official acts of homage from the subjects of Trieste and the public entry of the Venetian ambassadors, before accompanying the emperor to the harbour, where they inspected a newly built warship. He left Trieste early on 12 September, and on his way to Fiume (Rijeka) he visited the stud farm in Lipica at the recommendation of the emperor.

I have already suggested that, while in Trieste, Francis Stephen first listened

³⁵ WARREN KIRKENDALE, *Fugue and Fugato in Rococo and Classical Chamber Music*, 2nd edition, Durham (NC), Duke University Press, 1979, p. 3.

³⁶ In my article “Zu Lippiza den venetian: Ersten Musico eine Medalie”, cit., p. 6, I incorrectly stated that the emperor had travelled to Lipica from Graz: in fact, he arrived from Gorizia.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 9-10.

³⁸ MICHAEL TALBOT, *Vivaldi and Fugue* (“Quaderni vivaldiani”, 15), Florence, Olschki, 2009, p. 82.

to Vivaldi in a private recital on the evening of his arrival.³⁹ Three things support this hypothesis. First, neither the court diary nor other published accounts of the *Erbhuldigung* reveal what Francis Stephen – who was one of the high-profile guests in Trieste – did that evening. Second, in Donadoni’s detailed report of the celebrations in Trieste, there is no mention of any music being played during the lavish evening dinner held that night at the palace of Montanelli for the Italian ambassadors and their entourage,⁴⁰ which strongly suggests that the Venetian musicians were occupied elsewhere. Third, this evening presented the only opportunity for Francis Stephen personally to meet Vivaldi and discuss music with him, given the formalities of the programme on 11 September. On that day the composer performed twice in his official capacity as the musical representative of Venice: first during lunch (“al concerto di isquisitissima musica”) and later during dinner (“alla melodia di isquisitissima musica”).⁴¹

Confirmation of a meeting between the two men emerges from a previously unknown letter written by Vivaldi to Francis Stephen on 28 May 1729 (reproduced as Illustrations 1 and 2):⁴²

Altezza Serenissima

Assicurato della Clementis[si]ma Benignità di V[ostra] A[ltezza] S[erenissima], che d’ogni intorno rimbomba, ardisco comparirle avanti con questi umilis[si]mi parti della mia debole penna. La perfetta cognitione che V. A. S. si compiace avere p[er] la Musica, et in particolare p[er] le compositioni Istrumentali, mi hà dato coraggio p[er] mettermi à piedi di V. A. S., et offerirle con li medemi la mia profundis[si]ma osservanza. Suplico con tutto lo Spirito la Sovragrande Clemenza di V. A. S. degnarsi di guardarli con l’occhio della di lei solita Generosis[si]ma Benignità, e permettermi in avvenire, ch’io possa vivere sotto l’ombra felice del di lei Gloriosis[si]mo Nome, e possa con l’onore di qualche Veneratis[si]mo Cen[n]o di V. A. S. aquistarmi la Gloria di rassegnarmi
Di V. A. S.

Venetia 28 Mag[gi]o 1729

Humilis[si]mo Devot[issim]o Osseq[uiossi]mo Servitore
Antonio Vivaldi

Written in the shadow of a national tragedy in Lorraine, where duke Léopold had died on 27 March 1729, Vivaldi’s short but informative letter, which also serves as a dedication for the accompanying music, shows how clever he was when it came to ‘playing’ his patrons. His main aim was clearly to

³⁹ JÓHANNES ÁGÚSTSSON, “Zu Lippiza den venetian: Ersten Musico eine Medalie”, cit., p. 11.

⁴⁰ GIOVANNI CASIMIRO DONADONI, *Relazione della venuta e permanenza nella città di Trieste della S. C. Real Catt. Maestà di Carlo Sesto imperatore de’ Romani, re delle Spagne, ecc. ecc. nel settembre MDCCXXVIII*, Trieste, Tipografia Weis, 1828, pp. 32-33.

⁴¹ JÓHANNES ÁGÚSTSSON, “Zu Lippiza den venetian: Ersten Musico eine Medalie”, cit., p. 10.

⁴² *A-Whh*, LHA, 26-2, ff. 491a-492b. The secretary who filed the letter wrote on the back of it that it was “De M.r Ant.o Rivaldi”.

seek an honorary title from the young heir to the duchy of Lorraine, but he must also have been looking further ahead. Like many others, he knew that Francis Stephen was being groomed to become the husband of Maria Theresa and in time would hold an even more important position of power and influence. The composer was well used to penning such profusely flattering letters: indeed, he would later famously boast of his wide network of princely correspondents.⁴³ The young and inexperienced recipient, however, was still unaccustomed to the formalities of such correspondence, so he must have been impressed by the honour he was shown by one of the greatest composers and virtuosos of the day. When Vivaldi compliments the duke on his “perfect understanding [...] of music”, he must be referring to their conversation in Trieste. We can only speculate about the content of their discussion, but Francis Stephen presumably mentioned his studies with Desmarest and Muffat, and that he played keyboard instruments. When the composer specifically praises Francis Stephen’s understanding of “instrumental compositions”, one can perhaps catch a glimpse of his own vanity, for I suspect he is referring to Francis Stephen’s praise of his own music.

The one remaining detail in Vivaldi’s letter to be discussed concerns the identity of the music sent to Francis Stephen. When one considers the surviving works that the composer dedicated to a patron or a customer, one manuscript immediately comes to mind as a possible model or even candidate for the music presented to the duke. It has long been believed that the recipient of the so-called “Paris” ripieno concertos was the French ambassador in Venice, Jacques-Vincent Languet, comte de Gergy, and that these may have been only one of several commissioned works that the composer delivered to him in the mid-1720s. The alternative suggestion is that the twelve concertos were intended for a French visitor to Venice in the ambassador’s circle. Both hypotheses are based on the fact that the surviving set of parts, in the calligraphic hand of Vivaldi’s father Giovanni Battista, is held by the library of the Paris Conservatoire, but nothing is known of the manuscript’s provenance before it entered this collection. Further, two of the concertos exhibit distinctly ‘Gallic’ features, a fact implying that the composer customized the set especially for a recipient of French origin, or for one who was thoroughly acquainted with that style.

But is it possible that these were the very concertos accompanying the letter to Francis Stephen? I pose the question since they seem almost tailor-made for Vivaldi’s young new patron. It has been pointed out that the music displays an unusually strong contrapuntal character.⁴⁴ It seems strange that Vivaldi would suddenly alter his compositional methods for the ambassador or an unknown French customer, given that fugue was not then particularly fashionable in

⁴³ Regarding these, see CARLO VITALI, *I nove “principi d’altezza” corrispondenti di Vivaldi e la dedica enigmatica del Concerto RV 574. Alla ricerca dell’indirizzario perduto*, “Informazioni e studi vivaldiani”, 16, 1995, pp. 59-89.

⁴⁴ See, for example, Federico Maria Sardelli’s liner notes in the CD booklet for the excellent recording of the *XII Concerti di Parigi* by Modo Antiquo (Tactus, 1999), p. 5.

France. On the contrary: the concertos seem to have been carefully assembled from works in his personal archive for someone with a distinct predilection for counterpoint – which leads us directly to Vienna, the emperor and Francis Stephen. If this was the first musical offering dedicated to the young duke of Lorraine after he took over the reins, he would almost certainly have shown the music to his mentor, the emperor, with their encounter with the composer fresh in their minds. Obtaining recognition from the emperor via an intermediary – in this instance, Francis Stephen – was the normal *modus operandi* at the Habsburg court,⁴⁵ and Vivaldi may have wanted to demonstrate to Charles VI that he had heeded his musical advice given in Trieste. This hypothesis supports Michael Talbot's suggestion that the composer sought to "impress the emperor" by writing in the contrapuntal style from this period onwards.⁴⁶ Moreover, the close temporal proximity of Vivaldi's letter to the public entry of the imperial ambassador to Venice, count Giuseppe Bolagnos (José de Bolaños), on 15 and 16 May 1729, is perhaps no coincidence, for this occasion would have presented the perfect opportunity for the composer to pay homage to the musical preferences of the emperor with a careful selection of works in the learned style. The instrumental music performed at the embassy over the two days was very likely supplied by Vivaldi, following his new-found favour with Charles VI. Count Bolagnos's report of the celebration at the imperial embassy on 15 May included a description of "a raised structure holding forty players of various instruments", and the symphonic character of these ripieno concertos would have made them ideal performance material for such a large group of musicians.⁴⁷ This leaves out of the reckoning the two 'Gallic' concertos, which seem like a late addition to the set – but these could well be Vivaldi's subtle tribute to the 'French' musical upbringing of Francis Stephen and to the duke's knowledge of the national style of that country, following on from their discussion in Trieste. The duke might even have played the harpsichord in a performance of the concertos, perhaps together with his friend Losy and his musicians, and later with his own ensemble. The fact that Vivaldi meticulously wrote in some supplementary markings specifically in the *Cembalo* (bass) part, thereby giving the collection his 'stamp of approval' and confirming his personal involvement, suggests in addition that the intended recipient was a player of the harpsichord.⁴⁸ Indeed, by sending Francis Stephen a selection of ripieno concertos with no specific solo player, Vivaldi would have obviated possible issues of rank and thus averted the danger of offending his dedicatee.

This is, of course, only speculation. If these were the concertos sent by the composer, it is difficult but not impossible to explain how they ended up in

⁴⁵ MICHA ANDREAS PEČAR, *Die Ökonomie der Ehre. Höfischer Adel am Kaiserhof Karls VI*, Darmstadt, Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2003, pp. 92-103.

⁴⁶ MICHAEL TALBOT, *Vivaldi and Fugue*, cit., p. 76.

⁴⁷ JÓHANNES ÁGÚSTSSON, "Zu Lippiza den venetian: Ersten Musico eine Medalie", cit., p. 12.

⁴⁸ In the first half of the eighteenth century the designation "Cembalo" is often employed in a generic sense to mean any keyboard instrument or even any bass part *tout court* – but when Vivaldi uses it, he does normally appear to refer specifically to the named instrument.

Paris. At all events, the purpose of Vivaldi's letter was served. At some point, almost certainly when the two men met in Vienna in October or the beginning of November 1729, it was agreed that Vivaldi would become Francis Stephen's *maestro di cappella*, and he is thus styled in many of the librettos of his operas from 1731 onwards. The fact that some of these librettos add “di camera” to the title suggests that his role was limited to supplying the duke and his musicians with music of a ‘secular’ kind, exactly as earlier at Mantua under the same title.

All the indications are that meeting and listening to Vivaldi in Trieste had a profound and lasting effect on Francis Stephen. It led him to take up the violin,⁴⁹ an instrument more suitable than the harpsichord for a person of his rank. Some time after his return from Inner Austria in mid-October 1728, arrangements were made for him to study the violin with the composer, violinist and keyboard player Leopold Thomas Timmer (Timer), who was initially engaged as Francis Stephen's valet with an annual salary of 500 florins, and later appointed his “*Cammer-Musique-Director*”, according to Leopold's employment contract dated 14 September 1729.⁵⁰ The fact that Timmer's additional salary of 300 florins as music director was backdated to 1 April 1729, only three days after the death of duke Léopold in Lorraine, suggests that he had been teaching Francis Stephen already prior to his official appointment.

Leopold was one of seven sons of Mathias Timmer, a former choral director at the Dorothea church in Vienna, and later a musician at St Stephen. Six of the brothers became musicians: two were members of the *Hofmusikkapelle*, while the other four entered the service of Francis Stephen. In 1727 Leopold was one of six violinists who applied for a vacant position in the *Hofmusikkapelle*. From his petition we learn that he had been playing the violin in the imperial orchestra without salary for six years. In his comments on Leopold's application Fux praised his diligence and eagerness to improve his music skills, before adding that Leopold had “high hopes of becoming a distinguished virtuoso”.⁵¹ During

⁴⁹ It has been mooted that Francis Stephen studied the violin with Desmarest in Lorraine: see WALTER BRAUNEIS, *Ein Kaiser aus Lothringen mit musikalischen Ambitionen – Eine Annäherung, in Innsbruck 1765: Prunkvolle Hochzeit, fröhliche Feste, tragischer Ausklang*, ed. Renate Zedinger, Bochum, Verlag Dr. Dieter Winkler, 2015, p. 125. However, the page that Brauneis cites from Desmarest's biography as evidence for his statement does not mention any study of the violin by Francis Stephen with that composer: *Ibid.*, pp. 128-129.

⁵⁰ “Unserm in Wienn bestalten General Einnehmern und lieben getreuen *Isider Hoffman* anzudeuten; demnach Wir unßerm Cammerdiener *Leopold Diemer* [Timmer] nebst würcklich genießend alljährigen Fünf Hundert Gulden alß Unsern Cammer-Musique-Director noch 300. f. g[nädi]gst zu gelegt, so werdet ihr solche *Summi* vom 1.^{ten} *Aprilis* dieses laufenden Jahres ihm Künftighin aus zahlen wird solche in die gewöhnliche Cassa Rechnung als eine richtige ausgaab eintragen laßen. Urkündlich unßer eigener handschrift und geheimber Cantzleÿ Insiegel. Geben Wienn den 14.^{ten} 7.^{bris} 1729”: *A-Whh*, LHA, 117-3, Ein Band Abschriften von Schreiben des Herzogs Franz Stephan von Lothringen 1722-1731, ff. 108b-109a.

⁵¹ “Leopold Timer, *Violinista*, welcher auch bereits in des 6^{te} iahr ohne besoldung an Kay: Hof dienet, kombt allerundterth[änigst], ein umb die durch ableiben *Francisi* Reinhardts erledigte *Violinsten* stelle. Dieser *Supplicant* hat durch dise 6 iähr nit allein mit sonderbahrer embsigkeit diennet, sondern zieget auch einen grossen eÿfer sich immer mehrer in der *Musique* zu *perfectioniren*:

this period some of his compositions were heard at court,⁵² both in the church and in the chamber, which shows that Fux and Pio, respectively, found them worthy of reaching the ears of the emperor. Anton Ulrich clearly thought highly of the music of Leopold Timmer and purchased a now missing Mass⁵³ and two cantatas, which both still exist.⁵⁴ He also bought a violin sonata by Timmer, but that copy,⁵⁵ along with several hundred instrumental compositions acquired by the duke in Prague in 1723 and during his stay in Vienna in 1725-1728, is regrettably lost. The full extent of the fascinating vocal collection of Anton Ulrich, which includes the two Timmer cantatas, is already well known through an important article by Lawrence Bennett,⁵⁶ but the catalogue of this duke's impressive instrumental collection has hitherto received little attention. It is published here for the first time as Appendix 1. The collection includes a number of works by Vivaldi, which I will discuss later.

Leopold Timmer's employment contract as music director is of great importance, for it places the establishment of Francis Stephen's chamber ensemble at a much earlier date than previously imagined. Four other musicians were formally appointed on 1 November 1729,⁵⁷ but this group might well have

dergestaltt das er grosse hoffnung gibet ein disguinuirter *Virtuos* zu wer. Überlasse also Ihre Kay. allerg[nädig]sten belieben diesen *Supplicanten* auf allerundterth[änigst]: gebettene, [...] auf andere weiß allerg[nädig]st zu consoliren". Leopold Timmer's petition was presented at court on 14 October 1727, and submitted to the emperor on 15 November 1727 with the following accompanying words: "5.^{to} *Leopold Timmer* auch in schlagung des *Clawiers*, und in der *Composition* erfahrrer, die Hoff-Capellen so wohl, alß Cammer-Music schon ins 6.te Jahr ohne *Salario* frequentirend violinist": A-Wlh, OMeA, ÄR, 23, 1727, unfoliated.

⁵² "Wan nun ich mich so wohl in Key: *Capellen* als Cammer nicht weniger in dem geigen-schlag, als in *producirung* etwelcher *Partien* meiner wenigen *Composition* durch fast ganzer sechs Jahr ohne versaummung eines Key: dienst allerunterthä: ohne *Solario* habe bis hieher gebrauchen lasßen": *loc. cit.*

⁵³ "Den Käyser: *Copisten* vor 4 Messe, neml. von Capellmeister *Fux*. *Caldara*., Ötel. u. *Thiemar* [Timmer]. zu sammen 8. *Duc.* à 4 f. 9. x. 33 f 12 x": Meiningen, Staatsarchiv, Geh. Archiv, XV T 54/4, [Anton Ulrich's account book, 27.3.1727-29.4.1728], payment of 23 June 1727, f. 39a. The Timmer Mass is not listed amongst the sacred works sent back to Meiningen in 1728.

⁵⁴ "den Kay's. *Copisten* vor ein *Duet* von *Timer* 5 f. 6 xr."; *Ibid.*, payment of 28 June 1727, f. 41b. This is the *Cantata Pastorale* à 2. *Voci Amarilli, e Nise con Istromenti*, former shelfmark D-MElr-Ed 152i; this copy was auctioned and purchased by the ÖNB, where it received its present shelfmark: A-Wn, Mus. Hs. 43002. The second cantata, *A l'apparir di risplendente Aurora*, shelfmark D-MElr, Ed 115/4, is included in a volume (dated 1727) of eight cantatas: four by Georg Reutter jr., two by Ignazio Maria Conti and one each by Borosini and Timmer. See LAWRENCE BENNETT, *A Little-Known Collection of Early-Eighteenth-Century Vocal Music at Schloss Elisabethenburg, Meiningen*, "Fontes artis musicae", 48, 2001, pp. 250-302: 272.

⁵⁵ "Den Kayser: *Copisten*: vor zwey Concert von *Pernetmer*, und *Zani*, wie auch 2. *Sonaten*, von *Timer* und *Gerhauser*. Zu sammen 3 *Duc.* 12. f. 30. xr.": Meiningen, Staatsarchiv, Geh. Archiv, XV T 54/3, [Anton Ulrich's account book, 13.9.1726-26.3.1727], payment of 18 December 1726, f. 98b. The *Sonata, Violino Solo col Basso. de Sig. Timer* is listed under "Aneingebundne Musicalien, Stuck vor Instrumente, number 29"; see Appendix 1.

⁵⁶ LAWRENCE BENNETT, *A Little-Known Collection*, cit.

⁵⁷ "Wir, Frantz T.^a Uhrkunden, und bekennen hiermit, daß Wir zu Unßerm Cammer Musicanten den *Joseph Ferdinand Diemer* [Timmer] g[nädig]st dergestalten auf und angenommen, daß er sich vor

been playing together for some time beforehand. Leopold's youngest brother, the singer and violinist Joseph Ferdinand Timmer, was the second highest paid musician, earning 500 florins. Like Leopold, Joseph Ferdinand had been performing in the imperial orchestra for years without any salary. In December 1728, after submitting at least three applications for a position, he was finally engaged by the court as a *supernumerari tenorist*,⁵⁸ singing alongside his elder brother and namesake Joseph, who was one of the finest singers of the *Hofmusikkapelle*. An important piece of information that can be gleamed from Joseph Ferdinand's petitions to the court is the fact that as an auxiliary member he not only sang in the church and the chamber but also played the violin, the viola and the violone⁵⁹ – and this degree of versatility is a characteristic that one associates with the Timmers. In time, Joseph Ferdinand became the best-known member of the family because of his compositions for the violin: both concertos and sonatas. He is often, and easily, confused with his homonymous brother (who was also a fine violinist, according to Fux), and the way in which he signed his petitions – simply as Joseph Timmer – has certainly not helped.

Besides Leopold Timmer and his brothers Joseph Ferdinand and Carl, Francis Stephen's chamber group included Mathias Liedtmaÿr, the son of a former bass singer in the *Hofmusikkapelle*, and Joseph Kien (Khien, Kühn),⁶⁰ but I have not been able to find any information in primary sources on which instruments they played. In all probability, this initial version of Francis

allen dingen eines Ehrbahren lebens und Wandels befleißigen, und Uns hiernechst getreue, hold, und gewürtig sein sollen dargegen werden ihme nebst freÿen Quartier zur ergetzlichkeit seines dienste jährlichen 550. f. weihnisch aus Unser geheimer *Cassa* zur besoldung, und zwar von 3. zu 3. monathen gegen Quittung gereichet; welches er also mit unterthänigst danck angenommen, und deme allen wie obstehet, nachzukommen Versprochen. Uhrkundlich haben Wir Uns eigenhändig unterschrieben, und Unser Herzog: Geheimbder Cantzleÿ Insiegel wissentlich Vortruckten laßen. Gegeben Wien d. 1.^{ten} 9.^{bris} 1729": A-Whh, LHA, 117-3, ff. 109b-110a.

⁵⁸ Joseph Ferdinand was admitted to the *Hofmusikkapelle* on 17 December 1728, with an annual salary of 200 fl.: A-Whh, OMeA, ÄR, 25, 1729, unfoliated. He later sought the help of Luigi Pio to be relieved of his duties so he could enter the service of Francis Stephen. However, shortly after arriving in Luneville he sent a bizarre petition to the Vienna court, requesting to be put back on the payroll and citing an unexplained "unglukhs-fahl" (accident): A-Whh, OMeA, ÄR, 26, 1730, undated but presented on 29 December 1729, unfoliated. The petition was received with great surprise by Fux, but was rejected outright.

⁵⁹ "Werffer mich Euer Key: und König: Cath: Maÿ: zu füßßen, allerunthä[nig]st: hinterbringend, was gestalten, nachdeme Ihro Aller Höchste Maÿ: zum Heiligen Creüz in anhörung meiner stim ein allerg[nä]d[ig]stes gefahren getragen, von beeden *Instanzen* der Key: *Music* nach gepflogener *prob* mir so wohl die Key: *Capellen*, als Cammer An: 1725 zu *frequentiren*, der *Consens* ertheilet worden, in desßen erhaltung gleich beÿ ersten eintritt mich in *Concert*- wie auch in *Cantaten*-singen, auch auf verlangen in dem *Violin*, *Brazzen*, und *Violon* durch 3 ganze jahr ohne [ge]ringsten *solario* bis hie her ohne versaumung einiges Key: dienstes allerunt: gebrauchen laßen. [...] Zu deme habe auch beede Verrwitt: Key: Maÿ: als *Magdalena Theresia* [...] und *Amaliam* als *Altist* durch etwelche jahr bedienet": A-Whh, OMeA, ÄR, 24, 1727-1728, unfoliated.

⁶⁰ "NB. In gleicher *form* – seind noch dreÿ andere für die Cammer *Musicanten* S: König. Hoheit: nemblich *Joseph Anthoni Kühn*; *Mathias Anthoni Liedmaÿer* und *Carl Ferdinand Diemer* unter obigen dato expedirt worden": A-Whh, LHA, 117-3, 1722-1731, f. 110a.

Stephen's *Kapelle* was a string ensemble consisting of three violins, viola and a basso continuo section: it was for this combination of instruments that Joseph Ferdinand composed his existing violin concertos. This formation also permitted performance of the standard repertory for the violin, including Vivaldi's concertos "a 5" for that instrument.

This brings us to one of the many possible reasons for Vivaldi's enigmatic journey to the Habsburg lands. On 30 September 1729 his father requested one year's leave of absence from his employers at S. Marco to travel with his son to "Germania", so the invitation extended to the composer was very likely planned and dispatched from Vienna around the middle of that month – about the same time that Leopold Timmer was being appointed music director and plans for Francis Stephen's ensemble were being drawn up. It would therefore seem logical to assume that the duke was behind the invitation, but on closer scrutiny we can almost wholly exclude this possibility. The date of Francis Stephen's anticipated journey to Lorraine, originally scheduled for May 1729, had repeatedly been delayed, and it was only on 11 October that he decided to depart at the end of that month or at the beginning of November.⁶¹ So it seems unlikely that Francis Stephen would request Vivaldi's presence in Vienna for such a short time. When Vivaldi arrived in Vienna in October 1729, he might indeed have had the chance to play together with Francis Stephen, perhaps even giving him a lesson or two, even if he was on other business in the city. But there are still no reports suggesting that the composer performed at the Habsburg court during this time. He had almost certainly been approached by the impresario Francesco Borosini to compose and direct an opera at the Kärntertortheater. This turned out to be *Argippo* (RV 697), which was performed at that theatre some time early in 1730, and later in Prague that same year.⁶²

LORRAINE

On 9 November 1729 Francis Stephen, travelling *incognito* as count Blamont, departed for Lorraine. He was accompanied by a very modest retinue consisting mostly of Germans, including the musicians of his newly formed chamber ensemble in the guise of servants. Their first stop was Prague, where Francis Stephen stayed for a few days and twice visited the opera of count Sporck, who dedicated the libretto of an anonymous *Aristeo* to the duke. An unnamed set of intermezzi by Giovanni Battista Pescetti, the text of which corresponds to his *La cantatrice*, was most likely performed with the opera.⁶³ Francis Stephen's visit and kindness to Sporck was a welcome consolation for the count, whose library

⁶¹ "Comme j'ay resolu de partir d'icy sur la fin de ce mois, ou d'abord au commencement de Novembre [...]": A-Whh, HA, Poschakten J.S. 21, Francis Stephen to Pfütschner, Vienna, 11 October 1729, f. 491a.

⁶² REINHARD STROHM, *Argippo* in "Germania", "Studi vivaldiani", 8, 2008, pp. 111-127. See also RASHID-S. PEGAH, *Ein Argippo-Pasticcio*, "Studi vivaldiani", 11, 2011, pp. 63-76.

⁶³ See DANIEL E. FREEMAN, *The Opera Theater of Count Franz Anton von Sporck in Prague*, Stuyvesant, Pendragon Press, 1992, p. 131.

had been confiscated a few weeks earlier. The two men later exchanged letters, but Sporck's gracious reply of 30 May 1730, expressing gratitude for the signatures of Francis Stephen's mother and his two sisters in support of his newly formed Order of St Hubertus, unfortunately does not mention music.⁶⁴

The low-profile entry of Francis Stephen into Lorraine was related with astonishment by most of the European newspapers.⁶⁵ In the early hours of 29 November the duke literally sneaked, on foot, into the grounds of the Luneville palace, where everyone was still fast asleep. Slowly, his family and the court of Lorraine woke up to his arrival, and the celebrations began with the singing of a *Te Deum* in the court chapel. But the duke, who had left his home country as a young and free spirit in 1723, returned a changed man. After six years at the Habsburg court he was formal in manner, distant and cold to the courtiers of Léopold, who had taken advantage of the generosity of the late duke and were partly responsible for the desperate financial situation of the duchy. Shortly after the death of his father, Francis Stephen had sent his most trusted servant, baron Karl von Pfütschner, to Lorraine to examine the state of the treasury, but the reports back were far worse than he expected. The debts amounted to over 10 million *livres*, against an annual income of barely half that sum. Over a long period Léopold had been extremely careless with the financial affairs of his duchy, and for many of the large payments for building projects or to his courtiers there existed no receipts – orders were simply being given verbally, and as a result there was a large hole in the finances of the court. For this reason the reigning dowager duchess had imprisoned the director of finances. The highest-ranking minister in Lorraine and later viceroy of Tuscany, prince Marc de Beauvau-Craon, whose wife also happened to be Léopold's long-standing mistress, also suffered the wrath of the duchess, and temporarily lost much of his influence at court.⁶⁶ In short, the affairs of the duchy were in complete disarray. However, shortly after his arrival in May 1729, Pfütschner did see at least one bright side of the Luneville court: “Je ne puis pas m'exercer au violon, puisqu'on a deffendu pour une année entière tous les jeux d'instruments, mais à mon arrivée tout le monde m'a parlé du goust que V. A. R. avoit pour la musique. Cela fera que bien des gens l'apprendront dans l'espérance de gagner par là ses bonnes grâces”.⁶⁷ This is an important statement that can be taken in two ways: was this a reference to Francis Stephen's musical performances in Vienna, or had news of his encounter with Vivaldi perhaps reached Lorraine? At that time, the enthusiastic reception of the music of the Italian composer was regularly reported in the “*Mercure de France*”, a journal that was certainly read attentively in Luneville.

⁶⁴ A-Whh, LHA, 10-1, Schreiben an die Herzoge von Lothringen von verschiedenen deutschen Standespersonen, meist Höflichkeitsschreiben, 1727-1731, Berichte des Barons Theodor d'Imbsen aus Wien, 1713-1730, f. 260a-b.

⁶⁵ *Wienerisches Diarium* (hereafter, WD), Anno 1730, (Anhang zu Num. 5.) 18. Januarius, unpaginated.

⁶⁶ This is well described in RENATE ZEDINGER, *Franz Stephan von Lothringen (1708-1765)*, cit., pp. 45-50.

⁶⁷ MICHEL ANTOINE, *Henry Desmarest*, cit., p. 164.

Francis Stephen's long-awaited public entry into Nancy, the capital of Lorraine, took place on 3 January 1730 with the usual celebrations, but the duke had little interest in spending time in that city. Later that month he made the inevitable journey to Paris, where, as duke of Bar, he was obliged to pay his homage to the king of France, Louis XV. This must have been an especially difficult hour for the young man, who was well aware of France's longing for Lorraine. In the French capital he heard Lully's *Thésée* and Campra's *Hésione* at the Opéra and attended the Concert spirituel on 2 February. The programme included motets by Bousset and concertos for the violin. From 1728 onwards, Vivaldi's music was often heard at the Concert spirituel, and it could well have been played on this occasion in honour of the visiting duke. Concertos for the flute were also played, probably by Michel Blavet, while Lalande's *Te Deum* and a Mouret *symphonie* rounded off an evening that made a great impression on Francis Stephen.⁶⁸ Before his departure from Paris the duke richly rewarded the musicians of the Opéra and the Concert spirituel.⁶⁹

After his return to Lorraine Francis Stephen used every opportunity to play the violin with his musicians from Vienna. The duke seems to have been extremely generous towards them, as we learn from a letter written by d'Audiffret, the Lorraine representative of the French king: "Monsieur le duc de Lorraine qui fait son idole de la musique, a donné un carrosse à six chevaux à ses musiciens pour aller à Paris, y voir l'opéra".⁷⁰ On another occasion d'Audiffret gave a revealing character description of Francis Stephen and his daily routine after meals: "Il voit, au sortir de table, la duchesse sa mère, et rentre dans son appartement où toute son occupation est de s'amuser avec ses valets de chambre – ce que sa vie retirée à Vienne lui a rendu un peu trop habituel – ou à jouer du violon et à faire des concerts avec ses musiciens, sans y admettre personne, et seulement quelques princesses ses sœurs".⁷¹

He initiated musical changes at court. Gone were the days of the lavish operatic performances, and many musicians, including some of the best voices, had left during the 1720s as a result of not being paid. In consequence, the orchestra had been reduced to chamber dimensions, and its main role was to play in the church and the comedy. Desmarest still enjoyed his title of *surintendant*, and his sacred music continued to be performed in the court chapel, but after the middle or late 1720s he composed little. Following the arrival of Francis Stephen the focus turned towards music for the chamber, and the violinist Bonaventure Gilles was appointed *directeur de l'orchestre* in July 1730, after having composed "des aires de musique pour le service de S. A. R.". ⁷² It is unfortunate that we do not know more about the instrumental repertory

⁶⁸ Francis Stephen's two-week sojourn in Paris was described in detail in the *Mercure de France*, 2/1730, pp. 408–415.

⁶⁹ WD, Anno 1730 (Num. 19.), 8. Martius, unpaginated.

⁷⁰ CHRISTIAN PFISTER, *Histoire de Nancy*, Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1909, vol. 3, p. 404, note 2.

⁷¹ *Loc. cit.*

⁷² MICHEL ANTOINE, *Henry Desmarest*, cit., p. 164.

performed under Gilles’ leadership during this period; all that remains of his œuvre are two meagre compositions.⁷³

Through his correspondence with empress Elisabeth, Francis Stephen was kept well informed about musical life in Vienna. He may have requested copies of the works performed in his absence. Shortly after carnival 1730 the empress wrote to the duke: “Ich schreibe in gröster eyl: dan heüt unßers Creutz orden 13 predigen seyndt und erst der Courier sich angefragt schicke die faschens opera mit”.⁷⁴ The carnival opera sent to Lorraine on this occasion could have been Caldara’s *La verità nell’inganno* – or perhaps (and more likely) Vivaldi’s *Argippo*.

Affirming his protectorship of an *Académie de musique* that was formed in Nancy on 6 April 1731 turned out to be one of the last official acts of Francis Stephen during his seventeen-month sojourn in Lorraine.⁷⁵ Following the signing of the Treaty of Vienna in March 1731, the general of the imperial army, prince Eugene of Savoy, suggested to Francis Stephen that he undertake a journey to Brussels to visit the archduchess Maria Elisabeth, governor of the Austrian Netherlands and sister of Charles VI. This was, of course, only a pretext: the real reason was that since the threat of war was looming over Europe, there was a real danger that Francis Stephen would become trapped in Lorraine if the French invaded – and this was a risk that neither the empire nor the duke could take. Preparations for his departure were made in great haste, and on 25 April Francis Stephen left his homeland, never to return.⁷⁶ One-and-a-half centuries later he was remembered fondly in a historical survey of music in Lorraine:

Quoique le jeune duc n’eût pas habité longtemps notre pays, il s’appliqua à donner tout le développement possible aux arts, et principalement à la musique.⁷⁷

THE GRAND TOUR

What promised to be the Great Escape turned into the Grand Tour, and for the next twelve months Francis Stephen travelled without a planned itinerary through the Austrian Netherlands, England, Germany, Prussia, Silesia and Moravia. A copy of a diary kept by an unknown member of his entourage

⁷³ A-Wn, Mus. Hs. 18600: *Concerto a 5: Con Oboé obligato, Violino Primo, Violino Secondo, Viola Et Basso Continuo*; A-Wn, Mus. Hs. 15940: *Concerto a nove strumenti: violino I., violino II., oboe I., oboe II. alto, clarino I., clarino II., tympano e basso*.

⁷⁴ A-Whh, LHA, 121-2, *Eigenhändige Schreiben der Kaiserin Elisabeth an Franz Stephan, 1729-1745, Vienna, 30 March [1730]*, f. 7a.

⁷⁵ ALBERT JACQUOT, *La Musique en Lorraine*, Paris, Librairie Fischbacher, 1886, pp. 135-136. An undated status report and request for additional funds for the academy was sent to Francis Stephen about one year later: A-Whh, LHA, 216-1, *Varia* (18 Jh.), *Memoire pour l’academie Royale etablie dans la ville de Nancy*, ff. 145a-148a.

⁷⁶ Since Francis Stephen always intended to return to Lorraine, the question arises whether he left behind the music sent by Vivaldi in 1729. From there it could have ended up in Paris after the French Revolution and the mass confiscation of property that followed.

⁷⁷ ALBERT JACQUOT, *La Musique en Lorraine*, cit., p. 135.

records the attendance of Francis Stephen at the opera and regular concerts in many of the places he visited, and also the occasions when he played with his musicians.⁷⁸ Throughout this journey the duke came into contact with many well-known composers and musicians, but also some who were new and unfamiliar to him. Because of the musical importance of this journey it is only right to report on this tour in some detail.

After a short stopover in Luxembourg, where musicians of the regiment of general Wilhelm Reinhard Freiherr von Neipperg performed and an unnamed female singer sang Italian arias,⁷⁹ Francis Stephen arrived in Brussels on 29 April 1731 and remained there for almost three months. This was a welcome relief after a time of tension in Lorraine, and the duke enjoyed a great sense of freedom in the city. While there, he would have heard the sacred music of Jean-Joseph Fiocco in the court chapel. During the month of June chamber music was played at least every other day, either at court, in the homes of the nobility or at the duke's own residence. He also visited the opera on 3 June, but it is not known which work was performed on that occasion. On 23 June the diarist noted that Francis Stephen woke up at ten in the morning before making "Musique avec Althan et Timer",⁸⁰ which was almost certainly a rehearsal for a concert that was held the next day. The following accounts are of great significance, for they show that he was now prepared to play the violin in the company of his peers. Reports of this first public performance of the duke appeared in the European press, for example in the "Mercure Galant":

On mande de Bruxelles, que le 24. Juin, il y eut un magnifique Concert au Palais à l'occasion de la Fête de S. Jean, dont le Roy de Portugal porte le Nom. L'Archduchesse Gouvernante, le Duc de Lorraine et le Comte Palfi y jouèrent de Divers Instrumens, et le Comte d'Althan y chanta plusieurs Morceaux.⁸¹

Afterwards, Francis Stephen gave a wonderful description of the concert and his own talent as a violinist in a letter to empress Elisabeth:

Vorgestern habe die durchleüchtigster Erzherzogin beÿ hoff eine musique gehabt wo sie selbste accompagnirt, dabey waren der graf Michel Hanß Althan der gesung hatt, und das bassl gegeÿt, von geÿgen der Baal, Palfi und ich; der graff Althan der beÿ mir ist hatt ein partie lauthen geschlagen. Ew. Kay. Maÿ. können leicht errahnen wie es mir gewesen vor durchleuchtigsten Erzhersogin zu geÿgen, in den ich nichts kan.⁸²

⁷⁸ *A-Whh*, Hausarchiv (HA), Handarchiv Kaiser Franz 9-1-2, Tagebuch über die Reise des Herzogs Franz von Lothringen von Brüssel [Lothringen] nach Wien 1731, 25.4.1731- 8.7.1732, ff. 1-44.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, ff. 5-6. Neipperg accompanied Francis Stephen on his journey to Lorraine and was a lifelong friend and adviser to the duke.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, ff. 11-12. The identity of this count Althan, who was Francis Stephen's principal chamberlain for a number of years, is not at present clear.

⁸¹ "Mercure de France", 7/1731, p. 1815.

⁸² *A-Whh*, HA, Familienkorrespondenz A 25-17-20, Entwurf eines Schreibens von Franz Herzog von Lothringen, Großherzog von Toskana an Kaiser Karl VI. und Monsieur Jacquemin [und Kaiserin], Brussels, 26 June 1731, f. 67a.

After leaving Brussels on 23 July, the diarist next records music being heard at two concerts and in a “grande Messe à Musique à la cathedral” in Tournai on 10-12 August.⁸³ On 13 August, the city of Courtrai received Francis Stephen with full honours, the illumination of the streets and freely flowing wine; music was performed over the next three days in the cathedral and during meals.⁸⁴ Likewise, music was performed for the duke in Veurne, Ostend and Bruges, where he arrived on 25 August and where concerts were heard over the next few days.⁸⁵ He returned to Brussels before continuing the journey to Antwerp, arriving in that city in the evening of 15 September. While there, Francis Stephen had the chance to listen to the violinist Willem De Fesch, whom he had probably heard in Prague in 1723. De Fesch, who had been dismissed from his post as kapellmeister at Antwerp Cathedral shortly before Francis Stephen’s arrival, reportedly played in three concerts for the duke on 17-18 September, and was paid handsomely afterwards.⁸⁶ While in Amsterdam, Francis Stephen would have wished to hear another violin virtuoso, Pietro Antonio Locatelli, who had moved to the city in 1729. Two entries in the diary possibly refer to their meeting; a private recital was most likely arranged on 11 October, for the diarist notes somewhat unusually that a concert was held in Francis Stephen’s hotel apartment on that day.⁸⁷ This would accord well with Locatelli’s insistence on playing music exclusively “with Gentlemen”. The next day, Francis Stephen enjoyed dinner and an evening concert at the house of Cornelis Hop, mayor of Amsterdam and governor of the East India Company and the Dutch West India Company, and this may also have presented an opportunity for the duke to hear the Italian virtuoso perform.

On 22 October Francis Stephen set sail from Helvoetsluys and headed for England. He landed at Greenwich in the evening of the next day and took up residence at the London mansion of the imperial ambassador, count Philipp Kinsky. On 14/25 October he was invited to Hampton Court, where he was introduced to the royal family.⁸⁸ He was first led up a “scala secreta” to meet king George II in his chambers, and later through the same hidden passage to the rooms of queen Caroline, where she, prince William, and the musical princesses Anne, Amelia and Caroline welcomed their guest. Only later, and separately did Francis Stephen meet the prince of Wales, Frederick Louis.⁸⁹ It

⁸³ A-Whh, HA, Handarchiv Kaiser Franz 9-1-2, f. 20.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, f. 22.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, f. 23.

⁸⁶ ROBERT L. TUSLER, *Willem de Fesch: International Eighteenth-Century Dutch Composer*, in *The Great Emporium. The Low Countries As A Cultural Crossroads In The Renaissance And The Eighteenth Century*, eds Richard Todd and C. C. Barfoot, Amsterdam, Rodopi, 1992, p. 201.

⁸⁷ A-Whh, HA, Handarchiv Kaiser Franz 9-1-2, f. 27.

⁸⁸ Dates for events in England are given in dual form whereby the Old Style (or Julian-calendar) date still used there precedes the New Style (or Gregorian-calendar) one, which is eleven days later. Dates for newspapers and letters are left in single form and unaltered in order to facilitate reference to the original sources.

⁸⁹ A-Whh, Staatenabteilungen, Großbritannien Diplomatische Korrespondenz 67, Berichte (Kinsky), 1730-1732, Philipp Kinsky to Charles VI, London, 26 October 1731, ff. 151a-152a. Frederick

was the start of a close friendship between the two men, and for the next eight weeks they would spend much time together.⁹⁰

Like most continental Europeans visiting the English capital for the first time, Francis Stephen was keen to inspect the most important cultural and financial institutions of the city, as he had done in all the major cities on his tour of the Austrian Netherlands. Likewise, the English aristocrats and the foreign ambassadors were excited about meeting the young visitor: "The Nobility vie with each other whose Entertainments for the Duke of Lorrain shall be the most splendid [...]"⁹¹ Indeed, the sparsely worded entries in the tour diary report little else than Francis Stephen's occasional hunting trips outside the city and the many dinners or social functions he attended in the capital. In addition, the diarist recorded some of his visits to the King's Theatre in the Haymarket, which had been specially prepared for the arrival of the duke.⁹²

Francis Stephen was certainly aware of George Frideric Handel and his operatic music long before he came to England. Arias by that composer were probably performed at the Vienna court by singers such as Borosini, who had sung in London during the 1724-1725 season, and the soprano Francesca Cuzzoni, who spent the winter in Vienna in 1728-1729 after having sung for Handel for many years. When Francis Stephen arrived in London the composer was preparing the first opera of the season. This was a revival of *Tamerlano* (HWV 18, 1724) with a cast that included the famous alto-castrato Senesino, the soprano Anna Strada del Pò⁹³ and the contralto Francesca Bertolli, plus three singers new to Handel's company: the alto-castrato Antonio Gualandi "Campioli", the tenor Giovanni Battista Pinacci and the bass Antonio Montagnana.⁹⁴ Thanks to a diary entry of Viscount Perceval (Percival), the

Louis was estranged from his father and had an entirely independent household, a fact that sufficiently explains the separateness of the meeting.

⁹⁰ On 20 November / 1 December Frederick Louis presented Francis Stephen with "eine kostbahre stokuhr so verschiedene arien spiehlet undt 700 guineés kostet mit der besten arth undt finesse verehret": *Ibid.*, Philipp Kinsky to Charles VI, London, 4 December 1731, f. 59a.

⁹¹ "Stamford Mercury", Thursday, 28 October 1731, p. 121 (news item dated London, 21 October 1731).

⁹² "Mr. Heydegger is putting the King's Theatre in the Hay-market into order to entertain the said Prince with Balls and Operas": *The London Evening Post*, 28-30 September 1731.

⁹³ Strada's first Venetian appearance was in Vivaldi's *La verità in cimento* (RV 739), which opened at S. Angelo on 26 October 1720. The libretto identifies her as a *virtuosa di camera* of count Girolamo Colloredo-Waldsee, governor of Milan. On 11 September 1720 Johann Baptist von Colloredo-Waldsee, imperial ambassador in Venice, wrote to his brother in Milan: "Gl'impressarij di S. Angelo sono concorsi ad ubbidire V[ost]ra Ecc[ellenza], e si contentano di dare principio alle Opera li 12 Ott[obre]. Il Vivaldi pure hà scritto favorevol[mente] alla Virtuosa Anna Strada": *A-Wn*, Cod. Sr. n 18214 Han, Johann Baptist Colloredo, Korrespondenzen aus den Jahren 1719 bis 1722, f. 100b. In my article "*Zu Lippiza den venetian: Ersten Musico eine Medalie*", cit., p. 4, I incorrectly stated that the ambassadorial post in Venice had been left vacant after the departure of Johann Baptist von Colloredo-Waldsee early in 1726. Shortly thereafter, he was reinstated, making his second public entry on 3 April of that year. He served as ambassador there until count Giuseppe Bolagnos was appointed (*loc. cit.*).

⁹⁴ Montagnana is without a doubt the "excellent Basse-contre" whom his teacher Porpora offered to the Dresden court in March 1730; see JÓHANNES ÁGÚSTSSON, *The Secular Vocal Collection of Jan Dismas Zelenka: A Reconstruction*, "Studi vivaldiani", 13, 2013, pp. 3-52: 20.

future earl of Egmont, we know that Francis Stephen was present at an early rehearsal of the opera on 1/12 November. Moreover, Perceval saw the duke “sing a part” at the rehearsal,⁹⁵ where Handel must have provided the accompaniment. Unfortunately, this event was recorded in the diary merely as follows: “voit repetition d’un opera”.⁹⁶ Perhaps Francis Stephen sang one of the arias written for Borosini in the original setting – he might well have been familiar with the music through the singer’s earlier presence in Vienna.

The duke attended the first two performances of *Tamerlano* in the company of the royal family, and was also present for at least three performances of a revival of *Porro, re dell’Indie* (HWV 28, 1729), which opened on 23 November / 4 December. It was probably the first time that Francis Stephen had been exposed to the texts of Metastasio, the most important librettist of the eighteenth century. Metastasio had been appointed imperial court poet the previous year, and would later serve Francis Stephen after he became emperor. Metastasio’s ever-popular libretto (*Alessandro nell’Indie*, first set by Leonardo Vinci in 1729) inspired Handel to write some superb and memorable music. On 7/18 December the duke heard a much-revised version of *Admeto, re di Tessaglia* (HWV 22, 1727), which had been one of the most successful Handel productions of the 1720s. It is clear that Francis Stephen was impressed with the three operas, and over the next few years he showed great interest in the works of their composer. He might even have taken a score of *Admeto* along in his luggage: the manuscript found in the Anton Ulrich collection in Meiningen is dated 1731 and might have been copied in Vienna – in this instance, from a manuscript in Francis Stephen’s private library.⁹⁷

For a music lover such as our duke, London offered much more than merely the operas of Handel, and it is likely that he attended musical events and recitals unknown to us. From a letter written by the prince of Wales (see below), we learn, for example, that Francis Stephen had insisted on playing the first violin in accordance with his rank in a concert featuring also Giuseppe Osorio-Alarcon, the Sardinian ambassador to England – most likely at a dinner given at that embassy on 18/29 November.⁹⁸ The following day, the duke was a special guest at a concert of the Academy of Ancient Music at the Crown and Anchor Tavern, it “being St. Cecilia’s night, where we had an excellent concert of music”,⁹⁹ which was performed “by some of the best Hands in the Kingdom”, as the press had announced in advance.¹⁰⁰ All the finest singers and

⁹⁵ JOHN PERCEVAL, *Manuscripts of the Earl of Egmont. Diary of Viscount Percival afterwards First Earl of Egmont*, vol. 1, 1730-1733, London, H.M.S.O., 1920, p. 207.

⁹⁶ A-Whh, HA, Handarchiv Kaiser Franz 9-1-2, f. 29.

⁹⁷ D-MEIr, Ed 129m. This manuscript lists the singers of the 1727 production; with Francis Stephen’s departure set for 9/20 December, there was no time to copy the version he had just witnessed, so he might have purchased, or been presented with, an already existing score.

⁹⁸ A-Whh, HA, Handarchiv Kaiser Franz 9-1-2, f. 30.

⁹⁹ JOHN PERCEVAL, *Manuscripts of the Earl of Egmont*, cit., p. 209.

¹⁰⁰ “Stamford Mercury”, Thursday, 25 November 1731, p. 153 (news item dated London, 18 November 1731).

instrumentalists of London must have turned up on this occasion to demonstrate their skills to the music-loving duke; perhaps Francesco Geminiani was one of the performers, since this violin virtuoso was a member of the Academy and a frequent attender at its meetings, often presenting his compositions there before they were published. Other fine violinists who could have appeared at the Academy concert were the reputed former Corelli pupils Giovanni Stefano Carbonelli and Pietro Castrucci, the latter being the leader of Handel's opera orchestra.

The two-month sojourn in England came to an end on 20 December (NS) 1731, when Francis Stephen and his retinue returned to the continent. Short stops were made in Rotterdam, Hague, Dordrecht and Gorinchem, where New Year was celebrated, before the duke continued his journey to Germany. During a stopover in Hanover he must have heard the composer and *Konzertmeister* Francesco Venturini and the court orchestra in performance, for the musicians received a generous present from the duke before his departure on 21 January 1732.¹⁰¹ He arrived in Wolfenbüttel later that same day and was greeted by the father of empress Elisabeth, Louis Rudolph, duke of Braunschweig-Lüneburg, who had arranged an evening concert for his guest.¹⁰² Music is first mentioned in the diary on 29 January, when Francis Stephen was present at a peasant marriage of thirty-one couples in Wolfenbüttel and heard a peculiar mixture of "5. sortes de Musique".¹⁰³ Two days later he left for Braunschweig and its annual winter fair, where the numerous visitors were entertained with masked balls, theatre, comedy, music and opera. On 4 February the duke attended a performance of Conti's *Penelope*,¹⁰⁴ a work he knew well, having been present at its Viennese premiere in 1724. The role of Ulysse, sung by Borosini in the original setting, was taken by the vice-kapellmeister at the Braunschweig court, Carl Heinrich Graun, the future kapellmeister at the Prussian court. The following day, Francis Stephen had the rare opportunity to hear an opera entirely sung in the German language. This was Georg Philipp Telemann's *Genserikus*,¹⁰⁵ which was first performed in Braunschweig in 1725 and was revived three years later with newly composed recitatives. The opera, with its comic subplot, virtuosic arias and colorful instrumental arrangements, remained a popular piece in the city. Francis Stephen witnessed a repeat of both operas before continuing his journey to Magdeburg and Berlin. No reports of music-making are recorded in the tour diary during the duke's visit to those two cities, but in political respects his time in Berlin was of great importance. The Prussian king Frederick William

¹⁰¹ "In Hannover haben sich Ihre Königl. Hoheit | bey dero dortigen Anwesenheit | ungemein genereur erwisen | und folgende Präsenten außgetheilet: [...] denen Musicanten 50. Ducaten": Mercurii Relation. Oder Wochentliche Ordinari-Zeitungen. Num. 7. Anno 1732. Littera G 16 Februarii, Sambstägige Extra-Zeitungen aus Wienn | Rom | Pariß, Den 16. Februarij 1732. Nieder-Elbe | den 3. Januarii [February], unpaginated.

¹⁰² *A-Whh*, HA, Handarchiv Kaiser Franz 9-1-2, f. 33.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, f. 35.

¹⁰⁴ "À 5 à l'opera, Penelope, prologue pour S: A: R.; qu'Elle refuse, beau Theatre": *loc. cit.*

¹⁰⁵ "jusqu'au diné à l'opera genserikus Allemandè": *loc. cit.*

was fascinated by Francis Stephen and offered him an unusually warm welcome. Besides demonstrating the military might of the Prussian army with exercises and inspections of the troops, the king also choreographed the usual parade of his ‘giants’ for the duke. He also managed to drag Francis Stephen into the court intrigues revolving around the engagement of his son prince Frederick of Prussia to princess Elisabeth Christine of Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel-Bevern, for which the duke acted as a witness. During his time in Berlin Francis Stephen spent considerable time in the company of the prince, who later would become his main adversary as king of Prussia.

At the request of the emperor Francis Stephen bypassed Saxony altogether and thereby missed an opportunity to hear the famous Dresden *Hofkapelle* in concert. Instead, he travelled to Frankfurt an der Oder, where he arrived in the afternoon of 16 March 1732. Later that evening a serenata dedicated to the duke was heard in his chambers; the now lost music, performed by the students of the university,¹⁰⁶ was composed by Johann Gottlieb Janitsch, who later became a much respected court musician in Berlin. In Breslau (Wrocław) Francis Stephen was entertained over a two-week period by Francis Louis of Neuburg, archbishop-elect of Mainz and prince-bishop of Breslau, who invited his guest to the premiere of Antonio Bioni’s *Lucio Papirio*.¹⁰⁷ Over Easter weekend Francis Stephen stayed in Olomouc and showed great piety by declining all welcoming ceremonies and requests for an audience, opting instead to pray with the Jesuits and listen to their musical morality plays. On his way back to Vienna he made a stopover in Feldsberg (Valtice) at the palace of prince Joseph Johann Adam of Liechtenstein, who had ordered his servants to make the necessary preparations for the arrival of the duke. No doubt, the two friends had plenty to discuss at their reunion with regard to the political events of the day, but also concerning the musical encounters both had experienced since their last meeting. News of their common *maestro di cappella*, Antonio Vivaldi, was surely on the agenda.

After a break of one month the diarist partly resumed his entries on 16 April, when Francis Stephen returned to Vienna. Two days later, the duke was back playing his instruments, possibly in preparation for a concert the next day,¹⁰⁸ when music was played in the emperor’s chamber.¹⁰⁹ Did he perhaps intend to demonstrate to the imperial family the progress he had made on the violin? On Monday, 21 April, Farinelli’s name is recorded in the diary for the first time: “après diné chès l’Imperatrice entendre chanter Farinello”.¹¹⁰ In his account of this concert the famous singer provides us with an important impression of

¹⁰⁶ “Gegen 8. Uhr verfügten Sich Se. Königliche Hoheit nach Dero Gemach | und liessen sich gefallen die von denen Studenten gebrachte Music mit anzuhören | und das ihme überreichte *Carmen* gnädigst anzunehmen”: WD, Anno 1732. (Num. 26) 29. Martii. Frankfurt an der Oder 19. Martii, unpaginated.

¹⁰⁷ WALTENTYNA WĘGRZYN-KLISOWSKA, *Opera włoska we Wrocławiu (1725-1734) i jej związki z innymi ośrodkami muzycznymi*, “Italica Wratislaviensia”, 5, 2014, p. 141.

¹⁰⁸ “dine à 2., joué des Instruments”: A-Whh, HA, Handarchiv Kaiser Franz 9-1-2, f. 40.

¹⁰⁹ “Musique chès l’Empereur”: loc. cit.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, f. 41.

Francis Stephen as a “gran dilettante” and attentive listener:

Io in tutti i giorni mi trovo più fortunato degl'altri, mentre lunedì caduto ebbi ordine portarmi dalla parte della Patrona Augusta per poi cantare, come seguì, essendoci tutta la patronanza Augusta e Sua Altezza Reale il signor Duca di Lorena, e cantai più di due ore. Questo sono grazie che non sono accadute ad alcuno della mia professione.

Mentre quando cantavo era mie spalle il detto signore Duca a guardare la parte del musico, essendo lui gran dilettante, d'avanti al cembalo v'era Cesare, in piedi, e la Patrona, e le Archiduchesse tutte a sedere.¹¹¹

At the time of his arrival in Vienna in 1732, Farinelli was the most admired of the castratos, and his voice was in great demand all over Europe. During his three-month sojourn in the Habsburg capital he sang in two Caldara oratorios, *Sedecia* and *La morte di Abel*, and performed before the Austrian nobility and privately for the imperial pair.¹¹² He may have held a private recital in Francis Stephen's apartments on 24 April, for that day he is recorded singing for the duke and receiving for his efforts “100. Ducats dans une tabatiere d'or de 400. florins”.¹¹³ In the coming years Francis Stephen followed the career of the singer with great interest and obtained copies of some of the operas in which he sang. As we will see, there is evidence that the two men remained in contact.

THE PRESSBURG YEARS, 1732-1736

Francis Stephen's return to Vienna was originally scheduled to be only a temporary halt. If everything had gone according to his wishes, he would have continued his journey southwards, for no Grand Tour was complete without a visit to Italy.¹¹⁴ Instead, he found himself looking east, after learning from Charles VI early in April that he had been appointed viceroy of Hungary. On 6 June he made his public entry into Pressburg (Bratislava), then the capital of the kingdom of Hungary. The city did perhaps not offer a social life comparable to that of Vienna, but it was only a short distance from the Habsburg capital. Over

¹¹¹ CARLO BROSCI FARINELLI, *La solitudine amica. Lettere al conte Sicinio Pepoli*, ed. Carlo Vitali, Palermo, Sellerio editore, 2000, p. 100.

¹¹² The emperor used the opportunity to try to employ Farinelli for his service in Naples: “Der Farinelli so nicht lenger hatt bleiben können weil, die Carls baader reyß auß kommen [the imperial couple were leaving for Carlsbad], und die klag auch die opera hindert, gehet wieder in Welschlandt, er ist betrubt dan Memet [Giovanni Battista Sammartini's opera, which was running at the Kärntnertheater at that time] hatt sie nicht gefallen, so von mihr nicht sagen kan, dan Ihm gern gehört, der Kayser aber Ihm versprochen eine stell in die capella di napoli und mihr erlaubt die deßwegen zu schreiben daß er daß versprochen auf die erste bekamen, wo seyn memorial Siebach shicke und wist mihr ein gefallen thun Ihm es zu procuriren von vice könig”: *A-Wava*, FA, Harrach Fam. in spec 112-4, Kaiserlicher Hof: Elisabeth, empress Elisabeth to Alois Thomas Raimond Harrach, viceroy of Naples, Vienna, 21 May [1732], unfoliated.

¹¹³ *A-Whh*, HA, Handarchiv Kaiser Franz 9-1-2, f. 41.

¹¹⁴ As early as February 1732 the European press was discussing Francis Stephen's possible tour of Italy. The latest such reports date from mid-1733.

the next four years Francis Stephen made frequent trips between the two cities, often staying for extended periods in Vienna, where he is recorded as attending all the operas and musical performances of interest. The Hungarian nobility was certainly pleased with the arrival of the duke, and his presence added a welcome lustre to the city. Shortly before Farinelli left for Italy, the singer made a special trip to Pressburg, where he once again sang for Francis Stephen, either at the royal palace or possibly at that of count Joseph Esterházy.¹¹⁵ Such a visit, most likely arranged by the duke, is bound to have left a great impression in the capital. In the first month of his reign viceroy Francis Stephen hosted numerous dinners – for example, on 9 June 1732, when archbishop-primate Emericus Esterházy was among the guests: this important musical patron employed in Pressburg a large orchestra that provided a diverse range of sacred and secular musical services in the city.¹¹⁶ In 1732 the twenty-one-year old composer and keyboard player Joseph Umstatt entered Esterházy's service, later becoming the director of his orchestra. Through the musicians of Francis Stephen Umstatt came into contact with all the latest Italian music, including that of Vivaldi, whose concertos are known to have influenced his own compositions. Other musicians of note were the bassoonist Angelo Cavallari¹¹⁷ and the violinists Giacomo Calandri and Johann Otto Rossetter, the second of whom was also a member of the *Hofmusikkapelle*.¹¹⁸ Thus, with the arrival of Francis Stephen and his musicians, Pressburg could boast of at least two excellent ensembles. The cantor and organist Johann Francisci, who arrived in the city in 1733, later spoke of the high quality of these two groups and his good fortune to have made friends with the “grossen Virtuosen der Ertzbischöflichen und Hertzoglichen Capelle. [...] Diese musikalische Academie in Ungarn bewunderte ich täglich”.¹¹⁹

The earliest violin concertos by Joseph Ferdinand Timmer date from this period and, like his other surviving concertos, may have been composed for Francis Stephen as principal violinist.¹²⁰ By 1733, after five years of intensive study, Francis Stephen would have been able to take on the difficult passage-work found in these concertos, which are indebted to Vivaldi in structural matters and very up-to-date for their time. The duke was now also ready to

¹¹⁵ “*Le 22. [June] dinè chès le Comte Joseph Esterhazy, joue, et gagne 100. ducats, Musique de Farinello, une baque de 750. florins*”: *A-Whh*, HA, Handarchiv Kaiser Franz 9-1-2, f. 44.

¹¹⁶ LADISLAV KAČIC, *Kapela Imricha Esterházyho v rokoch 1725-1745*, “*Musicologica slovacica*”, 5 (31)/2, 2014, pp. 189-254.

¹¹⁷ The Veronese bassoonist Cavallari had applied for a post in the imperial court orchestra in 1727: *A-Whh*, OMeA, AR, 23, 1727, undated, unfoliated.

¹¹⁸ The Neapolitan composer Francesco Durante served Emericus Esterházy in Pressburg in the early 1740s; see LADISLAV KAČIC, *Kapela Imricha Esterházyho v rokoch 1725-1745*. cit., pp. 195-199.

¹¹⁹ JOHANN MATTHESON, *Grundlage einer Ehren-Pforte*, Hamburg, author, 1740; reprint Berlin, Liepmannsohn, 1910, p. 83.

¹²⁰ The ÖNB holds the performance materials from the *Hofmusikkapelle* of ten violin concertos by Joseph Ferdinand Timmer, dated 1733-1743. Another violin concerto by Joseph Ferdinand, clearly once a part of the same collection, is held by the archive and music library of the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien: *A-Wgm*, IX 2847.

perform with members of the imperial family. On 25 February 1734 the Habsburg court diary reported on a musical academy held in the empress's mirror room, where Caldara's *Il giuoco del quadriglio* was performed. The music, fittingly described as a "cantata piacevole" by the composer, was directed by the emperor from the keyboard, while his sister Magdalena accompanied on the lute, Francis Stephen played the violin, and the *Hoff-Cavalieren* other instruments. Maria Theresa and Maria Anna, who were by then both excellent singers, took two of the four vocal roles.¹²¹ The performance proved so enjoyable that it was repeated on 28 February and 7 March. One year later another musical academy was held at the same place, when Caldara's *Componimento drammatico che introduce ad un ballo cinese*, also known as *Le Cinesi*, was performed; there Francis Stephen once again played the violin in an orchestra made up by gentlemen of the court.¹²²

Several letters received by the duke during his Pressburg years evidence his great enthusiasm for new music: in particular, music in the Italian style. One imagines that by then he had already established a network of contacts to keep him abreast of the latest musical trends, and he probably continued to receive scores from Vivaldi, as well as from composers and musicians in Vienna and elsewhere. For example, the cellist Francischello, acting either as a composer or an intermediary, was already in 1731 supplying Francis Stephen with music while the duke was still on his travels.¹²³ A letter written by the priest-composer

¹²¹ "Nachdeme Ihro Kay: May: allergnädigst resolviret haben vor heür keine öffentliche fasschings Lustbarkeiten bey Hoff halten zu lassen, alß hat sich die allerhöchste herrschafft[.] mit kleinen Cammer-Festen begnügt, wie dan salbte an[.] nachmittag in Ihro May: der Regierenden Kayserin Spiegel Zimmer einer *Musicalische Academie*, und nach solcher einen Tanz bey 2. Stund lang beygewohnet haben. Bey der *Musique*, welche von beeden durch[lauchti]gsten Erzherzoginnen, Ihro Königl: Hoheit dem Hr: Herzogen v. Lothringen, denen Hoff-Damen, auch ezlichen Hoff-Cavalieren gemacht worden, haben sich beyde d[u]r[c]hl[lauch]t[i]gste Erz-Herzoginnen mit singen- und *accompagniren* hören lassen, wobey auch Ihro May: der Kayser mit der Erzherzogin *Magdalena* d[u]rchl[lauch]tigstet *accompagniret* haben. Hinnach haben die Regierend: Kay: M:M: zwar nicht, wohl aber die d[u]rchl[lauch]t[i]gste Erzherzoginnen, der Herr Herzog von Lothringen, die Dames, beyde Erzherzog: Hoff-Meister, und die jenige, so die *Musique* gemacht, getanzet, wobey niemandt, dan dem Kay: Obr: C: Hoff-Meistern Hr: Graffen v. Sinzendorff, Obr: C: Stall-Meistern Graffen v. Althaaen, und denen Graffen v. St: Julien- und Molart zu zusehen erlaubet ware. Nach vollndtem Tanz ist der Abendtliche Kirchen dienst, und nach solchem die Taflf unter einer *Music* gehalten, und also dieser Tag beschlossen worden": *A-Whh*, OMeA, Zeremonialprotokolle (ZA-Prot.) 15, 1732-1734, 25 February 1734, ff. 255b-256a.

¹²² "Eodem abends umb 6. Uhr wurde in beyseyñ deren Regierend: Kay: M: M: eine *Musicalische Academie* in Ihro May: der Regierenden Kayserin Spiegel: Zimmer gehalten, wobey Ihro May: der Kayser, dan die d[u]rchl[lauch]t[i]gste Erzherzoginnen *Theresia*- und *Magdalena* auff den *clavir accompagnirten*, beynebst auch die Erzherzoginnen *Theresia*- und *Marianna*, dan die gräffin *Antonia* v. Stahrnberg sangen, und die fürstin v. *Lobkowiz* auf der Lautten schluge. Die *orchestra* bestunde auß des H.ⁿ Herzogs v. Lothringen d[u]rchl[lauch]t, und denen Kay: Hoff: *Cavalieren*, wonnach mann von 7. Uhr an, biß zum Abend-Essen getanzet hat": *A-Whh*, OMeA, ZA-Prot. 16, 1735-1738, 15 February 1734, f. 6a.

¹²³ "Payé au Sieur Francisquello vingt ducats especes pour avoir envoyé des concerts de musique à Son Altesse Royale suivant le mandement du 4.^e Decembre 1731. sub No 72, f[lorins]. 83.": *A-Whh*,

Francesco Antonio Bonporti to Francis Stephen in 1734 suggests that the two had been in contact.¹²⁴ In this letter the composer does not mention music, but instead rather over-insistently asks Francis Stephen for favours in connection with his long-standing campaign to secure a canonry at Trent. It is unlikely that the duke obliged him, but in 1736 or 1737 Bonporti dedicated his published Op. 11 to Francis Stephen.¹²⁵

The duke used his aristocratic connections to obtain copies of newly performed operas, including some that were still in production. In 1733, his mother Élisabeth Charlotte wrote on his behalf to her niece Charlotte Aglaé d'Orléans, princess of Modena, asking whether she could use her connections to provide Francis Stephen with some music. This was a task that the princess relished, as seen by her reply: “Je fais faire presentement la Recolte de tout ce que nous avons de plus nouveau et de meilleure musique en Lombardie et je luy adresserai a vienne affin qu'il l'ayt plustot que si je vous l'envoioia”.¹²⁶ Two weeks later she wrote to the duke: “Madame la duchesse de Lorraine ma mende Monsieur que vous desirier des musique italiene [...] je souhaite que les musiques que vous receveé en meme tems que cette lettre vous amuse”.¹²⁷ The music she had assembled was then sent to prince Frederick Louis of Württemberg-Winnental in Milan, who forwarded it to Francis Stephen with the following message: “Madame la Princesse de Modene, qui m'at chargé, du paquet, qui aurat lhonneur detre rendus, a V. A. R. avec cette lettre, ce sont a ce quelle mat ditte, plusieurs pieces choisies de Musique, et entre autres, l'opera qui se represente actuellement à Bologne, qui est sont ce que lon peut entendre et voir de plus beau, dans de genre, et ou le fameux Farinello brille avec eclat”.¹²⁸ We

LHA, 10-1, Rechnung des Franz von Palm, Generalschatzmeisters Franz Stephans (1731-1732), f. 10b. Confirmation of the contact between Alborea and Francis Stephen is found in a letter written by the former: “Io spero che Vostra Altezza Real non prenderà per male la libertà, che mi prendo di scriverle ben persuaso della grazia, e bontà che si degnerà Vostra Altezza sovenirsi, di aver compartito verso la mia leggiera persona nel soggiorno, che hà fatto in questa Città. per il che sarà eterna in mè la memoria”: *A-Whh*, LHA, 3-1, Briefe von verschiedenen italienischen Standespersonen 1701-1730, Vienna, 6 December 1730, ff. 75a-76a.

¹²⁴ *A-Whh*, LHA, 126-2, Hauptsächlich Glückwunsch- und ähnliche Schreiben an Franz Stephan [...], 1731-1734, letter of Don Francesco Antonio Bonporti, Trent, April 1734, unfoliated.

¹²⁵ The date has been established through the dedication: see GALLIANO CILIBERTI, *Musica strumentale alla corte dei Lorena: i Concerti op. XI di Francesco Antonio Bonporti*, in *Itinéraires musicaux en Lorraine : sources, événements, compositeurs (colloque, Commercy, 2002)*, ed. Yves Ferraton, Langres, Dominique Guéniot, 2003, p. 259. It is likely that the velvet-bound presentation copy of Bonporti's Op. 11 held by the ÖNB (*A-Wn*, Mus. SA. 80. A. 11/1-5) is the one the composer sent the duke.

¹²⁶ *A-Whh*, LHA, 126-3, Meist Glückwunsch- und ähnliche Schreiben von Kardinälen und italienischen Fürsten an Franz Stephan, 1731-1737, copy of a letter written from Reggio, 25 May 1733, unfoliated.

¹²⁷ *A-Wn*, Autogr. 17/25-1 Han, Charlotte Aglaé d'Orléans to Francis Stephen, Bologna, 10 June 1733, unfoliated.

¹²⁸ *A-Whh*, LHA, 127-2, An Franz Stephan von den Herzogen von Mecklenburg, Sachsen-Weimar, Holstein-Gottorp und dem Herzog und der Herzogin zu Württemberg, Bernstadt und Oels, prince Frederick Louis of Württemberg-Winnental to Francis Stephen, Milan, 14 June 1733, unfoliated.

can only speculate on what was included in the parcel, but the copy of the opera the prince praised was of Johann Adolph Hasse's *Siroe*, which had premiered at the Teatro Malvezzi in Bologna on 2 May with a stellar cast that included Farinelli, the mezzo-soprano castrato Caffarelli, the contralto Vittoria Tesi, the soprano Anna Peruzzi and the tenor Filippo Giorgi. This Italian score is still held by the music library of the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (ÖNB).¹²⁹

Francis Stephen also received copies of works performed in London via the prince of Wales, in what seems to have been an exchange arrangement suggested by the latter. Their correspondence began as soon as the duke had left England and continued over a long period. Addressing the friend as "mon Intime", the letters of Frederick Louis are informative and highly amusing, revealing much about the prince's new-found fascination with music and attempts to master the cello, an instrument he took up in 1732:

Je crois ne Vous avoir pas encore dit que je me suis jetté corps perdü dans la musique, et pour rendre encore la chose plus touchante, j'ai choisi le Violencello, instrument serieux, et qu'il confient fort à ma gravité. Si jamais j'ai le plaisir d'accompagner certain Violon de par le monde quelle belle musique cela fera; je souhaite seulement que le compositeur marque bien des pauses pour nous, car j'ai peur du Pausiren en compagnie, et que le vieux Valet de Chambre sera obligé de finir seul le concert.¹³⁰

The few surviving drafts of Francis Stephen's letters to the prince, however, contain hardly any references to music, except when he explains his musical arrangement with Leopold Timmer: "Le vieux valet de chambre alterne avec

¹²⁹ *A-Wn*, Mus. Hs. 17256. The number "4" on the spine matches the listing of the opera in the music inventory of emperor Joseph II, son of Francis Stephen and Maria Theresa; see *A-Wn*, Mus. Hs. 2454 *Catalogo Delle Opere Serenade Cantate, Ed Oratori le quali Sua Imperiale Reale Maesta L'Imperadore Giuseppe II : Si compiaqué di trasmetter nell' Archivio Musicale, dell'Imp: Reale Capella*, 1778, N:o 3. Estrato d'alcune Opere, e Serenade, de più Celebri e Nuovi Autori. Senza Part: Cav., f. 18 (new foliation). However, many of the works that were in the possession of Francis Stephen and are discussed in this article are not listed in this catalogue. The great majority of the works dated before 1741 in this catalogue are also found in the music inventory of Charles VI that was prepared soon after his death: *A-Wn*, Mus. Hs. 2452, *Catalogo Delle Compositioni Musicali* [...]. An exception is Vivaldi's lost serenata *Le gare della Giustizia e della Pace*, which dates from the years around 1720. This means that the copy of Vivaldi's work disappeared from the music archive of the court at some point between 1741 and 1778 – the most obvious explanation being that Francis Stephen took it into his own private music library, where it went missing after his death (see below).

¹³⁰ *A-Whh*, LHA, 127-3, An Franz Stephan von König von Dänemark, König und Königin von England, dem Prinzen Friedrich und anderen englischen Großen, König von Spanien, König von Polen, Frederick Louis to Francis Stephen, St. James [London], 15 December 1732, unfoliated. The prince of Wales stated his wish to play music with Francis Stephen in other letters: "Je voudrais rapprocher Presbourg de Londres, pour trouver moien de nous voir quelque fois; à cette heure nous pourrions faire le plus joly trio du monde, car le P^e d'Orange [William IV, prince of Orange, Frederick Louis brother-in-law] est aussi Ein Artliches Fürsten-Kind, mais il ne possède pas la musique, comme nous deux faisons. Mandez moi je Vous prie comment le Violon va, et si le vieux Valet-de Chambre jouë encore sa partie": *Ibid.*, Frederick Louis to Francis Stephen, St. James [London], 5 April 1734, unfoliated.

moi, un jour il est le maitre, l'autre jour je le suis [...]”.¹³¹ Still, the duke clearly served as an inspiration for Frederick Louis, as the prince readily acknowledged in a most revealing letter written in January 1734:

Vous direz donc que tout devient musique chez moi, pour plus ressembler à mon Intime, j'ai un Valet-de-Chambre qui m'aide à jouer les difficultez, outre cela un Edle-Knabe, qui pause beaucoup, et ne jouë à peu-p[rès] que deux concerts, et demi, de Corelli; item un maitre pour le Violincello, mais qui comm'un ame vile, n'est pas permi de jouer la même partie que moi. Le Chevalier Osorio, qui a l'honneur d'être connû de Vous, m'a dit que mon Intime prenoit aussi toujours le rang sur lui, et ne le faisoit jouer que le second Violon. En cas que Vous soiëz curieux d'avoir de nouveaux Operas, je Vous enverrai trois qui seront en recompense de m'envoier de nouveaux Sonatas, où quelques pieces de musique, qu'il Vous plaira de me choisir.¹³²

It is interesting to note that Frederick Louis takes for granted that the duke had access to all the “latest Sonatas”, which suggests that Francis Stephen already had a reputation as a serious collector, but whether the prince received any music at all warrants a special investigation. It seems that several months passed before Francis Stephen acted on Frederick Louis' offer: in fact, he had to be reminded of it by Joseph Kinsky, the youngest brother of the ambassador, who had been dispatched to London to take charge of various assignments on behalf of the duke, including that of acquiring music.¹³³ Early in August, Kinsky had met the prince, who renewed his offer while adding somewhat ironically “that he hoped that His Royal Highness [Francis Stephen] had not completely forgotten about his existence [...]”.¹³⁴ At the end of the year Kinsky reported on his efforts in acquiring and arranging a shipment of two Handel operas and his intention of sending “toutes ses compositions” to the duke, although that description must surely be a rhetorical overstatement. He also gave a short account of the entertainments taking place in the London theatres, which at that time saw fierce competition between Handel's company and the Opera of the Nobility, especially after Farinelli joined the second group late in 1734:

¹³¹ *A-Whh*, HA, Familienkorrespondenz A 25-17-51, Entwurf eines Schreibens von Franz Herzog von Lothringen, Großherzog von Toskana an den Prinzen von Wales, Laxenburg, 7 May 1732, f. 168a.

¹³² *A-Whh*, LHA, 127-3, Frederick Louis to Francis Stephen, [London], 22 January 1734, unfoliated.

¹³³ It is likely that already in 1733 Francis Stephen had asked Frederick Louis and Philipp Kinsky to send him music: “Je m'entretiens souvent avec le Comte de Kinsky au sujet de mon Intime, et nous regretterons ensemble daß Wir nicht so einen lieben Patron mit uns können dieses Jahr haben”: *A-Whh*, LHA, 127-3, Frederick Louis to Francis Stephen, St. James [London], 5 June 1733, unfoliated.

¹³⁴ “J'ai eu l'honneur il y a six semaines passées de mander très humblement à son Altesse Roÿale la reponse du Prince de Galles par rapport à l'offre, qu'il lui a plut de faire des certains papiers de musique; il m'en parla, il y a quelques jours passés, et me dit, qu'il n'espéroit point, que son Altesse Roÿale aura tout à fait oublié sa personne, et que si elle souhaite d'avoir des pièces de musique il ne manquera pas de lui en envoÿer d'abord.”: *A-Whh*, LHA, 122-5, Graf Kinsky an die Herzoge von Lothringen, Joseph Kinsky to Francis Stephen, London, 13 August [1734], unfoliated.

Son Altesse Roÿale auroit été plus tôt servie, s'il étoit parti plus tot un courier, je n'en vois en attendant, que deux Operas de Händel, ne sçachant si le Prince de Galles en a mis parmi ses papiers de musique, que son Altesse Roÿale a reçues de lui, où non; au dernier cas j'enverrai le reste de toutes ses compositions, pourvû, que Son Altesse Roÿale me le veuille faire sçavoir par quelqu'un; ils ne manque point de spectacles; deux Operas, mais Farinelli, qui est au theatre opposé à Händel, y entraine tout le monde, ces sont vings Seigneurs qui l'ont entreprit, quatre comedies Angloises et une Francoise;¹³⁵

Francis Stephen would have been pleased to see how well the London public received Farinelli. According to the grateful singer, the duke had sent a letter of recommendation to Frederick Louis to ensure that Farinelli would receive a proper welcome on his arrival.¹³⁶ The empress, too, sent a similar letter to the queen of England, and at the same time the imperial ambassador Kinsky received instructions from count Ferdinand Lamberg, the director of the imperial court music, where it was made clear to him that the emperor expected that the singer would receive his full protection.¹³⁷

By 1735 Francis Stephen was regularly receiving copies of works from London – for example, in January of that year, when he thanked the imperial ambassador: “Je suis très obligé à Vôtre Excellence de s'être chargé des pieces de Musique que le P.ce de Galles m'a en voyé qui sont fort belles et de bon gout”.¹³⁸ Joseph Kinsky also continued to send the most recent operas to the duke – for

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, Joseph Kinsky to Francis Stephen, London, 17 December 1734, unfoliated.

¹³⁶ CARLO BROSCHI FARINELLI, *La solitudine amica*, cit., p. 132.

¹³⁷ “Partendo per codesta volta il decantato Virtuoso Sig.re Carlo Broschi detto Farinello, ed essendo questi sotto la mia Inspezione, qual servitore di S. M.^{ta}, mi piglio la confidenza d'accompagnarlo con questa mia di raccomandazione, e di appoggiarlo fervorosamente alla valida protezione di V. E. perchè si degni di assisterlo in occorenza de'suoi vantaggi, come non meno di farle particolarmente godere quella di essere egli guardato come attual servitore dell'Aug[ustissi]mo Padrone, avendone egli l'onore, ed il merito per la sua singolare Virtù; venendo anco il medesimo dell'Aug[ustissi]ma Imperadrice con sua particolar lettera raccomandato alla M.^{ta} di codesto Regina. Mi lusingo che possano aver loco questi miei umiliss.^{mi} uffici, che passo in persona del sud.^o Virtuoso all'E. V.; il quale oltre la sua distinta virtù, le sue doti personali, la sua saggia condotta, e l'umiltà del suo tratto esige ogni amorevole favori e stima, vivendo sicuro, che l'E. V. dagl'effetti ne resterà pienamente persuasa. Di quant'ella si degnerà impartire colla sua favorevole protezione al sud.^o Virtuoso, aseriverò il tutto a mia spezial'obbligazione, pronto ad abbracciare simili, e maggiori congiunture da' riveriti comandi di V. E., de' quali vivendone ansiose, con rispettoso ossequio mi costituisco”: *A-Wava*, Familienarchiv, Kinsky 2.2 Korrespondenz des Grafen Philipp von Kinsky als Botschafter in London, Einlauf (b-e), 1728-1736., Ferdinand Lamberg to Philipp Kinsky, Vienna, 14 August 1734, f. 57 [1734]. I am very grateful to Dr Rudolf Kinsky for kindly giving me permission to view the Kinsky files.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, Francis Stephen to Philipp Kinsky, Pressburg, 12 January 1735, f. 3 [1735]. Francis Stephen must have wished to receive a copy of the first opera in which Farinelli appeared. This was the pasticcio *Artaserse*, which was premiered on 29 October 1734 and included music by Hasse, Porpora and Riccardo Broschi, Farinelli's brother. However, no copy of this version exists in Vienna. Two Carestini arias and a duet for Strada and Carestini from Handel's revision of *Arianna in Creta*, which was performed in November 1734, are preserved in the ÖNB: *A-Wn*, Mus. Hs. 4035 and Mus. Hs. 4036, respectively.

example, in mid-April, when he forwarded “[...] une partie de l’Opera nouveau, le reste ne sera point communiqué au public”.¹³⁹ This could be either Pietro Giuseppe Sandoni’s *Issipile*, which opened at the Haymarket Theatre on 8/19 April 1735, or, more likely, Handel’s *Alcina*, which premiered on 16/27 April; no trace of Sandoni’s work is found in Vienna, but two collections of soprano arias from *Alcina* are held by the ÖNB.¹⁴⁰ Other existing London copies that can be traced back to the private collection of Francis Stephen are Nicola Porpora’s *Arianna in Naxos*,¹⁴¹ which premiered in London in December 1733, and the same composer’s oratorio *David e Bersabea*,¹⁴² which was first performed on 12/23 March 1734 and revived in Holy Week 1735. Both copies are richly bound in red-brown leather with gilt edges.¹⁴³ Several arias from the London operas of this period could also have had their origin in Francis Stephen’s collection. Clearly, further research in Viennese music libraries is needed to identify the music sent from London, but it seems that many items once in the possession of the duke are missing – especially the copies of the works of Handel.

MARRIAGE – TUSCANY

When the War of the Polish Succession broke out in 1733, France wasted no time before invading Lorraine, as had long been expected. Two years later, in the preliminary peace negotiations between the powers of Europe, a complex agreement was reached that saw Francis Stephen cede his duchy to France in exchange for the grand duchy of Tuscany. It was a cruel deal that was vehemently opposed by Francis Stephen’s mother and his brother Carl, but the duke had no option but to give up his hereditary lands and consent to these conditions. Moreover, as the emperor made clear, only by agreeing to these terms would the duke be able to marry his daughter, the archduchess Maria Theresa.

Their long-awaited marriage, which had been discussed and planned for so many years, finally took place on 12 February 1736 in Vienna. It proved to be a happy union that produced sixteen offspring, of which thirteen survived infancy. The first child, Maria Elisabeth (d. 1740), was born in February 1737, at a time when Francis Stephen was preparing to take up the governorship of the Austrian Netherlands as part of an agreement made with the emperor. Only after the death of the incumbent grand duke of Tuscany, Gian Gastone de’ Medici, would the hand-over of the grand duchy take place, but in 1736 he was very much still alive. However, nothing came of Francis Stephen’s journey to

¹³⁹ A-Whh, LHA, 122-5, Joseph Kinsky to Francis Stephen, London, 19 April 1735, unfoliated.

¹⁴⁰ A-Wn, Mus. Hs. 4033 and Mus. Hs. 4034.

¹⁴¹ A-Wn, Mus. Hs. 17954.

¹⁴² A-Wn, Mus. Hs. 18594. The copyist of this score is Adamo Scola, who at that time was working in London. For a discussion of this work, see LOWELL LINDGREN, *Oratorios sung in Italian at London*, in *L’oratorio musicale italiano e i suoi contesti (secc. XVII-XVIII)*, ed. Paola Besutti, Florence, Olschki, 2002, pp. 513-559.

¹⁴³ A copy of Hasse’s *Gerone tiranno di Siracusa* has the same binding and must therefore have belonged to Francis Stephen: A-Wn, Mus. Hs. 17280/1-3.

Brussels. When the news of Gian Gastone's death on 9 July 1737 reached him, he was stationed at the front in Hungary, in the Austrian war against Turkey. This first experience of the battlefield was short-lived, and he was forced to return to Vienna on account of illness.

Numerous documents from this period list the musicians employed by Francis Stephen in 1737 and 1738.¹⁴⁴ In Lorraine, *surintendant de la musique* Desmarest was enjoying a very generous pension from his old student and was able to see out his final years in relative comfort, dying in 1741. Eleven *Joueurs d'Instrumens*, including Gilles senior, who directed the orchestra, the comedy and the ballet, likewise received a fair salary, as did the "Accompagnateur de Clavesin" and teacher of the princesses, Winand. Six oboists of the Regiment de Gardes were paid for playing at balls and in the comedy.¹⁴⁵ In addition to these musicians, the duke had *Trompettes des plaisir* consisting of six trumpeters, one timpanist and two horn-players.¹⁴⁶ When Francis Stephen decided which employees of the court in Lorraine should move to Tuscany, he specifically requested that Gilles be retained in his service,¹⁴⁷ and this man was later among a large contingent that moved to Florence. There, he held the same post as formerly in Lorraine: that of director of the court orchestra.

In Vienna, Francis Stephen's *Musique de la chambre*, as it is usually described in sources from this period onwards, comprised Leopold Timmer, his brothers Joseph Ferdinand and Charles, Mathias Liedtmaÿr and Joseph Kien, in addition to two new members: the fourth Timmer brother, Anton, and Jean Joseph Charles Ambrosy,¹⁴⁸ but it is not clear when the last two were hired. The second is probably the "Ambrosy Carl" who played violin in the private *Kapelle* of the former dowager empress Eleonor.¹⁴⁹ An inventory taken after Anton Timmer's death in 1764 lists "1. Härpfen. 1. Passetl, und 2. Violinen" among his belongings, so he probably played either the cello or the violin, if not both.¹⁵⁰ From November 1737 onwards he is listed as a valet in the service of Maria Theresa.¹⁵¹ Complementing this group were four musicians brought over from Lorraine: two trumpeters, Georg Jacobitzky and Andreas Habler, and two horn-players, Anton Krumbholtz and Wenzel Sokolatsch (Suckolow/Sokolow).

¹⁴⁴ These lists are found in multiple copies throughout the LHA files.

¹⁴⁵ *A-Whh*, LHA, 216-1, f. 25a. The Lorraine musicians are listed under Plaisirs along with fourteen unnamed comedians.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, f. 80a.

¹⁴⁷ "S. A. R. veut à la fin conserver à son service le S.^r Gilles, il ira à Bruxelles et aura 300. fl. d'appointe ce que vous pourrez luy annoncer. Apropos de Gilles, il me fait souvenir de la Comedie": *A-Whh*, LHA, 118-1, Ein Band Abschriften von Schreiben des Herzogs Franz Stephan von Lothringen, Pfütschner to Molitoris, Laxemburg, 18 May 1737, f. 664. Since nothing came of the journey to Brussels, Gilles was sent directly to Tuscany.

¹⁴⁸ *A-Whh*, LHA, 216-1, f. 72a. This list was later crossed out and replaced with another one, which also listed the Florentine musicians.

¹⁴⁹ *A-Whh*, OMeA, ÄR, 17, 1720-1721, unfoliated.

¹⁵⁰ *A-Whh*, Obersthofmarschallamt (OMaA) 760, Abhandlungen D oder T 205 bis 231, Nr. 209, Anton Timmer, unfoliated.

¹⁵¹ *A-Whh*, LHA, 216-1, f. 88b.

The principal Florentine musicians of the new grand duke are first listed, alongside their counterparts in Vienna, in a document from late 1737.¹⁵² The first to enjoy the benefits of the new sovereign was the composer, singer and theorbist Carlo Arrigoni, whom Francis Stephen probably had met in London in 1731. After his return from England Arrigoni entered the service of Gian Gastone in November 1736, but following the death of the grand duke in July 1737 he travelled to Austria, where he is listed as a *Compositeur* in the *Musique de la chambre* in November of that year.¹⁵³ During the same month Arrigoni dedicated name-day cantatas to both the emperor and the empress,¹⁵⁴ and in 1738 his oratorio *Ester* was sung in the imperial chapel.¹⁵⁵ Arrigoni became the highest-paid Florentine musician of the grand duke, which placed him on equal terms with Carl Timmer, Joseph Kien and Charles Ambrosy, but his salary was considerably lower than that of the music director, Leopold Timmer. The composer Giuseppe Maria Orlandini, *maestro di cappella* of the new grand duke, was paid even less – but he, like some of the other musicians in Florence, may have received an additional salary from other institutions in the city. After Francis Stephen had confirmed his intention of assuming protectorship of the musical academy in Florence and continuing to employ the musicians of the *Real Cappella*¹⁵⁶ Orlandini responded by dedicating his opera *Le nozze di Perseo e d'Andromeda* to the grand duke. After the performance of this work in the Teatro della Pergola on 9 April 1738, where the Florentine musicians played free of charge, a calligraphic presentation copy was sent to Francis Stephen in Vienna, where it still exists today, lavishly bound in red leather and bearing the arms of Lorraine and Tuscany on its cover.¹⁵⁷

The Florentine chamber musicians whom Francis Stephen retained in his service and who were paid from his coffers show well the musical preferences of his predecessor Gian Gastone. The late grand duke, who had studied the theorbo, lute and mandoline in his Prague years,¹⁵⁸ clearly liked to be

¹⁵² *Ibid.*, f. 71a.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*, f. 72a.

¹⁵⁴ A-Wn, Mus. Hs. 17595 and Mus. Hs. 17594, respectively.

¹⁵⁵ A-Wn, Mus. Hs. 17064. In this copy Arrigoni is styled *Compositore di Camera di sua A: R: di Lorena Gran Duca di Toscana*, ed *Academico Filarmonico*.

¹⁵⁶ Francis Stephen also generously compensated the impresario Luca Casimiro degli Albizzi for the losses incurred in the hastily arranged opera season at the Pergola in 1737-1738. The story is related in WILLIAM C. HOLMES, *Opera Observed: Views of a Florentine Impresario in the Early Eighteenth Century*, Chicago, Chicago University Press, 1993, pp. 151-165. However, the title and content of the chapter in question, “Commotion and confusion at the Pergola with the arrival of the Austrians”, displays a fundamental misunderstanding of the Tuscan administration of Francis Stephen, which was run by his ministers from Lorraine and had nothing to do with either Austria or the imperial government, as implied by the author. Moreover, it is difficult to concur with Holmes’s statements that the grand duke cared little about Florence or had little interest in the opera: *Ibid.*, pp. 151-152. The sources adduced in Renate Zedinger’s biography of Francis Stephen and in this article suggest quite the contrary.

¹⁵⁷ A-Wn, Mus. Hs. 17953.

¹⁵⁸ In his curious petition for a continuation of payments for beer and wine, Niccolò Ceccherini

surrounded by the gentle sounds of these instruments. In addition to Arrigoni, he had some fine chamber musicians on his payroll, such as the harpist Martino Vetterle and the theorbist Domenico Palafuti, who were both styled *virtuoso di camera*, the cellist Isidorio Salvetti, the “joueur du clavier” and instrument maker Piero Mazzetti, the Prussian oboist Ludwig Erdmann and the theorbist and lute player Niccolò Susier, whose diaries are an important source of information on music in Florence during this period. The violinist Martino Bitti is also listed among these musicians, but his salary is in fact a pension, for he had already retired in 1726.¹⁵⁹

Francis Stephen would later have a chance to listen to some of these musicians when he travelled to his grand duchy in 1739, but circumstances did not allow for an earlier departure. The disastrous war against Turkey was still continuing, and he made another visit to the campaign, but when he was in Vienna he took an active part in military planning and communicating daily reports from the front to the emperor. Also, Maria Theresa was pregnant with her second child, and only after she gave birth to princess Maria Anna on 6 October 1738 could the journey to Tuscany proceed. Most important, Francis Stephen waited for further reports of the financial situation of the grand duchy, after having sent his representatives ahead to examine the treasury. It soon became clear that radical financial reforms were needed, but the experience gained from Lorraine, where the books had finally been balanced, would serve him well.

On 17 December 1738 Maria Theresa, Francis Stephen and his brother, prince Carl of Lorraine, left for Tuscany. The European newspapers reported extensively on the reception they received in Italy, while commemorative publications were later printed in many of the cities that were visited. As a result, we have a good picture of the music heard in those places, and this information is worth repeating here. In Bolzano (Bozen) the royal guests attended service on Christmas Day and heard “einer complekten Musik” during High Mass and “Musica di Camera” in the evening.¹⁶⁰ The musicians involved received 20 ducats for their performances.¹⁶¹ On their arrival in the city of Trent the next day the grand duke and grand duchess received a warm welcome and during dinner “[...] ware auf Anordnung Ihrer Bischöflichen Gnaden eine herzliche Musik von denen hiesigen

della Vipera claims that he had taught the late grand duke in Prague: “I servizi, che teneva il Ceccherini à presso S. A. Reale Defunto stava in carattere di Virtuoso d’ [sic] Camera, e Suo Maestro, li dava lezione d’ Tiorba liuto Mandolino, e direttore della Musica, della Real Corte [...]”: *A-Whh*, LHA, 127-6, Meist Glückwunsch- und Beileidsschreiben an Franz Stephan [...] 1732-1750, undated [ca. 1737] f. 88b. This musician is almost certainly the same person as the Italian Anton Ceccherini, who played the theorbo in the Kreuzherrenkirche in Prague for 50 years, “und mit ihm ist auch dieses Instrument abgestorben”; see JOHANN GOTTFRIED DLABACZ, *Allgemeines historisches Künstler-Lexikon für Böhmen und zum Theil auch für Mähren und Schlesien*, 3 vols, Prague, 1815, vol. 1, col. 270.

¹⁵⁹ For more information about these musicians, see WARREN KIRKENDALE, *The Court Musicians in Florence during the Principate of the Medici*, Florence, Olschki, 1993.

¹⁶⁰ WD, Anno 1739. (Num. 5) 17. Januarii. Botzen in Tyrol 24. Dec. 1738., pp. 48-49.

¹⁶¹ *A-Whh*, HA, Poschakten J.S. 28, Etat des gratifications et presens faits à l’occasion et pendant le voyage de Toscane 1738-1739; à Botzen, Le 25. [December], unfoliated.

Academisten und ausländischen Virtuosen unter Abfeuerung deren Canonnen / und des kleinen Geschützes”.¹⁶² The music, which was probably composed by the *maestro di cappella*, Carlo Antonio Prati, could also have included compositions by Bonporti, who would have played in the orchestra. Bonporti used the opportunity to present Maria Theresa with a copy of his *Concertini e serenate*, Op. 12 (c. 1736).¹⁶³ On arriving in Italy, the royal travellers were forced to stay for two weeks of quarantine in Verona, but during that time they were well cared for at the palace of count Scipione Burri. Thanks to the intervention of prince Luigi Pio, who at that time was the imperial ambassador in Venice, they were allowed to depart sooner than expected. A list of the presents distributed on their departure contains a most interesting entry: “Au S.r Rotari Musicien de Verona qui a chanté et présenté un Tableau a S. A. R. une Tabatiere d’or”, worth 300 fl.¹⁶⁴ This man can be none other than the famous painter Pietro Rotari, who until now has not been known for any musical abilities. In Mantua the comedians and musicians at the Ducal Teatro received payments for their performances before the royal guests on 13 January 1739.¹⁶⁵ After a stopover in Mirandola, Francis Stephen arrived in Modena on 15 January. Over the course of the next three days “Musica, e Sinfonie” were played during lunch each day.¹⁶⁶ The director of the opera and the musicians of an anonymous pasticcio, *Il Bajazette*, that was performed at the Teatro Molza were also paid handsomely, which suggests that Francis Stephen was pleased with what he heard.¹⁶⁷ On their arrival in Bologna on 18 January the visitors were treated to a midday meal, during which they enjoyed “il divertimento del canto, e del suono de’ più eccellenti Professori del Paese”.¹⁶⁸ The “Musique de Table” on that occasion must have been exceptionally good, since the musicians shared 100 ducats for their performance.¹⁶⁹

Great preparations had been made in Florence for the arrival of Francis

¹⁶² WD, Anno 1739. (Num. 4) 14. Januarii. Trient in Tyrol, 30. Dec. 1738, p. 40.

¹⁶³ See ANTONIO CARLINI, *Francesco Antonio Bonporti “Gentiluomo di Trento”. Biografia e catalogo tematico dell’opera*, Padua, Edizioni de ‘I Solisti Veneti’, 2000, p. 175. Years later, Bonporti asked Francis Stephen whether Maria Theresa had liked the music: “Qui in occasione della venuta, in queste parti, del Signor Principe di Santa Croce, sperando di sapere, come la Maestà della Regina abbia aggradito l’Opera di Concertini, e Serenate da me consacratale, con umiliare li profondissimi miei rispetti non meno alla Maestà Sua, che all’A. V. R., tutto mi dedico”: *A-Whh*, LHA, 132-1, An Franz Stephan von italienischen Standespersonen, 1740-1754, ferner Konzepte zu Schreiben Franz Stephans, 1743-1744, Padua, f. 147ab. This was not the first time that the composer had asked this question, to judge from a comment from the secretary of the grand duke on the verso of the letter: “[...] il fait encore mention des Livres de Musique, qu’il a dedie à la Reine”: *Ibid.*, f. 148b.

¹⁶⁴ *A-Whh*, HA, Poschakten J.S. 28, 12 January 1739, “a la Maison Burri”, unfoliated.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 13 January, “a Mantoüe, à la Comedie 70 [Duc.], à l’opera 18 [Duc.]”, unfoliated.

¹⁶⁶ “Gazzetta di Mantova”, Num. 5. Mantova 30. Gennajo 1739., Modena 22. Gennajo, unpaginated.

¹⁶⁷ *A-Whh*, HA, Poschakten J.S. 28, a Modena, “à la Musique 60 [Duc.], à l’opera [60 Duc.], au Directeur une Tabatiere de sone verd doubleé d’or”, unfoliated. There is little to suggest that this setting bore any resemblance to Vivaldi’s homonymous opera of 1735: a quick glance at the libretto shows that numerous arias are taken from a variety of texts by Metastasio.

¹⁶⁸ “Gazzetta di Mantova”, Num. 5. Mantova 30. Gennajo 1739., Bologna 20. Gennajo, unpaginated.

¹⁶⁹ *A-Whh*, HA, Poschakten J.S. 28, “a Bologne, a la Musique de Table 100 [Duc.]”, unfoliated.

Stephen, and music was to play an important part in the celebrations. He made his public entry on 20 January. A large stage had been erected inside the Duomo, where no fewer than 300 musicians performed a *Te Deum* for the grand duke and duchess.¹⁷⁰ Later, as they made their way through the streets of Florence, they passed through a triumphal arch erected by the Jewish community and heard “un armonioso concerto di moltissimi strumenti musicali posti in un palco espressamente eretto sotto l’Arco medesimo”.¹⁷¹ In the evening a Gala was held in the living quarters of the grand duke and his entourage at the Palazzo Pitti. A spectacular firework display in the Boboli Gardens behind the palace was accompanied by “un soavissimo concerto di diversi strumenti di varj generi”.¹⁷² The music continued on the following day, when the pasticcio *Arianna e Teseo*, arranged by Orlandini, was performed at the Pergola. The singers for the carnival season at the theatre included Senesino, the sopranos Lucia Facchinelli and Caterina Aschieri, plus the German tenor Anton Raaff, who later sang in Vienna. In February these singers also appeared in Orlandini’s *L’Arsace*.¹⁷³ On 22 January it was Arrigoni’s turn, when *Scipione nella Spagne*, the second of his two carnival operas for that season, was performed at the Teatro del Cocomero. This opera was dedicated to Maria Theresa, as was Arrigoni’s *Sirbace*, which had premiered at the end of 1738, but may also have been performed later especially for the grand duke and duchess. In his letters to Vienna the imperial representative in Florence mentioned the frequent visits of Francis Stephen, Maria Theresa and Carl to the two opera theatres during their stay, and he also reported on a magnificent ball held in the Palazzo Vecchio on 28 January “con concerti d’ogni sorte stromenti”,¹⁷⁴ which was replicated at least twice on later occasions.

In March and April, Francis Stephen travelled around his grand duchy. Wherever he went, music was performed in his honour. On 6 March he arrived in Livorno with his consort and brother. After a full day of celebrations they listened to a group of instrumental musicians in the city square in the evening, playing “i loro armoniosi concerti”.¹⁷⁵ Before leaving that city the grand duke

¹⁷⁰ “Gazzetta di Mantova”, Num. 6. Mantova 6. Febbrajo 1739., Firenze 27. Gennajo, unpaginated.

¹⁷¹ *Relazione dell’ingresso fatto in Firenze dalle Altezze Reali del Serenissimo Francesco III. duca di Lorena, e di Bar, ec. ec., granduca di Toscana, e della Serenissima Maria Teresa, arciduchessa d’Austria, e granduchessa di Toscana: il dì 20. gennaio 1738*, Florence, 1739, unpaginated. The “1738” of the title is correct according to Florentine usage, since this city observed the Style of the Incarnation, advancing the year on 25 March.

¹⁷² *Loc. cit.*

¹⁷³ A-Wn, Mus. Hs. 17950. This calligraphic copy must have been presented to Francis Stephen in Florence. A calligraphic copy containing seven cantatas by Orlandini and Arrigoni is held: A-Wn, Mus. Hs. 17577.

¹⁷⁴ A-Whh, StAbt Italienische Staaten Toskana-Spanischer Rat 12, Berichte 1738-1742, letter of Francesco Lisoni to Vienna, Florence, 3 February 1739, unfoliated.

¹⁷⁵ *Relazione delle feste fatte in Livorno per la venuta, e permanenza nella medesima città delle altezze reali del serenissimo Francesco 3. duca di Lorena, e di Bar ec. gran duca di Toscana, e della serenissima Maria Teresa arciduchessa d’Austria, gran duchessa di Toscana*, Livorno, 1739, p. 5.

generously paid 50 ducats to an unidentified “Compositeur de l’Oratoire”.¹⁷⁶ Maria Theresa returned to Florence on 16 March, but the two brothers from Lorraine sailed in gondolas to Pisa, where they heard the cantata *I trionfi di Goffredo in Gerusalemme* performed at the Teatro Pubblico on their arrival. The Neapolitan Michele Fini composed the music on a libretto by the Pisan attorney *cavaliere* Pio dal Borgo.¹⁷⁷ Francis Stephen, Maria Theresa and Carl also visited Siena at the beginning of April. On entering the city, they made their way to the cathedral, where they heard a solemn *Te Deum* “che si cantò da due cori di Musici, sonando una banda di Stromenti nel terzo”.¹⁷⁸ At the theatre of the Collegio Tolomei the students performed a “Burletta” with ballets and “intermezzi assai vaghi” for the noble guests.¹⁷⁹ Before leaving for Siena, the grand duke, grand duchess and Carl had attended two performances of a revival of Orlandini’s *Il Temistocle* at the Pergola. On the evening preceding their departure the two brothers showed up at the Pergola for the third performance – but only in time for the ballets concluding the first act of the opera, and they left again as soon as the second act was over. Through the correspondence of the grandson of the Florentine impresario Luca Casimiro degli Albizzi we know that not all was well at the theatre and that attendances were low. Facchinelli had left for Madrid, and the newly arrived tenor Pinacci, whom Francis Stephen had heard in London, was ill. Moreover, Pinacci’s wife Anna Bagnolesi, who had appeared in Handel’s *Admeto* in London in 1731, was singing badly. To make matters worse, Senesino was struggling.¹⁸⁰ The well-known anecdote about the famous castrato singing a duet with Maria Theresa and being moved to tears by her singing dates from this period.

The sojourn in Tuscany came to an end on 27 April 1739. Francis Stephen and his brother left for Livorno, from where they planned to sail to Genoa on their way to Turin to meet their sister Élisabeth Thérèse, queen of Sardinia. Maria Theresa, meanwhile, travelled to Bologna where, on her arrival, she heard “eine vortrefliche Musik mit 4. Sing-Stimmen”.¹⁸¹ The timing of her arrival in Reggio Emilia on 29 April was surely no coincidence, for Hasse’s *Il Demetrio* was being performed that evening. After the grand duchess and the other guests had enjoyed the first act of the opera, the surprising news reached the theatre that

¹⁷⁶ A-Whh, HA, Poschakten J.S. 28, 16 March 1739, unfoliated.

¹⁷⁷ “Spero che la somma clemenza di V.A.R. la conoscerà al quanto giusta, e la degnerà della Sua approvazione, come ebbe la bontà di mostrar gradimento di quella Cantata, che in dovuto onore di V. A. R. fù da me promossa, e composta, e fù poi cantata nel publico Teatro di Pisa, allorché l’A. V. R. felicità questa Città con la Sua Reale, benignissima presenza”: A-Whh, LHA, 128-6, Glückwunsch- und ähnliche Schreiben an Franz Stephan, größtenteils von italienischen Adelligen und Städten 1737-1741, Pio dal Borgo to Francis Stephen, Pisa, 1 May 1741, unfoliated.

¹⁷⁸ *Relazione Dell’Ingresso, E Soggiorno In Siena Delle AA. RR. Del Serenissimo Francesco III. Duca Di Lorena, Di Bar ec. Granduca Di Toscana, E della Serenissima Sua Consorte Maria Teresa Arciduchessa D’Austria, Granduchessa Di Toscana*, Siena, 1739, p. 5.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

¹⁸⁰ WILLIAM C. HOLMES, *Opera Observed*, cit., pp. 132-133.

¹⁸¹ WD, Anno 1739. (Num. 41) 23. Majus. Bologna 2. May., pp. 424-425

Francis Stephen and his brother had arrived at the Rivalta palace at the outskirts of the city. Because of bad weather, they had not been able to board their ship in Livorno and were instead forced to undertake the journey overland. They must have travelled at great speed to reach Reggio in just over one-and-a-half days, but knowing that Hasse's opera was being performed will have spurred them on. They later joined Maria Theresa for the second and third acts and witnessed a good performance by a first-rate cast that included the castratos Felice Salimbeni, Giuseppe Appiani and Giovanni Battista Andreoni, the tenor Gregorio Lorenzo Babbi and his wife Giovanna, and the soprano Caterina Visconti. A copy of the opera, today held by the ÖNB, may have been presented on this occasion.¹⁸²

After a stopover in Parma Maria Theresa continued to Milan, where she arrived on 2 May and, as the hereditary princess of the duchy, received a great welcome when entering the city. Meanwhile, Francis Stephen and Carl travelled in the direction of Turin. On their way they made an overnight stop at Asti, where they may have heard a rehearsal or a performance of an anonymous *Amore nell'odio*, which was the spring opera that year. In Turin the finest musicians of the city, including the violinists Giovanni Battista Somis and his brother Lorenzo plus the oboist Alessandro Besozzi and his brother, the bassoonist Paolo Girolamo, probably performed for the visitors during an evening concert on 4 May, and again the next day, when an "Opera Francese" was heard.¹⁸³ The brothers from Lorraine said farewell to their sister Élisabeth Thérèse for the last time on the morning of 6 May before heading off to Milan, where they arrived in the afternoon. Later that evening they heard Giuseppe Ferdinando Brivio's *La Germania trionfante in Arminio* coupled with Pergolesi's comic intermezzi *Il ladro finto pazzo* (based on *Livietta e Tracollo*) at the Regio Ducal Teatro. Operatic music was also heard the next day,¹⁸⁴ and afterwards the musicians shared 100 ducats for their performances, which had greatly pleased the guests.¹⁸⁵ The next stop after Milan was Cremona, where the city officials had made arrangements for an "accademia di musica" for the guests and brought in musicians from outside the city.¹⁸⁶ Maria Theresa was ill that

¹⁸² *A-Wn*, Mus. Hs. 17257. This Italian copy, once in the possession of Maria Theresa, is numbered "9" on the spine, matching the music inventory of Joseph II. See above, note 128.

¹⁸³ DON CARLO CELIDONIO, *Relazione della venuta e dimora in Milano delle Altezze Reali della Serenissima Maria Teresa, arciduchessa d'Austria, e Gran-Duchessa di Toscana, e del Serenissimo Francesco III, duca di Lorena, e di Bar, gran-duca di Toscana, ec.: col Serenissimo suo fratello Principe Carlo di Lorena nel mese di maggio dell' anno 1739*, Milan, 1739, pp. 48-49.

¹⁸⁴ "[7 May] divertendosi poi alla sera parte con l'Opera in Musica": *A-Whh*, Italien Spanischer Rat Lombardei Korrespondenz 57, Graf Traun 1738-1739, count Otto Ferdinand von Abensperg und Traun to Charles VI, Milan, 8 May 1739, unfoliated.

¹⁸⁵ *A-Whh*, HA, Poschakten J.S. 28, "a l'opera 100 [Duc.]", Milan 1739, unfoliated.

¹⁸⁶ "Aveano disposto quei Presidenti al Governo della Città di dare un breve trattenimento alle Altezze loro in quella sera con un accademia di musica, ed a quest' effetto si erano chiamati musici forastieri"; DON CARLO CELIDONIO, *Relazione della venuta e dimora in Milano [...]*, cit., p. 60. The governor of Milan, count Traun, confirms that the work performed was a serenata; *A-Whh*, Italien

evening, so she was not present when an unidentified serenata was performed for the two brothers. The morning after the concert in Cremona the journey continued to Mantua, where “una Cantata a 3. Voci con isquisito concerto d’Istromenti”¹⁸⁷ was performed in the ducal palace during evening dinner on 10 May. The music, *Sensi di giubbilo del genio di Mantova*, was composed by Giovanni Zuccari on a libretto by Vittore Vettori, who is thought to be the author of some of the texts for Vivaldi’s Mantuan cantatas.

The feast of music that Francis Stephen enjoyed while in Italy came to a close with the concert in Mantua. The composers and many virtuosos whom he heard during this period would certainly have added much to his already considerable knowledge and understanding of the music of that country. Doubtless, he will have used the opportunity to add to his ever-growing music collection during this journey. Even if they were not able to visit Venice and Naples, two of the most important musical centres of Europe, the grand duke and duchess were kept well informed about the music being performed in both cities, requesting copies of operas by their favourite composers or reports on the reception of works by them. This is confirmed by letters received from prince Luigi Pio in Venice:

[4 February 1739]

Je suis fort fâché d’informer S.^a A.^e R.^e Madame la Duchesse de Lorraine et Gr. Duchesse de Toscane | aux pieds de la quelle je me jette | que l’Opera dü Hasse est entierement par terre, n’étend [*sic*] pas reüssis, pour ce qu’on atendoit d’un homme si celebre; j’espere de remettre Semdÿ prochain la copie de tout l’Opera a V.^e A.^e R.^e, etend glorieüx de vivre et mourir avec toute soumission.¹⁸⁸

[7 February 1739]

Voici que l’Opera dü Hasse a été copiè en ce moment, que je prend la libertèe de le remettre a V.^e A.^e R.^e, qui n’aura rien a reprocher a S. A. R.^e Madame la Duchesse son epouse, parsque l’Opera dü Porpora a Naples a eü le meme sort de n’être pas aprouvé; et me jettend aux piedts de S.^a A.^e R.^e Madame la Duchesse et Gran Duchesse, suis-je la plus parfaite soumission.¹⁸⁹

The last leg of the journey of Francis Stephen, Maria Theresa and prince Carl of Lorraine saw them return to Austria via Verona, Trent, Bolzano and Innsbruck, where they arrived in the afternoon of 13 May. The following day, the brothers were treated to “einer vortreflichen Musik”,¹⁹⁰ which was most likely composed by the former Innsbruck *Hofkapellmeister* Bernardo d’Aprile. For

Spanischer Rat Lombardei Korrespondenz 57, Graf Traun 1738-1739, count Otto Ferdinand von Abensperg und Traun to Charles VI, Mantua, 12 May 1739, unfoliated.

¹⁸⁷ “Gazzetta di Mantova”, Num. 20. Mantova 15. Maggio 1739, unpaginated.

¹⁸⁸ A-Whh, LHA, 132-3, Schreiben an den Herzog von Lothringen von dem König von Frankreich, französischen Prinzen und Ministern, Luigi Pio to Francis Stephen, Venice, 4 February 1739, f. 123a. The opera being copied was Hasse’s *Viriate*, which was being performed at S. Giovanni Grisostomo. This copy is lost.

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, Luigi Pio to Francis Stephen, Venice, 4 February 1739, f. 125a.

¹⁹⁰ WD, Anno 1739. (Num. 42) 27. Majus. Inspruk 13. May., p. 437.

their efforts the musicians received 20 ducats.¹⁹¹ After spending a few days with their mother Élisabeth Charlotte and their sister Anne Charlotte, who had travelled from Luneville, Francis Stephen, Carl and Maria Theresa departed for Vienna on 25 May, reaching the Habsburg capital five days later.

‘LA MUSICA È DEL FÙ SIG. D. ANTONIO VIVALDI’

The death of Charles VI in October 1740 exposed a once powerful empire as militarily disorganized and financially crippled. The new king of Prussia, Frederick II, responded to the cue and invaded Silesia while the Vienna court was still in mourning, thereby setting in motion the long-lasting War of the Austrian Succession. This war proved the making of Maria Theresa as a great leader of her people, but the important role played by Francis Stephen during this period as her co-regent and later as emperor, both in decision-making and financial support through his vast personal fortune, has only recently become understood in full, especially through Renate Zedinger’s ground-breaking publication of his biography, supplemented by numerous articles and conference proceedings. After her meticulous research in the Austrian and European archives over the past three decades, Zedinger has put forward enough evidence to restore the reputation of our subject to his rightful place as one of the great enlightened rulers of the eighteenth century¹⁹² – a perspective shared by historians from Vienna, Lorraine and Tuscany, who now view the legacy of Francis Stephen in a new light. At the same time, the long-held image of Francis Stephen as a mere cipher, who so often in the past was known only as the man who “sat on the left side” and in the shadow of his wife,¹⁹³ has been banished. It is somewhat ironic that Maria Theresa – who so dearly loved her husband – is partly responsible for the way he has been perceived in the literature over the past two centuries, for the problems facing historians who earlier sought to research the life of Francis Stephen were entirely of her own making. Following his death in 1765 she had his papers, documents and correspondence systematically removed from the archives in Vienna, and ordered them destroyed.¹⁹⁴ The reasons for this desperate act are unexplained. Her actions still resonate to this day, and were keenly felt by the present author in his research for this article.

In 1740 Francis Stephen purchased the Lamberg palace (now Wallnerstraße 3),

¹⁹¹ “a la musique 20 [Duc.]”: *A-Whh*, HA, Poschakten J.S. 28, Innsbruck, 25 May 1739, unfoliated.

¹⁹² RENATE ZEDINGER, *Franz Stephan von Lothringen (1708-1765)*, cit., foreword by Hubert Collin, pp. 7-10.

¹⁹³ FRED HENNINGS, *Und sitzt zur linken Hand: Franz Stephan von Lothringen – Gemahl der selbstregierenden Königin Maria Theresia und römischer Kaiser*, Vienna, Paul Neff, 1961.

¹⁹⁴ RENATE ZEDINGER, *Franz Stephan von Lothringen (1708-1765)*, cit., pp. 17-18. This is especially relevant to documents dating from after 1740; it is fortunate that the 226 files of the so-called Lothringisches Hausarchiv were spared. The LHA files are an important source for the history of Lorraine and the reign of Francis Stephen as duke. During my research I examined more than seventy LHA files relating to this period.

which later became known also as the Kaiserhaus. This became his sanctuary from the Hofburg and the rigorous etiquette maintained at the Vienna court. From his offices in this palace Francis Stephen ruled over his grand duchy with the help of his trusted ministers from Lorraine, who formed the *Toskanische Kanzlei*, and who also oversaw a large manufacturing operation in Francis Stephen’s domains in Teschen and Holitsch. He entertained visitors on imperial business in the reception halls, conducted alchemical experiments in the basement and assembled there his unique scientific, mineral and coin collections, all of which can be admired today in the museums of Vienna.

He likewise maintained a private library and music collection in the Kaiserhaus, where he performed with his *Musique de la chambre*. By 1740 Liedtmaÿr was no longer a member of this group, which now consisted of a core of three musicians who would serve Francis Stephen for the rest of his life: Carl Timmer, Kien and Ambrosy. Despite their principal duties as valets, Leopold, Joseph Ferdinand and Anton also joined in musical performances and received part of their salary by virtue of that function.¹⁹⁵ When Vivaldi arrived in Vienna in the summer of 1740, Francis Stephen’s *maestro di cappella di camera* would no doubt have been welcomed in this new palace for an evening of music and study.

We will probably never know the full extent of the relationship between Vivaldi and Francis Stephen during this period, but the latter may have had little time for further meetings with the former following the death of Charles VI and the outbreak of war in Silesia. In June 1741 the grand duke travelled to Pressburg for the coronation of Maria Theresa as queen of Hungary, which took place on 25 June. Exactly one month later, he returned briefly to Vienna with Maria Theresa and his brother to be present at the name-day feast of archduchess Maria Anna. He returned to Hungary on 26 July, just before before Vivaldi passed away.

The death of the emperor deprived Vivaldi of the chance of directing his opera *L’oracolo in Messenia* (RV 726, 1738) before his patron. But Francis Stephen was already by then familiar with the vocal music of the composer, having heard Faustina Bordoni sing his cantata *Che giova il sospirar* (RV 679)¹⁹⁶ in one of her recitals at the Viennese court in 1725 or 1726, and being present at the operas *Il giorno felice* (a version of *La fida ninfa*, RV 714, 1732) and *Candace* (RV 704, 1720) when they were performed at the Kärntnertortheater in Vienna in 1737 and 1738. Through his personal connection with Borosini,¹⁹⁷ who was the co-director of the

¹⁹⁵ By the early 1750s Joseph Ferdinand Timmer had assumed the post of *Schloss-Hauptmann* of the Belvedere palace in Vienna, in addition to his services to Francis Stephen.

¹⁹⁶ D-MELr, Ed 82b. In his diary Anton Ulrich wrote down particulars of a conversation with empress Elisabeth, who had asked the duke “wie mir hätte die *Faustina* gefallen, ob Ich nicht observiret hätte, daß sie nicht allzu ~~accurat~~ correct süngen”: Meiningen, Staatsarchiv, Geh. Archiv, XV V 17/1, Wienerisch Journal, von 26. Febr. 1726, biß 10. July 1727, so theils Ihro Durch. selbst, theils dero Cancelist Heß geführt., diary entry 25 March 1726, f. 44b.

¹⁹⁷ Borosini’s name first appears in the correspondence of Francis Stephen in a letter written from Leopold, landgrave of Hesse-Darmstadt (the son of Vivaldi’s patron prince Philip), dated Mantua, 17 October 1727. Leopold used the occasion of Borosini’s return to Vienna to have him carry a letter

theatre alongside Joseph Carl Selliers, he may indirectly have been responsible for having the music of his *maestro di cappella* produced there. It can hardly be a coincidence that Orlandini's *Arsace* was revived there in 1739,¹⁹⁸ the same year that Francis Stephen heard the opera in Florence, or that Orlandini's *Antigona* was performed at an unknown date in 1741 at the theatre, after it had reopened.

Brauneis also presents an interesting new hypothesis concerning where Vivaldi's *L'oracolo in Messenia* was performed, suggesting that it was the first-ever opera to be heard in the new Burgtheater, adjoining the Hofburg, on 5 February 1742.¹⁹⁹ It is unfortunate that Brauneis does not discuss this idea in greater detail, but on closer scrutiny, it seems that he is right about the premiere but not about the date: it can now be revealed that the opening of the theatre occurred on 20 January.²⁰⁰ Up to the present day most of the literature on the Burgtheater states

to Francis Stephen: *A-Whh*, LHA, 26-2, f. 204a. Borosini may have undertaken the journey to Italy to talent-scout singers and composers in preparation for the takeover of the Kärntnertortheater in the following year. If he travelled via Venice, he may have met Vivaldi and informed the composer of his plans. In 1746 the prince of Wales forwarded a letter received from Borosini to Francis Stephen: "Borosini me demande une Lettre pour Vôtre M.^{te} Impériale, ce que Je fais avec bien du plaisir, saisissant toute occasion qui me procure la satisfaction, de Lui temoigner mon attachement": *A-Whh*, LHA, 137-4, Briefwechsel Franz Stephans [...], 1736-1761, Leicester-House, 4 July 1746, unfoliated. In addition to his role as director of the theatre, Borosini could have arranged the operas for performance. A soprano cantata of his, *Quando miro o stella o fiore*, survives in the collection of Anton Ulrich in Meiningen: *D-MEIr*, Ed 115f. In 1733 Borosini and his brother Gabriel were ennobled by the emperor: *A-Wava*, Adel, RAA 40.34, Borosini, Gabriel, kaiserlicher Hofrat beim Hofkriegsrat, und Mitglied der Kriegs-, Staats- und Ökonomiekommission im Mailändischen, Franz, Brüder, Adelsbestätigung, Ritterstand als "Borosini Edler von Hohenstern, Ritter", Wappenbesserung, Vienna, 13 April 1733, ff. 1a-14b. In 2013 I came across a previously unknown leather-bound set of 25 canons by Borosini in Dresden, which had been filed under his noble name, Baron von Hohenstern: *Trattenimento quadragesimale à 3 voci in forma di canoni*: *D-DI*, 2997-E-1 (this collection parallels the anthology "One hundred Cantici", containing vocal canons mainly by Caldara, published by Borosini in London c. 1747). Its dedication to Maria Josepha, "Alla Sacra Reale Maestà, della Regina di Polonia Arciduchessa di Austria, Ellectrice di Sassonia et c. et Cett: Signora Sig^a Sempre Clementiss:", reads as follows:

Sacra Reale Maestà.

La esemplare devozione, che tanto risplende nella Real
Corte di Vos:^a Mae:^{ta}, ad immitazione della innata Pietà della Reale
Ma:^{ta} Vos:^{ta}, che con Santo Zelo à sempre Propagata / à maggior Gloria
di Dio / l'unica, e sola Santa Fede Cattolica Romana. mi da coraggio
a dedicare alla medema questi miei devoti versi, Composti in Onore
di Giesù, e Maria. Perciò Supplico Genuflesso a Piedi del Real
Trono della Ma:^{ta} Vos:^{ta} a riceverli come un Umilissimo tributo, di un
Antico Servitore dell Augustissimo e Clementissimo Genitore, della Ma: Vos:^{ta}
di Gloriosa Memoria, e della Grazia ut deus
L'umilissimo devotiss:^m et Ossequiosiss:^{mo} Vechio Ser.^{re}
Francesco Borosini de Hohenstern.

¹⁹⁸ *Arsace* was first performed in Vienna at the Kärntnertortheater in 1731.

¹⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 128-129.

²⁰⁰ "P.S. Ma femme a employé la matinée à aller en traineaux a [illegible] proche Schwichat [Schwechat], et en sortant de chés Votre Mere Elle est allé à l'Opera, qui est le premier qu'on represente au nouveau theatre bati au jeu de Peaume de la Cour [...].": *A-Wava*, FA, Harrach Fam. in

that Giuseppe Carcani's *Ambieto* was the first opera performed there, on either 3 or 5 February 1742²⁰¹ – which we now know to be incorrect – and without referencing primary sources. However, when one considers that Carcani's setting had premiered at S. Angelo in Venice only a few weeks before, on 26 December 1741, this seems somewhat doubtful. An experienced director/impresario such as Selliers would hardly have taken the risk of inaugurating a court theatre with an opera by a little-known composer from outside Venice, when, even if fortuitously, he had for months had the music of *L'oracolo in Messenia* ready and waiting for performance.²⁰²

The contract the court made with Selliers for the lease of the Kärntnertortheater and the Burgtheater could provide the answer to this question. It stated that before a new opera could be produced at the first-named theatre, it had first be produced at the second theatre if the court so requested: “So oft so wohl eine Wallische, alß Teütsche *opera* von neüen in dem Statt *Theatro* vorkommet, solle solche zum ersten mahl nach verlangen des Hofes auf deß *Entrepreneurs* unkosten in dem Kleinen *Theatro* *producirt* werden”.²⁰³ In carnival 1742 *L'oracolo in Messenia* was still a ‘new’ work, in the sense that it had not been performed in Vienna on an earlier occasion. Moreover, one clause in the contract with Selliers practically excludes the possibility that *Ambieto* was the work performed, since all compositions had to be approved in advance by the music director of the court: “5^{te} Alle *Compositionen* in der *Poesie*, und *Music*, alle *Tänz*, *Comparsen*, *Combattement*, und *Condecorationen* werden vorhin von deme König: *Music Directorn* *approbirt*, und weder beÿ Proben noch dem *Theatro*

spec 529.1, Harrach, Graf Ferdinand Bonaventura Harrach II., Bruder, Korrespondenz mit Friedrich August Harrach, 1742-1745, Ferdinand Bonaventura Harrach to Friedrich August Harrach, [Vienna], 20 January 1742, unfoliated.

²⁰¹ OSCAR TEUBER, *Das K.K. Hofburgtheater seit seiner Begründung*, in *Die Theater Wiens*, Vienna, Gesellschaft für Vervielfältigende Kunst, 1896, p. 39. The Viennese libretto, which makes no mention of the staging of Carcani's work during carnival, is clearly based on its Venetian production: with only minor alterations, the recitatives are identical. However, the Vienna version cuts a few arias by Carcani, replacing these with, or adding to them, settings of well-known aria texts by Metastasio. The music for the ballets in the Viennese production was composed by Ignaz Holzbauer, who became music director of the Burgtheater in 1742. Holzbauer's *Hypermnestra* was performed at the Kärntnertortheater in 1741.

²⁰² In a private communication Reinhard Strohm has suggested that *Ambieto* was prepared simultaneously in Venice and at the Kärntnertortheater. However, there is no precedent for that kind of co-operation on the part of that theatre. This might have been an option if the composer in question was well known and guaranteed to draw crowds, but this situation does not apply to Carcani, whose *Ambieto* is his first known stage work. Also the fact that all the works performed in the two theatres had to be approved in advance by the court's music director excludes this possibility, as shown below. It is more likely that *Ambieto* was performed in the spring, after news of its success in Venice had prompted Selliers to request a score from Venice. I wish to thank Reinhard Strohm for his comments. I am also grateful to Andrea Sommer-Mathis and Andrea Harrandt in Vienna for their kind advice and detailed replies to my questions.

²⁰³ *A-Wfhka*, AHK, NÖHAAW 61/A/32/B, undated, c. 1742, f. 833a. This is a draft contract: the text of the final agreement is in essence the same as that given here.

etwas anderst *producirt*, alß was seine *approbation* hat".²⁰⁴ It is unlikely that another opera was staged at the Kärntnertortheater in January, when the premiere of Vivaldi's opera was scheduled for 20 January at the Burgtheater. We should also remember that the libretto for *L'oracolo in Messenia* unequivocally states that it was produced in carnival 1742. It is for these reasons that I agree with Brauneis.²⁰⁵

Signs that Selliers was consulting Francis Stephen over the repertory of the Burgtheater emerge from the surprising revelation that in mid-February this impresario began a concert series in the theatre that was inspired by the Concert spirituel. We have already seen how impressed the grand duke was after attending the concerts in Paris, so much so that the foundation of the music academy in Luneville drew inspiration from this institution. The fact that Selliers went ahead with this bold venture despite being refused permission by cardinal archbishop Sigismund Graf von Kollonitz strongly suggests that he enjoyed the full protection of Francis Stephen and Maria Theresa in the matter. It has long been thought that in 1743 Leipzig was the first city in "Germania" to present works with liturgical texts in a concert setting. However, it now seems that Vienna preceded the Saxon city by a whole year.²⁰⁶

Francis Stephen was on the battlefield during most of the month of January. For example, he left Vienna for Upper Austria on 19 January, the day before the premiere, but returned on the last day of the month. Five days later he visited the Burgtheater. The grand duke and his consort showed their enthusiasm for Vivaldi's opera by attending on two consecutive days, according to the court diary:

[Monday, 5 February]

Wohnten Ihro König. Maÿ: mit Ihro König:ⁿ Hoheit in d.^o Hoff-Capellen den gottesdiens beÿ, und geruheten abends in dero Neuen *Theatro* nebst d. König:ⁿ Burgg eine Wällische *opera all'incognito* mit an zu sehen.²⁰⁷

[Tuesday, 6 February]

[...] Ihro König:ⁿ Maÿ: Speiseten mit Ihro König:ⁿ Hoheit nach der handt öffentlich in dero Audienz-Zimmer, und wohnten Abends der obged:ⁿ *opera* wiederum *all'incognito* beÿ [...].²⁰⁸

²⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 833a-b.

²⁰⁵ It is to be hoped that the current research undertaken by the Institut für Kulturwissenschaften und Theatergeschichte in Vienna on the operas performed in the Kärntnertortheater during the period 1728-1748 will shed further light on this subject.

²⁰⁶ "Sellier entrepreneur de l'Opera a demandé la permission au C.¹ Archeveq[ue] d'oser faire représenter donner des concerts spirituels pour de l'argent au Theatre nouvellement bati près de la Cour, et malgré que l'Archeveq[ue] luy a refusé la permission, Sellier y a donné hier le premier concert pour de l'argent, auquel la Reine est intervenü jouant dans sa loge avec sa partie ordinaire d'hommes et femmes." *A-Wava*, FA, Harrach Fam. in spec 529.1, Harrach, Graf Ferdinand Bonaventura Harrach II., Bruder, Korrespondenz mit Friedrich August Harrach, 1742-1745, Ferdinand Bonaventura Harrach to Friedrich August Harrach, [Vienna], 20 January 1742, unfoliated.

²⁰⁷ *A-Whh*, OMeA, ZA-Prot. 18, 1741-1742, f. 433b.

²⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, f. 434a.

Perhaps the most significant feature of the libretto is the fact that Vivaldi's name is given there in full, together with his priestly title and the sad detail that he is no longer among the living. For librettos of the Kärntnertortheater from this period this amount of information was extremely rare: the names of the composers whose works were performed in that theatre were almost never given unless their fame was thought to be great enough to attract an audience.²⁰⁹ Evidently, Vivaldi was not as completely forgotten in the Habsburg capital as we have sometimes been led to believe.

The composer was similarly referred to respectfully as the “Reverend Gentleman Antonius Vivaldi / Secular Priest” when his death was announced in the official Viennese newspaper.²¹⁰ Recent research has confirmed that he did not receive a pauper's funeral as earlier thought, but merely a simple one, which “corresponded to that of ordinary Viennese citizens”.²¹¹ Strangely, no one has so far considered that Vivaldi might have been buried exactly according to his last wishes. To measure his funeral against that of Johann Joseph Fux, the imperial *Kapellmeister* who served three emperors, is misleading.²¹² It is my opinion that the sources relating to the last few months of the composer's life have been interpreted in a much too pessimistic way. The romantic image presented of the genius who died “impoverished, anonymous, and unnoticed”²¹³ is not necessarily the correct one, and his supposed hardship while in Vienna might be exaggerated. The fact that at the time of his death Vivaldi was living in an apartment next to the Kärntnertortheater suggests that he was allocated that lodging by the directors of the theatre²¹⁴ – perhaps free of charge as a form of compensation for travelling all the way from Italy, only to have his plans scuppered by the unfortunate death of the emperor.

It is true that the composer lost his expected source of income after all opera performances in Vienna were cancelled for a year. And we should not forget either the comment of the Venetian diarist Pietro Gradenigo, who wrote that Vivaldi had earned 50,000 ducats but died in poverty because of his extravagant

²⁰⁹ CLAUDIA MICHELS, *Francesco Borosini – Tenor und Impresario*, “*Musicologica Brunensia*”, 47, 2012, 1, p. 125.

²¹⁰ WD, Anno 1741. Num. 61. 2. Augusti. Lista deren verstorbenen zu Wien | in- und vor der Stadt. Den 28. Julii. In der Stadt. Der Wol-Ehr-Würd. Hr. Antonius Vivaldi | weltl. Priester | im Walleris. H. bey dem Kärntner-Thor | alt 60. J., p. 688.

²¹¹ Michael Lorenz has clarified the many myths of Vivaldi's funeral in his detailed research of the primary sources; see <<http://michaelorenz.blogspot.is/2014/06/haydn-singing-at-vivaldis-exequies.html>>, accessed 14. 9. 2015. In addition Lorenz comes to the conclusion that Vivaldi died on 28 July, not 26 or 27 July, basing his findings on the fact that during the summer people were always buried on the day they died. (But surely, those who died between dusk and midnight must have been buried the next day. So it is still not clear whether Vivaldi died on 27 or 28 July.)

²¹² KARL HELLER, *Antonio Vivaldi: The Red Priest of Venice*, Portland, Amadeus Press, 1997, p. 265.

²¹³ *Loc. cit.*

²¹⁴ It is suggested that this apartment was used for *maestri* visiting the theatre in MICHAEL TALBOT, *Vivaldi*, 2nd edn, London, Dent, 1993, p. 169. Or is it possible that Vivaldi had agreed to a role as a musical adviser to the theatre, given that Borosini was intent on moving to London and was not party to the contracts Selliers had made with the court?

lifestyle. But here the alarm bells should be ringing because of the derogatory tone of his entry, and it should be treated with caution when interpreted. It seems to me that when this period is discussed, Vivaldi's well-known business acumen, especially when it came to sell copies of his music to customers or to receive favours from potential patrons – of which there were plenty in Vienna – have been seriously underestimated. The newly discovered letter from Vivaldi to count Johann Friedrich of Oettingen-Wallerstein, which is published in the article of Günther Grünsteudel in the present volume,²¹⁵ clearly shows that the composer had lost none of his abilities in this regard. If we are to believe the composer when he states that the six flute concertos named after European nations that were offered to count Johann Friedrich in May 1741 were new compositions, then he must have been at least partially successful in his attempt to sell them in Vienna, since copies of at least three of these found their way to the Hague, where they are listed in the 1759 sale catalogue of the bookseller Nicolaas Selhof. The fact that Vivaldi marketed these concertos also for the recorder (assuming that their catalogue description as “a flauto” is not merely an abbreviation for “a flauto traversiere”, and also that they were not entirely different compositions under the same titles) is a good example of his *modus operandi*: by reworking the same compositions for alternative instruments he could reach a larger clientele and gain more money in the process.

We know of his attempts to meet Anton Ulrich in February 1741, and although the duke declined to see him on two occasions, they did at least speak. There is no reason to think that Anton Ulrich would not have wished to purchase music from Vivaldi: after all, the duke already possessed not only the already mentioned cantata²¹⁶ but also several concertos – those he had received from Morzin in 1723 plus two works he had acquired in Vienna during the 1720s. The first of these, a *Concerto a VI. 3. Violini, Alto Viola, Fagotto concertante et Organo. del Sig.r Antonio Vivaldi*, was bought on 21 October 1727 from the imperial oboe and chalumeau virtuoso Andreas Wittmann, who regularly played for the duke and supplied him with copies of music he had heard at court or which had been performed at the duke's residence in Vienna.²¹⁷ The second work, a *Concerto del Sig.r Antonio Vivaldi à V., 3. Violini, Alta Viola et Basso*, was acquired for Anton Ulrich some time after he had left Vienna for Meiningen in April 1728,²¹⁸ and shows the interest the duke retained in the music of our composer, although this might have changed by 1741.

²¹⁵ GÜNTHER GRÜNSTEUDEL, „Vienna 5 Maggio 1741”: Ein unbekannter Brief Antonio Vivaldis an Graf Johann Friedrich zu Oettingen-Wallerstein, «Studi vivaldiani» 15, 2015, pp. 5–10.

²¹⁶ Anton Ulrich purchased this cantata in 1727: “den Kay's. Copisten vor 4. Cantate von Brusa u. 1. Cantate von Vivaldi, 3 f[lorins]. 24 xr.”: Meiningen, Staatsarchiv, Geh. Archiv, XV T 54/4, 22 August 1727, f. 71a.

²¹⁷ Wittmann also sold one *Parthie* of his own composition at the same time: “den Kay's. Chialimaunisten von 1. Parthie von ihme selbst u. 1. Concert von Vivaldi, 7 f[lorins]. 56 xr.”: *Ibid.*, 21 October 1727, f. 126b. The soloist who would have played Vivaldi's bassoon concert was almost certainly Johann Jacob Friedrich, who was a regular visitor at Anton Ulrich's residence.

²¹⁸ The concerto is listed under “Nachgekauft” works; see Appendix 1.

The sale of an unspecified number of works to count Antonio Vinciguerra di Collalto only one month prior to Vivaldi's death shows that it was business as usual for the composer. It has been assumed that on this occasion he sold the entire fifteen concertos and one sinfonia listed in the Collalto catalogue for an “appallingly low” sum.²¹⁹ But could this not have been the customary set of twelve concertos? As we know, this was a quantity Vivaldi always liked to work with in both his publications and his sets dedicated to customers or patrons. The amount paid by Collalto – 12 *ongari* (Hungarian gold ducats), roughly equivalent to 54 Austrian florins – was a sizeable one-off payment and (to put things into perspective) much higher than the monthly salaries of Kien and Carl Ambrosy, the musicians of Francis Stephen.²²⁰ When we consider how quickly Vivaldi worked, this could have been the task of a single day, especially if he copied this music from compositions brought from Venice. If we assume that Vivaldi did indeed sell a total of twelve works to the count, then the price per work would have been around 4.5 florins, which, as we have seen, is more than Anton Ulrich paid for similar works during his stay in Vienna in the 1720s,²²¹ and what also seems to have been the going rate in the Habsburg capital at that time. Indeed, the price per work is remarkably similar to the price paid by the Pietà in Venice, given that the *ongaro* was always worth just a little less than the Venetian *zecchino*. In this way, the payment to the composer is perhaps satisfactorily explained. As for the remaining works, the Collaltos had many opportunities to purchase the music of Vivaldi, especially when one considers the Venetian connections of this noble family. The works of the Italian composer must have formed a part of the repertory of the Collalto *Kapelle* before 1741. It is somewhat unlikely that this ensemble was exempt from the Vivaldi fever that overran Bohemia in the 1720s. Vivaldi's music could even have been performed for Charles VI when he stopped at the Collalto estate in Pirnitz (Brtnice), on his way to Prague in June 1723, or on his return to Vienna.²²²

²¹⁹ KARL HELLER, *Antonio Vivaldi: The Red Priest of Venice*, cit., p. 263. Václav Kapsa has cast doubt on the attribution of two of these concertos by suggesting that they are possibly the works of František Jiránek, see VÁCLAV KAPSA, *The Violin Concerto in D Major RV Anh. 8 and Several Other Issues Concerning František Jiránek (1698-1778)*, “Studi vivaldiani”, 14, 2014, pp. 15-43.

²²⁰ These two musicians were paid 550 florins annually from c. 1740 to at least 1761. Carl Timmer received 650 florins per year for the same period.

²²¹ See notes 55 and 216. Shortly before his departure for Meiningen Anton Ulrich purchased six flute concertos from Georg Joseph Werner for 18 florins, or 3 florins per work: Meiningen, Staatsarchiv, Geh. Archiv, XV T 54/4, 24 April 1728, f. 271b.

²²² “[...] zu Pirnitz denen graff Collaldischen Musicanten 6. Cremnitzer, 25 f[lorins]. 30 xr.”: A-Whh, HA, Geheimes Kammerzahlamt (GehKZ) 1-9, Regalien und Insignien, die anlässlich der Böhmisches Krönung ausgegeben wurden, 1723, [23-24] June, f. 34b. It was noted in the Vienna newspaper that when the emperor made a one-day stopover at Pirnitz on his way back from Prague, the imperial count Antonio Rambaldo Collalto had prepared a rich feast with foods imported especially from his estates in Italy. Music from that country might well have accompanied the delicious food on offer. The young count Antonio Vinciguerra was amongst the members of the Collalto family who greeted the emperor when he arrived at the palace in Pirnitz on 15 November; see WD, Anno 1723. (Anhang zu Num. 94.) 24. November, pp. 2-3.

Finally, I find it plausible that Vivaldi made a successful attempt in 1740-1741 to sell music to his patron Francis Stephen – for example copies of the concertos that count Collalto bought, and especially the six new “European” concertos for the flute. In fact, the latter could even have been composed with the grand duke in mind, since in addition to being a violinist and keyboard player, Francis Stephen also played the flute²²³ and recorder. An inventory of items sent back to Vienna after the coronation of Maria Theresa in Pressburg in June 1741 lists one transverse flute and two recorders in Francis Stephen’s possession,²²⁴ so these instruments were very much in use in the same period when Vivaldi composed his “European” characteristic works.²²⁵

But it is clear that the composer would not have been able to survive solely by selling copies of his music in manuscript. His best possible source of income would have come from tutoring noble clients or aspiring violinists who were supported by a wealthy patron. By this means, the court musicians in Vienna were able to make a considerable supplement to their salaries. For example, the tenor Joseph Timmer was paid 400 florins annually by Joseph Johann Adam of Liechtenstein for teaching the art of singing to a young protégé of that prince.²²⁶ This fee came together with full board, but the amount paid equalled more than half of Timmer’s annual salary as a member of the *Hofmusikkapelle*. A famous musician such as Vivaldi would have been able to command good fees from his pupils. Money was also to be gained through appearances. It is certainly no coincidence that Anton Ulrich met Vivaldi and spoke with him at the Mehlgruben, where regular concerts were held:²²⁷ this would have been the perfect place for the composer to be heard and seen. So all considered, there were plenty of possibilities for the composer to get by in Vienna. We need only consider Andrea Zani, who lived there for ten years as a respected musician and

²²³ FLORENCE LARTILLIOT, *La vie musicale à la cour de Lorraine entre 1729 et 1737: François III et ses musiciens*, “Annales de l’est”, 2, 1999, pp. 373-389: 373.

²²⁴ “Inventaire de ce qui se trouve dans une Caisse de S.A.R.^{te} envoyée de Vienne, et déposée à la Chancellerie le 14.e Octobre 1741, [No.] 7. Une Flutte traversiere dans son Etuy. [No.] 10. Deux fluttes à bec”. Other musical instruments that were sent to Vienna include: “[No.] 1. Un Violon avec son Etuy de cuir noir. [No.] 2. Deux deto dans un Etuy de cuir rouge”. f. 110a. The “Manuscrits, Livres et differens Papiers” sent back included “in 8.^{vo} [No.] 30. Differens Trio de Musique. [No.] 31. Danses Angloises”: A-Whh, LHA, 187-22, Inventare über Waffen, Möbel, Schmuck und Schriftstücke, die sich in verschiedenen Lothringischen orten befunden haben, von dort weggebracht worden und zum Teil nach Wien gekommen sind, 1732-1741, unfoliated.

²²⁵ It is not known when or where Francis Stephen learned to play the flute, nor who would have taught him. Perhaps there is a connection to the “extraordinary” flautist who played for Francis Stephen in Vienna in 1726; see above, note 27.

²²⁶ See JÓHANNES ÁGÚSTSSON, *Joseph Johann Adam of Liechtenstein – Patron of Vivaldi*, forthcoming.

²²⁷ “Nachdeme vorhero den alten Vivaldi oder Preterosso gesprochen”; see ALFRED ERCK – HANNELORE SCHNEIDER, *Musiker und Monarchen in Meiningen 1680 bis 1763*, cit., pp. 198-199. The meeting took place on 7 February 1741; since Vivaldi paid the duke a visit the next morning, some sort of business must have been on the agenda. The thought occurs that the “Concert spirituel” series begun by Selliers at the Burgtheater was in direct competition with the actively running Mehlgruben concerts.

teacher, to see that this was achievable. In fact, Vivaldi's presence in the Habsburg capital could have given him a new lease on life, and this must be the reason why he did not immediately return to Venice at the end of 1740. Most important, his patron had become the most powerful man in Vienna alongside his wife – and this was no doubt the very scenario the composer had hoped for when he wrote the letter to the young duke back in 1729.

If we look at all the options available to Vivaldi in Vienna, we may conclude that only a serious illness could have seriously lessened his chances of making a living there. And now we have learned that he was indeed ill in the spring of 1741 – but we do not yet know whether this illness lasted only for a few days or for a longer period.²²⁸

CONCLUSION

It is surprising to think that before 2014, when the major part of this article was researched and conceived, so very little had been written about Francis Stephen and his relationship to music. In Daniel Brandenburg's brief study of the musical works performed on the birthdays and name-days of Francis Stephen during his years as emperor, the author poses two questions without giving a conclusive answer: what was his relationship to music? Did he have any musical inclinations?²²⁹ The article of the late Otto G. Schindler in the same publication discusses numerous “unknown theater visits” of Francis Stephen over a forty-year period: from his first encounter with the musical world of the Habsburgs through the coronation opera *Costanza e Fortezza* by Fux in Prague in 1723 up to the fateful day in Innsbruck on 18 August 1765 when Francis Stephen – having heard a performance of Hasse's *Romolo ed Ersilia* the previous day – attended Goldoni's play *Il tutore* and the *Ballet d'Iphigénie* with music by Gluck before suffering the stroke that led to his death. The conclusion Schindler reaches confirms Francis Stephen's great interest in, and support for, opera and theatre.²³⁰ Shortly before submitting my study to “Studi vivaldiani” I learned of a newly published article by Walter Brauneis that likewise focuses on the subject of Francis Stephen and music. Appropriately entitled (I translate) “An Emperor from Lorraine with Musical Ambitions – A Closer Look”, the sketches presented by Brauneis show Francis Stephen to have been a musical patron of the highest order.²³¹

And yet Francis Stephen remains a peripheral figure in Austrian

²²⁸ GÜNTHER GRÜNSTEUDEL, „Vienna 5 Maggio 1741”, cit.

²²⁹ DANIEL BRANDENBURG, *Gluck & Co.: Musik für den Kaiser*, in Franz Stephan von Lothringen und sein Kreis, eds Renate Zedinger and Wolfgang Schmale, Bochum, Verlag Dr. Dieter Winkler, 2009, pp. 371-381.

²³⁰ OTTO G. SCHINDLER, *Vom Passionspiel in Perchtoldsdorf zur Goldoni-Komödie am Todestag. Unbekannte Theaterbesuche Franz Stephans von Lothringen*, cit., pp. 343-369.

²³¹ WALTER BRAUNEIS, *Ein Kaiser aus Lothringen mit musikalischen Ambitionen – Eine Annäherung*, cit. On Francis Stephen and music in Lorraine, see especially FLORENCE LARTILLIOT, *La vie musicale à la cour de Lorraine entre 1729 et 1737: François III et ses musiciens*, cit.

musicography. Music in Vienna in the age of Maria Theresa is well documented and researched, but the new information presented by Brauneis and in this article calls for a reappraisal of the role Francis Stephen played in relation to the music of this period. I suspect that his role has been greatly underestimated. The grand duke was certainly not a silent observer when the necessary musical changes were made at the court of Vienna in the early 1740s. An excellent case in point is the crucial appointment of Francis Stephen's closest friend Losy as *Cavaglier Direttore di Musica* of the "Hoff- und Cammer-Music, wie auch *Theatral Personale*" in 1742 (not 1746, as reported by Köchel and often repeated since), which in effect made him the most important man in Vienna with regard to music.²³² Losy's appointment put the grand duke and later emperor in an ideal position to influence decisions made on repertory and personnel matters.

The experience Francis Stephen gained on his travels, his friendship with some of the leading virtuosos and composers of the baroque and early classical eras, his thorough study of music as a "gran dilettante" and performer on the violin, flute and keyboard – all this confirms Vivaldi's patron as being one of the best informed musical monarchs of the eighteenth century: one bound to have had a say about the music performed in his surroundings. Not many rulers could have boasted of having first-hand musical knowledge of the vast array of composers and musicians named in this article.²³³ To those already mentioned we can add Wagenseil, Bonno, Reutter Jr., Jommelli, Galuppi and Gluck, to name only a few, who worked in Vienna during the period that lies outside the scope of this study. The close relationship Francis Stephen and Maria Theresa enjoyed with Hasse and Faustina, the most famous musical couple of the eighteenth century, bears witness to the importance music had in their lives,

²³² Losy's inauguration ceremony, which saw the musicians and the theatre personnel pay their respects to the new music director, is described in detail in the court diary: *A-Whh*, OMeA, ZA-Prot. 18, 1741-1742, 12 April 1742, f. 463a-b. The clearest example of the enormous power Losy wielded in his new post is seen in clauses 5 and 6 of the draft contract the court made with Selliers; the former clause has already been quoted in the text above, and the latter reads: "6^{to} Kein stimm, und Tanzer erscheint nicht, alß welche des *Music-Directoris approbation* haben, dahero, wann neüe stimen beschriben werden solches wenigsten: 6: Monat in Vorauß von dem *Entrepreneur* dem *Music-Directori* angezeigt werden solle": *A-Wfhka*, AHK, NÖHA W 61/A/32/B, undated, ca. 1742, ff. 833a-b. Moreover, Losy effectively took the place of *Hofkapellmeister* Fux when it came to advising on salary petitions or job applications of musicians connected with the *Hofmusikkapelle*. His learned comments and suggestions were then prepared and presented to Maria Theresa for approval, amendment or refusal. One such example is the application of Emanuele Alborea, which Losy processed on 30 August 1745. The following report was then presented to the queen: "[...] die *Sub. lit. I et K.* anliegende berichte des *Cavagliere di Musica* tragen dahin allerunterthänigst an daß, nachdeme der *Emanuele Alborea* zur prob ein *Solo* auf dem *Violoncello* beÿ ihm abgelegt, und von ihm *Cavagliere di Musica* befunden worden, daß der *Supplican* *Alborea* eine sehr gute hand, eine gute *arcada*, und ein besonders glückliches *Naturel* zu besagten *instrument* habe, anbeÿ auch dessen fleissige application nebst seines verstorbenen Vatters verdienste für ihm das Wort sprechen": *A-Whh*, OMeA, ÄR, 36, 1744-1745, unfoliated. The young cellist was hired.

²³³ The only other monarch that comes to mind is Augustus III, king of Poland and elector of Saxony.

with Hasse composing customized religious works that were performed by Maria Theresa and the musically gifted children of the imperial couple in the early 1760s.²³⁴ Francis Stephen was certainly aware of the music of Joseph Haydn, and he even ventured to give Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart helpful advice on how to play on the keyboard when the young genius performed before the imperial family in 1762.²³⁵ With this in mind, Francis Stephen’s patronage of Antonio Vivaldi becomes even more important and impressive – for both men.

Any future study on Francis Stephen is likely to focus on the reconstruction of his music library. I have already mentioned a few volumes of vocal music that still exist in the ÖNB, and there may be many more. To these we can add items of French origin with a possible connection to Lorraine, including operas and occasional works that were performed in the duchy during the reign of duke Léopold.²³⁶ Several volumes of French keyboard works held by the ÖNB might also have formed a part of this ‘Lorraine’ section of Francis Stephen’s library.²³⁷ Like much of the instrumental music performed by the *Hofmusikkapelle* during the reign of Charles VI, the library of instrumental music in manuscript possessed by Francis Stephen has disappeared without trace. This is especially tragic, for we have so little information on the repertory of his *Musique de la chambre*, but the composers mentioned in this article give us at least some idea on the music that was played by that group during the first decade of its existence. However, it is possible that some of the coeval published music today held by the ÖNB under the shelfmark SA (*Sala Augustina*, a reference to its former presence in the court library of the Augustinerlesesaal in the Hofburg) once belonged to Francis Stephen – for example, the copy of Bonporti’s Op. 11 mentioned previously. It is highly fortunate that the violin concertos of Joseph Ferdinand Timmer have survived, and they are today considered to be the earliest surviving works of Austrian provenance in that genre. However, the lone violin concerto of Leopold Timmer is possibly an older work and could date from the time when he played in the *Hofmusikkapelle*.²³⁸

In 1754 Joseph Ferdinand published a set of twelve sonatas for violin and basso continuo, which he dedicated to Francis Stephen and Maria Theresa.²³⁹ As

²³⁴ LEOPOLD KANTNER, *Hasses Litanei für den Kaiserhof*, in *Colloquium “Johann Adolf Hasse und die Musik seiner Zeit (Siena 1983)”*, ed. Friedrich Lippmann, Laaber, Laaber-Verlag, 1987, pp. 419-428.

²³⁵ WALTER BRAUNEIS, *Ein Kaiser aus Lothringen mit musikalischen Ambitionen – Eine Annäherung*, cit., p. 129.

²³⁶ JEAN DURON, *Un fonds lorrain à découvrir?*, “Bulletin de l’Atelier d’études sur la musique française des XVIIe & XVIIIe siècles”, 8, 1998, pp. 15-17. The two works by Bonaventure Gilles probably formed part of this collection, which may have come to Vienna after the death of Francis Stephen’s mother in 1744.

²³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 16.

²³⁸ A-Wn, Mus. Hs. 3786: *Concerto à 4.^{to}*. Unlike the covers for the concertos by Joseph Ferdinand, that for this work bears neither a number nor a date.

²³⁹ Several copies exist, see RISM. The copy I have examined is held by the SLUB: D-Dl, Mus. 3338-R-1. The sonatas were engraved in Venice, and the frontispiece reveals the engraver’s name:

in his violin concertos, the style is highly virtuosic and shows the influences of Vivaldi, Tartini and Locatelli. Joseph Ferdinand also contributed to a fascinating manuscript entitled *Dodeci Variationi*, which I believe was once in the possession of Francis Stephen and is today held by the archive and music library of the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien.²⁴⁰ To the calligraphic title page a later hand has added “von (verschiedenen) Timer”, but this partly mistaken attribution by a nineteenth-century librarian has lingered on ever since and up to the present day. So what are these *Dodeci Variationi*? As the name suggests, they are twelve variations for solo violin with bass on a short and delightful *Menuet* theme by an anonymous author. The following musicians appear as the composers of the variations, in their order of rank:

- a) Leopoldus Thoma Timer [ff. 1-7]
- b) Josephus [Ferdinand] Timer [ff. 1-9]
- c) Carolus Timer [ff. 1-8]
- d) Antonius Timer [ff. 1-8]
- e) Josephus Carl [ff. 1-8; another hand has incorrectly added: Timer]
- f) Josephus Kien [ff. 1-8; another hand has incorrectly added: Timer]

As alert readers will have noticed, these are the six members of Francis Stephen’s *Musique de la chambre*.²⁴¹ This poses an obvious question: who was the

“Andreas Bernasconus calamo inv: et delin: Anno 1746” (the name may possibly be that of the composer Andrea Bernasconi). For this reason, the sonatas are often thought to have been published around that time. However, an advertisement in the Vienna newspaper removes all doubt over when they first appeared on the market: “*AVERTISSEMENT*. Es ist bey Hrn. Augustin Berhardi allhiesigen Buchhandler dermalen in Markt auf den Hof in seiner Hütten nächst den goldenen Schlitten, nach Vollendung dessen aber in seinem gegen der Profeß-Haus Pforten über gelegenen Gewölb sich befindend, ein *Opus* von 12. *Solo* auf das Violin und Baß von Hrn. Joseph Ferdinand Timer Kaiserl. Königl. Cammer-diener componirt und aus aller gehorsamster Devotion von ihm beyden Allerhöchst Kaiserl. Königl. Majestäten allerunterthänigst dedicirt, zu haben, das Exemplar pr. 3. fl. 7. kr.”: *WD*, Samstag den 18. Maji. 1754., unpaginated. When the same advertisement appeared two-and-a-half weeks later, the price had sunk to “2. fl. 50. kr.”: *WD*, Num. 45. Mittwoch-Anhang 5. Junii 1754., unpaginated. Marpurg was critical of Timmer’s sonatas: “Viel altes, wenig neues, Tiraden von Transpositionen, harmonische, melodische und rhythmische Unachtsamkeiten, gewisse altfrankische Modulationen, – Vielleicht spielt der Herr Timer besser, als er componirt”: FRIEDRICH WILHELM MARPURG, *Kritische Briefe über die Tonkunst*, vol. 2, LXXXIV. Brief, Berlin, den 31. October 1761. No. 11, Timers XII. Violinsolos, p. 153. Hiller was more complimentary about a keyboard sonata by Joseph Ferdinand that was published in 1766 together with five other sonatas by different authors: “Die sechste Sonate ist die kürzeste, kommt uns aber sehr artig und dem Wagenseilischen Geschmack gemäß vor. Sie ist vom Herrn Joseph Ferdinand Timer, Kammerdiener Sr. Kaiserl. und Königl. Majestät zu Wien, und also wohl von einem *Dilettante*”: JOHANN ADAM HILLER, “Wöchentliche Nachrichten und Anmerkungen die Musik betreffend”, Leipzig, 28 October 1766, pp. 136-140. Hiller provided a musical example taken from the sonata; this is reproduced in full in WALTER BRAUNEIS, *Ein Kaiser aus Lothringen mit musikalischen Ambitionen – Eine Annäherung*, cit., pp. 136-141.

²⁴⁰ *A-Wgm*, IX 10695 a-f. The copyist is almost certainly Leopold Timmer – the handwriting resembles his own petition and those he penned for his brother Joseph Ferdinand.

²⁴¹ Since Liedtmaÿr is not included, the variations must have been composed between 1740 and 1757, the year when Leopold Timmer died. Walter Brauneis falls into the familiar trap of mixing up

composer of the *Menuet*? Why would these musicians compose these variations if this little piece of music was not a work by their common employer? The answer seems obvious, so I hereby propose that the *Menuet* theme, shown complete as Example 1, is the work of Francis Stephen.

EXAMPLE 1: *Dodeci Variationi* (A-Wgm, IX 10695, a), f. 1), *Menuet* [Francis Stephen?]



Francis Stephen’s love for music and the violin is captured in a posthumous realistic portrait that was painstakingly set up by Maria Theresa for Johann Zoffany to paint c. 1776-1777. The portrait shows Francis Stephen surrounded by objects from his personal collections – his globe and telescope, minerals and shells, and a thick leather-bound book on history to represent his library. Behind him, two music partbooks can be seen atop a massive coin cabinet: one folded and the other spread open; and there, too, lies Francis Stephen’s violin and bow. It is a fitting image to have in mind at the end of this article.²⁴²

the two Joseph Timmers when he suggests that variation (b) was composed by the older man, the tenor. Likewise, Joseph Carl Ambrosy, the composer of variation (e) is mistakenly listed as a member of the Timmer family; see WALTER BRAUNEIS, *Ein Kaiser aus Lothringen mit musikalischen Ambitionen – Eine Annäherung*, cit., Anhang 1, pp. 133-134.

²⁴² The portrait is in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.

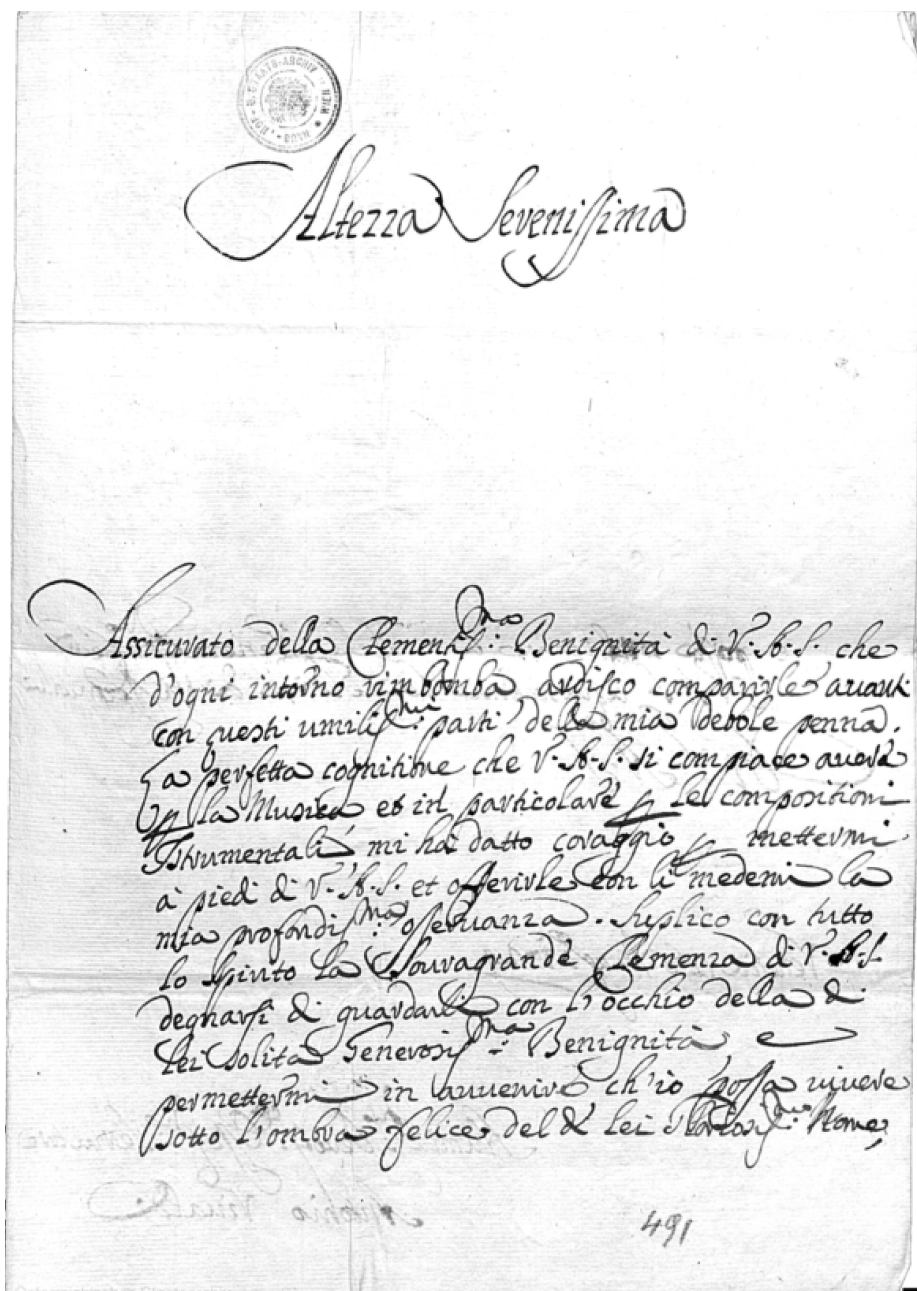


ILLUSTRATION 1. Vivaldi's letter of 28 May 1729 to Francis Stephen. A-Whh, LHA, 26-2, Fast ausschließlich Höflichkeitsschreiben an Franz Stephan, 1723-1729, f. 491a. I am very grateful to the Österreichisches Staatsarchiv – Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, for its kind permission to reproduce this document.

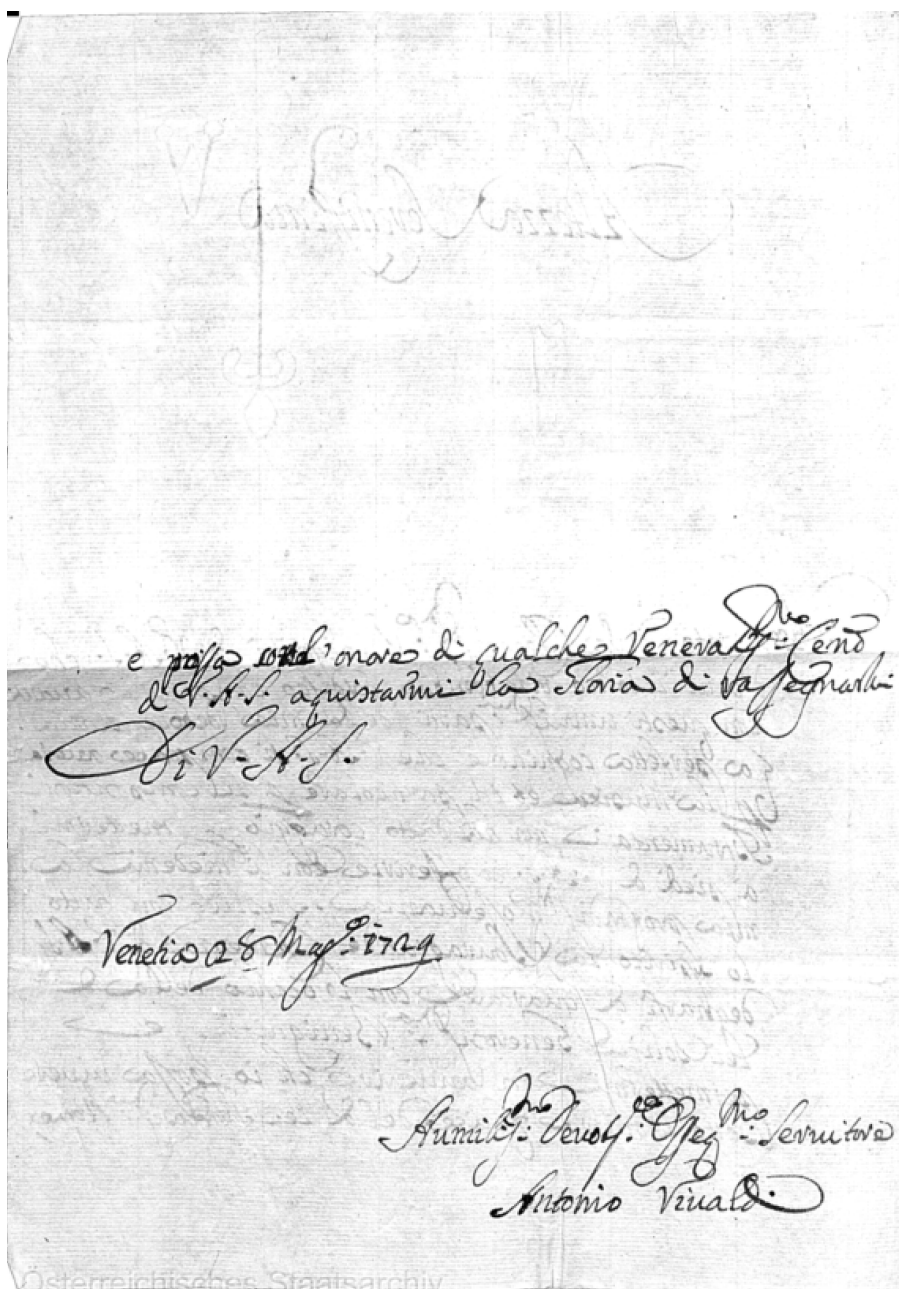


ILLUSTRATION 2. Vivaldi's letter of 28 May 1729 to Francis Stephen. A-Whh, LHA, 26-2, Fast ausschließlich Höflichkeitsschreiben an Franz Stephan, 1723-1729, f. 492b. I am very grateful to the Österreichisches Staatsarchiv – Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, for its kind permission to reproduce this document.

APPENDIX 1

Meiningen, Staatstarchiv, Geh. Archiv, XV T 49/1

f. 291a

Catalogus von gebundnen und ungebundnen *Musicalien* so Anno 1728. von Wien mit, zurückgebracht worden.

f. 293a

Eingebundne *Musicalien*.

f. 297a

III. Vor Instrumenten.

in Folio.

97-98. Violino Primo; Violino Secondo.} VI Duetti, Opera Prima del Sig.^r Guilielmo de Fesch. Stampati in Amsterdam.

99-105. Violino Primo, e Violino I.^o Principale; Violino Secondo, e Violino 2.^o Principale; Violino 1.^o di Ripieno. et Oboè Primo; Violino 2.^o di Ripieno. et Oboè Secondo; Alto Viola. e Tenore; Violoncello, e Fagotto obligato; Basso Continuo et Organo.} XII. Concerti, Opera Seconda e Terza, del Sig.^r Guilielmo de Fesch. Stampati in Amsterdam.

106. XII. Sonate. 6. a Violino, Violone e Cembalo, e 6. a dui Violoncelli. Opera Quarta. del Sig.^r Guilielmo de Fesch. Stampati in Amsterdam.

107. XII. Sonate, a Violino e Violone ò Cembalo, Opera Prima. del Sig.^r Pietro Castrucci Romano. Stampati in Amsterdam.

f. 297b

108. XII. Sonate a Violino, Violone e Cembalo. Opera Prima. del Sig.^r Franc.^o Geminiani. Stampati in Amsterdam.

109-113. Violino 1.^o; Violino 2; Corno 1.^o di Caccia; Corno 2.^o di Caccia; Fondamento.} XXV. Parthien von unterschiedlichen Meistern.

In länglichten Format.

114. XII. Sonate a Violino Solo e Basso, Opera Prima. del Sig.^r Franc.^o Maria Veracini Fiorentino. Stampati in Amsterdam.

115. XII. Sonate a Violino, Violone e Cembalo. Opera Prima. del Sig.^r Franc.^o Geminiani. Stampati in Londra 1716.

116. XXXII. Sonate, per Fagotto Solo, del Sig.^r Federico.

117. XI. Sinfonie, de Sig.^r Giov. Giuseppe Fux, Antonio Caldara, Giuseppe Porsile e Franc.^o Conti.

118. X. Parthies, et II. autres Pieçes, sur le Clavcin, faites par Msr. Teoph. Muffat.

119. LXXII. gedruckte Versetl, samt XII. Toccaten, vor Orgel und Clavir, zum Kirchengdienst gericht, von Gottlieb Muffat, Kayserl. Hof- und Cammer-Organisten.

f. 298a

An nachgekauften *Musicalen*.

In länglichen Format.

f. 299a

III. Vor Instrumente.

136. XXIV. Sonate per Violino, del Sig.^r Ambrosio Lonati.

137. Concerto del Sig.^r Antonio Vivaldi à V., 3. Violini, Alta Viola et Basso.

f. 300a

Uneingebundne Musicalien.

II. Stuck vor Instrumente.

1. Concerto con dui Violino, Alta Viola, Basso, Violoncello obligato, del Sig.^r Domenico Elmi.

2. Concerto à V. 2. Violini, 1. Oboé, Viola e Basse del Sig.^r Gaetano Meneghetti.

f. 300b

3. Concerto à V. 2. Violini, 1. Oboé, la Viola e l Basso del Sig.^r Gaetano Meneghetti.

4. Concerto per il Flauto Traversiere con dui Violini e Basso. del Sig.^r Nicolo Popora [*sic*].

5. Concerto a IV. Oboé obligato, 2. Violini e Basso. del Sig.^r Hendel.

6. Sonata à dui Violino, 2. Obóe, 2. Corni di Caccia ò Trombe, Viola et Organo del Sig.^r Ginzer.

7. Concerto a V. 5. Violini, Viola obligata et Organo. del Sig.^r Andr. Zani.

8. Concerto a V. 3. Violini, Alta Viola, Violone et Organo del Sig.^r Andr. Zani.

9. Concerto a V. 3. Violini, Alto Viola, Violoncello et Organo. del Sig.^r Andr. Zani.

10. Concerto a III. Violoncello obligato, 2. Violini, Contrabasso et Basso continuo del Sig.^r Franc.^o Alborea.

11. Concerto a VI. 3. Violini, Alto Viola, Fagotto concertante et Organo. del Sig.^r Antonio Vivaldi.

12. Concerto a IV. 2. Violini, Viola e Basso del Sig.^r Anton. Caldara.

f. 301a

13. Solo per il Flauto Traversiere col Basso. del Sig.^r Angelo Ragazi.

14. Servizio di Tavola à XII. 2. Clarini e Timpani, 2 Corni di Caccia, 2. Violini e Viola, 2. Oboé, Fagotto e Contrabasso del Sig.^r Ignazio Angermayr.

15. Concerto grosso a III. 5. Violini, Violoncello e dui Contrabassi, del Sig.^r Franc.^o Reinhart.

16. Concerto a III. 3. Violini e dui Violoncelli del Sig.^r Franc.^o Reinhart.

17. Concerto a V. 3. Violini, Alto Viola, Basso et Organo. del Sig.^r Franc.^o Carlo Pernebmer.

18. Concerto a III. 3. Violini, Viola e Basso continuo. del Sig.^r Pichler.

19. Concerto a IV. 3. Violini, 2. Viola e Basso continuo. del Sig.^r Deichl.

20. Concerto a VI. 4. Violini, 2. Viole, Clarino, Violoncello, Violone et Organo del Sig.^r Gio: Ign. Beyer.

21. Cappricio a IV. 2. Violini, Chalumau e Basso. del Sig.^r Andr. Widmann.

22. Concerto à IV. Chalumau, 2. Violini, Fagotto e Basso. del Sig.^r Andr. Widmann.

f. 301b

23. Concerto à IV. Chalumau, 2. Violini, Fagotto e Basso. del Sig.^r Andr. Widmann.

24. Concerto à IV. Chalumau, 2. Violini, Fagotto e Basso. del Sig.^r Andrea Widmann.

25. Concerto a IV. Chalumau, 2. Violini, Violoncello e Basso. d'un Anonimo.

26. Concerto a IV. Chalumau, 2. Violini, Violoncello e Basso. d'un Anonimo.

27. Concerto à III. Flauto Traversiere, Violino e Basso. del Sig.^r Bichler.

28. Violino Solo col Violoncello del Sig.^r Matthia Gerhauser.
29. Sonata, Violino Solo col Basso. de Sig.^r Timer.
30. Sonata. Corno Solo di Caccia con Violone ò Fagotto. d'un Anonimo.
31. Furore Carnevalesco, Arie per servizio di Tavola à VIII. 2. Violini, 2. Oboé, 2. Violoncelli, 2. Fagotti e Contrabasso. del Sig.^r Gio. Gios. Fux.
32. Concerto a IV. Flauto Traversiere, 2. Violini con Basso generale del Sig.^r Werner.
33. Concerto a IV. Flauto Traversiere, 2. Violini con Basso generale del Sig.^r Werner.

f. 302a

34. Concerto a IV. Flauto Traversiere, 2. Violini con Basso generale del Sig.^r Werner.
35. Concerto a IV. Flauto Traversiere, 2. Violini con Basso generale del Sig.^r Werner.
36. Concerto a IV. Flauto Traversiere, 2. Violini con Basso generale del Sig.^r Werner.
37. Concerto a IV. Flauto Traversiere, 2. Violini con Basso generale del Sig.^r Werner.
38. Concerto à V. Violino principale, 2. Violini, Violoni, Violoncello obligato e Basso continuo. del Sig.^r Gius. Meck.
- 39A. Concerto à IV. Violino principale, 2. Violini, Violoni, Violoncello obligato e Basso continuo. del Sig.^r Gius. Meck.
- 39B. Concerto à III. con Violino obligato, Violoncello obligato, è Contrabasso. del Sig.^r Gius. Meck.
40. Cappricio a VI. 2. Violini, 2. Corni di Cacci, 2. Fagotti e Contrabasso. del Sig.^r Gius. Meck.
41. Sinfonia a III. Violino obligato, Violoncello obligato e Contrabasso. del Sig.^r Gius. Meck.
42. Sinfonia a III. Violino obligato, Violoncello obligato e Contrabasso. del Sig.^r Gius. Meck.
43. Sinfonia a III. Violino obligato, Violoncello obligato e Contrabasso. del Sig.^r Gius. Meck.
44. Sinfonia a IV. Flauto Traversiere, 2. Violini e Contrabasso. del Sig.^r Gius. Meck.
45. Sinfonia a IV. Flauto Traversiere, 2. Violini e Contrabasso. del Sig.^r Gius. Meck.

f. 302b

46. Sinfonia a IV. Flauto Traversiere, 2. Violini e Contrabasso. del Sig.^r Gius. Meck.
47. Sinfonia a IV. Flauto Traversiere, 2. Violini e Contrabasso. del Sig.^r Gius. Meck.
48. Sinfonia a IV. Flauto Traversiere, 2. Violini e Contrabasso. del Sig.^r Gius. Meck.
49. Sinfonia a IV. Flauto Traversiere, 2. Violini e Contrabasso. del Sig.^r Gius. Meck.
50. Sinfonia a IV. Flauto Traversiere, 2. Violini e Contrabasso. del Sig.^r Gius. Meck.
51. Sinfonia a IV. Flauto Traversiere, 2. Violini e Contrabasso. del Sig.^r Gius. Meck.
52. Sinfonia a IV. Flauto Traversiere, 2. Violini e Contrabasso. del Sig.^r Gius. Meck.
53. Sinfonia a IV. Flauto Traversiere, 2. Violini e Contrabasso. del Sig.^r Gius. Meck.
54. Sinfonia a IV. Flauto Traversiere, 2. Violini e Contrabasso. del Sig.^r Gius. Meck.
55. Sinfonia a III. 2. Violini e Contrabasso. del Sig.^r Gius. Meck.
56. Sinfonia a III. 2. Violini e Contrabasso. del Sig.^r Gius. Meck.
57. Sinfonia a VI. 2. Violini, 1. Viola, 2. Fagotti, Violoncello e Contrabasso. del Sig.^r Gius. Meck.

f. 303a

58. Parthie a IV. Fagotto concertante, Oboé I.^o Oboé II.^o e Basso d'un Anonimo.
59. Concerto a V. Fagotto concertante, Oboé, Violino, Viola e Basso continuo del Sig.^r A. Bebusch.

60. Concerto a V. Fagotto concertante, Violino I.º Violino II, Alto Viola e Violono del Sig.^r A. Bebusch.
61. Concerto a V. Fagotto concertante, Violino, Oboé, Viola e Violone del Sig.^r Pichler.
62. Concerto a V. Fagotto concertante, Violino, Oboé, Viola e Violone d'un Anonimo.
63. Concerto a V. Fagotto concertante, Violino I.º Violino II.º, Alto Viola e Basso. d'un Anonimo.
64. Concerto a V. Fagotto concertante, 2. Violini, Viola e Basso. d'un Anonimo.
65. Concerto a V. Fagotto concertante, Violino I.º Violino II.º, Alto Viola e Basso. So Msr. Heiningen zu Dreßden vor eine Flaut componirt, und der Kay. Fagottist Friedrich auf den Fagott transponirt.
66. Concerto a V. Fagotto concertante, Violino I., Violino II., Alto Viola e Basso. del Sig.^r Federico.
67. Concerto a VI. 2. Wald Oboé, 2. Bratschen, Fagotto concertante e Violone. del Sig.^r Federico.
68. Concerto a VI. 2. Wald Oboé, 2. Bratschen, Fagotto concertante e Violone. del Sig.^r Federico.

f. 303b

69. Concerto a VI. 2. Oboé, duoi Corni di Caccia, Fagotto concertante e Violone. del Sig.^r Federico.
70. Parthie a IV. Fagotto, Viola, Cornu di Caccia e Violone. del Sig.^r Federico.
- 71-72. II. Schöne Solo per Fagotto con Violoncello del Sig.^r Federico.
- 73-77. V. Solo per Fagotto. Solo per Fagotto con Violoncello del Sig.^r Federico.
78. VI. zusammengehefte Solo per Fagotto con Violoncello del Sig.^r Federico.
79. VIII. zusammengehefte Solo per Fagotto col Basso d'un Anonimo.
80. Parthie a IV. per Chalumau, Violino I.º Violino II. e Basso. del Sig.^r Widmann.
81. Parthie a IV. per Chalumau, Violino I. Violino II. e Basso. del Sig.^r Widmann.
82. Parthie a III. per Chalumau, Violino e Fagotto. del Sig.^r Widmann.
83. Parthie a III. per 2. Chalumau e Basso. del Sig.^r Widmann.

f. 304a

84. Parthie à III. per 2. Chalumau, Violino e Basso. del Sig.^r Widmann.
85. Parthie à III. per 2. Chalumau, Violino e Basso. del Sig.^r Widmann.
86. Parthie à III. Violino et Oboé, I.º, Violino et Oboé, II.º col Basso. del Sig.^r Gio. Ignazio Beyer.
87. Parthie a III. Violino I. Violino II. e Basso. del Sig.^r Gio. Ign. Beyer.
88. Parthie a III. Violino I. Violino II. e Basso. del Sig.^r Gio. Ign. Beyer.
89. Parthie a III. Violino I. Violino II. e Basso. del Sig.^r Gio. Ign. Beyer.
90. Parthie a III. Violino I. Violino II. e Basso. del Sig.^r Gio. Ign. Beyer.
91. Parthie a III. Flauto Traversiere, Violino e Basso. del Sig.^r Gio. Ign. Beyer.
92. Parthie a III. Flauto Traversiere, Violino e Basso. del Sig.^r Gio. Ignazio Beyer.
93. Parthie a III. dicta amabilis, 2. Violini, Flauto Traversiere e Basso. del Sig.^r Gio. Ign. Beyer.
94. Parthie a III. dicta amorosa, 2. Violini, Flauto Traversiere e Basso. del Sig.^r Gio. Ignazio Beyer.

f. 304b

95. Parthie a III. dicta delectabilis, 2. Violini, Flauto Traversiere e Basso. del Sig.^r Gio. Ignazio Beyer.

96. Parthie a III. dicta jucunda, 2. Violini, Flauto Traversiere e Basso. del Sig.^r Gio. Ign. Beyer.
97. Parthie a III. dicta amoena, 2. Violini, Flauto Traversiere e Basso. del Sig.^r Gio. Ign. Beyer.
98. Parthie a III. dicta suavis, 2. Violini, Flauto Traversiere e Basso. del Sig.^r Gio. Ign. Beyer.
99. Parthie a III. Violino I. Violino II.^o e Basso. del Sig.^r Gio. Ign. Beyer.
100. Parthie a III. Violino I.^o Violino II. e Basso. del Sig.^r Gio. Ign. Beyer.
101. Parthie a III. Violino I. Violino II. e Basso. del Sig.^r Gio. Ign. Beyer.
102. Parthie a V. 2. Violini, Viola, Clarino e Basso. del Sig.^r Gio. Ign. Beyer.
103. Parthie a V. 2. Violini. 2. Corni de Caccia e Basso. del Sig.^r Gio. Ign. Beyer.
104. Parthie a V. 2. Violini. 2. Corni di Caccia e Basso. del Sig.^r Gio. Ign. Beyer.
- 105 A. Parthie a III. Flauto Traversiere, Violino e Violoncello. del Sig.^r Gius. Porsile.

f. 305a

- 105 B. Parthie à III. Flauto Traversiere, Violino I. e Violoncello. d'un Anonimo.
106. Parthie a IV. Oboé, 2. Violini e Violoncello. d'un Anonimo.
107. Parthie a III. Violino, Flauto Traversiere e Basso. del Sig.^r Pichler.
108. Parthie a III. Violino, Flauto Traversiere e Basso. del Sig.^r Pichler.
109. Parthie a III. Violino, Flauto Traversiere e Basso. del Sig.^r Pichler.
110. Parthie a IV. Violino, Flauto Traversiere, Corno e Basso. del Sig.^r Pichler.
111. Parthie a IV. Viola d'Amore, Flauto Traversiere, Corno e Basso. del Sig.^r Pichler.
112. Parthie à IV. Violino, Flauto Traversiere, Corno e Basso. del Sig.^r Pichler.
113. Parthie a III. Corno I. Corno II. e Corno III. d'un Anonimo.
114. Parthie a IV. Corno I. Corno II. Corno III. e Corno IV. d'un Anonimo.
115. Parthie a IV. Corno I. Corno II. Corno III. e Corno IV. d'un Anonimo.
116. Parthie a IV. Corno I. Corno II. Corno III. e Corno IV. d'un Anonimo.
117. Parthie a IV. Corno I. Corno II. Corno III. e Corno IV. d'un Anonimo.

f. 305b

118. Parthie a IV. Corno I. Corno II. Corno III. e Corno IV. d'un Anonimo.
119. Parthie a IV. Corno I. Corno II. Corno III. e Corno IV. d'un Anonimo.
120. Parthie à IV. per il Liutto, 2. Violini e Basso. del Sig.^r Theop. Muffat.
121. Parthie à IV. per il Liutto, col Violino e Basso. del Sig.^r Theop. Muffat.
122. Parthie a III. per il Liutto, col Violino e Basso. del Sig.^r Hofer.
123. Parthie a III. per il Liutto, col Violino e Basso. del Sig.^r David.
124. II. geheffte Piecen pour le Clavcin, nemlich La Bataglia, und das Stück Alla maniera di Pantalonne del Sig.^r Theop. Muffat.
125. Balette derer Opern: Semiramide, Wencesclao e Spartaco per Violino e Basso.
126. XII. Stück per Corno I. e Corno II. del Franc. Wondraczeck.
- 127 A. XII. Stück per Corno I. e Corno II. del Franc. Wondraczeck.
- 127 B. XIV. Stück per Corno I. e Corno II. von unterschiedliche Meister.
- 127 C. XII. Stück per Corno I. e Corno II. del Franc. Wondraczeck.

f. 306a

128. XII. Menuetten, a IV. Violino, Corno I. Corno II. e Basso. del Sig.^r Gio. Ign. Beyer.
129. XII. Menuetten, a IV. Violino, Corno I. Corno II. e Basso. del Sig.^r Gio. Ign. Beyer.
130. XII. Menuetten, a II. Violino e Basso. del Sig.^r Gio. Ign. Beyer.
131. XII. Menuetten, a IV. Violino, Corno I. Corno II. e Basso. d'un Anonimo.

- 132. XII. Menuetten, a IV. Violino, Corno I. Corno II. e Basso. d'un Anonimo.
- 133. XII. Menuetten, a IV. Violino, Corno I. Corno II. e Basso. d'un Anonimo.
- 134. XII. Menuetten, a IV. Violino, Corno I. Corno II. e Basso. d'un Anonimo.
- 135. XII. Menuetten, a IV. Violino, Corno I. Corno II.º e Basso. d'un Anonimo.
- 136. XII. Menuetten, a IV. Violino, Corno I. Corno II. e Basso. d'un Anonimo.
- 137. XII. Menuetten, a IV. Violino, Corno I. Corno II. e Basso. d'un Anonimo.
- 138. XX. Menuetten, a IV. Violino, Corno I. Corno II. e Basso. d'un Anonimo.
- 139. XXIV. Menuetten, a IV. Violino, Corno I. Corno II. e Basso. d'un Anonimo.

f. 306b

- 140. XLI. Menuetten, à IV. Violino, Corno I. Corno II. e Basso. d'un Anonimo.
 - 141. XXIV. Menuetten, à IV. Violino, Corno I. Corno II. e Basso. d'un Anonimo.
 - 142. XXXIII. Steyerische Tántze d'un Anonimo.
 - 143. XXIV. dergleichen Steyerische Tántze d'un Anonimo.
 - 144. XXIV. dergleichen Steyerische Tántze d'un Anonimo.
- Musiquen, so anno 1723. von Graf Marcin zu Prag bekommen nemlich.

VII. Concerti del Sig.^r Antonio Vivaldi

I. Concerto del Sig.^r Girolamo Laurentii.

IV. Ouverturen in Partiittur di J. F. Fasch..

f. 307a

Musiquen so anno 1723. von des Grafen Sicking zu Prag seinen leuten bekommen:

III. Concerti und

I. Ouvertur in Partiittur von Antonio Reichenauer.

II. Parthie ex D. d'un Anonimo.

XL. unterschiedliche Menuetten und Tántze.

Musiquen so anno 1725. zu Meiningen und Gandersheim bekommen.

Concerto del Sig.^r Gasparo Visconti.

Jóhannes Ágústsson

«LA PERFETTA COGNITIONE».

FRANCESCO STEFANO DI LORENA, PATRONO DI VIVALDI

Sommario

Nel libretto del *Farnace* messo in scena a Pavia nel 1731, Vivaldi annunciò la sua nomina a maestro di cappella di due nobili mecenati legati all'impero asburgico: Francesco Stefano, duca di Lorena (in seguito erede del Granducato di Toscana e quindi eletto imperatore col titolo di Francesco I), e il principe Giuseppe Giovanni Adamo del Liechtenstein. Benché sino a oggi non si sapesse granché sui loro interessi nei confronti della musica, e di quella vivaldiana in particolare, siamo finalmente in grado di far luce su questo aspetto della loro personalità grazie a una serie di nuove informazioni emerse durante alcune ricerche condotte negli archivi della città di Vienna.

Questo articolo prende in considerazione le attività musicali di Francesco Stefano in rapporto a un suo probabile contatto di vecchia data con Vivaldi. Nato nel 1708, il duca iniziò i propri studi musicali in gioventù, sotto la guida del compositore francese Henry Desmarest, proseguendoli anche dopo il suo trasferimento a Vienna, avvenuto nella metà degli anni Venti del secolo, con il compositore della corte imperiale, l'organista Gottlieb Muffat. Nel settembre del 1728 Francesco Stefano presenziò alla *Erbhuldigung* dell'imperatore Carlo VI a Trieste, e fu lì che incontrò per la prima volta Vivaldi.

Una conferma del loro contatto è contenuta in una lettera, appena rinvenuta, che il compositore inviò al giovane duca nel 1729, anche se lo spartito che l'accompagnava è andato probabilmente perduto. Dopo il suo incontro con Vivaldi, Francesco Stefano prese lezioni di violino e, alcuni anni più tardi, diede vita a una propria cappella musicale privata. Durante due viaggi in Italia e attorno all'Europa ebbe inoltre l'occasione di entrare in contatto con alcuni dei più importanti musicisti e compositori dell'epoca, fra cui Händel, che incontrò a Londra nel 1731.

L'immagine di Francesco Stefano che emerge da questo articolo è quella di un uomo animato da una intensa passione nei confronti della musica, tanto da far pensare che il suo ruolo nello sviluppo della vita musicale viennese dell'epoca sia stato fino a oggi sottostimato. Il saggio, infine, suggerisce una nuova ipotesi sul secondo soggiorno di Vivaldi a Vienna e sulla rappresentazione postuma (1742) della sua ultima partitura operistica, *L'oracolo in Messenia*.

MISCELLANY

Compiled by Michael Talbot

I begin by reporting some sad news: **the death on 9 July 2015 of Dr Wolfgang Reich**, who was for many years leader of the Music Department at the Sächsische Landesbibliothek in Dresden. During a period when the political climate complicated personal and professional relationships between musicologists based in the former GDR and their Western counterparts, Wolfgang did his utmost to overcome those obstacles and facilitate contact. In his role as a librarian he always made visitors welcome and assisted their work in ways both official and unofficial – I recall one instance when he brought home from the library a Zelenka autograph manuscript in order to show it to me. As a musicologist, he made very important contributions to our knowledge of the life and music of this Bohemian composer, whose spectacular renaissance in recent years gave him great satisfaction. By Vivaldians he will be remembered especially for the *Vivaldi Colloquia* he organized at the library, the third of which resulted in a precious volume of proceedings of which he was the editor.¹

Vivaldian literature knows the Florentine singer and composer **Carlo Luigi Pietragnua** (c. 1665-1726), the most prominent member of a dynasty of musicians with German ancestry (the surname translates the toponym “Kranichstein”), as the *maestro di coro* at the Pietà whose brief tenure (1719-1726) separates those of Francesco Gasparini – with Vivaldi as his unofficial stand-in between 1713 and 1717 – and Giovanni Porta (1726-1737). There has as yet been no serious investigation into Pietragnua’s activity at the Pietà: we have merely the traveller Edward Wright’s report (published in 1730 but referring to the year 1721) that the Pietà’s *coro* was headed by a “eunuch” – Pietragnua was an alto castrato – and a hypothesis that Vivaldi’s *Concerto funebre* (RV 579), datable through its paper to the period around 1726, was written to accompany the Requiem Mass for Pietragnua celebrated in the Pietà’s chapel on 29 March 1726.²

Now, however, there is something new of special interest. Jóhannes Ágústsson wrote to me in early 2015 to report that he had found another manuscript at the SLUB in Dresden in a hand that he suspected was that of Giovanni Battista Vivaldi: a calligraphic full score of a single-movement *Beatus vir* by Pietragnua for four-part choir and strings.³ Ágústsson’s suspicions were absolutely correct,

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¹ *Vivaldi-Studien: Referate des 3. Dresdner Vivaldi-Kolloquiums. Mit einem Katalog der Dresdner Vivaldi-Handschriften und -Frühdrukke*, ed. Wolfgang Reich, Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek, 1981.

² MICHAEL TALBOT, *The Vivaldi Compendium*, Woodbridge, The Boydell Press, 2011, pp. 52 and 142.

³ Shelfmark Mus. 2221-D-1. The manuscript is consultable online in digitized form. A recording of Pietragnua’s *Beatus vir* is included on the CD *Jan Wellem: Sacred Music from the Era of Johann Wilhelm von der Pfalz-Neuburg (1658-1716)* (Coviello COV 20903), where the tacit assumption is made that the

and reinforced the earlier claim made in my article published in the present volume that Vivaldi senior copied music not only *by* his son but also *on behalf of* his son (or of members of their close circle). This perspective slightly modifies, but does not fundamentally alter the sense of, Paul Everett's insight that "the mere presence of *hand 4* [identified as that of G. B. Vivaldi] in a musical document betokens Vivaldi's authorship or at least his involvement in the activity to which the document relates".⁴

How and why the document ended up in Dresden is yet to discover, and I would not wish to speculate at this stage. It is also rather unclear whether the composition formed part of the Pietà's repertory, since even if – as the link to G. B. Vivaldi strongly implies – there is a 'Venetian' connection, the work could have been written for local performance outside the Pietà's walls. Most of the work conforms to the general pattern of instrumentally accompanied SATB compositions written for the Pietà – for instance, the instrumental bass line always doubles the vocal bass line, thereby averting possible chord-inversions if the latter is sung an octave higher – but in one place the tenor line goes down to the note *d*, which would be unusually low for the Pietà. The composition itself is splendid and rather original: the texture is imitative practically throughout – most sections begin with fugal entries – and Pietragrua skilfully weaves in appropriate plainsong quotations in long notes.

Reminding me how important it is to investigate thoroughly the printed Italian news-sheets of the period (with descriptions such as "Avviso" and "Gazzetta"), some of which are now digitized, Alessandro Borin recently sent me the text of a report in the *Gazzette bolognesi* concerning **the Mantuan production of *Tito Manlio*** (RV 738).⁵ The extract reads:

MANTOVA 22. caduto [febbraio 1719]. S'è terminato il Carnevale con l'Opera del Tito Manlio, essendo stata di comune aggradimento, nella quale s'è molto distinta la Signora Anna Ambreville Virtuosa di S. A. Serenissima il Sig. Duca di Modona, che s'è acquistata con la sua Virtù la stima, ed applauso universale, in segno di che deve ritornare nel Carnevale venturo per dare nuovo saggio della sua grande virtuosa abilità.

The report provides further confirmation of the date (the week preceding 22 February 1719) when the performances of *Tito Manlio* ended and identifies one singer in particular, Anna Maria d'Ambreville (in the role of Servilia), as the acknowledged star of the show. Small details, yes – but precious ones for the formation of a complete picture of the production.

composition belongs to the period 1694-1716, when he served as vice-kapellmeister at the Palatine court.

⁴ PAUL EVERETT, *Vivaldi's Italian Copyists*, "Informazioni e studi vivaldiani", 11, 1990, pp. 27-86: 35.

⁵ All issues of the *Gazzette bolognesi* from 1678 to 1796 (plus a few earlier issues) are viewable at <<http://badigit.comune.bologna.it/Gazzette/gazzettedefault.asp>>. The date of the issue carrying the quoted report is 7 March 1719.

Another correspondent of the past year was Jean Cassagnol, who kindly brought to my attention a recently completed doctoral thesis by Claudia Gabriella Fatato Buzzelli entitled *Quelle Langue pour la Musique? Réflexions et perspectives à partir d'une oeuvre 'insolite': La Fida Ninfa de Scipione Maffei et Antonio Vivaldi*.⁶ I have not yet looked at the thesis, but its résumé is:

Cette recherche montre, à travers des analyses et des observations intra/infratextuelles dramalogiques et musicales, comment le drame pastoral de *La Fida Ninfa* de Scipione Maffei et Antonio Vivaldi est rattaché à la sensibilité de l'époque, et d'une façon particulière au milieu culturel arcadien, avec des empreintes politiques et idéologiques; est largement représentatif de la musique de Vivaldi la plus vaste et la plus célèbres, au-delà des préjugés désuets sur sa production dans le domaine de l'opéra; peut-être considéré comme un opéra d'actualité ouvert, avec des traits expérimentaux aussi bien dans ses aspects linguistiques et musicaux qu'idéologiques. En conclusion un opéra qui, même si sur la base de schémas partagés et consolidés, propose un nouveau discours où l'indéniable valeur artistique est mêlée aux vertus civiques et à l'inspiration de l'esprit.

From 2014 comes a stimulating article by Robert Kintzel entitled *Vivaldi in Colonial America: The Cases of Francis Hopkinson, Peter Pelham and Thomas Jefferson*.⁷ The three named men, the first two musicians and the third the eminent statesman, all possessed music by Vivaldi in their collections. The selection of Vivaldi works owned by them is fairly unremarkable, but Kintzel's wide-ranging contextual discussion reminds us of a fact frequently overlooked: until the American Revolution, and in fact for a long while afterwards, North American musical culture was essentially a 'provincial' extension of its British counterpart, with a very similar admixture of continental influence and personnel. There was frequent movement of musicians back and forth across the Atlantic. It was only in the nineteenth century that American music started to emancipate itself more decisively from its British heritage – albeit at the not necessarily disadvantageous price of embracing German hegemony.

I can mention a still more recent contribution of my own: an essay entitled *Pierre Pagin's Capriccios for Antonio Vivaldi's Violin Concerto La primavera, RV 269*.⁸ Pagin (1723-1799) was a favourite pupil of Tartini, who after his return to Paris from Padua did his best to promote the Tartinian style both by performing and editing his master's works and by composing his own sonatas and concertos modelled on them. In this endeavour he encountered both approbation and resistance: his hissing off the concert platform of the Concert spirituel in 1750 caused a public scandal. Fortunately for him, his support by

⁶ Université Paris-Sorbonne, 2003. The thesis is available in microfiche from the Atelier national de Reproduction des Thèses in Lille.

⁷ "Early Music", 42/3, 2014, pp. 421-433.

⁸ In *Locatelli and the Violin Bravura Tradition*, ed. Fulvia Morabito, Turnhout, Brepols, 2015, pp. 165-193.

influential patrons gave him the financial means to retire early from public performance and exchange the concert hall for the salon and a lifestyle better befitting a gentleman.

Among the characteristic features of Tartini's concertos taken over by Pagin was the presence of a multi-sectional extended cadenza (capriccio) in at least one outer movement. An autograph collection of various capriccios by Pagin in a written-out, but rather sketchily realized, form is held by the Deutsche Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin PK.⁹ These capriccios are mostly for concertos by Tartini and Pagin himself, but they also include two for the outer movements of Vivaldi's *La primavera* (RV 269),¹⁰ which was perhaps the favourite, most emblematic, concerto of all in mid-century Paris. In truth, Pagin was a rather weak composer, and, in any case, his addition of Tartini-style capriccios to a thoroughly familiar programmatic concerto already supplied with its own cadenza-like passages was monumentally misconceived, so there is no good reason on aesthetic grounds to give them a modern world premiere. But I do not expect everyone to heed this advice.

Finally, I offer a reflection on the revelatory articles by Jóhannes Ágústsson and Günther Grünsteudel in this and the previous volume of "Studi vivaldiani". In combination, they evidence in striking fashion a perception that has grown ever-stronger in recent decades: that **following his Mantuan experience of 1718-1720 Vivaldi assiduously cultivated his links with the German-speaking nobility**, perhaps driven by a well-founded perception that he would maintain his pre-eminent status longer north of the Alps than in his native Italy, where successive waves of younger composers, more comfortable than him in the fashionable Neapolitan style, increasingly undermined his reputation and narrowed his opportunities. The source of new discoveries regarding a composer who has been an object of interest to diligent scholars for over a century is almost by definition unpredictable, but I would wager that the most spectacular among them will, like these recent ones, originate from the territory of modern Germany and Austria (plus their formerly German-dominated hinterland). Fortunately, Vivaldi's modern profile is high enough for scholars, even those with no previous background in Vivaldian research, to become quickly aware of the likely significance of previously unstudied documents mentioning him, or, better still, in his hand. I keep hoping, of course, that my own corner of the world – Britain and Ireland – will one day yield something equally exciting. So far, I have mostly been disappointed, but I cannot believe that all those British travellers to Italy and all those migratory Italian musicians visiting or settling here have left nothing further of major Vivaldian interest to find.

⁹ Shelfmark Mus. ms. autogr. Pagin, P. 1 M. The volume is viewable in digitized form.

¹⁰ That for the third movement appears in two divergent versions.

MISCELLANEA

A cura di Michael Talbot

Mi duole, prima di ogni altra cosa, informare i lettori che **il 9 luglio 2015 è venuto a mancare il dottor Wolfgang Reich**, responsabile per molti anni del dipartimento musicale della Sächsische Landesbibliothek di Dresda. In un periodo condizionato da un clima politico che ostacolava i rapporti personali e professionali fra i musicologi residenti nella ex DDR e i loro colleghi occidentali, Wolfgang si adoperò come meglio poté per rimuovere tali impedimenti e facilitarne i reciproci contatti. Nella sua veste di bibliotecario egli accolse gli studiosi supportandoli – in via ufficiale e non – nelle loro ricerche. Ricordo, ad esempio, quando non esitò a portare a casa propria un manoscritto autografo di Zelenka per offrirmi la possibilità di visionarlo. In qualità di musicologo, contribuì ad ampliare in maniera significativa le nostre conoscenze sulla vita e l'opera di questo importante compositore boemo, la cui recente rivalutazione gli procurò non poca soddisfazione. I vivaldiani lo ricorderanno soprattutto per i *Vivaldi Colloquia* organizzati presso la biblioteca dresdese, e, in particolare, il terzo, i cui atti furono raccolti in un prezioso volume del quale gli fu affidata la cura editoriale.¹

Il compositore e cantante fiorentino **Carlo Luigi Pietragnua** (ca 1665-1726), esponente di spicco di una dinastia di musicisti di ascendenza germanica – il suo cognome italianizza infatti il toponimo tedesco 'Kranichstein' –, è menzionato nella letteratura vivaldiana come il *maestro di coro* della Pietà la cui breve reggenza (1719-1726) si interpose fra il magistero di Francesco Gasparini – che fra il 1713 e il 1717 ebbe come sua ufficiosa controfigura Antonio Vivaldi – e quello di Giovanni Porta (1726-1737). Ciononostante, le ricerche inerenti la sua attività presso la Pietà sono ancora allo stato embrionale, dal momento che gli unici dati disponibili si riducono a un resoconto del viaggiatore inglese Edward Wright (pubblicato nel 1730 ma riferito all'anno 1721), secondo cui il *coro* della Pietà era all'epoca guidato da un 'eunuco' – un rilievo confermato dal fatto che Pietragnua era effettivamente un contralto castrato – oltre all'ipotesi che il *Concerto funebre* (RV 579) di Vivaldi – la cui datazione può esser fatta risalire, in base al tipo di carta utilizzata per redigere il manoscritto, attorno al 1726 – sia stato composto per accompagnare la messa da Requiem eseguita durante la funzione funebre celebrata per Pietragnua nella cappella della Pietà il 29 marzo 1726.²

Di recente, tuttavia, sono emerse delle novità particolarmente interessanti. All'inizio di quest'anno ho infatti ricevuto una comunicazione privata di Jóhannes Ágústsson in merito a un manoscritto conservato presso la SLUB di Dresda – la copia calligrafica, in partitura, di un *Beatus vir* di Pietragnua per coro a quattro

¹ *Vivaldi-Studien: Referate des 3. Dresdner Vivaldi-Kolloquiums. Mit einem Katalog der Dresdner Vivaldi-Handschriften und -Frühdrucke*, a cura di Wolfgang Reich, Dresda, Sächsische Landesbibliothek, 1981.

² MICHAEL TALBOT, *The Vivaldi Compendium*, Woodbridge, The Boydell Press, 2011, pp. 52 e 142.

voci e archi, composto in un unico movimento – che lo studioso riteneva potesse essere di mano di Giovanni Battista Vivaldi.³ I suoi sospetti erano assolutamente fondati, tanto da corroborare una mia precedente ipotesi – sostenuta nell'articolo pubblicato in questo stesso volume – secondo la quale Vivaldi *senior* copiò musiche non solo di suo figlio ma anche *per suo conto* (o per quello di altri membri della cerchia dei loro più stretti collaboratori). Questa prospettiva modifica leggermente, senza stravolgerla, l'intuizione di Paul Everett, secondo cui basterebbe «la semplice presenza della *grafia 4* [ascrivibile a G. B. Vivaldi] in un documento di natura musicale per confermarne la paternità vivaldiana o, quanto meno, per attestare il coinvolgimento di quest'ultimo nelle attività cui il documento stesso si riferisce».⁴

Anche se non sappiamo perché e attraverso quali vie il documento sia giunto fino a Dresda, in questa fase è prematuro formulare delle ipotesi al riguardo. Non siamo neppure certi che la composizione appartenesse al repertorio della Pietà, giacché il suo più che probabile collegamento con la città di Venezia (tramite G. B. Vivaldi) non esclude la possibilità che essa possa essere stata scritta per una esecuzione avvenuta *in loco*, ma fuori dalle mura dell'ospedale. L'impianto generale dell'opera è sostanzialmente affine a quello della maggior parte delle composizioni per coro a quattro voci con accompagnamento strumentale scritte per la Pietà – una delle caratteristiche che le accomunano è, ad esempio, il raddoppio della parte vocale di basso da parte di quella strumentale, in modo da limitare l'effetto dell'inversione dell'accordo nel caso in cui la prima fosse eseguita all'ottava superiore – anche se in un'occasione la voce del tenore scende fino al Re₂, una nota insolitamente grave per gli standard della Pietà. Il valore intrinseco della composizione è evidente sia nella sua splendida fattura, sia nella sua originalità: l'ordito imitativo è sviluppato lungo tutto il brano – molte delle sue sezioni hanno un *incipit* fugato – e Pietragrua ne tesse i fili con maestria, soprattutto attraverso delle appropriate citazioni del *cantus firmus* a note lunghe.

Rammentandomi l'importanza di uno spoglio sistematico dei 'fogli di notizie' (denominati perlopiù 'Avviso' e 'Gazzetta') pubblicati in Italia all'epoca di Vivaldi, alcuni dei quali sono oggi accessibili online, Alessandro Borin mi ha inviato di recente il testo di un resoconto stampato nelle *Gazzette bolognesi* inerente la **messinscena del Tito Manlio** (RV 738).⁵ Ecco il testo dell'estratto:

³ Segnatura Mus. 2221-D-1. Il manoscritto è consultabile online in digitale. Una registrazione del *Beatus vir* di Pietragrua è compresa nel CD *Jan Wellem: Sacred Music from the Era of Johann Wilhelm von der Pfalz-Neuburg (1658-1716)* (Coviello COV 20903), con il tacito presupposto che l'opera risalga al periodo 1694-1716, allorché il compositore prestava servizio come vice maestro di cappella presso la corte palatina.

⁴ PAUL EVERETT, *Vivaldi's Italian Copyists*, «Informazioni e studi vivaldiani», 11, 1990, pp. 27-86: 35.

⁵ Tutte le uscite delle *Gazzette bolognesi* pubblicati fra il 1678 e il 1796 (oltre ad alcuni più antiche) sono consultabili in rete all'indirizzo <<http://badigit.comune.bologna.it/Gazzette/gazzettedefault.asp>>. Il resoconto citato è contenuto nel numero del 7 marzo 1719 e il merito della sua scoperta va ascritto ad Aurelia Ambrosiano.

MANTOVA 22. caduto [febbraio 1719]. S'è terminato il Carnevale con l'Opera del Tito Manlio, essendo stata di comune aggradimento, nella quale s'è molto distinta la Signora Anna Ambreville Virtuosa di S. A. Serenissima il Sig. Duca di Modona, che s'è acquistata con la sua Virtù la stima, ed applauso universale, in segno di che deve ritornare nel Carnevale venturo per dare nuovo saggio della sua grande virtuosa abilità.

Oltre a confermare la data in cui ebbe termine la stagione operistica in cui fu rappresentato il *Tito Manlio* vivaldiano (la settimana precedente il 22 febbraio 1719), il resoconto menziona una cantante in particolare, Anna Maria d'Ambreville (l'interprete del ruolo di Servilia), come la *star* indiscussa dello spettacolo mantovano. Si tratta di dettagli minuti ma ugualmente preziosi, utili per ricostruire un quadro più completo e accurato di quella produzione operistica.

Un altro corrispondente dell'anno appena trascorso, Jean Cassignol, mi ha gentilmente segnalato la tesi di dottorato recentemente discussa da Claudia Gabriella Fatato Buzzelli e intitolata *Quelle Langue pour la Musique? Réflexions et perspectives à partir d'une oeuvre 'insolite': La Fida Ninfa de Scipione Maffei et Antonio Vivaldi*.⁶ Anche se non ho ancora avuto l'opportunità di leggere la dissertazione, ne trascrivo il riassunto:

Cette recherche montre, à travers des analyses et des observations intra / infratextuelles dramaturgiques et musicales, comment le drame pastoral de La Fida Ninfa de Scipione Maffei et Antonio Vivaldi est rattaché à la sensibilité de l'époque, et d'une façon particulière au milieu culturel arcadien, avec des empreintes politiques et idéologiques; est largement représentatif de la musique de Vivaldi la plus vaste et la plus célèbres, au-delà des préjugés désuets sur sa production dans le domaine de l'opéra; peut-être considéré comme un opéra d'actualité ouvert, avec des traits expérimentaux aussi bien dans ses aspects linguistiques et musicaux qu'idéologiques. En conclusion un opéra qui, même si sur la base de schémas partagés et consolidés, propose un nouveau discours où l'indéniable valeur artistique est mêlée aux vertus civiques et à l'inspiration de l'esprit.

Robert Kintzel è l'autore di uno stimolante contributo, pubblicato nel 2014: *Vivaldi in Colonial America: The Cases of Francis Hopkinson, Peter Pelham and Thomas Jefferson*.⁷ I tre personaggi menzionati nel titolo, due musicisti e un eminente statista, sono accomunati dal fatto che in vita possedettero tutti della musica di Vivaldi. Anche se la scelta delle opere collezionate non riveste alcun particolare significato, l'ampio respiro della discussione di Kintzel ha il merito di ricordarci un particolare troppo spesso trascurato, e cioè che fino alla Rivoluzione Americana la cultura musicale degli stati del Nord fu essenzialmente una propaggine 'provinciale' di quella britannica, con un'analogia commistione

⁶ Université Paris-Sorbonne, 2003. La tesi è disponibile in microfiche presso l'Atelier national de Reproduction des Thèses di Lilla.

⁷ «Early Music», 42/3, 2014, pp. 421-433.

di influenze continentali e personali. L'andirivieni dei musicisti attraverso l'Atlantico era infatti assai frequente e bisognerà attendere il diciannovesimo secolo per salutare l'avvento di un più deciso processo di emancipazione della musica statunitense dal suo retaggio britannico, anche se al prezzo, non necessariamente svantaggioso, di abbracciare l'egemonia tedesca.

Mi sia ora concesso di menzionare un mio più recente saggio, intitolato *Pierre Pagin's Capriccios for Antonio Vivaldi's Violin Concerto La primavera, RV 269*.⁸ Pagin (1723-1799) fu uno degli allievi prediletti di Tartini e dopo il suo ritorno a Parigi da Padova si adoperò per promuovere lo stile del proprio maestro, sia eseguendo e dando alle stampe le sue opere, sia componendo a sua volta delle sonate e dei concerti modellati su quelli tartiniani. In questo sforzo incontrò sia approvazione che resistenza: la sua cacciata, tra i fischi, dal palco del *Concert spirituel*, nel 1750, creò uno scandalo pubblico. Fortunatamente per lui, il sostegno dei suoi influenti protettori gli offrì i mezzi economici per ritirarsi prematuramente dall'agone e barattare le sale da concerto con i saloni dell'aristocrazia, guadagnandosi uno stile di vita più consono a un gentiluomo.

Uno fra i tratti peculiari dei concerti di Tartini assimilati da Pagin fu la presenza, in almeno uno dei movimenti esterni, di una estesa cadenza (capriccio) plurisezionata. Una collezione autografa di svariati capricci di Pagin – notati per esteso, quantunque in forma parzialmente abbozzata – è oggi custodita presso la Deutsche Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin PK.⁹ La maggior parte dei capricci fu composta per dei concerti di Tartini e dello stesso Pagin, anche se due di essi si riferiscono ai movimenti rapidi de *La primavera* (RV 269) di Vivaldi,¹⁰ vale a dire il concerto probabilmente più apprezzato ed emblematico nella Parigi di mezzo secolo. In verità Pagin fu un compositore abbastanza modesto e, in ogni caso, il suo tentativo di aggiungere dei capricci nello stile di Tartini a un concerto programmatico così familiare e già provvisto di passaggi composti nello stile di pseudocadenze fu errore madornale, tanto che non v'è nessuna ragione estetica per giustificare una riproposizione in epoca moderna. Anche se non mi aspetto che tutti seguano necessariamente il mio consiglio.

Vorrei concludere con una riflessione sugli articoli rivelatori di Jóhannes Ágústsson e Günther Grünsteudel pubblicati in questo e nel precedente volume di «Studi vivaldiani». Considerati nell'insieme, essi confermano una percezione che è andata via via crescendo negli ultimi decenni, e cioè che **dopo l'esperienza mantovana del 1718-1720 Vivaldi coltivò con assiduità sempre maggiore i suoi rapporti con l'aristocrazia di lingua tedesca**, forse con il fondato sospetto che gli sarebbe stato più facile conservare la propria posizione a nord delle Alpi piuttosto

⁸ In *Locatelli and the Violin Bravura Tradition*, a cura di Fulvia Morabito, Turnhout, Brepols, 2015, pp. 165-193.

⁹ Segnatura Mus. ms. autogr. Pagin, P. 1 M. Il volume è consultabile in digitale.

¹⁰ Quello per il terzo movimento in due differenti versioni.

che in patria, dove le nuove generazioni di compositori, maggiormente a loro agio con lo stile napoletano più in voga, ne minacciavano gradualmente il prestigio e ne riducevano sensibilmente gli spazi d'azione. Anche se la possibilità di nuove scoperte riguardanti un compositore che è stato oggetto di uno scrupoloso interesse da parte degli studiosi per quasi un secolo è per definizione imprevedibile, sarei disposto a scommettere che le più eclatanti di esse, come quelle più recenti, proverranno dai territori delle odierne Germania e Austria, oltre che dai vicini paesi precedentemente sotto il dominio tedesco. Per fortuna, la considerazione che gli odierni studiosi hanno di Vivaldi è tale da permettere anche ai ricercatori sprovvisti di specifiche conoscenze vivaldiane di cogliere subito il valore di documenti inediti nei quali questi sia anche solo menzionato o, meglio ancora, che siano stati redatti di suo pugno. Non abbandono la speranza che anche il mio angolo di mondo – la Britannia e l'Irlanda – possa un giorno rivelare delle scoperte altrettanto emozionanti. Anche se finora tale desiderio è stato perlopiù disatteso, non posso credere che tutti i viaggiatori britannici che visitarono l'Italia e tutti i musicisti italiani che soggiornarono e si stabilirono al di là della Manica non abbiano lasciato alcunché di importante ancora in attesa di essere scoperto.

AGGIORNAMENTI DEL CATALOGO VIVALDIANO

A cura di Federico Maria Sardelli

Credo di poter affermare senza timore di smentita che il catalogo vivaldiano è, fra tutti quelli dei musicisti più celebri del passato, senz'altro il più turbolento e foriero di sorprese. Le cause di questa situazione sono diverse e complesse, ma la principale è senz'altro l'oblio di Vivaldi, durato quasi due secoli. Vere indagini musicologiche su quest'autore sono iniziate solo dopo la seconda guerra mondiale e più sistematicamente e approfonditamente solo negli anni Sessanta e Settanta del Novecento, coi lavori fondamentali di Walter Kolneder, Peter Ryom e Michael Talbot. È chiaro allora che questo ritardo secolare negli studi e nella ricerca delle fonti possa ancora esser causa di ritrovamenti e sorprese.

Ne è testimone l'infornata di aggiornamenti di quest'anno, che presenta ben sette nuovi numeri di RV, un nuovo suffisso alfabetico per una versione di un'opera finora non inventariata e due nuovi numeri RV Anh. Accanto a queste novità vi è un brulichio di piccole modifiche generate dall'imminenza della nuova edizione del *Verzeichnis* presso Breitkopf & Härtel: il lavoro di revisione generale a cui viene sottoposto tutto il catalogo porta con sé un gran numero di piccoli aggiustamenti che vanno dalla semplice correzione dei refusi all'aggiornamento delle indicazioni bibliografiche, alla correzione di alcune datazioni, all'integrazione di concordanze musicali, alla correzione di indicazioni d'organico, e così via. Alcuni di questi piccoli cambiamenti vengono trasmessi anche da questa rubrica: ho radunato in una tabella le principali modifiche alle datazioni che Ryom propone nella corrente versione del catalogo (2007).

LA QUESTIONE DELLE DATE

Bisogna anzitutto precisare che parlare di datazioni – nel senso letterale di determinazione dell'anno o mese in cui un'opera è stata composta – non ha quasi mai senso nella musica di Vivaldi, tant'è che Ryom adotta correttamente il termine *Entstehungszeit*, che si può tradurre come «tempo (o periodo) di genesi (o creazione)» di una composizione. Queste 'datazioni' quindi non pretendono di essere stringenti se non nei rari casi in cui si abbiano precise testimonianze storiche a supporto di una data particolare (prime di opere, esecuzioni particolari, e altre opere databili); per tutti gli altri casi, ossia la quasi totalità, l'indicazione di *Entstehungszeit* non fa che offrire un periodo delimitato da un punto cronologico (le datazioni *ante* o *post quem*) o due punti cronologici (due date desunte da vicende biografiche accertate, come ad esempio i periodi 1713-1717 o 1716-1717).

Già dall'uscita del *Verzeichnis*, nel 2007, ad oggi, diversi nuovi studi hanno offerto nuovi appigli per focalizzare meglio alcune datazioni; inoltre, uno dei metodi tradizionali impiegati dagli studiosi vivaldiani per datare le opere – il sistema

del «grande 3»¹ – si è definitivamente rivelato fallace. Datare sistematicamente *post* 1720-1724 i manoscritti che presentano un unico «grande 3» invece delle ordinarie frazioni di 3/4 e 3/8 è diventato un esercizio sempre meno sicuro dal momento che sono emersi sempre più casi in cui «grande 3» si presentava su manoscritti *ante* 1720-1724.² Colpo definitivo al metodo l'ha dato la nuova sonata RV 820 – databile fra il 1700 e il 1703 – che pure presenta il «grande 3» a capo di ben due movimenti. Possiamo allora concludere che l'arguta l'osservazione di Ryom ed Everett circa la comparsa di quest'uso scrittorio presso Vivaldi conserva ancora il suo valore di constatazione: è vero sì, che dopo il 1720-1724, Vivaldi prese ad usare massicciamente e forse sistematicamente questo segno, ma non è vero che non lo usasse già prima. Cade così l'efficacia epistemologica delle deduzioni cronologiche basate su questo argomento.

Sotto questa luce, ho preferito lasciare le numerose annotazioni «*vermutlich nach 1720/24*» (presumibilmente dopo il 1720-1724) quando lo stesso *terminus post quem* può essere suffragato da altri argomenti, ed eliminarlo quando vi siano evidenze contrarie. Ma, dove ho potuto, ho cercato di focalizzare maggiormente la datazione di quelle opere su cui la letteratura critica ha offerto argomenti fino ad oggi non contestati: l'*Entstehungszeit* delle *Stagioni* proposto nel fondamentale saggio di Everett, le convincenti datazioni di opere sacre delineate da Talbot nelle sue edizioni critiche, alcune datazioni dei concerti da camera offerte nel mio saggio sul flauto nella musica di Vivaldi, e così via. La seguente tabella riassume i principali cambiamenti nelle *Entstehungszeiten* del prossimo catalogo.

RV	PERIODO DI COMPOSIZIONE	BIBLIOGRAFIA
RV 84	probabilmente 1716-1717	Sardelli FR, pp. 101-102
RV 800	probabilmente 1728-1729	Sardelli FR, pp. 84-87
RV 801	inizio degli anni Dieci	Sardelli FR, pp. 101-102
RV 90 <i>Del Gardellino</i>	prima del 1724	Sardelli FR, pp. 113-120 Everett M II, pp. 7, 25, 36
RV 95 <i>La Pastorella</i>	prima del 1724	Sardelli FR, pp. 113-120 Everett M II, pp. 7, 25, 36
RV 96	attorno agli anni 1716-1717	Sardelli FR, pp. 101-102
RV 97	probabilmente fra il 1717 e il 1720	
RV 98 <i>La Tempesta di Mare</i>	metà degli anni Dieci	Sardelli FR, pp. 98-101
RV 99	fra il 1717 e il 1720	Sardelli FR, pp. 104-105
RV 101	inizio degli anni Venti	Sardelli FR, pp. 122-124
RV 104 <i>La Notte</i>	prima del 1722	Sardelli FR, pp. 111-113
RV 106	attorno al 1720	Sardelli FR, pp. 109-110
RV 107	attorno agli anni 1716-1717	Sardelli FR, pp. 101-103
RV 130 <i>Al Santo Sepolcro</i>	probabilmente fra il 1729 e il 1734	Talbot VF, pp. 76-82

¹ L'osservazione che Vivaldi iniziasse a usare, a partire dall'inizio degli anni Venti, il segno «3» in luogo delle ordinarie frazioni 3/4 e 3/8, fu prima fatta da PETER RYOM, *Les manuscrits de Vivaldi*, Copenaghen, Antonio Vivaldi Archives, 1977, pp. 74 e 246, e poi riaffermata da PAUL EVERETT, *Towards a Vivaldi Chronology*, in *Nuovi studi vivaldiani. Edizione e cronologia critica delle opere*, a cura di Antonio Fanna e Giovanni Morelli («Quaderni vivaldiani», 4), Firenze, Olschki, 1988, II, pp. 511-534.

² Alcuni di questi casi vengono elencati in OLIVIER FOURÉS, *L'œuvre pour violon d'Antonio Vivaldi, ossia il violino in maschera*, Tesi di dottorato, Université Lumière Lyon II, 2007, pp. 196-198.

AGGIORNAMENTI DEL CATALOGO VIVALDIANO

RV	PERIODO DI COMPOSIZIONE	BIBLIOGRAFIA
RV 169 <i>Al Santo Sepolcro</i>	probabilmente fra il 1729 e il 1734	Talbot VF, pp. 76-82
RV 253 <i>La Tempesta di Mare</i> , <i>Op. VIII, n. 5</i>	attorno agli anni 1716-1717	Everett FS, p. 20
RV 269 <i>La Primavera</i> , <i>Op. VIII, n. 1</i>	metà degli anni Dieci	Everett FS, p. 18
RV 293 <i>L'Autunno</i> , <i>Op. VIII, n. 3</i>	metà degli anni Dieci	Everett FS, p. 18
RV 297 <i>L'Inverno</i> , <i>Op. VIII, n. 4</i>	metà degli anni Dieci	Everett FS, p. 18
RV 315 <i>L'Estate</i> , <i>Op. VIII, n. 2</i>	metà degli anni Dieci	Everett FS, p. 18
RV 362 <i>La Caccia</i> , <i>Op. VIII, n. 10</i>	probabilmente 1718-1720	Everett FS, p. 21
RV 372a	probabilmente 1739-1740	Tanenbaum I, p. 8; II, p. 7 e segg.
RV 402	<i>ante</i> 1724	Sardelli OG, pp. 57-58
RV 416	<i>ante</i> 1724	Sardelli OG, pp. 57-58
RV 420	<i>ante</i> 1724	Sardelli OG, pp. 57-58
RV 448	attorno al 1735 o più tardi	Everett P, p. 215
RV 450	attorno al 1735 o più tardi	Everett P, p. 202 e segg.
RV 457	attorno al 1735 o più tardi	Everett P, p. 202 e segg.
RV 463	attorno al 1735 o più tardi	Everett P, p. 202 e segg.
RV 470	tra la fine degli anni Venti e l'inizio degli anni Trenta	Everett P, p. 202 e segg.
RV 471	probabilmente 1734-1735	Everett P, p. 202 e segg.
RV 485	probabilmente 1734-1735	Everett P, p. 202 e segg.
RV 765	<i>ante</i> 1725	Ammetto, p. 227
RV 528	<i>ante</i> 1714	Ammetto, p. 225
RV 555	1726	Talbot T, pp. 5-17
RV 567	<i>ante</i> 1703	Sardelli 820
RV 572	1723-1724	Sardelli FR, pp. 225-228
RV 578a	<i>ante</i> 1703	Sardelli 820
RV 579 <i>Concerto Funebre</i>	1726	Talbot RC, p. VII
RV 793	<i>post</i> 1738	Tanenbaum I, p. 9
RV 584	<i>post</i> 1735	Sardelli 584
RV 807 <i>Dixit Dominus</i>	1732 o più tardi	Sardelli C, pp. XLVI-XLVIII
RV 596 <i>Confitebor</i>	1732 o più tardi	Sardelli C, pp. XLVI-XLVIII
RV 601 <i>Laudate Pueri</i>	probabilmente 1732-1733	Talbot S
RV 610 <i>Magnificat</i>	fine degli anni Venti	Talbot S
RV 615 <i>Regina Caeli</i>	probabilmente 1725-1726	Talbot S
RV 616 <i>Salve Regina</i>	fra il 1729 e il 1735	Talbot S
RV 617 <i>Salve Regina</i>	tra il 1713 e il 1717	Talbot S
RV 625 <i>Claræ stellæ</i> , <i>scintillate</i>	attorno al 1715	Talbot S
RV 626 <i>In furore</i> <i>giustissimæ iræ</i>	attorno alla metà degli anni Venti	Talbot S
RV 629 <i>Longe mala, umbræ</i> , <i>terrores</i>	attorno alla metà degli anni Venti	Talbot S
RV 630 <i>Nulla in mundo pax</i> <i>sincera</i>	tra il 1713 e il 1719	Talbot S
RV 690 <i>Serenata à 3</i>	probabilmente tra il 1716 e il 1718	Borin S, p. XXIX

ABBREVIAZIONI

Ammetto	FABRIZIO AMMETTO, <i>I concerti per due violini di Vivaldi</i> («Quaderni vivaldiani», 18), Firenze, Olschki, 2013
Borin S	ALESSANDRO BORIN, introduzione all'edizione critica di ANTONIO VIVALDI, <i>Serenata a 3</i> , RV 690, Milano, Ricordi, 2010
Everett FS	PAUL EVERETT, <i>Vivaldi: The Four Seasons and other Concertos op. 8</i> , Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1996
Everett M I	PAUL EVERETT, <i>Vivaldi Concerto Manuscripts in Manchester: I</i> , «Informazioni e studi vivaldiani», 5, 1984, pp. 23-52
Everett M II	PAUL EVERETT, <i>Vivaldi Concerto Manuscripts in Manchester: II</i> , «Informazioni e studi vivaldiani», 6, 1985, pp. 3-56
Everett M III	PAUL EVERETT, <i>Vivaldi Concerto Manuscripts in Manchester: III</i> , «Informazioni e studi vivaldiani», 7, 1986, pp. 5-34
Everett P	PAUL EVERETT, <i>Vivaldi's Paraphrased Oboe Concertos of the 1730s</i> , «Chigiana», XLI, nuova serie, 21, 1989, pp. 197-216
Sardelli C	FEDERICO MARIA SARDELLI, <i>Catalogo delle concordanze musicali vivaldiane</i> («Quaderni vivaldiani», 16), Firenze, Olschki, 2012
Sardelli 584	FEDERICO MARIA SARDELLI, introduzione all'edizione critica di ANTONIO VIVALDI, <i>Concerto in due cori con due violini e due organi obbligati</i> , RV 584 («Opere incomplete», 3), Firenze, S.P.E.S., 2003, pp. V-XIV
Sardelli FR	FEDERICO MARIA SARDELLI, <i>Vivaldi's Music for Flute and Recorder</i> , Aldershot, Ashgate, 2007
Sardelli OG	FEDERICO MARIA SARDELLI, <i>Le opere giovanili di Antonio Vivaldi</i> , «Studi vivaldiani», 5, 2005, pp. 45-78
Sardelli 820	FEDERICO MARIA SARDELLI, introduzione all'edizione critica di ANTONIO VIVALDI, <i>Sonata per violino, violoncello e basso continuo</i> , RV 820, Milano, Ricordi, 2015
Talbot RC	MICHAEL TALBOT, introduzione all'edizione critica di ANTONIO VIVALDI, <i>Regina Cæli</i> , RV 615 («Opere incomplete», 4), Firenze, S.P.E.S., 2004, pp. V-XV
Talbot S	MICHAEL TALBOT, introduzione a tutte le opere sacre pubblicate in edizione critica da Ricordi (vedi la relativa introduzione all'opera in oggetto)
Talbot T	MICHAEL TALBOT, <i>Vivaldi and the "Violino in Tromba Marina"</i> , «The Consort», 61, 2005, pp. 5-17
Talbot VF	MICHAEL TALBOT, <i>Vivaldi and Fugue</i> («Quaderni Vivaldiani», 15), Firenze, Olschki, 2009
Tanenbaum I	FAUN STACY TANENBAUM, <i>The Pietà Partbooks and More Vivaldi</i> , «Informazioni e studi vivaldiani», 8, 1987, pp. 7-12
Tanenbaum II	FAUN STACY TANENBAUM, <i>The Pietà Partbooks – Continued</i> , «Informazioni e studi vivaldiani», 9, 1988, pp. 5-13

LE NOVITÀ

Fuori da questi piccoli – ma pur importanti – aggiustamenti, le novità di quest’anno possono essere sintetizzate così: una nuova sonata a tre (RV 820); sei nuovi concerti, purtroppo perduti, per flauto traversiere (RV 821 – RV 826); una nuova versione dell’opera *Scanderbeg* (RV 732-B); un concerto per violino e uno per oboe che escono dal catalogo (RV 373 e RV 458); numerose aggiunte di nuove fonti, precisazioni d’organico o di bibliografia, concordanze.

La nuova sonata RV 820 è una composizione per violino, violoncello e basso frutto di una mia scoperta felice e casuale. In modo del tutto indipendente il violinista Javier Lupiáñez aveva ricollegato a Vivaldi questa sonata anonima in virtù dell’imprestito con la sonata RV 11. Molto spesso persone diverse giungono alla stessa conclusione per vie indipendenti e senza sapere l’uno del lavoro dell’altro, come insegna l’illustre esempio di Leibniz e Newton circa il calcolo infinitesimale. Sia come vuol essere, dopo la mia ‘scoperta’ di RV 820 e l’individuazione di ben cinque concordanze con musica vivaldiana conosciuta, un fitto scambio con Michael Talbot – i cui contributi sono stati fondamentali – ha consentito di definire il contesto storico in cui questa composizione si colloca. Tutto ciò, assieme ad altri dettagli, viene discusso nel saggio che introduce l’edizione critica per Ricordi. Qui giova solo ricordare gli aspetti salienti della questione: con RV 820 si apre un inedito capitolo della biografia vivaldiana, ossia il rapporto diretto con Giuseppe Torelli. Da questa vicenda emerge anche un giovanissimo Pisendel che, quindicenne o poco meno, fra il 1698 e il 1703 fa il copista ad Ansbach per conto di Torelli e copia lavori vivaldiani che solo adesso si rivelano più antichi di quanto si sospettasse, come RV 567, il settimo concerto de *L’estro Armonico*. Grazie a RV 820 emerge un piccolo nucleo del repertorio della cappella musicale di Ansbach formato da Torelli: fra questi lavori a cavallo dei due secoli c’è anche l’altro concerto del *proto-Estro armonico*, RV 578a, la sonata in questione e altre composizioni di Torelli e del suo allievo Bettinazzi. Sarà interessante seguire questa traccia per cercare altri documenti che comprovino il legame didattico fra Torelli e Vivaldi, come fortemente lascia arguire anche il passaggio dell’eredità della forma-concerto.

I numeri che vanno da RV 821 a RV 826 inventariano sei composizioni perdute. Sono quindi numeri nati ‘vuoti’, al pari di quelli che segnano il posto per i perduti – ma esistiti – *Te Deum*, RV 622, o il *Mopso*, RV 691. Queste composizioni perdute, ma testimoniate da documenti storici attendibili, sono da considerarsi, a dispetto della loro perdita, opere autentiche a tutti gli effetti; in quanto tali, non possono essere accolte dall’*Anhang*. L’attribuzione di un numero di catalogo per opere certamente esistite costituisce un valido strumento per stimolare e indirizzare la ricerca degli studiosi. Nel nostro caso, i sei nuovi numeri descrivono i sei concerti per traversiere con titoli di nazioni (*La Francia*, *L’Inghilterra*, *L’Olanda*, *La Germania*, *La Spagna*, *L’Italia*) che Vivaldi stesso afferma di aver composto «ora» – ossia da poco tempo – mentre scrive a un nobile tedesco dilettante di flauto due mesi prima di morire. La scoperta di questa lettera fondamentale,

dovuta a Günther Grünsteudel,³ non soltanto accende una luce sugli oscurissimi ultimi mesi di Vienna, ma ci rivela un Vivaldi fecondo compositore fino all'ultimo e autore di una nuova raccolta di sei concerti che in sola parte erano noti dalla laconica menzione del catalogo Selhof (vedi RV 750). Adesso, le ricerche devono indirizzarsi verso la discendenza del destinatario di Vivaldi, il conte Johann Friedrich zu Oettingen-Wallerstein, a cui fu spedito almeno il concerto intitolato *La Francia*.

Grazie ad una segnalazione di Kees Vlaardingerbroek ho aggiunto la ripresa senese del dramma per musica *Scanderbeg*, RV 732, che mancava dal catalogo. Citata *en passant* da Strohm nel suo saggio sulle opere di Vivaldi,⁴ questa ripresa dell'opera si è rivelata foriera di sorprese: ben sette arie aggiunte rispetto alla versione fiorentina, quattro delle quali concordano con altre arie a noi note: abbiamo oggi dunque otto arie dello *Scanderbeg* vivaldiano (se contiamo le quattro già note in precedenza). Ai fini del catalogo, il numero RV 732 è stato sdoppiato in RV 732-A e RV 732-B, rispettivamente per le rappresentazioni fiorentine e quelle senesi.

Esce dalla scena vivaldiana il concerto per oboe RV 458, da lungo tempo visto con sospetto ed ora non più accettabile nel canone: non soltanto non trova nessuna concordanza musicale con temi o frammenti vivaldiani noti – come succede per la stragrande maggioranza delle opere autentiche – ma addirittura non presenta nessun elemento stilistico che possa essere ricondotto a Vivaldi. Questo concerto per oboe, che parla chiaramente tedesco o comunque una lingua musicale nordeuropea, viene da oggi messo a riposo nell'*Anhang* col nuovo numero RV Anh. 152.

Accanto a quest'uscita, si completa il percorso di revisione della problematica Op. VII, con l'espulsione del concerto RV 373 (Op. VII, Libro II, n. 3 [= 9]). Da lungo tempo le anomalie della settima raccolta a stampa di Vivaldi sono all'attenzione degli studiosi: un generale disordine delle tonalità lontano dagli usi vivaldiani (ben quattro concerti in Si bemolle maggiore, due in Fa e due di seguito in Re), due concerti per oboe in stile tedesco posti a capo dei due libri, la presenza di composizioni di qualità e datazione eterogenea, l'alta incidenza di brani di dubbia autenticità, la mancanza di un dedicatario e di ogni qualifica professionale del compositore. Tutti questi elementi fanno chiaramente capire che Vivaldi non fu coinvolto nell'impresa editoriale. Talbot, che ha dedicato alla questione un'analisi concisa e convincente,⁵ ipotizza che Vivaldi abbia spedito a Roger una raccolta di soli sei concerti, fra loro ben ordinati e che, per qualche ragione editoriale e commerciale, Roger abbia 'gonfiato' la raccolta portandola a dodici, recuperando

³ Cfr. GÜNTHER GRÜNSTEUDEL, „Vienna 5 Maggio 1741": Ein unbekannter Brief Antonio Vivaldis an Graf Johann Friedrich zu Oettingen-Wallerstein, «Studi vivaldiani», 15, 2015, pp. 5-10.

⁴ Cfr. REINHARD STROHM, *The Operas of Antonio Vivaldi* («Quaderni vivaldiani», 13), Firenze, Olschki, 2008, I, p. 229. Strohm omette purtroppo il libretto senese dalla tabella riassuntiva dell'opera posta in coda al suo volume (p. 730).

⁵ Cfr. MICHAEL TALBOT, *Vivaldi and Fugue* («Quaderni vivaldiani», 15), Firenze, Olschki, 2009, pp. 186-188.

gli altri sul mercato nordeuropeo.⁶ È anche possibile – aggiungo io – che i sei concerti che Roger si trovava fra le mani fossero i restanti di una raccolta di dodici ch'egli aveva già spezzato all'insaputa del compositore pubblicandone la metà nell'Op. VI. Ad ogni modo, fra i sei concerti che l'editore reperì per conto suo, ve ne sono tre certamente falsi: RV 373, RV 464, RV 465. I due concerti per oboe RV 464 e RV 465 sono già stati allontanati dal canone con gli *Aggiornamenti* del 2009. Adesso è il turno di RV 373, a cui Talbot dedica una dettagliata analisi compositiva, dimostrando convincentemente come Vivaldi non possa esserne l'autore; l'ipotesi di Giuseppe Matteo Alberti viene chiamata in causa plausibilmente. Pisendel, che ha copiato l'unico manoscritto conosciuto di questo concerto, ci conforta nel disattribuirlo a Vivaldi: anche lui, che aveva scritto il nome del compositore in testa alla sua copia, l'ha poi cancellato così bene da renderlo illeggibile. Il nuovo numero sotto cui adesso si trova questo concerto è RV Anh. 153.

Ancora Javier Lupiáñez ha riconosciuto il movimento centrale di RV 205 nel primo movimento della sonata anonima di Dresda Mus.2-R-8,40. Quest'agnizione poteva lasciar sperare che tutta la sonata anonima potesse essere attribuita a Vivaldi, ma purtroppo gli altri movimenti evidenziano un linguaggio radicalmente diverso (e assai mediocre). La sonata appare essere uno di quei tipici *patchwork* che Pisendel confezionava a Dresda assemblando brani di diversi autori. Abbiamo tuttavia una nuova fonte del secondo movimento di RV 205. Altre candidature vivaldiane di musiche anonime sono emerse ultimamente, ma finora senza esiti positivi.⁷

⁶ La questione delle fonti di Roger è sviscerata in modo dettagliato nel fondamentale saggio di RUDOLF RASCH, *La famosa mano di Monsieur Roger: Antonio Vivaldi and his Dutch Publishers*, «Informazioni e studi vivaldiani», 17, 1996, pp. 89-135: 103.

⁷ Negli ultimi anni, da quando metodi attributivi fondati su elementi interni come quello delle «concordanze musicali» sono stati legittimati e concorrono, assieme ad altri criteri, a fondare il giudizio attributivo, molti musicisti o musicologi si sono dedicati alla ricerca di Vivaldi fra le composizioni anonime. Sono stati segnalati forti elementi vivaldiani nel concerto anonimo di Dresda Mus.2-O-1,45: pure in questo caso la composizione non può essere attribuita a Vivaldi, ma testimonia l'utilizzo di gesti e maniere vivaldiane presso violinisti dresdensi che, come Pisendel o Cattaneo, si erano formati al gusto vivaldiano. È stata poi presa in esame la candidatura di RV Anh. 8, del concerto anonimo in La magg. *D-Dl*, Mus.2-O-7c, del concerto anonimo *D-Dl*, Mus.2-O-8,4, della sinfonia anonima RV Anh. 85, e così via. Tutte queste opere 'suonano' molto vivaldiane, non c'è dubbio, ma tutto questo non basta per maturare un'attribuzione: la loro analisi ci ha confermato che dal secondo decennio del Settecento in poi emergono diversi compositori che avevano ben recepito la lezione vivaldiana ed erano in grado di replicarne gesti e forme con grande abilità. Musicisti come Gasparo Visconti, Carlo Tessarini, Gaetano Maria Schiassi, Giuseppe Matteo Alberti, Joseph Meck, Francesco Maria Cattaneo, Johann Georg Pisendel, František Jiránek, sono solo i più noti e capaci 'vivaldisti' dell'epoca. Questo ci insegna che le apparenze vivaldiane possono anche portare lontano da Vivaldi e che il metodo delle concordanze musicali deve essere applicato con maggior rigore, tenendone presente la regola principale: possono avere efficacia epistemologica solo quegli elementi che si presentino come «un'invenzione musicale chiara e distinta, riconoscibile come frutto di una particolare e deliberata creazione del compositore e non come elemento generico dello stile» (FEDERICO MARIA SARDELLI, *Catalogo delle concordanze musicali vivaldiane* («Quaderni vivaldiani», 16), Firenze, Olschki, 2012, p. CXXV).

RV 2

Sonata in Do magg.

Autografo: *D-Dl*, Mus.2389-R-10, cc. 1-4. Partitura. Dedicata a Pisendel aggiunta successivamente. Il ms. presenta correzioni di composizione nel mov. 4. Dopo questo movimento si trova un abbozzo di aria per soprano sconosciuta (9 batt., La min.):

Allegro



RV 810

Sonata in Re magg.

Osservazioni: Il tema del mov. 2 si trova anche in **RV 644**, nell'aria «Transit ætas, volant anni» (mov. 33).

RV 14

Sonata in Re min. Op. II, n. 3

Osservazioni: il mov. 1 fu parafrasato per Fl da Ignazio Sieber nella sua *Sonata I*, in *XII SONATES à une Flute & une Basse Continue* [...], Amsterdam, Roger, s. d.

RV 20

Sonata in Fa magg. Op. II, n. 4

Osservazioni: il mov. 4 fu pubblicato a Londra da J. Cluer & B. Creake in *Medullæ Musicæ Being A Choice Collection of Airs*, sotto il nome di «Mascit[t]i» (esemplare in GB-Lbl); lo stesso mov. fu trascritto per Fl da Paolo Parenzi nella raccolta manoscritta *Sinfonie di Varij Autori*, I-PAc, CF-V-23, cc. 79v-80r.

RV 27

Sonata in Sol min. Op. II, n. 1

Osservazioni: i movv. 1 e 4 si trovano parafrasati nei movv. 1 e 4 di **RV 28**.

RV 28

Sonata in Sol min.

Organico: Vl, Bc

Osservazioni: l'assenza d'indicazione strumentale sul ms. e la limitazione al Do₃ della parte solistica hanno fatto supporre che la sonata fosse destinata all'oboe. In realtà, l'assenza d'indicazione strumentale presso Vivaldi e nel contesto di Dresda rimanda automaticamente al Vl, così com'è confermato anche dall'iscrizione posteriore della cartellina che contiene il ms.: «Violino e Basso». Non si può escludere che la sonata possa essere stata comunque composta per essere utilizzabile anche da un oboe. I movv. 1 e 4 si ritrovano parafrasati nei movv. 1 e 4 di **RV 27**.

RV 34

Sonata in Sib magg.

Organico: Vl, Bc

Osservazioni: l'assenza d'indicazione strumentale sul ms. e la limitazione al Mi₃ della parte solistica hanno fatto supporre che la sonata fosse destinata all'oobo. In realtà, l'assenza d'indicazione strumentale presso Vivaldi e nel contesto di Dresda rimanda automaticamente al Vl, così com'è confermato anche dall'iscrizione posteriore della cartellina che contiene il ms.: «Violino e Basso». Non si può escludere che la sonata possa essere stata comunque composta per essere utilizzabile anche da un oboe.

RV 759

Sonata in Sib magg.

Manoscritto: D-Dl, Mus.2-R-8,46. Partitura. Titolo: *Sonata a Violino Solo*. Senza indicazione d'autore. Copista: Pisendel.

RV 82

Trio in Do magg.

Organico: Vl, Lt, Bc

Osservazioni: Vivaldi ha dedicato al conte Johann Joseph Wrtby tre composizioni: i trii RV 82 e RV 85 ed il concerto RV 93. I due trii, indicati sui manoscritti rispettivamente come «Trio 2^{do}» e «Trio 3.^{zo}» dovevano far parte di una raccolta oggi perduta.

RV 820

Sonata in Sol maggiore

[catalogata dopo RV 84]

Incompleta

Organico: Vl, Vc, Bc

Periodo di composizione: tra il 1700 e il 1703 [v. **Bibliografia**]

1. [Allegro]



2. Adagio



3. [Presto]



4. [Allegro]



5. Adagio



6. [Allegro]



7. [Allegro]



Copia: *D-DI*, Mus.2-Q-6. Partitura, senza nome di autore. Titolo: *Sonata à Violino è Violoncello*. L'ultimo movimento s'interrompe a b. 59 per la perdita del fascicolo successivo. Copista: Pisendel.

Cataloghi ed edizioni: deest • Ediz. crit. (Sardelli).

Osservazioni: la sonata può essere attribuita a Vivaldi su basi stilistiche e per le concordanze musicali che intrattiene con altri lavori autentici. Fu copiata dal giovane Pisendel durante il suo soggiorno ad Ansbach; questa e altre circostanze (v. **Bibliografia**) fanno pensare che si tratti di un lavoro giovanile, forse il più antico conosciuto di Vivaldi.

Bibliografia: Federico Maria Sardelli, introduzione all'Ediz. crit.

RV 205

Concerto in Re magg.

Manoscritti: *D-DI*, Mus.2389-O-123a. Parti staccate. Contiene la versione modificata del mov. 3. Copista: Pisendel (L) • ivi, Mus. 2-R-8, 40. Partitura. Contiene solo il mov. 2 (vedi Osservazioni). Copista: «J. G. Grundig».

Osservazioni: il mov. 2 fu inserito, probabilmente da Pisendel, nel ms. di **RV 212**. Lo stesso movimento si trova anche, con qualche modifica, come movimento d'apertura della sonata anonima *D-DI*, Mus.2-R-8, 40: sia le varianti di questo movimento che gli altri movimenti della sonata non possono esser ricondotti a Vivaldi.

RV 269

Concerto in Mi magg. «La Primavera», Op. VIII, n. 1

Osservazioni: Pierre Pagin (1723-1799), allievo di Tartini, compose alcuni capricci sui tempi veloci de *La Primavera*.

RV 340

Concerto in La magg.

Autografo: D-Dl, Mus.2389-O-43. Partitura. Dedicata a Pisendel. La c. 11, aggiunta al ms., contiene sul *verso* la cadenza del concerto e sul *recto* un frammento autografo di 4 bb. dell'aria *Vivat in pace*, da RV 644 (solo la parte di VI e VIa).

RV 366

Concerto in Sib magg. «Il Carbonelli»

Osservazioni: non è escluso che il concerto possa essere stato composto per il violinista Giovanni Stefano Carbonelli (Livorno 1694-Londra 1773).



RV 373

Concerto in Sib magg Op. VII, Libro II, n. 3 (= 9)

(v. RV Anh. 153)

RV 399

Concerto in Do magg.

Autografo: I-Tn, Foà 29, cc. 134-141. Partitura. Accanto al titolo compare l'iscrizione *Per Monsieur S... h* (il nome è stato cancellato).

Osservazioni: sulle ipotesi d'interpretazione del nome posto sul frontespizio del concerto, v. sotto.

Bibliografia: Bettina Hoffmann, *Gli strumenti ad arco bassi nella musica di Antonio Vivaldi*, «Quaderni vivaldiani», 19 (in preparazione).

Bibliografia: Federico Maria Sardelli, *Le opere giovanili di Antonio Vivaldi*, SV 2005, pp. 57-58.

RV 440

Concerto in La min.

Osservazioni: Numerose modifiche autografe tese a semplificare la parte del Fl.

RV 821

Concerto in ? «La Francia»

[catalogato provvisoriamente dopo RV 440]

perduto

Organico: Fl trav, Archi, Bc

Periodo di composizione: 1741 [v. Osservazioni]

Cataloghi ed edizioni: Selhof, *Catalogue d'une très belle Bibliothèque*, p. 223, n. 2461 e n. 2462.

Osservazioni: in una lettera datata «Vienna 5 Maggio 1741» Vivaldi comunica al conte Johann Friedrich zu Oettingen-Wallerstein, dilettante di traversiere, di aver appena composto sei concerti per questo strumento col titolo delle nazioni: «[...] mi prendo la libertà di ocluderle [= accluderle] un Concerto per il Flauto Traver[sier]e, tanto più che ora hò fatto sei Concerti intitolati La Francia, l'Inghilterra [sic], L'Olanda, la Germania, la Spagna e L'Italia et con ogni Concerto esprimo il gusto musicale della Nazione. Spedisco a V. E. La Francia [...]». Questo concerto era già noto dall'inventario Selhof (v. RV 750).

Bibliografia: Günther Grünsteudel, «Vienna 5 Maggio 1741»: *Ein unbekannter Brief Antonio Vivaldis an Graf Johann Friedrich zu Oettingen-Wallerstein*, SV 2015, pp. 5-10.

RV 822

Concerto in ? «L'Inghilterra» [catalogato provvisoriamente dopo RV 440]

perduto

Organico: Fl trav, Archi, Bc

Periodo di composizione: 1741 [v. Osservazioni]

Cataloghi ed edizioni: Selhof, *Catalogue d'une très belle Bibliothèque*, p. 223, n. 2462.

Osservazioni: v. RV 821. Questo concerto era già noto dall'inventario Selhof col titolo «L'Inghilterro» [sic] (v. RV 750).

Bibliografia: v. RV 821

RV 823

Concerto in ? «L'Olanda» [catalogato provvisoriamente dopo RV 440]

perduto

Organico: Fl trav, Archi, Bc

Periodo di composizione: 1741 [v. Osservazioni]

Cataloghi ed edizioni: deest

Osservazioni: v. RV 821

Bibliografia: v. RV 821

RV 824

Concerto in ? «La Germania» [catalogato provvisoriamente dopo RV 440]

perduto

Organico: Fl trav, Archi, Bc

Periodo di composizione: 1741 [v. Osservazioni]

Cataloghi ed edizioni: deest

Osservazioni: v. RV 821

Bibliografia: v. RV 821

RV 825

Concerto in ? «La Spagna» [catalogato provvisoriamente dopo RV 440]

perduto

Organico: Fl trav, Archi, Bc

Periodo di composizione: 1741 [v. Osservazioni]

Cataloghi ed edizioni: Selhof, *Catalogue d'une très belle Bibliothèque*, p. 223, n. 2461.

Osservazioni: v. RV 821. Questo concerto era già noto dall'inventario Selhof (v. RV 750).

Bibliografia: v. RV 821

RV 826

Concerto in ? «L'Italia» [catalogato provvisoriamente dopo RV 440]

perduto

Organico: Fl trav, Archi, Bc

Periodo di composizione: 1741 [v. Osservazioni]

Cataloghi ed edizioni: deest

Osservazioni: v. RV 821

Bibliografia: v. RV 821

RV 446

Concerto in Do magg.

Osservazioni: [viene soppressa l'indicazione di dubbia autenticità]

RV 458

Concerto in Fa magg.

(v. RV Anh. 152)

RV 519

Concerto in La magg. Op. III, n. 5

[aggiunta alle] Osservazioni: Il concerto esiste in numerose trascrizioni per cembalo: *D-Bds*, 22396, n. 15 (trascrizione di Johann Adolf Scheibe).

RV 555

Concerto in Do magg.

Organico: 3 *Vi* soli, 2 *Trombe* nel mov. 3 (= 2 *Vi* «in tromba marina»), *Ob*, 2 *Fl*, 2 «Viole all'inglese», 2 *Salmoè*, 2 *Vc*, 2 *Cemb*, *Archi*, *Bc*

RV 558

Concerto in Do magg.

Organico: 3 *Vi* soli, 2 *Trombe* nel mov. 3 (= 2 *Vi* «in tromba marina»), *Ob*, 2 *Fl*, 2 «Viole all'inglese»

Osservazioni: Le parti staccate in *I-Vc* testimoniano una ripresa del concerto – *post* 1747 – in cui i violini «in tromba marina» furono sostituiti da corni.

RV 572

Concerto in Fa magg. «Il Proteo è il Mondo al Rovvescio»

Organico: *Vi* solo, *Vc*, 2 *Fl* trav, 2 *Ob*, *Cemb*, *Str*, *Bc*

RV 579

«Concerto Funebre» in Sib magg.

Periodo di composizione: probabilmente 1726 (v. **Osservazioni**)

Osservazioni: il concerto potrebbe essere stato composto ed eseguito alla Pietà in occasione della scomparsa del «Maestro di coro» Carlo Luigi Pietragrua, avvenuta nel 1726 (v. *Bibliografia*).

Bibliografia: Michael Talbot, introduzione ad Antonio Vivaldi, *Regina Cæli*, RV 615, «Opere incomplete», S.P.E.S., Firenze, 2004, p. VII.

RV 594

***Dixit Dominus* in Re magg.**

Autografo: *I-Tn*, Giordano 35, cc. 45-88. Partitura. La scrittura delle due *Tr* s'interrompe, nei movv. 1 e 9, per mancanza di spazio sulla carta e per mancanza d'indicazioni dirette al copista affinché le ricavi dalle parti di *Ob* e *Vi*. Non è chiaro se da questo punto in poi le due *Tr* debbano effettivamente tacere oppure continuare a suonare con una parte ricavata dagli *Ob* e *Vi*.

RV 795

Beatus vir in Do magg.

Periodo di composizione: 1739

Osservazioni: L'opera è una rielaborazione di **RV 597** destinata ad essere eseguita – probabilmente alla Pietà – per sole voci femminili.

RV 619 *Salve Regina*

perduto

Organico: Solo: S, 2 Fl, Vc, Org (?), Archi, Bc

RV 625

Claræ stellæ scintillate

Osservazioni: il tema del mov. 4 si trova in **RV 292**, mov. 3.

RV 626 *In furore iustissimæ iræ* (v. **Osservazioni**)

Osservazioni: Vivaldi scrive «iustissimæ» – forma italianizzata in uso al suo tempo – invece di «justissimæ»: alcune edizioni normalizzano questo testo secondo il latino classico.

RV 644 JUDITHA TRIUMPHANS DEVICTA HOLOFERNIS BARBARIE

Osservazioni: il tema dell'aria «Transit ætas volant anni» (mov. 33) si trova anche in **RV 806**, mov. 2 (catalogata dopo **RV 52**) e in **RV 810**, mov. 2 (catalogata dopo **RV 11**).

RV 681 *Perché son molli*

incompleta

Organico: S, 2 Vl soli, Vl I, II, [manca la Vla], Bc

Osservazioni: l'unica fonte di questa cantata non trasmette la parte di Vla, ma la presenza della Vla nell'originale perduto è chiaramente arguibile dalla musica.

RV 714 LA FIDA NINFA

«Dramma per musica» in tre atti

Osservazioni: l'opera fu rielaborata nel 1737 sotto il titolo *Il giorno felice*, v. **RV Anh. 92.16**.

RV 732 SCANDERBEG

«Dramma per musica» in tre atti

sopravvissuti solo il testo e singole arie

Libretto: Antonio Salvi

RV 732-A Firenze, Teatro di Via della Pergola, estate 1718. Durante le rappresentazioni furono aggiunte due nuove arie, il cui testo fu pubblicato in appendice al libretto.

RV 732-B Siena, Teatro degli Accademici Intronati, estate 1718. Rispetto alla rappresentazione fiorentina, avvenuta in uno stretto giro di tempo, furono sostituite sette arie, il cui testo fu pubblicato in appendice al libretto senese.

RV 732-A

Firenze 1718

[lista dei personaggi, delle arie, libretto e cataloghi come nell'edizione 2007]

RV 732-B

Siena 1718

Personaggi e organico: Attori Greci: *Scanderbeg* (A), *Doneca* (S), *Aroniz* (?), *Ormondo* (A), *Climene* (A). Attori Turchi: *Amurat II* (?), *Asteria* (?), *Acomat* (S). Strumenti: 2 Tr, 2 Ob, Archi, Bc (altri strumenti?)

Atto Primo

I:2 Aria (*Amurat II*) La mia gloria, ed il mio amore • **I:3 Aria** (*Doneca*) La tua gentil pietà • **I:4 Aria** (*Acomat*) Nò bel volto men sdegnoso • **I:5 Aria** (*Asteria*) Han rivolto oggi à miei danni • **I:6 Aria** (*Amurat II*) Fier Leone, se i parti gli toglie • **I:7 Aria** (*Acomat*) Se non fosse la speranza • **I:8 Aria** Fra catene ogn'or penando • **I:9 Aria** (*Climene*) La Fe che ti giurai • **I:10 Aria** (*Scanderbeg*) Rendi al cor la bella pace • **I:11 Aria** (*Ormondo*) Dall'esempio del tuo core • **I:12 Aria** (*Asteria*) Se discioglier tu vorrai • **I:13 Aria** (*Ormondo*) Non ama il Colombo • **I:14 Aria** (*Ormondo*) Se mi porge il crin Fortuna

Atto Secondo

II:1 Aria (*Aroniz*) Chi per morire ha cor • **II:2 Aria** Nelle mie selve natie • **II:3 Aria** (*Amurat II*) In un tempo nemico, ed amante • **II:4 Duetto** (*Ormondo*, *Acomat*) Nò nò, non è nato • **II:5 Aria** (*Asteria*) Tiranna gelosia • **Aria** (*Climene*) Un'aura lusinghiera • **II:6 Aria** (*Scanderbeg*) La metà dell'alma mia • **II:7 Aria** (*Asteria*) Se l'empio core • **II:8 Aria** (*Acomat*) Ruscelletto, che lungi dal mare • **II:9 Recitativo** Ormino ti ricordasti che sei mio duce **Aria** Con palme, ed allori • **II:10 Recitativo** Che pensi Ormondo? E fia, ch'un Monsulmano **Aria** S'è voi penso, ò luci belle • **II:11 Aria** (*Amurat II*) A mille insulti ed onte • **II:12 Aria** (?) (*Doneca*) O come a tempo scende • **Duetto** (*Scanderbeg*, *Doneca*) Per l'Egeo d'aspro tormento

Atto Terzo

III:1 Aria (*Ormondo*) Se finor per folle amor • **III:2 Aria** (*Asteria*) Non prova tal conforto • **III:3 Aria** (*Doneca*) Una parte del mio core • **III:4 Aria** (*Scanderbeg*) Quella fiera di sange nudrita • **III:5 Aria** (*Climene*) La fede del cor mio, se tu condanni • **III:6 Aria** (*Acomat*) Sempre non gode, nò • **III:8 Aria** (*Asteria*) Addio, Padre, in dirti addio • **III:9 Aria** (*Acomat*) Son Tiranno, son spietato • **III:10 Aria** (*Aromat*) Non sempre ride, nò • **III:12 Coro** Viva sempre, eterno viva • **Coro** Doppo funesta

Libretto: *I-Rig*, Rar. Libr. Op. 18. Jh. 135. «La Musica è del Sig. D. Antonio Vivaldi.» • Interpreti: *Scanderbeg*: Giovanni Battista Carboni, *Doneca*: Francesca Cuzzoni, *Aroniz*: Antonio Ristorini, *Ormondo*: Giovanni Pietro Sbaraglia, *Climene*: Anna Guglielmini, *Amurat II*: Gaetano Mossi, *Asteria*: Agata Landi, *Acomat*: Rosa Venturini.

Brani trasmessi singolarmente: *I-Tn*, Foà 28 (Raccolta VI, v. p. 587) n. 8: «Nelle mie selve natie» (II:2), n. 21: «Fra catene ognor penando à cercar» (I:8), n. 32: «Ormino ti scordasti» (Recitativo, II:9), n. 33: «Con palme ed allori» (II:9), n. 34: «Che pensi d'Ormino?» (Recitativo, II:10), n. 35: «S'è voi penso ò luci belle» (II:10) • Vedi anche **RV 749.17**

Osservazioni: brani e *incipit* testuali presenti in altre opere o grandi lavori vocali di Vivaldi:

Con palme ed allori | Amante e guerriero II:9

RV 736 III:1 Con palme ed allori | Ma povero amante ♪ • RV 739 III:2 Crudele se brami ♪

Fra catene ognor penando I:8

RV 738 I:15 Sia con pace o Roma augusta ♪

La mia gloria, ed il mio amore I:2

RV 700 III:6 ♪

Nò bel volto men sdegnoso I:4

RV 699-ABCD III:3 ♪ – RV 717 I:11 ♪

Non veglia così cauto il pastorello II:8
Ruscelletto, che lungi dal mare II:8

Se correndo in seno al Mare I:7, Anhang

Un'aura lusinghiera | Non sempre il fato rio II:5

RV 739 II:5 (1. versione modificata) ♪
Ruscelletto ch'è lungi dal mare RV 699-B
I:12 ♪ – RV 737 I:4 ♪

RV 699-A III:6 ♪ • RV 710 II:1 Bel piacer
che la vendetta ♪

Un aura lusinghiera | Figlia consorte RV 706-
ABC III:3

Un aura lusinghiera | Penso e rispondo
anch'io RV 706-E III:8

Un aura lusinghiera | Talor d'iniqua sorte
RV 736 II:3 ♪

Bibliografia: Ennio Stipcevic, *Sull'opera Scanderbeg di Antonio Vivaldi*, «Subsidia Musica Veneta V», Bologna 1985-1986 (con trascrizioni e facsimile della musica superstita)

RV Anh. 8

Concerto in Re magg.

di František Jiráněk

Organico: Vl solo, Archi, Bc

1. Allegro



2. Adagio C

3. Allegro C

Manoscritto: *S-Skma*, VO-R. Parti staccate. Titolo: *Concerto VIII Dal Signore Giraneck*.

Inventari e cataloghi: Brno, *Inventario per la musica* (ca. 1752), p. 61, n. 3. Indicazione di autore: *Vivaldi – Breitkopf*, *Catalogo dei Soli, Duetti, Trii e Concerti*, p. 32. Indicazione di autore: *Giraneck*

Bibliografia: Václav Kapsa, *The Violin Concerto in D Major RV Anh. 8 and Several Other Issues Concerning František Jiráněk (1698-1778)*, SV 2014, p. 15-42.

RV Anh. 152

Concerto in Fa magg.

Organico: Ob, Archi, Bc

1. Allegro



2. Adagio C

3. Allegro 3/4

Manoscritti: *S-L*, Saml. Engelhart, N:r 369. Parti staccate. Senza indicazione d'autore, datato 1736. Il nome *Petter Keärvall* (possessore del manoscritto?) si trova cancellato • Ivi, Saml. Kraus Nr. 146. Parti staccate. Contiene variazioni aggiunte alla parte del solista nel mov. 2.

Cataloghi: Pincherle: deest • Fanna (1968): F. VII n. 18 (non pubblicato)

Osservazioni: il concerto, prima catalogato come **RV 458** e già da tempo ritenuto dubbio, deve essere considerato spurio per motivi stilistici.

RV Anh. 153

Concerto Sib magg. *Op. VII, Libro II, n. 3 (= 9)*

Organico: VI solo, Archi, Bc [Org]

Periodo di composizione: al più tardi 1719

1. Allegro



2. Grave spiccato 3/4

3. Alla breve ♩

Manoscritto: *D-DI*, Mus. 2389-O-154 (olim Mus. 2-O-1,55). Partitura. Nome del compositore raschiato e illeggibile. Copista: Pisendel

Stampa: *Op. VII*, Amsterdam, J. Roger (1719)

Cataloghi ed edizioni: Pincherle: 335 • Fanna: F. I n. 204 • Tomo 450° (Malipiero, dalla stampa)

Osservazioni: il concerto, prima catalogato come **RV 373** e già da tempo ritenuto dubbio, deve essere considerato spurio per motivi stilistici.

Bibliografia: Michael Talbot, *Vivaldi and Fugue*, Firenze 2009, pp. 186-188.

DISCOGRAPHIE VIVALDI 2014/2015

Aux soins de Roger-Claude Travers

Cette discographie présente les enregistrements parus dans le monde entier, depuis la dernière discographie, jusqu'en septembre 2015. Les œuvres sont classées suivant le catalogue Ryom.

Nouveautés

Sont répertoriés les disques nouvellement édités, ou jamais signalés dans ces colonnes, malgré une parution plus ancienne.

Chaque disque est classé suivant un numéro arbitraire indiquant l'année examinée et un chiffre (cette année: 2014-15/n°..., traitant des parutions 2014/2015).

Les transcriptions du XVIII^{ème} siècle (Chédeville etc.) mentionnées dans le catalogue Ryom par un numéro RV sont indiquées, ainsi que les œuvres attribuées par le passé à Vivaldi et les œuvres douteuses ou apocryphes indiquées par un RV Anh. Les transcriptions de Jean-Sébastien Bach, identifiées par un numéro BWV et ne portant pas de numéro RV sont considérées comme des compositions du compositeur allemand et non mentionnées dans cette rubrique.

Les disques sont classés par ordre alphabétique des maisons d'édition.

Les références des compact-discs (CD et SACD), des DVD audio et vidéo, des cassettes audio ou vidéo (VHS), et des téléchargements sur internet (download) sont indiquées dans le recensement annuel, précédées des lettres CD, SACD, DVD, Casette vidéo et «download». Les informations essentielles liées éventuellement à un site internet sont mentionnées.

L'année d'enregistrement est indiquée, précédée par le sigle (Ø): par exemple (Ø 2014). Ou bien (c. Ø) si l'année d'enregistrement n'est pas connue précisément, TPQ [*terminus post quem* (TPQ Ø)] ou TAQ [*terminus ante quem* (TAQ Ø)], précisant les limites connues de la date d'enregistrement. Le titre éventuel du disque est mentionné entre guillemets, pour aider à son identification.

Précisions, Rééditions

Cette rubrique donne les références précises des disques insuffisamment ou mal répertoriés dans ces colonnes lors d'une discographie précédente, et même parfois encore méconnus lors de leur parution. Chaque disque est classé suivant un numéro arbitraire indiquant l'année examinée et un chiffre (cette année: 2014-15/R n°...).

Certaines rééditions historiques présentant un intérêt particulier sont également indiquées suivant un numéro arbitraire indiquant l'année examinée et un chiffre (cette année: 2014-15/RH n°...). L'année de réédition est indiquée, précédée par le sigle (Ø ®): par exemple (Ø ® 2014).

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Documentation

Cette rubrique donne les références des enregistrements consacrés à d'autres compositeurs, utiles comme base documentaire à la connaissance vivaldienne. Chaque disque est classé suivant un numéro arbitraire indiquant l'année examinée et un chiffre (cette année: 2014-15/D n°...).

Commentaire sur la discographie

Après un aperçu global de l'année discographique, les enregistrements intéressants, soit par leur programme, soit par leur interprétation, indiqués par un astérisque dans le répertoire, sont critiqués dans ces colonnes.

I. NOUVEAUTÉS PARUES EN 2014/2015

- 2014-15/1 «Concerti» – Concerto per 2 violini RV 519 [Op. III n° 5] (trascrizione per 4 flauti diritti)
Flanders Recorder Quartet: B. Spanhove, J. van Goethem, P. van Loey, T. Beets (flauti diritti), & D. Vandaele, M. Herssens (violini), H. De Volder (viola), J. Bontick (violoncello), K. Uemura (viola da gamba), B. Vanden Bemden (contrabbasso), B. Jacobs (clavicembalo)
AEOLIUS/SACD AE 1016 (Ø TAQ 2014)
(+ Bach, Heinichen, Purcell)
- 2014-15/2 «Just a Thought» – Sonata per violoncello RV 47 (trascrizione di Chris Dickey per euphonium e bc)
C. Dickey (euphonium), K. Savage (pianoforte)
ALBANY RECORDS/CD TROY 1568 (Ø TAQ 2015)
(+ Berg, Duparc, Fritz, Grant, Spindler, Weber)
- 2014-15/3 «Magnificat & Concerti» – *Magnificat* RV 610; Concerto per 2 violini, violoncello RV 578 [Op. III n° 2]
M. Kraemer, P. Valetti (violini), La Capella Reial de Catalunya, Le Concert des Nations, J. Savall (viola da gamba e dir.)
ALIA VOX/SACD AVSA 9909 (+ DVD video) (Ø 2003, 2013)
(+ Bach)
- 2014-15/4* «Venetian Oboe Concertos» – Concerti per oboe RV 449 [Op. VIII n° 12], RV 460 [Op. XI n° 6]
A. Bernardini (oboe), Ensemble Zefiro
ARCANA/CD A 380 (Ø 2014)
(+ Albinoni, Bigaglia, A. Marcello, Sammartini)

DISCOGRAPHIE

- 2014-15/5* Concerti per fagotto RV 472, RV 481, RV 495, RV 498, *La notte* RV 501;
Sinfonia del *Giustino* RV 717 (1° movimento)
M. Fukui (fagotto), Ensemble F
ARS PRODUKTION/SACD ARS 38 165 (Ø 2013)
- 2014-15/6 «Festliches Konzert» – Concerto per violino *L'inverno* RV 297 [Op. VIII n° 4]
S. Branny (violino), Dresdner Kapellsolisten, H. Branny (dir.)
ARS PRODUKTION/SACD ARS 38 164 (Ø 2013)
(+ Bach, Corelli, Händel, Telemann, Torelli)
- 2014-15/7 «Vivaldi/Piazzolla: 8 Jahreszeiten» – *Le quattro stagioni*, Op. VIII n° 1-4
Y. Revich (violino), Kurpfälzisches Kammerorchester, J. Schlaefli (dir.),
C. Ingénito-Neusch (recitazione)
ARS PRODUKTION/SACD ARS 38 170 (Ø TAQ 2015)
(+ Piazzolla)
- 2014-15/8* «Per Monsieur Pisendel 2 – Six Virtuoso Violin Sonatas of the Baroque» –
Sonate per violino RV 19, RV 29
A. Chandler (violino), La Serenissima: G. Deats (violoncello), T. Dunford
(tiorba), R. Howarth (clavicembalo e organo)
AVIE/CD AV 2308 (Ø 2014)
(+ Albinoni, Montanari, Pisendel)
- 2014-15/9 «Wild Territories – Spark and Johannes Motschmann» – Concerto per archi
Alla rustica RV 151
Spark Quintet: A. Ritter, D. Koschitzki (flauti diritti), S. Glaus (violino),
V. Plumettaz (violoncello), M. Cheung (pianoforte)
BERLIN CLASSICS/CD 0300640 BC (Ø TAQ 2014)
(+ Bunch, Ince, Meijering, Motschmann, Telemann, canzoni da battello)
- 2014-15/10* «Venetian Christmas» – Concerti per violino RV 266 (trascrizione con
salterio), RV 270a (Andante); Concerto per violino e organo RV 774
(trascrizione per violino e salterio) (ricostruzioni di Olivier Fourés); *Salve
Regina* RV 617
R. Hughes (soprano), K. Akakpo (salterio), E. Golinska (violino), Arte dei
Suonatori, M. Gester (dir.)
BIS /SACD BIS2089 (Ø TAQ 2013)
(+ Hasse, Fulgenzio Perotti, Torelli)
- 2014-15/11 «Now and Then» – Concerto per 2 violini e violoncello RV 565 [Op. III n° 11]
(trascrizione per quartetto di flauti diritti)
Sirena Recorder Quartet
BIS/SACD 2115 (Ø TAQ 2014)
(+ Bach, Boismortier, Caldini, Koomans, Merula, Meuring, Mossenmark,
Scheidt)

DISCOGRAPHIE

- 2014-15/12* *Le quattro stagioni* Op. VIII n° 1-4; Concerti per violino RV 356 [Op. III n° 6], RV 226 (Largo); Concerto per violino solo, 2 oboi, 2 corni *Per la Solennità di San Lorenzo* RV 562 (Grave); Concerto per 4 violini e violoncello RV 580 [Op. III n° 10]; Sinfonia de *La verità in cimento* RV 739
Australian Chamber Orchestra, R. Tognetti (violino e dir.)
BIS/SACD PLU 363510 (Ø 2014)
- 2014-15/13 «Antonio Vivaldi Cello Sonatas» – Sonate per violoncello RV 40, RV 41, RV 43, RV 44, RV 46, RV 47
A. Meneses (violoncello), D. Chew (violoncello continuo), R. Lanzelotte (clavicembalo e organo)
BISCOITO FINO/DVD BF 268-3 (Brazil) (Ø TAQ 2014)
- 2014-15/14* *L'estro armonico* 12 Concerti Op. III (integrale)
L'Arte dell'Arco, F. Guglielmo (violino e dir.)
BRILLIANT CLASSICS/2CD 94629 (Ø 2013, 2014)
- 2014-15/15* 12 Sonate per violino Op. II (integrale)
F. Guglielmo (violino), L'Arte dell'Arco: F. Galligioni (violoncello), M. Passotti (tiorba, chitarra), R. Loreggian (clavicembalo e organo)
BRILLIANT CLASSICS/CD 94617 (Ø 2012)
- 2014-15/16* 12 Sonate a tre Op. I (integrale)
F. Guglielmo, G. Bertagnin (violini), F. Galligioni (violoncello), I. Zanenghi (tiorba), R. Loreggian (organo e clavicembalo)
BRILLIANT CLASSICS/2CD 94784 (Ø 2012)
- 2014-15/17* *La stravaganza*, 12 Concerti per violino Op. IV (integrale)
L'Arte dell'Arco, F. Guglielmo (violino e dir.)
BRILLIANT CLASSICS/2CD 95043 (Ø 2014)
- 2014-15/18* Concerti per violoncello (integrale): RV 399, RV 400, RV 401, RV 402, RV 403, RV 405, RV 406, RV 407, RV 408, RV 409 con fagotto obbligato, RV 410, RV 411, RV 412, RV 413, RV 416, RV 417, RV 418, RV 419, RV 420, RV 421, RV 422, RV 423, RV 424, RV Anh. 145 [olim RV 404], RV Anh. 146 [olim RV 415]
F. Galligioni (violoncello), L'Arte dell'Arco, F. Guglielmo (dir.)
BRILLIANT CLASSICS/4CD 95082 (Ø TAQ 2014)
- 2014-15/19 «Flute Concertos Pan» – Concerti per flauto traverso *La notte* RV 439 [Op. X n° 2], *Il gardellino* RV 428 [Op. X n° 3], RV 435 [Op. X n° 4]; Concerto da camera per flauto diritto, 2 violini, RV 108; Concerto per 2 violini RV 522 [Op. III n° 8]; Concerto per 2 violini e violoncello RV 565 [Op. III n° 11]; Sinfonia per archi *Al Santo Sepolcro* RV 169; *Nisi Dominus* RV 608 (estratti) (trascrizioni per flauto di Pan)

DISCOGRAPHIE

H. Oggier (flauto di Pan), Ensemble Fratres
BRILLIANT CLASSICS/CD 95078 (Ø TAQ 2015)

- 2014-15/20 «*L'Oracolo in Messenia*» (Pasticcio di Fabio Biondi e Frédéric Delaméa secondo il libretto di Vienna, 1742) – Arie: *Non ascolto, che furore (Il mio amore diventa furore, Atenaide, II.12)*, *Se mi vedi nel mio pianto (Tu vorresti col tuo pianto, Griselda, II.11)*, *Sarebbe un bel diletto (Catone in Utica, III.3)*, *No, non meriti pietà (No, non tanta crudeltà, Griselda II.5)*, *Se al cader del mostro orrendo (Se prescritta è in questo giorno, Motezuma, I.15)*, *La mia cara speranza (Se amarti non poss'io, Dorilla in Tempe, II.6)*, *Nel mar così funesta (Non trema senza stelle, Farnace 38, I.14)*, *Sento già ch'invendicata (Catone in Utica, II.7)*, *Già l'idea del giusto scempio (Con la face di Megera, Semiramide, III.2)*, *S'in campo armato (Se in campo armato, Catone in Utica, II.9)*; Sinfonia di *Griselda* RV 718
A. Hallenberg (Merope/mezzosoprano), L. Polverelli (Epitide/mezzo soprano), R. Basso (Elmira/contralto), J. Lezhneva (Trasimede/mezzosoprano), F. Gottwald (Licisco/soprano), X. Sabata (Anassandro/controttenore), M. Staveland (Polifonte/tenore), Europa Galante, F. Biondi (dir.)
HOUSE OF OPERA/2CD 23796 – HOUSE OF OPERA/mp3 (download) MP3-23538 – CELESTIAL AUDIO/2CD CA 1371
(Ø live, Kraków – Karol Szymanowski Concert Hall – 08.12.2011)
(+ Broschi, Giacomelli, Hasse)
- 2014-15/21* *Farnace*, 1738 RV 711-G (ricostruzione ipotetica dell'atto III di Diego Fasolis e Frédéric Delaméa)
M. E. Cencic (Farnace/controttenore), A. Kolosova (Selinda/mezzosoprano), V. Genaux (Gilade/mezzosoprano), R. Donose (Tamiri/mezzosoprano), M. E. Nesi (Berenice/mezzosoprano), J. Sancho (Pompeo/tenore), E. Gonzalez-Toro (Aquilio/tenore), I Barocchisti, D. Fasolis (dir.)
CELESTIAL AUDIO/2CD CA 1243 (live, Festival D'Ambronay – 16.11.2011)¹ (Ø 2011)
- 2014-15/22 «Antonio Vivaldi – Seattle Baroque» – Sonate a tre RV 73 [Op. I n° 1], *La follia* RV 63 [Op. I n° 12]; Sonate per violino RV 10, RV 34; Sonata per violoncello RV 43; Concerto da camera per liuto e 2 violini RV 93

¹ Les indications de Celestial Audio, mentionnant à la fois Vivica Genaux, Diego Fasolis et Paris 2011, laissent perplexe, car aucune représentation «live» ne concorde. Soit il s'agit bien de Paris, avec Cencic, mais en 2012, correspondant à la référence indiquée ci-après en note: [Paris – Théâtre des Champs-Élysées – 10.01.2012] Max Emanuel Cencic (Farnace/controttenore), Hilke Andersen (Selinda/mezzosoprano), Blandine Staskiewicz (Gilade/soprano), Ruxandra Donose (Tamiri/mezzosoprano), Mary Ellen Nesi (Berenice/mezzosoprano), Daniel Behle (Pompeo/tenore), Emiliano Gonzalez-Toro (Aquilio/tenore), I Barocchisti, Andrea Marchiol (dir.). Soit il s'agit (plus probablement) de la représentation d'Ambronay en 2011, avec Vivica Genaux, dont la distribution est détaillée dans le corps du texte.

DISCOGRAPHIE

- Seattle Baroque: I. Matthews, T. Cunningham (violini), N. Whittaker (violoncello), J. Lenti (tiorba), B. Schenkman (clavicembalo)
CENTAUR RECORDS/CD CRC 337 (Ø 2011, 2012)
- 2014-15/23 «O Duo; Searching – Works for Percussion Duet» – Concerto per violino *L'estate* RV 315 [Op. VIII n° 2] (*Presto*) (trascrizione di Oliver Cox per percussioni)
O Duo: O. Gunnell, O. Cox (percussioni)
CHAMPS HILL RECORDS/CD CHRCD 083 (Ø 2014)
(+ Albeniz, Bach, Cox, Glass, Ligeti, O Duo, Prokofiev, Shostakovich, Trainer)
- 2014-15/24* *L'estro armonico*, 12 Concerti per 1, 2 o 4 violini Op. III (integrale)
Brecon Baroque, R. Podger (violino e dir.)
CHANNEL CLASSICS/2CD CCS SA 36515 (Ø 2014)
- 2014-15/25 «Vivaldi, Marais and Sarasate – Live Concert Recording 180g 45RPM Import LP» – Concerti per violino *La primavera* RV 269 [Op. VIII n° 1] (*Presto*), *L'estate* RV 315 [Op. VIII n° 2] (*Presto*), RV 275 (*Allegro*); Concerto per violino e violoncello RV 547
Interpreti Veneziani Chamber Orchestra: G. Stevanato, N. Granillo, S. Vianello, P. Talamini, A. Maritan (violini), S. Amadio (viola), D. Amadio (violoncello), A. Liziero (contrabbasso), P. Cognolato (clavicembalo)
CHASING THE DRAGON/LP (180g Vinyl, 45 RPM Vinyl) SKU: LIV 500 (Ø live 2014)
(+ Marais, Sarasate)
- 2014-15/26* «Vivaldi's Women» – *Gloria* RV 589, *Armatae face* (*Juditha triumphans*, 53 [XXVII]), *In exitu Israel* RV 604
H. Nye , P. Martin-Smith, N.-J. Rucker (soprano), C. Franks, C. Trevor (alto), Schola Pietatis Antonio Vivaldi, N. Zwiener (dir.), R. Vendome (dir. artistica)²
COLONIAL PICTURES/DVD 2009 (Ø 2005)
- 2014-15/27 «Ancora la brezza e l'alba» – *Le quattro stagioni* Op. VIII n° 1-4 (trascrizione di Gabriele Scaramuzza per violino, violoncello, chitarra e fisarmonica)
F. Cerrato (violino), S. Cerrato (violoncello), G. Bandini (chitarra), C. Chiacchiaretta (fisarmonica)
CONTRASTES MUSIC RECORDS /CD 9201410 (Ø TAQ 2014)
(+ Piazzolla)

² La musique est disponible en (download) MP3 sur Amazon et la video disponible sur YouTube. Voir aussi le site <http://www.spav.co.uk/>.

DISCOGRAPHIE

- 2014-15/28 «Seasons and Mid-Seasons/Tchakerian Tonolo» – *Le Quattro Stagioni* Op. VIII n° 1-4.
S. Tchakerian (violino), Orchestra di Padova e del Veneto
DECCA/CD 481 1554 DH (Ø TAQ 2015)
(+ Tonolo)
- 2014-15/29* Mottetto per soprano *In furore iustissimae irae* RV 626
J. Lezhneva (soprano), Il Giardino Armonico, G. Antonini (dir.)
DECCA/CD 478 5242 DH (Ø 2012)
(+ Händel, Mozart, Porpora)
- 2014-15/30 «Avi Avital – Vivaldi» – Concerti per violino *L'estate* RV 315 [Op. VIII n° 2], RV 356 [Op. III n° 6]; Concerto per flautino RV 443 (Largo) (trascrizioni per mandolino e orchestra); Concerto da camera per liuto e 2 violini RV 93; Trio per liuto e violino RV 82; Concerto per mandolino RV 425
A. Avital (mandolino), M. Esfahani (clavicembalo) & O. Zakai (tiorba) [RV 82], Venice Baroque Orchestra
DEUTSCHE GRAMMOPHON/CD 0289 479 4017 3 (Ø 2014)
- 2014-15/31 «Peter Howard Jensen – Vivaldi» – Concerti per violino RV 230 [Op. III n° 9], RV 310 [Op. III n° 3] (trascrizione di Peter Howard Jensen per chitarra); Concerto per viola d'amore e liuto RV 540; Concerto da camera per liuto e 2 violini RV 93; Trii per liuto e violino RV 82, RV 85; Aria *Sovvente il sole* RV 749.27
P. H. Jensen (chitarra), N. Blume (viola d'amore), T. Semmingsen (mezzo-soprano), Franz Liszt Chamber Orchestra, J. Rolla (dir.)
DEUTSCHE GRAMMOPHON/CD 275 4278. (Ø TAQ 2010)
- 2014-15/32 Concerto per violino RV 356 [Op. III n° 6]
K. Jakowicz (violino), Filharmonia Kameralna im. Witolda Lutosławskiego w Łomży, J. M. Zarzycki (dir.)
DUX/CD 0993 (Ø 2013)
(+ Bach, Haydn, Jarzebski, Lutosławski, Pachelbel)
- 2014-15/33 «Music in Dresden in the times of Augustus II the Strong» – Sonata per violino RV 26
M. Pastuszka (violino), K. Firlus (viola da gamba), M. Świątkiewicz (clavicembalo)
DUX/CD 6012839 [0968] (Ø TAQ 2013)
(+ Benna, Heinichen, Schreyfögel, Veracini)
- 2014-15/34* *Farnace*, 1738 RV 711-G (Incompleto: Atti I e II, senza ricostruzione dell'atto III)
M.-E. Nesi (Farnace/mezzosoprano), L. Castellano (Selinda/mezzo-soprano), R. Mameli (Gilade/soprano), S. Prina (Tamiri/mezzosoprano),

DISCOGRAPHIE

- D. Galou (Berenice/contralto), E. d'Aguanno (Pompeo/tenore), M. Staveland (Aquilio/tenore), Orchestra del Maggio Musicale Fiorentino, F. M. Sardelli (dir.)
DYNAMIC/2CD CDS 7670/1-2. (Ø 2013) – DYNAMIC/2DVD 7606455 (Ø 2013) [registrato al Teatro Comunale di Firenze; Regia: Marco Gandini, 16:9 (NTSC) 151mn]
- 2014-15/35* «Di trombe guerriere» – Arie: *Con palme ed allori* (Scanderbeg, II.9), *Chi dal cielo o dalla sorte* (La fida ninfa, I.1), *Se in campo armato* (Catone in Utica, II.9), *D'ira e furor armato* (Motezuma, II.8), *Di trombe guerriere* (Il Teuzzone, II.1), *Dopo sì rei disastri* (Tito Manlio, III.14), *Combatta un gentil cor* (Tito Manlio, II.11); Concerto *con molti strumenti* per violino, organo, violoncello RV 554 (versione 1); Sonata per violino, oboe, organo, salmo *ad libitum* RV 779; Concerto per 2 trombe RV 537
F. Cassinari (soprano), M. Fumagalli (mezzosoprano), R. Balconi (controtenore), M. Borgioni (basso), G. Cassone, M. Frigé (trombe), Ensemble Pian & Forte, F. Fanna (dir.)
DYNAMIC/CD CDS 7710 (Ø 2013)
- 2014-15/36* «Pietà – Sacred works for alto» – *Stabat Mater* RV 621; *Salve Regina* RV 617; Introduzione per alto *Filiae maestae Jerusalem* RV 638; Mottetti per alto *Clarae stellae, scintillate* RV 625, *Longe mala, umbrae terrores* RV 629; *Gloria* RV 589 (estratto: *Domine Deus, rex caelestis*)
P. Jaroussky (controttenore), Ensemble Artaserse
ERATO/CD +DVD 0825646257508 (Ø TAQ 2014)
- 2014-15/37* «Vivaldi Opera Quinta» – Sonate per 1 e 2 violini e b.c. Op. V (integrale)
M. Krestinskaya [RV 18, RV 33, RV 76], A. Kalinina [RV 30], E. Sviridov [RV 35, RV 72, RV 76] (violini), S. Maltizova (violoncello), I. Tarum [RV 18, RV 33, RV 35, RV 72, RV 76], R. Tepp [RV 30] (clavicembalo); Baltic Baroque, G. Maltizov (dir.)
ESTONIAN RECORDS CD ERP 7214 (Ø 2011, 2013)
- 2014-15/38 «Palpiti del cuore» – Sonata per violoncello RV 44
A. Polin (viola da gamba), J. Martin Duran (tiorba), D. Desbenoit (clavicembalo)
FRA BERNARDO/CD 3025 (Ø TAQ 2014)
(+ Fontana, Händel, Mancini, Strozzi)
- 2014-15/39 *Le quattro stagioni* Op. VIII n° 1-4 (trascrizione di Marco Ruggeri per violino e organo)
L. Uinskyte (violino), M. Ruggeri (organo)
FUGATTO/CD FUG 055 (Ø 2014)
(+ Bach: BWV 976)

DISCOGRAPHIE

- 2014-15/40 «Musique romantique d'Italie» – Sonata per violino RV 10 (trascrizione di Respighi)
J.-C. Bouveresse (violino), B. Péran (pianoforte)
GALL/CD 1365 (Ø 2008)
(+ Bazzini, Busoni, Donizetti, Sgambati)
- 2014-15/41* «I Concerti dell'Addio» – Concerti per violino RV 390, RV 273, RV 371, RV 189, RV 307, *Per la solennità di S. Lorenzo* RV 286
Europa Galante, F. Biondi (violino e dir.)
GLOSSA/CD GCD 923402 (Ø 2014)
- 2014-15/42* «Tempesta» – Arie per alto *Sovvente il sole (Andromeda liberata* RV 749.27), *Io son fra l'onde (La verità in cimento*, III.5), *Agitata da due venti (Griselda*, II.2), *Siam navi all'onde argenti (L'Olimpiade*, II.5); Sinfonia de *L'Olimpiade* RV 725
B. Staskiewicz (mezzosoprano), Les Ambassadeurs, A. Kossenko (dir.)
GLOSSA/CD GCD 923503 (Ø 2014)
(+ Händel, Pergolesi, Porpora)
- 2014-15/43 Sonata *Al Santo Sepolcro* RV 130
Stavanger Symphony Orchestra, F. Biondi (dir.)
GLOSSA/CD GCD 923403 (Ø 2014)
(+ Caldara, Fux)
- 2014-15/44 «La Serenissima – Venetian Church Sonatas» – Sonata per oboe RV 53; Sonata per 2 oboi RV 81
J. Gonzáles (oboe 1), P. Corna (oboe 2), Camerata degli amici
GUENIN/CD GEN 15332 (Ø TAQ 2015)
(+ Albinoni)
- 2014-15/45 «Thomas Hecker – Oboe – Deutscher Musikwettbewerb 2008 Preisträger» – Sonata per oboe RV 53
T. Hecker (oboe), A. Alpermann, M. Meyer (violoncelli), M. von Schönermark (fagotto), R. Alpermann (clavicembalo)
GENUIN RECORDS /CD 15345 (Ø TAQ 2015)
(+ Berio, Couperin, Händel, Jackman, Telemann, Tomasi, Yun)
- 2014-15/46* Concerto per flauto traverso *La notte* RV 439 [Op. X n° 2]; Concerto per flautino RV 443; Concerto per violino RV 375 (trascrizione per flauto diritto); Concerto con molti strumenti per 2 violini, 2 flauti diritti, 2 oboi RV 566; Concerti da camera: Concerto per flauto traverso, oboe, violino, fagotto *Del gardellino* RV 90, Concerto per flauto diritto, oboe, violino, fagotto *La pastorella* RV 95, Concerto per flauto diritto, oboe, fagotto, senza b.c. RV 103
M. Steger (flauto diritto), I Barocchisti, D. Fasolis (dir.)
HARMONIA MUNDI/CD HMC 902190 (Ø 2014)

DISCOGRAPHIE

- 2014-15/47 «La Dresda Galante» – Concerto con molti strumenti per 2 violini, 2 flauti diritti, 2 oboi, fagotto *Per l'Orchestra di Dresda* RV 577
Zürcher Barockorchester
KLANGLOGO/CD KL1508 (Ø 2013)
(+ W. F. Bach, Hasse, Heinichen, Ristori)
- 2014-15/48 «Folies!» – Sonata a tre *La follia* RV 63 [Op. I n° 12]
Les Passions, J.-M. Andrieu (flauto diritto e dir.)
LIGIA DIGITAL/CD LMB 301284 (Ø 2014)
(+ Bach, Corelli/Geminiani, Couperin, Huillet, Marcello, Purcell, Giovanni Battista Sammartini, Telemann)
- 2014-15/49 «Promenade» – Concerto da camera per flauto traverso, 2 violini, fagotto *La notte* RV 104 (trascrizione di Edoardo Bellotti per organo)
E. Bellotti (organo)
LOFT RECORDINGS/CD 097 (Ø 2007)
(+ Bellotti, Feroci, Frescobaldi, Pasquini, Platti, Salvatore, Strozzi)
- 2014-15/50 «Guitar and Harpsichord – Music by Vivaldi, Bach and Boccherini» – Concerto da camera per liuto, 2 violini RV 93; Concerto per 2 violini RV 522 [Op. III n° 8] (trascrizione per chitarra e clavicembalo)
R. Durrant (chitarra), H. Beach (clavicembalo)
LONGMAN RECORDS/CD 064 (Ø TAQ 2014)
(+ Bach, Boccherini)
- 2014-15/51 «Virtuosi of the Baroque» – Concerto per violino *fatto per la Solennità della S. Lingua di S. Antonio in Padua* RV 212
K. Debretzeni (violino), Victoria Baroque Players
MARQUIS MUSIC/CD MAR 461 (Ø 2014)
(+ Fux, Graun, Telemann)
- 2014-15/52* *La stravaganza*, 12 Concerti per violino Op. IV (integrale)
Armoniosa, F. Cerrato (violino e dir.)
MDG/2SACD C 901 1885-6 (Ø 2014)
- 2014-15/53 «Classic of Legend – The Four Seasons» – *Le quattro stagioni* Op. VIII n° 1-4; Concerto per 2 trombe RV 537; Concerto per mandolino RV 425; Concerto per oboe RV 454 [Op. VIII n° 9],
Orquesta Filarmónica Peralada, M. Serrano Cuenca (dir.)
NAIMARA PRODUCCIONES [PROEXPORT DIGITAL DISTRIBUTION]
/CD (Ø TAQ 2005)
- 2014-15/54* «Sinkovsky plays and sings Vivaldi» – *Le quattro stagioni* Op. VIII n° 1-4; Aria per alto *Gelido in ogni vena* (*Farnace*, II,6); Cantata per alto e strumenti *Cessate, omai cessate* RV 684

DISCOGRAPHIE

- D. Sinkovsky (violino, controtenore e dir.), *La Voce Strumentale*
NAIVE/CD OP 30559 (Ø *live* 2014)
- 2014-15/55 «Concertos for Two Cellos» – Concerto per 2 violoncelli RV 531; Concerto per 2 mandolini RV 532; Concerto per violino e violoncello RV 812; Concerto per oboe e fagotto RV 545; Concerto per violoncello, con fagotto obbligato RV 409; Concerto per 2 corni RV 539 (trascrizioni di Julian Lloyd Webber per 2 violoncelli)
J. & J. Lloyd Webber (violoncelli), European Union Chamber Orchestra, H.-P. Hofmann (dir.)
NAXOS/CD 8.573374 (Ø 2013)
(+ Piazzolla)
- 2014-15/56 «Baroque Inspirations» – Sonata per violino RV 8 (Andante) (trascrizione inedita); Concerto per violino RV Anh. 62 (di Fritz Kreisler, attribuito a Vivaldi)
H. Udagawa (violino), Scottish Chamber Orchestra, N. Kraemer (dir.)
NIMBUS ALLIANCE/CD NI 6299 (Ø 2014)
(+ Stamitz, Tartini, Vitali)
- 2014-15/57 *Le quattro stagioni* Op. VIII n° 1-4; Concerti per archi RV 124, RV 157
H. Daniel (*La primavera*), B. Cicic (*L'estate*), J. Pramsohler (*L'autunno*), Z. Valova (*L'inverno*) (violini), European Union Baroque Orchestra, L. U. Mortensen (clavicembalo e dir.)
OBSIDIAN /CD 713 (Ø 2014)
- 2014-15/58 *Le quattro stagioni* Op. VIII n° 1-4; Concerto per 4 violini e violoncello RV 580 [Op. III n° 10]
Reale Concerto, L. Fanfoni (violino e dir.)
OCTAVIA RECORDS/SACD OVCX-00069 (Ø *live* 2012)
(+ Locatelli, Rossini, Verdi)
- 2014-15/59 «Coup Fatal» – Arie *Vedrò con mio diletto* (Giustino, I.8), *Barbaro traditor* (*Bajazet*, III.3) (trascrizioni per controtenore e orchestra di musica tradizionale congolese)
S. Kakudji (controtenore), R. Vangama, C. Pinto (chitarre), Kalanda, E. Ngoya, S. Makengo (likembe), T. Ikomo (xylofono), D. Bukaka (balafono), C. Buya, J. -M. Matoko, 36 Seke (percussioni), F. Cassol (direttore musicale)
OUTHERE MUSIC/CD OUT 656 (Ø 2014)
(+ Bach, Ekunda, Gluck, Händel, Monteverdi)

DISCOGRAPHIE

- 2014-15/60* Concerti per violino RV 202 (Largo n° 2), RV 218, RV 346, RV 771; Sonate per violino RV 7, RV 11 (ricostruzioni di Olivier Fourés)
Musica Alchemica: J. Obregón, S. Hess (violoncelli), V. Montero (contrabbasso), E. Solinís (chitarra, liuto), J. Fernández Baena (tiorba), D. Oyarzábal, K. Weiss (clavicembalo), L. Tur Bonet (violino e dir.)
PAN CLASSICS/CD PAN 10314 (Ø TAQ 2014)
- 2014-15/61 «I Musicisti Dell'Imperatore» – Cantata per soprano e strumenti *Lungi dal vago volto* RV 680
G.A.P. Ensemble: R. Milanesi (soprano), E. Percan (violino), O. Aymat Fusté (violoncello), L. Quintavalle (clavicembalo)
PAN CLASSICS/CD PC 10324 (Ø 2014)
(+ Caldara, Piani, A. Scarlatti)
- 2014-15/62 «The Music of the Habsburg Empire» – Cantata per soprano e strumenti *Lungi dal vago volto* RV 680; Sonata per violino, oboe, organo, salmoè ad libitum RV 779
Ars Antiquae Austria, G. Letzbor (violino e dir.)
PAN CLASSICS/10CD PC 10011 (Ø TAQ 2015)
(+ CD 8; “Klang der Kulturen – Venezia”: Albinoni, Bertali, Caldara, Ferro, Hasse (raccolte del gondoliere), Viviani, Ziani)
- 2014-15/63 *Le quattro stagioni* Op. VIII n° 1-4
C. Bournaud (violino), Orchestre de chambre de Novossibirsk, L. Canavesio (dir.)
POLYMNIE/CD POL 610208 (Ø TAQ 2012)
(+ Debussy, Mendelssohn)
- 2014-15/64 «Concerto Italiano» – Concerto per violino RV 230 [Op. III n° 9] (trascrizione di Hendrik Schnöke per quartetto di fiati e arpa, secondo la trascrizione per clavicembalo di J. S. Bach BWV 972)
Ensemble DiX: A. Knoop (flauto traverso), A. Pinquart (oboe), H. Schnöke (clarinetto), R. Schulenburg (fagotto), L. Pinquart (arpa)
QUERSTAND/CD QRST 1403 (Ø 2014)
(+ Bach, Denza, De Lorenzo, Mascagni, Pasculli, Rota)
- 2014-15/65 «Joy & Gladness in Abundance: Christmas Music from the Marktkirche Hannover» – Concerto per flauto traverso *Il gardellino* RV 428 [Op. X n° 3] (Cantabile)
E. Schwanda (flauto diritto), U. Smidt (organo)
RONDEAU/CD ROP 6095 (Ø TAQ 2014)
(+ Altenburg, Bach, Franck, Monteverdi, Olsson, Praetorius, Telemann, Van Eyck)

DISCOGRAPHIE

- 2014-15/66 «Baroque Guitar Quartets» – Concerto per 2 mandolini RV 532 (trascrizione per quartetto di chitarre)
The English Guitar Quartet: R. Gallery, T. Dupré, A. Marlow, T. Pells (chitarre)
SAYDISC/CD SDL386 (Ø TAQ 2014)
(+ Bach, Corelli, Händel, Purcell)
- 2014-15/67 «Night Scenes from the Ospedale» – Concerto per violino RV 310 [Op. III n° 3], Concerto per 2 violini RV 522 [Op. III n° 8]; Concerto per 4 violini RV 549 [Op. III n° 1]; Concerto per 4 violini e violoncello RV 580 [Op. III n° 10]
The Sebastianians: D. S. Lee, N. Di Eugenio, B. Wenstrom, K. Hyun (violini), D. Ahn, J. Troy (viole), E. Seltzer (violoncello), W. Yang (contrabbasso), D. Swenberg (tiorba), J. Grossman (clavicembalo)
SOUNDSPELL/mp3 (download) – CD 138 (Ø 2015)
(+ Honstein)
- 2014-15/68 «Vivaldi Remixed» – Concerto per violino RV 356 [Op. III n° 6] (trascrizione libera per violino e Pop orchestra)
P. Launay (violino), e strumenti
SOUTH 618 RECORDS/mp3 (download) (TT: 4'38'') (Ø 2014)
- 2014-15/69 *Le quattro stagioni* Op. VIII n°1-4; Concerto per violino *Grosso Mogul* RV 208
R. Peter Müller (violino), La Folia Barockorchester
STOCKFISCH/SACD SFR 357.4086.2 (Ø 2014)
(+ Brescianello)
- 2014-15/70 «Metamorphosis» – Concerto per 2 violini RV 522 [Op. III n° 8]; Sonata a tre *La follia* RV 63 [Op. I n° 12]; Concerto per violino *In style of Antonio Vivaldi* RV Anh. 62 (di Fritz Kreisler)
A. Šmietana (violino e dir.), P. Kuusisto (violino II), Extra Sounds Ensemble
SOLO MUSICA/CD SM 219 (Ø TAQ 2015)
(+ Corelli, Schnittke)
- 2014-15/71 «Festliche Trompetenkonzerte: Bach. Vivaldi. Händel/Kulturspiegel: Die Besten Guten – Trompetenkonzerte» – Concerti per violino RV 356 [Op. III n° 6], *L'inverno* RV 297 [Op. VIII n° 4] (Largo) (trascrizioni per tromba)
G. Boldoczki (tromba), Franz Liszt Chamber Orchestra
SONY CLASSICAL/CD 5878936 (Ø TAQ 2014)
(+ Bach, Händel, Telemann)
- 2014-15/72 «Piano Mascarade» – Concerto per violino *L'inverno* RV 297 [Op. VIII n° 4] (Largo) (trascrizione di Cyprien Katsaris per pianoforte)
C. Katsaris (pianoforte)

DISCOGRAPHIE

- SONY CLASSICAL/CD 88875060542 (Ø TAQ 2014)
 (+ Bach, Händel, Khachaturian, Liszt, Mozart, Orff , Schubert, J. Strauss Jr, Wagner)
- 2014-15/73 «Concerti di Venezia» – Concerto per violoncello RV 424; Concerto per violino e violoncello RV 547; Aria *Gelido in ogni vena* (*Farnace*, II.6) (trascrizione per violoncello)
 J. Vogler (violoncello), G. Carmignola (violino), La Folia Barockorchester, R. Peter Müller (dir.)
 SONY CLASSICAL/CD 88843090012 (Ø TAQ 2014)
 (+ Caldara, Benedetto Marcello, Porpora, Vandini)
- 2014-15/74 «Biagio Marini & Antonio Vivaldi a Vicenza – Cantate e Sonate da camera» – Cantate per alto e strumenti *Amor hai vinto* RV 683, *Cessate, omai cessate* RV 684
 G. Bridelli (mezzosoprano), I Musicali Affetti, F. Missaggia (violino e dir.)
 TACTUS/DVD video 590004 (+ DVD video) (Ø 2013)
 (+ Marini)
- 2014-15/75 «Trascrizioni per archi ed organo del Novecento storico» – Concerto per 2 violini, violoncello RV 565 [Op. III n° 11] (Largo) (trascrizione di Hjalmar von Dameck); Sonata per violino RV 5 (Largo) (trascrizione di Arnold Schering per violino e organo)
 A. Voshtina (violino), I Solisti Laudensi, F. Merlini (organo e dir.)
 TACTUS/CD TC900004 (Ø 2014)
 (+ Albinoni/Giazotto, Botti, Corelli/Schering, Frescobaldi/Tebaldini, Locatelli/Schering, T. A. Vitali/Respighi)
- 2014-15/76 «Concerti a quattro – Sonata a tre» – Sonata per flauto diritto e fagotto RV 86; Concerti da camera: Sonata per flauto traverso e violino RV 84; Concerti per flauto traverso, violino, fagotto RV 91, RV 96; Concerto per flauto traverso, oboe, violino, fagotto RV 100; Concerto per flauto diritto, oboe, fagotto, senza b.c. RV 103
 I Fiori Musicali: M. G. Fiorentino (flauto diritto, flauto traverso), D. Luisi (violino), P. Tognon (fagotto), F. Merlante (arciliuto, tiorba, chitarra), M. L. Baldassari (clavicembalo)
 TACTUS/CD TC 672255 (Ø 2011)
- 2014-15/77 «The Four Seasons, Concert Accoirdion [sic]» – *Le quattro stagioni*, Op. VIII n° 1-4 (trascrizione per fisarmonica)
 N. Hrustanbegovic (fisarmonica)
 ZEFIR RECORDS/mp3 (download) (Ø TAQ 2015)

DISCOGRAPHIE

II. PRÉCISIONS, RÉÉDITIONS

- 2014-15/R1 «La trompette italienne» – Concerto per flauto diritto, oboe, fagotto, senza b.c. RV 103 (trascrizione per tromba e organo)
A. Henry (tromba), M.-A. Doran (organo)
ATMA/CD 22240 (Ø 2000)
(+ Bach, Frescobaldi, Marcello, Tessarini, Torelli, Veracini, Viviani)
- 2014-15/R2 «In Stilo Moderno: Frescobaldi à Vivaldi» – Sonata a tre *La follia* RV 63 [Op. I n° 12]
Les Boréades de Montréal, F. Colpron (dir.)
ATMA CLASSIQUE/CD 22217 (Ø 1999)
(+ Buonamente, Castello, Cavalli, Corelli, Frescobaldi, Rossi)
- 2014-15/R3 «Méditation Flûte à Bec et Orgue» – Concerto per violino *L'inverno* RV 297 [Op. VIII n° 4] (Largo) (trascrizione per flauto diritto e organo)
L. Pottier (flauto diritto), J. Amade (organo)
BAYARD MUSIQUES/mp3 (download) (Ø TAQ 2001)
(+ Bach, Beethoven, Bizet, Fauré, Gluck, Händel, Pachelbel, Susato)
- 2014-15/R4 *Gloria* RV 589; *Magnificat* RV 611; Introduzione per soprano *Ostro picta, armata spina* RV 642
A. Ihle (soprano) [RV 642], E. Wilke (soprano), A. Larkert (contralto), Hallenser Madrigalisten, Virtuosi Saxoniae, L. Güttler (dir.)
BERLIN CLASSICS/CD BC 1003-2 (Ø 1989) – BRILLIANT CLASSICS/CD 95022 (® 2014)
- 2014-15/R5 *Motezuma* RV 723 (ricostruzione di A. Ciccolini)
L. Cherici (Teutile/soprano), G. Bertagnolli (Asprano/soprano), F. Gottwald (Fernando/soprano), M.-E. Nesi (Mitrena/mezzosoprano), T. Baka (Ramiro/mezzosoprano), V. Priante (Motezuma/baritono), Il Complesso Barocco, A. Curtis (dir.)
CELESTIAL AUDIO/2CD CA 823 (Ø [live, Lisbonne – Teatro Sao Carlos-19.10.2007])
- 2014-15/R6 «Music from Cranberry Isles – 18th Century Instrumental and Vocal Masterworks» – Concerto da camera per flauto traverso, oboe, violino, fagotto RV 107
J. Baker (flauto traverso), S. Lambert Bloom (oboe), W. Winstead (fagotto), P. Wolfe (violino), B. Karp (violoncello), P. Sykes (organo)
CENTAUR/CD CRC 2084 (Ø 1990)
(+ Bach, Gluck, Händel, Scarlatti, Telemann)
- 2014-15/R7 «Antonio Vivaldi Concerti per organo» – trascrizioni da anonimo di Concerti per violino RV 230 [Op. III n° 9], RV 265 [Op. III n° 12]; Concerto per 2

DISCOGRAPHIE

- violini RV 519 [Op. III n° 5]; Concerto per 4 violini e violoncello RV 567 [Op. III n° 7] (*Ann Dawson's Book*, Manchester)
 D. Pozzi (organo)
 CREMONA/CD MVC 009/25 (Ø 2008)
 (+ Bach: BWV 972, 973, 978)
- 2014-15/R8 *Griselda* RV 718
 A. Zabala (Costanza/soprano), A. Manzotti (Ottone/sopranista), M. Barazzoni (Griselda/contralto), S. Bortolanei (Roberto/contralto), V. Bianconaldi (Corrado/controtenore), S. Polacchi (Gualtiero/tenore), Orchestra da Camera «Oper Aperta», S. Volta (dir.)
 ENCORE/DVD (Video) 3024 (Ø live Teatro «Dovizi» di Bibbiena Maggio 2002).³
- 2014-15/R9 «Evelyn Glennie à Luxembourg» – Concerto per flautino RV 443
 E. Glennie (vibrafono), Orchestre Philharmonique du Luxembourg, B. Tovey (dir.)
 EUROARTS/DVD 20543998 (Ø 2004 -® 2005)
 (+ Beethoven, Másson, Schmit)
- 2014-15/R10 «Baroque Moments» Concerto da camera per liuto, 2 violini RV 93 (trascrizione di Gerstmeier)
 Amadeus Guitar Duo: D. Kavanagh, T. Kirchhoff (chitarre)
 HANSSLER CLASSICS/CD 98.485 (Ø TAQ 2004) – NAXOS/CD 8.551324 (® 2015)
 (+ Bach, Franck, Händel, Hassler)
- 2014-15/R11 «Vladimir Tervo – Italienische Impressionen» – Concerto da camera per liuto, 2 violini RV 93
 V. Tervo (chitarra), Ensemble of Soloists Northern Crown, A. Levental, (clavicembalo), I. Zaidenshnir (dir.)
 MEDIEN VERTRIEB HEINZELMANN/CD MVH 7064 (Ø 1989, 1991)
 (+ Carulli, Giuliani, Paganini, Scarlatti)
- 2014-15/R12 «Concertos for 2 Flutes and Orchestra» – Concerto per 2 flauti traversi RV 533
 C. Wanausek, G. Hechtel (flauti traversi), Vienna Symphony Chamber Orchestra, K. Rapf (dir.)
 TUXEDO MUSIC/CD TUXCD 1057 (Ø TAQ 1990)
 (+ Cimarosa, Hasse, A. Stamitz, Telemann)
- 2014-15/R13 «The Copenhagen Chamber Ensemble plays Roman, Scheibe, Telemann, Boismortier & Vivaldi» – Concerto da camera per flauto traverso, oboe, violino, fagotto RV 107

³ Voir <http://www.operadis-opera-discography.org.uk/CLVIGRIS.HTM#2>.

DISCOGRAPHIE

The Copenhaguen Chamber Ensemble: H. Gammeltoft-Hansen (oboe),
W. Marchwinsky (violino), A. Orberg (violoncello), S. Lindholm (clavicembalo)

UNITED CLASSICS/CD 2012073 (Ø TAQ 2003) – CLASSICO/CD CLASS
CD 480 (® 2010)

(+ Boismortier, Roman, Scheibe, Telemann)

RÉÉDITIONS HISTORIQUES

2014-15/RH.1 «Johanna Martzy: RIAS Recordings Berlin, 1953 – 1966» – Sonata per violino RV 10

J. Martzy (violino), J. Antonietti (pianoforte)

AUDITE/2CD 23424 (Ø 1962, 1964, oppure 1966)

(+ Bach, Brahms, Dvořák, Falla/Kreisler, Fiocco/O'Neill, Händel, Ravel)

2014-15/RH.2 «A Gramophone Tribute to Erling Bländal Bengtsson» – Sonata per violoncello RV 40 (trascrizione [di Bazelaire?] per violoncello e orchestra)
E. Bländal Bengtsson (violoncello), Pro Musica Chamber Orchestra,
H. Sachsenskjold (dir.)

DANACORD/2CD 738 (Ø 1961) (riedizione del DANACORD/LP 1212 A
(© 1961)

(+ Beethoven, Boccherini, Brahms, Koppel)

2014-15/RH.3 «Baroque Music Vol. 1» – Concerto da camera per flauto diritto, oboe, fagotto, senza b.c. RV 103

The Moscow Chamber Orchestra, R. Barshai (dir.)

MELODYA/CD MEL 1002191 (Ø 1971)

(+ Albinoni, Händel, Telemann)

2014-15/RH.4 «Maxence Larrieu: Enregistrements 1958 – 1987. Vol. 1» – Sonata per flauto diritto e fagotto RV 86; Concerti da camera: Concerto per flauto diritto, oboe, violino, fagotto RV 94, Concerto per flauto diritto, oboe, fagotto, senza b.c. RV 103, Concerto per flauto traverso, oboe, violino, fagotto RV 107; Concerto per flautino RV 445

M. Larrieu (flauto traverso), Ensemble Instrumental

PREMIERS HORIZONS/AJPR/3CD 070158-160 (Ø TAQ 1963)

(+ J. C. Bach, Gluck, Lancen, Luypaerts, Naudot, Roussel)

2014-15/RH.5 «Classical and Baroque Songs and Arias» – Cantata per alto *Ingrata Lidia* RV Ah. 148 [olim RV 673]

G. Gatti (soprano), G. Malcolm (clavicembalo)

SANCTUS RECORDINGS/CD SCSH 017 (® 1999) (reedizione de LA
VOCE DEL PADRONE GSC 46 (78 giri, 2ff) (30) (Ø 1948 -© 1949)

(+ Carissimi, Cesti, Monteverdi)

III. DOCUMENTATION

MUSIQUE INSTRUMENTAL

- 2014-15/D.1* «Music in Dresden in the times of Augustus II the strong» – Sonate per violino di BENNA, HEINICHEN, SCHREYFOGEL, VERACINI
M. Pastuszka (violino), K. Firlus (viola da gamba), M. Šwiatkiewicz (clavicembalo)
DUX/CD 6012839 [0968] (Ø 2013)
(+ Vivaldi)
- 2014-15/D.2* CALDARA – Sonate a tre Op. I n° 4, 5, 6 (1693); Op. II n° 2, 4, 8, 11, 12 (1699)
L. Schayegh, A. Beyer (violini), J. Pešek (violoncello), J.-A. Bötticher (clavicembalo e organo), M. Spaeter (liuto)
GLOSSA/CD GCD 922514 (Ø 2014)
- 2014-15/D.3* G. B. SOMIS – Sonate per violino Op. IV n° 1, 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11 (Paris, 1726)
M. Pedrona (violino), Ensemble Guidantus: C. Poz (violoncello), P. Barbareschi (clavicembalo), S. Rosi (tiorba, chitarra)
CALLIOPE/CD CAL 1526. (Ø 2014)
- 2014-15/D.4* «Il Giardino di Partenope» – Sonate per violoncello di ALBOREA, DE ROVO, GRECO, LANZETTI, PERGOLESI, PERICOLI, PORPORA, SUPRIANI
G. Nasillo (violoncello), S. Bennici (violoncello continuo), M. Barchi (clavicembalo)
ARCANA/CD A 385 (Ø 2014)
- 2014-15/D.5* «Sonatas from the Italian Manuscripts» – HASSE – Sonate per clavicembalo “del Sig Sassone”; Fuga e Moderato; Concerto per clavicembalo
Andrea Bacchetti (pianoforte)
RCA Red Seal/CD 88883 72520-2 (Ø 2014)
- 2014-15/D.6* «Venetian Christmas» – PEROTTI – Sonata per salterio (per La Pietà); HASSE: *Alma redemptoris mater* (per Gli Incurabili)
R. Hugues (soprano), E. Golinska (violino), K. Akakpo (salterio), Arte dei Suonatori, M. Gester (dir.)
BIS/SACD BIS-2089 (Ø 2013)
(+ Torelli, Vivaldi)
- 2014-15/D.7* A. MARCELLO – *La Cetra* 6 Concerti (Augsburg, 1738) (integrale); Concerto per oboe in Re minore
A. Mion (oboe), Insieme Strumentale di Roma, G. Sasso (dir.)
BRILLIANT CLASSICS/CD 94441 (Ø 2013)

DISCOGRAPHIE

- 2014-15/D.8* GALUPPI – 7 Sinfonie a 4 (integrale)
Ensemble Stilmoderno
BRILLIANT CLASSICS/CD 94648 (Ø 2014)
- 2014-15/D.9* A. M. MONTANARI – Concerti per violino Op. I n° 1, 6, 5, 7, 8; Concerto per violino in Do maggiore (Dresda)
J. Pramsöhler (violino), Ensemble Diderot
AUDAX RECORDS/CD ADX 13704 (Ø 2015)
- 2014-15/D.10* MANFREDINI – 12 Sinfonie da chiesa Op. II (Bologna, 1709)
Capricornus Consort Basel, P. Barczy (dir.)
CHRISTOPHORUS/CD CHR 77380 (Ø 2013)
- 2014-15/D.11* «Venetian Oboe Concertos» – Concerti per oboe di ALBINONI, BIGAGLIA, A. MARCELLO, GIUSEPPE BALDASSARE SAMMARTINI
A. Bernardini (oboe), Ensemble Zefiro
ARCANA/CD A 380 (Ø 2014)
(+ Vivaldi)
- 2014-15/D.12* «Italians in London!» – CARBONELLI: Sonata X; CASTRUCCI: Sonata Op. I n°. 7; GEMINIANI: Sonata Op. I n°. 6, *Auld Bob Morrice*; GIARDINI: Sonata Op. I n° 6; MATTEIS: 3 Pieces from *Ayres Book 2°*; D. SCARLATTI: Sonate per clavicembalo Kk 14, 52, 145; F. M. VERACINI: Sonata in Do maggiore, Op. I n° 9; VISCONTI: Sonata in Do minore
S. Standage (violino), F. Chylek (clavicembalo)
CHANDOS Chaconne/CD CHAN 806 (Ø 2011)
- 2014-15/D.13* «Gloria Dresdensis» – Sinfonie di BRESCIANELLO, CALDARA, HASSE, SAMMARTINI; Ouverture di FASCH, HÄNDEL; Sonata in Do minore di PISENDEL
Dresdner Barockorchester
CPO/CD 777 782 (Ø 2012)
- 2014-15/D.14* «Trésors Cachés d'Italie – Hidden Treasures of Italy» – Concerti per violino di LIDARTI, LOMBARDINI SIRMEN, NARDINI, RAZETTI; Concerto grosso in La maggiore di A. M. MONTANARI
Arion Orchestre Baroque, S. Montanari (violino e dir.)
EARLY MUSIC/CD EMCCD 7776 (Ø 2012)

MUSIQUE VOCALE

- 2014-15/D.15* PORPORA – *Confitebor Tibi Domine, Credidi propter quod, Nunc dimittis, Domine probasti me* (per L'Ospedaletto, Venezia, 1745); *Crimen Adae quantum constat* (Vienna, 1754); *Vigilate oculi mei* (Roma, 1712)

DISCOGRAPHIE

- P. Crema (soprano), M. Zalloni (mezzosoprano), Coro femminile Harmonia, I Musicali Affetti, M. Peguri (dir.)
BRILLIANT CLASSICS/95159 (Ø 2014)
- 2014-15/D.16* B. MARCELLO – *Il pianto e il riso delle quattro stagioni dell'anno* (oratorio, 1731)
S. Frigato (soprano), E. Biscuola (alto), R. Giordani (tenore), M. Borgioni (basso), Venice Monteverdi Academy, Ensemble Lorenzo Da Ponte, R. Zarpellon (dir.)
FRA BERNARDO/2CD (Limited edition) FB 1503177 (Ø 2013)
- 2014-15/D.17* CALDARA – *Morte e Sepoltura di Christo* (Vienna, 1724); Mottetti *Laboravi in gemitu meo, Transfige dulcissime Jesu*; Sinfonia e Sonate; FUX: Sinfonia M. G. Schiavo (Maria Maddalena), S. Frigato (Maria di Giacobbe), M. Belli (Giuseppe d'Arimatea), A. Zorzi Giustiniani (Nicodemo), U. Guagliardo (Centurione), Stavanger Symphony Orchestra, F. Biondi (dir.)
GLOSSA/CD GCD 923403 (Ø 2014)
(+ Vivaldi)
- 2014-15/D.18* PEREZ – *Mattutino de' Morti* (Lisbona, 1752)
R. Invernizzi, S. Vitale, Ghislieri Choir & Consort, G. Prandi (dir.)
DEUTSCHE HARMONIA MUNDI/CD 888430510227 (Ø 2013)
- 2014-15/D.19* «Federico Maria Sardelli – Sacred Music» – *Dixit Dominus* in Re maggiore; *Kyrie* in Mi minore; *Credo* in Do maggiore; Concerti per archi in Re minore e Do maggiore
Accademia dei Dissennati, Modo Antiquo, F. M. Sardelli (dir.)
BRILLIANT CLASSICS/CD 95068 (Ø 2014)
- 2014-15/D.20* «Opera Arias and Instrumental Music» – ALBINONI: Arie dalle opere *Ardelinda* (Venezia, 1732): *Doppo tetra e tenebrosa, Se avessi più d'un core; Le gare generose* (Venezia, 1712): *La mia gloria e l'amor mio, La mia sorte vo' conoscere, Vedrem se possa mio brando invitto; L'inconstanza schernita* (Venezia, 1727): *Quel sembiante, e quel bel volto; Statira* (Roma, 1726): *Vien con nuova orribil guerra; Eraclea* (Genova, 1705) (dubbio): *Il mio crin su l'alto soglio, Ristoro degli afflitti, Se premio alla costanza; Sinfonia di Zenobia* (Venezia, 1694) Sinfonia in Sol minore; Concerto a cinque Op. V n° 5.
Ana Quintans (soprano), Concerto de' Cavalieri, M. Di Lisa (dir.)
DEUTSCHE HARMONIA MUNDI/CD 88875 08192-2 (Ø 2013)
- 2014-15/D.21* «Agrippina» – Arie per mezzosoprano da opere di GRAUN, HÄNDEL, LEGRENZI, MAGNI, MATTHESON, ORLANDINI, PERTI, PORPORA, SAMMARTINI, TELEMANN
A. Hallenberg (mezzosoprano), Il Pomo d' Oro, R. Minasi (dir.)
DEUTSCHE HARMONIA MUNDI/CD 88875 055982 (Ø 2014)

DISCOGRAPHIE

- 2014-15/D.22* «Semiramide, la signora regale» – Arie per mezzosoprano da opere di BERNASCONI, CALDARA, HÄNDEL/VINCI, JOMMELLI, PORPORA
A. Bonitatibus (mezzosoprano), Accademia Degli Astrusi, La Stagione Armonica, F. Ferri (dir.)
DEUTSCHE HARMONIA MUNDI/2CD 88725 479862 (Ø 2013)
(+ Borghi, Garcia, Meyerbeer, Nasolini, Rossini, Paisiello, Traetta)
- 2014-15/D.23* «Tempesta» – Arie per alto da opere di HÄNDEL, PERGOLESI, PORPORA
B. Staskiewicz (mezzosoprano), Les Ambassadeurs, A. Kossenko (dir.)
GLOSSA/CD GCD 923503 (Ø 2014)
(+ Vivaldi)
- 2014-15/D.24* «Arias for Domenico Gizzi – A star castrato in Baroque Rome» – Arie per soprano da opere di BONONCINI, COSTANZI, FEO, PORPORA, SARRO, A. SCARLATTI, VINCI
R. Invernizzi (soprano), I Turchini, A. Florio (dir.)
GLOSSA/CD GCD 922608 (Ø 2014)
- 2014-15/D.25* «Sospiri d’amanti» – Arie per soprano di ALBINONI, BONONCINI, CALDARA, CONTI, FUX, GASPARINI
N. Rial (soprano), Arte Mandoline Barockensemble, J. C. Munoz (dir.)
DEUTSCHE HARMONIA MUNDI/CD 88843 077892 (Ø 2014)
(+ Händel, Hasse, Leone, Mozart, Paisiello)
- 2014-15/D.26* «Il maestro Porpora» – PORPORA: Arie dalle opere *Ezio*, *Semiramide riconosciuta*, *Didone abbandonata*, *Meride e Selinunte*, *Carlo il Calvo*, *Polifemo*; Aria dell’oratorio *Il verbo in carne*; Arie delle cantate *Il ritiro*, *Vulcano*
F. Fagioli (controtenoire), Academia Montis Regalis, A. De Marchi (dir.)
NAÏVE/CD V5369 (Ø 2014)
- 2014-15/D.27* CALDARA – *La concordia de’ pianeti* (Serenata, 1723)
D. Galou (Venere/contralto), V. Cangemi (Diana/soprano), R. Donose (Giove/mezzosoprano), F. Fagioli (Apollo/controtenoire), C. Mena (Marte/controtenoire), D. Behle (Mercurio/tenore), L. Tittolo (Saturno/basso), Vokalensemble Basel, La Cetra, A. Marcon (dir.)
ARCHIV PRODUKTION/2CD 479 3356 (Ø 2011)
- 2014-15/D.28* BRESCIANELLO – *Tisbe* (Opera pastorale per la corte del Duca Eberhard IV Ludwig di Württemberg, Carnevale 1718/19 – non rappresentata)
N. Bernsteiner (Tisbe/soprano), F. Ferri-Benedetti (Licori/controtenoire), J. Pfeifer (Pirarno/tenore), M. Bellotto (Alceste/basso), Il Gusto Barocco, J. Halubek (dir.)
CPO/2CD 3097593 (Ø live 2012)

DISCOGRAPHIE

- 2014-15/D.29* GASPARINI – *Il Bajazet* (Modena, 1719)
L. De Lisi (Bajazet/tenore), F. Mineccia (Tamerlano/controténore), G. Bridelli (Asteria/mezzosoprano), E. Gubanska (Irene/mezzosoprano), A. Giovannini (Andronico/controténore), B. Mazzucato (Clearca/soprano), R. Pe (Leone/controténore), Auser Musici, C. Ipata (dir.)
GLOSSA/3CD GCD 923504 (Ø 2014)
- 2014-15/D.30* VERACINI – *Adriano in Siria* (Londra, 1735)
S. Prina (Adriano/alto), A. Hallenberg (Faraspe/mezzosoprano), R. Invernizzi (Elmira/soprano), R. Basso (Sabina/mezzosoprano), L. Cirillo (Idalma/mezzosoprano), U. Guagliardo (Osroa/basso), Europa Galante, F. Biondi (dir.)
FRA BERNARDO/3CD LC 29208 (Ø 2014)
- 2014-15/D.31* VINCI – *Catone in Utica* (Roma, 1728)
J. Sancho (Catone/tenore), F. Fagioli (Cesare/controténore), V. Sabadus (Marzia/controténore), M. E. Cencic (Arbace/controténore), V. Yi (Emilia/controténore), M. Mitterrutzner (Fulvio/tenore), Il Pomo d'Oro, R. Minasi (dir.)
DECCA/3CD 0289 478 8194 (Ø 2014)
- 2014-15/D.32* HASSE – *Siroe* (Dresden, 1763)
M. E. Cencic (Siroe/controténore), J. Lezhneva (Laodice/soprano), M. -E. Nesi (Emira/alto), F. Fagioli (Medarse/controténore), L. Snouffer (Arasse/soprano), J. Sancho (Cosroe/tenore), Armonia Atenea, G. Petrou (dir.)
DECCA/2 CD 0289 478 6768 (Ø 2014)

IV. COMMENTAIRE SUR LA DISCOGRAPHIE

L'année discographique 2014-2015 donne le vertige, tant les enregistrements sont nombreux dans tous les genres de compositions, aussi bien pour Vivaldi que pour ses contemporains italiens, dont le répertoire lyrique connaît un intérêt exceptionnel. Nombre de récitals vivaldiens n'offrent que peu d'attrait, insérant tel concerto de *L'estro armonico* dans un patchwork plus ou moins indigeste, ou rabâchant une dizaine de fois sans la moindre lassitude *Le quattro stagioni*. Les versions complètes d'opus sont également en vogue, en particulier pour le label Brilliant Classics, qui a pour vocation de proposer l'*opera omnia* le plus intégral possible pour chaque grand compositeur. Quelques enregistrements originaux sortent cependant du lot, et méritent notre attention.

En **musique de chambre**, L'Arte dell'Arco se taille la part du lion, avec deux magnifiques gravures des premiers opus sortis de la plume du jeune Vivaldi. Les 12 Sonate a tre Op. I (2014-15/16) changent décidément d'esthétique et de texture selon l'approche des interprètes. A l'écoute comparative des principales versions

de ces vingt dernières années, trois conceptions se dessinent clairement. La voie classique arcadienne fait du Vénitien un disciple un peu dissipé du grand Corelli. On pense bien sûr à la version d'Aurora d'Enrico Gatti, aux phrasés sculptés, peu audacieuse certes pour l'ornementation, mais d'une élégance et d'une beauté inaltérées, sans oublier celle, agréable, mais moins aboutie, du London Baroque. Stefano Montanari et L'Extravagante ont osé une voie expérimentale moins consensuelle, où abondent les diminutions sophistiquées et ruptures audacieuses de tempos, dont l'écoute reste partagée entre fascination et inconfort. L'Arte dell'Arco, lui, a opté depuis longtemps pour une troisième voie, généreuse et foisonnante. Rappelez-vous la version d'il y a quinze ans des sonates n° 7-12 par les Guglielmo père et fils dans la formation initiale de l'ensemble, rejoints par l'orgue et le clavecin envahissants de Christopher Hogwood. Pour l'intégrale, Federico Guglielmo reprend ici les mêmes concepts, mais avec des violons stylistiquement dégrossis, comprenant bien mieux aujourd'hui les arcanes du langage vivaldien. La basse continue est somptueuse, protéiforme au gré des mouvements, et parfaitement décomplexée. Une heureuse version plébéienne. Pour les 12 Sonate per violino Op. II (2014-15/15), aucune interprétation ne s'impose vraiment, malgré la bonne dizaine de versions qui se sont succédées depuis un demi-siècle. Les possesseurs de l'intégrale Wallfisch de 2004, sans grands contrastes mais équilibrée, avec quelques propositions intéressantes d'accompagnement sans clavier avec le seul violoncelle continuo, la garderont précieusement, en complément de l'anthologie d'Enrico Gatti, dont la finesse des phrasés, la limpidité des lignes musicales et l'élégance du théorbe et du clavecin compensent la sagesse rythmique et la retenue des affects. Federico Guglielmo réussit presque la synthèse parfaite entre ces deux approches. S'il ne cédait pas si facilement à la mode un peu triviale des gratouillis emportés de guitare baroque, cet Opus II se placerait sans partage au sommet de la discographie. Pour les 6 Sonate per 1 e 2 violini e b.c. Op. V (2014-15/37), les violons estoniens de Baltic Baroque, comme le remarque «Gramophone»,⁴ se lancent dans des performances vivantes et énergiques. La sonorité des archets, toujours à la corde, est brillante mais parfois triviale. Comme les sonates ont été enregistrées à des moments et lieux différents, deux clavecins ont été utilisés: un flamand, l'autre français. Ces Baltes sont adeptes des «goûts réunis», avec des qualités de précision teutonne et une verve italienne séduisante. Un travail sur le style leur serait cependant profitable à l'avenir. Ils devraient, par exemple, écouter le récital qu'Adrian Chandler a consacré à 6 Sonates *Per Monsieur Pisendel* (2014-15/8). Quand il s'adresse au virtuose saxon, l'archet vivaldien oscille entre une poésie nonchalante pour les mouvements lents et une vigueur simple et souple pour les rapides. Chandler a parfaitement saisi le subtil équilibre qu'illustre le contraste entre le fredon léger et délicat, presque sans appui d'archet du Largo de la RV 29 et la danse fière qui le suit, nourrie par un impeccable élan rythmique soutenu par une basse continue très réactive. Une belle interprétation.

⁴ Voir «Gramophone», janvier 2015.

Les **concertos en opus** sont, là encore, remarquablement servis. Après une *Stravaganza* Op. IV enthousiasmante et une *Cetra* Op. IX sereine, Rachel Podger affronte aujourd'hui le mythique *Estro armonico* (2014-15/24), bible fondatrice du langage moderne concertant, et en donne la nouvelle référence. La concurrence ne manque pourtant pas. L'austère Café Zimmermann (pour les 6 concertos du livre II) en démonte habilement l'architecture, sans s'attarder sur les moments sacrés ou de théâtre, que privilégie plutôt l'Accademia Bizantina de Dantone, aux traits parfois forcés. Les danses bien comprises par le violon accrocheur de Biondi ne sauvent pas l'interprétation des artifices de la démonstration. Reste l'approche équilibrée et naturelle de l'inoxydable English Concert de Pinnock, plus que trentenaire, avec le violon solo touchant et poétique de Simon Standage. Une version d'ensemble de «continuiste», où prédomine l'atmosphère symphonique. Rachel Podger est du même avis que Pinnock, qui suivait l'intuition de Walter Kolneder, suggérant un seul instrument par partie: le dépouillement dans l'effectif d'archets est au rendez-vous, mais la différence de conception avec Pinnock est de taille. Si les violons étaient les invités polices de l'English Concert, ils donnent ici l'impulsion rythmique, le swing et l'élégance à une matière vivante et malléable, exaltée par une basse continue protéiforme infiniment subtile. Complices et attentifs dans leur échanges, ils mènent le bal. Il souffle sur cette version un vent d'audace juvénile, sans académisme ni démesure. L'équilibre rêvé entre invention (*estro*) et harmonie (*armonico*). Aussi, le défi auquel se confronte L'Arte dell'Arco (2014-15/14) est des plus périlleux. Le nouvel *Estro armonico* de Federico Guglielmo – c'est son troisième – arrive mal à propos, avec une parution quasi simultanée avec celui de Podger. Atout préliminaire, la récente partition critique de Talbot est scrupuleusement suivie. La fraîcheur de ligne interpelle d'emblée, avec une gourmandise pour les belles sonorités d'archets et un désir de liberté en sortant du carcan de l'écrit. Une réussite résultant d'une très grande expérience de la partition, combinée à l'affranchissement de tout complexe. L'Arte dell'Arco n'a plus rien à prouver. Son plaisir à jouer devient le nôtre. Une intéressante version de violonistes, vive, légère, en rien empesée, avec de libres ornements du texte dans la lecture des parties. Les concertos pour 2 et 4 violons sont particulièrement réussis. Les tempos naturels avancent naturellement, et la ligne d'orgue couplée aux digressions raffinées du théorbe ne manque pas d'élégance. Une des belles versions. Sa *Stravaganza* (2014-15/17) est tout aussi captivante. La fluidité orchestrale des violonistes de L'Arte dell'Arco, plus réactifs, mieux spatialisés souvent que les archets polonais de L'Arte dei Suonatori secondant Rachel Podger dans sa propre lecture, leur donne un avantage incontestable. Le verdict, pourtant, est sans appel. Guglielmo et ses Trévisans restent au pied de l'Olympe. Que leur manque-t-il? Un certain manque d'âme parfois, un peu de rêve et de poésie souvent. L'impeccable technique des deux virtuoses s'équivalait, avec évidemment une pointe de virilité en plus chez l'Italien, en phase avec l'arrogance qui ne demande qu'à sourdre dans les chefs d'œuvre du jeune Vivaldi. Podger est plus audacieuse dans son abord ornemental et surtout d'une naturelle élégance. Ils se rejoignent le plus souvent dans leur compréhension des effets suggérés, dans la dynamique, les détails de coups

d'archet et de liaisons, intéressants dans les deux cas. Une version recommandable, qui surpasse celle de l'ensemble de Francesco Cerrato (2014-15/52) au nom prédestiné: Armoniosa, techniquement impeccable, ébarbant la moindre aspérité dynamique, la moindre irrévérence rythmique. Rien de saillant dans tout cela. Ni *invenzione* ni *stravaganza*. Une âme sage cultivant le mouvement naturel, le tempo *giusto*, structuré par une basse continue prévisible. L'ennui guette. L'archet policé de Francesco Cerrato irradie peu de chaleur – ni d'humour d'ailleurs – dans les sections rapides. Ses largos sont plus inspirés. Il lui manque le souffle de liberté joyeuse qui anime les grandes versions.

Deux *Saisons* méritent un certain intérêt. En premier lieu celle de Richard Tognetti (2014-15/12). Dès les premiers chants d'oiseaux, joyeux et naturels, saluant l'arrivée du printemps, l'Australian Chamber Orchestra révèle ses penchants épicuriens. Dans sa très classique lecture de l'édition d'Amsterdam sans recherche particulière d'effet, il cultive la simplicité poétique, servie par une dynamique bien en place des familles d'archets, et un violon soliste agréable et détendu. Les temps forts de ces *Saisons* des antipodes tiennent précisément dans l'équilibre climatique. Le brave chien et la *zampogna* n'agressent pas, les insectes estivaux agacent juste ce qu'il faut le petit pâtre, prêt à subir l'assaut de vents tempétueux de belle allure. La *caccia* croque un équipage plein de majesté. Plus l'hallali se précise, plus le tempo des *tutti* s'accélère: bons coups de fusils, affolement de la «bête» bien décrit. L'entrée de l'*Hiver*, figée par le givre des harmoniques des violons joués *al ponticello*, exprime une sensation de désolation glacée joliment descriptive. Ce théâtre discret manque pourtant, pour convaincre tout à fait, d'un soupçon d'irrévérence. Pour goûter pleinement les sonorités du «Carolus», le Garnieri del Gesù de 1743 joué par Richard Tognetti, il faut saisir deux moments d'exception: le Largo dénudé et sensible du RV 226 (un des rares concertos restés encore inédits) et surtout le Grave du RV 562, avec sa ligne soliste alambiquée conçue *per la Solennità di San Lorenzo*. Et quand l'archet est tenu par Sinkovsky (2014-15/54), une paupière lasse d'une indigestion de *Saisons* se soulève encore un peu. Gorgé de sentiments, d'un dramatisation exacerbé et précis dans le descriptif, son Vivaldi à lui est russe. Les décors sont richement plantés comme une mise en scène de Nureyev. Tentures damassées et brocarts d'or. Dès l'entrée du *Printemps*, les oiseaux gazouillent avec un raffinement exquis sur fond de harpe baroque. Le chien, ni rogue *dog*, ni *puppy* doux, aboie vraiment, comme celui d'Harnoncourt. Le doux balancement rythmique si convaincant dans la *Danza pastorale* donne l'espoir d'une grande version. Le temps étiré du début de l'*Été* distille un sentiment délicieux d'attente avant la déception. Coucou excité à la Biondi, logorrhée ornementale du somme du pâtre, crescendos artificiels pour les vents impétueux, aboutissant à la modification de la ligne soliste dans le dernier solo. Mauvais signe, confirmé en *Automne*, avec cet ivrogne si narcissique qu'il se regarde tituber. Le grouillement d'arpèges à deux clavecins dans *Il sonno* est plus intéressant, comme d'ailleurs cette peinture animalière lors de *La caccia*. Le froid sibérien de l'*Hiver* n'a rien de vénitien. Le jeu systématique en harmoniques, les ruptures de tempos agacent, malgré un violon splendide.

Les **concertos restés manuscrits** sont, là encore, richement servis. Le récital consacré par Fabio Biondi aux manuscrits bradés à Vienne en 1741 au comte Collalto (2014-15/41), de haute virtuosité et presque tous composés dans sa maturité tardive (à l'exception du RV 286 de 1725 et du RV 189 un peu postérieur), présente la quintessence de son style ultime, lequel, comme Janus, présente deux faces. La solaire, illustrée par les RV 367 et RV 390, se reconnaît à ses *tutti* développés sur plusieurs thèmes contrastés qui encadrent de longs passages mélodiques du violon. L'autre, sa part d'ombre, plus secrète, habite les RV 273 et RV 291, où les ritournelles allégées structurent à peine les interventions solistes au discours morcelé et presque athématique. Un Carmignola y excelle. On imaginait mal Biondi pour les défendre. Le voici pourtant à l'œuvre, après une impressionnante évolution stylistique. Le contrôle démonstratif sur chaque élément de l'interprétation ne semble plus l'obséder. Il a vraiment changé sa vision orchestrale, plus détendue. La première ritournelle de chaque mouvement est respectée, épurée, précise, timbrée. Les moments d'emphasis dans les solos ne sont également jamais prétexte au délire. Le lâcher prise, enfin!, où le violon sans pression, très personnel, reste poétique, où Europa Galante entretient des échanges équilibrés et attentifs avec son mentor. Musicologiquement plus élaboré encore, un récital préparé par Olivier Fourés pour la phalange espagnole Musica Alchemica exhume d'ultimes pépites concertantes pour violon (2014-15/60). Le théâtral RV 346 des années de maturité, oublié de la discographie presque parfaite, en est la pièce majeure. L'Allegro molto est particulièrement intéressant par la richesse d'écriture des solos de plus en plus morcelés et sophistiqués au fil des épisodes. Le Rosso est en phase de mutation, qui se perçoit également dans l'inventivité de l'accompagnement. Lina Tur Bonnet, violon coloré, clair, affirmé, y séduit pourtant plus qu'elle ne touche. Une approche terrienne et vivante, techniquement au point, où Musica Alchemica affirme son fier tempérament. Le RV 218 du début des années 1720, contemporain des *Saisons* donc, version de poche des grands concertos d'exhibition, marque sa différence avec la version Carmignola/Marcon, seule à ce jour au catalogue. Le raffinement frémissant du Trevisan fait place ici aux parfums de glèbe bien soulignés dans le finale. L'archet à l'aise et conquérant a de l'allure dans cette danse frappée avec le pied, à l'espagnole avec soutien rythmique de guitare baroque. Le reste du programme séduira surtout les amateurs d'inédits, avec le Largo du RV 202, les Sonates incomplètes de Graz RV 7 et RV 11, et le Concerto RV 771 des années Pisendel (vers 1716), élaboré sur le matériel thématique de la sonate pour violon RV 5. Fourés est encore à l'œuvre pour un *Venetian Christmas* (2014-15/10) qui met en vedette le *salterio*. Les sonorités étranges tirées de cet instrument à percussion proche du cymbalum, ciselées par un de ses rares virtuoses, Komalé Akakpo, ont un charme envoûtant. Rien d'étonnant par ce fait que, vingt ans après la mort de Vivaldi, La Pietà ait engagé un professeur, Fulgenzio Perotti, pour l'enseigner aux *figlie* qui en raffolaient. La Sonate inédite aux lignes gracieuses exhumée ici par Martin Gester, bien écrite, complète un répertoire fort maigre défendu jusqu'alors par Karl-Heinz Schickhaus dans son récital pionnier paru chez Tudor. Une rencontre présumée à Rome de Vivaldi avec Pantaleon Hebenstreit,

renommé psaltériste de l'époque, lui inspira sa seule composition authentique où intervient le *salterio*: l'air du *Giustino*, *Ho nel petto un cor si forte*, occasion ici d'un échange équilibré entre les dentelles tissées par le délicat Komalé et le soprano Ruby Hugues, timbre agréable et émouvant, tout aussi expressif dans le petit *Salve Regina* RV 617. Martin Gester triche un peu, en confiant aux petits maillets de Akakpo la partie de violon du double concerto avec orgue RV 774 (inédit car incomplet) qui se prête si bien au jeu de la transcription. Dans l'Andante tout de douceur du Concerto *per Il Natale* RV 270a, le *salterio* continuo exprime vraiment la magie de Noël qui parcourt aussi l'ensemble du programme. Le violon raffiné d'Ewa Golinska a la candeur de Chiara, la dernière élève de Vivaldi, dans le très tardif concerto RV 266 (encore un inédit!), avec son Largo poétique cultivant les retards, l'attente, et son finale décoré de trilles tartinienues et de figures napolitaines. Saluons aussi la troisième intégrale des Concertos pour violoncelle (2014-15/18), à la fois la plus homogène et la plus inventive, dominée jusqu'alors par Christophe Coin, en complicité avec Hogwood pour les deux volumes les plus réussis. Nouveau venu en terres vivaldiennes, Francesco Galligioni, lui, fourbit un archet de conquérant et engouffre d'un coup le copieux menu. Federico Guglielmo agrément le discours de L'Arte dell'Arco, drastiquement réduit à un instrument par partie, d'une infinie variété de piments, qui ravivent les papilles saturées par l'abondance. Le soliste est vraiment excellent: virtuose sans ostentation, avec de jolies sonorités, une justesse parfaite et compréhension intime du matériel. Concerto après concerto, Federico Guglielmo, jamais blasé, réinvente son Vivaldi.

Les bois sont également à l'honneur. Le souffleur virtuose de flûte à bec Maurice Steger (2014-15/46) choisit amoureusement ses instruments. De la haute couture. Fasolis n'est pas en reste. Pourtant, la sophistication du continuo toucherait presque au kitsch. *Salterio*, archiluth, théorbe et même une improbable vielle à roue dans *La Pastorella* s'invitent à la fête pour offrir la plus incroyable débauche de timbres. Ils jouent vite, très vite, trop vite parfois pour rester intelligibles, mettent de l'ornement à toutes les sauces: l'anecdote pour l'anecdote, l'exhibitionnisme à chaque note, chaque silence. Toujours plus. Steger a le souffle trop forcé, trop «toujours expressif». Quel dommage qu'un tel potentiel finisse par agacer. Quelques vrais largos, tranchant avec le trépidement des mouvements vifs, apaisent un peu l'écoute malmenée. Vivaldi demande certes à l'interprète de s'émanciper, de transcender l'écrit, d'orner, de varier, de s'approprier le moment musical. Mais jamais d'oublier la poésie du texte. Laissez-vous tenter en revanche sans réticence par l'invitation de Zefiro à une promenade au (haut)bois un peu naïve et vagabonde (2014-15/4). Le choix d'un instrument d'Anciuti de 1730 laissait craindre les mêmes débordements que Simone Toni dans son iconoclaste *Vivaldi e l'angelo d'avorio I*. Alfredo Bernardini a la sagesse de ne pas solliciter son timbre vite gouailleur quand le souffle s'emballe. Le début de l'Op. VIII n° 12 n'attendrait que cela. Zefiro s'accorde tout de même une petite fantaisie dans le finale du même concerto: une entrée de la basse en «carillon» (à la Couperin). Savoureux. La sonorité fine, subtilement dosée du soliste, traçant des diminutions d'un juste équilibre témoin, s'il en était encore besoin, de la

maîtrise sereine d'un des grands hautboïstes de notre temps. Quel progrès enfin, dans l'interprétation du basson vivaldien! La virtuose Miho Fukui (2014-15/5) dompte un *Fagott* Peter de Koningh, copie de Prudent. Ce protagoniste imposant force le respect. Sa diction dans le détaché reste souvent savonneuse, mais elle use habilement du rubato expressif avec ses interjections, ses retards, et respire bien. Les solos ornementés avec pertinence prennent leur temps, sans s'autoriser cependant ni les folies ou les excès du fascinant Italien. Le choix d'un accompagnement réduit à seul instrument par partie semble le bon pour entrer dans l'intimité de ces histoires racontées, qu'on imagine davantage conçues pour un salon de musique que pour une salle de concert. L'Ensemble F apporte ce qui manquait à Azzolini: l'excellence de l'accompagnement, qui n'a pas besoin d'une grande phalange, mais de l'implication de chaque partie, ce qui est le cas ici. Ces instrumentistes japonais savent structurer un *tutti* sans lourdeur ni inertie, cimenté par un continuo solide. Les ponctuations de l'archiluth ont un vrai charme. Certains petits accidents d'écriture curieusement suivis semblent indiquer que les partitions sont réalisées à partir du manuscrit et non de la partition moderne corrigée. Une documentation riche, pertinente et parfaitement à jour des recherches musicologiques complète le récital.

Le nombre de disques en **musique sacrée** reste modéré, mais d'un intérêt certain. Et en premier lieu, celui de Richard Vendome⁵ suscite la curiosité (2014-15/26). Le 16 avril 2006, la BBC Radio 3, puis le 21 avril 2006, la BBC Radio 4 diffusaient «The Vivaldi Project», enregistré à Venise en automne 2005, avec un groupe de chanteuse et de musiciennes tentant de reconstituer les Vêpres de Pâques à La Pietà, telles qu'elles auraient pu être chantées par les *figlie* au temps de Vivaldi, avec les parties de ténors et de basse distribuées aux voix les plus graves, et reconstruction d'antiennes en plain-chant. Richard Vendome, chef du projet, dirigeait sa Schola Pietatis Antonio Vivaldi et The Orchestra of the Enlightenment. Un documentaire sur BBC Four avait précédé le 25 mars 2006 avec notamment le *Gloria* RV 589 en son entier montrant, cachées derrière les grilles, les demoiselles vêtues comme les pensionnaires de l'époque. Lors du Congrès International «Antonio Vivaldi. Passato e futuro», le 13 juin 2007, Richard Vendome expliquait ses choix dans sa communication *Vivaldi's liturgical music for La Pietà. Did women sing tenor and bass at pitch?* et un concert était organisé dans la nouvelle Pietà trois jours plus tard, intitulé: *Le composizioni per il coro delle Putte della Pietà*. Outre le faible niveau artistique de son ensemble, l'acoustique désastreuse de la nouvelle Pietà et les difficultés de coordination des musiciennes et chanteuses disposées comme il semble avoir été d'usage dans l'église de l'Ospedale laissèrent dubitatifs les auditeurs. Mais peaufiné pour l'enregistrement en DVD et visible sur Youtube, ces choix artistiques gagnent en cohérence. L'interprétation est assez proche de celle des San Francisco Girls de

⁵ La musique est disponible en (download) MP3 sur Amazon et la video disponible sur Youtube. Voir aussi le site <http://www.spav.co.uk/>.

Sharon J. Paul suivant les mêmes choix d'effectifs, dans le CD confidentiel paru en 1998.⁶ Mais même si le chœur de la Pietà n'atteignait pas la réputation de celui des Incurabili à l'époque de Vivaldi, ou de l'Ospedaletto, après que Porpora l'ai repris en main à partir de 1743, un travail de fond s'avère encore nécessaire pour atteindre un niveau artistique convainquant pour s'inscrire au sommet d'une discographie encore à élaborer avec de tels effectifs. Pour goûter une quasi perfection dans un motet vivaldien, il faut écouter le soprano russe Julia Lezhneva (2014-15/30). Clarté du timbre et onctuosité, legato de rêve et agilité ne tolérant pas le flou, idéal *messa di voce*, et ce vrai trille! Une perfectionniste née, des coloratures surnaturelles, ou encore mieux, comme l'écrit Gaetan Naulleau,⁷ absolument naturelles. Le contreténor Philippe Jaroussky a, lui aussi, un talent singulier (2014-15/37). Dirigeant de la voix un ensemble Artaserse sûr et sobre, il maîtrise son propos: phrasés soupesés, ornementation mesurée, dialogue ourlé avec un hautbois dans le *Domine Deus* du *Gloria*, tempos jamais précipités, il n'agresse ni la note ni le mot.⁸ Jaroussky prend aussi le risque de survoler le sens. La jubilation légère du troisième mouvement de *Clarae stellae, scintillate* RV 625, l'adoration de la fin du *Salve regina* RV 618, le dolorisme de RV 638, au texte bridé par une retenue excessive, lui vont certes mieux que la rage trop policée du début du *Longe mala umbrae terrores* RV 629. Mais quel bel instinct!

Le triste naufrage de l'«Edition Vivaldi» pour le label Naïve nous privant de la poursuite de l'enregistrement intégral des opéras, la **musique lyrique** se réduit cette année à un opéra complet et à deux récitals. Le *Farnace* 1738 dans la réalisation de Federico Maria Sardelli fut capté sur le vif en 2013 à l'occasion du Mai Musical Florentin (2014-15/34). La réalisation scénique a été captée par le label Dynamic sur un DVD qui m'est encore inconnu et dont je rendrai compte ultérieurement. Les scrupules d'authenticité de Sardelli, qui suit l'édition critique de Bernardo Ticci, ne discréditent quasi en rien les choix de Fasolis (2014-15/21) dans sa version splendide parue chez Virgin. Les seules différences notables concernent l'air de Selinda *Al vezzeggiar d'un volto* qui passe ici à la trappe et le choix de la *Sinfonia* d'ouverture. Fasolis prenait celle du *Farnace* de 1731. Sardelli préfère celle de *Bajazet* de 1735, plus tardive. La direction d'orchestre est optimale dans les deux cas. Même implication dramatique, mêmes tempos, même subtilité d'approche. Le choix des caractères et donc des chanteurs fait toute la différence. Le drame est porté par trois personnages. Fasolis optait pour l'envoutante Tamiri de Ruxandra Donose, au doux velours, d'une profondeur et d'une touchante humanité. Sardelli succombe aux couleurs étranges d'une Sonia Prina pathétique, vibrée, à la charge dramatique plus proche peut-être de Girò. La souplesse, l'agilité et l'autorité de Max Emmanuel Cencic en faisait pour Fasolis le *Farnace* idéal de la version de 1738, adaptée spécifiquement pour un castrat alto. Mary-Ellen Nesi

⁶ De référence: San Francisco Girls Chorus SFGC 9801.

⁷ Voir «Diapason», juin 2013.

⁸ Voir «Diapason», décembre 2014.

incarne ici un Farnace déchiré assez convainquant, mais elle rayonne peu, éteinte par l'ombre de Cencic. En fait, Nesi, c'est dans la furieuse, la haineuse Bérénice de Fasolis quelle s'épanouissait le mieux. Mais Delphine Galou, extraordinaire de force et de fureur, est la Berenice qu'il manquait à Fasolis pour réunir un plateau de rêve. Le *Quell'usignolo* peu à l'aise de Roberta Mameli ne peut rivaliser avec celui d'une Karina Gauvin, Gilade agile. Amputée de son grand air, la Selinda de Loriana Castellano laisse moins de regrets. Comment pourrait-elle rivaliser avec la féline Ann Hallenberg? L'impeccable édition Virgin reste, pour la version audio, supérieure. Espérons une réalisation plus achevée pour le DVD. Francesco Fanna crée la surprise avec son récital «Di trombe guerriere» (2014-15/35). Comment n'avait-on pas pensé plus tôt à consacrer une bonne partie d'un récital aux œuvres avec trompettes? Quelle colore des tutti, seule ou en double, en compagnie de hautbois et même de timbales, ou que le cuivre éclatant lance à une chanteuse un défi de virtuosité, exercice auquel un Alessandro Scarlatti et tant d'autres compositeurs, napolitains ou non, se sont pliés, la trompette accompagna Vivaldi à ses différentes périodes créatrices, en tous cas dès qu'il se consacra à l'opéra. Le seul danger d'une telle entreprise est évidemment l'uniformité. L'air de *Teuzzone*, qui donne son titre au disque, fixe le caractère du genre. La ligne de trompette illustre la guerre, la fureur, la force, les sentiments de grandeur, dans un mouvement souvent martial. La réussite du soprano Cassinari, qui enchaîne quatre airs de ce type sans nous lasser, tient donc de l'exploit. Son timbre brillant, sa projection tonique, sa souplesse expressive enchantent, d'autant que son phrasé est précis et qu'elle ornemente joliment. Dans *Combatta un gentil cor* par exemple, son chant articulé rend coup pour coup aux notes éclatantes de la trompette. Et la petite cadence finale où les protagonistes se toisent et surenchérissent est une idée pertinente. Dans *Se in campo armato*, le mezzosoprano Marta Fumagalli, vraie sensibilité mais peu de timbre, a l'autorité d'une Emilia, mais sans les couleurs du rôle. Basse bien timbrée, expressive, mais sans grande ampleur ni aisance dans les ornements, Mauro Borgioni est un Oralto très correct pour *Chi dal cielo o dalla sorte*. On a connu par contre en meilleure forme le contreténor Roberto Balconi. Son haut medium voilé reste terne dans *Con palme ed allori*. Mais les vraies vedettes du récital sont les trompettistes Gabriele Cassone et Matteo Frigè, de tous les combats dans les arie, et qui s'octroient même dans le finale du Concerto RV 537 une cadence audacieuse. Comme toujours avec Francesco Fanna, les mouvements sont pris avec beaucoup de naturel et d'élégance, sans succomber aux tentations si évidentes ici de l'outrance. Terminons ce survol par «Tempesta» (2014-15/42).⁹ Blandine Staskiewicz, forte et belle personnalité, mezzo à l'avenant, généreux et clair, a du courage en tutoyant de sérieuses références dans un programme qui brosse large. Les rivales sont brillantes. Elle se distingue par une éloquence incisive qui est à la fois une vertu et une limite. Aucune complaisance, aucun narcissisme d'un côté. Mais cette force de caractère a pour contrepartie d'évacuer toute scorie char-

⁹ Voir «Classica» ou «Diapason», mai 2015.

nelle ou gourmande. Le chant pathétique, le timbre androgyne, le souffle, tout est verrouillé, sous contrôle, et assez prévisible en vérité. Cette invulnérabilité sur jouée manque de chaleur et de suavité malgré l'attentive escorte des Ambassadeurs et de Kossenko.

La nombreuse **documentation subsidiaire** mérite, cette année, tous les éloges.

En **musique instrumentale**, saluons d'abord le récital consacré aux musiciens dresdois du prince électeur de Saxe Frédéric-Auguste I^{er} (2014-15/D.1), dont les quarante années de règne s'achevèrent en 1733, à l'aube de l'âge galant. Le méconnu Friedrich Schryfogel prend dans ce récital la part du lion avec une sonate pour violon authentifiée et trois autres probables. Si la première est un travail proche du baroque italien finissant, la seconde fascine par l'aridité de l'*Arpegato* (= *Arpeggiato*) final en bariolages tellement pisendeliens, avec seule ponctuation de gambe. Les Largos des deux dernières sonates rappellent par instants, dans la sophistication des diminutions, Jean-Marie Leclair. L'archet de Martyna Pastuszka reste assez austère. Sonorité franche et claire, quasi sans vibrato, aucun pathos, en ligne droite. Pas un sourire dans Heinichen. Ni dans le Larghetto de Veracini. La Fa mineur de Filippo Benna, summum du récital, impressionne. L'Andante surtout, accompagné par la gambe seule, d'une sévérité, d'un ascétisme triste, tutoyant l'abstraction d'une œuvre théorique de Bach. Le Vénitien Caldara avait un peu plus de vingt ans quand il livrait son premier opus en 1693 (2014-15/D.2), qui suit le nouveau chemin tracé par Corelli, dont les éditions étaient en train de conquérir l'Europe entière, mais dont il se démarque avec des tournures parfois fantasques et des développements un peu plus ambitieux. Amandine Beyer et Leila Schayeg scrutent chaque mouvement dans le moindre détail. Une suavité noble domine, avec la maîtrise extrêmement fine de l'articulation. Enivrant.¹⁰ Les courtes sonates pour violon Op. IV de Giovanni Battista Somis, dédiés au cardinal Ottoboni, s'inscrivant nettement dans la lignée stylistique de l'Op. II de Vivaldi, méritent légitimement les attentions de Marco Pedrona (2014-15/D.3). Leur édition parisienne date de 1726. Elles sont une sorte de pendant aux Sonates de Manchester de Don Antonio. Suivant la forme tripartite, chaque mouvement excédant rarement plus de 2 à 3 minutes, elles abondent en séquences rythmiques et harmoniques rappelant l'école vénitienne et se développent formellement sans cliché préétabli prédictible. Une partie de basse complexe dialogue fréquemment avec le violon dans les séquences rapides. Les mouvements lents initiaux développent des thèmes mélodiquement riches, où la poésie et la beauté insurpassable des longs coups d'archets de Somis, loués par les chroniqueurs de l'époque, pouvaient s'épanouir. Un style cantabile chaud et des progressions harmoniques sophistiquées paraissent avoir été au centre de ses préoccupations, où le culture française raffinée laisse des traces. La moindre accentuation inélégante gâche tout. Un

¹⁰ Voir «Diapason», juillet 2015.

phrasé subtil, une sensualité expressive touchant par instant à la nonchalante mélancolie sont le secret d'une ligne d'archet réussie. Marco Pedrona y parviendrait presque, surtout dans les largos et adagios, où son violon chantant, doux et tendre, ornemente légèrement. Mais comme toujours avec Guidantus, malgré l'agrément d'un théorbe et d'un luth, la basse continue manque de finesse et de fantaisie. Gaetano Nasillo, lui, redonne vie à des pièces de musique de chambre avec violoncelle de compositeurs plus ou moins attachés à la cité parthénopéenne pendant plus d'un demi-siècle (2014-15/D.4), depuis la petite *Sinfonia terza a due viole* sans grand relief composée en 1699 par Rocco Greco jusqu'à la *Sonata quarta per violoncello* du méconnu Pericoli, publiée en 1769. L'intérêt historique de exhumations, dont certaines n'avaient jamais quitté les archives des conservatoires napolitains, réjouira les musiciens comme les spécialistes. L'interprétation de Gaetano Nasillo un peu moins, peut-être. La ligne de violoncelle raffinée et retenue – ascétique et terne, diront les grincheux – dont il ne se dépare jamais tout au long du récital, dérouté les meilleures volontés. Le sage continuo ne l'aide guère. Andrea Bacchetti s'intéresse pour sa part aux Sonates italiennes pour clavier de Hasse (2014-15/D.5). Il les joue simplement, avec seulement assez de couleurs et nuances pour ne pas surcharger la musique. Un répertoire méconnu, d'une musicalité enchanteresse.

Ouvrons le répertoire concertant avec les 6 concertos édités à Augsburg en 1738 intitulés *La Cetra* du fascinant Alessandro Marcello (2014-15/D.7). Il furent joliment restitués en 1993 par le Collegium Musicum 90 de Standage chez Chandos. La lecture honorable de Giorgio Sasso n'apporte rien de plus. La prise de son réverbérée n'est guère à son avantage. Le raffinement apporté par Standage dans le choix de l'instrumentation (dans l'émouvant *Larghetto* du Concerto n° 6 par exemple, aux textures variées et insolites), comme l'atmosphère mélancolique teintant les mouvements lents nous amènent à garder pour les enfants d'Albion notre préférence. Les tranquilles *Sinfonie a 4* du Vénitien Galuppi, de valeur musicale modeste, oscillant entre mode galante aseptisée et conservatisme corellien, déçoivent une fois encore par l'Ensemble Stilmoderno (2014-15/D.8). Le théâtre, la musique sacrée et le clavecin inspiraient davantage cet élève de Lotti à San Marco que le répertoire orchestral d'un Vivaldi. Mais tout de même. À un instrument par partie, la pâte manque d'épaisseur, de substance. Les archets sont anémiques, doux mais chétifs et pas très justes. Les efforts pour injecter des diminutions restent vains. D'une toute valeur est le splendide livredisque produit et joué par Johannes Pramsohler, qui se fixe pour mission de réévaluer l'importance historique et artistique du violoniste et compositeur Antonio Maria Montanari au sein de l'école romaine, comme digne successeur de Corelli (2014-15/D.9). Premier violon permanent de la maison Ottoboni dès 1712, mais serviteur aussi d'autres familles de la noblesse romaine, professeur incontournable, surtout après la mort de Corelli, de nombreux violonistes romains, il bénéficiait d'un statut au moins égal à celui de Mossi ou de Valentini, qui lui dédia une sonate pour violon. A Rome, c'est lui que voulut rencontrer Johann Georg Pisendel en 1717, comme en témoignent des œuvres conservées à Dresde, dont le Concerto en Ut majeur enregistré par l'Ensemble Diderot, en

complément d'une sélection de l'Op. I, publié à Amsterdam vers 1730 sans approbation de l'auteur, et regroupant des concertos pour violon et des concertos grossos stylistiquement datables au moins de la décennie précédente. L'écriture de lignée post-corellienne est ambitieuse et très originale, alliance de virtuosité violonistique riche en figurations inventives, de solide technique contrapuntique et de flexibilité des plans tonaux. Parfaite comme l'Op. VI de Corelli? Loin de là. Souvent sans vraie idée directrice thématique, les *tutti* s'égrènent comme une suite de petites idées juxtaposées avec une certaine maladresse de développement. Constat il est vrai plus évident encore dans le Concerto pour Pisendel. Mais plusieurs œuvres touchent au chef d'œuvre, comme l'Op. I n° 1 et surtout l'étrange Op. I n° 6, avec son superbe Allegro fugué incluant des interventions exigeantes du soliste dans l'aigü, son Largo poétique en style récitatif et les épisodes solistes du finale pour violon seul alternant avec des *tutti* aux cellules thématiques surprenantes. L'Ensemble Diderot aborde Montanari à un instrument par partie dans un mouvement naturel, très souple. Il avance sans aucune sécheresse, avec précision et limpidité dans la lecture des fugues. Le violon de Pramsohler ornemente élégamment, avale les figures suraiguës, et s'offre même une petite cadence dans le Grave du n° 8. Le pari est réussi: voici une contribution significative à notre connaissance de l'Ecole romaine. Les *Sinfonie da chiesa* Op. II de Manfredini de 1709 sont tout aussi convaincantes (2014-15/D.10). Toutes se coulent dans le moule classique en quatre volets associant deux paires constituées d'un prélude (lent) suivi d'un fugato (rapide). La succession des douze brèves Sinfonie est magnifiquement servie par les musiciens du Capricornus Consort Basel. Ils sont virtuoses sans faiblesse, délicatement éthérés et subtilement planants, capables d'improvisations jaillissant du cadre rigoureux comme des bouffées nécessaires. Le continuo est remarquablement mené, le théorbe brochant un contrepoint discret dans le tissu des parties obligées, l'orgue jouant un rôle de ripieno avec aisance et créativité dans les réalisations dialoguant avec les dessus. Un plaisir raffiné.¹¹ Avec Zefiro, le hautbois d'Alfredo Bernardini nous invite à un superbe récital vénitien (2014-15/D.11). La *Gigue* toute simple de Bigaglia convainc par l'honnêteté de traitement du texte et la poésie élégamment distillée sans la moindre faute de goût. L'(authentique) *Adagio* d'Albinoni conserve un subtil dosage entre le tendre et l'expressif, sans pathos dégoulinant. Et quel orchestre dans le Platti! Dansant, riche en couleurs, en phrasés déliés sans la moindre dureté, avec dans le Presto un bondissement rythmique évoquant le finale du 3^{ème} Brandebourgeois. S'il ne fallait retenir qu'un moment précieux, je choisirais pourtant l'Adagio de Marcello, où Bernardini se met à nu. En se concentrant par exemple sur quelques-uns des nombreux violoniste compositeurs Italiens qui ont gagné la vie à un moment ou un autre à Londres (2014-15/D.12), toujours accueillante, Simon Standage propose un judicieux programme, nourri par les sonorités délicates de son archet facile au vibrato sucré mais discret. Nicola Matteis tout d'abord, suivi par Geminiani,

¹¹ Voir «Diapason», mars 2015.

Visconti et Carbonelli sont à l'honneur en tant qu'élèves de Corelli, ainsi que Veracini, le chef de l'orchestre d'opéra de Händel Castrucci, et pour terminer Giardini, chef brillant de l'orchestre au Théâtre du Roi. Avec l'exception de *Auld Bob Morrice* de Geminiani, rien ici ne paraît avoir été touché par la moindre «Britishness», sinon dans une tendance générale vers l'élégance et le la retenue, avec peu de bizarreries.¹² Signalons aussi un récital consacré à la «Gloria Dresdensis» par le Dresdner Barockorchester (2014-15/D.13). Dans les Sinfonie de Brescianello, Caldara, Hasse ou Sammartini, l'exécution est vive, avec des tempos vigoureux, des articulations extrêmement claires, et un son brillant. Un beau récital, dont les qualités se retrouvent avec celui de l'Arion Baroque Orchestra de Montreal (2014-15/D.14). Stefano Montanari, violoniste et chef invité, exhume un concerto d'obédience nettement vivaldienne de Carlo Alessio Razetti, un concerto grosso d'Antonio Maria Montanari, dans une ligne post-corellienne originale, que complètent les pages plus tardives de Nardini, Lidarti et Maddalena Lombardini Sirmen. Le jeu ornemental et conquérant de Montanari mérite tous les éloges.¹³

En **musique vocale sacrée**, arrêtons-nous tout d'abord sur le parcours de Nicola Porpora au sein des Ospedali vénitiens (2014-15/D.15). Au cours des années 1720 et jusqu'au début des années 1730, Porpora officia aux Incurabili. Ce maître de chant extrêmement connu et recherché, compositeur tout aussi admiré qui y avait conduit les *figlie* au plus haut niveau d'exécution, reviendra après son séjour londonien à La Pietà en 1742. Pour un an seulement, rompant son contrat pour rejoindre L'Ospedaletto, où il redonnera son lustre au *coro* déliquescents. Le succès viendra après deux ans de travail acharné et le renouvellement du répertoire de l'institution, où puise l'essentiel de œuvres jouées dans l'ambitieux récital de ce disque, en grande partie inédit. Porpora était exigeant. Si la qualité d'écriture du *Credidi propter quod*, simple exercice de travail pour chœur seul reste modeste, le *Domine probasti me* est fort réussi. Les pages *concertate*, alternant sections solistes et chorales, renferment de jolis moments, comme les frottements harmoniques dans l'introduction du *Nunc dimittis* ou l'architecture complexe du *Qui habitat*, assez archaïque pour l'époque, nécessitant un solide travail de mise en place, manquant cruellement au chœur féminin Harmonia aux voix instables et détimbrées, souffrant d'un manque certain de maturité. Les *Sicut erat* terminant les psaumes, pris à tempo rapides, en deviennent illisibles. Le choix d'un petit soprano ingénu et d'une voix d'alto certes un peu moins verte, mais sans caractère dans les sections solistes, est un contresens. Porpora aurait choisi les plus expérimentées de ses chanteuses. L'accompagnement des Musicali Affetti de Michele Peguri, aussi maigre que rustique, annihile tous les espoirs mis dans ce récital prometteur. À un tout autre esprit répond l'oratorio de Benedetto Marcello *Il pianto e il riso delle quattro stagioni dell'anno* (2014-15/D.16). L'étrangeté de cette

¹² Voir «Gramophone», juin 2015.

¹³ Voir «Gramophone», novembre 2014.

œuvre allégorique de 1731 a pourtant de quoi séduire. Fruit de l'évolution spirituelle de Marcello vers le mysticisme, elle fut composée pour une obscure congrégation jésuite perdue dans les Marches. Structuré en deux parties avec alternance d'arie, chœurs et de récitatifs, le modeste livret de Giulio Vitelleschi développe un naturalisme typique de l'imagerie poétique. Dans la première partie, l'Hiver (basse) rencontre les autres saisons, le Printemps (soprano), l'Été (alto) et l'Automne (ténor), tristes et désespérées de la mort de la Vierge Marie. Dans le second volet, les protagonistes s'interrogent: ne faut-il pas plutôt se réjouir? La musique, loin des conventions de l'époque, intrigue. Marcello utilise des formes vocales non théâtrales et une écriture orchestrale raffinée limitée au seul quatuor avec continuo, abondant en idées descriptives et en plasticité. Les récitatifs observent un style rhétorique et déclamatoire, délibérément archaïque. Les arias utilisent les techniques dramatiques de la cantate à voix seule, mais sous contrôle rigide de l'expression, comme dans ses *Psaumes*. Les moments d'exception se succèdent, comme le chœur de style «stile concitato» post monteverdien d'introduction, le récitatif accompagné en sombres chromatismes très expressifs de *È morta, ascolta*, ou le «coro dolente», plainte exprimant la tristesse des quatre saisons devant la mort de Marie. Les airs de la seconde partie sont d'obéissance plus moderne, comme l'inventif *Io la miro di sole vestita* ou la délicieuse sicilienne *Cento gigli e cento rose* accompagnée en pizzicati. À l'exception d'un contralto bien fatigué, les autres voix sont claires et agréables, et l'orchestre rythmiquement précis et suffisamment articulé pour être discriminé en dépit de la grande réverbération du Duomo d'Asolo. Carême à la Hofkapelle de Vienne, rigueur et effusion: la dévotion de Charles VI de Habsbourg est exigeante. Caldara, qui avait déjà livré d'admirables oratorios en Italie, s'essaie à ces vastes tableaux théologiques, comme dans son *Morte e Sepoltura del Cristo* de 1724 (2014-15/D.17). Le livret intense de Francesco Fozio stimule chez Caldara de multiples figures et images sonores. Fabio Biondi a pris à cœur d'exhumer cette partition avec toutes les clefs de sa rhétorique. Il attise les passions d'une Marie-Madeleine tourmentée et ardente, joue la carte de solistes puissants et d'une dramatisation franche. Le discours prime sur l'ambiance. L'orchestre (moderne) de Stavanger montre une profonde compréhension du langage baroque, et fait très bonne figure dans les quatre airs avec instrument obligé (violon, chalumeau, trombones, basson). Le travail du Napolitain Davide Perez, rival de Jomelli, chef d'orchestre à la cour royale de Lisbonne depuis 1752 mérite aussi, avec ses *Mattutino de' morti* (2014-15/D.18), une réhabilitation. Le *Quem visurus* est de toute beauté avec une manière presque baroque des effets de contraste continuuellement surprenante. L'interprétation du Ghislieri Choir & Consort de Giulio Prandi reste un peu fruste, mais Roberta Invernizzi sincèrement touchante. Terminons ce survol du répertoire sacré avec la plus surprenant des récitals (2014-15/D.19). Quelques mois après une série de concertos au mimétisme stylistique vivaldien stupéfiant, Federico Maria Sardelli réitère l'expérience en plaçant la barre encore plus haut. Le nouvel enjeu pourrait se résumer ainsi: est-il possible de composer aujourd'hui en *stile concertato*, comme jadis Vivaldi, des psaumes comme des parties de messes avec des sections chorales et des fugues complexes lardées de sections solistes aussi réussies que

celles du maître? Et pour corser l'entreprise, dans les styles vivaldiens caractéristiques de ses différentes périodes créatrices? Ce pari invraisemblable est indéniablement tenu, le cahier des charges respecté, et au fil de l'écoute, des interrogations déraisonnables envahissent les pensées du mélomane attentif. «Voyons: ce *Dixit* est-il antérieur ou postérieur au RV 595 de la fin des années 1720?». Cette réflexion vagabonde est un hommage sincère à la capacité unique du Florentin à endosser la soutane du Rosso, sans minimiser pour autant une sorte de malaise sulfureux qu'instille un tel récital. Ces pages Sardello-Vivaldiennes sont des œuvres que le Vénitien n'a jamais écrites. Même un Brescianello, pourtant rompu à la langue de son contemporain, en aurait été incapable. Sardelli, lui, compose du Vivaldi et signe de son nom sans faire même mention du Rosso. Sur la pochette, le maestro, de profil, prend la pose dans l'attente du croquis que Ghezzi n'aurait pas manqué de faire. Avec un chœur et des solistes plus solides, la réussite du pari sardellien aurait été complète. Bravo! Don Federico.

La foisonnante **musique lyrique** livre des surprises étonnantes. La postérité a été généreuse avec le répertoire concertant et la musique de chambre du *dilettante* vénitien Albinoni (2014-15/D.20), mais ses activités prolifiques comme compositeur de musique vocale sont insuffisamment connues en raison du peu de manuscrits conservés. Parmi les cinquante opéras (au minimum) qui lui sont entièrement attribués, seuls *Zenobia* et *Statira* survivent dans une forme complète (auxquels on peut ajouter *Engelberta*, composé conjointement avec Gasparini). Sinon, seuls des fragments survivent. C'est par conséquent avec une légitime fierté que le Concerto de Cavalieri revendique l'expérience unique d'enregistrer pour la première fois un disque consacré à Albinoni, compositeur d'opéra. Le récital s'ouvre sur la vive *Sinfonia* avec trompettes de son premier opéra *Zenobia* (Venise, 1694), dont le Presto encadré par un Grave et un Adagio a pu inspirer le jeune Vivaldi. Elle est suivie par l'air de bataille splendide et passionné, *Vien con nuova orribil guerra*, de *Statira* (Rome, 1726), tout à fait dans le style scarlattien; le chant conquérant d'Ana Quintans, voix peu charnue, mais claire et ductile, avec des couleurs délicieuses, affronte sous un martellement de timbales une brillante trompette obligée. On reconnaît la palette instrumentale d'une tendresse ravissante, qui aurait pu sortir de la plume du meilleur Vivaldi de la grande époque, dont il dut être un vrai inspirateur, dans la douceur mélodique de *Quel sembiante, e quel bel volto*, de *L'inconstanza schernita* (Venise, 1727), alors que la partie de la flûte solo reconstruite pour l'air *La mia sorte vo' conoscere* de *Le gare generose* (Venise, 1712) offre un agréable contraste. Ce parcours survolant la production d'opéra d'Albinoni sur presque quarante années se conclut avec l'aimable air de tempête *Doppo tetra e tenebrosa*, d'*Ardelinda* (Venise, 1732) où, malgré la mode napolitaine du temps, Albinoni ne commet que peu d'infidélités à son style. Seule l'inspiration semble un peu tarie. Quelques erreurs musicologiques ternissent dans la notice de Mario Marcarini. Il n'est pas mentionné que les arias attribuées à Albinoni dans un manuscrit napolitain d'*Eraclea* (Gênes, 1705) sont probablement apocryphes. La conduite énergique de

Di Lisa et le chant élégant de Quintans révèlent les talents d'Albinoni pour invention musicale et plénitude sonore.¹⁴ Dans son récital «Agrippina», Ann Hallenberg incarne le meilleur de ce que peut proposer un programme intelligent et longuement mûri (2014-15/D.21). Par «Agrippina» entendez un composé de trois figures historiques dont la plus célèbre, Agrippine (sœur de Caligula, mère de Néron puis épouse de Claude), inspira davantage musiciens et librettistes. La mezzosoprano suédoise excelle à distiller la noirceur vénéneuse de ce monstre à trois têtes, puisqu'il est bien connu que les rôles de méchant(e)s sont les plus jouissif/ves à endosser. Les deux arias tirées de *Britannico* (d'après Racine, Sa Majesté l'empereur Frédéric le Grand goûtant peu la prose de Métastase alors à la mode) de Graun constituent un condensé de son art: notes tenues sur plusieurs mesures sans que le grain de voix s'en trouve altéré, capacité à dramatiser les vocalises grâce notamment à cet acier de l'aigu et à cette manière si personnelle de phraser.¹⁵ Anna Bonitatibus et Federico Ferri explorent, eux, la figure protéiforme de Sémiramis (2014-15/D.22) sur un siècle d'opéra seria, de Caldara (Vienne, 1724) à Manuel Garcia (Mexico, 1828). Plus qu'un personnage, la femme forte de l'Assyrie y apparaît comme un foyer d'intrigues, d'images et de caractères, dominé en amont par le livret à déguisements de Métastase, *Semiramide riconosciuta*. Le récital brosse le captivant panorama d'un siècle d'opéra italien, sans rien d'anecdotique. Rompue au recitar cantando, Anna Bonitatibus sait colorer sa voix selon le verbe, la situation, l'espace musical. Cet art de conduire la phrase – sensible, franc, toujours noble – sert la profondeur humaine d'un répertoire où le non-dit importe tout autant que la rhétorique.¹⁶ L'amateur d'opéra seria connaît sans doute mieux, Händel aidant, le castrat Gizziello que son maître Gizzi, natif d'Arpino, dont la carrière commencée et terminée à Naples fut prioritairement romaine. Le nouveau panorama proposé par Roberta Invernizzi pour les «Arias for Domenico Gizzi» (2014-15/D.24) offre un éventail de raretés d'une grande finesse poétique, souvent de demi-caractère. La musique est à l'écoute des vers et de leurs nuances rhétoriques, entre distance galante et affects jamais hypertrophiés. On admire la fermeté, le tact, la conduite, le goût (jusque dans l'ornementation) de ce chant si soucieux du *disegno* – à la fois dessin des lignes et motivation expressive. Roberta Invernizzi ne craint pas grand monde pour ajuster les couleurs, les tours, le phrasé, au caractère exact des paroles.¹⁷ Sous le titre «Sospiri d'amanti» (2014-15/D.25), le soprano espagnol Nuria Rial, soutenu par les virtuoses du plectre d'Arte Mandoline, offre un récital délicieux d'arias de Fux, Gasparini, Conti, Caldara, Händel, Albinoni, Leone, Mozart et Paisiello. La voix n'est pas grande, mais très belle, souple, et joliment colorée. Les ornements sont ciselés élégamment, les textes soigneusement articulés, et la prononciation est éloquente. Un moment anodin, mais magique.¹⁸

¹⁴ Voir «Gramophone», septembre 2015.

¹⁵ Voir «Classica», juillet 2015.

¹⁶ Voir «Diapason», septembre 2014.

¹⁷ Voir «Diapason», avril 2015.

¹⁸ Voir «Fono Forum», juin 2015.

Porpora, le maître de Senesino, Farinelli, Caffarelli, est aujourd'hui celui de Fagioli (2014-15/D.26);¹⁹ le contre-ténor est une star aux moyens prodigieux: enivrement du timbre, égalité exceptionnelle du souffle, engagement de l'interprète. On reste impressionné par la pyrotechnie colorature de *Se tu la reggi al volo*, d'Ezio, *aria di tempesta* de *Didone abbandonata*, par l'ambitus affolant de *Carlo il Calvo*, et sa cadence a cappella tutoyant les enfers. Mais c'est dans la poésie, domaine où Porpora était sans rival aux yeux de ses contemporains, qu'il nous touche; écoutez la sublime prière de *Alto Giove*, de *Polifemo*, écrite pour Farinelli, sommet d'un récital inégal. Le 19 novembre 1723, résonnait au château de Znaim en l'honneur de l'impératrice *La concordia de' pianeti* (2014-15/D.27), composé par Caldara, vice-maître de la chapelle impériale à Vienne. Le livret de Pietro Pariati articule une joute verbale entre les sept dieux de l'Olympe. Au-delà du théâtre des conventions, ce fastueux divertissement de cour est un éblouissement. L'alternance de récitatifs et d'airs est traitée avec une virtuosité étourdissante. Chaque dieu ayant sa propre caractérisation, les airs reposent sur des orchestrations riches et hautes en couleur, émaillées de nombreuses répliques concertantes. Le plateau est dominé par la sensualité androgyne du contralto Delphine Galou, impressionnante de précision jusque dans l'ornementation la plus profuse. Elle sait être profondément émouvante. A ses côtés, brillent la Diana aérienne de Veronica Cangemi et le Mercurio de Daniel Behle. Enregistrée sur le vif, la somptueuse phalange bâloise répond au doigt et à l'œil à la moindre sollicitation d'Andrea Marcon; la précision de l'articulation, brillante et malléable, la justesse de l'intonation témoignent d'une préparation parfaite.²⁰ L'exhumation de l'opéra *Tisbe*, prévu pour le Carnaval de 1718-1719, mais qui ne sera jamais représenté (2014-15/D.28), est un hommage mérité à Brescianello, qui gagna la cour de Munich en 1715. Les Métamorphoses d'Ovide fournissent la trame d'un quidproquo tragique entre deux amants, conclu par leur suicide, ici transfiguré en *lieto fine* acrobatique. Le plateau se limite à quatre chanteurs. C'est un festival d'arias et ariosos avec instruments obligés, tels que flûtes douces et violoncelle, sous la direction efficace de Jörg Halubek. Julius Pfeifer prête à Pirame un timbre solaire dans *Pace, pace a due miseri amanti* ou dans *Non turbarti, alma innocente*, avec des cordes fleurant bon leur Vivaldi. Voix charnue et nuancée, Nina Bernsteiner bénéficie d'arias de voltige comme *Fiero leon, sbranami omai* avec violon solo, ou touchées par la grâce, telle *Apri i lumi moribondi*. Le tout s'écoute avec plaisir.²¹ Le *Bajazet* de Gasparini (2014-15/D.29) est un des moments privilégiés de cette année discographique. Exact contemporain d'Alessandro Scarlatti, Gasparini mit trois fois en musique le livret d'Agostino Piovene (qui inspirera encore Vivaldi, Leo et Scarlatti). C'est la seconde version (Modène, 1719), la seule préservée, qui a été choisie par Carlo Ipata. Les récitatifs sont dignes du meilleur Vivaldi. Point de secco décharné, qui fait attendre impatiemment les airs, mais une déclamation

¹⁹ Voir «Classica» ou «Diapason», décembre 2014.

²⁰ Voir «Diapason», novembre 2014.

²¹ Voir «Diapason», mars 2015.

d'une grande ductilité, ici et là cantabile, parfois arioso, qui nous rappelle que nous sommes d'abord au théâtre. Théâtre sombre, avec le suicide du héros sur scène. Les airs reflètent la plus variée des passions, avec des solutions stylistiques remarquables comme le violoncelle obligé dans *Fier di padre*, ou l'air *Questa solo è il mio tesoro* avec flauto dolce. La distribution, très homogène, est dominée par les mezzos Giuseppina Bridelli et Ewa Gubanska. Parmi les trois contreténors, Antonio Giovannini tient le haut du pavé. Carlo Ipata dirige avec conviction ses Auser Musici dans cette résurrection bienvenue.²² Quand un virtuose du violon rencontre le plus parfait des poètes, leur dialogue fécond livre un chef d'œuvre: *Adriano in Siria* (2014-15/D.30), le premier des quatre opéras de Veracini, sur un livret de Métastase révisé par Angelo Corri. Représenté en 1735 par l'Opera of the Nobility de Londres, il reçut un triomphe, et les applaudissements de Händel. Qui valaient aussi pour un casting de rêve: Senesino et Farinelli, la Cuzzoni et la basse Montagnana! Pour redonner vie à cette partition foisonnante, il a fallu restituer les récitatifs, absents du manuscrit. Le résultat est remarquable de justesse. Dans cette captation de concert, Biondi est soucieux d'un équilibre qu'il sait fragile. Sa distribution est menée par Sonia Prina. Son abattage convient au rôle-titre. Ann Hallenberg, en prince vertueux, est époustouflante. Invernizzi touche au sublime, tout en pathétisme contenu. Rivale malheureuse, la Sabina de Romina Basso délivre des graves toujours aussi racés. Une réussite,²³ partagée avec le *Catone in Utica* de Vinci (2014-15/D.31). En janvier 1728 (deux ans avant *Artaserse*), Métastase et Vinci l'ont échappé belle: une contrariété du pape a entraîné à Rome l'annulation des festivités du carnaval, sauf *Catone in Utica* dédié à la grande-duchesse de Toscane, de passage. La victoire de César, héros promis à la tyrannie, contre Catone, vertueux trop obstiné, c'est le triomphe de la Rome impériale contre la vieille République. Vinci brise la rigidité des conventions par des constructions harmoniques mouvantes et une flamboyance lyrique. Par leur grande intensité dramatique, les récitatifs préfigurent ceux d'*Artaserse*. L'Arbace de Max Emanuel Cencic domine le plateau par son intelligence perfectionniste. Un engagement dramatique et vocal de Juan Sancho en Catone est servi par une tessiture princière et une intonation à l'avenant. L'intégrité radieuse et nuancée du Marzia de Valer Sabadus et le soutien sans faille du rutilant Pomo d'Oro de Riccardo Minasi sont les autres atouts de cette exhumation.²⁴ Terminons cette moisson somptueuse avec le *Siroe* de Hasse (2014-15/D.32). Max Emanuel Cencic, qui tient le rôle-titre et est l'initiateur du projet, a retenu la seconde mouture pour Dresde, remaniant trente ans après la version initiale de 1733 pour Bologne. L'exécution des difficiles airs de bravoure demande une grande finesse d'exécution. Cencic offre à *Siroe* une palette variée, écho des multiples affects qu'éprouve le héros confronté tour à tour à la vindicte de son frère, au trouble de son père, au dilemme de sa fiancée. L'amplitude vocale de Fagioli qui campe

²² Voir «Classica» et «Diapason», juin 2015.

²³ Voir «Gramophone», février 2015.

²⁴ Voir «Diapason», juillet 2015.

DISCOGRAPHIE

l'infâme Medarse impressionne forcément. Julia Lezhneva, à qui reviennent les airs les plus virtuoses, n'en fait qu'une bouchée, sourire aux lèvres. Si l'opéra seria est fortement hiérarchisé, il n'y a pas musicalement de petits rôles dans ce labyrinthe des passions humaines. Rendons enfin un hommage à la phalange mordante, équilibrée, jamais dans l'emphase gratuite de George Petrou. Quelle année!²⁵

²⁵ Voir «Diapason», décembre 2014.

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