

INFORMAZIONI E STUDI VIVALDIANI



**BOLLETTINO ANNUALE
DELL'ISTITUTO
ITALIANO
ANTONIO VIVALDI**

**VENEZIA
FONDAZIONE
GIORGIO CINI**

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Via Berchet 2
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Istituto Italiano Antonio Vivaldi
Fondazione Giorgio Cini, Isola di S. Giorgio Maggiore
30124 Venezia (Italia)

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Fondazione Giorgio Cini
ISTITUTO ITALIANO ANTONIO VIVALDI

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« Il Pastor Fido », une oeuvre de Nicolas Chédeville *Philippe Lescat*

En dressant le catalogue de l'oeuvre de Vivaldi, Peter Ryom écrit: « L'authenticité de l'opus 13 en tant qu'oeuvre de Vivaldi est très douteuse. Parmi les nombreux critères qui concourent à rendre l'attribution à Vivaldi invraisemblable il suffira de signaler les conclusions que l'on peut tirer notamment des *Extraits du Privilège Général* [...] daté du 17 avril 1737 » (p. 35). Ceux-ci lui permettent d'attribuer l'oeuvre à Jean-Noël Marchand, musicien de l'opéra, et qui se cache dans le Privilège, par les lettres S.J.N.M.M. (Sieur Jean-Noël Marchand Maître de Musique).

Au cours de recherches sur les maîtres de musique parisiens vivants aux XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles, j'ai eu la chance de découvrir un acte notarié conservé au Minutier Central des Archives Nationales de Paris. Il nous permet de connaître enfin le véritable auteur du *Pastor Fido*, oeuvre qui n'appartient pas plus à Antonio Vivaldi qu'à Jean-Noël Marchand, même si ce dernier a effectivement joué un rôle dans l'édition de l'ouvrage.

En effet, par une déclaration du 17 septembre 1749, Jean-Noël Marchand décrit avec assez de précision, tous les éléments qui ont présidé à l'édition de l'opus 13. Aussi « pour rendre hommage à la vérité », il reconnaît et affirme que c'est « L'ed[it] Sr. Chedeville, qui est reellement et veritablement l'auteur auquel led. Sr. Marchand n'a fait que preter son nom, tant pour l'obtention du privilege de mil sept cent trente sept, que pour faire graver led. ouvrage par le Sr. Hue, a l'effet de quoy led. Sr. Chedeville lui avoit remis les deniers necessaires » (Etu-de XXXIX, liasse 400).

Cet acte montre donc que le véritable auteur de l'opus 13, *il Pastor Fido*, est en fait Nicolas Chédeville dit le cadet, et que celui-ci a pris toutes les précautions nécessaires pour ne pouvoir être identifié, si ce n'est bien sûr à la lumière de cette déclaration. Ce secret restera bien gardé tout au long du XVIII^e siècle car le 20 mai 1748, Michel Corrette, aussi maître de musique et éditeur de musique, obtient un Privilège pour publier à nouveau les opus 13 et 14 de Vivaldi, sans savoir que le premier – ou les deux? – est une composition non de Vivaldi mais de Chédeville.

Ce dernier est un amateur de musique italienne, il est aussi un ardent défenseur de la musette, instrument dont il joue à l'opéra. Il voudra d'ailleurs transcrire pour son instrument bon nombre d'ouvrages, de préférence italiens, ainsi qu'il ressort de sa demande de Privilège.

ge du 7 août 1739: «Il souhaiteroit faire imprimer, graver et donner au public plusieurs ouvrages intitulés le *Printemps* de Vivaldy, Concerto et autres concerto et sonates choisies de tous les auteurs italiens, et même d'extraire dans les quatorze oeuvres de Vivaldy, les dix d'Albinony, les dix de Tessariny, les trois de Locatelly, les quatre de Quantz, les deux de Brevio, les deux de Mahault, les trois de Tartiny, les deux de Scarlatty, pour accomoder, transposer et les ajuster d'une manière facile à pouvoir être exécutées sur la Musette, Viele ou flutte avec accompagnement de violons et de basse, et toutes les musiques instrumentales de sa composition».¹ Il est à noter que le musicien établit une différence entre ses propres oeuvres et le treizième oeuvre de Vivaldi et que se retrouvent tous les ouvrages qui figurent dans le Privilège accordé à Marchand en 1737: op. 13 et 14 de Vivaldi, op. 10 d'Albinoni, op. 10 de Valentini.

De cette liste impressionnante, seul paraît *Le Printemps*, ouvrage que l'auteur intitule *Le Printemps ou les Saisons amusantes concertos d'Antonio Vivaldy mis pour les musettes et vielles avec accompagnement de violon, fluste et basse continue*; dans la dédicace, il écrit: «Lorsque j'ay entrepris d'adopter les grandes compositions d'Antonio Vivaldi au ton champêtre, d'un instrument qui fait tout l'objet de mon travail, j'étois sûr de l'estime du Public pour les excellens materiaux que j'ay mis en oeuvre». La même année 1739, Chédeville transcrit encore pour la musette, la vielle, la flûte traversière, l'*Opera quarta* de Dall'Abaco.

Le ton champêtre, si adapté aux musettes, est une caractéristique de l'oeuvre du compositeur; ses oeuvres 1 à 3 s'appellent *Amusements champêtres*. Le travail d'adaptation en est également une autre: il ajuste des airs de l'opéra *Jephté* de Montéclair pour deux musettes; dans son oeuvre 14 *Les variations amusantes*, se reconnaissent un menuet d'après Geminiani, les *Bergeries* de François Couperin, un air de Mondonville.

La vie de Nicolas Chédeville est relativement bien connue: il fut hautbois de la Chambre du roi et musette de l'Académie royale de musique – il était donc un collègue de Jean-Noël Marchand. Les Archives Nationales contiennent encore plusieurs pièces le concernant et il appartiendra aux recherches entreprises actuellement de faire comprendre pourquoi en publiant *Il Pastor fido*, Nicolas Chédeville le cadet l'a attribué à Antonio Vivaldi, pourquoi il a fait prendre le Privilège et assurer l'édition par Jean-Noël Marchand, et peut-être trouverons-nous la teneur de l'arrangement passé entre les deux musiciens. Ces éléments seront développés, dans la mesure du possible, au prochain Congrès Vivaldi à Poitiers en 1991.

¹ MICHEL BRENET, *La Librairie musicale en France de 1653 à 1780*, «Sammelbande der Internationalen Musik-Gesellschaft», VIII (1906-1907), p. 440.

DECLARATION 17 SEPTEMBRE 1749

Aujourd'huy est comparu devant les Conseillers du Roy Notaires au Chatelet de Paris soussignés, Sr. Jean Noel Marchand musicien de l'academie Royale, demeurant a Paris rue fromenteau parroisse St. Germain l auxerrois.

Lequel a Reconnu et declaré qu'En mil sept cent trente six Et mil sept cent trente sept, Sr. nicolas Chedeville [son cousin (barré)], hautbois de la chambre du Roy, auroit composé Entr'autres choses le Treizieme oeuvre de vivaldy, ayant pour titre Le Pastor fido, queled.¹ Sr.² chedeville voulant mettre cet ouvrage au jour, et ayant des Raisons Particulieres pour qu'il ne parut par son nom, auroit prié Led. Sr. Marchand d'agrèer quil obtint sous le sien Privilege de sa majesté pour faire Graver imprimer et debiter led. ouvrage, qu'en consequence led. Privilege auroit été obtenu sous le nom dud. Sr. Marchand, Pour cet ouvrage et autres, le quatre may aud. an mil sept cent trente sept, Pour Neuf années, Que le Privilege est Expiré depuis mil sept cent quarante [trente (barré)] six, que pendant quil a duré, led. Sieur chedeville a tiré les Emolumens dud. ouvrage, au moyen des arrangemens faits Entr'eux. Que led. Sr. marchand a appris Que le Dix May mil sept cent Quarante Huit, le Sr. Michel Corrette Maitre de Musique, a obtenû un Privilege sous son nom, Pour faire Graver Imprimer et Debiter Les oeuvres de vivaldy, ayant pour titre Le Pastor fido, Que led. Sieur Corrette n'étant pas authneur de cet ouvrage, et que c'est au contraire led. Sr. chedeville, qui est Rellement et veritablement l authneur auquel led. Sr. Marchand n'a fait que preter son nom, tant pour l'obtention du privilege de mil sept cent trente sept, que pour faire Graver led. ouvrage Par le Sr. Heu, A l'Effet de quoy led. Sr. chedeville luy avoit Remis les deniers necessaires, Led. Sr. Marchand Par la presente Declaration quil affirme sincere en son ame et consience, Pour rendre hommage a la verite [Pour faire connoitre la verite et que led. Sr. chedeville est authneur dud. ouvrage (barré)] Dont acte. Fait et passé a Paris, le dix sept septembre mil sept cent quarante neuf et a signé.

Rayé trois mots co. nul. Rayé de plus une ligne entiere et huit mots coe. nuls.

[Signatures de Marchand, Delamanche (notaire) et Martel (notaire)]

¹ led = ledit

² Sr = Sieur

Declaration
17. Septembre 1749.



Je soussigné

Le Citoyen D'huys. En Compsant devant les
Comités de du Roy Norance au Palais de Paris
soussigné, C. Jean Noel Marchand bourgeois de
l'Académie Royale, demeurant à Paris rue Trombette
parroisse St Germain l'Auxerrois.

Lequel a Reconnu & Declaré qu'en mille sept
cent trente six mille sept cent trente sept, C. Nicolas
Cespedeville, haubain de la Chambre du Roy,
auroit Composé entre autres choses, le Croquis d'
oeuvre de rivaldy, ay au moins libre de Pastor. fido, -
quel C. Cespedeville voulant mener ce ouvrage au
jour, le ay am de Raisons Particulieres pour qu'il ne

quelles C. Margem
a approuvé
J. N. M.

par un par d'ordon, auroit prié le C. Margem
d'agréer qu'il obtint d'ordres, Privileges des ouvrages
Pour faire Graver Imprimer & Vendre les ouvrages,
qu'il ay conséquence des Privileges auroit été obtenu
sous le nom du C. Margem, Pour les ouvrages
Causés, le quatre may au an mille sept cent
trente sept, sous l'ant ancien, Quelle Privilege

quarante
J. N. M.

En l'Esprit depuis mille sept cent
quatre vingt six, le C. Cespedeville
a tiré de ce l'ordonnance du 3. ouvrage, au moy des
arrangements l'aité l'aité. Quelle dix
May, mille sept cent quarante huit, le C.
J. N. M.

“Il Pastor Fido” by Nicholas Chédeville (*Summary*)

Peter Ryom, in his catalogue of the works of Vivaldi, casts doubt on the authenticity of Op. 13, *Il Pastor Fido*, on the basis of the *Extraits du Privilège général* printed at the end of the volume containing Op. 13. Ryom ascribes the work to Jean-Noël Marchand, who obtained a Royal Privilege for its publication on 17 April 1739.

In a newly discovered notarial act of 17 September 1749, reproduced in the present article, Jean-Noël Marchand states specifically that Op. 13 was composed by Nicholas Chédeville le cadet. The latter, who played oboe and musette in the *Chambre du Roy* and *Académie Royale de Musique* (and was thus a colleague of Marchand), was also the author of *Le printemps ou les Saisons amusantes Concertos d'Antonio Vivaldy*, a transcription of the *Stagioni* for musette and vielle with violin, flute and basso continuo accompaniment. This publication was made possible by a Royal Privilege of 7 August 1739, which authorized Chédeville to make, among other things, transcriptions “of Op. 1-14 by Vivaldi”. Only the *Stagioni*, however, are known to have been thus arranged.

It remains to be seen why Chédeville should have chosen to attribute Op. 13 to Vivaldi and, no less, why he should have obtained the Royal Privilege and published the work in the name of Jean-Noël Marchand. The author will attempt to provide answers to these questions on the occasion of the International Vivaldi Conference at Poitiers (spring 1991).

“Tragédie” into “Dramma per musica” (Part Three)*

Reinhard Strohm

Today, historians and critics of opera are perhaps a little too convinced that opera needs and has its own history, structures and theory. A theory, or perhaps a “poetics”, of opera-writing has never really existed, and the zeal of modern scholars to reconstruct such a poetics for the works of the past seems to reflect the loss of contact with that past itself.

In Italy 300 years ago, the aspiring “poeta” or “poeta drammatico” would have been drawn into the world of melodramma, if at all, by forces which might have little to do with his literary inclinations, and he would certainly not have abandoned his awareness of classical and humanist literary theories. There existed not only an authoritative poetics of tragedy – Aristotle’s, of course – but also the belief that the structures of contemporary literary theatre had to conform to such classical precepts. Poets working with the *dramma per musica* were expected to observe to the poetics of spoken literary theatre. By about 1700, this situation generated various forms and degrees of opera criticism, as well as attempts at libretto reform.

These criticisms and these reform attempts, however, did not evolve into a theory of opera proper, i.e. a theory which would have taken music seriously. Until the early eighteenth century, the different conditions under which dramatic poetry had to live when associated with music traditionally functioned as *excuses* for perceived poetic defects of the libretto. The dramatic poets, often noble *dilettanti*, spoke of their task as librettists with considerable affectation. Even Apostolo Zeno, who claimed he needed to write libretti for a living, habitually justified their “imperfections” with the necessary concessions to music and singers. But he undoubtedly wanted a drama such as his *Teuzzone* to be measured against the same yardstick as were the model plays by Jean Racine and Thomas Corneille. Even while allowing for a happy ending, Zeno’s alterations to the borrowed dramatic material tried to fulfill the same theoretical precepts as the French *tragédies* had done.¹ In Vivaldi’s setting of *Teuzzone* (1719), we can see how a gifted dramatic composer takes the play much further down the road towards musical expression of the drama.²

It was from that time onwards that the art not only of setting libretti but of *writing* them little by little developed into a proper discipline of its own, which it has remained until the early twentieth century.³ The very fact that operatic poetry learned from spoken drama

helped transform it into an independent genre of poetry. Whereas, in the seventeenth century, we have the dramatic poet who happens to deal with the musical stage and likes to disguise or excuse his involvement, the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries are the age of the professional librettist. Even if Pietro Metastasio is considered a great lyrical poet (not everyone thinks so), this talent was clearly not the one that made him a skillful librettist.

Parts Three and Four of this study will explore the emergence of a concept of the *dramma per musica*, which, despite lacking a theory of its own and adhering to the Aristotelian tradition of drama, was separate and practicable on the musical stage. This concept came into being through the efforts of the opera reformers of Zeno's generation, and it survived throughout the enlightenment era. The dominating operatic poet of that era was Metastasio; but I hope to show that he had an important forerunner in the Florentine poet Antonio Salvi (1664-1724), whose libretto *Amore e maestà* (Florence 1715) satisfies both the classical tradition of spoken drama and the conditions of Italian operatic practice at the time. The ability to serve two masters is exactly what made, from now on, the opera libretto a unique genre.

The present Part Three will deal with the external history of Salvi's libretto and with the implications of its most characteristic feature: it is a drama with a tragic ending (*funesto fine*), as such extremely unusual for Italian opera in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.⁴ Part Four will compare the libretto in detail with its model, which is, once more, Thomas Corneille's *Le Comte d'Essex*, and will discuss the degree of its independence and suitability for the musical settings.

Antonio Salvi's "Amore e maestà" (1715) and the emancipation of the opera libretto

Dr. Antonio Salvi of Lucignano (1664-1724) was a Florentine physician and writer who in 1699 succeeded Cosimo Villifranchi as personal physician and court poet to Prince Ferdinando de' Medici, the famous patron of music and especially of opera. For the private performances at Ferdinando's Villa di Pratolino, Salvi contributed in 1701-1710 seven *drammi per musica*, and between 1694 and 1718 he wrote or adapted about a dozen more for the civic (academic) opera-houses of Florence and Livorno. Commissioned work for the court theatres of Reggio Emilia, Turin and Munich, and for Venetian opera houses, occupied him mostly in the period c. 1715-24.⁵ He was apparently connected with the Roman *Accademia de' Quirini* (led by Metastasio's teacher Gian Vincenzo Gravina), and provided two or

more libretti for the Teatro Capranica in Rome (1711-15). Salvi was also, besides Pietro Pariati, the most successful early writer of *intermezzi comici per musica*, of which we need only mention his masterpieces, *Bacocco e Serpilla (Il marito giuocatore e la moglie bacchettona)*, Florence c.1712-14, and *Larinda e Vanesio (L'Artigiano gentiluomo, after Molière)*, Florence c. 1720. A frequent musical "collaborator" of the poet was, inevitably, Giuseppe Maria Orlandini, maestro di cappella at the Medici court from 1713; other composers who set new libretti by him included Giacomo Antonio Perti and Alessandro Scarlatti (for Pratolino), Francesco Gasparini, Luc'Antonio Predieri and Antonio Vivaldi. The opera composer most indebted to Salvi's work was Handel, who used his libretti for his operas *Rodelinda, Scipione, Lotario, Sosarme, Ariodante, Arminio* and *Berenice*; Handel's acquaintance with the poet must go back to his early visits to Florence and Pratolino, 1706-1709.⁶

This is not the place to present an evaluation of the achievements of Salvi as an opera poet in general. Given his widespread activity as a librettist, also outside the court which employed him, he must have had a genuine interest in the musical theatre. He was a reformer of opera who positively and decisively responded to the challenge of its critics; the significance of his works for the young Pietro Metastasio still awaits investigation (but see also below).

For Salvi, probably the theory and certainly the practice of the French spoken theatre was a guiding influence. He was also well aware of the Spanish theatre; actually his first known libretto was derived from a Spanish model: *La forza compassionevole*, opera scenica (i.e. without music), Florence (Accademici Sorgenti) 1691; the play was turned into a *dramma per musica* by Salvi for the carnival of Livorno, 1694, the edition identifying the original as a "drama spagnuolo". Similar origins are likely for his "commedia eroica" *La fortunata disperazione del principe Celimauro*, Florence 1696.⁷

According to the present state of research, at least nine libretti by Salvi are based on French dramas.

Table I: Salvi's libretti based on French dramatic models:

Astianatte (Pratolino 1701): Jean Racine, *Andromaque*;⁸

Arminio (Pratolino 1703): Jean-Gualbert de Campistron, *Arminius*;

Il Gran Tamerlano (Pratolino 1706): Nicholas Pradon, *Tamerlan*;

Stratonica (Florence 1707):⁹ Thomas Corneille, *Antiochus*;

Rodelinda regina dei Longobardi (Pratolino 1710): Pierre Corneille, *Pertharite*;

Amore e maestà (Florence 1715): Thomas Corneille, *Le Comte d'Essex*;

Amor vince l'odio, ovvero Timocrate (Florence 1715): Thomas Corneille, *Timocrate*;

Il carceriere di se stesso (Turin 1720): Thomas Corneille, *Le geolier de soi-mesme*;¹⁰

Gli equivoci d'amore e d'innocenza (Venice 1723): Pierre Corneille, *Don Sanche d'Aragon*.

Not all of these libretti are regular *drammi per musica*. In fact, also the important Tuscan tradition of *commedia per musica*, as represented by Cicognini, Moniglia, Adimari, Villifranchi and Gigli, may have influenced Salvi in his choice of subjects, although he prefers the Spanish-French variant of the aristocratic *comédie heroïque* (as is called, for example, *Don Sanche d'Aragon*) to the more indigenous bourgeois plots. The last three libretti in the list above correspond to the type of *comédie heorique*. At least one other libretto by Salvi is a comedy, probably adapted from a prose comedy: *Il pazzo per politica* (Livorno 1717). The intermezzi are all bourgeois comedies.

This tendency towards the comic genre in Salvi's later years is balanced, as it were, by one important and successful tragedy, *Amore e maestà*. It was first given as a *tragedia per musica*, in the summer season of 1715 at the Teatro del Cocomero, Florence; performances followed in Italian opera houses and abroad almost every season from 1718 onwards, mostly under the title *Arsace*. The last performance known today took place at the Teatro S. Benedetto of Venice in 1768, with music by Carlo Franchi.¹¹

It may be that the libretto owed some of its popularity to the exceptional fact that it has a tragic ending. Salvi – wrongly, but probably in good faith – claims in the preface (“Cortese spettatore: [...]”), that this was the first opera in Italy with *funesto fine*:

Ecconti una Tragedia in Musica, col fine veramente Tragico; Novità, per quanto è mia notizia, non più veduta, almeno sulle Scene d'Italia. Se incontrerò, come spero, il tuo gentil compatimento, mi pregerò io d'essere il primo a farti sortir dal Teatro con le lagrime, fra le dolci armonie della Musica.

He acknowledges that he has derived the *sujet* (but, as we shall see, much more) from *Le Comte d'Essex*:

[...] Il soggetto è Pistesso che già espose sulle scene di Francia il famoso Tommaso Cornelio, sotto il nome del Conte d'Essex [...].

It is worth appending a little table of the early Italian operas which call themselves *tragedia per musica* and have a tragic ending, in order to put Salvi's "innovation" into perspective.

Table II: *tragedie per musica* (with *funesto fine*) before 1730:

G. Frigimelica-Roberti,¹² *La Rosimonda*, Venice 1695 (C.F. Pollarolo);

G. Frigimelica-Roberti, *Il pastore d'Anfriso (tragedia pastorale)*, Venice 1695 (C.F. Pollarolo);

G. Frigimelica-Roberti, *Il trionfo della libertà*, Venice 1707 (A. Scarlatti);

A. Salvi, *Amore e maestà (Arsace)*, Florence 1715 (G.M. Orlandini);

B. Pasqualigo, *Antigona*, Venice 1718 (G.M. Orlandini);

B. Pasqualigo, *Ifigenia in Tauride*, Venice 1719 (G.M. Orlandini);

P. Suarez, *Leucippe e Teonoe*, Venice 1719 (A. Pollarolo);

A. Piovene, *Nerone*, Venice 1721 (G.M. Orlandini);

B. Pasqualigo, *Giulio Flavio Crispo*, Venice 1722 (G.M. Capelli);

G. Piazzon, *Antigono tutore di Filippo*, Venice 1724 (G. Porta; T. Albinoni);

P. Metastasio, *Didone abbandonata*, Naples 1724 (D. Sarri);

P. Metastasio, *Catone in Utica*, Rome 1728 (L. Vinci).

(Occasionally, Piovene's *Tamerlano*, Venice 1711, was styled "tragedia"; Pariati's *Sesostri*, Venice 1710, is a "tragedia di lieto fine". Both were first set by Francesco Gasparini).

Although the first performances of these works concentrate on Venice around 1720, in subsequent revivals they were distributed far and wide in Europe. For example, *Arsace* was given in London in 1721 and in the following year in Hamburg; *Nerone* followed in Hamburg in 1723, and *Antigona* in Braunschweig in 1724. It cannot be a coincidence either that all three of these operas were set to music by

Orlandini, Salvi's collaborator in Florence, who almost monopolises the genre around 1720.¹³

A tragic ending in drama can be of many kinds; several of the works in the list would not quite satisfy the Aristotelian concept of a "fine veramente Tragico" which must involve the unhappiness or death of the hero. Thus, *Il trionfo della libertà* (with the story of Brutus, Lucrezia and Tarquinius) *Antigona* and *Ifigenia in Tauride* actually present the victory of freedom over the tyrant, and in *Catone in Utica* (and similarly in *Tamerlano*) the hero dies happily for his political ideals.¹⁴

In the remaining cases, however, historical fact or approved legend dictate that the hero becomes a victim of villainy, tragic error or passion, and dies unhappily – even unnecessarily. In three of these genuine operatic tragedies, the victim and heroine is a woman: Rosimonda, Agrippina (in *Nerone*) and Didone. Salvi's *Amore e maestà*, whose original title deliberately hides any hero's name, occupies a pivotal position, as it were. Not only does Arsace (the Earl of Essex) die as a victim of malice, passion and his own pride, but also Statira (Queen Elizabeth), whose jealousy is her tragic error, ends up defeated and close to death. Her final solo scene in which she curses herself and her reign is one of the great female monologues in Italian opera of the time; its repercussions in *Didone abbandonata* are obvious, and the intrigue that leads to this ending is quite similar in either case (see also below). This is a tragedy with (at least) two victims, and the renaming of Salvi's libretto as *Arsace* foreshortens its tragic perspective as well as that of its model.

In turn, *Amore e maestà* has interesting traits in common with *La Rosimonda*. The character of Rosmiri in Salvi's libretto corresponds to Frigimelica-Roberti's Rosimonda – a connection which was remembered in François Ancelot's tragedy more than a hundred years later.¹⁵ In *Amore e maestà*, Rosmiri takes poison and becomes another innocent victim of the Queen's jealousy.

These genuine operatic tragedies, despite their small number, were a cutting edge of the Italian libretto reform in the early eighteenth century: manifestations of an emancipated and pessimistic spirit among the better dramatists of the day, which were to succumb soon afterwards to the political and moral euphemisms of courtly restoration (as can be seen very well in Metastasio's path from *Didone* and *Catone* to *La clemenza di Tito* and *Attilio Regolo*).

As a matter of fact, the success of *Amore e maestà* in the opera-houses can be linked with the early achievements of Metastasio and his singers. It is certain that the young Trapassi knew Salvi's libretto –

perhaps in more than one version – and it is possible that his teacher Gravina, fundamentally an opponent of opera, recommended this one to him as an example of genuine tragedy.

Orlandini's score of 1715 does not survive; from the later arrangements which do exist, a rather bleak picture of Orlandini's dramatic procedures emerges. Nevertheless, in many opera-houses, especially aboard, the libretto was exclusively known with Orlandini's music for about a generation.

The leading singers of the original production of Florence, 1715, were Francesco Bernardi detto Senesino (*Arsace*) and Margherita Durastanti (*Statira*). These two belcanto stars were instrumental in the transfer of the opera to the Royal Academy of London, as Paolo Rolli attests in a letter of 18 October 1720.¹⁶ The Florentine original was deemed unsuitable, however, without much revision, as the recitatives seemed of "interminable" length, and there were so few *ariette* that even Senesino had only four.¹⁷ Rolli was commissioned to revise the libretto, and he did this "di concerto" with the two singers. Their plan was probably to convert a number of *accompagnato* recitatives into arias, and insert others; also the final *accompagnato* scenes and aria of Durastanti were changed. Rolli and the singers encountered strong resistance from the impresario, Heidegger, who did not want to "modernise" the libretto too much and whose plan involved a musical revision by the minor Venetian composer Girolamo Polani. Senesino and Durastanti got their way, however, and the opera (*Arsace*) was performed on 1st February 1721 at the Haymarket theatre, with the text as altered by Rolli and with 14 additional arias by Filippo Amadei. In his dedication of the libretto to the Duke of Montague, Rolli mentions two very important aspects of this "first" *tragedia per musica*: its change of setting from historical Great Britain to legendary Persia, and its success in three Italian centres:

[...] Il soggetto storico, benché cangiato di nomi e sito, è però inglese, ed ha prestato il motivo di porre per la prima volta sul teatro musicale italiano una tragedia di fine totalmente funesto. In Firenze dove questo dramma nacque, ed in Venezia e Napoli dove fu trasportato, incontrò l'universale compiacimento [...].¹⁸

In London, not only the protagonists Senesino and Durastanti, but also the singer of Megabise of 1715, the alto castrato Matteo Berscelli, sang his own part again.

The London *Arsace* was transferred, in turn, to the Hamburg opera-house in 1722 by Johann Mattheson, who translated the

recitative into German and further arranged the opera.¹⁹ It is from the Hamburg production that the only early score survives. Later revivals and revisions of Orlandini's setting began in Turin in 1726, and continued throughout the 1730s in Florence, where the work was apparently looked upon with patriotic pride. It cannot be a coincidence that it was probably Orlandini who in 1725 arranged also *Didone abbandonata* for the Florentine Pergola theatre. (The libretto had also been set in that carnival by Albinoni for the S. Cassiano, Venice). The Teatro Regio of Turin selected in the seasons of 1726 and 1727 three of its four operas from this complex: in 1726, Salvi's *Publio Cornelio Scipione* (set by G.A. Giay) was followed by Orlandini's *Arsace*; in 1727, Sarri's *Didone abbandonata* (with alterations) and Orlandini's *Antigona* were presented.

Similarly important, at least for the Italian development, were three other settings. The second production of the drama, titled *Arsace*, was given in the carnival of 1718 at the Teatro S. Giovanni Grisostomo in Venice with music by *Michelangelo Gasparini*; repeats followed in Modena 1719, Padua 1722 and Vicenza 1731. The Venice production had an extraordinarily splendid cast, with Nicola Grimaldi (*Arsace*), Marianna Benti (*Statira*), Faustina Bordoni (*Rosmiri*) and Antonio Bernacchi (*Mitrane*). These particular singers could all be said to be ideally suited to their roles as Salvi had conceived them, even in terms of age and physical appearance.

It is no surprise that, again, the leading singers of this production seem to have taken the work elsewhere: Benti and Grimaldi reappeared as *Statira* and *Arsace* in *Domenico Sarri's* setting, performed in Naples in December 1718. This had apparently been planned as a particularly splendid occasion to celebrate the Austrian Vice-King Wirich Daun and his wife, Barbara von Herstein (the libretto is dedicated to the latter). There was a splendid prologue, as usually presented in Naples in gala performances staged at the Palazzo Reale (it is not clear why this particular opera was presented only at the Teatro S. Bartolomeo, or else why no libretto mentioning the palace performance was printed). The interesting thing is that the prologue "in Heaven", introducing Venus and Vulcanus, was inserted into the first scene, not prefixed to it, and was introduced as a "play in the play". The performance of these mythological *intermedi* (!), which celebrates the wedding of *Rosmiri* and *Mitrane* in the presence of *Statira*, is then interrupted by the first dramatic events (*Artabano* rushing in to report *Arsace's* revolt). The comic characters *Morante* and *Merilla*, when meeting later for their first *scena buffa*, tease each other with the roles previously played as *Vulcanus* and *Venus*. The addition of *scene buffe* followed Neapolitan

conventions and should not be regarded as a criticism of the tragic ending, which was maintained. The libretto (“Cortese lettore [...]”), signed by the impresario Nicola Serino, reaffirms Salvi’s claim that this is the first “Tragedia in musica col fine veramente tragico”. It also implicitly refers to the Venetian production as its model, and excuses an alteration which it shares with that version:

[...] Vi è stato in altro Teatro in qualche parte variato il fine, per non renderlo totalmente funesto; come ancora in questo con non poca pena di chi l’ha diretto vi si sono variate alcune Arie, et accresciuti, o diminuiti alcuni Recitativi, come altresì vi sono dovuto ponere le parti Buffe [...].

The alteration of the tragic ending concerns the suicide of Rosmiri, who is here made to survive the poison, comforted by Megabise. Also, the words of Statira’s last aria are altered to resemble more closely a conventional *ombra* aria (“Vieni, Arsace, ah dove sei?”).²⁰

The wording of the preface seems to suggest that the modifications were undertaken unwillingly, or at least that they were requested from the outside. This becomes quite evident in the next adaptation, that of the Teatro Alibert in Rome, carnival 1720, where the tragic ending is actually eliminated. The opera, given as *Amore e maestà* again, was composed by Francesco Gasparini (whose house was then frequented by Pietro Metastasio who even intended to marry his daughter). The owner-impresario of the theatre, Conte Antonio d’Alibert, dedicated the libretto to James Francis Stuart, pretender to the British throne (“Giacomo III”), who was a well-known patron of opera in Rome at the time. His ancestor James Stuart I had, ironically, inherited the British crown from Elizabeth Tudor in 1603, just two years after the alleged events of *Le Comte d’Essex*, where indeed the anticipation of the Queen’s unhappy death is the main theme of the tragic ending. Alibert shows his awareness of this circumstance in his *argomento*:

[...] L’Argomento di quest’opera, ancorché sia preso da un fatto storico successo in una Regia di Europa, e tale l’abbia esposto co’ i nomi proprii de’ personaggi veri, sulle Scene Francesi il famoso Cornelio, fu nondimeno per saggi motivi dall’Autore Italiano, non meno celebre dell’altro, trasportato alla corte di Persia [...].

(We shall come back to this transfer of the *setting*).

The éloge for Salvi is cleverly inflated by presenting him as Thomas Corneille’s equal but omitting the latter’s Christian name, so that the even more famous “Pierre” could be inferred.

This time, the unknown libretto arranger – presumably one of the many Academic poets in Rome – makes it perfectly clear that he altered Salvi's tragedy against his wishes and literary judgement. After narrating the plot, his *argomento* concludes:

[...] Tale era il fine di questa nobilissima Tragedia trattata da due penne Maestre con metodo sì adattato al buon gusto degli eruditi; che non può negarsi essere stata temerità, il mutarla in alcuna parte; Ma il costume del tempo Carnevalesco, & il genio di chi desidera in esso oggetti piacevoli, e non lacrimosi, servirà di scusa alla risoluzione presa di farla terminare con fine lieto, fingendo che Mitrane mosso dalla generosità di Arsace lo salvi, ingannando Artabano, e poi lo conduca vivo a Statira, che a lui finalmente si sposa, restando a Mitrane Rosmiri. Chi ha eseguito nel miglior modo che ha saputo questo pensiero, lo ha fatto, costretto dall'obbedienza che doveva a chi glie lo ha comandato; e però ne chiede più d'ogn'altro il perdono, confessando per troppo ardito il suo fallo.

I suggest that these lines illustrate a tension between the Arcadian (or Quirinian) *litterati* and their patrons and audiences, at least in Rome but probably also in Florence and Venice. Surely, death and destruction shown in *historical* plots have a disquieting, possibly enlightening effect. If treated according to the precept of verosimilarity and with a minimum of historical truth (or even: realism), the tragic ending ties the spectator down to the wrongs of this world, forces him to think politically.²¹ Furthermore, there is the tension between the “erudite” dramatic poet and the spectators who want nothing but entertainment: the same constellation can already be observed in earlier Venetian operatic debates, for example on the occasion of *Mitridate Eupatore* by Frigimelica-Roberti and Alessandro Scarlatti in 1707.²²

The latter type of tension, at least, could be resolved by Metastasio in his first independent opera libretto a few years later in Naples. *Didone abbandonata*, the subject of which was chosen *because* of its tragic ending, owes its existence largely to the influence of the primadonna Marianna Benti-Bulgarelli, and to her and the poet's enlightened Austrian patrons. This circumstance provides, in fact, the first of several analogies with the Neapolitan production of *Arsace* in 1718 (of which Metastasio must have known at least through Marianna). And, the poet himself forges much closer links between his *Didone abbandonata* for the carnival of 1724 and the theatrical event of 1718 which had combined a “*Tragedia vera*” with a mythological prologue in praise of the court, and buffo scenes of the carnival-ridden audience.

By 1724, the *scene buffe* have become genuine *intermezzi comici*

(*L'impresario delle isole Canarie*), with the result of disembarassing the actual drama of comic servants. At the same time, Metastasio's intermezzi take up the idea of the "play within the play", because the buffoonists Dorina and Nibbio are professionals of (serious) opera and thus correspond to Merilla and Morante who in *Arsace* sang serious arias in the roles of Venere and Volcano.²³ The two roles of the *Arsace*-prologue are themselves symbolically connected with Aeneas (Son of Venus) and with Dido's death in the fire (the element of Vulcanus). Their prologue "in Heaven" is in 1724 transformed into a *licenza* at the end which literally clears away the clouds of Dido's tragic suicide in the flames of Carthage, with the splendid appearance of the Temple of Neptune in the blue sky.

Let us now consider the tragic ending itself, made inevitable by a conflict of passion and glory. This conflict is indeed the *sujet* and the *ethos* of both dramas, and in Salvi's it also provides the title.

First of all, both libretti entrust the full dramatic weight of the final scene(s) to the primadonna and protagonist alone. Operas or plays ending in soliloquies (laments) existed before,²⁴ but in *Amore e maestà* and *Didone abbandonata* the scenic situation exactly matches the psychic condition: also Statira (Elizabeth), who has lost her lover and her friends, is *abbandonata*. (She is alone on stage; whereas in *Le Comte d'Essex*, her helpless courtiers are present but cannot reach her). There is surely a common ancestry to the two figures.²⁵ Both women are also losing their *realms*, an immensely significant aspect of the plot on the level of *ethos*. Dido as well as Elizabeth desperately try to assert their *gloire* while saving their love, and end up losing both. Already Metastasio's first aria for Didone states programmatically: *Son regina e sono amante*, asserting that she alone will dispose of her heart as well as her throne. One of Salvi's alterations in comparison with Thomas Corneille is the intrigue that the main villain and traitor, Artabano (Coban), wants himself to marry Statira (Elizabeth), thus becoming king. This corresponds to the ploy of Metastasio's Jarba: the villain is after the Queen's hand as well as her realm. Not only the self-determination of a woman is at stake in these libretti, but also the legitimacy of the female succession in general. The "haeretic" reign of Elizabeth I had been an embarrassment to the Catholic monarchies also for this reason; her closest counterpart, Queen Christina of Sweden, converted and abdicated – which was what the Catholic party would have hoped from Elizabeth too, at least after she had forgotten herself so much as to fall in love. (This is obviously the political *pointe* of the first *Essex* drama, by La Calprenède, 1636). Christina's conversion was to spiritual love. Against this background, Dido's catastrophe, although

often seen on the Renaissance and Baroque stage, receives a new moral and political connotation in Metastasio. The Queen, who sins against her *ethos* (*gloire*), is punished by losing also the object of her affections. In Salvi's tragedy, there is obviously the question of the other victim, Arsace. Statira demands and receives almost as much sympathy as the rebellious Count, but her collapse on stage inspires more terror. Thus the actual victim, Arsace, takes in the end second place to the spiritual victim, i.e. to the one who has become guilty. This modification of the well-known story paved the way for Metastasio's *Didone*.

It could be claimed that Salvi gives the *sujet* sharper edges. The very fact that the Dido subject was half-legendary and more traditional (and by no means always developed entirely tragically) makes Metastasio's a safer choice than a political tragedy. And the tradition of the Dido subject suggests that she goes mad (as in Busenello's *Didone delirante*) which takes the sting out of the suicide. Salvi has to maintain historical verosimilarity and can, therefore, not pretend that Elizabeth/Statira is out of her senses. The line with which she begins the final monologue, *Furie che m'agitare*, is a tribute to conventions not really developed in the scene itself.

Salvi, too, pays tribute to conservative influences by transferring the *setting* of his libretto from recent English (Christian although Protestant) to ancient Persian (pagan and barbaric) history. This, and the stereotyped "Persian" names chosen for the characters, make them and the plot "unverifiable", in a similar way to Zeno's transfer of *Bajazet* to ancient China. It is, obviously, a political domestication of the plot. Nevertheless, by inventing an artificial story, as it were, Salvi gives profile to the *structure of the intrigue* and the interests involved. His characters are quasi *allegories* of the tragic story, unencumbered by literary or theatrical plot traditions. In the stereotyped Persian garb, his drama has an almost abstract quality. Salvi did not disguise his sources. The historical events underlying his version were widely known, and the attention of the reader was drawn to them in many libretto prefaces. (In London, *Arsace* was given almost simultaneously with the play by John Banks, *The unhappy favourite*, a version of the Essex story also based on Thomas Corneille). Quite differently from Zeno's approach, Salvi makes his dependence on the original so clear that he deprives himself of the opportunity to change the plot – and, what is more, the *ethos* – of his characters. The transfer of the *setting* may appear a trivial change in relation to that fidelity. It may be a political gesture; the poet attributes his transfer of setting to the requirements of "la musica, la compagnia e del teatro italiano". I suggest, however, that Salvi wishes to assert the independence of the operatic version by placing it in a

kind of semi-historical limbo. His tragedy is not re-enacted history but claims to be a fully artistic creation.

Finally, we may consider that the vast majority of the opera libretti which in this period were derived from French *tragédies* had their original tragic ending changed into a *lieto fine*. It has become a commonplace to expect opera to end happily. Is this the result of its very essence as a genre? Is there a theory of opera which can formulate a reason why opera "has to have a lieto fine"? Salvi's operation in *Amore e maestà* removes, with the lieto fine, a major *excuse* for the "imperfections" of the musical drama. In fact, Salvi does not acknowledge any "imperfections"; the Roman arranger of his text in 1720 acknowledges the libretto as a genuine, even "nobilissima tragedia". As we have seen in Part One of this study, Zeno's alterations to the *sujet* and, notably, the *ethos* of his characters in *Teuzzone* were necessary to achieve a lieto fine. (To this end, for example, the Queen had to become a villain and one of the ordinary villains had to be converted). But it remained uncertain why the happy end, in turn, was actually deemed necessary. In *Amore e maestà*, the musical performance remains the only *a priori* difference from the model, since the guidelines of Aristotelian drama are fully accepted. But also the "musical excuse" is spurned, except for the transfer of setting. If this libretto is found to diverge from its model in important dramaturgical elements – and these will be the subject of Part Four of this study – then we will have to seek the reason in the emerging status of the opera libretto as a dramatic genre in its own right.

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¹ See REINHARD STROHM, "Tragédie" into "Dramma per musica", Part One, "Informazioni e studi vivaldiani", 9, 1988, pp. 14-24.

² *Ibidem*, Part Two, 10, 1989, pp. 57-102.

³ Perhaps, libretto-writing should be called a craft rather than an art; the distinction between the terms is characteristically blurred in this case.

⁴ The fact that the French *tragédie en musique* lived up to its name and widely accepted tragic endings was not necessarily a result of its cultural association with French spoken tragedy, nor is it an emancipatory trait. Rather, this genre was strongly rooted in mythological Renaissance tragedy. For a survey of the major librettists, see CUTHBERT GIRDLESTONE, *La Tragédie en musique (1673-1750) considérée comme genre littéraire*, Paris-Genève, 1972.

⁵ The article Salvi, *Antonio* by R.L. WEAVER in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* is in need of correction and updating; but see, for important details, R.L. and N.W. WEAVER, *A Chronology of Music in the Florentine Theater 1590-1750*, Information Coordinators Inc., Detroit, 1978, pp. 69-75 and *passim*. The

Enciclopedia dello spettacolo has no entry on Salvi. A forthcoming monograph by Francesco Giuntini, of which the author kindly showed me some extracts, will significantly add to our knowledge of Salvi's *oeuvre*.

⁶ See R. STROHM, *Handel and his Italian Opera Texts*, in R. STROHM, *Essays on Handel and Italian Opera*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1985, pp. 51 ff., 59 f., 64 f., 69 f., 73 ff.

⁷ All these editions are extant in *I-Rn*. See also WEAVER, *A Chronology*, *cit.*, pp. 170 and 177.

⁸ On the earliest extant setting, see R. STROHM, *An Opera Autograph of Francesco Gasparini?*, in R. STROHM, *Essays*, *cit.*, pp. 106-121.

⁹ Details on the operas written for Florence are found in WEAVER, *A Chronology*, *cit.*, under the respective dates.

¹⁰ Indebted not only to the model by Corneille, but also to its first libretto adaptation by Ludovico Adimari (1681).

¹¹ See the entries *Amore e maestà* and *Arsace* in CLAUDIO SARTORI, *Primo tentativo di catalogo unico dei libretti italiani a stampa fino all'anno 1800*, Ufficio ricerca fondi musicali, Milano, and WEAVER, *A Chronology*, *cit.*.

¹² More libretti by this poet are labelled "tragedia" or "tragicommedia", but do not have a really tragic ending. See KARL LEICH, *Girolamo Frigimelica-Robertis Libretti. Ein Beitrag insbesondere zur Geschichte des Opernlibrettos in Venedig*, Munich, 1972 ("Schriften zur Musik", 26).

¹³ On his *Arsace* and *Nerone* in Hamburg, see also R. STROHM, *Die tragedia per musica als Repertoirestück: Zwei Hamburger Opern von G.M. Orlandini*, "Hamburger Jahrbuch für Musikwissenschaft", 5, 1981, pp. 37-54.

¹⁴ The latter is also the case in Metastasio's *Attilio Regolo*, derived from Nicholas Pradon's *Régulus*, as is C.S. Capeci's (?) reworking of a libretto by M. Noris, *Marco Attilio Regolo*, Rome 1719; but the 1719 version has a happy ending.

¹⁵ On Ancelot and other derivations from Salvi's libretto in the nineteenth century, including Felice Romani's libretto which served as the basis for Donizetti's *Roberto Devereux*, more will be said in Part Four of this Study.

¹⁶ OTTO ERICH DEUTSCH, *Handel. A Documentary Biography*, London, 1955, pp. 114 f. (with a translation of Rolli's letter, erroneously referring the mentions of Heidegger to Handel) and 122; SESTO FASSINI, *Il melodramma italiano a Londra nella prima metà del Settecento*, Torino, 1914, p. 53 f. (with excerpts from the Italian original of Rolli's letter).

¹⁷ Correctly: five. The 1715 libretto has a total of 33 closed numbers – by no means a low figure for this period.

¹⁸ FASSINI, *Il melodramma*, *cit.*, p. 54.

¹⁹ See fn. 13 above.

²⁰ The score and libretto have been edited in facsimile by HOWARD M. BROWN in: *Italian Opera 1640-1770*, New York, Garland, 1978, vols. 22 and 53.

²¹ ULDERICO ROLANDI, *Il libretto per musica attraverso i tempi*, Rome, 1951, p. 147, makes the interesting suggestion that the ecclesiastical censors in the papal states were more hostile to tragic operas than the authorities elsewhere.

²² See ROBERTO PAGANO-LINO BIANCHI-GIANCARLO ROSTIROLLA, *Alessandro Scarlatti*, Torino, 1972, pp. 185-189.

²³ The *impresario* motive is, of course, borrowed from Girolamo Gigli's *La Dirindina*, Rome 1715.

²⁴ See also WOLFGANG OSTHOFF, *Zur musikalischen Tradition der tragischen Gattung im italienischen Theater (16.-18. Jahrhundert)*, in *Studien zur Tradition in der Musik. Festschrift Kurt von Fischer zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. H.H. Eggebrecht and M.

Lütolf, Munich, 1973, pp. 121-143, especially pp. 132 ff. with a discussion of Sarri's monologues for *Didone* of 1724.

²⁵ PATRICK J. SMITH, *The Tenth Muse: A Historical Study of the Opera Libretto*, London, 1971, pp. 61 and 78, interestingly connects the final monologues of Metastasio's *Didone* and Quinault's *Armide* (1686). In this case, too, a realm is destroyed.

Dalla «tragédie» al «dramma per musica» (parte III) (Sommario)

Non è mai esistita una vera «poetica» del libretto d'opera; questa specie di lavoro letterario nasce semmai come sottospecie del genere della poesia drammatica. Anche i librettisti della riforma intorno al 1700 seguivano – e ciò si dà per scontato – i precetti classici e le orme della poetica aristotelica. La destinazione musicale dei loro drammi serve loro al massimo come scusa per i presunti «difetti» letterari. Ancora Apostolo Zenò, nel derivare il suo *Teuzzone* da due tragedie francesi, costruisce una tragedia regolare, sebbene con lieto fine; spetterà poi al compositore Vivaldi di esprimerla musicalmente (cfr. Parti I e II di questo saggio).

Nell'opera di alcuni altri librettisti prima di Metastasio, specialmente di Antonio Salvi (1664-1724), sembra delinearsi una emancipazione del libretto anche come forma letteraria: dove cioè la destinazione musicale si impone come elemento formativo già nella stesura letteraria. Lo sviluppo del genere del libretto d'opera autonomo si può studiare – paradossalmente – nei drammi del Salvi modellati su tragedie francesi. L'articolo esamina alcuni aspetti relativi alla sua «tragedia per musica» *Amore e maestà* (Firenze 1715) – secondo l'autore il primo libretto in Italia con finale tragico – e alle sue revisioni e rappresentazioni dei primi anni. Il successo esterno del libretto e i vari legami con la *Didone abbandonata* di Metastasio, nonché le risonanze all'estero dell'opera, rappresentano una situazione ideale per il confronto tra una tragedia francese (*Le Comte d'Essex*) e la sua imitazione melodrammatica (*Amore e maestà*); materia questa che sarà esplorata più dettagliatamente nella Parte IV di questo studio.

Vivaldi's Italian Copyists

Paul Everett

It will quickly become apparent that the title of this article was chosen more for its convenient brevity than its accuracy. The argument largely concerns handwritings rather than the persons the hands represent, and it has been necessary to restrict the scope of the appended catalogue and illustrations to include only the contributions of the most important scribes. In some cases, the view that a particular copyist was an Italian, or, more precisely, a Venetian, awaits confirmation; only Italian manuscripts (many undoubtedly Venetian) are discussed here, and the present writer's opinion of their scribes' origin is based on the documents' provenance and styles of calligraphy. A final qualification which should be added immediately is the perhaps surprising fact that only one scribe genuinely deserves to be described as "Vivaldi's".

Many readers will have found most useful Karl Heller's discussion and classifications of handwritings exhibited by the manuscripts of Vivaldi's instrumental music preserved in Germany and the comments on hands in Ortrun Landmann's recent catalogue of the Dresden holdings (both vocal and instrumental works),¹ and may have wondered why the same attention had not been given long ago to the Foà and Giordano collections in the Biblioteca Nazionale, Turin. Certainly, the need for more information on the many handwritings other than Vivaldi's, in what was, after all, the working stock of music kept by the composer, has been felt more keenly recently, now that the chronology of the music is the agenda of the day,² and since the publication of the first volume of the "great" version of Peter Ryom's catalogue,³ which informs us which passages in a manuscript are in a copyist's hand but divulges no answers to the questions which then naturally arise concerning the activity of the scribe and whether his hand appears in other sources.

There are reasons, perhaps, for the apparent neglect of the numerous non-autograph and partly autograph Italian copies of Vivaldi's music. One is that there has naturally been a preoccupation with the many purely autograph sources. Another, not unrelated to the first, is possibly the implication that, because autograph manuscripts normally possess unimpeachable textual authority, manuscripts at least partly written out in hands other than the composer's are necessarily lacking in textual authority. Such an assumption, harmless perhaps as a general rule of thumb when manuscripts are examined initially, needs

always to be challenged in the case of Vivaldi's music now that evidence is emerging of direct connections between the activities of some scribes and the composer. The crucial question concerning many copies – those for which evidence of collaboration between composer and scribe exists – has become “When and under what circumstances did Vivaldi order these texts to be copied?” rather than merely “Are they versions sanctioned by the composer?”

A third reason is possibly a reluctance to draw conclusions about unnamed scribes about whom very little can ever be known. Those who browse through this article looking for the copyists' identities matched with their hands will be disappointed – except, perhaps, in the case of the most important scribe of all. There is indeed a good chance of identifying several persons, especially the professionals employed by opera houses and the female residents of the Ospedale della Pietà, and the Archivio di Stato in Venice is the obvious place where relevant documentation might be found. But one can hope to associate a scribal hand with a named person listed, for instance, as having received payment for copying on a specific occasion only if one already has some knowledge of the sources in that hand and, from that, a view of the activities and probable status of the person the hand represents. This article is intended to achieve, in part, that necessary first objective; the provisional classification of non-autograph hands and a preliminary concordance of their known appearances will facilitate further investigation. Progress by any other route would appear to be impossible. If we were to wait until the copyists were properly identified before studying and utilising the non-autograph and partly autograph sources in the fullest way, we would wait, in my estimation, for ever.

We would be blind, moreover, to the issue at the heart of the matter: that the significance of a copyist's contribution – its textual authority and its authenticity as the music of the composer concerned – lies not in *who* the copyist was but in *what* he did and *how* and *when* he did it. We may suppose that the Dresden sources in Pisendel's hand would have been recognized as important documents contemporary with Vivaldi's career, and surmised to be the work of a senior member of the *Kapelle* who was also an excellent violinist and composer, even if the existence and identity of Pisendel himself had never been known. A similar logic should govern the investigation of many Italian copies. Though knowledge of the name of any scribe would be welcome, the identity in itself is neither a guarantee of textual accuracy and authority nor necessarily an indication of a source's precise date and place of origin. These are matters to be decided on the combined evidence of

the manuscript's materials, structure and text as well as handwritings, and a simple label for each scribe or his hand – ugly and utilitarian though it may be – will serve our purposes well enough.

A fourth reason for what was described above as the *apparent* neglect of copyists' manuscripts is possibly the lack of a compelling motive – comparable with the desire to research the activities and personnel of the Dresden *Hofkapelle* – which might have prompted a study of the copies in their own right. It would in any case be a fallacious view to think that the copies in Turin should be singled out for an examination of a kind which ignored the nature of the purely autograph sources. The Turin copies do not form the coherent groupings of sources of similar provenance which are clearly discernible among Vivaldi copies preserved elsewhere, and this must be because they originate from many separate and largely unconnected episodes in Vivaldi's career. With most of the other manuscript collections, one can logically expect to find several features which indicate the common origin of the various copies and reflect, of course, the related activities at a single musical establishment, or the work of collaborating copyists during a short period, or even the commissions of a single connoisseur. This factor, normally manifest in the recurrence here and there of relatively few scribal hands, paper-types and rastrographies, facilitates and encourages the study of copies and makes imperative the task of classifying handwritings. Besides the research on the Dresden holdings, the study of Manchester manuscripts proved to be a good example of how necessary it is to analyse the incidence of hands in order to understand a whole repertory of sources.⁴ Another case, currently under investigation, is that of the *Fondo Esposti*, part of the Correr collection preserved in the library of the Conservatorio di Musica "Benedetto Marcello", Venice, whose frequently recurring hands (doubtless including those of residents trained to copy) chart the repertory of the Ospedale della Pietà and its chronology.

The incidence of handwritings among the Turin copies has an utterly different complexion – so different, in fact, that we may suspect that it perplexed others who have studied the Foà and Giordano collections as much as it has perplexed the present writer. Perhaps, then, the copies have not actually been ignored at all, but have remained an enigma very difficult to solve. While recognizing that certain scribes must have worked closely with the composer, observing that a number of hands recur, reminding us of documented copyists who possibly served Vivaldi, and offering advice for the classification of hands, even Ryom reserved judgement on this important issue.⁵

We find, in Turin, a large number of copies partly or entirely

written out by one particular person (here classified as scribe 4) whose hand is known also from manuscripts in Dresden, Manchester, Paris, and Genoa. As for the rest of the Turin copies, it is not much of an exaggeration to say that their hands are almost as numerous as the documents themselves. The first fact proves that Vivaldi assigned tasks to one particular copyist whose services were frequently at his disposal; the second suggests, however, that many other scribes worked for him not on a regular basis but each only for a short period and in some cases, as far as we can judge from extant manuscripts, on one occasion only. These are not contradictory conclusions, but they need to be reconciled. Under what circumstances is it possible for Vivaldi regularly to have commissioned copies from one scribe – throughout virtually the whole of his career, it seems – but also to have been served by a host of other copyists at various times?

The answer – at present an incomplete view but a reasonably clear one all the same – emerges when all relevant factors are considered:

- (1) the nature of the copied texts;
- (2) Vivaldi's interventions, in the case of partly autograph sources;
- (3) non-textual connections between some copies and some of the purely autograph manuscripts;
- (4) the pattern of the known occurrences of the scribal hands – not only among Vivaldi manuscripts but also among contemporary Venetian sources of music by other composers.

A combination of data in these categories can lead to an assessment of each copyist's status and the nature of his association, if any, with the composer; by establishing the scribe's credentials, we may at least decide upon the degree of textual authority and the authenticity of music in his hand even though his identity eludes us.

From the text itself we can rarely be sure whether or not a copy was ordered by the composer and made under his supervision unless some of the music, or at least a few annotations of certain kinds, are in his hand. It is obvious, of course, that a partly autograph source is likely to have been copied by a scribe working directly with Vivaldi, but this conclusion is not necessarily correct if it remains possible that the autograph contributions were notated at a distinctly earlier or later stage. The Turin pasticcio scores, for example, contain certain arias annotated by Vivaldi but whose main texts were probably copied independently some time earlier. As the notes provided below on individual sources make clear, these matters are frequently clarified

considerably when the documents' non-textual characteristics are taken into account; the music-papers of previously-written arias imported from older scores will not match those used for the freshly-notated parts of a pasticcio. I have argued before that some non-autograph copies may perhaps be regarded as no less authoritative than autograph and partly autograph sources if it can be established that the scribes in question must have been closely associated with the composer because they shared with him batches of music-paper, and that non-textual data can also indicate that collaboration between a copyist and the composer probably occurred even though no manuscript exhibiting both hands has survived.⁶ This is one of several ways in which new knowledge of the precise materials of the Turin collection is revealing the relationships of provenance – many indicative of contemporaneity – between the constituent manuscripts.

Clearly, the way to understand the copies in Turin is not to isolate them for separate attention but to accommodate them in an investigation of the textually-discrete autographs with which they belong. We might assume initially that they are mixed with the autographs not by chance or because they were added to the collection by persons other than Vivaldi but because most of them are direct products, like the autographs, of Vivaldi's own activities which he retained for future reference. The wide range of hands exhibited in Turin is also explainable in these terms; its diversity is not surprising when one considers how many musicians with whom Vivaldi must have had contact during his career who, professional copyists or not, would have written out scores and separate parts. And the paucity of sources in many of the hands may simply mean that these persons worked for Vivaldi only occasionally or that their other Vivaldi texts have not survived. It does not necessarily mean that these scribes are exclusively "Vivaldi copyists" or that they hardly ever copied music for anyone. On the contrary, they are likely to be scribes who were normally engaged for copying by many clients, or persons employed by an institution such as the Pietà or under contract to an opera house. The notion that Vivaldi was ever served by assistants whom we may legitimately call "Vivaldi copyists", because on a regular basis they copied his music only, is probably quite false – except in the case of scribe 4.

It was therefore exciting but not particularly surprising to discover recently that some of the Turin hands are exhibited in contemporary Venetian manuscripts of other composers' music preserved elsewhere. Indeed, having consulted as many likely sources in the library of the Conservatorio "Benedetto Marcello" and the Biblioteca Marciana as I could manage during a few weeks' residence in Venice, it is apparent

that the number of known occurrences of certain hands is limited at present only by the time one can afford to spend searching for them. I refer particularly to hands 2, 8, 9, 14, 19 and 21, and their incidence would suggest that they are those of house-copyists employed, on a seasonal basis, by Venetian opera theatres.

Other recent research has confirmed what many extant manuscripts, especially collections of opera arias, suggest: that copies were commissioned from local *copisterie* – firms of scribes who worked together rather in the manner of the medieval *scriptorium* – and that copyists would individually undertake tasks for their clients, composers who lacked regular assistance.⁷ Vivaldi's nephews, Pietro Mauro, Daniele Mauro and Carlo Vivaldi, are known to have been professional scribes active in these ways and to have been associated with other identified copyists in Venice.⁸ We may safely conclude that Carlo Vivaldi, born in 1731, was too young ever to have served Antonio. Pietro (a tenor, “detto il Vivaldi”, who sang in the Pavia and Treviso productions of *Il Farnace*) and Daniele, born in 1715 and 1717 respectively, might have been experienced enough to copy music by the 1730s, and it is perhaps a valid assumption, in view of the family connection, that their hands are represented somewhere in relatively late sources of Vivaldi's music. However, the evidence of extant manuscripts suggests that neither Pietro nor Daniele could have written out much music for their uncle; the hands which occur at least a few times (2, 4, 8 and 9, for instance) are those of persons active by the 1720s.

Another assumption which has been commonly made, that some of the Turin hands are likely to be those of persons associated primarily with the Pietà, must be questioned. The truth is proving difficult to determine because the surviving portions of the institution's repertory within the Fondo Esposti actually include very few manuscripts of the period before the 1730s.⁹ Despite this limitation on the search for evidence, and although the investigation of the Esposti material is not yet far advanced, three points are already apparent. The first is that none of the several handwritings which are recognizably those of *figlie* trained to copy music (particularly into the partbooks used by the Pietà's performers) appears in Turin. They share a uniform, peculiarly awkward and amateurish style of calligraphy quite unlike the fluent and rarely idiosyncratic style of professional Venetian copyists' hands. Secondly, the few Turin hands which have so far been found to be exhibited by manuscripts in the Correr collection are certainly those of professional scribes (8, 9, 14, 19 and 20) whose tasks – the copying of opera arias, for instance – may often have had no connection with the

Pietà. (Some works may have survived in the Esposti *buste* by chance, simply because their composers – Giovanni Porta, for instance – were involved in other professional activities at the time of their appointments at the Pietà). Thirdly, the few non-textual characteristics common to certain Turin and Esposti sources which have so far emerged are indicative, perhaps, of the manuscripts' similar dating but they do not reveal any real connections between the provision of performance materials for the Pietà and the making of copies which Vivaldi retained, for whatever reason, in his personal stock of music.¹⁰

Taken together, these preliminary conclusions suggest that most of the copies in Turin owe their existence to factors other than Vivaldi's intermittent service at the Pietà. Indeed, it appears to be a highly significant fact that the Turin repertoires which most closely reflect Vivaldi's responsibilities at the Ospedale, the concertos and some of the sacred vocal music, include relatively few copies, and that most of the scribes represented by these sources were never involved, it seems, in the copying of operas and other "non-Pietà" pieces by Vivaldi. It is easy to imagine circumstances under which Vivaldi compiled and retained his drafts and autograph fair copies of works intended for the Pietà, while having no claim on, or even a desire to possess, the performance materials copied from his scores by the institution's personnel. To extend the hypothesis, we may suppose that other copies (of cantatas, some concertos, portions of operas and certain sacred vocal pieces) exist in the Foà and Giordano collections because Vivaldi had rights to their ownership, their having been written out by individuals who, at least at those times, were accountable not to an establishment but to *him*.

The question of identity which most urgently requires an answer concerns scribe 4, whose important role in Vivaldi's career has sometimes been noticed but perhaps not properly understood. First dubbed *Schreiber e* by Heller,¹¹ he was noted by Michael Talbot as the copyist of the set of "Manchester" violin sonatas,¹² and Ryom mentioned, but rarely sought to specify, the numerous manuscripts in his hand.¹³ In 1985, the present writer listed 29 sources (four in Manchester, 24 in Turin and one in Genoa) for which this scribe – then labelled "I/4" – was wholly or partly responsible.¹⁴ The conclusions that were drawn then – that he was Vivaldi's trusted assistant on many occasions, and that he operated in the capacity of a "principal copyist", often free of Vivaldi's direct supervision and sometimes with responsibility for coordinating the work of other scribes – remain valid observations. Now, with the benefit of further study and a complete catalogue of his contributions, more may be said.

Quite apart from the various manuscripts scribe 4 produced in collaboration with other copyists, the number of major tasks he undertook by himself is quite extraordinary. They include the making of fair copies for presentation (the sets of Manchester sonatas and Paris concertos without soloist) and others for Vivaldi's own use: large-scale pieces such as *Il Teuzzone*, *L'Atenaide* and *La Sena festeggiante*, besides various concertos and no fewer than ten of the Turin collection's 29 cantata manuscripts – separate documents which seem nevertheless to belong in sets with each other and with certain autographs.¹⁵ Uniquely, scribe 4 added vocal texts to various movements copied by others in the scores of *Arsilda, regina di Ponto* (Foà 35, ff. 173-295) and *Tito Manlio* (Foà 37, ff. 120-306). His role, on such occasions, seems to have been one of supervising his fellow scribes, and in this capacity – and perhaps in others – he deputized for Vivaldi himself.

Hand 4, with its triangular note-heads, slanted stems and rising beams, is a superb example of the elegant yet perfectly legible kind of musical calligraphy generally in vogue in early eighteenth-century Venice. Its sober character remains remarkably consistent throughout so many documents; the scribe's haste on some occasions provoked no noticeable effect in his notation other than a greater spaciousness, and only some modest doodles with the tails of G-clefs on one page of *Il Teuzzone* indicate that he was ever prepared to compromise the professionalism of his presentation.¹⁶ One feature of the scribe's notation allows us to distinguish between his earlier and later documents – a factor of considerable importance to the investigation of the chronology of Vivaldi manuscripts. The copyist's bass clef, in some sources, is large with a loop extending to, or beyond, the lowest line of the staff (see Plate II); in the rest, it is a distinctly smaller form (Plate III). The interpretation of non-textual factors and the likely dates of opera scores indicate that the larger style is the earlier one, and that scribe 4 changed his habit in c. 1717: after he had contributed to the copy-score of *Arsilda, regina di Ponto* (Foà 35, ff. 173-295) but before he penned manuscripts associated with Vivaldi's period in Mantua (1718-20), including several cantatas and the fair copy of *Il Teuzzone*. (In the catalogue for scribe 4, below, the large-clef sources are marked with an asterisk).

Any composer may eventually come to rely heavily on the services of an excellent and long-serving copyist, but there is no evidence to suggest that Vivaldi ever treated scribe 4 as an inexperienced novice whose work needed to be closely supervised and possibly corrected, or that the scribe himself was ever in any doubt about the nature of the music he copied or the ideal manner in which Vivaldi intended it to be

presented. This observation supports what the scribe's consistently mature, neat and accurate handwriting indicates: that he was a professional musician, possibly of more advanced years than Vivaldi himself, who had mastered his craft before the 1710s. Vivaldi sources exhibiting hand 4 date from the early 1710s (the score of the Ristorigi Vivaldi *Orlando furioso* of 1713/14, for example) through to c. 1730 (the 1731 version of *Il Farnace*). There is good reason to suspect, moreover, that scribe 4 was already a competent copyist by the beginning of the eighteenth century. The Turin volumes contain several pieces not composed by Vivaldi, and one of these, a score of Bernabei's Offertorium, *Ad te levavi* (RV Anh. 36), is a copy made by scribe 4 with the attribution "Joseph Antonij/Bernabei 1701" in his hand on the last page. Like any other feature of the text, the date itself was probably transcribed from the exemplar, for scribe 4 was not in the habit of adding completion dates to his manuscripts. However, because the learned, polyphonic style of the music cannot have remained in vogue for long, we may suppose that the score's date is likely to be much closer to 1701 than to c. 1717, a *terminus* based on the appearance of the bass clefs.

Two further conclusions, both undoubtedly of significance to the person's identity, may be drawn about the work of scribe 4. One, the fact that this copyist was involved, to varying degrees, in the compilation of all opera scores of the period from 1713 to 1731 which survive in the Turin collection (except, of course, for those which are entirely autograph),¹⁷ is an unequivocal indication of how centrally he was involved in Vivaldi's most important work and how close his personal relationship with the composer must have been. The second is that scribe 4 appears not to have been active in the ways other scribes were active – at the disposal of various theatres, institutions and composer-clients – and that he should not be regarded, therefore, as a professional copyist of a typical kind. In stark contrast to the frequency with which certain Venetian hands (2, 8, 9 and 14, for instance) appear in manuscripts unconnected with Vivaldi, hand 4 occurs nowhere, to the best of our knowledge, *except* in sources of Vivaldi's works and music by others which Vivaldi possessed. Notwithstanding the possibility that further manuscripts exhibiting hand 4 may yet come to light and create a different impression, it seems that the mere presence of hand 4 in a musical document betokens Vivaldi's authorship or at least his involvement in the activity to which the document relates.

Who was this man who worked for Vivaldi so exclusively? How did the composer manage – and afford – to retain his services for so many years? Why is hand 4 so noticeably absent from contemporary

Venetian manuscript repertoires other than the Foà and Giordano collections? The most persuasive answer to all these questions is that scribe 4 must have been a member of Vivaldi's family: someone who had a genuine and long-standing interest, largely free from financial considerations, in supporting the composer's career.

In the present writer's view, the obvious candidate is none other than Giovanni Battista Vivaldi, Antonio's father and ever-present mentor whose own musical career seems entirely compatible with the dating and nature of the sources in hand 4 and the circumstances in which they were created. Born in 1655, he was by 1701 a musician of considerable talent and experience, perfectly able, one assumes, to copy music neatly, rapidly and accurately. Perhaps he was much more to Antonio than his violin teacher and early advisor; he is suspected, after all, of being instrumental in establishing, in the early 1710s, his son's association with the S. Angelo opera house,¹⁸ and he was perfectly placed, as one of Venice's most respected musicians, to exploit his professional contacts for the advancement of Antonio's career. But even if he did not act as his son's agent in this sense, Giovanni Battista was undoubtedly available – sometimes, at least – to undertake important tasks, such as the making of accurate fair copies, when Antonio needed impeccably reliable assistance. A benefit of his employment as one of the principal violinists in the orchestra of S. Marco would have been a certain amount of free time; a disadvantage was the need to supplement his modest salary, and he is known to have taken opportunities to earn more lucrative fees elsewhere.¹⁹ Perhaps, then, he was not averse to accepting payments from his son, and such transactions, if they were necessary at all, would have been equally advantageous to Antonio because of their informality and lower-than-average rates.

Antonio would have had access to any music belonging to his father, works which might have influenced his own compositions or offered ideas appropriate for borrowing. This is an explanation, perhaps, of the existence in the Turin collection of Bernabei's Offertorium and a later manuscript, also in hand 4, of the unattributed Introitus, RV Anh. 37. Even if these pieces of music had no connection with Antonio's activities, he might have retained them simply because they are in his father's hand.

Blessed with longevity, Giovanni Battista could have continued to copy for Antonio until the 1730s. We know, after all, that on 30 September, 1729, he was granted the permission of the procurators of S. Marco to take a year's leave of absence in order to accompany a son of his to "Germania", a trip that was surely Antonio Vivaldi's visit to

Bohemia in c. 1730-31.²⁰ Although none of the 14 manuscripts of putative Bohemian provenance which survive in Turin exhibits hand 4,²¹ there is no reason to doubt that Giovanni Battista's services included copying on this or any other occasion when he travelled in Antonio's company.

One question remains. Did Giovanni Battista continue to assist his son in the years immediately prior to his death on 14 May, 1736?²² Old age impairs the faculties of even healthy persons, and there is little doubt that during the 1730s the handwriting of Vivaldi Senior, then in his late seventies, would have deteriorated. If hand 4 is that of Vivaldi's father, we may suppose that *another* hand exhibited in late Vivaldi sources might be his too. As anyone who has ever studied handwritings knows, it is difficult enough sometimes to identify as the same the specimens of a single hand which occur in separate documents; it is even more difficult, and often impossible, to be certain that two handwritings which are not entirely similar represent, in reality, a single writer. Since it is better in such cases to err on the side of caution, I have classified separately the distinct handwriting which I believe is likely to be that of scribe 4 in the 1730s. Hand 5 (Plate IV) possesses a marked resemblance to hand 4, yet it has the frail shakiness, particularly noticeable in the way curly braces, barlines and beams are drawn, of an aged person. Our view that hand 5 is that of the elderly scribe 4 need not be based only on the hands' similarity, however, and it is probably no coincidence that, for texts in *Dorilla in Tempe*, "scribe 5" appears to have been given the kind of responsibility which we associate primarily with scribe 4. For this pasticcio of 1734, he was the only scribe other than Antonio Vivaldi himself to write out any portion of recitative and to add vocal texts to arias whose musical parts had been notated in other hands, and it was to him that the possibly critical task of copying eight *cori* was assigned. Several factors, some non-textual, variously suggest or indicate that the remaining sources in hand 5 equally belong to the early 1730s; Ryom has identified one of the three discarded violin parts for arias as music from *Semiramide* (Carnival, 1732) and another as possibly belonging to *Mo[n]tezuma* (1733).²³

The dates fit; the arguments have some sense. But only the discovery of a document showing, indisputably, the handwriting of Giovanni Battista Vivaldi will prove true or false the hypothesis that Antonio was so greatly indebted to his father.

* * *

The following catalogue is in two parts: (a) a description of the division of labour for Turin opera scores which each exhibit several

hands; (b) a list of known occurrences of each hand. The catalogue deals only with copyists in the following categories:

- (1) scribes known or suspected to have been associated directly with Vivaldi, *whose hands are each found in more than one source*;
- (2) other scribes whose hands appear with those of copyists in category 1.

The consequence of this selection is that many copyists *whose hands have figured in the investigation on which this article is based* are omitted from consideration here. They include (i) other scribes just as likely to have worked directly with Vivaldi but whose hands are each known from one source only; (ii) scribes, represented by certain Italian sources of Vivaldi's music preserved in Venice, Naples, Assisi, Genoa, Udine, Cividale del Friuli and Manchester, who are unlikely to have been associated with the composer; (iii) scribes responsible for Vivaldi sources in the Fondo Esposti, whose contributions have not yet been adequately assessed; (iv) scribes who may not have been Italian – those who penned certain Vivaldi manuscripts preserved in Vienna, for instance. The search for occurrences of hands has taken account of as many Vivaldi manuscripts as possible (those located in Turin, Dresden, Paris, Wiesentheid, Berlin, Schwerin, Darmstadt, Graz, Lund, Stockholm, Uppsala, Trondheim, London and Washington, in addition to the centres mentioned above) and a number of Italian manuscripts (in Turin, Venice and Manchester) of music by other composers. Many pertinent sources, particularly collections of opera arias, remain to be examined, however, and supplementary articles which update the present catalogue and add new hands to the list will undoubtedly be required.²⁴

The order in which copyists are classified with numbers is only minimally significant. It takes account of some labels previously adopted in connection with Manchester sources ("1" is reserved for Vivaldi himself), and it places high in the sequence the scribes whose hands most frequently occur. In the interests of brevity, the contributions of each scribe and the role of Vivaldi are described in summarized form (with an inevitable loss of possibly important details), and very few of the arguments which can be made concerning collaboration between persons are offered. Brief reference is made to some of the evidence of source-relationships, but it is beyond the scope of this report to divulge the precise data (including paper-types and rastrographies) on which conclusions concerning the manuscripts' structure, provenance and dating are based. In this connection, the term "music-paper" is used strictly to mean a batch of paper with one particular rastrography.²⁵

Opera scores

RV 700, *Arsilda regina di Ponto* [Venice, S. Angelo, Autumn 1716]. *I-Tn*; Foà 35, ff. 173-295: a copy probably made shortly after the completion of the autograph score (Foà 35, ff. 2-172),²⁶ showing collaboration between scribe 4 and each of the other three copyists, and between scribes 8 and 32.

Hand 4 ff. 173r-188v (Plate II): Act I Sc. 1-3, and the recitative in Sc. 4; ff. 204r-218v: vocal texts – of both recitatives and arias – added to music in hand 8 (Act I Sc. 11-15); ff. 260r-265v: Act II Sc. 12-14; ff. 268r-289r: conclusion of the recitative in Act III Sc. 2 begun in hand 33, the rest of Sc. 2, Sc. 3-8, and the beginning of Sc. 9 on f. 289r (recitative, bars 1-6 and all clefs on the page); ff. 295r-v: *coro* concluding Act III, except for the upper six clefs and time-signatures on f. 295r, in hand 32.

Hand 8 ff. 199r-200v: the aria *La tiranna avversa sorte* in Act I Sc. 7 (except for the upper two clefs, key-signatures and time-signatures, in hand 32, on f. 199r), and the opening movement of Sc. 8, *So ben io qual pena sia*; ff. 204r-218v: the music (to which scribe 4 added all vocal texts) of Act I Sc. 11-15; ff. 220r-259v (Plate V): Act II Sc. 1-11; ff. 289r-v: the conclusion (from bar 6) of the recitative in Act III Sc. 9, begun by scribe 4.

Hand 32 ff. 189r-199r: the aria *Fingi d'aver un cor* in Act I Sc. 4, Sc. 5-6, the recitative in Sc. 7, the aborted version (9 bars, deleted, on f. 198v) of the subsequent aria *La tiranna avversa sorte*, and the upper two clefs, key-signatures and time-signatures on f. 199r of the retained version of the aria (completed by scribe 8); ff. 201r-203r: the conclusion of Sc. 8 in Act I, and Sc. 9-10; ff. 290r-295r (Plate XXI): Act III Sc. 10-11, the recitative in the *Scena ultima* (Sc. 12), and the upper six clefs and time-signatures (f. 295r) of the *coro* completed by scribe 4.

Hand 33 ff. 266r-268r (Plate XXII): Act III Sc. 1 (recitative) and the beginning of Sc. 2 (recitative, bars 1-40) continued in hand 4.

RV 703, *Il Bajazet* [pasticcio, Verona, Carnival 1735]. *I-Tn*; Giord. 36, ff. 141-292, a score inscribed “Musica di Auttori diuersi” in Vivaldi’s hand.²⁷

Nine scribes were responsible for the manuscript’s ten copied arias – including two attributed to Hasse and one to Giacomelli – and two copied recitatives, but the wide diversity of origin implicit in this statistic does not necessarily mean that all of these portions were extracted from existing scores of other works. Conversely, the fact that eight of the arias penned by copyists possess vocal texts (in five cases replacing the scribes’ original words) and various annotations added by Vivaldi does not necessarily signify that they were written to his order in connection with the production of *Il Bajazet*, or that their scribes had any contact with him at the time. However, by analysing the

distribution of the score's 13 varieties of music-paper we can at least distinguish between the scribes who probably did collaborate with Vivaldi on this occasion and those who almost certainly did not. Scribes 35, 36 and 38 belong to the former category because their contributions employ music-papers used by Vivaldi alone for music elsewhere in the score. The working relationship between scribe 37 and Vivaldi is suggested by the fact that the music-paper used by the copyist is found also in the autograph scores of RV 684 and RV 725, *L'Olimpiade*.²⁸ The remaining copyists are placed in the latter category because the music-papers of their arias are not exhibited elsewhere among the Turin manuscripts and other Vivaldi sources so far examined.

a) Portions seemingly copied in connection with the production of *Il Bajazet*:

Hand 35 ff. 150r-153v (Plate XXIV): music of one of two arias supplied for Act I Sc. 1, to which Vivaldi added the vocal text *Del destin non dee lagnarsi*, dynamics and trills.

Hand 36 f. 160v: a five-bar recitative added to the end of Sc. 2 in Act I.

Hand 37 ff. 225r-226r (Plate XXV): recitative and aria *Vedersi abbandonare* [Porpora, *Annibale* (1731), Act II Sc. 8],²⁹ in Act II Sc. 7.

Hand 38 ff. 254r-257r (Plate XXVI): music of the aria in Act III Sc. 1, to which Vivaldi added the vocal text *Veder parmi or che nel fondo* and dynamic markings.

b) Portions imported from scores probably written independently of Vivaldi [identifications in square brackets after Strohm,³⁰ unless otherwise noted]:

Hand 13 ff. 164r-169v: aria *In sì torbida procella* [Giacomelli, *Alessandro Severo* (1732)] in Act I Sc. 3, with a substitute vocal text in the second section and dynamic markings in Vivaldi's hand.

Hand 50 ff. 191r-196v: aria *Qual guerriero in campo armato* [R. Broschi, *Idaspe* (1730)] in Act I Sc. 11, with dynamic markings and crossings-out in Vivaldi's hand; ff. 227r-230r: aria *Sposa non mi conosci* [Giacomelli, *Merope* (1734)] inscribed "Farinello" [sic] (Act II Sc. 7), with a substitute vocal text (*Sposa son disprezzata*), dynamic markings and deletions in Vivaldi's hand.

Hand 51 ff. 198r-201r: aria *Non hò nel sen costanza* inscribed "del Sig.^e Geminiano Jacomelli" [from *Adriano in Siria* (1733)] in Act I Sc. 12.

Hand 52 ff. 215r-218v and 260r-267r: two arias (*La sorte mia spietata* in Act II Sc. 4 and *Spesso trà vaghe rose* in Act III Sc. 3), both inscribed "Sig.^e Farinello" [sic] and "Del Sig.^e Sassone" [from *Siroe* (1733)], and exhibiting various alterations, in Vivaldi's hand, to the vocal texts.

Hand 53 ff. 270r-273v: aria *Barbaro traditor* [Giacomelli, *La Merope* (1734), Act I Sc. 11]³¹ in Act III Sc. 4, with revisions to the vocal text and other annotations in Vivaldi's hand.

RV 709, Dorilla in Tempe [pasticcio, Venice, S. Angelo, Carnival 1734]. *I-Tn*; Foà 39, ff. 142-295.³²

The correlations between the incidence of handwritings (Vivaldi's and those of four scribes) and the materials and structure of the score are most interesting. They show not only how the several entirely non-autograph arias – including some not composed by Vivaldi³³ – were copied on separate quires for insertion into the score at suitable places; they indicate also that, because Vivaldi himself used the same materials for recitatives, these portions and those which are partly autograph are likely to have been copied to his order and mostly under his supervision. In short, there is evidence of collaboration between Vivaldi and each of the four copyists, though it remains possible that these collaborations are not all of the same date. (Identifications in square brackets after Strohm).³⁴

Vivaldi's hand all recitatives except f. 171r (Act I Sc. 4), in hand 5; vocal texts added to some of the arias copied in other hands (see below); annotations on the copied portions.

Hand 2 ff. 161r-164r: aria *La speranza ch'in me sento*, in Act I Sc. 3 (Plate I); ff. 212r-215r: aria *Come l'onde in mezzo al mar*, in Act II Sc. I.

Hand 5 [= hand of the elderly scribe 4?] ff. 154r-159v: the opening portion (ff. 154r-155r, bars 1-37) and the whole vocal text of the aria *Mi lusinga il dolce affetto* [Hasse, *Catone in Utica* (1732)] in Act I Sc. 2, otherwise in hand 39; f. 171r: recitative in Act I Sc. 4; ff. 204v-205r, 206v-207r (Plate IV), 249v-250v, 252r-253r, 256r-v, 257r, 290v-291v and 293r: eight *cori*; ff. 254r-v: the beginning of the *Sinfonia al Ballo*, completed in hand 40; ff. 230r-233r: the textless aria for Dorilla in Act II Sc. 6, annotated with dynamic markings and crossings-out in Vivaldi's hand; ff. 235r-238v: bars 1-5 (f. 235r) and the whole vocal text of the aria *Bel piacer sarai d'un core* (Act II Sc. 7), otherwise in hand 40; ff. 172r-177r, 186r-189v and 217r-220v: vocal texts only in arias copied in hands 39 and 40 (see below).

Hand 39 ff. 142r-151r (Plate XXVII): the *sinfonia* (except for initial titles, in Vivaldi's hand, on f. 142r), and the music of Act I Sc. 1 to which Vivaldi added the vocal texts; ff. 155r-159v: completion of the music (from bar 37) of the aria *Mi lusinga il dolce affetto* [Hasse, *Catone in Utica* (1732)] in Act I Sc. 2, begun by scribe 5 who added the whole vocal text; ff. 172r-177r: the music of the aria in Act I Sc. 4, *Se al mio ben rivolgo il ciglio*, with a vocal text supplied by scribe 5 and various annotations in Vivaldi's hand; ff. 192r-195r, 240r-243r, 269r-272v and 275r-278r: four arias, in Act I Sc. 8, Act II Sc. 8, Act III Sc. 4 and Sc.

6, respectively; ff. 259r-264r and 280r-287r: the music of the arias in Act III Sc. 1 and 7, to which Vivaldi added the vocal texts *Col piacer del tuo comando* and *Non hà più pace il cor amante* [Hasse, *Caio Fabricio* (1732)], respectively.

Hand 40 ff. 166r-170v (Plate XXVIII), 197r-200v, 225r-228v and 245r-248r: the music of four arias (Act I Sc. 3 and 9, and Act II Sc. 5 and 9) to which Vivaldi added the vocal texts, respectively *Dall'orrido soggiorno*, *Rete lacci e strali adopra* [Giacomelli, *Alessandro Severo* (1732), originally *Forte lume esposto al vento*], *Se ostinata a me resisti* and *Non vo' ch'un infedele* [also Giacomelli, *Alessandro Severo*]; ff. 186r-189v and 217r-220v: the music of two arias (Act I Sc. 7 and Act II Sc. 2) to which scribe 5 added the vocal texts *Saprò ben con petto forte* and *Vorrei da' lacci sciogliere*, the last inscribed "Leo" [from his *Demetrio* (1732)]; ff. 235r-238v: the music (from bar 5) of the aria *Bel piacer sarai d'un core*, in Act II Sc. 7, marked "Largo" by Vivaldi and otherwise notated by scribe 5 who added the vocal text; ff. 254v-255v: the conclusion, from bar 17, of the *Sinfonia al Ballo* begun in hand 5.

RV 711, II Farnace. I-Tn; Giord. 36, ff. 2-139, a score representing the version of Pavia, May 1731.³⁵

Vivaldi wrote out much of this manuscript himself – most recitatives, several arias and some whole sections (particularly Act II Sc. 10-13 and Act III Sc. 5-10) are purely autograph – while closely supervising the copying of the other portions, on the same varieties of music paper, by scribes 4, 8, 41 and 42. He annotated virtually all of the copyists' contributions with dynamic markings, bass figures and cues for continuo instruments, and supplied the vocal parts, or at least the vocal texts, for most of the arias.

Hand 4 ff. 13v-18v: aria *Combattono quest'alma*, in Act I Sc. 2 (with autograph dynamics), and the *coro* in Sc. 3.

Hand 8 ff. 2r-5v: the *sinfonia* except for the final movement – added later – in Vivaldi's hand (f. 6); ff. 21r-22r: music of the *coro* in Act I Sc. 5, with an autograph vocal text; ff. 24v-28v, 43v-46v, 48r-49v, 62v-64v, 65v-68v, 71r-73v and 92v with 97r-98v: music of seven arias (in Act I Sc. 7, 12 and 13, and Act II Sc. 3, 4, 6 and 13, respectively) to which Vivaldi added the vocal texts; ff. 33r-36v: aria *Al vezzeggiar d'un volto*, in Act I Sc. 9, except for the vocal part (music and words) and various annotations in Vivaldi's hand; ff. 58r-60r: aria *Lascia di sospirar*, in Act II Sc. 1, except for the autograph vocal part (music and words) and various revisions of the first violin part; ff. 74r-77r: the music of Act II Sc. 7, except for bars 1-6 of the recitative (f. 74r) and all vocal texts in Vivaldi's hand; ff. 100r-105r: the duet in Act II Sc. 14 except for the vocal texts and initial passages of the vocal parts (f. 100v) in Vivaldi's hand.

Hand 41 ff. 78v-80r (Plate XXIX): aria *Arsa da rai cocenti*, in Act II Sc. 9; ff.

93v-96v: instrumental parts for an inserted aria for Act II Sc. 13, *Amorosa e men irata*, with the opening bar, the entire vocal part (words and music) and various annotations in Vivaldi's hand; ff. 112r-114r: aria *Forse, o caro, in questi accenti* (Act III Sc. 2), with autograph annotations; ff. 115r-116v: the music (from bar 10) of the inserted aria *Quel torrente che s'innalza*, except for the opening, the vocal text and a passage of f. 116r in Vivaldi's hand; ff. 122r-124v: instrumental parts for the aria *Ti vantasti mio guerriero* (Act III Sc. 4), with an autograph vocal part (both words and music).

Hand 42 ff. 118r-120v (Plate XXX): music of the aria in Act III Sc. 3, *Scherza l'aura lusinghiera*, with an autograph vocal text; ff. 138r-v: the *coro* at the end of Act III.

RV 731, Rosmira fedele [pasticcio, Venice, S. Angelo, Carnival 1738]. *I-Tn*; Foà 36, ff. 2-126.³⁶

It is possible with this score (as with the manuscript of *Il Bajazet*, see above) to distinguish between copyists' contributions probably written to Vivaldi's order and those almost certainly extracted from existing scores.

- a) Portions seemingly copied in connection with the production of *Rosmira* (on a variety of music-paper used by Vivaldi alone elsewhere in the score):

Hand 19 ff. 46r-49v (Plate XV): aria *Lascia Clomiri bella* (Act I Sc. 12), to which Vivaldi added new words, *Sempre la fiamma è bella*.

Hand 45 ff. 52r-55v (Plate XXXIII): aria in Act I Sc. 15, *È follia se nascondete* (a vocal text known from *Catone in Utica* (Verona, May 1737), Act I Sc. 2).

- b) Portions perhaps copied to Vivaldi's order (using a single variety of music-paper):

Hand 46 ff. 36r-43v (Plate XXXIV): aria "Del S:^e Handel", *Già risonar d'intorno*, in Act I Sc. 11, to which Vivaldi added the vocal text *Già risvegliar à sdegno* and made various revisions.

Hand 47 ff. 112r-116r (Plate XXXV): the music of the aria in Act III Sc. 2, with, in Vivaldi's hand, both the original vocal text, *Il labbro ti lusinga* (crossed out), and its replacement, *La bella mia nemica*.

- c) Portions imported from scores probably written independently of Vivaldi (each on a variety of music-paper not exhibited elsewhere among Turin manuscripts and unknown from other Vivaldi sources so far examined):

Hand 21 ff. 88r-91v (Plate XVII): aria "Del Sig.^r Gio Sassone", *Se frà turbini d'atra procella* (Act II Sc. 7).

Hand 54 ff. 2r-8v: *Introdutione* inscribed "Di Girolamo Micheli", with a bass part in Vivaldi's hand on f. 6r relating to the *coro* in Act I Sc. 1.

Hand 55 ff. 20r-23v: aria in Act I Sc. 7, *Sò che io son figlia* inscribed "del Sig. Antonio Mazzoni", to which Vivaldi added a new vocal text, *Sei caro all'or che serbi*.

Hand 56 ff. 30r-33v: aria in Act I Sc. 11, *Bramar di perdere* inscribed "del Sig. Gius.^o Ant.^o Paganelli", to which Vivaldi added a new vocal text, *Aver un anima ch'è tutta affetto*.

Hand 57 ff. 63r-66v: aria *Il mio caro e dolce amore*, Act II Sc. 1.

Hand 58 ff. 75r-78r: aria *Prigionier che fa ritorno*, Act II Sc. 4.

Hand 59 ff. 80r-83v: aria "Del Sig.^o / Gio Batta / Pergolese" [sic], *Che non mi disse un di* (altered in Vivaldi's hand to *Amor mi disse un di*), in Act II Sc. 5.

Hand 60 ff. 94r-96v: aria inscribed "Ferrara 1738. nel Siroe. Scena 13.^a Atto 3.^o [space] Ant.^o Pampino Mto di Capla di Fermo:", *Torrente cresciuto*, to which Vivaldi added new words, *Leone sdegnoso per orrida strage* (Act II Sc. 8).

RV 736, II Teuzzone [Mantua, Carnival 1719]. *I-Tn*; Foà 33, ff. 2-141. Possibly a pasticcio, with arias by Orlandini.³⁷

The structure of the manuscript, as it has come down to us, is most complex. The score seems originally to have been a copy prepared by scribe 4 under Vivaldi's supervision, exhibiting one aria with an autograph vocal text (ff. 108r-109v) and an entirely autograph aria (ff. 116-118) replacing the aria in Act III Sc. 5 at first notated by the scribe. Autograph deletions, excisions from the original gatherings and inserted leaves of different music-papers show that Vivaldi later made several further revisions to the score (mainly by substituting new arias), and that he was assisted in this task again by scribe 4 and also by scribes 10 and 11.

Autograph revisions (except the removal of leaves, deletions of text and new inscriptions and annotations here and there) ff. 21-22: aria in Act I Sc. 6; f. 51v: a new recitative (later deleted) in Act I *Scena ultima*, continued in hand 10; ff. 80-81: opening clefs and the entire vocal part for an aria in Act II Sc. 12,

completed in hand 10; ff. 111-114: aria in Act III Sc. 4; ff. 123-124: aria in Act III Sc. 7; ff. 127-129: a substitute recitative in Act III Sc. 9 and the vocal text of the subsequent aria (music in hand 10).

Late text in hand 4 f. 5: a movement added to Act I Sc. 1; ff. 12-14: aria with autograph annotations in Act I Sc. 3; ff. 71-72: aria in Act II Sc. 9; ff. 93-95: aria in the final scene of Act II.

Hand 10 ff. 30-32: the music of an aria in Act I Sc. 8 with an autograph vocal text; f. 51v: the continuation of a recitative begun by Vivaldi; ff. 80-81: aria in Act II Sc. 12 except for the initial clefs and the entire vocal part (autograph); ff. 97-98: new music beginning Act III Sc. 1; ff. 127-129: music of an aria in Act III Sc. 9 with an autograph vocal text.

Hand 11 a patch of paper affixed to f. 48v: a substitute recitative in Act I *Scena ultima*.

RV 738, Tito Manlio [Mantua, Carnival 1719].³⁸ *I-Tn*; Foà 37, ff. 120-306. A copy, comprising diverse music-papers, made by copyists 4, 10, 11, 12 and 48 under Vivaldi's supervision. It shows clear evidence of collaboration between scribes 4 and 48, 10 and 11, 10 and 12, and 11 and 12.

Autog.: occasional annotations, and the violin part for an aria, ff. 245v-248v, otherwise notated in hand 12.

Hand 4 ff. 120r-127r (Plate III): Act I Sc. 1-2, and bars 1-40 of the recitative commencing Sc. 3; ff. 131v-133r, 135r-140r, 141r-142v and 162r-165v: the vocal texts of arias in Act I Sc. 4-6 & 12, added to music in hand 48 (Plate XXXVI).

Hand 10 ff. 148v-149v (Plate VII): the music only of bars 15-31 of the aria in Act I Sc. 8, *Orribile lo scempio*, otherwise notated in hand 12; ff. 212r-213v: Act II Sc. 8; ff. 225r-228r: Act II Sc. 12 and bars 1-48 of the recitative in Sc. 13 (completed in hand 11); ff. 243r-244r: an initial movement in Act III (written on a separate bifolio inserted before Sc. 1), *Sonno se pur sei sonno e non orrore*; ff. 295r-305v: Act III Sc. 13-15.

Hand 11 ff. 158r-161v (Plate VIII): Act I Sc. 11 and the recitative in Sc. 12; ff. 166r-181r: Act I Sc. 13-14; ff. 214r-224v: Act II Sc. 9-11; ff. 228v-229r: the completion, from bar 49, of the recitative in Act II Sc. 13, begun in hand 10; ff. 231r-v: bars 1-21 (except the words in bars 20-21) of the recitative in Act III Sc. 14, completed in hand 12; ff. 261r-294v: Act III Sc. 3-8, the recitative in Sc. 9, and most of the text (bar 1-55 and the upper instrumental parts only from bar 56) of the subsequent aria, *Ti lascerei*, completed in hand 12; ff. 292v-294v: Act III Sc. 12.

Hand 12 ff. 127r-130v: end (from bar 40) of the recitative in Act I Sc. 3, and the aria *Perché t'amo mia bella, mia vita*, with autograph cues for the continuo instruments; f. 131r: the superscription "Scena Quarta / Seruilia Sola" above music in hand 48; ff. 145r-157v: Act I Sc. 8-10, except for the music of bars 15-31 (ff. 148v-149v) of the aria in Sc. 8, *Orribile lo scempio*, written in hand 10 (Plate VII); ff. 182r-211v (Plate IX): Act II Sc. 1-7; ff. 229v-230v: aria *No che non morirà* (Act II Sc. 13); ff. 231v-242r: the completion, from bar 20 of the recitative, of Act II Sc. 14 (begun in hand 11), and Sc. 15-18; ff. 245r-260v: Act III Sc. 1-2, with, in the aria *Tu dormi in tante pene* (Sc. 1, ff. 245v-248v), an obbligato violin part in Vivaldi's hand; ff. 285r-292r: the completion (vocal and *basso* parts only, from bar 56) of the aria in Act III Sc. 9 begun in hand 11, and Sc. 10 & 11.

Hand 48 ff. 131r-144r (Plate XXXVI): Act I Sc. 4-7, except for the superscription on f. 131r in hand 12 and the vocal texts, in hand 4, of three arias (*Liquore ingrato*, *Alla caccia d'un bell'adorato* and *È pur dolce ad un'anima amante*, Sc. 4-6 respectively); ff. 162r-165v: music of the aria in Act I Sc. 12, to which scribe 4 added the vocal text *L'intendo e non l'intendo*.

G.A. Ristori & Vivaldi: Orlando furioso, RV Anh. 84 [Venice, S. Angelo, Autumn 1713 and Autumn 1714]. *I-Tn*; Giord. 37, ff. 162-250, Acts I & II only.

Reinhard Strohm has pointed out that Vivaldi, as the impresario with control over the S. Angelo theatre for the 1713-14 season, must have been thoroughly involved in the initial production of *Orlando furioso* which opened on 7 November, 1713, and that some of the music hitherto regarded as Ristori's is therefore likely to have been his own.³⁹ Evidence supporting this view is to be found in the correlation between the handwritings and the structure and materials of the surviving score which represents, in part, both the 1713 and 1714 versions, and there is good reason to believe that Vivaldi supervised the compilation of the manuscript in its original state. As has been argued above, the mere appearance of hand 4 in any document appears to be a sign of (Antonio) Vivaldi's involvement – if not necessarily of his authorship – and in the present case this scribe was responsible for many of the recitatives and arias seemingly copied for the earlier production as well as new texts inserted for the revival of the work on 1 December, 1714.

The difficult question of whether the score possesses any text in Vivaldi's own hand actually notated in 1713 remains unresolved, however. His annotations on pages copied by scribe 61 could equally date from 1713 or 1714, and the same argument applies also to the inserted *coro* – employing single leaves of two varieties of music-paper not found elsewhere in the score – in Act II Sc. 13 (*Al fragor de' corni audaci*, ff. 236r-237r), which has a vocal text common to both librettos.⁴⁰

The apparent division of labour, for the compilation of the score in two

stages (or possibly three, if scribe 61 worked separately), is described below. In addition to the scribes specified, one further person (scribe 62) was responsible for writing, on f. 196r, a brief revision of the vocal part for *Porta il sol del tuo sembiante*. Since this aria appears to have been in both versions, it is impossible to determine when the revision was notated.

1) *Surviving portions of the score in its earlier state* [1713]. (Passages which now appear deleted presumably remained intact at the time). There is ample evidence of collaboration between scribes 4 and 49, who, for the texts listed here, used a single batch of music-paper. No such evidence links copyist 61 with this activity, however, and it is possible that the portions of the score in his hand (most of Act II, comprising a variety of music-paper not found elsewhere) originally had nothing to do with either Vivaldi or scribe 4 and were perhaps appropriated from a quite separate source. The *coro* notated by Vivaldi on ff. 236r-237r and at least some of his annotations made on pages copied by scribe 61 might conceivably date from 1713, though there appears to be no proof of this.

Hand 4 ff. 162r-163v and 166r-167v: Act I Sc. 1 (with deleted aria), and the recitative in Sc. 2; ff. 170r-171v and 173r-181v: the end of the aria (deleted) in Act I Sc. 2, Sc. 3 (with deleted aria), Sc. 4-6 (with deletions); f. 184r; the end (deleted) of an aria (Act I Sc. 7?), copied in collaboration with scribe 49; f. 190v: the beginning (deleted) of an aria (Act I Sc. 9), except for the initial clefs and time-signatures (hand 49); ff. 193r-198v: violin and viola parts for the aria *Porta il sol del tuo sembiante* (Act I Sc. 10), copied in collaboration with scribe 49; f. 202r: the violin and viola clefs and the first violin part for the end (deleted) of an aria (Act I Sc. 11) copied in collaboration with scribe 49; f. 204r: the violin clefs and the viola part for the end (deleted) of the aria in Act I Sc. 12, otherwise notated in hand 49; ff. 218r-v: the aria in Act II Sc. 5, *Piangerò sin che l'onda del pianto*.

Hand 49 ff. 184r-186v: the end (deleted) of an aria (Act I Sc. 7?), copied in collaboration with scribe 4, and the beginning of the recitative in Act I Sc. 8 (Plate XXXVII); ff. 189r-190v: the conclusion of Act I Sc. 8 (with deleted aria), the recitative in Sc. 9, and the initial clefs and time-signatures at the opening (deleted) of the subsequent aria otherwise notated in hand 4; ff. 192r-199v: Act I Sc. 10, except for the violin and viola parts (in hand 4) for the aria *Porta il sol del tuo sembiante*; ff. 202r-v: the vocal and *basso* parts for the end (deleted) of the aria in Act I Sc. 11 (with other parts in hand 4), and the recitative in Sc. 12; ff. 204r-v: the vocal part and the clef of the *basso* part (otherwise blank) of the end (deleted) of the aria in Act I Sc. 12 (with other parts in hand 4), and the recitative in Sc. 13.

Hand 61 ff. 206r-217v: Act II Sc. 1-5; ff. 219r-235v: Act II Sc. 7-13; ff. 238r-250v: the rest of Act II, from Sc. 14.

2) *Later portions of the score* [1714]. Non-textual data provide evidence that Vivaldi was closely assisted by scribe 4 in the adaptation of the score, and that the nine inserted arias in their hands were written out at about the time when Vivaldi was preparing – again with a little help from scribe 4 – revisions of the Turin score of *Orlando finto pazzo*, RV 727 (discussed in the catalogue of sources for *Scribe 4*). Eight of the inserted arias (four in Vivaldi's hand, four in hand 4) are incomplete texts, sometimes giving merely vocal and *basso* incipits, probably intended as guides for the copying, with certain revisions, of performance materials from other exemplars. The ninth, ff. 191r-v, was probably imported from another score, being a complete aria with a replacement vocal text.

Vivaldi's hand ff. 164r-165v, 200r-201v, 203r and 205r: incomplete arias (Act I Sc. 1 and 11-13, respectively); ff. 191r-v: aria in Act I Sc. 9, *È la brama in chi ben ama* replacing the deleted vocal text *Belle aurette, fresche erbette*. All deletions (mentioned above) of earlier text must surely relate to the 1714 revision, as perhaps do Vivaldi's various annotations on the portions of the score in hand 61 – including an added cadence on f. 250r.

Hand 4 ff. 168r-169r, 172r-v, 182r-183r and 187r-188v: incomplete arias (Act I Sc. 2, 3, 7 and 8, respectively).

Catalogue

SCRIBE 2 *Previously classified as I/2.*⁴¹ *Plate I.*

- RV 90, *Il gardellino*. GB-Mp; MS 580 Ct51 (6), 5 parts. Autog.: all superscriptions.
- RV 95, *La pastorella*. GB-Mp; MS 580 Ct51 (15), 5 parts. Autog.: all superscriptions.
- RV 286. GB-Mp; MS 580 Ct51 (14), 5 parts. Hands: autog., 2, 3 and 4; see under *Scribe 4*.
- RV 294, *Il ritiro*. GB-Mp; MS 580 Ct51 (2), 5 parts. Autog.: all superscriptions, and much of the music. Hand 2: some of the music.⁴²
- RV 572, *Il Proteo ò il mondo al roverscio*. GB-Mp; MS 580 Ct51 (1), 9 parts. GB-Lbl; RM.22.c.28, 2 parts. Autog.: all superscriptions, and the music of the *Ob 2*, *Vl pr*, *Vl 1*, *Vl 2*, *Vla*, *Vc solo* and *Basso* parts. Hand 2: music of the *Fl trav 1*, *Fl trav 2*, *Ob 1* and *Cemb solo* parts.⁴³
- RV 709, *Dorilla in Tempe* [pasticcio, Venice, S. Angelo, Carnival 1734]. I-Tn; Foà 39, ff. 142-295. Hands: autog., 2, 5 [=4?], 39 and 40; see separate discussion.
- RV 762. GB-Mp; MS 580 Ct51 (79), 5 parts. Hand 2: *Vl 1*, *Vl 2*, *Vla* and *Basso* parts. Hand 4: *Vl pr* part. Probably copied in collaboration.⁴⁴
- Collection of 28 *Arie Per Mandolino / dell'Opera 2.^a /In S. Gio. Grisost.^o 1729* [Leo, *Catone in Utica*]. I-Vnm; It. IV, 472 (=10350), vol. 9: score, vocal part (with texts) and *basso* only.
- Collection of arias *Dal Teatro di S. Gio: Grisostomo / 1738*, by Antonio Giay (ff. 1-26) and Hasse [*Alessandro nell'Indie*] (ff. 27-34). I-Vnm; It. IV, 478 (=10002): score, vocal and *basso* parts. The whole volume is in hand 2 except for ff. 25v-26r in a hand unknown from Vivaldi sources.
- Collection of 102 *Arie / Rappresentate in San Gio: Grisostomo* [...], Autumn 1724 and Carnival 1725, comprising 26 by Brusa [*Il trionfo della virtù*], 24 from *Ifigenia [in Tauride]* by Vinci, 26 from *Berenice* by Orlandini, and 26 from the *opera 4^a* by Vinci. I-Vnm; It. IV, 477 (=10001): score, vocal and *basso* parts. Hand 2: ff. 61v-75r, 14 of the Orlandini arias. The nature of the score suggests that scribe 2 collaborated with scribe 9, who penned all title-pages and the bulk of the musical text, and with a further copyist responsible for the rest of the Orlandini arias whose hand is unknown from Vivaldi sources.

SCRIBE 3 *Previously classified as I/3.*⁴⁵

- RV 253, *La tempesta di mare*. GB-Mp; MS 580 Ct51 (13), 5 parts. Hands: 3, 4 and two others; see under *Scribe 4*.
- RV 270, *Il riposo*. GB-Mp; MS 580 Ct51 (3), 5 parts. Autog.: title-pages and all superscriptions.
- RV 286. GB-Mp; MS 580 Ct51 (14), 5 parts. Hands: autog.: 2, 3 and 4; see under *Scribe 4*.

- RV 349. *GB-Mp*; MS 580 Ct51 (8), 5 parts. Autog.: superscriptions on the *Vl pr* and *Cemb* parts.
 RV 763, *L'ottavina*. *GB-Mp*; MS 580 Ct51 (80), 5 parts. Autog.: superscriptions on all parts.

SCRIBE 4 *G.B. Vivaldi? Previously classified by Heller as Schreiber e and by Everett as I/4. Plates II, III & XXXVI.⁴⁶ See also the entries for hand 5, possibly the hand of scribe 4 in the 1730s.*

a) partly-autograph sources: hand 4

- Set of 12 sonatas for violin and continuo: RV 3, 12, 757, 755, 759, 758, 6, 22, 17a, 760, 756 & 754. *GB-Mp*; MS 624.1 Vw81; score designed for presentation. Autog.: title-page and a few minor corrections.
 RV 98/570, *La tempesta di mare*. *I-Tn*; Giord. 31, ff. 353-356, score. Autog.: revised instrumental designations on f. 353r (RV 570). Original score (RV 98) entirely in hand 4.
 RV 167. *I-Tn*; Giord. 30, ff. 278-285, score. Autog.: some bass-figures and probably the deletions on ff. 280v and 284r.
 RV 209. *I-Tn*; Giord. 29, ff. 108-115, score. Autog.: superscription, "Con:¹⁰ Del Vivaldi", on f. 108r and some corrections.
 *RV 306. *I-Tn*; Giord. 30, ff. 256-263, score. Autog.: the second movement (f. 260r), and the final passage of the finale (from bar 48, ff. 262v-263r).
 RV 544, *Il Proteo ò il mondo al roverscio*. *I-Tn*; Giord. 28, ff. 2-9, score. Autog.: whole score except for the inscriptions *Pmo / 2do / Alto* on f. 3v, bars 74-92 of the finale (ff. 7v-8r) and the brace, clefs and key-signatures for the lower system on f. 8r.⁴⁷
 *RV 574. *I-Tn*; Giord. 31, ff. 134-163, score. Autog.: bass-figures, "solo" cues and deletions.
 RV 639a. *I-Tn*; Giord. 32, ff. 44-47, score (soprano and *basso*). Autog.: the score's superscription, the notes of the entire vocal part, and the bass part of the opening ritornello of the first movement (bars 1-11). Hand 4: the whole vocal text and the bass part from bar 11 of the first movement.
 RV 652. *I-Tn*; Foà 28, ff. 37-40, score. Autog.(?): deletions.
 RV 653. *I-Tn*; Foà 28, ff. 24-25 & 30-31, score. Autog.: some annotations.
 RV 654. *I-Tn*; Foà 28, ff. 15-18, score. Autog.: revised ending of the second section of the first aria (f. 16r).
 RV 658. *I-Tn*; Foà 28, ff. 23 & 32, score. Autog.: some annotations.
 RV 665. *I-Tn*; Foà 28, ff. 19-22, score. Autog.: remark (added later?) on f. 19r regarding transposition.
 RV 693, *La Sena festeggiante*. *I-Tn*; Foà 27, ff. 146-253, score. Originally a complete fair copy in hand 4. The autograph portions comprise leaves of music-papers different from the rest, inserted into the score: ff. 218-220 and 233-235.
 *RV 727, *Orlando finto pazzo* [Venice, S. Angelo, Autumn 1714]. *I-Tn*; Giord. 38, ff. 2-175. An entirely autograph score except for the opening six-and-

a-half bars, in hand 4, of the recitative beginning Act II Sc. 12: f. 99v. Music-paper matching that of f. 99 was used by Vivaldi himself for eight seemingly late revisions inserted into the score, and also for arias (some autograph, some in hand 4) in the score of the Ristori-Vivaldi *Orlando furioso* (discussed separately).

Two arias, *Parli in te, parli il cor mio* [*La Candace*, 1720, Act I Sc. 2] and *Chi si oppone a' miei voleri* [also *La Candace*, Act I Sc. 3], written on a single quire of paper. *I-Tn*; Foà 28, ff. 41-44, score. Autog.: only the inscription "Arie di Vivaldi" on f. 41r, added later and intended to apply to subsequent arias in the volume as much as to these.

b) partly-autograph sources: hand 4 with other copyists' hands

RV 286. *GB-Mp*; MS 580 Ct51 (14), 5 parts. Autog.: superscription on the *VI pr* part. Hand 2: *Basso* part. Hand 3: musical text of the *VI pr* part. Hand 4: *VI 1*, *VI 2* and *Vla* parts. Compiled in collaboration.⁴⁸

*RV 455. *I-Tn*; Foà 32, ff. 361-368, score. Autog.: superscription on f. 361r, "p[er] Sas[soni]:^a" (perhaps added later). Hand 4: finale (ff. 366r-368v). Hand 9: movements i & ii (ff. 361r-365v). Scribes 4 & 9 in collaboration. Dating: see the entry for RV 455 under *Scribe 9*.

*RV 608. *I-Tn*; Foà 40, ff. 251-298, 10 parts. A composite source comprising three (or possibly only two) incomplete sets of parts probably relating to separate occasions when the work was performed. Set 1: vocal alto part (in score with the *basso* part), ff. 255-264, in Vivaldi's hand except for bars 69-102 (ff. 263r-v) of the final movement, *Amen*, in hand 13; *Vlne* part (ff. 251-254) in hand 13; *VI 1* part (ff. 265-268) in hand 30; *VI 2* part (ff. 279-282) in hand 29.⁴⁹ Set 2: *VI 1*, *VI 2*, *Vla* and *Org* parts in hand 4, ff. 269-274, 275-278, 283-286 and 291-294, respectively. Set 3 (possibly belonging with set 2): *Vla* and *Vlne* parts (ff. 287-290 and 295-298) in hand 8, with the designation "Violone" amended in Vivaldi's hand to "Violoncello" (f. 295r). The only demonstrated collaboration is between Vivaldi and copyist 13.⁵⁰

RV 702, *L'Atenaide* [Florence, Carnival 1729]. *I-Tn*; Giord. 39, ff. 2-170. The score is in hand 4 except for (i) ff. 30r-40v: Act I Sc. 7-10 in hand 34 (Plate XXIII); (ii) the autograph vocal text *Mi sento d'intorno* replacing the original words in hand 4, *In bosco romito* (aria, Act III Sc. 7, ff. 135v-137v); (iii) the autograph vocal text *Mesto và l'agricoltore* replacing the words in hand 4, *Lieto và l'agricoltore* (aria, Act III Sc. 8, ff. 144r-146r). The music-papers and structure of the manuscript suggest that scribe 34 worked in collaboration with scribe 4.

RV 711, *Il Farnace*. *I-Tn*; Giord. 36, ff. 2-139. Hands: autog., 4, 8, 41 and 42. Copied in collaboration: see separate discussion.

RV 728, *Orlando* [Venice, S. Angelo, Autumn 1727]. *I-Tn*; Giord. 39 bis, ff. 2-153. An autograph score except for (i) ff. 61r-64v: music of the aria in Act II Sc. 2 in hand 4, to which Vivaldi added the vocal text *Benché nasconda*; (ii) ff. 148r-149r: music of the aria in Act III Sc. 13 also in hand 4, with the added autograph vocal text *Anderò, chiamerò dal profondo*; (iii) ff. 151r-

152r (Plate XXXII): *coro* concluding Act III in hand 44. The structure and music-papers of the score indicate that scribe 4 collaborated with Vivaldi at a late stage, when these and other revisions were imposed on the manuscript. Direct contact, at about the same time, between Vivaldi and scribe 44 is also suggested by the fact that the *coro* begins on the page on which Vivaldi had completed the final recitative.

RV 736, *Il Teuzzone* [Mantua, Carnival 1719]. *I-Tn*; Foà 33, ff. 2-141. Hands: autog., 4, 10 & 11. The bulk of the score is in hand 4; see separate discussion.

RV 738, *Tito Manlio* [Mantua, Carnival 1719]. *I-Tn*; Foà 37, ff. 120-306. Hands: autog., 4, 10, 11, 12 & 48; see separate discussion.

*G.A. Ristori & Vivaldi: *Orlando furioso*, RV Anh. 84 [Venice, S. Angelo, Autumn 1713 and Autumn 1714]. *I-Tn*; Giord. 37, ff. 162-250, Acts I & II. Hands: Vivaldi's, 4, 49, 61 and 62. Scribe 4 appears to have copied material both in 1713, in collaboration with scribe 49, and for the 1714 revival, in collaboration with Vivaldi; see separate discussion.

c) *non-autograph sources: hand 4 only*

RV 90, *Il gardellino*. *I-Tn*; Giord. 31, ff. 332-339, score.

RV 99. *I-Tn*; Giord. 31, ff. 357-363, score.

RV 101. *I-Tn*; Giord. 31, ff. 308-313, score.

Set of 12 concertos without soloist: RV 157, 133, 119, 136, 114, 154, 160, 127, 164, 121, 150 & 159. *F-Pn*; Ac.e⁴.346 (nos. 1-12), 4 partbooks.

RV 189. *Dddr-Dlb*; Mus. 2389-O-66a, 5 parts.

*RV 192/192a. *I-Tn*; Foà 31, ff. 148-153, score.

RV 234, *L'inquietudine*. *I-Gi(l)*; M.4.28.34, score.

RV 240. *Dddr-Dlb*; Mus. 2389-O-53, score.

RV 391. *GB-Mp*; MS 580 Ct51 (4), 5 parts.

RV 429. *I-Tn*; Giord. 31, ff. 260-265, score.

RV 499. *I-Tn*; Foà 32, ff. 111-116, score.

RV 507. *Dddr-Dlb*; Mus. 2389-O-98a: *Vi 1 pr*, *Vi 2 pr*, *Vi 1 rip*, *Vi 2 rip*, *Vla* and *Org* parts only (six further parts being in the hands of Pisendel and the Dresden *Hofnotist A*).⁵¹

RV 651. *I-Tn*; Foà 27, ff. 10-13, score.

RV 659. *I-Tn*; Foà 28, ff. 13-14, score.

RV 666. *I-Tn*; Foà 28, ff. 189-192, score.

RV 669. *I-Tn*; Foà 27, ff. 14-17, score.

RV 680. *I-Tn*; Foà 27, ff. 33-40, score.

*J.A. Bernabei, Offertorium, *Ad te levavi*, RV Anh. 36. *I-Tn*; Giord. 32, ff. 130-135, score dated 1701.

Unattributed Introitus, *Confessio et pulchritudo*, RV Anh. 37. *I-Tn*; Giord. 32, ff. 136-139, score.

d) *non-autograph sources: hand 4 and other copyists' hands*

RV 189. *F-Pn*; D. 8659, 8 parts. Hand 4: *Vi 1 part*. Hand 7: *Vi 2*, *Vla*, *Violoncello di Ripieno* and *Violon di Ripieno* parts. Hand 20: *Vi pr* (Plate XVI), *Bassi* and *Cembalo* parts. Probably compiled in collaboration.

RV 253, *La tempesta di mare*. GB-Mp; MS 580 Ct51 (13), 5 parts. Hand 3: *Vi pr* part. Hand 4: *Vi 2* part. The remaining parts (*Vi 1*, *Vla* and *Vc*) were possibly produced at another time, by three scribes whose association with Vivaldi is in doubt.⁵²

RV 534. *I-Tn*; Giord. 34, ff. 65-74, 6 parts. Hand 4: *Vi 1*, *Vi 2*, *Vla* and *Cemb* parts. Hand 31: *Ob 1* and *Ob 2* parts. Since two distinct music-papers were employed, scribes 4 and 31 are unlikely to have collaborated.

*RV 700, *Arsilda regina di Ponto* [Venice, S. Angelo, Autumn 1716]. *I-Tn*; Foà 35, ff. 173-295, score. Hands 4, 8, 32 and 33; see separate discussion.

RV 762. GB-Mp; MS 580 Ct51 (79), 5 parts. Hands 2 & 4; see under *Scribe 2*.

SCRIBE 5 Possibly the elderly scribe 4 (G.B. Vivaldi?). Plate IV.

RV 709, *Dorilla in Tempe* [pasticcio, Venice, S. Angelo, Carnival 1734]. *I-Tn*; Foà 39, ff. 142-295. Hands: autog., 2, 5, 39 & 40; see separate discussion.

[RV 733, *Semiramide* (Carnival 1732), aria *E prigioniero e re*, Act III Sc. 5],⁵³ unidentified *Violino* part. *I-Tn*; Foà 31, f. 95-bis r: a discarded single folio used in the autograph score of RV 367 (Foà 31, ff. 91-102).

Violino primo part for an unidentified aria [possibly *L'aquila generosa*, RV 723, *Mo[n]tezuma* (Autumn 1733), Act III Sc. 1].⁵⁴ *I-Tn*; Foà 31, f. 94v: a discarded single folio used in the autograph score of RV 367 (Foà 31, ff. 91-102).

Violino part for an unidentified aria. *I-Tn*; Giord. 30, f. 319v: a discarded single folio used in the autograph score of RV 257 (Giord. 30, ff. 308-320).

SCRIBE 6 Previously classified as II/1.⁵⁵

RV 269, *La primavera*. GB-Mp; MS 580 Ct51 (9), 5 parts compiled in collaboration. Hand 6: all parts except *Basso*. Hand 7: *Basso* part.

RV 315, *L'estate*. GB-Mp; MS 580 Ct51 (10), 5 parts.

SCRIBE 7 Previously classified as II/2.⁵⁶

RV 189. *F-Pn*; D. 8659, 8 parts. Hands 4, 7 and 20; see under *Scribe 4*.

RV 269, *La primavera*. GB-Mp; MS 580 Ct51 (9), 5 parts. Hands 6 & 7; see under *Scribe 6*.

RV 293, *L'autunno*. GB-Mp; MS 580 Ct51 (11), 5 parts.

RV 297, *L'inverno*. GB-Mp; MS 580 Ct51 (12), 5 parts.

SCRIBE 8 Plate V.⁵⁷

RV 576. *I-Tn*; Foà 32, ff. 67-86: score compiled by the copyist under Vivaldi's

supervision. Autog.: superscription "p[er] S.A.R. di Sas:^a" on f. 67r, and annotations of ff. 68r and 72r.

RV 608. *I-Tn*; Foà 40, ff. 251-298, 10 parts. Hands: autog., 4, 8, 13, 29 & 30; see under *Scribe 4*.

RV 700, *Arsilda regina di Ponto* [Venice, S. Angelo, Autumn 1716]. *I-Tn*; Foà 35, ff. 173-295, score. Hands 4, 8, 32 & 33; see separate discussion.

RV 711, *Il Farnace*. *I-Tn*; Giord. 36, ff. 2-139. Hands: autog., 4, 8, 41 & 42. Copied in collaboration: see separate discussion.

Giacomelli, *La Merope* [1734]. *B-Bc*; Ms. 2110 FJG, score. Scribe 8 was responsible for the music only of this fair copy; all vocal texts, inscriptions and characters' names were added in another hand (unknown from Vivaldi sources).⁵⁸

Orlandini, aria *Non può più saldarsi la piaga mortale*, inscribed "S: Gio Gris:^{mo} 2da". *GB-Mp*; MS Q520 Vu51, item 11 (ff. 45-48); score.

C.F. Pollarolo, *Ariodante*. *Dbrd-B*; Mus. ms. 17744: a score (fair copy) representing the revival version of Venice, November 1718. Scribe 8 was responsible for the music only of all five acts (ff. 10-287). The *sinfonia* (ff. 2-9) and all vocal texts, inscriptions and characters' names were written by two further copyists (unknown from Vivaldi sources).⁵⁹

Giovanni Porta, cantata *Di Licori nel sen goder furtivo*. *I-Vc*; Correr (Esposti) B. 119 n. 677: 8 parts copied by scribes 8 and 9 in collaboration. Hand 8: the music of all parts except the vocal part. Hand 9: all title-pages and superscriptions, and the text of the vocal part (lacking a whole folio and the vocal texts of the arias).

Veracini, 6 *overture*. *I-Vc*; Correr (Carminati) B. 13 n. 43: 11 parts (of Venetian provenance despite their French nomenclature). Hands: 8, 9 and two unknown from Vivaldi sources. Hand 8: the *Violon 2.^{me}* and *Basse* parts, and the superscriptions and musical text on the first page of the *Violon Premier* [sic] part. Hand 9: the *Violon Premier*, *Taille Preimiere* and *Fagotte* parts.

Andromeda liberata, an unattributed serenata dated 1726. *I-Vc*; Correr (Carminati) B. 9 n. 6, score. Hands: 8, 9 and two unknown from Vivaldi sources. Hand 8: several portions of the *Parte seconda*. Hand 9: the *sinfonia* and the first nine 4-leaf gatherings.

SCRIBE 9 *Plate VI*.

Set of 6 sonatas for cello and continuo: RV 47 (*Plate VI*), 41, 43, 45, 40 & 46. *F-Pn*; Vm⁷ 6310 (nos. 1-6): a score entirely in hand 9 except for some corrections of the clefs in RV 47 added later by another person. This fair copy, undoubtedly of Venetian provenance, is likely to be the source produced to Vivaldi's order which served as the exemplar for the printed edition of the same works, "VI / SONATES [...] DA / D'ANTONIO VIUALDI [...] PARIS [...] Le Clerc le cadet [...] Le Clerc [...] M.^{me} Boivin [...] [1740]".⁶⁰

RV 455. *I-Tn*; Foà 32, ff. 361-368: score compiled by scribes 4 and 9 in collaboration. Autog.: superscription on f. 361r, "p[er] Sas[soni]:a", perhaps added later. Hand 4: the finale (ff. 366r-368v). Hand 9: movements i & ii (ff. 361r-365v). Non-textual features and the style of hand 4 suggest that this manuscript belongs to the mid-1710s. The style of hand 9 is therefore relatively early, showing a loop at the top of the treble clef absent from this scribe's hand in other sources listed here.

Giovanni Porta, cantata *Di Licori nel sen goder furtivo*. *I-Vc*; Correr (Esposti) B. 119 n. 677. Hands 8 and 9; see under *Scribe 8*.

Veracini, 6 *overture*. *I-Vc*; Correr (Carminati) B. 13 n. 54. Hands: 8, 9 and two others; see under *Scribe 8*.

Unattributed *Andromeda liberata*, a serenata dated 1726. *I-Vc*; Correr (Carminati) B. 9 n. 6. Hands: 8, 9 and two others; see under *Scribe 8*.

Collection of 102 arias by Brusa, Vinci and Orlandini, 1724-25. *I-Vnm*; It. IV, 477 (=10001). Hands: 2, 9 and one unknown from Vivaldi sources; see under *Scribe 2*.

Unattributed aria *Deggio à te del giorno i rai* [Metastasio, *Siroe, rè di Persia*]. *GB-Mp*; MS Q520 Vu51, item 3 (ff. 11-14); score.

SCRIBE 10 Plate VII.

RV 736, *Il Teuzzone* [Mantua, Carnival 1719]. *I-Tn*; Foà 33, ff. 2-141. Hands: autog., 4, 10 & 11. Collaboration between scribe 10 and Vivaldi; see separate discussion.

RV 738, *Tito Manlio* [Mantua, Carnival 1719]. *I-Tn*; Giord. 39, ff. 171-365. This manuscript is autograph except for the conclusion of the recitative in Act II Sc. 13 on f. 287r, notated by scribe 10 in collaboration with Vivaldi at about the same time as the copyist's involvement in the compilation of the other *Tito Manlio* score (Foà 37, ff. 120-306).

RV 738, *Tito Manlio* [Mantua, Carnival 1719]. *I-Tn*; Foà 37, ff. 120-306. Hands: autog., 4, 10, 11, 12 & 48; see separate discussion.

SCRIBE 11 Plate VIII.

RV 195. *Dddr-Dlb*; Mus. 2389-O-117, score.

RV 736, *Il Teuzzone* [Mantua, Carnival 1719]. *I-Tn*; Foà 33, ff. 2-141. Hands: autog., 4, 10 & 11; see separate discussion.

RV 736, *Il Teuzzone* [Mantua, Carnival 1719], sinfonia. *I-Tn*; Giord. 36, ff. 293-298, score. Hands: autog., 11(?) & 12; see under *Scribe 12*.

RV 738, *Tito Manlio* [Mantua, Carnival 1719]. *I-Tn*; Foà 37, ff. 120-306. Hands: autog., 4, 10, 11, 12 & 48; see separate discussion.

SCRIBE 12 *Plates VII & IX.*

- RV 736, *Il Teuzzone* [Mantua, Carnival 1719], sinfonia. *I-Tn*; Giord. 36, ff. 293-298, score. Autog.: title-page (f. 293r). Hand 12: the superscription, "Sinfonia", on f. 294r, all system-braces, clefs and time-signatures, and the entire *basso* part. Hand 11(?): musical text of the *Vi 1*, *Vi 2* and *Vla* parts.
- RV 738, *Tito Manlio* [Mantua, Carnival 1719]. *I-Tn*; Foà 37, ff. 120-306. Hands: autog., 4, 10, 11, 12 & 48; see separate discussion.

SCRIBE 13 *Previously classified as s4.*⁶¹

- RV 48. *GB-Cu*; Add. 7059, ff. 57-60; score.
- RV 608. *I-Tn*; Foà 40, ff. 251-298, 10 parts. Hands: autog., 4, 8, 13, 29 & 30; see under *Scribe 4*. Collaboration between Vivaldi and scribe 13.
- RV 703, *Il Bajazet* [pasticcio, Verona, Carnival 1735]. *I-Tn*; Giord. 36, ff. 141-292. Hands: Vivaldi's, 13, 35-38, 50-53; see separate discussion. Scribe 13 almost certainly did not collaborate with Vivaldi on this occasion.
- [RV 711, *Il Farnace*, aria *Al vezzezzgiar d'un volto*]. *GB-Mp*; MS 580 Ct51 (46), unidentified violin and viola parts.
- Corelli, two trio sonatas [Op. I Nos. 8 & 10]. *GB-Mp*; MS 580 Ct51 (41) and (42), parts.
- [Orlandini, *Serpilla e Bacocco (Il marito giocatore)*]. *GB-Mp*; MS 580 Ct51 (38-40): unattributed instrumental parts for three *intermezzi*.⁶²
- Unattributed instrumental parts for an unidentified aria. *GB-Mp*; MS 580 Ct51 (47).⁶³
- Unattributed arias *Si bella mercede* and *Come la fronda*. *GB-Mp*; MS Q520 Vu51, items 5 (ff. 19-22) and 9 (ff. 35-40); score.

SCRIBE 14 *Plate X.*⁶⁴

- RV 657. *Dddr-Dlb*; Mus. 1-J-7,4, score (Plate X). A fair copy in hand 14 with various revisions in Vivaldi's hand.⁶⁵
- Jacopo Basevi detto Cervetto, sonata in A major for cello and *basso*. *I-Vc*; Correr (Carminati) B. 10 n. 16, score.
- Giacomelli, aria *Basta solo ò luci belle*, inscribed "San Gio: Gris:^{mo} 2:^{da}" [from *L'Epaminonda* of 1732?]. *I-Vc*; an unbound score (4 ff.) in Correr B. 129 (miscellaneous sources).
- Hasse, arias inscribed "San Gio: Gris:^{mo} 3:^a" [*Il Demetrio*, 1732]; related scores separately preserved in *I-Vc*. (i) *Frà tanti pensieri di regno e d'amore*, Correr (Esposti) B. 79 n. 294; (ii) *Nacqui agl'affanni in seno*, Correr (Esposti) B. 79 n. 287 (with parts in another hand); (iii) *Dal suo gentil sembiente*, Correr B. 129 (miscellaneous sources).
- Antonio Martinelli, sonata in A major for cello and *basso*. *I-Vc*; Correr (Carminati) B. 10 n. 17, score.

Antonio Martinelli, sonata in G major for cello and *basso*. *I-Vc*; Correr (Esposti) B. 119 n. 675, score.

Giovanni Porta, aria *Se il mar è senz'onda* [*Il Farnace*, 1731]. *I-Vc*; an attributed vocal part in Correr B. 127 and six unattributed instrumental parts in Correr B. 129 (both *buste* being collections of uncatalogued miscellaneous manuscripts).

Seven arias (one by Capelli, one by Antonio Pollarolo, the rest unattributed). *I-Vc*; 6 unbound folios in Correr B. 127 (miscellaneous sources).

Unattributed sonata in D major for cello and *basso*. *I-Vc*; Correr (Esposti) B. 119 n. 674, score.

Unattributed aria *Si crudel empio spietato*. *GB-Mp*; MS Q520 Vu51, item 4 (ff. 15-18); score.

SCRIBE 15 *Plate XI*.

RV 438. *I-Tn*; Giord. 31, ff. 250-259, score (Plate XI). Autog.: various revisions of the flute and viola parts, bass figures and other annotations.

RV 440. *I-Tn*; Giord. 31, ff. 386-395, score. Autog.: extensive changes to the solo part.

RV 448. *I-Tn*; Foà 32, ff. 23-32: a score undoubtedly based on the autograph sketches (Foà 32, ff. 299-300) with which the present work was converted from the concerto for bassoon, RV 470 (autograph, Foà 32, ff. 301-308). Autog.: dynamic markings.

SCRIBE 16 *Plate XII*.

The following partly autograph scores, copied under the composer's supervision, show a lack of competence; we may suspect that scribe 16 was neither a professional copyist nor even a particularly regular one. His crossings-out of whole bars on several pages in RV 403 and RV 406 betray erratic copying rather than textual revision, and the others two manuscripts also contain corrections in his hand besides others Vivaldi had to impose.

RV 403. *I-Tn*; Foà 29, ff. 166-173. Autog.: only the words "P[er] Violoncello" on f. 166r.

RV 406. *I-Tn*; Foà 29, ff. 142-149 (Plate XII). Autog.: the end (bars 97-112, f. 148v) of the minuet finale.

RV 510/766. *GB-Lam*; Ms. 143, ff. 70-77. Autog.: superscriptions, cues and minor corrections.

RV 765/767. *GB-Lam*; Ms 143, ff. 48-57. Autog.: superscriptions, cues and minor corrections.

SCRIBE 17 *Plate XIII.*

The four partly autograph sources in this copyist's hand exhibit common features which show that the scribe worked under Vivaldi's close supervision: autograph titles, tempo markings (inadvertently omitted from all movements in RV 47 except the first) and other annotations. The score of RV 47 is a case of actual collaboration, its first movement being initially autograph (bars 1-4, and the brace, clefs and key-signatures of the second system). Though these are undoubtedly manuscripts of north Italian (probably Venetian) provenance, the copyist himself seems to have been a foreigner. His distinctive script – characterized especially by the forms of the G-clef and common time-signature, and the oddly drawn curly braces – is perhaps that of a musician trained in Germany.

RV 39. *I-Nc*; M.S. 11190, score.

RV 44. *I-Nc*; M.S. 11189, score.

RV 47. *I-Nc*; M.S. 11188, score.

RV 538. *I-Tn*; Giord. 31, ff. 164-175, score (Plate XIII).

SCRIBE 18 *Plate XIV.*⁶⁶

RV 224. *Dddr-Dlb*; Mus. 2389-O-57: score copied by Vivaldi and the scribe in collaboration. Autog.: the first and second movements, and the beginning of the finale (bars 1-16, and the *Vl pr* part only in bars 17-25). Hand 18: the rest of the finale.

RV 561. *I-Tn*; Giord. 28, ff. 29-34: score entirely in hand 18 (Plate XIV).

SCRIBE 19 *Plate XV.*

RV 731, *Rosmira fedele* [pasticcio, Venice, S. Angelo, Carnival 1738]. *I-Tn*; Foà 36, ff. 2-126, Hands: Vivaldi's, 19, 21, 45-47, 54-60; see separate discussion. Probable collaboration between Vivaldi and scribe 19.

Hasse, *Artaserse*. *I-Vnm*; It. IV, 481 (=10005), score (fair copy) dated 1730. Hand 19: the music except for ff. 162v-166v (in a hand unknown from Vivaldi sources). Hand 21: all vocal texts, inscriptions and characters' names.

Unattributed and incomplete sacred work in G major [the double-choir psalm *Laudate pueri*]. *I-Vc*; Correr B. 129: one item among the many miscellaneous and uncatalogued manuscripts preserved in this *busta*. This score, of which only the last fascicle survives, is of an elaborate setting undoubtedly written for the Pietà – probably in the 1730s or early 1740s. Entirely in hand 19, it contains the final five movements and records the names of the solo singers.

SCRIBE 20 *Plate XVI.*

RV 189. *F-Pn*; D. 8659, 8 parts. Hands 4, 7 & 20; see under *Scribe 4*. Probably compiled in collaboration.

Nine unattributed arias (three incomplete). *I-Vc*; two unbound quires in Correr B. 127 (miscellaneous sources), vocal and *basso* parts in score.

SCRIBE 21 *Plate XVII.*⁶⁷

RV 731, *Rosmira fedele* [pasticcio, Venice, S. Angelo, Carnival 1738]. *I-Tn*; Foà 36, ff. 2-126. Hands: Vivaldi's, 19, 21, 45-47, 54-60; see separate discussion.

Hasse, *Artaserse*. *I-Vnm*; It. IV, 481 (=10005): score (fair copy) dated 1730. Hand 19: the music except for ff. 162v-166v (in a hand unknown from Vivaldi sources). Hand 21: all vocal texts, inscriptions and characters' names.

Hasse, *Il Demetrio* [1732]. *I-Vnm*; It. IV, 480 (=10006): score (fair copy) dated 1733. Hand 21: *sinfonia* and Act I, and all vocal texts in Acts II and III (with music in hands unknown from Vivaldi sources).

SCRIBE 22⁶⁸ *Plate XVIII.*

Item 11 in Foà 28, four arias: *Sei tiranna se un ben fedele* [*La Silvia* (1721), Act III Sc. 2]; *Dammi l'ali mà quelle; D'improvviso riede il riso* [*Tito Manlio* (1719), Act II Sc. 2]; *Se non v'aprite al dì* [*Tito Manlio*, Act II Sc. 5]. *I-Tn*; Foà 28, ff. 45-55. Score compiled in collaboration. Autog.: all vocal texts and various annotations. Hand 22: musical text of the first and second arias, and the end of the fourth (ff. 54v-55v). Hand 23: musical text of the third aria (Plate XIX) and the beginning of the fourth (ff. 49v-54r).

Item 12 in Foà 28, eight arias (Plate XVIII): *Dille ch'il viver mio* [*Il Teuzzone* (1719), Act III Sc. 8]; *Nelle mie selve natie* [*Scanderbeg* (1718), Act II Sc. 2]; *Liquore ingrato* [*Tito Manlio* (1719), Act I Sc. 4]; *È pur dolce ad un'alma* [*Il Giustino* (1724), Act I Sc. 12]; *Orribile lo scempio* [*Tito Manlio*, Act I Sc. 8]; *Dar la morte a te mia vita* [*Tito Manlio*, Act II Sc. 9]; *Vedrà Roma* [*Tito Manlio*, Act II Sc. 10]; *Andrò fida e sconsolata* [*Tito Manlio*, Act II Sc. 14]. *I-Tn*; Foà 28, ff. 56-69, score. Autog.: all vocal texts. Hand 22: the musical text.

Item 13 in Foà 28, six arias: *Quell'augellin che canta; Scherzeran sempre d'intorno* [*La Silvia* (1721), Act II Sc. 3]; *Fiume che torbido* [*La Silvia*, Act II Sc. 6]; *È barbaro quel cor* [*La Silvia*, Act II Sc. 9]; *Pronto servir* [*La Silvia*, Act II Sc. 11]; *Mi fè reo l'amor d'un figlio* [*La verità in cimento* (1720), Act I Sc. 1]. *I-Tn*; Foà 28, ff. 70-83. Score compiled in collaboration. Autog.: all vocal texts. Hand 22: musical texts of the first four arias and the end of the sixth (ff. 82r-83v). Hand 23: musical text of the fifth aria and the beginning of the sixth (ff. 81v-82r).

Item 19 in Foà 28, three arias [*La verità in cimento*, 1720]: *Addio caro tu ben sai* [Act II Sc. 2]; *Semplice non temer* [Act II Sc. 3]; *Un tenero affetto* [Act II Sc. 4]. *I-Tn*; Foà 28, ff. 107-114, score. Autog.: all vocal texts. Hand 22: the musical text.

Item 22, in Foà 28, three arias [*La verità in cimento*, 1720]: *Lo splendor ch'a sperare* [Act III Sc. 1]; *Quando serve alla ragione* [Act III Sc. 3]; *Con cento e cento baci* [Act III Sc. 7]. *I-Tn*; Foà 28, ff. 127-134, score. Autog.: all vocal texts. Hand 22: the musical text.

Item 24 in Foà 28, seven arias [*La Candace*, 1720]: *Sì, bel volto che v'adoro* [Act I Sc. 5]; *Per dar pace al tuo dolore* [Act I Sc. 9]; *Certo timor ch'ho in petto* [Act I Sc. 10]; *Ussignoli che piangete* [Act III Sc. 1]; *Se nemico tu mi sei* [Act III Sc. 3]; *Care pupille due sole stille* [Act III Sc. 10]; *Io son fra l'onde* [Act III Sc. 11]. *I-Tn*; Foà 28, ff. 138-160, score. Autog.: all vocal texts. Hand 22: the musical text.

Item 25 in Foà 28, two arias and a *quartetto* [*La Candace*, 1720]: *Inganno mio tu sei la mia speranza* [Act II Sc. 13]; *Voglio sperar* [Act II Sc. 4]; *Anima del cor mio* [Act II Sc. 9]. *I-Tn*; Foà 28, ff. 161-168, score. Autog.: all vocal texts. Hand 22: the musical text.

Item 26 in Foà 28: *quintetto*, *Anima mia mio ben* [*La Candace*, Act II final scene?]. *I-Tn*; Foà 28, ff. 169-176, a score inscribed "Fine dell'Atto Secondo". Autog.: vocal text. Hand 22: the music.

SCRIBE 23 Plate XIX.⁶⁹

RV 153. *I-Tn*; Foà 29, f. 131r: aborted *Vi* 2 part (first 11 bars only). A discarded single folio used in the autograph score of RV 409 (Foà 29, ff. 126-133).

Item 11 in Foà 28, four arias. *I-Tn*; Foà 28, ff. 45-55, score. Hands: autog., 22 & 23; see under *Scribe 22*.

Item 13 in Foà 28, six arias. *I-Tn*; Foà 28, ff. 70-83, score. Hands: autog., 22 & 23; see under *Scribe 22*.

SCRIBE 24 Plate XX.

Both sources listed below comprise varieties of paper commonly used in Rome, and scribe 24 is most probably a copyist with whom Vivaldi had contact during at least one of his visits to that city in the early 1720s.

RV 623. *I-Tn*; Giord. 32, ff. 140-149, score (Plate XX).

RV 631. *I-Tn*; Giord. 32, ff. 179-188, score. Autog.: the vocal text from bar 53 of the third movement.

SCRIBE 25 Roman; previously classified as III/1.⁷⁰

RV 334. *GB-Mp*; MS 580 Ct51 (16), 5 parts.

RV 348. *GB-Mp*; MS 580 Ct51 (62), 5 parts. Hand 25: various inscriptions, and the music of one of two *VI* 2 parts. Hand 26: the text (except for superscriptions) of the *Alto Violino* and *Vc* parts, and of the other *VI* 2 part. Hand 27: *VI* 3 part.

RV 354. *GB-Mp*; MS 580 Ct51 (82), 5 parts.

RV 761, *Amato bene*.⁷¹ *GB-Mp*; MS 580 Ct51 (81), 5 parts.

RV 764. *GB-Mp*; MS 580 Ct51 (87), 5 parts.

SCRIBES 26 & 27 *Roman; previously classified as III/8 and III/9.*⁷²

RV 348. *GB-Mp*; MS 580 Ct51 (62), 5 parts. Hands 25, 26 & 27. Compiled in collaboration; see under *Scribe* 25.

SCRIBE 28

RV 552 and 558. *Dddr-Dlb*; Mus. 2389-O-4,2 (pp. 69-116) and 1 (pp. 5-68), respectively. Scores forming a set, with the autograph scores of RV 149 and 540, of the instrumental works performed at the Pietà on 21 March, 1740, before Frederick Christian, Prince-Elector of Saxony.

SCRIBES 29 & 30

RV 608. *I-Tn*; Foà 40, ff. 251-298 (see under *Scribe* 4).

SCRIBE 31

RV 534. *I-Tn*; Giord. 34, ff. 65-74 (see under *Scribe* 4).

SCRIBES 32 & 33 *Plates XXI & XXII.*

RV 700, *Arsilda regina di Ponto*. *I-Tn*; Foà 35, ff. 173-295 (discussed separately).

SCRIBE 34 *Plate XXIII.*

RV 702, *L'Atenaide*. *I-Tn*; Giord. 39, ff. 2-170 (see under *Scribe* 4).

SCRIBES 35, 36, 37 & 38 *Plates XXIV, XXV & XXVI.*

RV 703, *Il Bajazet*. *I-Tn*; Giord. 36, ff. 141-292 (discussed separately).

SCRIBES 39 & 40 *Plates XXVII & XXVIII.*

RV 709, *Dorilla in Tempe. I-Tn*; Foà 39, ff. 142-295 (discussed separately).

SCRIBES 41 & 42 *Plates XXIX & XXX.*

RV 711, *Il Farnace. I-Tn*; Giord. 36, ff. 2-139 (discussed separately).

SCRIBE 43 *Plate XXXI.*

RV 714, *La fida ninfa* [Verona, Carnival 1732]. *I-Tn*; Giord. 39 bis, ff. 155-298. ff. 260r-262v: textless aria (music known from *Nel profondo cieco mondo* in RV 728, *Orlando*, Act I Sc. 5).

SCRIBE 44 *Plate XXXII.*

RV 728, *Orlando. I-Tn*; Giord. 39 bis, ff. 2-153 (see under *Scribe 4*).

SCRIBES 45, 46 & 47 *Plates XXXIII, XXXIV & XXXV.*

RV 731, *Rosmira fedele. I-Tn*; Foà 36, ff. 2-126 (discussed separately).

SCRIBE 48 *Plate XXXVI.*

RV 738, *Tito Manlio. I-Tn*; Foà 37, ff. 120-306 (discussed separately).

SCRIBE 49 *Plate XXXVII.*

Ristori & Vivaldi: *Orlando furioso*, RV Anh. 84. *I-Tn*; Giord. 37, ff. 162-250 (discussed separately).

SCRIBES 50, 51, 52 & 53

RV 703, *Il Bajazet. I-Tn*; Giord. 36, ff. 141-292 (discussed separately).

SCRIBES 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59 & 60

RV 731, *Rosmira fedele. I-Tn*; Foà 36, ff. 2-126 (discussed separately).

SCRIBES 61 & 62

Ristori & Vivaldi: *Orlando furioso*, RV Anh. 84. I-Tn; Giord. 37, ff. 162-250 (discussed separately).

SCRIBE 63

RV 699, *Armida al campo d'Egitto*. I-Tn; Foà 38, ff. 2-108 [pasticcio, Venice, S. Angelo, Carnival 1738]. Two arias (ff. 28-31 and 62-65, Act I Sc. 5 and 12) inscribed "Leo" [from his *Farnace* (1736)], *S'è fida ad altro amante* and *Serbami la tua vita*, with changes of vocal text in Vivaldi's hand.⁷³

¹ KARL HELLER, *Die deutsche Überlieferung der Instrumentalwerke Vivaldis*, VEB Deutscher Verlag für Musik, Leipzig, 1971. ORTRUN LANDMANN, *Katalog der Dresdener Vivaldi-Handschriften und Frühdrucke*, "Vivaldi-Studien; Referate des 3. Dresdner Vivaldi-Kolloquiums", Sächsische Landesbibliothek, Dresden, 1981, pp. 101-167.

² The importance of coming to terms with the contributions of copyists was acknowledged by several participants in the recent Round Table on the chronology of Vivaldi's music. See the transcript of the discussion in *Nuovi studi vivaldiani. Edizione e cronologia critica delle opere*, 2 vols., ed. A. Fanna and G. Morelli, Olschki, Florence, 1988, pp. 823-844, especially pp. 827, 828, 833-4 and 843-4.

³ PETER RYOM, *Répertoire des Oeuvres d'Antonio Vivaldi. Les compositions instrumentales*, Engstrøm & Sødring, Copenhagen, 1986.

⁴ PAUL EVERETT, *The Manchester Concerto Partbooks*, 2 vols., Garland, New York and London, 1989. See also EVERETT, *Vivaldi Concerto Manuscripts in Manchester: I, II and III*, "Informazioni e studi vivaldiani", 5, 1984, pp. 23-52; 6, 1985, pp. 3-56; and 7, 1986, pp. 5-34.

⁵ PETER RYOM, *Les manuscrits de Vivaldi*, Antonio Vivaldi Archives, Copenhagen, 1977, pp. 462-7.

⁶ PAUL EVERETT, *Towards a Vivaldi Chronology*, in *Nuovi studi vivaldiani*, cit., pp. 729-57; p. 751.

⁷ GAETANO COZZI, *Una disavventura di pre Iseppo Baldan, copista del Galuppi, in Galuppiana 1985. Studi e ricerche*, ed. M.T. Muraro and F. Rossi, Olschki, Florence, 1986, pp. 127-31.

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 128 & 130, and GASTONE VIO, *Antonio Vivaldi e i Vivaldi*, "Informazioni e studi vivaldiani", 4, 1983, pp. 82-97; pp. 82 & 83.

⁹ The Esposti *Buste* contain very little music earlier than Giovanni Porta's appointment as *maestro di coro* (1726-1737). The Vivaldi sources discovered recently belong to the late 1730s or later years – some to periods after the composer's death. See MICHAEL TALBOT, *A Vivaldi Discovery at the Conservatorio "Benedetto Marcello"*, "Informazioni e studi vivaldiani", 3, 1982, pp. 3-12; FAUN STACY TANENBAUM, *The Pietà Partbooks and more Vivaldi*, *idem*, 8, 1987, pp. 7-12; and TANENBAUM, *The Pietà Partbooks – Continued*, *idem*, 9, 1988, pp. 5-13.

¹⁰ I am grateful to the Gladys Kriebel Delmas Foundation for supporting my research in Venice.

¹¹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 51, 84-5, 96-7 and 120.

¹² MICHAEL TALBOT, *Vivaldi's "Manchester" Sonatas*, "Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association", 104, 1977-78, pp. 20-29; p. 28.

¹³ He communicated some details privately to Talbot (*ibid.*, note 29), but listed only the locations of sources in *Les manuscrits*, *cit.*, p. 463.

¹⁴ EVERETT, *Vivaldi Concerto Manuscripts in Manchester: II*, *cit.*, pp. 12-16.

¹⁵ See the arguments in connection with Figure 2 in EVERETT, *Towards a Vivaldi Chronology*, *cit.*, pp. 752-6, concerning discernible groupings of manuscripts datable to Vivaldi's period of residence in Mantua.

¹⁶ *I-Tr*; Foà 33, f. 105r.

¹⁷ Discounting also the score of *Tito Manlio* in Giordano 39, which is autograph except for the conclusion of one recitative (in hand 10), and that of *Il Giustino* (Foà 34, ff. 2-184), which includes some non-autograph remarks on ff. 2r and 7r.

¹⁸ G.B. Vivaldi's association with the theatre in c. 1710 – both as a player and a debtor – is documented in REMO GIAZZOTTO, *Antonio Vivaldi*, ERI, Turin, 1973, pp. 116-7.

¹⁹ See OLGA TERMINI, *Vivaldi at Brescia: the Feast of the Purification at the Chiesa della Pace (1711)*, "Informazioni e studi vivaldiani", 9, 1988, pp. 64-74; pp. 67-8.

²⁰ Venice, Archivio di Stato, *Procuratori di S. Marco de Supra, Chiesa*, Reg. 153, f. 117v.

²¹ These sources are listed in EVERETT, *Towards a Vivaldi Chronology*, *cit.*, p. 739.

²² Until the recent discovery of this date (VIO, *op. cit.*, p. 94 and note 2), it was generally presumed that G.B. Vivaldi must have died during or shortly after the visit to Bohemia.

²³ RYOM, *Répertoire*, *cit.*, p. 458.

²⁴ Readers who know of or discover additional occurrences of any of the hands illustrated here are encouraged, of course, to publish the information or at least to communicate it to the Istituto Vivaldi.

²⁵ The usefulness of the evidence derived from the identification of specific batches of music-paper is explained in EVERETT, *Towards a Vivaldi Chronology*, *cit.*, pp. 744-9.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 742.

²⁷ Described in ERIC CROSS, *The Late Operas of Antonio Vivaldi, 1727-1738*, 2 vols., UMI Research Press, Ann Arbor, 1981, i, pp. 51-2, and more completely in ANNA LAURA BELLINA, BRUNO BRIZI & MARIA GRAZIA PENZA, *Il pasticcio Bajazet: la "favola" del gran Tamerlano nella messinscena di Vivaldi*, in *Nuovi studi vivaldiani*, *cit.*, pp. 185-272.

- ²⁸ *I-Tn*; Foà 28, ff. 2-12 and Foà 39, ff. 1-140, respectively.
- ²⁹ BELLINA, BRIZI & PENZA, *op. cit.*, p. 269.
- ³⁰ REINHARD STROHM, *Italienische Opernarien des frühen Settecento (1720-1730)*, 2 vols., "Analecta Musicologica", 16, Arno Volk Verlag, Cologne, 1976, ii, p. 283.
- ³¹ BELLINA, BRIZI & PENZA, *op. cit.*, p. 263.
- ³² Described in CROSS, *op. cit.*, i, pp. 50-1, and more completely in FERRUCCIO TÀMMARO, *I pasticci di Vivaldi: "Dorilla in Tempe"*, in *Nuovi studi vivaldiani*, *cit.*, pp. 147-184.
- ³³ At least ten, mostly by Hasse and Giacomelli, according to REINHARD STROHM, *Essays on Handel and Italian Opera*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1985, p. 158.
- ³⁴ *Italienische Opernarien*, *cit.*, ii, p. 272.
- ³⁵ STROHM, *Essays on Handel*, *cit.*, p. 157.
- ³⁶ Described in CROSS, *op. cit.*, i, pp. 52-3, and RYOM, *Les manuscrits*, *cit.*, pp. 377-84.
- ³⁷ STROHM, *Essays on Handel*, *cit.*, p. 147.
- ³⁸ The relationships between the Turin manuscripts and libretti of *Tito Manlio* are discussed in LUIGI CATALDI, *La rappresentazione mantovana del "Tito Manlio" di Antonio Vivaldi*, "Informazioni e studi vivaldiani", 8, 1987, pp. 52-89.
- ³⁹ STROHM, *Essays on Handel*, *cit.*, p. 142.
- ⁴⁰ This led CROSS (*op. cit.*, i, note 93) to propose, perhaps correctly, that Vivaldi may have contributed music to the 1713 version, and JOHN WALTER HILL to conclude, perhaps incorrectly, that the *coro* is Ristori's composition (*Vivaldi's Orlando: Sources and Contributing Factors*, in *Opera and Vivaldi*, ed. M. Collins and E.K. Kirk, University of Texas, Austin, 1984, p. 329).
- ⁴¹ In studies of Manchester manuscripts cited in note 4. Another specimen of hand 2 is given in EVERETT, *Vivaldi Concerto Manuscripts in Manchester: II*, *cit.*, p. 46.
- ⁴² The precise division of labour is noted in *ibid.*, p. 4.
- ⁴³ The collaboration between Vivaldi and scribe 2 for this manuscript is described in *ibid.*, pp. 29-33.
- ⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 8 & 14.
- ⁴⁵ In writings cited in note 4. For a specimen of hand 3, see *ibid.*, p. 47.
- ⁴⁶ Additional specimens of hand 4 include *ibid.*, p. 48, and the seventh plate in MICHAEL TALBOT, *Vivaldi*, Dent, London, 1978, between pp. 100 and 101. A facsimile of the scribe's complete score of RV 240 is available as the second work in *Antonio Vivaldi: Quattro concerti autografi della Sächsische Landesbibliothek di Dresda*, ed. O. Rudge, Accademia Musicale Chigiana, Siena, 1949.
- ⁴⁷ I had failed to take account of this division of labour in *Vivaldi Concerto Manuscripts in Manchester: II*, *cit.*, pp. 29-33.
- ⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 14.
- ⁴⁹ These parts are discussed in EVERETT, *Vivaldi Concerto Manuscripts in Manchester: III*, *cit.*, p. 7, and notes 8 and 9.
- ⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 7 and Plate 1 (p. 27).
- ⁵¹ HELLER, *op. cit.*, pp. 120-1, and LANDMANN, *op. cit.*, pp. 144-5.
- ⁵² See EVERETT, *Vivaldi Concerto Manuscripts in Manchester: II*, *cit.*, pp. 6-7 and 12, where the three scribes are labelled "I/5", "I/6" and "I/7".
- ⁵³ RYOM, *Répertoire*, *cit.*, p. 458.
- ⁵⁴ *Loc. cit.*
- ⁵⁵ In writings cited in note 4. See EVERETT, *Vivaldi Concerto Manuscripts in Manchester: I*, *cit.*, p. 36; plates 1 & 2 are specimens of hand 6.
- ⁵⁶ In writings cited in note 4. *Ibid.*, plates 3 & 4 are specimens of hand 7. The

apparent collaboration between scribes 4 and 7 in the copying of the Paris parts for RV 189 supports the view (*ibid.*, pp. 36 & 40) that the Manchester manuscripts of *Le quattro stagioni* were produced to Vivaldi's order.

⁵⁷ The facsimile editions of Giacomelli and Pollarolo operas cited in notes 58 & 59 provide many more specimens of hand 8.

⁵⁸ A division of labour not noted in the introduction to the facsimile edition of this source: A. ZENO, D. LALLI & G. GIACOMELLI, *La Merope*, ed. Sylvie Mamy, "Drammaturgia Musicale Veneta", 18, Ricordi, Milan, 1984. The editor informs us (p. xxviii, note 162) that the hand of the same copyist (scribe 8?) appears in two further Giacomelli scores also preserved in the Conservatoire Royal de Musique, Brussels: *L'Epaminonda* [1732] and *Cesare in Egitto* [1735], Ms. 2109 and 2111, respectively.

⁵⁹ This division of labour is not explained in the introduction to the facsimile edition of this source: A. SALVI & C.F. POLLAROLO, *Ariodante*, ed. Olga Termini, "Drammaturgia Musicale Veneta", 13, Ricordi, Milan, 1986.

⁶⁰ Now that scribe 9 is known to be a copyist active in Venice who had contact with scribe 4 and probably with Vivaldi too, there is good reason to doubt the reverse view – that this manuscript is probably a copy of the print – proposed by RYOM, *Répertoire, cit.*, p. 8.

⁶¹ In writings cited in note 4. Scribe 13 was almost certainly active in a centre other than Venice, but the origins of the kind of paper he invariably used – type "F" – remain unknown. See EVERETT, *Vivaldi Concerto Manuscripts in Manchester: III, cit.*, p. 7 & Plate 1 – a specimen of hand 13 showing the scribe's collaboration with Vivaldi.

⁶² The identification of this music as Orlandini's was made only recently, and is not noted in *The Manchester Concerto Partbooks, cit.*, or the article cited in note 61.

⁶³ Possibly an aria by Vivaldi; see EVERETT, *Vivaldi Concerto Manuscripts in Manchester: III, cit.*, p. 7.

⁶⁴ Another specimen of hand 14 is *Tavola 2c* in CARLO VITALI, *Di alcune zone d'ombra nella biografia vivaldiana. Presenze ipotetiche e sorprendenti assenze del Prete Rosso. Con un'appendice di fonti relative al repertorio del Sant'Angelo*, in *Nuovi studi vivaldiani, cit.*, pp. 667-79. The work illustrated is a cantata by Porpora, *Solo, pensoso e mesto*, and Vitali lists 15 other items (music by Courcelle, Araja, Pescetti, Albinoni, Galuppi and Porpora) which exhibit the same hand in this manuscript: *I-Bas*; Fondo Malvezzi-Campeggi, Serie IV, Buste 89/749a. I have been unable to consult this source before the present article went to press, but there is little doubt that it sheds great light on the activities, in the early 1730s, of scribe 14, who marked these contributions with the inscription "B. C." and was responsible for Porpora sources elsewhere (*ibid.*, pp. 670-1 and note 9).

⁶⁵ The presence of autograph text in this source (see Plate X) is not mentioned in LANDMANN, *op. cit.*, p. 154.

⁶⁶ See also the facsimile of RV 224, the fourth work in *Antonio Vivaldi: Quattro concerti autografi, cit.*

⁶⁷ Another specimen of hand 21 is *Tavola 4d* in VITALI, *op. cit.*, which informs us that the scribe was responsible for notating Acts II & III in the score of G.B. Lampugnani's *Ezio* (Venice, S. Angelo, Autumn 1737): *I-Bas*; Fondo Malvezzi-Campeggi, Serie IV, Busta 90/750a.

⁶⁸ The present writer is not wholly convinced that all the texts listed for scribe 22 were notated by a single person; of all the hands classified here, hand 22 is the most changeable in style. On balance, however, the variations in calligraphy seem more likely to be the inconsistencies of one inexperienced scribe than the peculiarities of distinct hands. The numbering of items in Foà 28 is based on the present writer's analysis of the structure of the volume, the collation of leaves and the disposition of texts.

Identifications (in square brackets) of the operas to which the arias relate follow STROHM, *Italianische Opernarien*, cit., ii, pp. 263-4, and PETER RYOM, *Inventaire de la documentation manuscrite des oeuvres de Vivaldi*. 1. *Biblioteca Nazionale di Torino. Première partie: le fonds Foà*, "Vivaldi Informations", 2, 1973, pp. 71-5.

⁶⁹ See also Plate 7 (RV 153) in RYOM, *Les manuscrits*, cit., p. 549.

⁷⁰ In writings cited in note 4. Scribe 25 is believed to have been an important copyist active at the court of Pietro Ottoboni; see EVERETT, *Vivaldi Concerto Manuscripts in Manchester*: III, cit., p. 13 & Plate 2. The scribe was responsible for several more manuscripts in the Manchester collection, listed in PAUL EVERETT, *A Roman Concerto Repertory: Ottoboni's "what not"?*, "Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association", 110, 1983-84, pp. 62-78.

⁷¹ I am indebted to Reinhard Strohm for pointing out that the music of RV 761 has some affinity with the aria *Amato ben tu sei la mia speranza* in *La verità in cimento* (Act I Sc. 12) and its variant in *Ercole su'l Termodonte* (Act III Sc. 7), and that *Amato bene* is therefore the title of the concerto rather than the nickname for Vivaldi I had thought it to be (EVERETT, *Vivaldi Concerto Manuscripts in Manchester*: III, cit., p. 13).

⁷² In writings cited in note 4.

⁷³ I am most grateful to the Faculty of Arts and the President of University College, Cork, for granting both financial assistance and leave of absence which have supported and enabled the research on which this article is based. Special thanks are due to the staff of the Biblioteca Nazionale, Turin, the library of the Conservatorio "Benedetto Marcello", Venice, and the Biblioteca Marciana, Venice. I am indebted also to Maurizio Grattoni, Francesco Degrada, Colin Timms and Carlo Vitali, who have kindly assisted in my enquiries, and especially to Antonio Fanna for allowing unlimited access to the source archive of the Istituto Vivaldi.

Handwritten musical score for Plate I. The score consists of eight staves. The top staff is a vocal line with the marking "Vivace". The second staff is a piano accompaniment. The third staff is a vocal line with the marking "Vivace". The fourth and fifth staves are piano accompaniment. The sixth and seventh staves are vocal lines. The eighth staff is a piano accompaniment. The score is written in a large, clear hand.

PLATE I. *I-Tn*; Foà 39, f. 161r. Aria *La speranza ch'in me sento*; Dorilla in *Tempe*, RV 709, Act I Sc. 3. Hand 2.

Handwritten musical score for Plate II. The score consists of eight staves. The top three staves are vocal lines with lyrics in Italian. The bottom five staves are piano accompaniment. The score is written in a large, clear hand.

Ma tuodo pensiero. Almeno in sotto i piume di serco del nembo. no
 me de franche
 Ma tuodo pensiero uolgi cudo nel

PLATE II. *I-Tn*; Foà 35, f. 179v. Aria *L'esperto nocchiero*; *Arsilda, regina di Ponto*, RV 700, Act I Sc. 1. Hand 4, showing the large (early) form of the bass clef.



PLATE III. *I-Tn*; Foà 37, f. 126r. *Tito Manlio*, RV 738, Act I, end of Sc. 2 and opening of Sc. 3. Hand 4, showing the small (late) form of the bass clef.



PLATE IV. *I-Tn*; Foà 39, f. 206v. *Coro Quel teschio orribile*; *Dorilla in Tempe*, RV 709, Act I Sc. 12. Hand 5 (the hand of scribe 4 in the 1730s?).

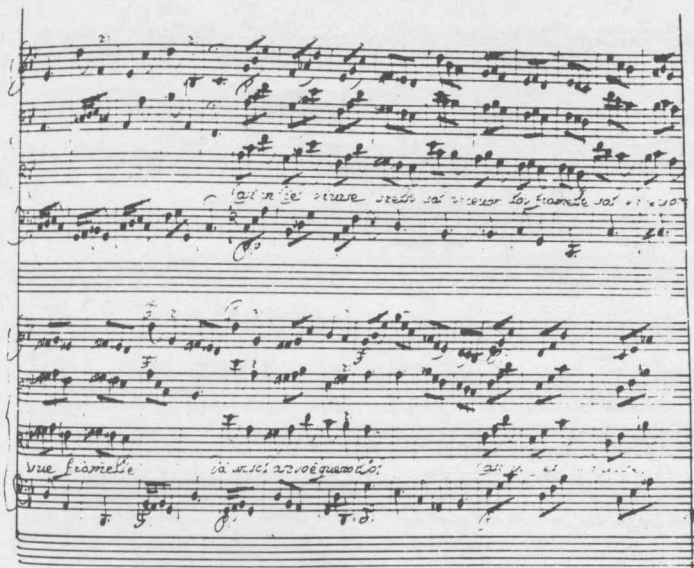


PLATE V. I-Tn; Foà 35, f. 238r. Aria *Precipizio è del mio petto*; *Arsilda, regina di Ponto*, RV 700, Act II Sc. 5. Hand 8.

This image shows a page of handwritten musical notation. At the top, it is titled "Violata a Violoncello Solo" and "Del Sig. Ottavio Stradivari". The score consists of a single melodic line for the violin/viola and a complex piano accompaniment with dense sixteenth-note patterns. A circular library stamp is visible on the left side of the page.

PLATE VI. F-Pn; Vm⁷ 6310, 1st page. RV 47, first movement. Hand 9.

Handwritten musical score for Plate VII. The score consists of seven staves. The top staff is a vocal line with lyrics: "vibile Lo scempio nel Jan". The bottom staff is another vocal line with lyrics: "igne orribile or". The middle staves contain instrumental accompaniment. The notation is in a historical style with various note values and clefs.

PLATE VII. *I-Tn*; Foà 37, f. 149r. Aria *Orribile lo scempio*; *Tito Manlio*, RV 738, Act I Sc. 8. Music: hand 10. Vocal text: hand 12.

Handwritten musical score for Plate VIII. The score is titled "Scena XI" and "Bramo straggi e son trafitto". It begins with the tempo marking "Allegro". The score consists of several staves, including vocal lines and instrumental accompaniment. The notation is in a historical style with various note values and clefs. The bottom staff has the instruction "Bramo straggi e son trafitto".

PLATE VIII. *I-Tn*; Foà 37, f. 158r. Aria *Bramo straggi e son trafitto*; *Tito Manlio*, RV 738, Act I Sc. 11. Hand 11.

Handwritten musical score for Plate IX. The score is written on five staves. The top staff is the vocal line, with lyrics in Italian: "ade con un core de miei amir". The second staff is the piano accompaniment. The third and fourth staves are also piano accompaniment. The fifth staff is the vocal line, with lyrics: "che restar".

PLATE IX. I-Tn; Foà 37, f. 185r. Aria *Non ti lusinghi la crudeltade*; Tito Manlio, RV 738, Act II Sc. 1. Hand 12.

Handwritten musical score for Plate X. The score is written on five staves. The top staff is the vocal line, with lyrics: "chi non partir si presto conforto del mio cor viatoro al mio pe: cara spes:". The second staff is the piano accompaniment. The third and fourth staves are also piano accompaniment. The fifth staff is the vocal line, with lyrics: "chi non partir si presto conforto del mio cor ris:". The tempo marking "Allegro molto" is written above the first staff.

PLATE X. Dddr-Dlb; Mus. 1-J-7,4, p. 70. Cantata *Geme l'onda che parte dal fonte*, RV 657; opening of the final aria. Text in hand 14, with autograph revisions (vocal part, bars 8, 9, 10 and 15).

*all.
Flauto* Concerto del Flauto Concertino Del Sig. D. Antonio Vivaldi *Quarta*

PLATE XI. *I-Tn*; Giordano 31, f. 250r. Concerto, RV 438; opening. Hand 15.

Violino Concerto del Violino Del Sig. D. Antonio Vivaldi *Primo*

PLATE XII. *I-Tn*; Foà 29, f. 142r. Concerto, RV 406; opening. Hand 16.



PLATE XIII. *I-Tn*; Giordano 31, f. 164r. Concerto, RV 538; opening. Autograph: all verbal markings. Hand 17: musical notation.



PLATE XIV. *I-Tn*; Giordano 28, f. 29r. Concerto, RV 561; opening. Hand 18.



PLATE XV. *I-Tn*; Foà 36, f. 46r. Aria *Lascia Clomiri bella; Rosmira fedele*, RV 731, Act I Sc. 12. Hand 19.

A page of handwritten musical notation for a violin part. It consists of six staves of music. The notation is very dense and complex, featuring many sixteenth and thirty-second notes, often beamed together. There are several slurs and dynamic markings throughout. On the left side, there is a handwritten annotation in cursive that reads "dalla non mito".

PLATE XVI. *F-Pn*; D. 8659, *Violino principale* part, 2nd page. Concerto, RV 189; opening. Hand 20.



PLATE XVII. *I-Tn*; Foà 36, f. 88r. Aria *Se frà turbini d'atra procella* [Hasse]; *Rosmira fedele*, RV 731, Act II Sc. 7. Hand 21.



PLATE XVIII. *I-Tn*; Foà 28, f. 59r. Aria *Liquore ingrato* [Tito Manlio, Act I Sc. 4]; the third aria in item 12 in Foà 28. Music: hand 22. Vocal text: autograph.

Handwritten musical score for Plate XIX. The score consists of six staves. The top two staves are vocal lines, and the bottom four staves are piano accompaniment. The lyrics are written in Italian and appear to be: "imposuio viede il riso sul no uolho a ballere", "ul no uolho a ballere", "sul no uolho a ballere", "il no uolho a ballere", "il no uolho a ballere".

PLATE XIX. *I-Tn*; Foà 28, f. 48v. Aria *D'improvviso riede il riso* [Tito Manlio, Act II Sc. 2]; the third aria in item 11 in Foà 28. Music: hand 23. Vocal text: autograph.

Handwritten musical score for Plate XX. The score is titled "Motetto a Capito Sto" and "Del Sig. F. Anno Viciati". It consists of six staves. The top two staves are vocal lines, and the bottom four staves are piano accompaniment. The score is written in a complex, dense style with many accidentals and ornaments.

PLATE XX. *I-Tn*; Giordano 32, f. 140r. Motet *Canta in prato*, RV 623; opening. Hand 24.

Handwritten musical score for Plate XXI. The score consists of eight staves. The top two staves are vocal lines, and the bottom six staves are piano accompaniment. The lyrics are written below the vocal lines. The tempo marking is *Allegro*. The lyrics include: "Al suo na - me", "Al - le - grete quel, respice quan -", "hele, che sol' lupo in feruto fu ferito", and "quant'ingor - gi più non pa -".

PLATE XXI. I-Tn; Foà 35, f. 292r. Aria *Al nocchiero*; *Arsilda, regina di Ponto*, RV 700, Act III Sc. 10. Hand 32.

Handwritten musical score for Plate XXII. The score consists of three staves. The top two staves are vocal lines, and the bottom staff is piano accompaniment. The tempo marking is *Allegro*. The lyrics are written below the vocal lines. The lyrics include: "a qual che gli non era a qual che sono eccat' in vò ritorno. Oh qual manale -", "per sol' in pensame che qui son qui l'altare. E non offere rimacherento", and "per me che lui in che lui voma l'ipol' l'ipol' la monzara ed el vor' come un corve".

PLATE XXII. I-Tn; Foà 35, f. 266r. *Arsilda, regina di Ponto*, RV 700; opening of Act III. Hand 33.

Handwritten musical score for Plate XXIII. The score consists of several staves of music, including a vocal line with lyrics. The lyrics are: "ma non so del mio destino, se pav". The music features complex rhythmic patterns and dynamic markings such as *p* and *f*.

PLATE XXIII. I-Tn; Giordano 39, f. 34r. Aria *Reggia amica a te vicino*; L'Atenaide, RV 702, Act I Sc. 7. Hand 34.

Handwritten musical score for Plate XXIV. The score consists of two systems of staves, each with a vocal line and complex rhythmic patterns. The lyrics are: "del destino non dee lagnarsi" and "che tu noi... non... d'altro... un al... ma... per...". The music includes dynamic markings and trills.

PLATE XXIV. I-Tn; Giordano 36, f. 151v. Aria *Del destin non dee lagnarsi*; Il Bajazet, RV 703, Act I Sc. 1. Music: hand 35. Vocal text, trills and dynamic markings: Vivaldi's hand.

Moderato

Vedersi abbandonare da
 un animo infedele da l'anima infedele. Vedersi abbandonare e solo q. Ven.
 della p. Vendetta piangere e sospirare. Sospirare. e Trov: so gran liti

fi

Vedersi abbandonare abbandonare da un animo infedele
 in fedele e solo q. vendetta p. Vendetta piangere e'

PLATE XXV. I-Tn; Giordano 36, f. 225v. Aria *Vedersi abbandonare* [Porpora]; *Il Bajazet*, RV 703, Act II Sc. 7. Hand 37.

C

Veder parmi or che nel fondo

Veder parmi or che nel fondo

adagio

PLATE XXVI. I-Tn; Giordano 36, f. 255v. Aria *Veder parmi or che nel fondo*; *Il Bajazet*, RV 703, Act III Sc. 1. Music: hand 38. Vocal text and dynamic markings: Vivaldi's hand.



PLATE XXVII. *I-Tn*; Foà 39, f. 145r. Sinfonia *Dorilla in Tempe*, RV 709. Hand 39.

A page of handwritten musical notation for an aria. It features six staves of music. The notation includes notes, rests, and dynamic markings. The word "impossibile" is written in the second staff. At the bottom of the page, there is a line of handwritten text in Italian: "Dall'orrido soggiorno uscio al patrio interno". The handwriting is in ink on aged paper.

PLATE XXVIII. *I-Tn*; Foà 39, f. 166r. Aria *Dall'orrido soggiorno*; *Dorilla in Tempe*, RV 709, Act I Sc. 3. Music: hand 40. Vocal text: Vivaldi's hand.

Handwritten musical score for Plate XXIX, featuring multiple staves with complex rhythmic patterns and vocal lines. The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and dynamic markings like 'pppp' and 'ppp'. There are also some lyrics visible, such as 'r al r ca munt re pu ca re cangi q' and 'r all or che man'.

PLATE XXIX. I-Tn; Giordano 36, f. 80r. Aria *Arsa da rai cocenti*; *Il Farnace*, RV 711, Act II Sc. 9. Hand 41 (DC^o autograph?).

Handwritten musical score for Plate XXX, showing a vocal line with lyrics and a piano accompaniment. The lyrics include "no na piegan do il tuo go=" and "Scherza l'aura lusinghiera, e scuotendo e varna". There are also performance instructions like "Scherza" and "Scherza con zia".

PLATE XXX. I-Tn; Giordano 36, f. 119r. Aria *Scherza l'aura lusinghiera*; *Il Farnace*, RV 711, Act III Sc. 3. Music: hand 42. Vocal text and cues: autograph.



PLATE XXXI. *I-Tn*; Giordano 39 bis, f. 260r. *La fida ninfa*, RV 714; textless aria in Act III Sc. 7. Hand 43.

A page of handwritten musical notation for a vocal and choral part. The top staff is the vocal line, starting with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat. The lyrics are written below the notes: "invidia sope amara" and "Aggio di tal'altiv' prudenza impuro". The music is written in a cursive hand with various ornaments and slurs. Below the vocal line are six staves of accompaniment, including a basso continuo line at the bottom. The notation is dense and characteristic of 17th-century manuscript notation. The bottom right of the page is marked with the number "151".

PLATE XXXII. *I-Tn*; Giordano 39 bis, f. 151r. *Orlando*, RV 728, final scene. Recitative: autograph. Coro *Con mirti, e fiori*: hand 44.

Allegro ma poco

Un tempo più basso.

PLATE XXXIII. I-Tn; Foà 36, f. 52r. Aria *È follia se nascondete; Rosmira fedele*, RV 731, Act I Sc. 15. Hand 45.

avec la voix qui vient d'être murmuré

obstiné à se plaindre

PLATE XXXIV. I-Tn; Foà 36, f. 40r. Aria *Già risonar d'intorno* [Handel], altered to *Già risvegliar à sdegno*; *Rosmira fedele*, RV 731, Act I Sc. 11. Original text: hand 46. New words and the revision, on the lowest stave, of the vocal part: Vivaldi's hand.

Handwritten musical score for Plate XXXV. The score consists of six staves. The top staff is a vocal line with lyrics. The second staff is a vocal line with lyrics. The third staff is a vocal line with lyrics. The fourth staff is a vocal line with lyrics. The fifth staff is a vocal line with lyrics. The sixth staff is a vocal line with lyrics. The lyrics are: "Un tuono più basso".

PLATE XXXV. I-Tn; Foà 36, f. 112r. Aria *Il labbro ti lusinga* (altered to *La bella mia nemica*); *Rosmira fedele*, RV 731, Act III Sc. 2. Hand 47, except for the words *Un tuono più basso* (which, like the subsequent vocal texts, are in Vivaldi's hand).

Handwritten musical score for Plate XXXVI. The score consists of six staves. The top staff is a vocal line with lyrics. The second staff is a vocal line with lyrics. The third staff is a vocal line with lyrics. The fourth staff is a vocal line with lyrics. The fifth staff is a vocal line with lyrics. The sixth staff is a vocal line with lyrics. The lyrics are: "Liquore ingrato".

PLATE XXXVI. I-Tn; Foà 37, f. 132v. Aria *Liquore ingrato*; *Tito Manlio*, RV 738, Act I Sc. 4. Music: hand 48. Vocal text: hand 4. Cue, *Viol.^{lo} Solo*: autograph.

174

Scena 8^a

Orlando è deſol.

Non godrai ſempres'impaccio. *ſi fo de' p.*

ſuo giovin' nobile audace. *Orlando.* *ſi aime*

to. ſon perduto *rendi* *rendi pur gratia al ciel ch'è inorme*

ſe ſi tu. Sangu' uorrei imporporar queſta amoſa de' co:

ſe de' m' der inuitaſti. *al tuo fo:tere*

452

PLATE XXXVII. I-Tn; Giordano 37, f. 184v. Ristori & Vivaldi, *Orlando furioso*, RV Anh. 84; opening of Sc. 8 in Act I. Hand 49.

I copisti italiani di Vivaldi (*Sommario*)

A differenza del modo approfondito in cui sono stati presi in esame i manoscritti vivaldiani recanti le grafie di Pisendel e dei copisti operanti a Dresda, alle numerose fonti non autografe o parzialmente autografe di provenienza italiana (in specie quelle della raccolta Foà-Giordano della Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria di Torino) è stata dedicata finora un'attenzione molto sommaria. Di fronte al problema apparentemente insormontabile dell'identificazione dei tanti copisti effettivamente rappresentati, è consigliabile un approccio che prima stabilisca una tipologia delle molte grafie (con l'attribuzione di etichette descrittive di carattere piuttosto semplice), per poi trarre delle conclusioni sullo status o sulle credenziali dei vari copisti in base all'incidenza e alla natura stessa dei loro lavori, nonché all'analisi dei materiali da essi utilizzati. Sebbene l'individuazione del nome dell'uno o dell'altro dei copisti sia sempre da accogliere di buon grado, ciò non fornisce necessariamente un'indicazione sull'autorevolezza o meno del testo, né garantisce l'autenticità stessa della musica come creazione di Vivaldi. Il vero interesse di una copia manoscritta risiede piuttosto in questioni sul tipo di *dove e quando* essa fu scritta, *che cosa* contiene e in che misura i contenuti siano stati determinati o autorizzati dal compositore.

Da alcuni dati nuovi, emersi dallo studio dei manoscritti Foà-Giordano, risulta che molti copisti dovettero collaborare direttamente con Vivaldi e anche, talvolta, fra di loro. Alcuni dati non testuali permettono di intravedere, nella contemporaneità di alcuni rapporti di lavoro di questo tipo, un legame fra certe copie manoscritte e certi manoscritti autografi; tale contemporaneità può essere d'aiuto anche nel tentativo di distinguere fra quelle sezioni d'un pasticcio copiate sotto il controllo diretto del compositore e quelle estrapolate da partiture già esistenti. Allargando il campo delle ricerche allo studio dei manoscritti veneziani dell'epoca che contengono composizioni di altri autori, si arriva ad una migliore definizione dell'identità stessa dei copisti, nonché ad una qualche spiegazione della presenza, nei documenti in cui si conservano le musiche del nostro autore, d'una rosa di grafie tanto diverse.

Dallo studio delle «mani» risulta che Vivaldi, nell'arco intero – o quasi – della sua carriera, affidò con regolarità il lavoro di copiatura ad un unico collaboratore (copista 4), usufruendo solo in modo saltuario dell'opera di molti altri copisti. Di questi, un buon numero è presente anche in altri manoscritti veneziani. In base all'analisi delle loro grafie e ai caratteri estrinseci nella redazione dei testi, si può ritenere che i copisti 2, 8, 9, 14, 19 e 21 fossero dei veri e propri professionisti, facenti

parte di quel gruppo attivo durante le «stagioni» dei teatri d'opera e impiegati presso l'una o presso l'altra delle copisterie della città (le quali, forse, potevano annoverare più compositori fra la propria clientela).

Verosimilmente, fra i vari nipoti di Vivaldi che esercitarono la professione di copista (Pietro Mauro, Daniele Mauro, Carlo Vivaldi), nessuno ebbe rapporti di collaborazione frequenti o durevoli con lo zio; è anche probabile che la maggior parte dei copisti impegnati nella redazione dei manoscritti comprendenti la raccolta Foà-Giordano non abbia mai avuto rapporti diretti o continuativi con l'Ospedale della Pietà.

È da notare che il copista 4, a differenza di altri copisti presenti più volte nel corpus dei manoscritti vivaldiani, compare solamente nelle composizioni attribuite a Vivaldi e, insieme, in due documenti contenenti musiche di altri compositori ma di proprietà, a quanto pare, dello stesso Vivaldi. Pertanto è da ritenere probabile che il copista 4, attivo dal 1713 (forse addirittura dal 1701) fino ai primi degli anni '30, sia stato un membro della famiglia Vivaldi; si può avanzare l'ipotesi che costui, uomo di indubbia esperienza e sul quale Vivaldi poteva fare grande affidamento, sia identificabile nella persona del padre di Antonio, Giovanni Battista Vivaldi (1655-1736). Una grafia di fattura simile, qui classificata con il n. 5, pare essere anch'essa quella del vecchio copista 4.

Il catalogo riportato in appendice di questo articolo tratta solo di quei copisti che probabilmente ebbero contatti con Vivaldi e che sono presenti in più fonti, nonché di quei copisti che sono solamente presenti nelle stesse. L'ordinamento del catalogo, nel caso delle opere e dei pasticci è per titolo; in quello delle altre composizioni procede per singolo copista, indicando per ognuno i relativi interventi.

Alla ricerca della data dell'ultimo addio di Vivaldi a Venezia

Gastone Vio

Quando il 5 agosto 1735¹ i Governatori dell'Ospedale della Pietà presero la decisione di assumere Antonio Vivaldi come Maestro di Concerti, commissionandogli due composizioni al mese per le ragazze del Coro, pareva che il neo eletto fosse ben deciso di terminare a Venezia, in tranquillità, i suoi giorni;² ma poi Vivaldi riprese ad allontanarsi da Venezia, così che la morte lo colse a Vienna.

Nell'attesa che si possa stabilire con certezza la data del suo ultimo addio alla città lagunare, crediamo interessante attirare l'attenzione su un documento che riteniamo inedito e che ci è stato indicato dal Direttore dell'Archivio di Stato di Venezia, cui vanno i nostri ringraziamenti.

Si tratta della «Terminazione», datata 4 luglio 1740,³ di uno dei Censori in carica in quell'epoca, dalla quale riteniamo sia possibile ricavare qualche indicazione utile circa la data di partenza da Venezia di Vivaldi.

La stagione operistica autunnale per l'anno 1739 venne aperta al Teatro S. Angelo con un'opera di Antonio Vivaldi, circa la quale leggiamo nella «Pallade Veneta»: «Sabbato sera della scorsa settimana, per virtuoso e dilettevole trattenimento di questa nobiltà che va ripatriando, si è aperto il teatro a sant'Angelo e si cominciò la recita d'un dramma musicale intitolato Feraspe, e fu tale il concorso e l'applauso quale meritano li virtuosi che lo recitano, e tutte le altre cose che concorrono a renderlo plausibile».⁴

Nel libretto a stampa di quest'opera i cantanti sono elencati in quest'ordine: Andrea Masuò;⁵ Caterina Fumagalli; Elena Venier; Giacomo Zaghini;⁶ Rosa Gabinelli; Angela Massi⁷ e Francesco Amorevoli.

Gli stessi interpreti, senza però lo Zaghini, si incontrano anche nelle due opere andate in scena nel carnevale successivo, la *Cleonice*⁸ di Giovanni Adolfo Hasse (su libretto di P. Metastasio) ed il *Tullio Ostilio* di Giovanni Battista Pescetti (su libretto di A. Morselli).

La stagione operistica andava verso la sua naturale conclusione con la fine ormai prossima del carnevale, ed i cantanti non avevano ancora ottenuto il pieno pagamento di quanto loro competeva per le prestazioni nell'opera vivaldiana con cui si era iniziata quella stagione: come d'uso, si rivolsero alla magistratura veneta per ottenere il sequestro degli incassi giornalieri a tutela dei loro buoni diritti.

Il 19 gennaio 1739 (*more veneto*, quindi 1740) Antonio Chiapolin, che non sapremmo dire quale ruolo ricoprisse al S. Angelo in quella

stagione operistica, chiese ai Giudici dell'Esaminador il sequestro degli incassi serali; anche la cantante Angela Massi (o Mazzi, come si legge in questi atti) aveva chiesto lo stesso provvedimento a proprio favore.

Prima che iniziasse la stagione operistica, che in quell'anno per il Teatro S. Angelo era nelle mani di Felice Dini⁹ nella veste di impresario, erano stati incaricati per la riscossione degli incassi giornalieri Mattio Rochetti e Giovanni Ghezzi,¹⁰ i quali ora prontamente accolsero le intimazioni di sequestro degli incassi. Ogni credito fu presto soddisfatto, e rimase ancora del denaro contante che ad ogni buon conto venne versato nelle casse dei Giudici dell'Esaminador, nell'attesa di un provvedimento di annullamento della intimazione di sequestro.

Di fronte ai Censori, incaricati di intervenire nelle questioni economiche tra impresari e artisti nei teatri d'opera, la vertenza del sequestro venne risolta il 4 luglio 1740 (ne riportiamo il documento in Appendice), con decisione presa da uno solo dei due giudici di detta magistratura: Gerolamo Querini. L'altro Censore, Pietro Basadonna, volutamente volle stare in disparte, «casciatosi», si legge nel documento originale, cioè autoesclusosi.

Quando il 5 dicembre precedente,¹¹ a quanto si legge in un altro documento, la questione venne presentata per la prima volta davanti ai Censori da Gerolamo Cerchieri, quale interveniente a nome di Giacomo Zaghini ed Angela Mazzi perché si giungesse al provvedimento di sequestro delle «casselle dei bollettini», cioè degli incassi serali, era stato proprio il giudice Pietro Basadonna ad adottare il primo provvedimento secondo quanto era stato richiesto. L'altro giudice, a quella data, era Giuseppe Michiel, che, si legge nel verbale, era ammalato, e quindi assente. Evidentemente al Michiel, a causa del suo stato di salute, era subentrato il Querini.

Con le inevitabili schermaglie giuridiche tra le parti in causa, le cose erano andate un po' per le lunghe, ma alla fine si arrivò ad una conclusione a favore dei ricorrenti, anzi, come già abbiamo detto, rimase una certa somma che venne versata ai Giudici dell'Esaminador, sotto il vincolo del sequestro. Per togliere questo vincolo furono sollecitati i Censori; e siccome una delle parti in causa era anche Vivaldi, essendo sua l'opera per la cui esecuzione erano stati scritturati i nominativi già noti, si presentò la necessità di sentirlo personalmente: se non fosse stato soddisfatto pienamente di quanto gli competeva come compositore dell'opera, la somma sotto sequestro avrebbe potuto appartenergli; di qui la trafila di atti che leggiamo essere stati compiuti appunto dai Censori, prima che fosse emanata la loro decisione.

Il 6 maggio 1740¹² gli atti passarono dunque nelle mani dei Censori. Il 24 successivo Vivaldi fu citato davanti agli stessi giudici, con rego-

lare atto fattogli recapitare nella casa di sua abituale residenza, «in contrà di san Salvador, in calle de favri», come si legge nel documento in esame. Il destinatario era assente, ed i vicini di casa informarono che il Vivaldi era «fuori Venezia». Lo stesso esito ebbero le citazioni del 25 e 27 maggio, per cui, per evitare la nullità degli atti, venne richiesta una citazione edittale «per stridor de vivi» (come si usava dire in termini legali), in base alla quale Vivaldi venne citato il giorno 9 giugno con intimazione di presentarsi il 10 successivo. Persistendo l'assenza di Vivaldi, e vista la rinuncia di Gerolamo Cerchiari, marito della Massi e per conto della quale egli era intervenuto, la somma restante (che nel frattempo si era ridotta a 44 lire) venne liberata dai vincoli del sequestro e lasciata a libera disposizione di Antonio Chiapolin.

Da quanto si è detto dunque, in una data per ora ancora imprecisata ma anteriore al 24 maggio 1740, Antonio Vivaldi era già assente da Venezia. Non si ha notizia del luogo in cui egli era andato, però si dice chiaramente che era fuori città. Non è improbabile che i vicini di casa di Vivaldi, affermando la sua partenza da Venezia, abbiano usato l'espressione che si legge a volte anche in documenti d'archivio, quando si parla di persone lontane da Venezia: «el xe fora de la tera», letteralmente «è fuori della terra», e la terra è la città di Venezia, che per la verità è costituita più d'acqua che di terra.

Altre indicazioni per stabilire per quanto possibile una data esatta circa la partenza di Vivaldi da Venezia potrebbero essere date dai registri contabili dell'Ospedale della Pietà, nei quali sono riportate con molta esattezza le varie voci dei pagamenti effettuati a Vivaldi; ma solo se si potesse affermare senza ombra di dubbio che il pagamento degli ultimi concerti vivaldiani, registrato in data 12 maggio 1740,¹³ sia stato effettuato personalmente a Vivaldi. Le 440 lire spese dall'Ospedale per l'acquisto di 20 concerti possono esser state ricevute anche da altra persona. Nel «Registro scontro» nel quale leggiamo le voci giustificative della spesa non è detto nulla al riguardo. E i registri dei «riceveri», nei quali oltre ai motivi della spesa c'è la ricevuta autografa di chi effettivamente ha riscosso la somma, mancano per l'anno che ci interessa.

A proposito di questi ultimi concerti acquistati dall'Ospedale della Pietà, pare che da parte di qualcuno si sia parlato di «svendita» del prodotto. Le 440 lire pagate nell'occasione sono l'esatto equivalente di 20 zecchini, e da quando Vivaldi era stato nominato Maestro di Concerti, era stato stabilito che per ogni concerto gli sarebbe stato versato uno zecchino, il cui valore era, come detto, di 22 lire. Non ci fu quindi alcuna «svendita».

Se davvero i 20 zecchini che gli competevano per i 20 concerti acquistati dall'Ospedale della Pietà furono riscossi il 12 maggio 1740

personalmente da Vivaldi, appena una settimana dopo questi era già partito da Venezia, dove non sarebbe più ritornato.

Ci vollero quasi due secoli, e tutto l'impegno di un ben noto studioso di cose veneziane, Rodolfo Gallo, per conoscere la data esatta ed il luogo di morte di Antonio Vivaldi, ma resta ancora da chiedersi quando la notizia della sua morte sia giunta a Venezia.

Nei Notatori del Fondo Gradenigo-Dolfin,¹⁴ nei quali sono raccolte tante notizie interessanti la vita cittadina, specie sotto l'aspetto artistico, è riportata la notizia della morte di Vivaldi; ma nulla è specificato, neppure l'anno in cui tale morte sarebbe avvenuta: si accenna solo vagamente ad un qualche anno del quarto decennio del Settecento.

Nell'attesa di un documento più circostanziato, dobbiamo per ora accontentarci di quanto si legge in una registrazione che troviamo negli Atti dei Censori, recante la data 3 settembre 1741; pensiamo sia più conveniente riproporla integralmente:

3 settembre 1741, e fu li 26 agosto¹⁵

Refferì Zanetti fante dell'ufficio, per parola havuta da Pavarin, comandador, haver bollato tutti li mobili ed effetti che sono nella casa del quondam reverendo Antonio Vivaldi, si trovano per ragione del sudetto Vivaldi, e posto pena di ducati 50, oltre il pagar del proprio, a cadauna persona, che non movi né permetti che sii mosso cosa alcuna di detti mobili, sino ad altro ordine della giustitia ordinaria, ad istanza di domine Malgarita et Zanetta sorelle Vivaldi, per cautione de suoi crediti di mercedi.

[Nel margine sinistro di detto atto si legge:] V. Giulio Zanetti dimanda per fermar nel presente Magistrato.
detto: Intimato per stridor di morti detta notizia in forma.

Da quanto si può arguire dal documento, la notizia della morte di Vivaldi deve essere giunta alle sorelle attorno al 26 agosto. I loro passi presso i Censori non crediamo siano da interpretare come segni di malanimo nei confronti del defunto, e neppure per sottolineare sue eventuali manchevolezze nei loro confronti. Il loro intendimento fu senza dubbio quello di tutelarsi dalle pretese di eventuali creditori del fratello; creditori forse anche falsi, come spesso si può rilevare dai documenti dell'epoca.

Nell'occasione della citazione di Vivaldi da parte dei Censori in data 4 luglio 1740, abbiamo visto che il cursore di quella magistratura si era recato in Calle dei Fabbri, dove si sapeva che Vivaldi abitava in

quell'epoca. Questa volta, ad un anno di distanza, non è detto dove si trovassero i mobili di Vivaldi posti sotto sequestro. C'è da credere che partendo da Venezia Vivaldi non abbia disdetto l'appartamento in cui da oltre un decennio abitava, nel quale era morto il padre, e nel quale, lo apprendiamo solo ora, abitavano anche le due sorelle che non si erano sposate.

Quando avvenne il sequestro dei mobili è probabile che sia stato redatto, sia pure per sommi capi, un inventario ed è augurabile che presto o tardi questo possa essere ritrovato.

In quella casa, nella quale Antonio Vivaldi era andato ad abitare il 4 maggio 1730,¹⁶ le due sorelle, Margherita e Zanetta, si trovavano probabilmente come «massare», o, per dirla in termini più moderni, come governanti (l'Atto sopra riportato accenna alla fine a «crediti per mercedi» delle sorelle nei riguardi di Vivaldi). La casa era abbastanza grande, ed esse avevano certo il loro bel da fare per tenerla in ordine, sia pure con le esigenze non eccessivamente severe dell'epoca.

Un vecchio proverbio veneziano dice «chi vol aver da far, se toga un prete da governar».¹⁷ Erano in due, è vero, ma non avevano certamente momenti vuoti durante la giornata, assorbite com'erano dal loro lavoro; ma erano anche discrete, tant'è vero che nessuno si era mai accorto della loro presenza nella casa di Vivaldi, che forse invece veniva riempita anche troppo, a sentir le voci dei soliti malevoli, dalla presenza della Girò; questa certamente frequentava la casa del maestro, ma forse un po' meno di quanto non sia stato detto.

¹ ARCHIVIO di STATO di VENEZIA (in seguito ASV), *Ospedali e luoghi pii*, Busta 692, Notatorio Q, c. 113.

² ASV, *Ospedali e luoghi pii*, Busta 661, Filza parti. Nel verbale della seduta del 5 agosto 1735 è inserita una relazione dei Deputati sopra il Coro, nella quale si legge: «Accordando egli [Vivaldi] di assumer li accennati impegni per bene eseguirli, et ora maggiormente che si è stabilito in questa Dominante, senza idea di più ripartire, come ha praticato nei tempi passati».

³ ASV, *Censori*, Busta 30, Terminazioni, che sono raccolte in ordine cronologico. A quanto si legge nel catalogo di questo fondo archivistico, vi si tratterebbe di atti relativi all'arte vetraria, il che è vero solo in parte. Si tratta per lo più infatti di questioni riguardanti detta arte, ma vi sono anche atti relativi a controversie tra cantanti ed impresari. Ai Censori, che erano nati nel 1517 per volontà del Maggior Consiglio per inquisire sulle elezioni, erano state successivamente affidate le questioni riguardanti i salari dei dipendenti, oltre che le vertenze relative all'arte vetraria.

⁴ E. SELFRIDGE-FIELD, *Pallade Veneta, Writing on Music in Venetian Society, 1650-1750*, Fondazione Levi, Venezia, 1985, p. 310.

⁵ In A. BELLINA, B. BRIZI, M.G. PENSA, *I libretti vivaldiani. Recensione e collazione dei testimoni a stampa*, Olschki, Firenze, 1982, p. 67, leggiamo Masnò e non Masuò. Nell'atto allegato al documento di cui alla nota 3, si legge Smanò.

⁶ Appunto dal nome dello Zaghini ci sembra di poter arguire che la vertenza riguardava solamente gli esecutori della prima opera di quella stagione.

⁷ Il nome di Angela Massi (o Mazzi, come si legge negli atti dell'epoca) ricorre spesso in queste carte.

⁸ La prima di quest'opera è ricordata in *Pallade Veneta, cit.*, a p. 313, e « riscosse [...] applauso ».

⁹ Il Dini, come impresario del Teatro S. Angelo in quella stagione operistica, è ricordato dagli autori di cui alla nota 5. Al Dini, appunto come impresario, fa riferimento anche la decisione dei Censori che andiamo esaminando.

¹⁰ Nel loro « Costituto » del 24 febbraio 1739 (*more veneto*) ai Giudici dell'Esaminador, il Rochetti ed il Ghezzi affermano di essere stati incaricati della riscossione e vendita dei biglietti d'ingresso « per scrittura 8 ottobre 1739 ».

¹¹ ASV, *Censori*, Busta 6, Registro Costituti e Sentenze 1736-1742, le cui pagine non sono numerate, alla data.

¹² Questa data e quelle dei passi successivi si leggono nella Terminazione dei Censori di cui alla nota 3.

¹³ ASV, *Ospedali e luoghi pii*, Registro 1009, c. 541.

¹⁴ Questi Notatori sono conservati nella Civica Biblioteca del Museo Correr di Venezia.

¹⁵ ASV, *Censori*, Busta 6, Registro Costituti e Sentenze 1736-1742, alla data.

¹⁶ Per l'ultima residenza di Vivaldi a Venezia rimandiamo a quanto dicemmo nel primo numero di questo Bollettino (1980), p. 44.

¹⁷ « Se toga », cioè si prenda.

APPENDICE

Adì 4 luglio 1740

L'Illustrissimo signor Gerolamo Querini onorando Censor, non ingerendosi l'Illustrissimo signor Pietro Basadonna, altro onorando Censor casciatosi, udito domino Antonio Chiapolin esponente esser stato il 24 febraro 1739 depositato da domino Mattio Rochetti e Zuane Ghezzi compagni simul et in solidum delli boteghini esistenti nel teatro di sant'Angelo, in obbedienza de sequestri fatti decorrere da esso Chiapolin, e da domina Angela Mazzi virtuosa di musica di detto teatro, per il Magistrato Illustrissimo dell'Esaminador e suseguente intimatione decorsa ad essi compagni per il presente Illustrissimo Magistrato, ad istanza della compagnia de virtuosi di detto teatro lire nette quarantaotto de piccoli rimanente debito dissero verso domino Francesco Dini, da esser levate da chi sarà di ragione e giustitia previa citatione alli sudetti, ed havendo il 6 maggio 1740 prossimo passati domino Francesco Campioni come masser dell'ufficio illustrissimo dell'Esaminador in obbidienza de comandamenti fatti per il presente Illustrissimo Magistrato ad istanza d'esso Chiapolin depositate in quell'Illustrissimo Magistrato lire quarantaquattro de piccoli con tutti gli impedimenti, modi, forme e condizioni come s'attrovavano depositate in detto officio dell'Esaminador, nec aliter nec alio modo, onde havendo li 9 giugno prossimo passato dato parola domino Gerolamo Cerchiarri, come marito di Angela Mazzi, a Bosello, fante dell'ufficio che siano liberamente date dette lire 44 ad esso Chiapolino; et detto giorno riferito da Bosello, fante dell'ufficio, d'esser stato li 24 maggio passato alla casa di solita habitatione del reverendo don Antonio Vivaldi in contrà di san Salvador, in calle de favri, per citar il detto ad istanza d'esso Chiapolin, et esserli stato risposto dalli vicini esser fuori di Venetia, et essersi conferito il 25 e 27 sudetto come sopra, et esserli stato risposto come sopra, si che detto giorno 9 attesa detta risposta esser seguito atto nel presente Illustrissimo Magistrato sopra le di lui istanze di poter esser citato detto reverendo Vivaldi per stridor de vivo, data notitia ad ripas, che però corsa citatione per stridor ut supra per li 10 sopradetto, seguì detto giorno atto absente a favor d'esso Chiapolin, et contro detto reverendo Vivaldi con quale restò terminato che il deposito fatto da Mattio Rochetti e Zuane Ghezzi e compagni, girato nel presente Illustrissimo Magistrato, sii liberamente dato al sudetto Chiapolin e per li 9 sudetto essendo stato citato per lievo di deposito domino Felice Dini, ad istanza d'esso esponente seguì, detto giorno pur atto absente contro detto Dini con quale restò terminato che il deposito girato sudetto ut supra sii liberamente dato ad esso Chiapolin, come pure essendo stato li 10 passato con atto del presente Illustrissimo Magistrato revocato il sequestro fatto ad istanza della compagnia dei virtuosi del teatro di sant'Angelo nelle mani di detto Rochetti per nome suo e compagni de dì 12 febraro 1739, attesa fede di detto giorno, posta in filza di non esser anotato detto sequestro.

Insta però, e riverentemente ricerca, detto Antonio Chiapolin, in vigor

di detta parola et atti, che dal Nodaro del presente Illustrissimo Magistrato li siano contate le sudette lire quarantaquattro de piccoli come sopra depositate.

Et udito il fiscal del loro Illustrissimo Magistrato, qual disse haver veduto li sudetti conti de depositi quello dell'ufficio dell'Esaminador che resta con la presente terminatione unito, altro del presente Illustrissimo Magistrato esistente nel libro depositi con gli impedimenti di quelli inseriti quali resterano evacuati con detta parola al margine di detto deposito et atti apparenti nel notatorio, cose tutte che stano e vivono non appellate né sospese con sue intimationi che però renderli detto deposito di lire quarantaquattro de piccoli libero disponente sicut etcetera.

Onde sua Signoria Illustrissima il tutto ben inteso e maturamente considerato, Christi nomine invocato a quo etcetera, ha terminato in tutto et per tutto come è stato ricercato, mandans etcetera.

Girolamo Querini, Censor.

[Allegata alla terminazione surriportata, c'è copia dell'atto che segue:]

Adì 24 febraro 1739

Costituito di domino Mattio Rochetti e Zuane Ghezzi compagni simul et in solidum delli botteghini esistenti nel teatro di sant'Angelo, come per scrittura 8 ottobre 1739, et in pronta obbedienza di sequestri fatti decorrere da domino Antonio Chiapolin li 19 genaro trascorso per il presente offitio, e da domina Angela Mazzi, virtuosa di musica di detto teatro del giorno sudetto, e succedente intimatione decorsa dalli sudetti costituiti li 22 febraro per il Magistrato Illustrissimo de Cenzori, ad istanza della compagnia de virtuosi di detto teatro, del tenor come in quella, così che detti costituiti a studio di quiete e a sua real cautione depositano lire de piccoli cinquantauna suo rimanente debito verso domino Felice Dini di detti costituiti d'esser quelle levate da chi sarà di ragione e giusta previa cittazione alli sudetti, salvis et sine pregiuditio et sic etcetera, da quali si batte per il presente costituito copia e impedimenti lire 3, restano lire 48.

Die dicta

Intimato a domino Antonio Chiapolin nec non a domino Angelo Drassi et Andre Smanò per nome suo e compagni, ad istanza controscritta; riferi Zini comandador girato alli Sopra Consoli sotto il dì 6 maggio 1740.

Tratto dal libro Depositati esistente nella Camera del Magistrato Illustrissimo dell'Esaminador.

Towards a Chronology of Vivaldi's Final Departure from Venice (*Summary*)

The precise date of Vivaldi's final departure from Venice for Vienna is unknown. It can, however, be ascertained approximately on the basis of newly discovered documentation in the Archivio di Stato, Venice. From a "Terminatione" of 4 July 1740, reproduced in both facsimile and transcription in the present article, it emerges that Vivaldi had been ordered to appear in court, to give evidence in a case regarding the non-payment of the singers in his opera *Feraspe*, produced in Autumn 1739 at the Teatro S. Angelo (impresario, Felice Dini). Vivaldi was to have made a statement regarding the payment of his own fee as composer of the music. Yet, on 24 May 1740 (as also on 25 and 27 May), when the summons was delivered to Vivaldi's residence, the composer's neighbours declared that he was "out of town". This suggests that Vivaldi had already left for Vienna. If it is true that a payment for twenty concertos recorded in the registers of the Pietà for 20 May 1740 was made directly to Vivaldi and not to a deputy (the registers themselves offer no clarification on the matter), the date of the composer's departure from Venice can be fixed between 12 and 24 May 1740.

In an injunction of 3 September 1741 the "Censori", on the request of Vivaldi's two sisters, ordered that the composer's house be locked shut and forbade the removal of furniture or other items from the said abode. This cautionary measure was intended to ensure the availability of funds for the sisters' payment as housekeepers for Vivaldi (which in turn suggests that they were probably living permanently in the house) and avoid the risk of fraudulent speculation on the part of would-be creditors of the late composer. This injunction represents the earliest known documentation that news of Vivaldi's death on the night of 27-28 July 1741 had reached Venice.

Discographie Vivaldi n° 11 - 1989 *aux soins de Roger-Claude Travers*

Cette discographie présente les enregistrements parus du 1^{er} janvier 1989 au 31 décembre 1989 dans le monde entier. Les oeuvres sont classées suivant les catalogues Ryom et Fanna.

– Nouveautés:

Sont répertoriés les disques inédits, jamais parus auparavant dans aucun pays. Ces disques peuvent avoir plusieurs références, suivant le pays éditeur. Elles sont précisées.

Chaque disque est classé suivant un numéro arbitraire indiquant l'année de parution et un chiffre. (Cette année: 1989/n°...). Ce numéro permettra d'identifier ce disque dans ces colonnes, en cas de réédition ultérieure ou de changement de référence.

Les transcriptions du XVIII^{ème} siècle (Chédeville, Rousseau, Agrell, etc.) sont considérées comme des oeuvres de Vivaldi, à l'exception des transcriptions de Jean-Sébastien Bach.

Les disques sont classés par ordre alphabétique des maisons d'édition.

– Nouveaux couplages d'enregistrements anciens:

Sont répertoriés les disques inédits regroupant des enregistrements déjà parus mais couplés différemment dans le disque original, ainsi que les coffrets renfermant plusieurs disques de Vivaldi déjà présents aux catalogues en disques séparés.

Chaque enregistrement est classé suivant un numéro arbitraire comme les nouveautés, et la lettre C.

– Compact-Disc:

Les références sont indiquées dans le recensement annuel. La correspondance avec les LP déjà parus et la référence complète sont précisées.

– Précisions:

Cette rubrique donne les références précises des disques insuffisamment répertoriés dans ces colonnes, lors d'une discographie précédente, ainsi que les références nouvelles, notamment en CD, de disques déjà parus et critiqués.

– Commentaire sur la discographie:

Après un aperçu global de l'année discographique, les enregistrements intéressants, soit par leur programme, soit par leur interprétation, sont critiqués et indiqués par un astérisque dans le répertoire.

I. NOUVEAUTES PARUES EN 1989

- 1989/1 Concerto per violino Op. VIII n° 5 *La tempesta di mare*
J.L. Garcia (violino), Fort Worth Chamber Orchestra, J. Giordano (dir.)
ASV/CD CDDCA 597 / ASV/LP DCA 597
(+ J.S. Bach, Haydn)
- 1989/2* Concerti per fagotto (volume 3) RV 472, RV 477, RV 479, RV 481, RV
488, RV 501 *La Notte*
D. Smith (fagotto), English Chamber Orchestra, P. Ledger (dir.)
ASV/CD CDDCA 662 / ASV/LP DCA 662
- 1989/3 Concerto per fagotto RV 487
M. Wilkie (fagotto), Chamber Orchestra of Europa, A. Schneider (dir.)
ASV/CD CDCOE 810 / ASV/LP COE 810
(+ B. Marcello, Mozart, Wolf, J. Strauss II)
- 1989/4 Sonata per oboe RV 53
D. Boyd (oboe), H. Lester (cembalo)
ASV/CD CDDCA 656 / ASV/LP DCA 656
(+ J.S. Bach, Telemann, Couperin, C.P.E. Bach)
- 1989/5 Concerto Op. III n° 10
Accademia St. Katharina
AULOS/2LP 53 601/02
(+ Elgar, Friedrich II, Haydn, Schubert, Seiber, Stamitz, R. Strauss)
- 1989/6 Concerto per violino Op. VIII n° 4 *L'Inverno* (trascrizione per trombone)
C. Lindberg (trombone), New Stockholm Chamber Orchestra, O. Kamu
(dir.)
BIS/CD (500) 348
(+ Milhaud, Larsson, Telemann, Pöntinen)
- 1989/7 Concerto per violino RV 270 *Per il Natale*
Virtuosi Saxoniae, L. Güttler (dir.)
CAPRICCIO/CD 10.225
(+ J.S. Bach, Corelli, Vejvanovsky, Schmelzer, Heinichen, Manfredini,
Torelli)
- 1989/8* Concerti per oboe (volume 1) Op. VIII n° 9 e n° 12, RV 184, RV 447, RV
452, RV 453
B. Glaetzner (oboe), Neues Bachisches Collegium Musicum Leipzig, M.
Pommer (dir.)
CAPRICCIO/CD 10 116 / ETERNA/LP 7 29 178
- 1989/9* Concerto per 2 corni RV 539 (versione modificata)
L. Güttler, K. Sandau (corni da caccia), Virtuosi Saxoniae, L. Güttler
(dir.)
CAPRICCIO/CD 10 223 / CAPRICCIO/LP 27 223 C / ETERNA/LP 7
29 229
(+ Zelenka, Rathberger, Fasch, Sperger)

- 1989/10 Concerti Op. III n° 8 e n° 10; Concerto per archi RV 151 *Alla Rustica*;
Sinfonia per archi (Do maggiore, non identificata)
I Solisti di Zagabria
KINGDOM-Cavalier / CD CAVCD 001
(+ Corelli)
- 1989/11 Concerto Op. III n° 11; Concerto per archi RV 158
I Solisti di Zagabria
KINGDOM-Cavalier / CD CAVCD 002
(+ Corelli, Locatelli, Albinoni)
- 1989/12 Concerto per liuto RV 93; Concerto per mandolino RV 425
J. Williams (chitarra e dir.), English Chamber Orchestra
CBS/2CD M2K 44 791 / CBS/2LP 44 791
(+ Castelnuovo Tedesco, Giuliani, Ponce, Rodrigo, Villa Lobos)
- 1989/13 Concerto Op. III n° 11; Concerto per oboe RV 447; Concerto per 2
trombe RV 537; Concerto per violino e oboe RV 548; Concerto per violi-
no e organo RV 542; Concerto per 2 violini e 2 violoncelli RV 575
I Musici di Montreal, Y. Turovsky (dir.)
CHANDOS/CD CHAN 8651 / CHANDOS/LP ABRD 1137
- 1989/14 Sonata per 2 violini Op. I n° 9
H. Schaarschmidt (oboe), G. Ribke (violoncello), B. Hebb (chitarra)
CHRISTOPHORUS/CD 74 537 / CHRISTOPHORUS/LP 74 053
(+ Caldara, Corelli, Locatelli, B. Marcello, Pergolesi, Ruggieri, G.B.
Sammartini)
- 1989/15 Sinfonia dell'*Incoronazione di Dario* RV 719s
Rheinisches Kammerorchester Köln, J. Carazolla (dir.)
CHRISTOPHORUS/CD 74 543
(+ Albinoni, Geminiani, Locatelli, G.M. Sammartini, Torelli)
- 1989/16 Trio RV 82
O. Bensa (chitarra), R. Siegel (cembalo)
CIRCE/CD 87 102 LD
(+ Beethoven, Boccherini, Dodyson, Galliard, J. Johnson, M. Ponce)
- 1989/17 *Le Quattro Stagioni*, Op. VIII n° 1-4
London Philharmonic Orchestra, D. Nolan (violino e dir.)
COLLINS CLASSICS/CD 1006-2 / LP/1006-1
- 1989/18* Concerti per flauto Op. X n° 1 e n° 3, RV 441; Concerti per flautino RV
443, RV 445
Pier Adams (flauto diritto e flautino), Musica da Camera
COLLINS CLASSICS/CD EC 1043-2 / LP/EC 1043-1
- 1989/19 Concerti per fagotto RV 484, RV 497, e Si bemolle maggiore (non identi-
ficato)
Ensemble de Solistes de l'Opéra de Paris, J.C. Montac (fagotto)
CYBELIA/CD CY 1101
(+ Molter, Stamitz)

- 1989/20* 12 Concerti Op. IX *La Cetra* (integrale)
S. Standage (violino), Academy of Ancient Music, C. Hogwood (dir.)
DECCA/2CD OISEAU LYRE 421 366-2
- 1989/21 Concerto per violino RV 208 *Grosso Mogul*
S. Richtie (violino), Bach Ensemble, J. Rifkin (dir.)
DECCA/CD OISEAU LYRE 421 442-2
(+ J.E. Saxe Weimar, Telemann, J.S. Bach)
- 1989/22* Concerti per violoncello RV 401, RV 412, RV 413, RV 416, RV 418, RV 424
C. Coin (violoncello barocco), Academy of Ancient Music, C. Hogwood (dir.)
DECCA/CD OISEAU LYRE 421 732-2 / LP/421 732-1
- 1989/23* 6 Sonate per violoncello (1740, Paris, Le Clerc le cadet) RV 47, 41, 43, 45, 40, 46
C. Coin (violoncello barocco), A. Zweistra (2do violoncello), E. Ferré (chitarra barocca), C. Hogwood (cembalo)
DECCA/CD OISEAU LYRE 421 060-2
- 1989/24 THOMAS WILBRANDT: The Electric V.? (A new perspective on Vivaldi's *Four Seasons*)
T. Wilbrandt, S. Jeffes, K. Buhlert (sintetizzatore), Philharmonia Orchestra, C. Warren Green (violino), T. Wilbrandt (dir.)
DECCA/2CD 425 205-2
- 1989/25 Concerto per violino Op. VIII n° 4 *L'Inverno*
Ensemble Yale Cellos, A. Parisot (dir.)
DELOS/CD 3042
(+ Albinoni, J.S. Bach, Handel, Pachelbel, Popper, Rachmaninov, Veracini, Joplin)
- 1989/26 Concerto per 2 violoncelli RV 531
J. Starker, A. Parisot (violoncelli), Orquestra Sinfonica di Paraíba, E. de Carvalho (dir.)
DELOS/CD DE 1018
(+ Bartok, Prokofiev, Tchaikovsky)
- 1989/27* Concerti da Camera (volume 1) RV 87, RV 88, RV 94, RV 95 *La Pastorella*, RV 99, RV 105, RV 107
Camerata Köln
DEUTSCHE HARMONIA MUNDI/CD RD 77033
- 1989/28* Concerti Op. III n° 10 e n° 11; Concerto per violino Op. IV n° 4; Concerto per archi RV 158; Concerto per 3 violini RV 551; Concerto per violino e violoncello RV 547
I Solisti Italiani
DYNAMIC/CD DC-U14
- 1989/29 Sonata per violino RV 10
F. Gulli (violino), E. Cavallo (cembalo)
DYNAMIC/CD DC-U01
(+ J.S. Bach, Corelli, Dvorak, Locatelli, Paganini)

- 1989/30 *Le Quattro Stagioni*, Op. VIII n° 1-4
N. Kennedy (violino e dir.), English Chamber Orchestra
EMI/CD CDC 7 49557-2 / LP EL 7 49557-1
- 1989/31* Cantate per contralto e basso continuo RV 667, 670, 671, 674, 676, 677
D. Lee Ragin (controtenore), V. de Hoog (violoncello), C. Farr (clavicembalo)
ETCETERA/CD KTC 1069
- 1989/32 Concerti per archi RV 118 (1° movimento), RV 128
Chicago Brass Quintet
FACET/CD 8006
(+ J.S. Bach, Bozza, Calvert, Mouret, Colnot, Handel, Scarce)
- 1989/33* 6 Sonate per violino (versione di Dresda) RV 2, RV 3, RV 12, RV 28, RV 29, RV 34
R. Elmiger (violino), M. Mitrani (clavicembalo)
GALLO/CD 602
- 1989/34 Concerto per 2 mandolini RV 532
M. Obradovic, C. Leu (chitarre), N. de Figueiredo (clavicembalo)
GALLO/CD (500) 533
(+ Boccherini, Brahms, Fauré, Petit)
- 1989/35* Mottetto RV 633; *Stabat Mater* RV 621; Introduzione al *Miserere* RV 638;
Nisi Dominus RV 608
G. Lesne (controtenore), Ensemble Seminario Musicale
HARMONIC RECORDS H/CD 8720
- 1989/36 Concerto per archi RV 158; Concerti per violino e violoncello RV 546, RV 547
Budapest Strings Orchestra, K. Botvay (dir.)
HUNGAROTON/CD HCD 12995
(+ Purcell, Geminiani, Wassenauer)
- 1989/37 *Magnificat* RV 610a / RV 611
Madrigal Choir, Budapest Strings Orchestra, F. Szekeres (dir.)
HUNGAROTON/CD HCD 3259
(+ Albinoni, Caldara, Sammartini)
- 1989/38 *Le Quattro Stagioni*, Op. VIII n° 1-4 (e poema di R. Bruni & J. Edwards)
A. Oprean (violino), European Community Chamber Orchestra, J. Faerber (dir.)
HYPERION - Helios/CD CDH 88012
- 1989/39* Concerti per flauto RV 441, RV 442; Concerti per flautino RV 443, RV 444, RV 445; Concerto da Camera RV 108
P. Holstag (flauto diritto e flautino), The Parley of Instruments, P. Holman (dir.)
HYPERION/CD CDA 66328

- 1989/40 Concerto per oboe RV 447
N. Daniel (oboe), Peterborough String Orchestra
HYPERION - Helios/CD H8 8014
(+ Albinoni, Bellini, A. Marcello, Cimarosa)
- 1989/41 Concerto da Camera RV 106
Barock Ensemble Hannover
INTERCORD/CD 830.847
(+ Boni, Corelli, Mancini, Pasquini)
- 1989/42 N. CHEDEVILLE: Il Pastor Fido, Op. XIII n° 4 (*Pastorale*)
S. Gazzelloni (flauto), K. Tokimaga (violoncello), B. Canino (clavicembalo)
JVC/CD 1014
(+ J.S. Bach, Bizet, Debussy, Doppler, Dvorak, Fauré, Gluck, Kreisler, Massenet, Pachelbel, Rachmaninov, Ravel, Rimsky-Korsakov)
- 1989/43 Concerti per flautino RV 443, RV 444, RV 445; Concerti per oboe RV 461, RV 453; Concerto per oboe e violino RV 548
J.L. Beaumadier (flautino), L. Lencses (oboe), Ensemble La Follia, M. de la Fuente (dir.)
LYRINX/CD 076
- 1989/44 Concerti per flauto RV 436, RV 438, RV 440, RV 441
C. Taylor (flauto), Philomusica London, C. Pini (dir.)
MERLIN/LP 81 101
- 1989/45 *Le Quattro Stagioni*, Op. VIII n° 1-4
Bach Festival Opera
MUSIC VIDEO CLASSICS / COMPACT VIDEO (41')
- 1989/46 Concerti Op. III n° 1, 2, 4, 7, 8 e 10
Capella Istropolitana, Bratislava, J. Kopelman (dir.)
NAXOS/CD 8.55 0160 / ENIGMA CLASSICS/CD D21C - 74682
- 1989/47 Concerti per violino Op. VIII n° 5, 6, 7, 8 e 10
Budapest Strings Orchestra, B. Bonfalvi (dir.)
NAXOS / ENIGMA CLASSICS/CD D21C - 74684
- 1989/48 Concerto per violino Op. XII n° 1; Concerto per liuto RV 93; Concerto per viola d'amore e liuto RV 540; Concerto per violino e oboe RV 548; Concerto *con molti stromenti* RV 558
M. Haendler (violino), A. Rudolf (viola d'amore), J. Kemeny (oboe), G. Sarközy (liuto), Dall'Arco Chamber Orchestra, I. Parkanyi (dir.)
NAXOS/CD 8 550.095 / ENIGMA CLASSICS/CD D21E-74 634
- 1989/49 Concerti per violino Op. VIII n° 1 *La Primavera* (1° movimento); Op. VIII n° 3 *L'Autunno* (1° movimento); Concerto per 2 trombe RV 537 (1° movimento)
K. Rosko, K. Ruspai (trombe), Capella Istropolitana Bratislava, R. Edlinger (dir.)
NAXOS/CD 8 550.014 / ENIGMA CLASSICS
(+ Albinoni, J.S. Bach, Corelli, Handel, A. Marcello, Telemann)

- 1989/50 *Le Quattro Stagioni*, Op. VIII n° 1-4
Camerata Bern, T. Füre (violino e dir.)
NOVALIS/CD 150 049-2 / LP/150 049-1
- 1989/51* Concerti da Camera (volume 1) RV 98 *La Tempesta di mare*, RV 101, RV 103, RV 105, RV 107; Sonata per flauto e fagotto RV 86
Ensemble Il Giardino Armonico
NUOVA ERA/CD 6731
- 1989/52 *Le Quattro Stagioni*, Op. VIII n° 1-4
Baroque Chamber Orchestra, E. Stratta (violino e dir.)
OBJECT ENTERPRISES/CD 0Q0017
- 1989/53 *Le Quattro Stagioni*, Op. VIII n° 1-4
Y. Waldman (violino), Amor Artis Orchestra of New York, J. Somary (dir.)
OMEGA/CD OCD 1013
(+ J.S. Bach, Corelli)
- 1989/54 Concerto Op. III n° 11; Concerto per flauto Op. X n° 3
Il Gardellino; Concerto per fagotto RV 495; Concerto per 2 mandolini RV 532; Sinfonia per archi RV 149; Concerto per 2 trombe RV 537
Concert of St. Andrew, L. Friedman (dir.)
OMEGA/CD OCD (19) 1012
- 1989/55* Concerti per viola d'amore (integrale) RV 392-397
M. Paris (viola d'amore), I Musici
PHILIPS/CD 422.051-2 / LP/422.051-1
- 1989/56 Concerto per 2 violoncelli RV 531; Concerto per violino e organo RV 542; Concerto per violino e violoncello RV 544; Concerto per 3 violini RV 551; Concerti per 2 violini e 2 violoncelli RV 561, RV 564
I Musici
PHILIPS/CD 422.212-2
- 1989/57 Concerto per 2 violini RV 514
D. e I. Ojstrakh (violini), Orchestre d'Etat de L'URSS, K. Kondrašin (dir.)
PRELUDIO/CD PHC 2.149
(+ Mozart, Szymanovsky)
- 1989/58 Concerti per flauto RV 427, RV 429, RV 436, RV 438, RV 440; Concerto da Camera RV 108
J. Galway (flauto), I Solisti Veneti, C. Scimone (dir.)
RCA/CD 7928-2 / LP/RD 8.7 928
- 1989/59 Concerto Op. III n° 11 (adagio); Concerto per liuto RV 93 (2° movimento); Concerto per 2 corni RV 538 (2° movimento)
Barockkammerorchester, E. Stratta (dir.)
RCA/CD VD 87 821
(+ Albinoni, Cimarosa, Handel, A. Marcello, Pachelbel)

- 1989/60 N. CHÉDEVILLE: *Les Saisons amusantes* (dall'Op. VIII di Antonio Vivaldi)
J. Vandeville (oboe), Orchestre de Chambre J.L. Petit
REM/CD 31 1090 XD
- 1989/61 Concerto per liuto RV 93; Concerto per mandolino RV 425; Concerto per 2 mandolini RV 532; Concerto per viola d'amore e liuto RV 540
O. Vlaček, L. Brabec (chitarra), L. Maly (viola d'amore), Prague Chamber Orchestra, M. Mysliveček (dir.)
SUPRAPHON/CD CO-2306
- 1989/62* Concerti per archi Op. XII n° 3, RV 154; Concerti per violino RV 367, RV 302; Concerti Op. III n° 2 e n° 8
F. Biondi, A. Camozzo (violini), Concerto Italiano, R. Alessandri (dir.)
TACTUS/CD TC 67 200 101
- 1989/63 *Gloria* RV 589
Chamber Chorus, Atlanta Symphonic Orchestra, R. Shaw (dir.)
TELARC/CD 80 194
(+ J.S. Bach)
- 1989/64 Cantate per soprano RV 651 e RV 678
Y. Hashimoto (soprano), K. Schickhaus (salterio)
TUDOR/CD 735
(+ Carissimi, B. Marcello, Mancini)
- 1989/65 Concerti da Camera RV 88, RV 90 *Il Gardellino*, RV 94, RV 99, RV 106, RV 107
The London Harpsichord Ensemble, S. Francis (dir.)
UNICORN/CD DKP 9071
- 1989/66 Cantate per soprano RV 651, RV 658, RV 678; Sonata per violoncello RV 40; Sonate per flauto RV 48, RV 52
Accademia Monteverdi Venezia, H.L. Hirsch (dir.)
VENETIA/CD 21012
- 1989/67 *Le Quattro Stagioni*, Op. VIII n° 1-4
The London Chamber Orchestra, C. Warren-Green (violino e dir.)
VIRGIN/CD 7 91 081-2 / LP/7 91 081-1

II. NOUVEAUX COUPLAGES D'ENREGISTREMENTS ANCIENS

- 1989/C1 Concerti per flauto Op. X n° 1-6 (integrale)
L. Urbain (flauto), Orchestra da Camera di Praga, A. Boulfroy (dir.)
CALLIOPE/CD CAL C9.620
(+ Albinoni)

- 1989/C2 Concerto Op. III n° 4; Concerto per 2 corni RV 539 (2° e 3° movimento)
Virtuosi Saxoniae, L. Güttler (dir.)
(+ Fasch, Pisendel, A. Scarlatti, Sperger, Zelenka)
CAPRICCIO/CD 1083 / LP/27 183
- 1989/C3 Concerto per 2 trombe RV 537 (1° movimento)
L. Güttler, K. Sandau (trombe), Neue Bachisches Collegium Musicum
Leipzig, M. Pommer (dir.)
CAPRICCIO/CD 10.202 / LP 27.124C
(+ J.S. Bach, Biscogli, Charpentier, Grossi, Haydn, Hummel, Loeillet,
Molter, Otto, Purcell, Sperger, Telemann, Torelli, anonimi)
- 1989/C4 Concerto per 2 trombe RV 537
L. Güttler, K. Sandau (trombe), Kammerorchester Berlin, H. Haenschen
(dir.)
CAPRICCIO/CD 23001
(+ Albinoni, J.S. Bach, L. Mozart, Purcell, Schütz, Stradella, Telemann,
Torelli, anonimi)
- 1989/C5 *Le Quattro Stagioni*, Op. VIII n° 1-4
St. Paul Chamber Orchestra, P. Zukerman (violino)
CBS/CD MDK 44.644
(+ Purcell)
- 1989/C6 Concerto per liuto RV 93 (2° movimento) (*); Concerto per mandolino
RV 425 (1° movimento) (**); Concerto per 2 mandolini RV 532 (2° movi-
mento) (***)
J. Williams (chitarra), English Chamber Orchestra, R. Leppard (dir.) (*);
A. St. Oliver, C. Schneider (mandolini), Grande Ecurie et Chambre du
Roy, J.C. Malgoire (dir.) (**); C. Schneider (mandolino), Dt. Streichor-
chester, S. Behrend (dir.) (***)
CBS/CD MYK 42548
(+ Pachelbel, Albinoni, Handel, J.S. Bach, Purcell, Mouret, Charpentier,
B. Marcello, Clarcke)
- 1989/C7 Concerto per violino Op. VIII n° 3 *L'Autunno* (2° movimento); Concerto
per flauto Op. X n° 2 *La Notte (Il Sonno)*
Concentus Musicus Vienna, N. Harnoncourt (dir.)
CELESTIAL HARMONIES/2CD 1835.503 WE / 2LP 1635.503
(+ J.S. Bach, Beethoven, Brahms, Bruckner, Byrd, Dvorak, Fauré, Grieg,
Muffat, Purcell, Scheidt, Schostakovich)
- 1989/C8 Concerto per violoncello RV 401 (2° movimento)
Heath (violoncello), Academy of St. Martin-in-the-Fields, N. Marriner
(dir.)
CELESTIAL HARMONIES/2CD 1835.502 WE / 2LP 1635.502 SX
(+ J.S. Bach, Beethoven, Bruch, Chopin, Corelli, Dvorak, Elgar, Grieg,
Haydn, Mozart, Pergolesi, Rachmaninov, Rossini, Telemann, Vaughan-
Williams, Wagner)

- 1989/C9 *Gloria* RV 588 e 589 (*Et in Terra Pax*)
 St. John's College Choir Cambridge, Ran Orchestra, G. Guest (dir.) (RV 588); Choir of Christ Church Cathedral Oxford, Academy of Ancient Music, S. Preston (dir.) (RV 589)
 CELESTIAL HARMONIES/2CD 1835.505 WE / 2LP 1635.505
 (+ J.S. Bach, Brito, Byrd, Caldara, Cardoso, Durufié, Fauré, Isaac, Lasso, Lobo, Locke, Mogalhaes, Monteverdi, Morago, Palestrina, Tye, Victoria)
- 1989/C10 Concerto per flauto Op. X n° 1 (2° movimento); Concerto per flautino RV 444 (2° movimento); Concerto per oboe Op. VIII n° 12 (2° movimento); Concerto per 2 violoncelli RV 531 (2° movimento); Concerto per archi RV 158
 I Musici di Montreal, Y. Turovsky (dir.)
 CHANDOS/CD 8573 / LP 1268
 (+ J.C. Bach, Boccherini, Wassenaer, Schostakovich, Strawinsky)
- 1989/C11 N. CHEDEVILLE: Sonata da *Il Pastor Fido* Op. XIII n° 6
 I. Goritzky (oboe), J.E. Dähler (clavicembalo)
 CLAVES/CD 50404
 (+ J.S. Bach, Lotti, Quantz, Couperin, Handel)
- 1989/C12 Concerto Op. III n° 10
 Academy of Ancient Music, C. Hogwood (dir.)
 DECCA Oiseau-Lyre / LP DSLO 594
 (+ Pachelbel, Gluck, Handel)
- 1989/C13 *Le Quattro Stagioni*, Op. VIII n° 1-4
 Krotzinger (violino), Stuttgartkammerorchester, K. Münchinger (dir.)
 DECCA/CD 417 873-2
 (+ Corelli, Pergolesi)
- 1989/C14 Concerto per oboe RV 456; Concerto per fagotto RV 498; Concerto per flauto RV 441; Concerto per 2 oboi RV 535; Concerto per flautino RV 443; Concerto *con molti stromenti* RV 574
 Academy of St. Martin-in-the-Fields, N. Marriner (dir.)
 DECCA Ovation/CD 417.777-2
- 1989/C15 Concerto per flautino RV 443; Concerto per 2 trombe RV 537
 W. Bennett (flautino), J. Wilbraham, P. Jones (trombe), Academy of St. Martin-in-the-Fields, N. Marriner (dir.)
 DECCA Ovation/CD 417.688-2
 (+ Pachelbel, Albinoni, Handel)
- 1989/C16 Concerto per flautino RV 443; Sonata Op. I n° 12 *La Follia*; Mottetto per soprano RV 630; Cantata per soprano RV 651
 M. Copley (flautino), E. Kirkby (soprano), Academy of Ancient Music, C. Hogwood (dir.)
 DECCA Oiseau-Lyre/CD 421.655-2
 (+ B. Marcello)

- 1989/C17 *Le Quattro Stagioni*, Op. VIII n° 1-4; Concerti Op. III n° 3, 9 e 12
M. Frasca - Colombier (violino), Orchestra da Camera Paul Kuentz
DEUTSCHE GRAMMOPHON «Privilège»/CD 427.221-2
- 1989/C18 Concerto per viola d'amore e liuto RV 540
E. Melkus (violino), K. Ragossnig (liuto), Capella Academica Vienna
DEUTSCHE GRAMMOPHON Archiv «Galerie» 427114.2
(+ J.S. Bach)
- 1989/C19 Concerto per violino RV 269 *La Primavera* (versione di Manchester);
Concerto *con molti stromenti* RV 558
English Concert, T. Pinnock (dir.)
DEUTSCHE GRAMMOPHON/CD 423.197-2
(+ Albinoni, Handel, Purcell)
- 1989/C20 Trio RV 85; Concerto per flauto RV 441; Concerto per flautino RV 443;
Concerto per 2 violoncelli RV 531; Concerto per 2 mandolini RV 532
M. Copley (flauto), G. Söllscher (liuto), T. Demenga (violoncello), Came-
rata Bern, T. Füre (dir.)
DEUTSCHE GRAMMOPHON/CD 427 824-2
- 1989/C21 Concerto per liuto RV 93 (2° movimento); Trio RV 82 (1° e 2° movimen-
to)
S. Behrend (chitarra), I Musici
DEUTSCHE GRAMMOPHON/CD 423 784-2
(+ Bacarisse, Carulli, Giuliani, Rodrigo)
- 1989/C22 Concerto per flauto RV 443 (*); Concerto per flauto Op. X n° 2 *La Notte*
(**); Concerto per liuto RV 93 (***) ; Concerto per 2 trombe RV 537
(****); Concerto per violino Op. VIII n° 1 *La primavera*; Concerto per 2
violini RV 552; Sonata per violoncello RV 40 (arr. Bazelaire) (*****)
H.M. Linde (flauto), Kammerorchester E. Seiler, B. Hofmann (dir.) (*);
H.M. Linde (flauto), Collegium Musicum Zürich, P. Sacher (dir.) (**);
N. Yepes (chitarra), Orchestra da Camera Paul Kuentz (***); A. Scher-
baum, R. Haubold (trombe), Hamburg Barock Ensemble, A. Scherbaum
(dir.) (****); W. Schneiderhan (violino), P. Fournier (violoncello), Festi-
val Strings Lucerne, R. Baumgartner (dir.) (*****)
DEUTSCHE GRAMMOPHON/CD 427.022-2
- 1989/C23 Concerto per violino Op. VIII n° 1 *La Primavera* (1° movimento)
Y. Menuhin (violino), Camerata Lysy Gstaadt, A. Lysy (dir.)
EMI/CD (523) 762 502-2
(+ J.S. Bach, Chopin, Handel, Lehar, Mascagni, Mendelssohn, Mozart,
Offenbach, Puccini, Ravel, Vaughan Williams, Verdi)
- 1989/C24 Concerto per violino RV 254; Concerto per viola d'amore RV 392; Con-
certo per violoncello RV 415; Concerto per 2 violoncelli RV 531; Concer-
to per 2 violini RV 515
Collegium Aureum, F.J. Maier (dir.)
EMI/CD (555) 769 562-2

- 1989/C25 Concerto per 2 trombe RV 537
M. André, A. Soustrot (trombe), Academy of St. Martin-in-the-Fields, N. Marriner (dir.)
EMI/2CD CMS (627) 7 69152-2
(+ J.S. Bach, Handel, Haydn, Albinoni, Telemann, Cimarosa, Torelli, B. Marcello, Tartini, Stoelzel)
- 1989/C26 Concerto per violino e oboe RV 548 (largo) (arr. per tromba e oboe)
M. André (tromba), B. André (oboe), F.H. Houbart (organo)
EMI/CD (CDC) 7 49722-2 / LP (567) 7 49722.1
(+ J.S. Bach, Schubert, Handel, Purcell, Gounod, Schickhardt, Bellini, Cimarosa, Lully)
- 1989/C27 Concerto per violino Op. VIII n° 4 *L'Inverno* (largo); Concerto Op. III n° 9 (2° movimento)
I Solisti Veneti, C. Scimone (dir.)
ERATO/CD 55018
(+ Albinoni, J.S. Bach, Handel, Haydn, Molter, Pachelbel, Tartini, Zipoli)
- 1989/C28 Concerti per flauto Op. X n° 1-6 (integrale), RV 429, RV 441
J.P. Rampal (flauto), I Solisti Veneti, C. Scimone (dir.)
ERATO/CD 22-45401-2
- 1989/C29 Concerto per liuto RV 93; Trio RV 85
A. Stingl (liutino), Württenbergerkammerorchester, J. Faerber (dir.)
FSM VOX/CD MW 7136
(+ Carulli, Torelli)
- 1989/C30 *Le Quattro Stagioni*, Op. VIII n° 1-4; Sonate Op. I n° 2 e 3
J. Suk (violino), Orchestra da Camera di Praga, Ars Rediviva Ensemble, M. Munclinger (dir.)
LES GENIES DU CLASSIQUE/CD CLA - CD 130
- 1989/C31 Sonate per violino Op. II n° 1, 2, 4, 6, 8, 9, 11 e 12
D. Kovacs (violino), M. Franck (violoncello), J. Sebestyén (clavicembalo)
HUNGAROTON/CD HRC-062
- 1989/C32 Sinfonia per archi RV 146
Franz Liszt Chamber Orchestra, J. Rolla (dir.)
HUNGAROTON/CD HRC-060
(+ Albinoni, J.S. Bach, Boccherini, Haydn, B. Marcello, Mozart, Paganini, Purcell, Rossini, J. Strauss II, Tchaikovsky, L. Weiner)
- 1989/C33 *Laudate Pueri* RV 601; Mottetti RV 626, RV 630 (*); *Beatus Vir* RV 598; *Lauda Jerusalem* RV 609; *Credo* RV 591 (**); *Introduzione e Gloria* RV 588 e RV 639; Cantata per contralto RV 684 (***)
M. Kálmár (soprano), Franz Liszt Chamber Orchestra, F. Sandor (dir.) (*); Madrigal Choir Budapest, Franz Liszt Chamber Orchestra, F. Szekeeres (dir.) (**); K. Takacs (contralto), Hungarian State Orchestra, F. Szekeeres (dir.) (***)
HUNGAROTON/3CD PACD2087

- 1989/C34 *Stabat Mater* RV 621; *Nisi Dominus* RV 608; Mottetto RV 629
L. Budaï, K. Takacs (contralti), Franz Liszt Chamber Orchestra, F. Sandor e F. Szekeres (dir.)
HUNGAROTON/CD White Label HRC-074
- 1989/C35 *Juditba Triumphans* RV 644 (estratti: aria di Vagans; I.3 *Matrona inimica*; I.11 *O servi volate*; II.11 *Armatae face*)
J. Reti (tenore), Orchestra di Budapest, F. Szekeres (dir.)
HUNGAROTON/CD HCD 12891
(+ J.S. Bach, Mozart, Liszt)
- 1989/C36 12 Concerti Op. III (integrale)
Südwestdeutscheskammerorchester Pforzheim
INTERCORD/2CD 820.735/36 (2 volumi)
- 1989/C37 Concerto per violino Op. VIII n° 4 *L'Inverno* (1° e 2° movimento); Sinfonia per archi *Alla Rustica* RV 151 (1° movimento)
T. Nishizaki (violino), Capella Istropolitana Bratislava, S. Gunzenhauser (dir.)
NAXOS/CD 8 550.001
(+ J.S. Bach, Beethoven, Bizet, Handel, Mozart, Tchaikovsky, anonimo)
- 1989/C38 Concerti Op. III n° 6 e 9; *Le Quattro Stagioni*, Op. VIII n° 1-4
H. Szeryng (violino e dir.), English Chamber Orchestra
PHILIPS/CD 422.479-2
- 1989/C39 *Le Quattro Stagioni*, Op. VIII n° 1-4; Concerto *con molti stromenti* RV 552a
Academy of St. Martin-in-the-Fields, N. Marriner (dir.), I. Brown (violino e dir.)
PHILIPS/10CD 422.923-2
(+ J.S. Bach, Haydn, Handel, Rossini, Beethoven, Rodrigo, Mozart, Pachelbel, Grieg, Sibelius)
- 1989/C40 *Le Quattro Stagioni*, Op. VIII n° 1-4; Concerti *con molti stromenti* RV 556, RV 577
F. Ayo (violino), Membri della Staatskapelle di Dresda, V. Negri (dir.)
PHILIPS/CD 422.484-2
- 1989/C41 Concerti per violino Op. XI n° 2, RV 199 *Il Sospetto*, RV 234 *L'Inquietudine*, RV 271 *L'Amoroso*, RV 270 *Il Riposo*
I Musici
PHILIPS/CD 422.493-2
- 1989/C42 Concerto per violoncello RV 418 (estratto)
H. Schiff (violoncello), Academy of St. Martin-in-the-Fields, I. Brown (dir.)
PHILIPS/CD 412.712-2
(+ Williams, Mozart, Haydn, Telemann, Schumann, Tarrega, Saint-Saëns, Grieg, Liszt, Widor, Beethoven)
- 1989/C43 Concerto *con molti stromenti* RV 552a
Academy of St. Martin-in-the-Fields, N. Marriner (dir.)

- PHILIPS/CD 422.488-2
(+ Clarcke, Handel, Purcell, J.S. Bach, Rameau, Torelli)
- 1989/C44 Concerto per oboe Op. VIII n° 9
H. Holliger (oboe), Staatskapelle di Dresda, V. Negri (dir.)
PHILIPS/CD 422.492-2
(+ Leclair, B. Marcello, Telemann)
- 1989/C45 Concerto Op. III n° 10; Concerto per mandolino RV 425; Trio RV 82
Los Romeros (chitarre), San Antonio Symphony Orchestra, V. Alessandro (dir.)
PHILIPS/CD 422 275-2
(+ J.S. Bach, Scarlatti, Telemann, anonimi)
- 1989/C46 Concerto per liuto RV 93; Trio RV 82; Concerto Op. III n° 10; Concerto
per mandolino RV 425; Concerto per 2 mandolini RV 532
Los Romeros (chitarre), San Antonio Symphony Orchestra, V. Alessandro (dir.)
PHILIPS/CD 426.076-2
- 1989/C47 *Laetatus sum* RV 607; *Introduzione e Gloria* RV 588 e RV 639; *Credidi*
RV 605; *Kyrie* RV 587; *Credo* RV 591
Solisti, John Alldis Choir, English Chamber Orchestra, V. Negri (dir.)
PHILIPS/CD 420 650-2 (volume 3)
- 1989/C48 *Sacrum* RV 587; *Introduzione* RV 635; *Dixit* RV 593; *In exitu Israel* RV
604
Solisti, John Alldis Choir, English Chamber Orchestra, V. Negri (dir.)
PHILIPS/CD 420.652-2 (volume 5)
- 1989/C49 Concerto per flautino RV 445; Concerto per 2 oboi RV 535; Concerto
per fagotto RV 484; Concerto per oboe e fagotto RV 543; Concerti da
Camera RV 88, RV 107
Ars Rediviva Ensemble, M. Munclinger (dir.)
SUPRAPHON/CD 11 0 608-2
- 1989/C50 6 Concerti Op. VIII n° 1-6
Concentus Musicus Vienna, N. Harnoncourt (dir.)
TELDEC/CD (8) 42985 ZK / LP 6.42985 ZK
- 1989/C51 12 Concerti Op. VIII (integrale); Concerto per archi RV 157; Concerto
per flauto RV 441; Concerto per oboe RV 463; Concerto per fagotto RV
484; Concerti da Camera RV 104, RV 107, RV 92, RV 108, RV 105, RV
94, RV 87
Concentus Musicus Vienna, N. Harnoncourt (dir.)
TELDEC/3CD 35.777XD / 3LP 6.35.777
- 1989/C52 Concerto per violino Op. VIII n° 2 (*); Concerto per 2 corni RV 539 (**)
F.J. Maier (violino), Florilegium Musicum de Paris, H.L. Hirsch (dir.)
(*); H. Baumann, A. van Woudenberg (corni), Concerto Amsterdam, A.
Rieu (dir.) (**)
TELDEC/CD 8.44 268 XG

(+ Albinoni, J.S. Bach, Telemann)
TELDEC/2LP 6.48 189 DM
(+ Albinoni, Locatelli, J.S. Bach, Telemann, Torelli)

- 1989/C53 Concerto per flauto Op. X n° 3; Concerto per 2 mandolini RV 532; Concerto per 2 trombe RV 537; *Magnificat* RV 610a (estratto: *Magnificat*); Concerti per violino Op. VIII n° 1, 2
M. André (tromba), I Solisti Veneti, C. Scimone (dir.); Orchestre de Chambre J.F. Paillard, Syrinx (flauto)
VIKTROLA (RCA) 60028
- 1989/C54 Concerto Op. III n° 8 e 10; Concerto per violino Op. VIII n° 1 *La Primavera*; Concerto per 2 violini e 2 violoncelli RV 575; Concerto per 2 trombe RV 537; Sonata per violoncello RV 47
H. Thal, H. Zickler (trombe), A. May (violoncello), J. Koch (viola da gamba), F. Neumeyer (clavicembalo), Mainzerkammerorchester, Musici di San Marco, Stuttgarterkammerorchester, I Solisti di Zagabria, G. Kehr, F. Macci, M. Sieghardt (dir.)
VKM/CD 100 41 810
- 1989/C55 Concerto Op. III n° 8; Concerto per archi RV 109 (3° movimento)
I Solisti di Zagabria
VKM/CD 100 41 812
(+ J.S. Bach, Beethoven, Brahms, Chopin, Dvorak, Grieg, Mozart, Offenbach, Schubert, Schumann, Smetana, J. Strauss II, Tchaikovsky, Borodin)

III. PRECISIONS

- 1979/13 nouvelle référence = CALLIOPE/CD 9630
1979/15 nouvelle référence = EMI/CD 555.769 108-2
1979/16 nouvelle référence = DELOS/CD 3002
1981/23 nouvelle référence = EMI/CD CDM 76.983 52
1982/6 nouvelle référence = ASV/LP GAU 111
1982/17 nouvelle référence = ERATO/CD 2292-45189-2 / LP 2292-45189-1
1982/18 nouvelle référence = ERATO/CD 2292-45180-2
1982/22 nouvelle référence = HUNGAROTON/CD White Label HRC-127
1983/10 nouvelle référence = CAPRICCIO/2CD 23002
1983/14 nouvelle référence = CLAVES/CD CD50-8103
1984/21 nouvelle référence = ERATO/CD 2292-45205-2
1984/22 nouvelle référence = ERATO/CD 2292-45203-2 / LP 2292-4503-1
1984/39 nouvelle référence = RCA/CD VD 87741
1985/21 nouvelle référence = RCA/CD 40012

- 1985/22 nouvelle référence = ERATO/CD 2292-45225-2
- 1985/23 nouvelle référence = ERATO/CD 2292-45395-2
- 1985/C10 nouvelle référence = ERATO/CD 2292-45122-2
- 1986/8 nouvelle référence = CADENZA/CD 500.852
- 1986/13 nouvelle référence = DEUTSCHE HARMONIA MUNDI GD 77018
- 1986/16 nouvelle référence = ERATO/CD 2292-45235-2 / LP 2292-45235-1
- 1986/17 nouvelle référence = ERATO/CD 2292-45248-2 / LP 2292-45248-1
- 1986/19 nouvelle référence = PRICELESS (Forlane) 12.209
- 1987/8 nouvelle référence = ASV/CD 558 WY
- 1987/23 nouvelle référence = ERATO/LP ZL 30185 AG / ERATO/CD 2292-45292-2 / LP 2292-45292-1
- 1987/29 nouvelle référence = VENETIA/CD 11.018
- 1987/30 nouvelle référence = VENETIA/CD 11.026
- 1987/31 nouvelle référence = VENETIA/CD 11.017
- 1987/32 nouvelle référence = VENETIA/CD 11.011
- 1987/34 nouvelle référence = GALLO/CD 526
- 1987/35 nouvelle référence = GALLO/CD 500.372
- 1987/39 nouvelle référence = MERIDIAN/CD CDE 84129
- 1987/42 nouvelle référence = NUOVA ERA/CD 6727
- 1987/52 nouvelle référence = RCA/LP RL 86656
- 1987/C13 nouvelle référence = ERATO/CD 2292-45053-2
- 1987/C15 nouvelle référence = ERATO/CD 2292-45070-2
- 1987/C16 nouvelle référence = ERATO/CD 2292-45062-2
- 1987/C17 nouvelle référence = ERATO/CD 2292-45047-2
- 1987/C24 nouvelle référence = PHILIPS/LP 412.939-1
- 1988/7 nouvelle référence = CAPRICCIO/LP DEL 27233 C
- 1988/9 CDG = HUNT
- 1988/15 nouvelle référence = NAXOS/CD 8550.096. D. Drahos, G. Hegyesi (flauti), Kammerorchester Budapest, I. Parkanyi (dir.)
- 1988/17 nouvelle référence = ERATO/2CD 2292-45313-2
- 1988/18 nouvelle référence = CAPRICCIO/CD 10143 / LP 27125 C; supprimer: CARRICCIO/CD 10116
- 1988/22 LONDON = DECCA
- 1988/25 nouvelle référence = PHILIPS/LP 422065-1
- 1988/29 nouvelle référence = RCA/CD 7979-2 RC
- 1988/C8 nouvelle référence = DG/LP "Galerie" 419.855-1

- 1988/C15 nouvelle référence = EMI/2CD 627-769 143-2
 1988/C16 nouvelle référence = ERATO/CD 2292-45068-2
 1988/C17 nouvelle référence = ERATO/CD 2292-45058-2 (1988/C17 = 1987/C14)
 1988/C25 nouvelle référence = VANGUARD/CD VECD 7517. EVERY-MAN/CD 92516

IV. COMMENTAIRE SUR LA DISCOGRAPHIE

1989 restera une année exceptionnelle à plus d'un titre. Par la pléthore du nombre des enregistrements, tout d'abord. Les catalogues mondiaux s'enrichissent chaque mois de nouvelles parutions, couvrant tous les secteurs d'activité vivaldienne. Plusieurs intégrales sont en cours: Les Concerti da Camera par les ensembles Il Giardino Armonico et la Camerata Köln, les Concerti pour violoncelle par Offra Harnoy, ceux pour basson par Daniel Smith, sans oublier l'oeuvre pour hautbois par Glaetzer, l'oeuvre pour flûte à bec et flautino, la Musique Sacrée sans chœurs annoncée par Vittorio Negri. L'intégrale des Cantate da Camera est ébauchée chez Nuova Era, tandis que plusieurs opéras intéressent les éditeurs. Tout comme 1978 avait marqué le renouveau musicologique et l'exploration désormais critique des sources, ce qui coïncida dans l'interprétation à l'explosion des *baroqueux* sur instruments anciens, 1989 marque pour Vivaldi l'accession à l'exploitation «adulte» du catalogue, comme tous les musiciens d'importance l'ont connue avant lui. Le catalogue Ryom s'est désormais imposé chez tous les éditeurs. Le *Répertoire Vivaldi* (tome 1) permet aux interprètes de composer thématiquement leurs programmes d'enregistrements et d'accéder plus facilement aux sources. Dès 1991, le *Premio internazionale del Disco per la Musica Antica Italiana*, institué sous l'égide de la Fondazione Cini, sera l'aiguillon qui incitera interprètes et éditeurs à se surpasser pour proposer des programmes et des interprétations de haute qualité. Les structures indispensables à une étude systématique et philologiquement parfaite de l'Oeuvre d'Antonio Vivaldi sont désormais en place.

Mais revenons aux parutions de 1989. Le seul Opus marquant de l'année est *La Cetra*, Opus 9 par The Academy of Ancient Music, de Christopher Hogwood (1989/20). Hogwood a subtilisé le soliste fétiche de Pinnock, Simon Standage, de tempérament plus extraverti que sa soliste habituelle, Monica Huggett. Pour paraphraser Uffenbach, on pourrait dire ici de Standage qu'il «exécute parfois des choses extraordinairement difficiles, mais d'une manière qui n'est ni agréable, ni

chantante». Ecoutez par exemple les soli du *Concerto n° 10*, premier mouvement. Personne ne demande au soliste de pousser le mimétisme aussi loin! Dans les mouvements lents par contre, on retrouve intacte la saveur du cantabile vénitien. Un bon point pour Hogwood, le sens de la pulsation rythmique. Le bouillonnement inventif est exaltant. Malgré les défaillances occasionnelles de Standage, qui se situe au plus haut niveau des baroqueux, cette version Hogwood reste recommandable.

Les *Concerti per archi diversi* sont cette année très bien servis, par quatre remarquables enregistrements. Trois d'entre eux viennent d'Italie, avec précisément les meilleurs ensembles actuels. Sur instruments modernes, un récital de I Solisti Italiani (1989/28), qui offrent la meilleure interprétation jamais entendue du *Concerto per 3 violini* RV 551. Le reste du programme reste classique, mais la légèreté de pâte et le cantabile de cet orchestre issu des leçons de Fasano comble de gravure en gravure tous nos espoirs. Ah! si Denon mettait en chantier un programme ambitieux d'inédits avec de tels interprètes! Faisant le pendant aux Solisti Italiani, I Musici di Roma offrent leur meilleur enregistrement depuis plusieurs années, avec l'intégrale des *Concerti per viola d'amore* (1989/55). Après écoute comparative avec Calabrese, Lemmen, Trämpler, Pons et Barsony, Massimo Paris est sans conteste le meilleur violiste jamais entendu. La beauté de son chant est insurpassable, sa virtuosité prodigieuse, et le traitement de l'ornementation spécifique à la viole d'amour exemplaire. Si Scimone donnait une version hautement métaphorique du «viol d'amour», Calabrese embrasant le discours avec la complicité impudique de Scimone, qui en faisait «trop», comme d'habitude, mais avec un charme certain, I Musici soutiennent leur soliste dans un esprit, on s'en doutera, totalement différent. Élégance, mesure, plénitude sonore, tout ce que l'on aime en fait chez les Romains s'épanouit dans ces concertos.

Le troisième récital est un évènement. Enfin! le voici, cet ensemble baroqueux italien capable de rivaliser avec les Pinnock, Goebel et consorts. Avec en plus un je-ne-sais quoi d'italianité qui lui fait frotter la corde avec sensualité et une finesse de coloris étonnante. Aucune faiblesse de pupitre, et un modelé de la matière sonore qu'Alessandri, merveilleux vivaldien analytique, sculpte avec un beau phrasé. La lecture du démoniaque *Concerto per violino* RV 367 est un modèle de fidélité aux ornements infligés par Vivaldi. Notes liées, piquées, pointées, détachées, tout est là. Fabio Biondi est le soliste qui devrait s'attaquer aux concertos de maturité contemporains de ce si bémol. Signalons enfin un inédit discographique: le RV 302 pour violon, petit concerto de première période apparemment (1989/62).

Belle interprétation aussi du violoncelliste Christophe Coin sur

instrument anciens (1989/22). Ses choix se révèlent très judicieux. Pour les RV 413 et RV 418, concertos équilibrés et joyeux, Coin sollicite la sonorité un peu bourdonnante du violoncelle piccolo qui entretient l'humour et gomme tout velléité de gravité dans l'expression. Les autres concertos sont restitués à l'instrument adulte, un Testore milanaise (c. 1750). Respiration, plénitude de l'espace sonore, articulation des motifs de virtuosité, ornementation intelligente, il faudrait tout souligner. Comme tous les excellents vivaldiens, Coin ne s'attache pas à la frénésie des allégros. La poésie des largos le captive davantage. L'orchestre et la basse continue d'Hogwood sont satisfaisants.

Abordons maintenant les *Concerti per fiati*, et tout d'abord ceux pour flûte et flautino, particulièrement à l'honneur, avec deux gravures, en attendant celle de Scimone avec Michala Petri, et la diffusion en CD de la Camerata Köln et Michael Schneider, référence actuelle. Celle de Peter Holstag (1989/39) convainc surtout par un bon phrasé. Son émission est par contre agaçante avec des aigües sans finesse et un refus délibéré et parfois pénible des nuances d'intensité.

Le chef, Peter Holman, choisit des tempi larges pour mieux articuler et créer une véritable intimité de Musique de Chambre, favorisée par l'effectif très réduit de The Parley of Instruments. A l'inverse, Pier Adams (1989/18), moins intéressé par l'expression du sentiment, transforme ces pages en anthologie de virtuosité, grâce à une technique extraordinaire digne de Brüggén et le dynamisme vivifiant de l'Ensemble Musica da Camera. Si la conception Holstag attirait spontanément par sa cohérence: à petit instrument, climat délicat, l'option virtuose de Pier Adams est tout aussi défendable, l'instrument liliputien se montrant tout à fait capable de rivaliser avec tout l'orchestre, si le soliste est un virtuose de talent, ce qui est le cas ici. Musicologiquement, signalons l'emploi systématique de la flûte à bec dans les Op. X n° 1 et 2, et même du flautino dans *Il Gardellino* Op. X n° 3. Le soliste s'est manifestement fait plaisir, pour un résultat sonore assez réussi, mais non cautionnable.

Les recherches de Manfred Fechner continuent, en République Démocratique Allemande, à porter leurs fruits discographiques, avec un nouveau volume de l'intégrale de L'Oeuvre avec hautbois (1989/8), passionnante surtout pour le musicologue, qui trouvera le *Concerto* RV 184 restitué à l'instrument à anche, et une intéressante plaquette explicative de Fechner, qui s'est également penché sur le *Concerto per 2 corni* RV 539 (1989/9), pour restituer la version modifiée des parties solistes à partir du manuscrit original, nettement plus virtuoses que celles habituellement interprétées. Une curiosité dans l'esprit de l'étude critique des manuscrits qui se fait jour actuellement.

Signalons enfin le volume 3 des *Concerti per fagotto* par Daniel Smith (1989/2), qui nous livre le dernier inédit « complet » RV 479, partition de travail plus intéressante pour le musicologue que pour le mélomane. Seuls les RV 468 et RV 482, incomplets, n'ont jamais été gravés.

Pour la *Musica da Camera*, la récolte de 1989 est un cru exceptionnel. Deux intégrales des *Concerti da Camera* sont ébauchées. La Cameraata Köln (1989/27) poursuit son exploration systématique de la *Musica per fiati*. Après l'intégrale des *Concerti per flauto diritto e flautino* et celle des Sonates, en cours (manque encore le RV 779), la bande à Michael Schneider se penche maintenant sur la formation *flauto, oboe, violino e fagotto*, soit six concertos, à l'exception des versions primitives des Op. X n° 1 et 3, et avec en prime le RV 87. Petite déception, Schneider ne tient pas compte des choix de Vivaldi qui exige la flûte traversière pour les RV 107, 108, 99 et 87. L'enregistrement séduit par une certaine bonhomie dans l'impulsion rythmique et la profondeur des basses onctueuses. Il manque pourtant quelque chose à ces Allemands: une véritable envie de chanter, qui inonde l'interprétation de Il Giardino Armonico (1989/51). Ces Italiens pure souche sont des baroqueux de premier ordre. Hommage d'abord à une très belle basse continue protéiforme, unissant au gré des pièces théorbe, clavecin, violone et orgue. Mais l'attrait principal tient dans la couleur fruitée des bois, avec surtout le formidable basson d'Alberto Gozzi, aussi onctueux qu'un fagott allemand. Le volume 2 est déjà annoncé.

Deux parutions de Sonates pour archets illuminent 1989. Roger Elmiger et Micheline Mitrani poursuivent leur exploration des *Sonate per violino* manuscrites (1989/33), et se penchent sur les versions de Dresde avec une probité digne des plus grands éloges. Les RV 3 et RV 12 connaissent leur premier enregistrement. Le musicologue comparera les RV 28 et RV 34 avec l'interprétation au hautbois, proposée par Fechner, et réalisée l'an passé par Glaetznner. Les versions de Dresde seront également riches d'enseignement si on les compare aux éditions critiques reprenant celles de Manchester, inédites actuellement au disque. Une entreprise à continuer pour le bénéfice des vivaldiens, d'autant que le violon moderne de Roger Elmiger est superbe, et que la réalisation de Micheline Mitrani est toujours d'une probité remarquable.

Terminons l'inventaire de la *Musica da Camera* avec le recueil de Paris pour violoncelle, par Christophe Coin. Sa copie de Stradivarius Duport 1712 est un fort bel instrument pour embraser ces pages contrastées, passant des intenses chromatismes des plus profondes mélodies à l'élan rythmique des danses syncopées, s'attardant aussi, tran-

quille et monotone, se balançant au rythme de l'eau lagunaire, pour se réveiller soudain sur les obsédants rythmes ternaires d'une danse de carnaval. La basse continue présente des moments étonnants, laissant seuls le violoncelle solo et celui du continuo dialoguer sobrement. Si les couleurs de l'archiluth et de la guitare nous sont familiers avec Hogwood, le choix d'un petit orgue pour envelopper la mélodie de certains mouvements (*Preludio* de la Sonate n° 6, par exemple) relève d'une intuition musicale profonde. Une réalisation intensément poétique (1989/23).

La Musique Sacrée n'est en 1989 servie que par un enregistrement marquant: le récital de Gérard Lesne (1989/35). Il lui fallait du courage pour affronter le *Stabat* d'Aafje Heynis sous la baguette d'Ephrikan. Avec elle, tout semblait avoir été dit. Le contralto hollandais s'identifiait à la Mère du Christ se consumant de détresse, le texte de Jacopone da Todi s'écoulant comme un long monologue intériorisé. En 1976, venait la version Bowman, la seule jusqu'à Lesne à confier la partie soliste à un contre-ténor. Bowman était l'enfant assistant au Drame de la Passion, la compassion de Notre-Dame devenant une douce prière dépouillée, enveloppée d'une grande tristesse. Avec Lesne, le ton est donné à une vision théâtrale et décorative, avec un souci esthétique exacerbé. Moëlleux délibéré du timbre, vocalises modulantes étendues dans les da capo, respect presque choquant des rythmes et du tempo. Dans le *Eja Mater*, verset 7 du *Stabat*, le mot « Fac » est souligné comme le ferait un *Grand'Homme* d'un *dramma per musica*. L'espace sonore instrumental est également démonstratif. Les timbres se mêlent à la voix, l'enveloppent, guidant le contralto dans un processus tonal et esthétique utilisant des procédés proches de l'opéra, se laissant prendre au piège des apparences, alors que les plans spirituels semblent fuir. Cette vision où l'ego de Vivaldi se fond dans des perspectives plus émotives que sacrées irrite et séduit à la fois, mais elle reste incontournable, même si Heynis ou Bowman restent plus proches de notre sensibilité.

Dernière parution notable de l'année, le récital de *Cantate da Camera* par le soprano-altiste américain Derek Lee Ragin (1989/31). Il s'agit véritablement de la parution la plus fascinante que 1989 nous ait offerte. Ragin présente une anthologie de virtuosité éperdue, d'intervalles effrayants et de fioritures innombrables. La voix de castrat, désormais perdue, a rarement été approchée avec autant de vérité, surtout dans l'aria *Ardi, svena, impiaga...* de la *Cantate Sorge vermiglia in ciel* RV 667, que l'on n'aurait jamais imaginé vocalisée par un homme. Ragin réussit ce prodige. Signalons enfin que les RV 667, 671 et 676 sont des inédits.

INDICE

Philippe Lescat, « <i>Il Pastor Fido</i> », <i>une oeuvre de Nicholas Chédeville</i>	5
« <i>Il Pastor Fido</i> » by Nicholas Chédeville (Summary)	10
Reinhard Strohm, « <i>Tragédie</i> » into « <i>Dramma per musica</i> » (Part Three)	11
Dalla « <i>tragédie</i> » al « <i>dramma per musica</i> » (parte III) (Sommario)	25
Paul Everett, <i>Vivaldi's Italian Copyists</i>	27
<i>I copisti italiani di Vivaldi</i> (Sommario)	87
Gastone Vio, <i>Alla ricerca della data dell'ultimo addio di Vivaldi a Venezia</i>	89
<i>Towards a Chronology of Vivaldi's Final Departure from Venice</i> (Summary)	97
Discographie Vivaldi n° 11 - 1989 (R.C. Travers)	99