

INFORMAZIONI E STUDI VIVALDIANI



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

VENEZIA
FONDAZIONE
GIORGIO CINI

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Le opere di Vivaldi nel raffronto fra libretti e partiture. V: «Orlando furioso»; «Atenaide»

Livia Pancino*

Il periodo compreso fra le prime rappresentazioni delle due opere qui esaminate segna il passaggio fra la relativa stabilità delle collaborazioni di Vivaldi con il Teatro S. Angelo e l'inizio di un altro periodo di viaggi. La stagione dell'autunno 1727 al teatro S. Angelo vede una ripresa del *Farnace* del carnevale precedente e la nuova opera *Orlando*. Questa per Vivaldi è una nuova opera in senso lato, dato che aveva già lavorato su questo soggetto negli anni 1713-1714, dapprima per l'allestimento dell'*Orlando furioso* del Ristori, su cui era intervenuto in modo consistente, e poi con l'opera propria *Orlando finto pazzo*. Dopo la fine del carnevale 1728, nel quale Vivaldi allestì al S. Angelo una sola opera propria, *Rosilena ed Oronta*, di cui la musica è perduta, egli lasciò questo teatro per circa cinque anni. L'opera successiva ha luogo infatti a Firenze, al Teatro della Pergola: *L'Atenaide* andò in scena nel dicembre 1728, come prima opera del carnevale 1729, ed è la seconda delle tre opere commissionategli da questo teatro (di *Ipermestra*, 1727, e di *Ginevra, principessa di Scozia*, 1736, la musica è perduta). Nel frattempo, nell'autunno del 1728, Vivaldi si era recato a Trieste per incontrare Carlo VI; un anno dopo Vivaldi lasciò Venezia accompagnato dal padre, per un viaggio «in Germania», durante il quale può aver avuto luogo un suo primo, ipotetico, soggiorno viennese. La fortuna operistica di Vivaldi iniziava a declinare, almeno in patria, e le sue opere comparivano sempre più spesso all'estero o in provincia.

I criteri di analisi e descrizione delle modifiche intercorse tra la prima produzione di ogni opera e le sue riprese, nonché dei cambiamenti resisi necessari all'interno di una stessa stagione, sono già stati esposti in dettaglio in «Informazioni e studi vivaldiani», 16, 1995, pp. 5-6, a cui si rimanda per ogni precisazione. In questa sede saranno solo brevemente riassunti (e integrati).

Le opere sono esaminate in ordine cronologico basato sulla prima rappresentazione documentata.

Per ogni scena sono elencati gli incipit testuali delle arie che si trovano in tutte le fonti disponibili, partiture e libretti anche di riprese con diverso titolo, riferendo per i recitativi di ogni libretto se il testo riportato è uguale (=), parzialmente differente (≈) o del tutto differente (≠) da quello riportato dalla partitura. Viene schedato come uguale (=) anche il testo che corrisponde a quanto si trova nella partitura in seguito ad una revisione o correzione, nel qual caso vengono descritte l'entità e la natura delle cor-

rezioni. Non saranno considerate come varianti quelle che riguardino singole parole o una differente successione delle parole, ma saranno segnalate dove sembreranno utili a chiarire le relazioni fra le fonti oppure se il significato della frase viene modificato. Si trascrivono le varianti riportando per i recitativi e le arie la frase minima di senso compiuto che contiene la variante. Sono riportate per intero le arie che non si trovano in nessuno dei libretti a stampa ma solo in una partitura. Qualora le modifiche riguardino la numerazione delle scene, la schedatura segue l'ordine numerico della partitura, riunendo in una stessa scheda scene di testo uguale e non di uguale numerazione. Quando nella scheda relativa ad una data fonte non c'è indicazione di aria questo significa semplicemente che quella fonte in quella scena non ha l'aria. La numerazione dei versi, dove non sia specificato diversamente, fa riferimento al libretto più antico.¹

Qualora si renda necessaria la trascrizione di un'aria o di porzioni di recitativo, le maiuscole superflue saranno abbattute. Ortografia e interpunzione verranno corrette secondo le convenzioni moderne.

La sigla di scena tra parentesi significa che la numerazione riprende ad essere quella dell'inizio della scheda; se non si dà numero di scena, vale sempre quanto scritto sopra.

Abbreviazioni:

- A. = Aria
- vs. = verso; vss. = versi
- R. = Recitativo
- b. = battuta

ORLANDO FURIOSO, 1727

RV 728

Drammi per musica sull'*Orlando furioso* erano abbastanza diffusi sulle scene dell'epoca ad opera di vari poeti e con un notevole contributo dell'autore dei libretti vivaldiani di questo argomento, Grazio Braccioli. I rapporti fra la musica di Vivaldi, o più limitatamente fra la sua attività musicale di adattatore e impresario e la traccia dell'Ariosto, sono stati spesso oggetto di studio.²

Anche se Vivaldi aveva già lavorato su questo libretto di Braccioli in più stagioni consecutive negli anni 1713-1714, intervenendo in modo sempre più cospicuo sulla partitura di Ristori, l'«*Orlando*» completamente vivaldiano compare solo nell'autunno 1727, per le scene del S. Angelo; la musica è testimoniata dal vol. G. 39 bis (l'aggettivo *furioso* si

trova nel titolo della partitura ma non in quello del libretto) che concorda generalmente col libretto stampato per quella rappresentazione, anche se il disegno generale dell'opera mostra ancora qualche eredità di precedenti opere dello stesso argomento. Nella maggior parte dei casi in cui la partitura G. 39 bis è discorde dal libretto del '27, essa concorda con quello del '14 (ad esempio per alcune numerazioni di scene; alcuni motti in francese nella partitura e nel libretto del '14, in italiano in quello del '27; il nome del mago Malagigi che compare in G. 39 bis e nel libretto del '14, ma mai in quello del '27, etc.). Due brani (in III.14) sono ripresi dall'*Orlando finto pazzo*, sia per la musica che per le parole.

Oltre alle fonti primarie, strettamente connesse con l'allestimento dell'*Orlando* vivaldiano, esistono alcuni testi che è opportuno considerare come fonti secondarie di quest'opera: si tratta di alcuni libretti di epoca vivaldiana che portano lo stesso titolo e della partitura dell'*Orlando furioso* di Ristori;³ di esse si schematizza lo svolgimento dell'azione con una tabella di concordanze delle scene. Quando invece si ritrova nelle fonti secondarie qualche brano presente anche nelle fonti principali, questo viene segnalato nella scheda relativa.

Abbreviazioni:

Fonti primarie:

G. 39 bis = Partitura parzialmente autografa, conservata a Torino, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria, fondo Giordano n. 39 bis, cc. 2 r-153 r.

lib. 27 = Libretto della rappresentazione dell'autunno 1727 al Teatro S. Angelo di Venezia.

Fonti secondarie:

G. 37 = Partitura dell'*Orlando furioso* di G.A. Ristori con adattamenti e inserzioni di Vivaldi, atti I e II, conservata a Torino, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria, fondo Giordano n. 37, cc. 162 r-250 r.

lib. 14 = Libretto della rappresentazione dell'autunno 1714 al Teatro S. Angelo di Venezia (musica di Ristori-Vivaldi).

lib. 22 = Libretto della rappresentazione del 1722 al Teatro di Braunschweig (musica di vari, testo tedesco a fronte).

lib. 38 = Con questa sigla vengono indicati due libretti quasi identici, che differiscono per il frontespizio, per un solo interprete (nel ruolo di Ast.) e per la presenza nel primo di essi di una lettera dedicatoria; si tratta del libretto della rappresentazione del carnevale 1738 a Bergamo e di quello della rappresentazione della fiera del 1738 al Teatro di Piazza di Vicenza, entrambi senza nome dell'autore della musica.

lib. 40 = Libretto della rappresentazione della fiera del 1740 al Teatro Gril[io] di Este (senza nome dell'autore della musica).

lib. 41 = Libretto della rappresentazione del 1741 al Nuovo Teatro di Bassano (idem c.s.).

lib. 46 = Libretto della rappresentazione del 1746 (m.v.1745) al Teatro S. Moisè di Venezia (idem c.s.).

Personaggi e loro abbreviazioni:

Orlando = Orl.
Angelica = Ang.
Alcina = Alc.
Bradamante = Bra.
Medoro = Med.
Ruggiero = Rug.
Astolfo = Ast.

Atto Scena	Fonte	
I.1	G. 39 bis	R. Alc., Ang. A. Ang. <i>Un raggio di speme il cor rasserena</i> <i>Ma s'alza un vapore</i>
	lib. 27	R. = Vs. 15: <i>Feraci, Sacripante, Orlando e mille</i> , dove G. 39 bis: <i>Agricane, Rinaldo, Feraù, Sacripante, Orlando e mille</i> . A. Ang. <i>Un raggio di speme il cor rasserena</i> <i>Ma s'alza un vapore</i>
I.2	G. 39 bis	R. Alc., Orl., Ast. A. Alc. <i>Alza in quegl'occhi</i> <i>E benché la speme</i>
	lib. 27	R. = Vs. 5, 2a metà, (Alc.): <i>A tempo ei giunge</i> , non si trova in G. 39 bis. A. Alc. <i>Alza in quegl'occhi</i> <i>E benché la speme</i>
I.3	G. 39 bis	R. Orl., Ast. (L'ultima battuta è cassata e riscritta sulle stesse parole, per cambiare il tono della cadenza). A. Ast. <i>Costanza tu m'isegni, e vuoi ch'io spero</i> <i>Pascendo di speranza i miei pensieri</i> . La seconda parte dell'aria, corrispondente alla seconda strofa, è cassata ma leggibile.
	lib. 27	R. = A. Ast. <i>Costanza tu m'isegni, e voi ch'io spero</i> <i>Pascendo di speranza i miei pensieri</i>
I.4	G. 39 bis	R. Orl., Bra. A. Bra. <i>Asconderò il mio sdegno</i> <i>Ma se mi toglie, oh Dio</i>
	lib. 27	R. ≈ Vs. 18: <i>Se il possente indovino oggi non mente</i> , dove G. 39 bis: <i>Se Malagigi nostro oggi non mente</i> .

G. 39 bis

lib. 27

*Tu sei degl'occhi miei
tu sei di questo sen, (di questo sen l'amato ben
soffri, tu sei il mio ben, di questo sen tu sei*)
l'oggetto amato.*

*Tu sei degl'occhi miei
tu sei di questo sen,
soffri, sei tu il mio ben,
l'oggetto amato.*

*Geloso non ti bramo
credilo sì ch'io t'amo,
son tua, son tua,
nume adorato
idolo del cor mio.*

*Geloso non ti bramo
credimi sì ch'io t'amo,
son tua, sì tua son io,
idolo del cor mio,
nume adorato.*

*alla prima ripetizione

- I.9 G. 39 bis R. Orl.
A. Orl. *Troppo è fiero il nume arciero || Ma consola l'alma
mia*
lib. 27 R. =
A. Orl. *Troppo è fiero il nume arciero || Ma consola l'alma
mia*
- I.9 (sic) G. 39 bis R. Alc., Med.
A. Med. *Rompo i ceppi e in lacci io torno || Se sarà infede-
le ancora*
*Rompo i ceppi e in lacci io torno,
dall'inganno di quei guardi
incostanza apprenderò.*
*Se sarà infedele ancora
il mio cor con chi l'adora
a sperare io tornerò.*
- I.10 lib. 27 R. =
A. Med. *Se tacendo, se soffrendo || Ma in amando e sospi-
rando*
- I.10 G. 39 bis R. Alc., Rug.
I.11 lib. 27 R. = Vs. 52: *grazia più bella*, dove G. 39 bis: *grazia simile*.
- I.11 G. 39 bis R. Bra., Rug., Alc.
A. Rug. *Sol da te mio dolce amore || Le tue vaghe luci belle*
- I.12 lib. 27 R. ≈ Vs. 7: *Misera ! Oh forse amore*, dove G. 39 bis: *Mi-
sera. Oh fosse amore*. Vs. 20 è endecasillabo regolare, do-
ve invece in G. 39 bis è ipometro, mancando le due ulti-
me sillabe: *Oh dei!*
A. Rug. *Sol per te mio dolce amore || Le tue vaghe luci bel-*

le. Vs. 6: *onde amor m'addita il porto*, dove G. 39 bis: *onde amor mi guida in porto*.

- I.12 G. 39 bis R. Bra., Alc. Dopo i primi dieci versi inserisce un cambio di scena che non c'è nel lib., la cui scena decimaterza comprende il testo delle ultime due scene dell'atto primo della partitura.
- I.13 G. 39 bis R. Bra., Alc. *Amorose a' rai del sole* || *Benché senta il mio diletto*
- I.13 lib. 27 R. =
A. Alc. *Amorose a' rai del sole* || *Benché senta il mio diletto*. Vs. 3: *ed il sol col raggio ardente*, dove G. 39 bis: *ed il sol co' raggi ardenti* (ma alla ripetizione: *co' raggi suoi*).
- II.1 G. 39 bis R. Alc., Ast.
A. Alc. *Vorresti amor da me?* || *T'inganni se lo credi*
- II.1 lib. 27 R. =
A. Alc. *Vorresti amor da me?* || *T'inganni se lo credi*. Vs. 4: *de' tuoi languenti rai*, dove G. 39 bis: *de' tuoi lucenti rai*. Vs. 9: *ch'io contenta non son*, dove G. 39 bis: *ch'io contento non son*, sempre.
- II.2 G. 39 bis R. Ast., Bra.
A. Ast. *Benché nasconda* || *E pien di frode*. Alla ripetizione: *E pien di sdegno*, l'ultima parola cassata e sostituita con *frodi*.
- II.2 lib. 27 R. = (Vs. 7 inizia con *che* dove in G. 39 bis si trova l'abbreviazione di *per*).
A. Ast. *Benché nasconda* || *E pien di frode*
- II.3 G. 39 bis R. Bra., Rug., Orl.
A. Bra. *Taci non ti lagnar* || *Bugiardo infido cor*. Seconda parte dell'aria, corrispondente alla seconda strofa, cassata. Anche in lib. 14 e G. 37, II.4, ma con musica diversa.
- II.3 lib. 27 R. = (Quartultimo verso inizia con *Ruggiero* dove G. 39 bis, evidentemente per un lapsus, *Lucina*, che non ha senso).
A. Bra. *Taci non ti lagnar* || *Bugiardo infido cor*. Seconda strofa virgolettata.
- II.4 G. 39 bis R. Rug., Orl. Vs. 10, bb. 16-19, che contenevano le parole *Bradamante mio ben, io t'ho tradita*, su una cadenza finale, sono stati cassati e il r. prosegue come nel lib.
A. Orl. *Sorge l'irato nembro* || *Ma fugge in un baleno*. Vs. 3: *col sussurrar dell'onde*, ma alla ripetizione: *col mormo-*

rar dell'onde. Vedi anche *Farnace*, 1727, III.3 e 1731, I.14; *Atenaide*, lib. 29, II. 6 e G. 39, II.7.

Seguono due pagine cassate: la prima che contiene un r. di sei bb. di Rug. sulle parole: *Infelice cor mio | innocente tu sei, ma se ti credi | ingrato, e disleal l'amato bene, | più goder non potrai ore serene*, e l'inizio di un'aria, *Largo*, di Rug. sulle parole: *Piangerò sin che l'onda del pianto | amollisca la sorte rubella*. La seconda con le ultime otto bb. dell'aria precedente, *Sorge l'irato nembo*, (identiche a quelle che si leggono due pagine prima).

lib. 27 R. = Vs. 1, 2a metà: *qual entro cieco*, dove G. 39 bis: *qual antro cieco*. Vs. 10, 1a metà: *Meco vieni o Ruggier*, dove G. 39 bis: *Consolati Ruggier*.

A. Orl. *Sorge l'irato nembo || Ma fugge in un baleno*

II.5 G. 39 bis R. Med., Ang. Ultime due bb. cassate e riscritte per cambiare il tono della cadenza.
A. Med. *Qual candido fiore || Son troppo felice*. Sei bb. cassate alla fine della prima strofa.

lib. 27 R. ≈ Vs. 13: *che lunghe a me starai faranno eterni*, dove G. 39 bis: *che lunge a me starai saranno eterni* (a senso la lezione corretta è: *che lunge a me starai, faranno eterni*).
A. Med. *Qual candido fiore || Son troppo felice*

II.6 G. 39 bis R. Ang., Orl.
A. Ang. *Chiara al par di lucida stella || Ma il pensier di lasciarmi crudele*

R. Orl., Ang. Dopo l'aria si leggono di seguito l'inizio del r. riscritto in gran fretta, e poi la prima stesura dello stesso r. con l'inizio cassato (con testo lievemente diverso da quello definitivo che si trova anche nel lib.).

lib. 27 R. ≈ Vs. 19, 1a metà: *Tu lasciarmi e morir?*, dove G. 39 bis: *Tu lasciarmi? Tu morir?*

A. Ang. *Chiara al par di lucida stella || Ma il pensier di lasciarmi crudele*

R. ≈ Vs. 20: *Un sì forte vigore*, dove G. 39: *T'amo, e sì gran vigore*.

II.7 G. 39 bis R. Ast., Ang., Orl.
lib. 27 R. =

II.8 G. 39 bis R. Orl., Ang.
lib. 27 R. =

II.9 G. 39 bis R. Orl.
lib. 27 R. =

- II.10 G. 39 bis R. Bra., Rug
A. Rug. *Che bel morir in sen* || *Amo gli sdegni tuoi*. La seconda strofa è cassata.
R. Bra.
A. Bra. *Se cresce un torrente* || *La gioia è sì grande*
lib. 27 R. ≈ Vs. 4: *che nell'iniqua maga*, dove G. 39 bis: *che nell'iniqua Alcina*. Vss. 11-12: *la bellissima Alcina*, *la novella e vezzosa* (7+7), dove G. 39 bis: *la bellissima Alcina*, *la novella* (11).
A. Rug. *Che bel morir in sen* || *Amo gli sdegni tuoi*. Vs. 6: *sì bella calma*, dove G. 39 bis, parte cassata: *la bella calma*.
R. =
A. Bra. *Se cresce un torrente* || *La gioia è sì grande*
- II.13 (sic) G. 39 bis Coro *Al fragor de' corni audaci* || *Ed al suon de casti baci*. Anche in tutte le altre fonti. Il testo è uguale a quello di G. 37, ma variato rispetto a tutte le fonti a stampa; la musica è una lieve variante di quella di G. 37.
R. Med., Ang., Alc. Il r. è interrotto da due interventi del coro, *Gran madre venere*, e *Diva dell'Espero*, da inserire dopo i vss. 25 e 34; le due strofe di testo sono scritte sotto la stessa musica dopo il vs. 25; dopo il vs. 34 si trova un rimando al coro scritto prima. I vss. 21-25 e 28-34 sono di r. accompagnato.
A. Alc. *Così potessi anch'io* || *Ma unito alla mia stella*
- II.11 lib. 27 Coro *Al fragor de' corni audaci* || *E in veder sì casti baci*. Varianti nella seconda strofa: *E in veder sì casti baci* | *venga amore a trionfar*, dove G. 39 bis: *Ed al suon de' casti baci* | *venga amor l'alme a bear*.
R. ≈ Vs. 8: *Tal quest'alma al tuo core*, dove G. 39 bis: *Tal quest'alma al mio core*. Vs. 14, 1a metà: *Eh, dà pace al tuo cor*, dove G. 39 bis: *Eh, dà pace al tuo duol*. Vs. 34: *per Medoro a me in sen mai sempre amore*, dove G. 39 bis: *per Medoro a me in sen mai sempre amante*.
A. Alc. *Così potessi anch'io* || *Ma unito alla mia stella*
- II.14 (sic) G. 39 bis R. Med., Ang.
A due Med., Ang. *Belle pianticelle*. Anche in G. 37, II.15; lib. 14 e lib. 22, II.14; lib. 38, III.3.
R. Ang., Med.
A due Ang., Med. *Sei mia fiamma e sei mio bene* || *Sei mia gioia, sei mia pace*. Anche in tutte le altre fonti.
- II.12 lib. 27 R. =
A due Med., Ang. *Belle pianticelle*. Rispetto a G. 39 bis manca un vs., *il nostro dolce amor*, iterazione variata della prima parte del vs. 3.

R. =

A due Ang., Med. *Sei mia fiamma e sei mio bene* || *Sei mia gioia, sei mia pace*. Vs. 2, 2a metà: *e sei mio cor*, dove G. 39 bis: *e sei mio ben*.

- II.2 G. 39 bis Scena non numerata.
R. Or. Il r. è interrotto in due punti da due passi di arioso, segnati nel testo poetico dal metro diverso: due quinari ai vss. 11-12 e due ottonari ai vss. 27-28.
Anche la seconda parte della scena è un arioso, nonostante il testo poetico in cui si può individuare una forma chiusa in due strofe: Or. *Ho cento vanni al tergo* || *Sovra que' vanni io m'ergo*. Il testo è più vicino a quello che si trova in G. 37 e in lib. 14, II.15, che non a quello corrispondente di lib. 27.
- II.13 lib. 27 R. ≈ Vs. 29, cassato nella partitura, è qui presente senza alcun segno di espunzione.
A. Or. *Ho cento vanni al piede* || *Sovra que' vanni io m'ergo*. Vss. 8-11: *Quelle pupille io miro | con tutti i cuor | nel mio furor | m'adiro*, dove G. 39 bis: *quelle pupille io giro | con tutti i cuor sospiro*.
- III.1 G. 39 bis R. Rug., Ast.
A. Ast. *Dove il valor combatte* || *Se l'empietà s'abbatte*. Anche in lib. 14, III.1. La seconda parte dell'aria, sulla seconda strofa di testo, è cassata.
- lib. 27 R. ≈ Vss. 4-5: *A penetrar dall'erto della rupe | già nel profondo speco*, dove G. 39 bis: *A penetrar nell'erto della rupe | giù dal profondo speco*. Vs. 7, 2a metà: *intanto alla vendetta*, dove G. 39 bis: *alla vendetta intanto*.
A. Ast. *Dove il valor combatte* || *Se l'empietà s'abbatte*
- III.2 G. 39 bis R. Rug., Bra.
lib. 27 R. ≈ Vs. 3: *sitibondo di stragi a darne aita*, dove G. 39 bis: *sitibondo di sangue a darne aita*.
- III.3 G. 39 bis A. Alc. *L'arco vuò frangerti*. Anche in tutte le altre fonti.
R. Alc., Bra., Rug. Tre brani di accompagnato in corrispondenza dei vss. 6-10 (1a metà), 11-13 (2a metà), 19-26.
- lib. 27 A. Alc. *L'arco vuò frangerti*
R. ≈ Vs. 14 manca in G. 39 bis Vs. 30: *bellissima reina, il reo Ruggiero*, dove G. 39: *bellissima reina, il tuo Ruggiero*. Vs. 35 (1a metà): *Ardalico son io*, dove G. 39 bis: *Alderico son io*, che poi al penultimo vs. diventa *Aldorico*. Vs. 41 (2a metà): *ratto all'aure i vanni*, dove G. 39 bis:

ratto all'aure ai venti. Vs. 50: (2a metà): *ch'ai rinnovato amante*, dove G. 39 bis: *ch'hai ritrovato amante*.

- III.4 G. 39 bis R. Orl., Bra., Rug., Alc.
lib. 27 R. ≈ Vs. 4 (1a metà): *Ignudo Orlando*, dove G. 39 bis: *E' stolto Orlando*. Vs. 18: *la nera crudeltà col reo rigore*, dove G. 39 bis: *Madama crudeltà, Monsù rigore*. Vss. 24 (2a metà)-25: *che amor le fa | la fiera crudeltà*, dove G. 39 bis: *che amor le fé | Madam la crudité* (lib. 14: *Madame la cruauté*). Vs. 27: *disse, così si fa! No, che non voglio*; dove G. 39 bis: *disse: Petit fripon; je ne veux pas*. In queste varianti G. 39 bis riprende il testo del lib. 14. Vs. 33: *Suonate, che fate?* dove G. 39 bis: *Suonate, suonate*.
- III.5 G. 39 bis A. Ang. *Come purpureo fior languendo muore || Così langue in un seno amante core*. Anche in lib. 38, III.7; lib. 40 e lib. 41, III.6. Fra le due strofe dell'aria s'inserisce un verso di r. diviso fra Alc. e Orl.
R. Rug., Orl., Bra., Alc.
A. Alc. *Che dolce più, che più giocondo stato || Che viver più felice e fortunato*. Anche in lib. 14, III.5; lib. 38, III.7; lib. 40 e lib. 41, III.6.
R. Ang., Orl., Alc., Bra., Rug.
A. Ang. *Poveri affetti miei siete innocenti || Ingrato io ti direi t'inganni, e menti*. La seconda parte dell'aria è casata.
lib. 27 A. Ang. *Come purpureo fior languendo muore || Così langue in un seno amante core*
R. ≈ Vs. 2: *ingannatrice amante*, dove G. 39 bis: *mia preterita amante* (come in lib. 14).
A. Alc. *Che dolce più, che più giocondo stato || Che viver più felice e fortunato*. Vs. 4 (2a metà): *in servitù d'amore*, dove G. 39 bis: *in compagnia d'amore*. Dopo l'aria il lib. omette un cambio di personaggio, cioè l'entrata di Ang. che risponde ad Alc., così che l'aria sembra di 6 vss. invece che di 4.
R. ≈ Vss. 4-5: *So che cortese non si sdegherà | Signora crudeltà*, dove G. 39 bis: *Vous voudrez bien un coup me pardonner | Madame la cruauté*. Vss. 10-12: *Come dunque tu ridi? | Ah, me la pagherai: | irriterò contro i tuoi sciocchi errori*, dove G. 39 bis: *Comment Vous donc riez? Ventrebleu la railleuse | Irriterò contro i tuoi sciocchi amori*. I passi in francese sono ripresi dal lib. 14.
A. Ang. *Poveri affetti miei siete innocenti || Ingrato io ti direi t'inganni e menti*. Vedi *Atenaide*, I.7.

- III.6 G. 39 bis R. Orl., Rug., Bra., Alc. L'ultima b. è cassata e riscritta per cambiare tono alla cadenza.
A. Bra. *Io son ne' lacci tuoi* || *Vado: riposo in te*
R. Rug., Alc.
- lib. 27 R. ≈ Ultimo vs. (2a metà): *che m'arde in seno*, dove G. 39 bis: *che alberga in seno*.
A. Bra. *Io son ne' lacci tuoi* || *Vado: riposo in te*
R. =
A. Alc. *Non è felice un'alma* || *Spesso cangiando amore* (non c'è in G. 39 bis).
- III.7 G. 39 bis R. Rug., Med.
lib. 27 R. =
- III.8 G. 39 bis Un inizio di scena ottava cassato comprende due vss. di r. sulle stesse parole di quello seguente, ma con un cambio di personaggio e di chiave in meno
R. Ang., Med., Rug. Il r. è seguito dall'inizio strumentale di un'aria di Rug. (non cassato) di cui non c'è il seguito.
- lib. 27 R. ≈ Vs. 15: *e tu donna crudel*, dove G. 39 bis: *e tu donna (il mio labbro | nulla dice di più) donna m'intendi*.
A. Rug. *Come l'onda* || *Il tuo core*
- III.9 G. 39 bis Non c'è scena nona.
lib. 27 R. Ang., Med. Vss. 1-19 non si trovano in G. 39 bis. Vss. 20-23 e l'aria seguente in G. 39 bis sono in III.10.
- III.10 G. 39 bis R. Med.
A. Med. *Vorrebbe amando il cor* || *E poi sperando va*. La prima strofa è messa in musica due volte di seguito, la prima delle quali è cassata; dopo l'a. intera si legge un residuo della seconda strofa della prima stesura.
- III.9 lib. 27 R. (Vss. 20-23) =
A. Med. *Vorrebbe amando il cor* || *E poi sperando va*
- III.11 G. 39 bis R. Orl.
A. Orl. *Scendi nel Tartaro*. Anche in tutte le altre fonti.
R. Orl.
- III.10 lib. 27 R. ≈ Vs. 6: *volea ch'io le cantassi una canzone*, dove G. 39 bis: *volea ch'io le cantassi il lazaron* (in lib. 14: *volea ch'io le cantassi il L...*).
A. Orl. *Scendi nel Tartaro*
R. ≈ Vss. 17-18 ottonari; 1a metà vs. 17: *Sgorga il sangue*, dove G. 39 bis: *Sorge il sangue*. Fra il vs. 24 (ultimo di r. secco) e il vs. 25 (primo di accompagnato) mancano, rispetto a G. 39 bis, le parole: *Quanto sfacelo*.

- III.12 G. 39 bis R. Alc., Rug., Bra. A b. 8, inizio vs. 5, *per-(ché)*: a fine pagina si legge la prima sillaba seguita dai trattini di interruzione di parola, ma il *-ché* è stato dimenticato voltando pagina, e manca anche la nota su cui cantarlo.
- III.11 lib. 27 R. ≈ Vs. 4 (2a metà): *mia sciagura eterna*, dove G. 39 bis: *mia cagione eterna*.
- III.13 G. 39 bis R. Ang., Med., Bra., Alc.
III.12 lib. 27 R. =
- III.14 G. 39 bis R. Ast., Bra., Alc., Rug., Orl. Una lunga sezione cassata alle bb. 10-28 (1a metà), corrispondenti ai vss. 6 (2a metà)-18. Alle bb. 33-34 mancano le parole, ma ci sono le note necessarie alle sillabe del corrispondente vs. 21, di cui c'è solo l'inizio sotto la prima nota, *Sov(r)ra la ignuda terra* etc.).
A. Ast. *Anderò, chiamerò dal profondo*. Sopra il testo si legge un'altra riga cassata con le parole: *Anderò, volerò, griderò | sulla Senna sul Tebro, sul*; l'aria poi è seguita da una seconda strofa cassata: *Empio duol che mi serpi nel seno | scaglia pur la fatale saetta | a finire il mio acuto dolor*. Sia il testo cassato della prima strofa che la seconda strofa si trovano in lib. 14, III.14 e in *Orlando finto pazzo*, III.12; la musica è una variante di quella dell'*Orlando finto pazzo*.
R. Bra., Orl., Ang., Ast.
Coro *Con mirti e fiori*. Il coro è di altra mano; parole e musica come in *Orlando finto pazzo*, III.15.
- III.13 lib. 27 R. ≈ Vs. 5 (2a metà): *che ho in mia difesa i dei*, dove G. 39 bis: *ch'in mio poter ho i dei*. Vs. 25 (2a metà): *sol la mia colpa*, dove G. 39 bis: *se non la colpa*. Vss. 26-28 non ci sono in G. 39 bis.
A. Ast. *Anderò, chiamerò dal profondo*. Vs. 4 (2a metà): *tradito mio amor*, dove G. 39 bis: *tradito mio onor*.
R. ≈ Vs. 3: *Gran Mago, ora i tuoi detti omai comprendo*, dove G. 39 bis: *Malagigi, i tuoi detti ora comprendo*. Al vs. 11 G. 39 bis aggiunge una sillaba, *mai*, a metà verso, e lo rende ipermetro. Vs. 12 (2a metà) *prudente impara*, dove G. 39 bis: *prudenza impara*.
Coro *Vien dal cielo in noi l'amore || S'ami sì, ma s'ami il bello*. Anche in tutte le altre fonti a stampa.

ORLANDO FURIOSO: CONCORDANZE DELLE SCENE ⁴						
G. 39bis	lib. 27	G. 37	lib. 14 lib. 22	lib. 38	lib. 40 lib. 41	lib. 46
I.1	I.1	I.1	I.1	I.1	I.1	I.1
I.2	I.2	I.2	I.2	I.2	I.2	I.2
I.3	I.3	I.3	I.3	I.3	I.3	I.3
I.4	I.4	I.4	I.4			
I.5	I.5	I.5	I.5	I.4	I.4	I.4
I.6	I.6	I.6	I.6	I.5	I.5	I.5
	I.7	I.7	I.7	I.6	I.6	I.6
I.8	I.8	I.8	I.8	I.7	I.7	I.7 ⁵
I.9	I.9					
I.9 (sic)	I.10	I.9	I.9	I.8	I.8	I.8
I.10	I.11	I.?	I.10			
I.11	I.12	I.11	I.11			
I.12	I.13	I.12	I.12			
I.13		I.13	I.13			
						II.1
						II.2
						II.3
						II.4
				II.1	II.1	
				II.2	II.2	
				II.3	II.3	
				II.4	II.4	
				II.5	II.5	II.5
II.1	II.1	II.1	II.1	I.9	I.9	I.9
		II.2	II.2 ⁶			
II.2	II.2					
		II.3	II.3			
II.3	II.3			I.10	I.10	I.10
		II.4	II.4	II.6	II.6	II.6
II.4	II.4	II.5	II.5			
II.5	II.5	II.7	II.6			
II.6	II.6	II.8	II.7	II.8	II.8	II.8

II.7	II.7	II.9	II.8	II.9	II.9	II.9
II.8	II.8	II.10	II.9	II.10	II.10	II.10
II.9	II.9	II.11	II.10	II.11	II.11	II.11
II.10	II.10	II.12	II.11	II.7	II.7	II.7 ⁷
		II.13	II.12			
II.13	II.11	II.14	II.13	III.2	III.2	III.2
II.14	II.12	II.15	II.14	III.3	III.3	III.3
II.?	II.13	II.16	II.15	III.4	III.4	III.4

G. 39bis	lib. 27	lib. 14 lib. 22	lib. 38	lib. 40 lib. 41	lib. 46
			III.1	III.1	III.1
III.1	III.1	III.1	III.5		III.5
III.2	III.2	III.2			
III.3	III.3	III.3	III.6	III.5	III.6
III.4	III.4	III.4	III.7	III.6	III.7
III.5	III.5	III.5			
III.6	III.6	III.6	III.8	III.7	III.8
			III.9	III.8	III.9
			III.10	III.9	III.10

III.7	III.7	III.7			
III.8	III.8	III.8			
III.10	III.9	III.9			
		III.10			
III.11	III.10	III.11	III.11	III.10	III.11
			III.12	III.11	III.12
III.12	III.11	III.12	III.13	III.12	III.13
III.13	III.12	III.13			
III.14	III.13	III.14	III.14	III.13	III.14

Quando fu stampato il libretto dell'*Atenaide* per il carnevale fiorentino del 1729 erano passati 15 anni da quando il testo di Apostolo Zeno era stato messo in musica da tre autori diversi per la corte di Vienna.⁸ L'opera di Vivaldi su questo libretto, testimoniata da un'unica partitura non autografa, presenta rispetto al testimone a stampa tante discrepanze che non è possibile pensare che libretto e partitura qui esaminati si riferiscano allo stesso allestimento. Mentre i recitativi e l'azione in genere si svolgono in modo simile, nonostante una diversa numerazione delle scene, le arie in comune fra le due fonti di quest'opera sono solo 19 su 32 (nella partitura, 31 nel libretto). Solo una delle quattro arie sostitutive stampate in fondo al libretto coincide con il testo della partitura, e solo una delle sostituzioni nella partitura porta ad un testo definitivo uguale a quello del libretto; in tre casi la correzione in partitura, senza toccare la musica, cambia il testo originario uguale a quello del libretto, con uno diverso. In tre casi la scena presenta l'aria nella partitura e non nel libretto, e due volte si dà il caso inverso. Ed esistono ancora altre divergenze meno appariscenti. La partitura può essere stata rielaborata in vista di una rappresentazione che poi non ebbe luogo o della quale non ci sono giunte notizie. Il libretto può essere stato stampato per la rappresentazione di una partitura, forse autografa, forse il manoscritto di composizione, che servì da guida per la compilazione di questa copia e che oggi è perduta.

Abbreviazioni:

G. 39 = Partitura conservata a Torino, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria, fondo Giordano n. 39, cc. 2v-169v.

Lib. 29 = Libretto della rappresentazione del carnevale 1729 al Teatro della Pergola di Firenze.

Personaggi e loro abbreviazioni:

Teodosio = Teo.

Atenaide = Ate.

Pulcheria = Pul.

Varane = Var.

Leontino = Leo.

Marziano = Mar.

Probo = Pro.

Atto Scena	Fonte	
I.1	G. 39	R. Ate., Leo. A. Leo. <i>Ti stringo in quest'amplesso Benché ti ceda al trono</i> <i>Ti stringo in quest'amplesso, o di me stesso parte miglior.</i> <i>Benché ti ceda al trono, non t'abbandonano senza dolor.</i>
	lib. 29	R. ≈ Vs. 5 (2a metà): <i>ultimi istanti</i> , dove G. 39: <i>ultimi accenti</i> . Vs. 88 (2a metà): <i>il vero bene; a lui</i> , dove G. 39: <i>il primo bene. A lui</i> . A. Leo. <i>Sposa augusta ascendi al trono Se talor per me un pensiero</i>
I.2	G. 39	R. Ate., Pul., Mar. A. Ate. <i>Della rubella Né tutta miri</i>
	lib. 29	R. ≈ La 2a metà di vs. 6 e la prima di vs. 7, virgolettate, non ci sono in partitura. Vs. 10: <i>potea con ugual merto</i> , dove G. 39: <i>potea con ugual sorte</i> . A. Ate. <i>Della rubella Né tutta miri</i>
I.3	G. 39	R. Pul., Mar.
	lib. 29	R. =
I.4	G. 39	R. Pro., Pul. A. Pul. <i>Là sul margine del rio Così amor, tu già m'intendi</i> <i>Là sul margine del rio più d'un fior vorria goder il favor della fresc'onda; ma talor su quella sponda gode un solo il gran piacer.</i> <i>Così amor, tu già m'intendi... Con modestia taci e attendi il sovrano mio voler.</i>
	lib. 29	R. ≈ Vs. 9 (2a metà): <i>Anche il zelo</i> , dove G. 39: <i>Il tuo zelo</i> . Vs. 12 (1a metà): <i>al suo sovrano</i> , dove G. 39: <i>al suo signor</i> . A. Pul. <i>Non trova in me riposo È solo oggetto d'ira</i>

- I.5 G. 39 R. Pro., Mar.
 A. Mar. *Al valore che prode ti pregi || Sempre uniti già sono in un core*
- lib. 29 R. =
 A. Mar. *Vedrò se pareggi || Ma so, che sovente*
 A. sostitutiva stampata in fondo al lib.:
 A. Mar. *Al valore che prode ti pregi || Sempre uniti già sono in un core*
- I.6 G. 39 R. Pro., Teo.
 A. Pro. *Imeneo più chiare e belle || Lieto di con più bel raggio*
- lib. 29 R. =
 A. Pro. *Imeneo più chiare e belle || Lieto di con più bel raggio*
- I.7 G. 39 Il r. e l'a. di Teo. che costituiscono questa scena in lib. 29 sono compresi nella scena precedente.
 R. Teo.
 A. Teo. *Trovo negli occhi tuoi || E fuor di te, che sei. La musica è ripresa da Poveri affetti miei, Orlando Furioso, G. 39 bis, III.5.*
- I.6 lib. 29 R. =
 A. Teo. *Trovo negli occhi tuoi || E fuor di te, che sei. Vs. 7 (ultimo): voti la spene, dove G. 39: bene la spene.*
- I.8 G. 39 A. Var. *Reggia amica a te vicino || Ma non so del mio destino*
- Reggia amica a te vicino*
 più mi balza il core in petto.
 Ma non so del mio destino
 se per tema o per sospetto.
- I.7 lib. 29 R. Pro., Var.
 R. ≈ Vs. 10: *del tuo col nostro impero (egli si tenti), dove G. 39: col nostro impero. Egli si tenti.*
- I.9 G. 39 R. Leo., Var., Pro. Dopo 16 vss. la partitura inserisce un cambio di scena, mentre il lib. continua nella stessa scena I.8.
- I.8 lib. 29 R. = (I primi 16 vss. sono identici a quello che in G. 39 si trova in I.9, il resto del r. a quello che, in G. 39, si trova in I.10).

- I.10 G. 39 R. Var., Leo.
A. Leo. *Mal s'accende di sdegno il tuo core || Disperato se vedi il tuo amore*
*Mal s'accende di sdegno il tuo core:
non pavento minacce e furor.*
*Disperato se vedi il tuo amore
puoi cangiarne la fiamma e l'ardor.*
- I.8 lib. 29 R. =
A. Leo. *Nello scoglio irata l'onda || Con minacce e con i preghi*
- I.11 G. 39 R. Var., Teo., Pul., Mar., Pro.
A. Var. *Tanto lieto ho il core in petto || Tal l'amore si consola*
- I.9 lib. 29 R. ≈ Vs. 23 (2a metà): *arder due tede*, dove G. 39: *arder le tede*. Vss. 29-33 (1a metà) virgolettati, non si trovano in G. 39. Vs. 37 (1a metà): *che fa troppo penar*, dove G. 39: *che fa penar*.
A. Var. *Tanto lieto ho il core in petto || Tal l'amore si consola*
- I.12 G. 39 R. Teo., Pul., Mar.
A. Mar. *Di nuovi allori adorno || Poi dell'invidia oppressa*
- I.10 lib. 29 R. ≈ Vs. 17 (2a metà): *che all'impero ei vede*, dove G. 39: *che all'impero ei crede*. Vs. 33 (1a metà): *Ubbidirò*, dove G. 39: *Ubbidisco*. Vs. 39 (2a metà): *e strade e fiumi*, dove G. 39: *e mari e fiumi*.
A. Mar. *Di nuovi allori adorno || Poi dell'invidia oppressa*
- I.13 G. 39 R. Pul., Teo.
A. Teo. *Qual la sua colpa sia || Guarda, saria viltà*. Vs. 4: *dell'alta offesa*, alla ripetizione diventa: *dell'alta impresa*. Dopo l'a. un cambio di scena porta a I.14, mentre nel lib. prosegue I.11.
- I.11 lib. 29 R. =
A. Teo. *Qual la sua colpa sia || Guarda, saria viltà*
- I.14 G. 39 R. Pul.
A. Pul. *Quanto posso a me fo schermo || Ma ho timor che contro amor*
- I.11 lib. 29 R. =
A. Pul. *Quanto posso a me fo schermo || Ma ho timor che contro amor*. Vs. 5 (2a metà): *l'esser grande e l'esser forte*, dove G. 39: *l'esser saggio e l'esser forte*.

- II.1 G. 39 R. Teo., Pro., Var.
lib. 29 R. =
- II.2 G. 39 R. Var., Ate., Teo., Pro.
A. Var. *Nel profondo cieco orrore* || *Vincerà fiero rigore*.
La musica è ripresa da *Nel profondo cieco mondo*, *Orlando furioso*, I.5; anche le parole sono una variante di quello stesso testo.
lib. 29 R. ≈ Vs. 5 (2a metà): *Son io ben desto? I sensi*, dove G. 39: *Son io desto? I sensi*. Fra i vss. 20 e 21 G. 39 inserisce un trisillabo che non c'è nel lib. (iterazione anticipata dell'incipit del vs. 21, per sottolineare l'esitazione del personaggio Var.): *Con quale...*
A. Var. *Nel profondo cieco orrore* || *Vincerà fiero rigore*
- II.3 G. 39 R. Teo., Pro., Ate.
A. Ate. *Son colpevole à tuoi lumi* || *Giusti numi, il vostro sguardo*
lib. 29 R. ≈ Vs. 2 (1a metà): *ma il mio stesso desir*, dove G. 39: *ma il mio stesso destin*. Vs. 38 (1a metà): *sudor mi scioglie*, dove G. 39: *sudor tutto mi scioglie*. Vs. 40: (1a metà): *quando sia tempo*, dove G. 39: *a suo tempo*.
A. Ate. *Son colpevole à tuoi lumi* || *Giusti numi, il vostro sguardo*
- II.4 G. 39 R. Teo., Pro.
lib. 29 R. = per i primi 5 vss., dopo i quali G. 39 inserisce un cambio di scena che non si trova nel lib., e passa a II.5. Vedi tabella di concordanze.
- II.5 G. 39 R. Teo.
II.4 lib. 29 R. = dal vs. 6 in poi.
- II.6 G. 39 R. Teo., Pul.
A. Teo. *Vorresti, il so, vorresti, amor tiranno* || *Ma la cauta ragion vede il tuo inganno*
- II.5 lib. 29 R. =
A. Teo. *Vorresti, il so, vorresti, amor tiranno* || *Ma la cauta ragion vede il tuo inganno*. Ultimo vs.: *e già fa disperar la tua vittoria*, dove G. 39: *e ti fa disperar la tua vittoria*.
- II.7 G. 39 R. Pul., Mar.
A. Pul. *Sorge l'irato nembo* || *Ma sai che in un baleno*. Parole e musica come in *Orlando furioso*, II.4, con lievi varianti. N.B. Vs. 3: *col sussurrar dell'onde* alla ripetizione

- diventa: *al mormorar dell'onde*, come in *Orlando furioso*, G. 39 bis.
- II.6 lib. 29 R.=
A. Pul. *Sorge l'irato nembo* || *Ma sai che in un baleno*. Dopo l'a. G. 39 inserisce un cambio di scena che non c'è nel lib., e passa a II.8. Vedi tabella di concordanze.
- II.8 G. 39 R. Mar.
A. Mar. *Bel piacer di fido core* || *Ma diletto assai maggiore*
Bel piacer di fido core* (*alla ripetizione: *amante*)
poter dire al caro oggetto:
per te peno, per te moro.
Ma diletto assai maggiore
è l'udir ch'egli risponda:
anch'io t'amo, anch'io t'adoro.
- II.6 lib. 29 R. =
A. Mar. *Vezzosa bellezza* || *Vago volto che innamora*. In fondo al lib. un'a. sostitutiva di questa:
A. Mar. *Misero è quel nocchier* || *Fra i venti si confonde*
- II.9 G. 39 R. Teo., Leo.
A. Leo. *Se cieco affetto* || *Ed è periglio*
- II.7 lib. 29 R. ≈ Vs. 2 (2a metà): *Teco n'è rea la figlia*, dove G. 39: *Ma teco non è rea la figlia*. Vs. 10 (1a metà): *Più avveduto mi rende*, dove G. 39: *Ma avveduto mi rende*.
A. Leo. *Se cieco affetto* || *Ed è periglio*
- II.10 G. 39 R. Teo., Var.
II.8 lib. 29 R. ≈ Vs. 36 (2a metà): *né quel che parlo*, dove G. 39: *né quel che bramo*.
- II.11 G. 39 R. Teo., Ate., Pro., Var.
A. Teo. *Al tribunal d'amore* || *Decidi in libertà*. Vedi *Farnace*, G. 37, II.3.
- II.9 lib. 29 R. =
A. Teo. *Al tribunal d'amore* || *Decidi in libertà*. Vss. 3-4: *e scegli quel fra noi | che più ti piace*, dove G. 39: *e scegli fra di noi | chi più ti piace*, ma alla 2a ripetizione: *qual più ti piace*.
- II.12 G. 39 R. Pro., Ate., Var.
A. Var. *Il mio amore diventa furore* || *Non trabocchi più il pianto dagli occhi*
- II.10 lib. 29 R. =

A. Var. *Il mio amore diventa furore* || *Non trabocchi più il pianto dagli occhi*

- II.13 G. 39 R. Pro., Ate.
A. Pro. *Vado a recar contenti* || *In mezzo a suoi tormenti*
- II.11 lib. 29 R. =
A. Pro. *Vado a recar contenti* || *In mezzo a tuoi tormenti*
- II.14 G. 39 R. Ate., Leo.
A. Ate. *Eccelso trono, fedel consorte* || *Se lo perdo è mia sciagura*
Segue di nuovo la seconda parte del r. precedente, identica salvo che per le sei bb. finali che sono diverse per raccordo tonale con l'aria seguente. Questa è probabilmente la prima scritta per questa scena, ed è stata sostituita inserendo un fascicolo contenente *Eccelso trono, fedel consorte* e parte del recitativo ricopiato.
A. Ate. *Sovrana su un trono* || *Se poi già incostante*
Sovrana su un trono,
d'Augusto esser sposa:
sì grande egli è un dono
che sorte amorosa
di più dar non sa.
Se poi già incostante
me toglie, è sciagura,
ma s'io noncurante
il lascio, è viltà.
- II.12 lib. 29 R. =
A. Leo. *Aura d'amore, e fede* || *Lascia la fé, l'amor.* In fondo al lib. un'a. sostitutiva di questa:
A. Ate. *Temi o cara il bene amato* || *Se crudele tradimento*
R. Ate. ≠ di 4 vss. che non si trovano in G. 39.
A. Ate. *Eccelso trono, fedel consorte* || *Se lo perdo è mia sciagura*
- III.1 G. 39 R. Pro.
A. Pro. *Alme perfide* || *Avvelena ogni piacer*
Alme perfide
insegnatemi
per goder
a peccar con più riposo.
Avvelena ogni piacer
un rimorso tormentoso.

- lib. 29 R. = per i primi 11 vss., dopo i quali G. 39 inserisce l'a. (che non c'è nel lib.) e poi il cambio di scena.
- III.2 G. 39 R. Var., Pro.
III.1 lib. 29 R. = dal vs. 12 in poi. Vedi tabella di concordanze.
- III.3 G. 39 R. Teo., Pul., Var., Pro.
A. Var. *Parto, ché so qual sia* || *Ed io crudel sarei*
- III.2 lib. 29 R. =
A. Var. *Parto, ché so qual sia* || *Ed io crudel sarei*
- III.4 G. 39 R. Teo., Pul., Pro.
III.3 lib. 29 R. ≈ Vs. 19: *Anch'io saprò...*(Pro) *Se resti*, dove G. 39: *Anch'io saprò...*(Pro) *Se parti*.
- III.5 G. 39 R. Pul., Ate.
A. Pul. *Più non vò mirar quel volto* || *Labbro, volto in cui sta accolto*. Al di sotto della riga del basso della seconda strofa si legge un secondo testo, a partire dal vs. 3, diverso da quello del lib.:
- (labbro, volto
in cui sta accolto)
il mio crudo e acerbo fato
che tormenta e strugge il cor.*
- Vedi anche *Dorilla in tempe*, III.6
- III.4 lib. 29 R. ≈ Vs. 30 (2a metà): *e per te far dovea*, dove G. 39: *e per te far volea*.
A. Pul. *Più non vuò mirar quel volto* || *Labbro, volto in cui sta accolto*
- III.6 G. 39 R. Ate., Teo.
III.5 lib. 29 R. =
- III.7 G. 39 R. Ate. Il r. è interrotto da due brani di arioso, individuabili nel lib. per il metro diverso:
Tu partisti, e spargo a' venti; Vanne tosto, fuggi, vola.
A. Ate. *In bosco romito* || *E in semplice stato*. L'aria porta un secondo testo, che non c'è nel lib., scritto sotto la riga del basso:
A. Ate. *Mi sento d'intorno* || *Il sangue si sparga*
- Mi sento d'intorno
un figlio tradito,
un sposo svenato
vendetta gridar.*

*Il sangue si sparga,
la strage si cerchi
perché il loro fato
si possa appagar.*

- III.6 lib. 29 R. =
A. Ate. *In bosco romito || E in semplice stato*
- III.8 G. 39 A. Mar. *Cor mio che prigion sei || So ben che lieto stai*
*Cor mio che prigion sei
in sen della beltà,
pria di partir vorrei
saper s'ella ti miri
con occhio di pietà.*
*So ben che lieto stai
né curi libertà,
ma dimmi almen se mai
gradisce i tuoi sospiri
chi sospirar ti fa.*
- III.7 lib. 29 R. Pul., Mar.
R. ≈ Manca l'inizio del r., che in G. 39 è: *Partite. Alle mie stanze | già s'apre l'uscio*. Vs. 9: *Qui raccogli i trionfi?*, dove G. 39: *Qui raccogli gli allori?*. Vs. 10: *Qui Teodosio t'invia?*, dove G. 39: *Qui Teodosio t'invita?*.
- III.9 G. 39 R. Mar., Pro., Var.
III.8 lib. 29 R. =
- III.10 G. 39 R. Var., Mar.
A. Var. *Lieto va l'agricoltore || Così il premio al mio dolore*. L'a. riporta un secondo testo sotto o sopra la riga del basso; il primo testo, uguale a quello del lib., è cassato solo per la prima frase. Il secondo testo è di segno opposto al primo:
A. Var. *Mesto va l'agricoltore || Infelice al suo dolore*
*Mesto va l'agricoltore
che non coglie il dolce* frutto (*alla ripetizione: caro)
per cui tanto sospirò.*
*Infelice al suo dolore
forse un dì pace darò.*
- III.9 lib. 29 R. ≈ Vs. 1 (2a metà): *la ben ardita impresa*, dove G. 39: *la ben ordita impresa*.
A. Var. *Lieto va l'agricoltore || Così il premio al mio dolore*

- III.11 G. 39 R. Var., Leo., Ate.
A. Ate. *Infauستا reggia addio* || *Possa goder beato*
R. Var.
- III.10 lib. 29 R. ≈ Vs. 1 (1a metà): *Ma vien gente*, dove G. 39: *S'apre l'uscio*. Dopo il vs. 13 inserisce un'aria che non c'è in G. 39:
A. Leo. *Chi vede che l'onda* || *Deb fuggi da morte*. In fondo al lib. un'a. sostitutiva di questa:
A. Leo. *Il tempo a noi darà* || *L'onor consiglierà*
Vss. 13-14 (vs. precedente e vs. seguente l'a.), settenari: *Alla fuga, alla fuga* (A. Leo: *Chi vede l'onda*) *Oh per me infauste mura*, dove G. 39, mancando l'interruzione dovuta all'a. ha un solo endecasillabo: *Alla fuga, alla fuga, infauste mura*.
A. Ate. *Infauستا regia addio* || *Possa goder beato*
R.=
- III.12 G. 39 R. Pro., Teo., Pul
- III.11 lib. 29 R. ≈ Vs. 10 (1a metà): *da una sua schiava*, dove G. 39: *da una sua serva*. Vs. 13: *Su le mie luci? Olà, custodi, Probo*, dove G. 39, due settenari: *Su le mie luci istesse? Olà, custodi, Probo*. Vs. 16: *che mi si torni Eudossa*, dove G. 39: *che mi si trovi Eudossa*. Vs. 18 (1a metà): *Per l'infedel ti affliggi?*, dove G. 39: *Per l'infedel tanto ti affliggi?* (l'aggiunta in G. 39 rende il vs. ipermetro).
- III.13 G. 39 R. Leo., Teo., Pul., Pro.
- III.12 lib. 29 R. ≈ Vs. 22: *Vado. Non hai di che temer tu possa*, dove G. 39, ipometro: *Vado. Non hai di che temer*.
- III.14 G. 39 R. Pul., Teo., Leo.
A. Teo. *M'accende amor l'ire guerriere in petto* || *Ma se il rival non giungo, abi che dispetto!*
- III.13 lib. 29 R. ≈ Vss. 1-2: *Si confonde il pensier. Sposo ad Eudossa | esser dovea Varane*, dove G. 39: *Si confonde il pensier. Sposa a Varane | esser dovea Eudossa*. Vs. 6 (2a metà): *Ab! Ch'io potea*, dove G. 39: *Ab, ch'ei potea*. Vs. 8: *ma non tradir la fede, e non l'onore*, dove G. 39: *ma non tradir la fé, tradir l'onore*. Vs. 18 (1a metà): *passava al letto augusto?* manca in G. 39. Vs. 29 (1a metà): *Posto quel core*, dove G. 39: *Posto il suo core*. Vss. 36 (2a metà)-37 (1a metà): *Non lunge | rapilla il prence*, non ci sono in G. 39. Vs. 52: *Chi ha cor fedele in seno*, dove G. 39: *Chi ha cor fedele in petto*. Vs. 60: *ed in sì ingiusta impresa*, dove G. 39: *ed in sì giusta impresa*.

A. Teo. *M'accende amor l'ire guerriere in petto* || *Ma se il rival non giungo, abi che dispetto!*

- III.15 G. 39 R. Pul.
A. Pul. *Te solo penso ed amo* || *Oggetto del mio affetto*
- III.14 lib. 29 R. =
A. Pul. *Te solo penso ed amo* || *Oggetto del mio affetto*
- III.16 G. 39 R. Teo., Leo.
III.15 lib. 29 R. ≈ Vs. 1: *Duci, soldati, popoli, tradito*, dove G. 39: *Duci, soldati, principi, tradito.*
- III.17 G. 39 R. Mar., Teo., Leo., Pro.
III.16 lib. 29 R. =
- III.18 G. 39 R. Teo., Leo., Mar.
III.17 lib. 29 R. =
- III.19 G. 39 R. Ate., Teo., Leo. (due soli settenari)
A. Ate. *Sì, son tua, padre amoroso* || *Giammai strinse amor o sorte*
Sì, son tua, padre amoroso.
Sì, son tua, mio dolce sposo.
Sì, ti stringo, sì t'abbraccio.
Giammai strinse amor o sorte
più del mio, figlia e consorte,
caro nodo, amabil laccio.
- III.18 lib. 29 R. Teo., Ate., Mar.
R. =
A tre Teo., Ate., Leo. *Sento che per l'affetto* || *O mia speranza bella*
R. ≈ Vs. 9 (1a metà): *cinto da suoi seguaci*, dove G. 39: *cinto da suoi più forti*. Vs. 11: *nel più fier della mischia*, dove G. 39: *nel più bel della mischia.*
- III.20 G. 39 R. Pul., Ate., Teo., Mar.
III.19 lib. 29 R. ≈ Vs. 6 (2a metà): *per cui cotanto bene*, dove G. 39: *per cui un sì gran ben.*
- III.21 G. 39 R. Var., Teo.
Coro *Bel goder quando si gode* || *L'odio ingiusto e l'empia frode*
- III.20 lib. 29 R. =
Coro *Bel goder quando si gode* || *L'odio ingiusto e l'empia frode*

ATENAIDE: CONCORDANZE DELLE SCENE					
G. 39	lib. 29	G. 39	lib. 29	G. 39	lib. 29
I.1	I.1	II.1	II.1	III.1	III.1
I.2	I.2	II.2	II.2	III.2	
I.3	I.3	II.3	II.3	III.3	III.2
I.4	I.4	II.4	II.4	III.4	III.3
I.5	I.5	II.5		III.5	III.4
I.6	I.6	II.6	II.5	III.6	III.5
I.7		II.7	II.6	III.7	III.6
I.8	I.7	II.8		III.8	III.7
I.9	I.8	II.9	II.7	III.9	III.8
I.10		II.10	II.8	III.10	III.9
I.11	I.9	II.11	II.9	III.11	III.10
I.12	I.10	II.12	II.10	III.12	III.11
I.13	I.11	II.13	II.11	III.13	III.12
I.14		II.14	II.12	III.14	III.13
				III.15	III.14
				III.16	III.15
				III.17	III.16
				III.18	III.17
				III.19	III.18
				III.20	III.19
				III.21	III.20

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¹ Non si dà la collocazione dei libretti che sono tutti citati in A.L. BELLINA-B. BRIZI-M.G. PENZA, *I libretti vivaldiani*, Olschki, Firenze, 1982.

² B. BRIZI, *Gli Orlandi di Vivaldi*, in *Antonio Vivaldi. Teatro musicale, cultura e società*, a cura di L. Bianconi e G. Morelli, Olschki, Firenze, 1982, pp.315-330. *Opera and Vivaldi*, a cura di M. Collins e E. K. Kirk, Austin, University of Texas Press, 1984 (atti del convegno in occasione dell'allestimento dell'*Orlando* alla Dallas Opera nel 1980). U. ROSEMAN, *Antonio Vivaldi's "Orlando finto pazzo": An Analysis and Critical Edition*, Master's diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 1989. M. STEINEBRUNNER, *Orlando furioso: vom Epos zur Oper*, in *Nuovi Studi Vivaldiani*, a cura di A. Fanna e G. Morelli, Olschki, Firenze, 1988, I, pp.45-82. F. TAMMARO, *Contaminazioni e polivalenze nell'«Orlando finto pazzo» di Vivaldi*, «Rivista Italiana di Musicologia», XVII, 1982, pp.71-108. D. E. FREEMAN, «*Orlando furioso* in the Bohemian Lands: was Vivaldi's Music really used?», «Informazioni e Studi Vivaldiani», 14, 1993, pp.51-74.

³ Per quanto riguarda le fonti librettistiche citate sotto il titolo di *Orlando furioso* al n. 38 de *I libretti vivaldiani*, cit., poche di esse sono strettamente pertinenti al presente studio in quanto contenenti un testo apparentato a quello della partitura: il n. 38.1 (1714) può entrarvi solo parzialmente in quanto testimonia gli interventi di Vivaldi sull'opera di Ristori e viene considerato nella tabella di concordanze assieme alla partitura di Ristori G. 37; il 38.2 (1716), non reperito, è registrato in base al «faccio fede» citato da Giazotto, che però riferisce di un «*Orlando finto pazzo*»; il 38.3 (1722) con musica di vari autori è, come già segnalato da Brizi, *op. cit.*, p.329, e come risulta dalla tabella, prosecuzione dell'allestimento del '14; l'esclusione di 38.4 (1724) e 38.6 (1735) è stata già motivata da Daniel E. Freeman, *op. cit.*; il n. 38.5 (1725) riporta il nome di Pollaroli come autore della musica, e i punti di contatto con i testi vivaldiani (G. 39 bis e lib. 27) non sono significativi. I nn. 38.7, 38.8, 38.9, 38.10 e 38.11 costituiscono una famiglia di fonti a parte, con testi concordi fra di loro e lo svolgimento dell'azione vi segue un corso molto diverso da quello dei testi vivaldiani, come risulta dalla tabella delle concordanze. Quest'ultima famiglia di libretti, in base alle occorrenze delle arie, mostra più parentele con il testo del 1714 che con quello del 1727, con il quale i contatti sono rari. Vedi B. BRIZI, *op. cit.*, *loc. cit.* Riguardo all'*Orlando furioso* di Ristori, le fonti qui considerate come testimoni delle modifiche operate da Vivaldi (G. 37 e lib. 14) presentano quasi tutte le arie cambiate rispetto al primo lib. stampato per la rappresentazione di quest'opera nell'autunno 1713 al teatro S. Angelo, che quindi è stato escluso dalle fonti vivaldiane in quanto testimone dell'opera di un altro autore.

⁴ Sulla stessa riga sono allineate le scene di testo simile o uguale; nella stessa colonna sono raggruppate le fonti in cui l'azione segue uno svolgimento parallelo per ogni scena. Il numero romano relativo all'atto seguito dal punto interrogativo indica una scena non numerata.

⁵ Scena numerata IX per refuso.

⁶ In lib. 14 scena numerata III per refuso.

⁷ Scena numerata VIII per refuso.

⁸ Vedi M. G. PENSA, *L'Atenaide di Apostolo Zeno adattata per la musica di Antonio Vivaldi*, in *Antonio Vivaldi. Teatro musicale, cultura e società*, cit., pp.331-344.

Vivaldi's Operas: Their Librettos and Scores Compared. V: "Orlando furioso"; "Atenaide" (Summary)

Vivaldi had already composed music for *Orlando furioso*, revising a score by Ristori that dated from the years 1713-1714. In 1727 he wrote a new *Orlando* for the autumn season at S. Angelo, taking into account, however, the version on which he had collaborated earlier.

The music of the 1727 version is preserved in the Turin volume Giordano 39bis (the adjective "furioso" appears in the title of the score but not that of the libretto). The score and the libretto agree, even if the general layout of the opera still bears a few traces of earlier operas composed on the same subject. As secondary sources for this opera a few similarly titled librettos that are chronologically relevant have been taken into account, especially that for Ristori's *Orlando furioso* of 1714. In most cases where the score in Giordano 39bis differs from the 1727 libretto it agrees with that of 1714.

L'Atenaide reached the stage in December 1728 at the Pergola theatre in Florence, where it opened the 1729 carnival season. It was the second of three operas composed by Vivaldi for this theatre (the music of *Ipermestra*, 1727, and *Ginevra, principessa di Scozia*, 1736, is lost). The two surviving sources, the non-autograph score and the 1729 libretto are in general discordant and cannot refer to the same production. While the recitatives proceed in parallel, allowing for differences in the divisions between scenes, only 19 arias out of 32 are shared by the sources. In nine cases, the aria in the libretto is different from that of the score; in four further cases, it has become different as a result of amendments to, or replacement of, the aria within the score; only one out of the four replacement arias printed at the end of the libretto coincides with the text of the score. One has to conclude that the score was prepared for a production (which may not have taken place) unknown to us.

The Making of a Ritornello Movement: Compositional Strategy and Selection in Tessarini's "Opera prima"

*Jeboash Hirshberg and Simon McVeigh**

The immense repertory of concertos from the first half of the eighteenth century reveals a vast array of strategies at all levels of short-range, middle-range and long-range planning. The premise for the authors' current project¹ has been Michael Talbot's conception of the early concerto as a subtle process of interaction between unfolding tonal movement, phrase structure and harmonic closure.² Talbot has substituted a multi-level hierarchical model for an outdated conception of the concerto based only on the solo-tutti textural parameter. This more sophisticated approach towards the concerto has been expanded by several scholars, especially in connection with Bach's relationship to the ritornello concepts developed by Vivaldi. Christoph Wolff, for example, has extended an idea originating from Forkel in attributing to Vivaldi a "concrete compositional system based on a process of musical thinking in terms of order, continuity, and proportion".³ Laurence Dreyfus has investigated the variety and richness of Bach's compositional strategies through a paradigmatic approach wherein an "ideal ritornello" may lie behind a movement but never actually be stated. In elaborating Vivaldi's ritornello procedures into a rigorous system, Bach "depends on the formulation of an ideal grammatical 'invention', which when altered, expanded, transposed, or omitted, casts its identity in ever-changing guises".⁴

Whether viewing a ritornello movement as an organic growth from an initial motive or as the realisation of a more abstract musical conception, all these approaches emphasise the enormous scope offered by a ritornello structure for the exploration of compositional strategies. Functional meanings may be articulated through the independent interplay of a wide range of tonal, harmonic, motivic, rhythmic, textural and soloistic parameters, which may be also linked through such factors as continuity, proportion, stability and closure. The current project adopts an empiricist stance in that it attempts a comparative assessment of a very large sample of ritornello movements drawn from the entire early-eighteenth-century Italian repertory.⁵ We have acknowledged the extraordinary subtlety of the process of selecting between compositional strategies through a two-stage analytical methodology:

1. Separation and tabulation of musical parameters using a detailed questionnaire;

2. Investigation of the diverse, multi-level combinations and interactions of the parameters over short, medium and long time-spans.

Our premise has been that the model of the concerto ritornello movement was intrinsically statistical: a set of strategies used often enough to create predictions that would provide certain assurances of communication with the expected audience. Such a model is by definition ever-changing and dynamic, in the sense that strategies formerly considered exceptional or marginal in the style of a certain composer or school would be able gradually to acquire statistical prominence and move to the normative realm, and vice-versa.

Vivaldi's advantageous position at the Pietà allowed him to experiment at will not only with orchestral colours but also with formal procedures. His contemporaries and followers followed suit, working via a process of selection and elimination. Certain options that Vivaldi had rarely used became more pronounced in concertos by other composers, whereas some of his prevalent strategies were relegated to secondary position or even eliminated altogether. At the same time, new permutations that Vivaldi had not used were tried out and, if found convincing, were maintained. In this way, a flexible model of ritornello form unfolded and transmuted. Detailed analysis of the extensive data will eventually map long-range processes, whether synchronic across repertoires or diachronic across the period. The difficulty of establishing a fine chronology of the concerto repertory inhibits reliable conclusions in relation to short-term diachronic changes; yet some light can be shed on the process of selection by a study of variant versions. Fortunately, two of the concertos published as Carlo Tessarini's *Opera prima* offer a rare opportunity to trace certain aspects of the decision-making process of an important concerto composer.

Carlo Tessarini (born Rimini, c.1690; died Netherlands, c.1767) was based for most of his long life in the cities of northern and central Italy, although his restless life-style entailed frequent concert tours around Europe, with the result that he spent many of his later years in northern countries.⁶ There is no evidence that he studied with Corelli, as is sometimes stated, nor indeed with Vivaldi, although his music clearly reflected the modern Venetian idiom of his older contemporary. It was in Venice that he first came to prominence as a violinist-composer. On 15 December 1720 he was appointed as a violinist to the *cappella* of the ducal church of St Mark's, and three years later he was engaged as a violin teacher at the Ospedale dei Poveri Derelitti (the Ospedaletto) adjoining the church of SS Giovanni e Paolo. His appointment at this prestigious charitable institution was reconfirmed

in 1727, and in his first set of violin sonatas, published in Venice in 1729, Tessarini styled himself "Maestro de' Concerti" at the ospedale, a position fully equivalent to Vivaldi's appointment at the Pietà. In 1731 he obtained a post in the *cappella* of Urbino Cathedral, and he was based at Urbino for the next twenty years, albeit with frequent absences due to his concert tours north of the Alps. Tessarini's last years were spent in the Netherlands, where he continued to be admired as one of the leading composers of instrumental music in the vanguard of changing styles (he published symphonies in Paris in the 1760s).

Tessarini was unusually deeply involved with the music-publishing industry. In 1729 his Op. 1 violin sonatas were published by Baroni in Venice, and his later string music appeared in Rome and in Urbino, where, indeed, Tessarini developed his own publishing partnership with Giovanni Francesco Tessarini (possibly a brother). But well before this time his music had already achieved an international reputation. It is very likely that Pisendel made acquaintance with Tessarini's concertos in Venice in 1716-1717, taking copies back to Dresden. Certainly, in 1724 Le Cène in Amsterdam published a set of twelve concertos as Tessarini's *Opera prima*, an edition swiftly pirated in London by Walsh. This collection was to prove one of the most successful concerto publications of the period, to judge from its longevity and repeated advertisement over three decades; further publications of concertos and chamber music followed in both cities. Thus two separate, contradictory series of opus numbers developed in parallel, although there is no reason to doubt the authenticity of the works published outside Italy under Tessarini's name. Indeed, the composer admitted as much, while making clear his dissatisfaction with these northern publications, in a preface to his divertimenti entitled *Il maestro, e discepolo* (Urbino, 1734):

Io non tengo in conto di mio se non queste due sole opere impresse l'una in Venezia, l'altra in Urbino, sebbene sò esserne state mandate fori in Olanda ed in Inghiltera molte altre, trà le quali, se mi auessi dovuto presentare con sentimento, poche auerebbero conseguita la mia approuazione. (I count as my own only these two *opera*, the first printed in Venice and the second in Urbino, even though I know that in Holland and England there have appeared several others, few of which, if my opinion had been sought, would have gained my approval.)

These unauthorised publications were undoubtedly a reflection of Tessarini's early fame during the initial pioneering phase when northern publishers deliberately sought out saleable Italian instrumental music.⁷ It is particularly striking that Walsh included Tessarini in the second of

his two anthologies entitled *Harmonia Mundi* (1728), “Being VI Concertos in six Parts for Violins and other Instruments. Collected out of the Choicest Works of the most Eminent Authors viz Vivaldi Tessarini Albinoni Alberti never before Printed”. Tessarini was considerably younger than his three highly respected colleagues, and his inclusion is a sign of his high esteem in London. Three of the same names appeared in a quite different context in 1725 in connection with the première of Telemann’s comic intermezzi *Pimpinone* in Hamburg. Of the seven concertos proposed to open and close each intermezzo, four were taken from Tessarini’s Op. 1 (nos. 2, 8, 11 and 12), and the others from Vivaldi’s Op. 7 (published c.1719) and Albinoni’s Op. 9 (1722).⁸

Tessarini’s concertos also circulated widely in manuscript: they are included in major collections in Dresden and Paris (Fonds Blancheton), as well as in Ancona, Berlin, Cambridge, Lund, Berkeley and elsewhere. The status of these manuscripts is of course variable, and some appear to have been taken directly from printed editions. Yet the provenance and contents of others suggest a more direct relationship with the composer, or at least with authorised manuscript copies of his works. Two of the concertos in manuscript transmit significant variants of concertos published in the “Le Cène” Op. 1 – no. 5 in G major and no. 10 in D major. Manuscript and published versions alike could be regarded merely as examples of perhaps numerous alternative versions circulating in Italy around 1720. Nevertheless, the musical evidence suggests that the Op. 1 versions are the later, and that, directly or indirectly, they constitute reworkings of the earlier manuscript versions. Not only are they more elaborate in decoration and part-writing – not in itself conclusive evidence, admittedly – but there are also places in Op. 1 where it can be clearly seen that a new passage was grafted on. In the first movement of no. 10, for example, there is an oddity of voice-leading at bar 27: a curiously unresolved G sharp; this turns out to be the very point at which the two versions diverge, the manuscript having a G natural with an orthodox resolution (see Examples 12 and 13).⁹

To judge from Tessarini’s own enigmatic comments about Dutch and English publishers, even the printed Op. 1 should possibly be regarded as “work in progress”. Whether Tessarini’s dissatisfaction centred on the state of the compositions themselves, on the standard of publication or merely on the infringement of his rights remains unclear. Nevertheless, it is undeniable that the printed version is in some ways unpolished. The viola part, in particular, is musically barren and poorly integrated, even by contemporary standards; mechanical and even

ungrammatical in places, it seems to have been compiled from the figured bass, often doubling it in tenths without much concern for the upper parts. On the other hand, in the slow movement of Op. 1 no. 5, it is the enrichment of the second violin part (as compared with the manuscript variant) that brings about some surprising and perhaps unfortunate clashes with the unaltered viola part. All this suggests that the concertos were at that time still in an unfinished state, with different versions yet to be reconciled; or possibly it points to the intervention of a second hand, such as that of the publisher. It may be significant that (a) the Cambridge version of Op. 1 no.10 contains no viola part at all; and (b) the Dresden version of Op. 1 no. 5 contains a somewhat different (though no less problematical) viola part. In many of the movements of Op. 1 the viola part could be omitted without loss – and even to advantage; whether or not Tessarini was responsible for its eventual inclusion, it seems quite likely that the viola was not part of the original conception.

Despite the lack of definitive external proof, the following comparative analysis will proceed from the premise that *Opera prima* (hereafter, “Op. 1”) represents later revisions of the manuscript versions of the same works. But even leaving aside the question of chronology, such an analysis is of value in that it is able to shed light on the different compositional strategies that the two versions embody.

Analytical method

Our analysis required a re-definition of the components of ritornello form, expanding the concepts of ritornello and solo beyond their conventional textural implications so that they encompass also structural functions. The symbols R and S with attached figures are used to refer to distinct structural stages within the tonal unfolding of the movement (see Chart 1). While it is the parameter of texture that most immediately distinguishes ritornello from solo, this is just one component among several in the multi-level articulation of the form. The numbering of ritornellos and solos therefore signifies not only the mere order of events but also the tonal function of each section; lower-case letters represent further subdivisions.

The numbering system is designed to reflect the incipient hierarchy of secondary and remote key areas but by no means presumes or prejudices norms of tonal organisation. Hence most functions listed in the chart are optional: so if there is no ritornello in a remote key, the ritornellos are numbered R1, R2 and R4 (omitting R3). Likewise, if the retransition from a remote key to the tonic is accomplished within a ritornello, there is no S3, but we have instead R3-R4.

Chart 1

Column 1		Column 2	
Siglum	Definition	Siglum	Definition
R1	Ritornello in I	RT, ST	Central ritornello or solo in I, followed by further tonal elaboration
M	Motto: a distinct opening motive, subsequently reprised	R3	Ritornello in remote key
S1	Solo modulating to secondary key	S3	Solo effecting retransition to I
R1a-S1a- R1b-S1b	Ritornello; solo leading to another ritornello in I; solo modulating to secondary key	R3a-S3a- R3b-S3b	Analogous to R1a complex above (R3a and R3b may be in different remote keys)
R2	Ritornello in secondary key (V in major; III or v in minor)	S4	Solo in I
S2	Solo in secondary key modulating to remote key	R4	Ritornello in I
R2a-S2a- R2b-S2b	Analogous to R1a complex above	R4a-S4- R4b	Ritornello in I with solo interpolation

Op. 1 no. 5 in G major

A considerable proportion of the manuscript collection of eighteenth-century concertos in the Sächsische Landesbibliothek, Dresden, is in the hand of Johann Georg Pisendel, who served as a violinist at the Saxon-Polish court from 1712.¹⁰ Many of these copies (as well as others by Italian copyists) undoubtedly derive from Pisendel's visit to Venice in 1716-1717, although it should always be borne in mind that some may date from later years. Of the eight concertos by Tessarini in the Dresden collection, four are *unica*, while another three are Pisendel's hastily copied scores of concertos in Op. 1 (nos. 1, 2 and 5) – more or less identical with Le Cène's engraved edition, and clearly either copied from a "final version" or scored directly from the edition itself. However, an eighth concerto in Pisendel's hand is a set of parts for a variant of Op. 1 no. 5, its status as such hitherto unrecognised.¹¹

Differences between the two versions can be identified at every level in each movement: from minor details of articulation and decoration, through varied passage-work and changes of part-writing (especially elaboration of the lower parts), to significant structural alterations. The expansions and elaborations in the Op. 1 version,

together with the smoothing over of some awkward joins, suggest that this was a later revision. Perhaps the Dresden parts represent an earlier, and in some way more “primitive”, version that may date from 1716-1717. The ritornellos are broadly the same in both, although the Op. 1 version exhibits more independence and variety in its part-writing. Continuo links are more animated in the published version, where, at several points in the finale, crotchet movement replaces the relentless quavers in the bass as counterpoint to the violins’ syncopation. There is also a telling variant at bar 12, where Op. 1 adds a welcome extra bar to a banal four-bar phrase. But the following discussion will focus on some much more significant deviations, which concern the structural planning and the nature of the solo part.

First movement (G major)

Dresden

R1a M	S1a	R1b M	S1b	R2 M	S2	RT		R3 M	S4	R4 M (R1a DC)
1- 8- 13-17	17-24	24-28	28-36	36-49	49-57	57-62		62-69	69-78	78-94
I [V] I [IV V] I	I	I →	V	V	V →	I →		vi [ii] →	I	I etc.

Op. 1

R1a M	S1a	R1b M	S1b	R2 M	S2	RT	S3	R3 M	S4	R4 M (R1a DC)
1- 8- 13-17	17-26	26-30	30-42	42-55	55-64	64-67	67-73	73-80	80-91	91-107
I [V] I [IV V] I	I	I →	V	V	V →	I →	vi	vi [ii] →	I	I

A striking feature of both versions is the central return to the tonic (RT) before further tonal elaboration, resulting in an overall key scheme of I-V-I-vi-I. This strategy is extremely rare in Tessarini’s concerto output, and indeed in that of Vivaldi: only two cases have been identified in a pilot study of 91 first movements by Vivaldi, embracing all the collections with opus numbers. Such a “solar” structure,¹² in which the tonic functions as a central focus and point of alternative departure, is much more characteristic of earlier instrumental writing, although it continues as a normal strategy with Albinoni. It contrasts markedly with the apparently more modern

“polar” perspective that traces a single over-arching trajectory away from, and then back to, the tonic.

In fact, this tonal organisation is already mirrored – or, better, predicted – in the opening ritornello. Michael Talbot has noted that the internal organisation of Vivaldi’s opening ritornellos “reveals a desire to produce a well-rounded musical entity, almost a piece within a piece, whose own pattern of modulation may paraphrase in miniature that of the whole movement”.¹³ In Tessarini’s concerto the ritornello is divided into two distinct halves, the first moving to the dominant, the second starting again from the tonic motto but immediately touching on the subdominant, in order to balance the earlier sharpward move and reconfirm the tonic (Example 1). This overall strategy is then played out across the movement as a whole, although it is the submediant key rather than the subdominant that provides the alternative key.

The central tonic ritornello is in fact extremely surprising in its context, being reached from the dominant by a non-cadential side-step. And its material – new, not motto-derived – is eccentric and unstable in rhythm, harmony and texture. Unexpected, insecure, it thus does not function as a false reprise, but instead leads via figuration to the submediant motto announcing R3. While the essential structure of the movement remains constant, it is in the handling of this unusual central tonic and its aftermath that the two versions contrast most strongly. In Dresden the modulatory figuration is entrusted to the orchestra, resulting in the fusion of RT and R3 as a continuous orchestral section (Example 2). This very rare strategy undoubtedly undermines the dramatic impact of the arrival of the motto in R3, a point addressed in Op. 1, where the modulatory figuration is allocated to the soloist, with continuo accompaniment, and extended from two bars to six (Example 3). The arrival of R3 is thus fully dramatised and matches that of R2 (and R1b) with an equally strong assertion of the motto. This change strengthens the large-scale effect of ritornello pillars spanning the movement, while at the same time giving fuller rein to the soloist’s virtuosity, albeit at the immediate expense of short-term continuity in this part of the movement.

The other ritornellos and the overall structure are common to both versions, but there are interesting changes in the solo sections. All begin in essentially the same way but are extended and sometimes accompanied differently. In the Op. 1 version S4 simply prolongs the final capriccio (figuration over a dominant pedal), heightening the virtuosic effect and the sense of anticipation for the ensuing *da capo* of the ritornello. More significant are the changes earlier in the movement. S1a replaces a routine spinning-out pattern with a longer and more

graceful balancing second strain, segregating the line into vocal-style phrases and introducing a characteristic cantabile syncopation (Examples 4 and 5). S1b also obtains a more lyrical effect, breaking the continuity of phrase and rhythm before extending the approach to the cadence. Small changes of rhythm, phrasing, melodic contour, decoration and also (if the sources are to be trusted) of bowing marks are introduced in order to bring out the soloist's persona as a "singer", contrasting with the relentless, mechanical drive of the ritornellos. Many of these changes give the music a more "galant" feel, showing how minor decorative variants may not only change the apparent character of the music but can also interfere with our historical perceptions. To be sure, such deviant versions may to some extent represent normal performance mannerisms rather than true compositional changes, a situation familiar from the two versions of Geminiani's Op. 1 sonatas (published, respectively, in 1716 and 1739). But the independence of melodic characteristics from underlying structural patterns certainly reinforces the need to analyse parameters separately, and should provide a corrective to over-hasty judgments based on superficial examination.

It can readily be seen that all these revisions are designed to give greater individuality to the soloist, whether by structural differentiation, by increasing the length and virtuosity of the solos, by dramatising the entrances of the orchestra or by differentiating the thematic material and performance style of the soloist. While the overall tonal proportions remain the same in each version, the insertion of S3 in Op. 1 serves to clarify the articulation of the tonal structure.

Second movement (E minor)

Dresden

R1 M	S1	R2	S2	R4 M (R1 DC)
1-5	6-11	11-14	14-18	18-22
i	i → III →	v →	III →	i

Op. 1

R1 M	S1	R2 M	S2	R4 M (R1 DC)
1-5	5-12	12-14	14-21	21-25
i	i →	III	III →	i

The most striking difference is the more fluid tonal scheme in Dresden: the first solo makes a feint towards the relative major but diverts to the alternative secondary key, the dominant minor; the central ritornello, with new material, then turns back towards the relative major. The result is a fluid, arch-shaped tonal scheme: i-III-v-III-i. In the Op. 1 version all suggestion of the dominant is removed, resulting in a much simpler and more direct i-III-i; the central ritornello provides a more solid central axis, non-modulatory and linked thematically to the surrounding ritornellos (Examples 6 and 7). The solos begin identically in the two versions, but even S2 (identical in its tonal purpose) is rewritten in Op. 1, acquiring more expansive phrasing and an eloquent, improvisational cantilena that contrasts strongly with the stilted continuity of Dresden.

Third movement (G major)

Dresden

R1a M	S1a	R1b M	R2a M	S2a	R2b	R3a	R3b M	S3	R4 M (R1a DC)
1- 12- 20-30	30-46	46-54-61	61-65	65-71	71-75	76-85	85-89	89-111	111-130
I [V] II [IV V] I	I	I → V	V	V	V	vi	vi	→	I

Op. 1

R1a M	S1a	R1b M	S2	R2a M	R2b	R3a	R3b M	S3	R4 M (R1a DC)
I- 12- 22-32	32-51	51-59-66	66-86	86-90	90-94	95-103	103-107	107-128	128-159
I [V] I [IV V] I	I	I→V	V	V	V	vi	vi	→	I

The most striking change again occurs in the centre of the movement, reflecting the flexibility and variety possible in this part of the ritornello scheme. In neither version does the second solo modulate; instead, it remains stable in the dominant between two ritornellos. It is left to the ensuing ritornello to modulate to the submediant, in this case via a block transposition of new material up one step. This is followed by the “real” R3 complete with its motto, which is undifferentiated in texture but arrives in the middle of a continuous orchestral section. The ritornellos thus enact both modulations – first to the dominant, then to the submediant – while the intervening solos are tonally stable. However, the two versions differ in one important respect: the location of the motto in the dominant. In Dresden, most unusually, this is appended to the end of a modulatory R1b and is therefore once more undifferentiated by texture (yet again, the parameters remain unsynchronised: Example 8). In Op. 1 the motto in the dominant is removed to the end of the following solo, thus being strongly dramatised in the way already becoming customary (Example 9). Yet there is still no solo modulating from the dominant to the submediant. The result is a complex of ritornello sections arranged in a pattern that is symmetrical in thematic respects but progressive in relation to tonality:

R2a	R2b	R3a	R3b
motto	new	R2b transposed	motto
V	V	vi	vi

This is no less unusual, but the transfer of R2a to the end of the solo certainly works to strengthen the articulation of the tonal structure.

As in the first movement, the solos are extended and transformed into a more fluent cantabile through melodic syncopation and a more generous provision of breathing spaces in the phrasing. S2 is prolonged

by the addition of a whole section with contrasting upper-string accompaniment (Op. 1, bars 72-86). This gives greater prominence to the soloist; and in addition, since it is S2 that confirms the new key rather than the orchestra, the bipartite solo section clearly lends further weight to the dominant. This is partly reflected in the proportions of the movement: 23% in the dominant as against only 17% in Dresden. The final solo, on the other hand, is reworked in a different way. Whereas in Dresden the section is divided in two by an awkward and unconvincing break in the scoring, in Op. 1 continuo is employed throughout. This simple accompaniment both maximises contrast with the long tutti sections that surround it and balances the newly inserted section in S2. Moreover, Op. 1 manages the retransition towards the tonic much more directly and emphatically – first, by the insertion of a new dominant pedal-point, and, second, by the avoidance of Dresden's meandering return to the recently quitted submediant. Curiously, one omitted passage (Dresden, bars 100-101) is absolutely identical with another in the first movement that was also jettisoned (Dresden, bar 21).

Op. 1 no. 10 in D major

Tessarini is the most prominent composer in a manuscript collection of concertos and sinfonias now housed in the Rowe Library, King's College, Cambridge. Although they are not bound together, the generally consistent format of these neatly copied parts and their unified contemporary numbering suggest that the compositions were copied as an integrated anthology. The original numbering ran to 31, but only ten of the works have been preserved: Tessarini predominates with seven concertos (nos. 23, 24, 25, 26, 28, 29 and 31), and there are solitary works by Visconti, Zuccari and Perez. While the parts were clearly prepared for actual performance (unlike the vast dedicatory compilation made for Blancheton), their excellent state of preservation, with hardly any evidence of page turning, suggests that they saw little practical use.¹⁴ The outer movements of no. 23 (Rowe MS 231) are variants of those of the concerto Op. 1 no. 10, but lack the viola part of the published source.

First movement (D major)

Rowe

R1 M	R1 continued M	S1
1-4 5	6- 10- 14-21	22- 32-36
I →	[V] I [IV V] I	I → V

Op. 1

R1a M	R1a continued M	S1a	R1b M	S1b
1-3 4	5- 8- 12- 16-21	21- 27- 30-31	31-37	37- 39-47
I →	[V] I [IV V] I [IV V] I	I [V] I	I	I → V

The opening tonic area

There are some significant differences in the opening motto (Examples 10 and 11). Op. 1 transfers the flourish that ends R1 in Rowe to the opening gesture, its flamboyance further enhanced by the full unison in bar 1. Whereas Rowe opens with a regular four-bar motto articulated by a full cadence, followed by a “motto tail” leading towards the dominant, in Op. 1 the motto is deregularised through the omission of the literal repeat of bar 2, which renders the phrase structure 3+1 instead of 2+2+1. Tessarini’s second option correlates with Vivaldi’s early practice: a sample analysis of 48 motto motives in the first movements of Vivaldi’s Opp. 3, 4, 6 and 7¹⁵ reveals a marked preference for irregular motto phrases (75%). There is a further change towards the end of the ritornello. In Rowe (bar 14) Tessarini articulates the resolution of the brief tonal diversion with a new syncopated element that leads rather tamely to the end of R1. In the parallel place in Op. 1 (bar 12) he clothes the new melody in semiquavers, maintaining the rhythmic drive via sequential extension and the use of pedal-point up to an exhilarating transformation of the original cadence. Consequently, despite the compression of the bars near the beginning of the Op. 1 version, the ritornello eventually runs to 21 bars in both cases.

At this point there occurs a structural modification with long-

range implications. After at least a decade of experiment with ritornello form, the first solo after a long ritornello can already be said to presage a tonal event. In Rowe, S1 starts the anticipated modulatory process in bar 22, reaching R2 in the dominant at bar 36. In Op. 1, in contrast, the solo back-tracks suddenly after the modulation, leading abruptly to R1b in the tonic. While in Rowe the solo momentarily touches on the tonic in bars 27-28, in Op. 1 the momentary return is avoided, since it would have weakened the overall strategic effect (Examples 12 and 13). R1b in Op. 1 is an economical transposition of the whole of Rowe's dominant ritornello (R2), including the lone appearance of a new, syncopated section. The frustrated modulation results in a prolongation of the initial tonic area from 26% of the entire movement in Rowe to 38% in Op. 1, thus significantly altering the overall tonal balance of the movement. Whereas the end of R1 in Rowe is strongly articulated by a brilliant flourish, Op. 1 eventually effectuates a smooth flow from R1b into S1b at bar 37.

Rowe

R2 M	S2	R3 M	R4a	S4	R4b M (R1 DC)
36-45	45- 55 - 62	62 -66	67-71	71-86	87-105
V	V → vi	vi	I	I	I

Op. 1

R2a M	S2a	R2b	S2b	R3 M	R4 M (R1 DC abbreviated)
47- 52	52 -60	61-65	65- 72 -76		76-79 79-95
V	V	V	V → vi	vi	I

The secondary and remote key areas

After R2, with its new, syncopated idea, Rowe begins to move directly towards the submediant minor at bar 51 in the following solo, reaching R3 in bar 62. In contrast, Op. 1 limits the initial ritornello to the motto (R2a), prolonging the dominant key area with a stable solo and a second cadential ritornello, R2b. In this way Tessarini achieves an

analogous process in the tonic and dominant areas, each of which encloses a stable solo within the ritornello. The result is further expansion; Op. 1 starts the modulation to the remote key area only at bar 67, whereas Rowe has already reached the submediant by bar 55. Consequently, the stable dominant area in Rowe occupies only 16% of the entire movement, as against 27% in Op. 1.

At this point, the process of expansion in Op. 1 goes into reverse. In Rowe the remote key area has 12 bars, whereas in Op. 1 the remote key is condensed to 7 bars (R3 is represented by the motto alone). Thus while Rowe allots 13% of the movement to the remote area, in Op. 1 this occupies a mere 7%. Both versions acknowledge the tonal hierarchy between dominant and remote key by the proportion of the movement occupied by each and by the unstable, modulatory ritornello chosen for the submediant. Yet the differentiation is much more radical in Op. 1, where it is emphasised even more strongly by the abrupt manner in which the return to the tonic is handled. Whereas in Rowe the tonic is reached through a smooth, literal transposition of a secondary motive, in Op. 1 Tessarini leaps to the tonic via a powerful hiatus; the shock of the dislocation is augmented here by the double appearance of the motto within the space of four bars (Examples 14 and 15).

The closing tonic area

Tessarini followed his older mentor Vivaldi in devising various strategies for turning the final tonic area into a recapitulation in its true Latin sense: a “summing up” providing a tonal-thematic re-interpretation rather than merely a symmetrical rounding-off with a straightforward *da capo*. A very wide selection of strategies for handling the tonic return have been identified in the concerto repertory, embracing such factors as the location of this return within the ritornello-solo structure, the tonal proportions, the type of thematic reprise and the manner of retransition. Certainly, the option of a coincidence of the restatement of the tonic with a full *da capo* of R1 (after a modulatory solo) appears uncommon, being found in less than 5% of our Vivaldi sample or of Tessarini’s concertos.

In Rowe the smooth glide back to the tonic leads to a solo (S4) that recalls the beginning of S1 almost exactly; this is followed by an extended cadenza, so that the ensuing *da capo* ritornello performs no independent tonal function. The combination of R4a-S4-R4b expands the closing tonic area to 41% of the entire movement, nearly twice the extent of the opening tonic. In contrast, the hiatus in Op. 1 and the restatement of the motto with its peremptory flourish draw the utmost

attention to the restatement of the tonic. This time there is no intervening solo (S4), so that the tonic is re-established within the final orchestral section. Yet at the same time Tessarini avoids a mechanical *da capo*, omitting (significantly) one further transposition of the motto to the dominant (originally occurring at bars 5-7). As we have seen, the opening ritornello commonly includes a modulation to the dominant, and one option in the *da capo* was to omit this “predictive” modulation as redundant and tending to weaken the tonic resolution, especially if involving the motto.¹⁶ In consequence, the final tonic area in Op. 1 comprises a mere 16% of the entire movement, thereby reversing the proportions in Rowe. Our initial, subjective response to the two versions was that Op. 1 was longer, although Rowe in fact has 107 bars, compared with only 95 in Op. 1. This may be explained by the much larger number of structural articulations in the later version.

Third movement (D major)

Rowe

R1 M	S1a	R1b M	S1b	R2 M	R3a M	R3b	R4a	S4	R4b
1-26	27- 49- 62	62- 71	71 - 97	97-103	104- 110	111- 117 116	118-123	123-148	148-157
I [V] I	I [IV V] I	I →	V [I vi] V	V	vi	iii →	I	I	I

Op. 1

R1a M	S1a	R1b M	S1b	R2 M	S2	R3 M	R4 (R1a DC)
1-28	28- 46-55	55-67	67-72-102	102-129	129-148-156	156-161	162-189
I [V] I	I [IV V] I	I	I → V	V	V → vi	vi	I

The opening tonic area

The opening ritornello is the one subjected to the greatest degree of transformation among those under consideration here. The very first bar of the two versions is different: Tessarini possibly sought in the Op. 1 version to avoid the resemblance to the final cadence of the first

movement. The (presumably) new opening is undoubtedly more vivid, with its triple-stopped hammer-strokes and surging contour. The Rowe version is mild by comparison and suffers from melodic stasis around its initial tonic (Examples 16 and 17). A still more striking change occurs at the end of the ritornello. At the point where Rowe drives towards a *buffo* cadence Op. 1 adds intensity, with the injection of a new, intriguingly tortuous minor-mode chromaticism (Examples 18 and 19). The momentum continues into the ensuing solo, which sharpens up and dramatises the material of Rowe; further, it cunningly forges an energetic transformation of the ascending orchestral opening; the virtuosic treatment of orchestral material is now used to define the status of the soloist. In other respects, the function of S1a (with its feint towards the dominant and return to the tonic) is identical.

The secondary and remote key areas

In Rowe, however, the modulation to V occurs abruptly at the end of R1b (compare the first movement of no.5). Thus the long S1b is essentially located in the dominant, although it makes brief feints towards tonic and submediant. R2 (in the dominant), though strongly articulated by the motto, is unusually brief, switching after seven bars to R3 (in the submediant), before moving six bars later to the mediant and then returning directly to the tonic for R4a. In other words, the remote area is entirely confined within a single ritornello, and not one of the solos is modulatory (Example 20). Tessarini must have become aware of the problematic relationship between the long, non-modulatory S1b and the intensely unstable interim ritornello. In the revised version in Op. 1 R1b reaches a full close in the tonic, and it is left to the soloist to execute the modulation to the dominant: the "roving" sequence in Rowe is amended by means of a judicious addition of accidentals that clarify the harmonic direction. The full-scale R2 in the dominant is a literal transposition of R1a in its entirety. At this point a new solo modulates to the submediant, which is articulated by R3 with the motto; the mediant is then abandoned, and the ritornello returns promptly to the tonic (Example 21). As a result of these changes, the modulatory process is once again clarified and made more direct. The soloist is accorded not only a larger role but also a more dynamic one within this modulatory process. Moreover, the length of the dominant area in Op. 1 (33%) contrasts strongly with that found in Rowe (21%),¹⁷ while the length of the remote key areas remains similarly modest at around 8%.

The closing tonic area

In Rowe, the initial bar of the motto is discarded in the modulation from the mediant minor to the tonic, and R4a starts unobtrusively in the second bar; the extensive S4 recalls the opening of S1a before a long capriccio and a literal reprise of the orchestral conclusion of R1a. Op. 1 handles this section quite differently: after the motto in the submediant, a sudden shift, verging on a hiatus, dramatises the return of the tonic with an extremely strong articulation recalling the first movement. R4 is simply an unabridged *da capo* of the opening ritornello. As a result, the proportion of the movement occupied by the concluding tonic area is 25% in Rowe, as compared with 14% in Op. 1.

Our comparison of the two versions of the finale reflects the process of selection between the various large-dimension options. Rowe adopts the model of stable opening and closing ritornellos in the tonic that enclose modulatory interim ritornellos; Op. 1 exhibits a preference for a balanced articulation of each tonal centre through separate ritornellos for each, connected by modulatory solos. Both reflect the conventional tonal hierarchy in the greater length of the dominant key area compared with the remote key areas; this is especially the case in Op. 1, where the polarisation of powerful tonic-dominant areas is emphasised by their equal duration (over 60 bars for each), which contrasts with the brief, open-ended section in a single remote key. The Op. 1 version is also considerably longer than that of Rowe, mainly because of the full R2 in the dominant and the addition of the ensuing modulatory solo. One might perhaps have expected there an even longer balancing tonic, but in this instance Tessarini – apparently keeping the overall length in mind – relies on a full *da capo* and the dramatic emphasis of its arrival (by hiatus) to lend sufficient weight to the final tonic.

Conclusions

If, as we have supposed, the Op. 1 versions constitute revisions of the earlier versions embodied in the two manuscripts, these revisions reflect powerful processes that guided concerto composition in the years around 1720. Even if the variant versions constitute alternative synchronous strategies, the nature of the differences between them is highly revealing of the many different factors involved in compositional strategy and the development of ritornello form. It would, of course, be highly misleading to extrapolate broad theories on the basis of this small sample, and that is not our object. We believe, however, that they

provide a glimpse into the composer's workshop, shedding light on his compositional concerns during the early years of the solo concerto in a way that the study of more polished works might not do.

Issues illuminated by these comparisons include the following:

1 Increased polarisation of tonic and dominant in major key movements. The initial tonic may be extended to become "a piece within a piece" with possible predictions of future events, and it may be emphasised through the sequence R1a-S1a-R1b. The dominant tends increasingly to be supported by a coincidence of parameters: motivic (articulation by the motto), textural (confirmation of the dominant through a ritornello of its own) and durational (similar proportion of the two key areas).

2 Revaluation of the function of remote key areas through increased contrast with the dominant. The remote areas may become much briefer than that of the dominant, often open-ended, and they may resolve into the concluding tonic abruptly and with no modulatory solo.

3 Incipient distinction between exposition and recapitulation through exploration of the multitude of strategies for revisiting and recasting earlier material in the final tonic section. These include tonal manipulations (for example, avoiding the dominant), and experiment with the duration of the final tonic area and with its approach and articulation.

4 Clarification of the larger formal articulations through dramatisation of tonal and (to some extent) thematic events; and through a heightened directionality, especially by favouring more direct modulations to a small number of central keys.

5 A move towards a more regular tutti/solo succession. The earlier versions of the two Tassarini concertos, if such they be, recall the older, less formalised exchange found in Albinoni's Op. 5 – where there may be long orchestral passages, and where keys are not texturally articulated (their incipient ritornello structure might be represented in our terminology as R2-R3). The later versions of Tassarini's concertos appear to be revised in the light of the newer "Vivaldi model", in which a ritornello (perhaps headed by a motto) is the normal means of articulating the keys – while (just as in Vivaldi) in order to avoid too predictable a regularity, the alternation of ritornello and solo is not allowed to become totally synchronised with key changes.

6 Greater clarity in the assignment of functions to the orchestra and to the soloist. The revisions clearly upgrade the role of the soloist, not only in relation to virtuosity, assertiveness and cantabile expression, but also in terms of the unfolding structure. By increasing the

differentiation between solo and tutti material, and by emphasising the role of the soloist in enacting the modulatory process or strongly confirming a new key area, Tessarini intensifies the dramatic exchange and adds another parameter to the overall compositional strategy.

It should perhaps also be stressed that other factors can operate at higher, less quantifiable levels of perception: the number of functional events in a movement, for example, may override other factors such as proportion (as measured by length) in the listener's understanding of structural articulations. Moreover, presenting these questions in the way we have chosen should by no means be read as advocacy of a uniform evolutionary model of stylistic change. Indeed, it is the variety and interaction of different types of change that have encouraged us in our empirical study across a very wide range of repertory, the greater part of which has never been studied in any depth before. The case of Tessarini has proved particularly interesting. Living and working alongside Vivaldi during this crucial period in the development of the concerto, he undoubtedly absorbed many of the compositional strategies that the older composer had developed within the ritornello structure. Yet at the same time he developed personal preferences of his own, enabling distinctive stylistic traits to emerge. The revisions involved in his *Opera prima* offer an insight into how this process of absorption and individual selection may have taken place.

Example 1 Op. 1 no. 5, first movement: beginning of R1 (bars 1-10)

Allegro

The musical score consists of two systems. The first system includes three staves: Violin I (Vli), Violin II (Vla), and Bassoon (Basso). The key signature is one sharp (F#) and the time signature is 3/4. The tempo is marked 'Allegro'. The first system shows the beginning of the ritornello (R1) with trills (tr.) in the upper parts. The second system shows the continuation of the piece with figured bass notation (6, 6, 6, 6, 6) in the bass line.

Example 2 Dresden, first movement: end of S2, RT, beginning of R3 (bars 53-63)

This musical score consists of two systems of three staves each. The top system includes a treble clef staff with a melodic line, a middle staff with a bass clef line, and a bottom staff with a bass clef line. The bottom staff of the first system contains figured bass notation: 1, 7, and 6. The second system continues the piece, with a treble clef staff and two bass clef staves. A fermata is placed over a note in the treble staff of the second system, and a '6' is written below the bottom staff.

Example 2 Dresden, first movement: end of S2, RT, beginning of R3 (bars 53-63)

This musical score shows the orchestration for the first system of Example 2. It features four staves: VI pr (Violin I part), VI 1 (Violin I), VI 2 (Violin II), and Basso (Bass). The VI pr staff contains a complex melodic line with many sixteenth notes. The VI 1 and VI 2 staves are mostly empty, indicating that the violins are silent. The Basso staff provides a steady bass line. A sharp sign is placed below the Basso staff.

This musical score shows the orchestration for the second system of Example 2. It features four staves: VI pr, VI 1, VI 2, and Basso. The VI pr staff continues with a melodic line. The VI 1 and VI 2 staves are empty. The Basso staff continues with a bass line. A '(Tutti)' marking is placed above the VI pr staff, and a '(Vla omitted)' marking is placed above the Basso staff. A '4 7' marking is placed below the Basso staff.

6 6

This system contains the first two measures of a musical piece. It features four staves: two treble clefs and two bass clefs. The key signature is one sharp (F#). The first two staves have a melody of quarter notes and eighth notes. The third staff has a continuous eighth-note accompaniment. The fourth staff has a simple bass line of quarter notes. The number '6' is printed below the first and second measures.

4 4 5 3

This system contains the next two measures. The notation is more complex, with sixteenth-note patterns in the upper staves and eighth-note patterns in the lower staves. The number '4' is printed below the first measure of the second system, and '5' and '3' are printed below the first and second measures of the third system, respectively.

tr

This system contains the final two measures, which feature trills. The trills are marked with 'tr' and are placed over the final notes of the phrases in each staff. The notation includes sixteenth-note runs and eighth-note accompaniment.

Example 3 Op. 1 no. 5, first movement: RT, S3, beginning of R3
(bars 64-73)

Tutti

VI pr
VI 1
VI 2
(*Via omitted*)
Basso

Solo

arpeggio

Tutti

6
6
7
6
5

p

tr

Example 4 Dresden, first movement: S1 (bars 17-24)

(Solo)

VI pr

Vli

(Tutti)

Example 5 Op. 1 no. 5, first movement: S1a (bars 17-26)

Solo

VI pr

Vli

p

tr

3

Example 6 Dresden, second movement: S1 and R2 (bars 6-13)

(Largo)

(Solo)

Example 7 Op. 1 no. 5, second movement: S1 and R2 (bars 5-14)

Musical score for Dresden, third movement, end of R1b, R2a, S2a, beginning of R2b (bars 59-71). The score is in G major and 3/4 time. It features a piano accompaniment with a treble and bass clef. The right hand has a complex rhythmic pattern of eighth and sixteenth notes, while the left hand has a simpler eighth-note accompaniment. A trill (tr) is marked above the first measure of the right hand. The word "Solo" is written above the right hand in the second measure. The dynamic marking *p* (piano) is at the bottom right.

Example 8 Dresden, third movement: end of R1b, R2a, S2a, beginning of R2b (bars 59-71)

(Allegro)

Musical score for Dresden, third movement, end of R1b, R2a, S2a, beginning of R2b (bars 59-71). The score is in G major and 3/4 time. It features a piano accompaniment with a treble and bass clef. The right hand has a complex rhythmic pattern of eighth and sixteenth notes, while the left hand has a simpler eighth-note accompaniment. The word "(Tutti)" is written above the right hand in the first measure. The word "(Vla omitted)" is written above the bass line in the first measure.

Musical score for Dresden, third movement, end of R1b, R2a, S2a, beginning of R2b (bars 59-71). The score is in G major and 3/4 time. It features a piano accompaniment with a treble and bass clef. The right hand has a complex rhythmic pattern of eighth and sixteenth notes, while the left hand has a simpler eighth-note accompaniment. The word "(Solo)" is written above the right hand in the third measure.

Musical score for Dresden, third movement, end of R1b, R2a, S2a, beginning of R2b (bars 59-71). The score is in G major and 3/4 time. It features a piano accompaniment with a treble and bass clef. The right hand has a complex rhythmic pattern of eighth and sixteenth notes, while the left hand has a simpler eighth-note accompaniment. The number "17" is written below the bass line in the first measure.

Musical score for Dresden, third movement, end of R1b, R2a, S2a, beginning of R2b (bars 59-71). The score is in G major and 3/4 time. It features a piano accompaniment with a treble and bass clef. The right hand has a complex rhythmic pattern of eighth and sixteenth notes, while the left hand has a simpler eighth-note accompaniment. The word "(Tutti)" is written above the right hand in the third measure. The number "7" is written below the bass line in the first measure.

Example 9 Op. 1 no. 5, third movement: end of R1b, S2, beginning of R2a (bars 64-90)

(Tutti) Solo

p

Vli, Vla *p* (leads to...) *f* (Vla omitted) Tutti

Example 10 Rowe, first movement: R1 (bars 1-21)

Allegro

System 1: Three staves (treble, treble, bass) in G major. The top two staves have a melodic line with eighth and sixteenth notes. The bass staff has a steady eighth-note accompaniment.

System 2: Three staves. The top two staves continue the melodic line with eighth notes. The bass staff has a steady eighth-note accompaniment with some rests.

System 3: Three staves. The top two staves feature a melodic line with eighth notes and some rests. The bass staff continues the eighth-note accompaniment.

System 4: Three staves. The top two staves have a melodic line with eighth notes and rests. The bass staff continues the eighth-note accompaniment.

System 5: Three staves. The top two staves have a melodic line with eighth notes and rests. The bass staff continues the eighth-note accompaniment.

Example 11 Op. 1 no. 10, first movement: R1 (bars 1-21)

First system of a musical score in G major (one sharp). It consists of three staves: two treble clefs and one bass clef. The first two staves play a melody of quarter notes, while the bass staff provides a simple accompaniment. The key signature is G major. The system contains two measures.

Second system of the musical score. The first two staves continue the melody with eighth notes and quarter notes. The bass staff continues the accompaniment. The system contains two measures.

Third system of the musical score. The first two staves continue the melody. The bass staff continues the accompaniment. The system contains two measures.

Fourth system of the musical score. The first two staves play a melody with sixteenth notes and quarter notes. The bass staff continues the accompaniment. The system contains two measures.

First system of a musical score in G major (one sharp). It consists of three staves: two treble clefs and one bass clef. The first two staves have a melodic line with eighth-note patterns. The bass staff has a bass line with fingerings 1, 6, 6, 1, 6, 6. A trill (tr) is indicated above the second measure of the first treble staff.

Second system of the musical score. It consists of three staves. The first two staves have a melodic line with eighth-note patterns. The bass staff has a bass line with fingerings 1, 7. A trill (tr) is indicated above the second measure of the first treble staff.

Third system of the musical score. It consists of three staves. The first two staves have a melodic line with eighth-note patterns. The bass staff has a bass line with fingerings 6, 4. A trill (tr) is indicated above the second measure of the first treble staff.

Fourth system of the musical score. It consists of three staves. The first two staves have a melodic line with eighth-note patterns. The bass staff has a bass line with fingerings 6, 4, 3. Trills (tr) are indicated above the second measure of both the first and second treble staves.

Example 12 Rowe, first movement: part of S1 (bars 26-30)

(Solo)

Musical score for Example 12, bars 26-30. The score is in G major (one sharp) and 3/4 time. It consists of two systems of two staves each. The first system shows the beginning of the piece with a treble clef staff containing a complex melodic line and a bass clef staff with a simple accompaniment. The second system continues the piece with more intricate melodic patterns in the treble and a steady accompaniment in the bass.

Example 13 Op. 1 no. 10, first movement: end of S1a, beginning of R1b (bars 26-31)

(Solo)

Musical score for Example 13, bars 26-31. The score is in G major (one sharp) and 3/4 time. It consists of three systems of two staves each. The first system shows the end of section S1a with a treble clef staff containing a complex melodic line and a bass clef staff with a simple accompaniment. The second system continues the piece with more intricate melodic patterns in the treble and a steady accompaniment in the bass. The third system shows the beginning of section R1b with a treble clef staff containing a complex melodic line and a bass clef staff with a simple accompaniment. The word "Tutti" is written above the second staff of the third system.

Example 14 Rowe, first movement: R3 and R4a (bars 62-71)

(Tutti)

The musical score for Example 14 consists of three systems of music for three staves (treble, alto, and bass clefs) in D major. The first system is marked '(Tutti)'. The second system shows more complex rhythmic patterns in the upper staves. The third system features a trill in the upper staff.

Example 15 Op. 1 no. 10, first movement: R3 and beginning of R4 (bars 76-82)

Tutti

The musical score for Example 15 consists of two systems of music for two staves (treble and bass clefs) in D major. The first system is marked 'Tutti'.

Example 16 Rowe, third movement: beginning of R1 (bars 1-13)

Allegro

Example 17 Op. 1 no. 10, third movement: beginning of R1 (bars 1-11)

Allegro

(VI 2, Vla omitted)

Example 18, first system: Treble and bass staves in G major. The top staff contains a melodic line with eighth and sixteenth notes. The bottom staff contains a bass line with quarter notes. There are 'x' marks under the bass line in the second and fourth measures.

Example 18 Rowe, third movement: end of R1 (bars 22-26)

Example 18, second system: Treble and bass staves in G major. The top staff contains a melodic line with eighth notes and rests. The bottom staff contains a bass line with quarter notes and rests. The word "(Tutti)" is written above the first measure.

Example 19 Op. 1 no. 10, third movement: end of R1 (bars 21-28)

Example 19, first system: Treble and bass staves in G major. The top staff contains a melodic line with eighth notes and rests. The bottom staff contains a bass line with quarter notes and rests. The word "(Tutti)" is written above the first measure.

Example 19, second system: Treble and bass staves in G major. The top staff contains a melodic line with eighth notes and rests. The bottom staff contains a bass line with quarter notes and rests. The word "Solo" is written above the fourth measure.

Example 20 Rowe, third movement: R2, R3a, R3b and beginning of R4a (bars 97-120)

Tutti

The musical score for Example 20 consists of five systems of music, each with a treble and bass staff. The key signature is D major (two sharps). The first system (bars 97-100) features a treble staff with eighth-note patterns and a bass staff with a simple accompaniment. The second system (bars 101-104) continues the treble staff's melodic line with some sixteenth-note passages. The third system (bars 105-108) shows a more active bass staff with eighth-note patterns. The fourth system (bars 109-112) includes a trill (tr) in the treble staff. The fifth system (bars 113-116) features trills (tr) in both the treble and bass staves.

Example 21 Op. 1 no. 10, third movement: R3 and beginning of R4 (bars 156-164)

Tutti

(VI 2, Vla omitted)

The musical score for Example 21 consists of one system of music with a treble and bass staff. The key signature is D major. The treble staff begins with a whole rest, followed by eighth-note patterns. The bass staff has a simple accompaniment. A trill (tr) is marked in the treble staff. A note in the bass staff is marked with a 'g' below it.



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² M. TALBOT, *The Concerto Allegro in the Early Eighteenth Century*, "Music & Letters", 52, 1971, pp.9-18, 159-172.

³ C. WOLFF, *Vivaldi's Compositional Art and the Process of "Musical Thinking"*, in *Nuovi studi vivaldiani*, eds. A. Fanna and G. Morelli, Olschki, Florence, 1988, p.5.

⁴ L. DREYFUS, *Bach and the Patterns of Invention*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1996, p.61.

⁵ The sample we have so far collected (and, where necessary, scored) comprises about 700 ritornello movements by G.M. Alberti, Albinoni, Baptista, Bernia, Bettinazzi, Bettinoli, Bezzina, Bini, Bitti, Bonporti, Brescianello, Brivio, Cattaneo, Chilarducci, Ciampi, D'Alay, Dall'Oglío, Fachini, Ferronati, Fiorelli, Fiorenza, A. and C. Gallo, Gentili, Ghignone (Guignon), Laurenti, Leo, Locatelli, A. and B. Marcello, Meneghetti, Montanari, Morigi, Mossi, Platti, Pizziluschi, Predieri, Razetti, Rotondi, Salurini, G.B. Sammartini, Scaccia, Schiassi, Simonetti, G.B. and G.L. Somis, Stratico, Tartini, Tessarini, A. Toeschi, Valentini, Veracini, Veronesi, Visconti, Vivaldi, Zanni, Zavateri and Zuccari.

⁶ The principal biography of Tessarini remains A. DUNNING, *Some Notes on the Biography of Carlo Tessarini and His Musical Grammar*, "Studien zur Musikwissenschaft", 25, 1962, pp.115-122. See also E. SELFRIDGE-FIELD, *Pallade veneta: Writings on Music in Venetian Society, 1650-1750*, Fondazione Levi, Venice, 1985, pp.374, 376. The authors are currently preparing an edition of Tessarini's Twelve Concertos (from the "Le Cène" *Opera prima*), for publication in the series *Recent Researches in the Music of the Classical Era* (A-R Editions, Madison, Wisconsin): the introduction will include new information about Tessarini's activities in London in 1747-1748.

⁷ This topic forms part of the important research currently being undertaken by Rudolf Rasch.

⁸ *Pimpinone*, ed. T. W. Werner, *Das Erbe deutscher Musik*, 1st series, Bd. 6, Schott, Mainz, 1936, p.102.

⁹ Examples of unorthodox voice-leading occurring in the third movement, at bars 15 and 84, can be explained in a similar manner.

¹⁰ See the discussion and catalogue in P. POZZI, *Il concerto strumentale italiano alla corte di Dresda durante la prima metà del Settecento*, in *Intorno a Locatelli*, ed. A. Dunning, Libreria Musicale Italiana, Lucca, 1995, pp.953-1037.

¹¹ Mus. 2451-O-3 (formerly Cx 1007). Intriguingly, the final page includes also some brief fragments from Op. 1 nos. 8 and 11. One cannot altogether discount the possibility that Pisendel himself revised the concerto, as he certainly did in the case of some Vivaldi and Albinoni concertos; yet the nature of the differences, and in particular the less demanding violin writing, does not tend to support such an interpretation.

¹² L. RATNER, *Classical Music*, Schirmer, New York, 1980, p.48. Detailed research conducted by Bella Brover-Lubovsky has established the rarity of occurrences of the tonic chord (and still more of the tonic key) in the central portion of Vivaldi's ritornello-form movements.

¹³ M. TALBOT, *Vivaldi*, Dent, London, ²/1993, pp.110-111.

¹⁴ We would like to express our thanks to Margaret Cranmer, Librarian, Rowe Library, for her kind assistance.

¹⁵ The spurious concertos in Op. 7 have not been included in these statistics.

¹⁶ A similar procedure is followed in Vivaldi's concerto in D minor, Op. 8 no. 7 (RV 242).

¹⁷ This calculation takes into account the lengthy sections within S1b and S2 that are placed firmly in the dominant, as well as R2.

La costruzione di un movimento basato sul Ritornello: strategie e scelte compositive nell'«Opera Prima» di Tessarini

Jeboash Hirshberg e Simon McVeigh

L'articolo mette a confronto due concerti per violino (n. 5 e n. 10) compresi nell'Opera 1 di Carlo Tessarini, pubblicati da Le Cène nel 1724, con versioni manoscritte delle stesse composizioni, apparentemente anteriori, conservate a Cambridge e a Dresda. Tessarini (1690 ca.-1767 ca.) fu tra i primi compositori italiani a imitare e a sviluppare la forma basata sul Ritornello, della quale Vivaldi fu un pioniere, e i suoi concerti offrono prove significative della diffusione, del consolidamento e dell'affinamento di tale forma negli anni attorno al 1720.

Gli autori sono gli iniziatori e i responsabili di un progetto su vasta scala, tuttora in corso, portato avanti presso l'Università Ebraica di Gerusalemme e il Goldsmiths College di Londra, il cui fine è quello di ricostruire l'evoluzione della «forma ritornello» nel primo Settecento. Essi mantengono la tradizionale distinzione tra il ritornello e le sezioni solistiche (episodi) e tra le tecniche di strumentazione di «tutti» e «solo», ma classificano le singole sezioni sulla base di un complesso insieme di criteri che tiene conto della loro posizione, della loro funzione e di altre caratteristiche specifiche. Questo metodo rende possibile ridurre a un modello comune – e in tal modo mettere a confronto tra loro – movimenti che a prima vista appaiono molto diversi (per la lunghezza, per il numero delle sezioni, ecc.).

L'analisi comparativa, movimento per movimento, delle differenze di ciascun concerto, dimostra che Tessarini partecipò in pieno al generale processo evolutivo della sua epoca. Le versioni pubblicate presentano una stesura più razionale e trasparente; in particolare, esprimono la «gerarchia tonale» (la supremazia della tonica e della dominante rispetto ad altre aree tonali) e la contrapposizione di «tutti» e «solo» in modo più netto e ordinato, conferiscono al violino solista un campo più ampio per l'espressione lirica e per l'esibizione virtuosistica, e cominciano a differenziare le funzioni dell'esposizione e quelle della ricapitolazione.

Gli autori attestano l'originalità di Tessarini come compositore, e allo stesso tempo dimostrano come il suo rapporto con la forma e l'espressione del concerto solistico cambiò significativamente durante gli anni Venti del Settecento, parallelamente a quello di molti altri compositori, non escluso lo stesso Vivaldi.

Biographical Notes on the “Figlie di coro” of the Pietà contemporary with Vivaldi

Micky White*

PREAMBLE

The idea of creating a dictionary-style catalogue of those *figlie di coro* at the Pietà whose service coincided or overlapped with the period of Vivaldi's association with the institution (1703-1740) arose directly from the availability, in recent years, of a much greater breadth of documentation relating to their biography and musical activity than was previously known to exist.

True, the four great series of documents held by the Archivio di Stato di Venezia – the governors' minute-books (*Notatori*), the loose papers (*Parti*), the account-books (*Vacchette*) and the ledgers (*Quaderni cassa*) – have been known and exploited by musicologists from the time of Pincherle onwards. However, the focus of attention has normally rested on the *maestri* (above all, Vivaldi) rather than on the *figlie*, whose lives and active careers in the *coro* nearly always overlap the periods of service of individual *maestri*. In other words, whatever information on the *figlie di coro* has emerged as a by-product of this research has tended to be very fragmentary in biographical respects – all the more so as these women enjoyed exceptional longevity for their period.

In 1983 Gabriella Cecchetto published an important but so far little-noticed article on the archive of S. Maria della Pietà.¹ This revealed that precious documents had remained on the Riva degli Schiavoni after the transfer of the bulk of the Pietà's documents to the State Archives and the Museo Civico Correr respectively c.1877. These documents include the *Libri della scaffetta* (later known as *Registri ruota*), in which details of infants received into the Pietà, usually immediately after birth, were recorded, and the *Registri dei morti*. In 1794 the Pietà inaugurated a series of *Ruoli*, which supplied a tabular *curriculum vitae* for each *figlia*; the first of these censuses, despite its compilation almost 50 years after Vivaldi's death, provides details for numerous *figlie* who sang or played under him. The archive is today located not in the church itself but in the adjoining Istituto Provinciale per L'Infanzia Santa Maria della Pietà, a linear descendant of the former *ospedale*. Ordering of the material is still in progress.²

The full extent of the surviving music from the repertory of the Pietà, preserved (albeit mostly fragmentarily) in the Fondo Esposti at the Conservatorio di Musica “Benedetto Marcello”, Venice, to which it

had been taken from the Museo Correr in 1939 and 1940, was revealed in 1982 in an article by Michael Talbot.³ Since that time, these manuscripts have been explored and reported on by several scholars, notably Faun Tanenbaum Tiedge.⁴ Whereas few of the compositions in the collection are reconstructible in their totality without the aid of other sources, the *libri musicali* (the Pietà's own term for the pre-bound volumes ruled with staves into which works were copied) abound in references to *figlie di coro* as performers and – just occasionally – as composers.

Finally, some published librettos of oratorios and serenatas performed at the Pietà give the names of individual *figlie di coro* in the cast-list.⁵ Singers are also identified by name in certain musical sources – for example, the autograph scores of Vivaldi's *Juditha triumphans* and his *Magnificat* RV 611.⁶

Between them, these numerous documents allow the researcher to reconstruct the lives of the *figlie di coro* in sometimes unexpected detail. Obviously, there are vast inequalities between one *figlia* and another. Some *figlie* led short, uneventful, undistinguished lives. Others lived long, did many different things and achieved Europe-wide fame. Then again, the vagaries of preservation (for example, a gap in a series of volumes) can deprive the investigator of important data quite randomly and thereby give a misleading impression of the degree of prominence of the *figlia* in question.

Because of the very large numbers of *figlie di coro* concerned – the present catalogue brings together no fewer than 125 individuals – certain boundaries had to be set. First, as already explained, the catalogue excludes all *figlie* whose activity in the *coro* appears to lie entirely outside the “Vivaldian” time-frame of 1703-1740. For reasons of space and practical convenience, the entries do not normally specify the source or sources from which a specific item of information is derived.⁷ It must be emphasised that this miniature dictionary is a work in progress that inevitably leaves many ends untied (one would be dead before all uncertainties were resolved and all lacunae filled!). The author hopes on future occasions to provide updates in which errors are corrected and new information added.

How complete is the catalogue? The likelihood is that it is tolerably complete, especially in its “middle” years around 1720 (most omissions will probably have occurred near the margins of the time-frame). The size of the *coro* during the period under discussion certainly fluctuated considerably (as did the general population of the Pietà), but a list of *coro* members from 1718 offers a useful guide to numbers. This document, copied from a “Registro delle Maestre e

Figlie di Choro esistono nel Pio Hosp[ital]e Della Pietà di q[ue]sta Citta in questo giorno 24 Maggio 1718”, contains 59 names, some of which will have been of *figlie* who were still in training for, or who had retired from, the *coro*, the active members of which were therefore somewhat fewer.⁸

What are the main conclusions to be drawn from the data in the catalogue? The first is that when we speak of “figlie di coro”, we are referring more often than not to mature women, not girls (as the wishful thinking of popular Vivaldi biographies and documentary films would have it!). In fact, the average age of an active member of the *coro* was probably nearer 40 than 30. We are dealing with unusually versatile musicians, who frequently mastered several distinct instruments (even changing in mid-career) or crossed over from singing to playing and vice-versa. Among them we encounter practised composers, copyists and teachers. We glimpse fascinating human stories, such as those of Agata, who overcame physical disability to become one of the Pietà’s élite, Andriana, who very soon preferred the excitement of music-making at the Pietà to the humdrum life of a professed nun, and Madalena “II”, who overcame initial opposition to marry the Pietà’s former teacher of wind instruments, Lodovico Ertman (Ludwig Erdmann). We learn interesting and sometimes surprising things about the backgrounds of the dozens of *figlie di coro* whose names grace the pages of the music written by Vivaldi and many others for the institution.

It is poignant to reflect that the severely cloistered existence of the Pietà’s wards, which some of them certainly experienced as oppressive (this, too, emerges from the record), was the necessary condition for their historical afterlife and celebration today. But the more deeply one goes into the Pietà’s records, the more evident it becomes that the compositing and rule-bound mentality of the governors’ minutes masks a reality that was much more sensitive and much less uniform than one would first imagine. It is true that the governors never modified their blinkered view of music as only an indirect rather than a direct source of welfare to their wards; but whether or not they were aware of it, they enabled the latter to achieve through music a degree of personal fulfilment that in the early eighteenth century must have been rare for women of any background, let alone the most despised of all.

EXPLANATORY REMARKS

1. As foundlings, the wards of the Pietà nearly always entered the institution without surnames. The parent, or whoever brought the unwanted infant surreptitiously to the *scaffetta* (the hole in the wall

through which it was passed), most often wrote down its given name or names on an attached piece of paper.⁹ The Pietà always made a note of this name but on occasion rejected it in favour of a name of its choice. Personal names are subject to great variation in the Pietà's documents. Tuscan and Venetian forms intermingle, and names frequently appear, at least for a period, as diminutives (e.g., "Chiaretta" for "Chiara") in order to distinguish a younger *figlia* from an older one bearing the same name. The wish to distinguish between similarly named *figlie di coro* is, again, the main reason why a *figlia* is so often identified in documents by an instrument she plays ("Andriana dalla Thiorba") or by her voice type ("Soprana dal Contralto"). Using the epithets "grande" and "piccola" (or "maggiore" and "minore") can serve the same purpose. Even so, confusion frequently threatens: one remarks the excessive popularity (for reasons that are not hard to guess!) of the name Madalena, shared by four *figlie* in the present list. No attempt has been made to mention every single variant under which each name appears in the documents, but the most frequently encountered variants are given in parentheses. *Figlie* of the same name are distinguished in the catalogue by an appended Roman numeral (I, II etc.).

2. The *scaffetta* number appearing near the head of many entries is the identity number, conferred on each child at the time of admission, by which it would be known for the duration of the Pietà's wardship (lifelong, in the case of most *figlie*). The serial number is preceded by a letter identifying the volume.
3. Dates and times of day given in the entries have not been adjusted to reflect the change from *ore italiane* (the old, indigenous system of time-keeping in which "24.00 hours" was fixed at sundown and therefore varied in relation to noon) to the more modern system based on the fixing of "12.00 hours" at noon. However, years given in the entries convert *more veneto* reckoning (in which the months of January and February belong to the outgoing year) to the modern equivalent.
4. Explanations of the terms "maestra", "maestra di coro", "figlia privilegiata", "figlia di comun" and "figlia in educazione" are found abundantly in modern Vivaldian literature and other writings on the Pietà. Specially recommended is a recently written article, M. TALBOT, *Sacred Music at the Ospedale della Pietà in Venice in the Time of Handel*, "Händel-Jahrbuch", 46, 2000, pp. 125-156, where a concise review of the relevant literature appears.
5. From the 20 *maestre* "della classe del coro" (other *maestre* were

ected from among the much more numerous non-musicians, the *figlie di comun*) two *maestre di coro* were chosen to direct the *coro*, holding their positions continuously until retirement or death. Further positions (*cariche*) of a general supervisory nature were reserved for nine of the remaining 18 *maestre di coro*. These included the offices of *piora* (prioress), *portinara* (porter), *scrivana* (clerk) and *dispensiera* (provisioner). Like the *cariche* of the governors themselves, such responsibilities were assigned on a fixed-term basis, here usually of three years, and periodically renewed or rotated. Only rarely has an attempt been made in the catalogue to identify the periods, of varying length, during which such offices were held. The same goes for the periods during which the fourteen *figlie privilegiate* (the two *maestre di coro* “ex officio” and twelve others) acted as tutors to *figlie in educazione*; these were girls, often very young, from noble or bourgeois (*cittadino*) families who boarded at the Pietà and received an education there.

6. The *corbetta* was a basket of firewood given to a *figlia di coro* as a special privilege.
7. The entries in the Pietà’s *Registri dei morti* always describe a cause of death. I have usually quoted these causes *verbatim*, making no attempt to interpret or refine them in the light of modern medical knowledge and terminology.
8. Where the only available source of information for a year of birth is the age at death given in an entry in the *Registri dei morti*, it is nearly always the case – even if we make the prior assumption that the age in years is stated correctly – that either of two adjacent years is possible. Hence the many dates of birth presented in the form “1671 or 1672” (etc.) in the catalogue.
9. Contemporary diaries, letters, journals, travel accounts, guides to Venice and reference works often make reference to individual *figlie di coro*, usually in highly laudatory terms. The literary works cited in the entries are the following:

Anon. 1730:

Sopra le figlie di coro dell’Ospitale della Pietà del 1730. This long satirical poem is published in the *Satire inedite del cavalier Dotti* (Geneva, 1797), vol. 2, pp.93-106. In fact, the poem cannot be by Bartolomeo Dotti himself, who was murdered in 1713. A manuscript version of the same satire, entitled *Sopra le putte della Pietà di coro* and exhibiting several minor textual variants, is preserved in Venice, Museo Civico Correr, Ms. Cicogna 1178, fols 206-212 (transcription in R.

GAZOTTO, *Vivaldi*, ERI, Turin, 1973, pp.389-396). Notwithstanding the "1730" in the published version's title, the true date of the poem probably lies in the mid-1730s, to judge from the information about the *figlie di coro* it contains.

Brosses:

C. DE BROSSES, *Lettres historiques et critiques sur l'Italie*, 3 vols, Ponthieu, Paris, 1799.

Coronelli:

V. CORONELLI, *Guida de' forestieri*, Venice, 1697 and subsequently (1700, 1706, 1713, 1715 etc.).

Gradenigo:

P. GRADENIGO, *Notatori* (a multi-volume journal), Venice, Museo Civico Correr, Ms. Gradenigo 67.

Keysler:

J.G. KEYSLER, *Travels through Germany, Bohemia, Hungary, Switzerland, Italy and Lorrain*, 4 vols, Linde and Field, London, 3/1756-1757.

Mattheson:

J. MATTHESON, *Critica musica*, 2 vols, Mattheson/heirs of T. von Wiering, Hamburg, 1722-1725.

Nemeitz:

J.C. NEMEITZ, *Nachlese besonderer Nachrichten von Italien*, Gleditsch, Leipzig, 1726 (Nemeitz's visit to Venice took place in 1721).

Pallade veneta:

(Venetian news sheet of this name, printed monthly in 1687 and 1688 but later issued weekly in a briefer manuscript form.) Extracts from this source are transcribed in E. SELFRIDGE-FIELD, *Pallade veneta: Writings on Music in Venetian Society, 1650-1750*, Edizioni Fondazione Levi, Venice, 1985.

Poellnitz:

C.L. VON POELLNITZ, *Lettres et mémoires [...] contenant les observations qu'il a faites dans ses voyages*, 5 vols, Changuion, Amsterdam, 3/1737 (Poellnitz's visit to Venice took place in 1730).

Quantz:

J.J. QUANTZ, *Herrn Johann Joachim Quantzens Lebenslauf, von ihm selbst entworfen*, in F.W. MARPURG, *Historisch-kritische Beyträge zur Aufnahme der Musik*, 8 vols, Lange, Berlin, 1754-1778, vol. 1, pp.197-250 (Quantz's visit to Venice took place in 1726).

Susier:

N. SUSIER, diary, Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Manoscritti da ordinare 59 (entry transcribed in J.W. HILL, *The Life and Works of Francesco Maria Veracini*, UMI Research Press, Ann Arbor, 1979, p.444).

Walther:

J.G. WALTHER, *Musicalisches Lexicon oder musicalische Bibliothec*, Deer, Leipzig, 1732.

CATALOGUE

Adelaide. Contralto. Scaffetta Q 1972. Admitted Sept or Oct 1722. "Impara in choro" 1734. Solo part in Porpora's *Laudate pueri* 1742. Married Antonio Segalin at the Salute 19 Feb 1743.

Agata. Soprano. Scaffetta P 2229. Born and admitted 24 Mar 1712. Entered *coro* 1723. Elected *maestra* 2 May 1752. Elected *priora* by 1 March 1769. Died from "colpo apoplectico" 7 Oct 1769. Pupil of Apollonia. Teacher of Cattarina, Luisa, Maria Antonia and Teresa I. Had as *figlie in educazione* Angela and Cattarina Baglioni. Composer of an *Ecce nunc* and a *Regina caeli*. Mentioned in Anon. 1730. Born with one finger on her left hand, one toe on her left foot and three toes on her right foot.

Agostina I. Soprano. Confirmed in *coro* 7 Dec 1707. Punished for bad conduct and refused promotion to *maestra* 16 Sep 1729.

Agostina II. Instrument/voice not ascertained. Born 1695 or 1696. Confirmed in *coro* 23 Aug 1720. *Maestra* by 1772. Died 13 Mar 1785 from "febbre infiammatoria".

Alba (Albetta). Contralto. "Impara in choro" 1734. Pupil of Apollonia. Living in 1747. Solo part in RV 611 (1739).

Ambrosina. Contralto ("tenore che contralteggia"). Granted 2 extra measures of oil weekly 7 Oct 1729. Granted *corbetta* 13 Jan 1736. Living in 1746. Solo part in RV 611 (1739). Mentioned in Anon. 1730 and Mattheson.

Anastasia. Soprano. Confirmed in *coro* 4 Dec 1707. Granted 2 extra measures of oil weekly 7 Oct 1729. Solo parts in RV 643 (1714) and Porta's *Il ritratto dell'eroe* (1726).

Andriana. Theorbist. Born 1663 or 1664. Imprisoned for misbehaviour in 1687. Taught at convent of S. Gerolimo, Seravalle, from 1694 and took her vows there in 1699 but returned to Pietà in 1700 after being forbidden to continue practising as a musician. Made *figlia privilegiata* 5 June 1707. Confirmed as *maestra* 7 July 1707. Had as *figlia in educazione* Elena Bondumier. Granted 2 extra measures of oil weekly 7 Oct 1729. Served as *dispensiera*. Died from "inflammation de polmoni" 17 Feb 1734.

Angela Fortunata. Singer. Fl. 1730-1742.

Angeletta I (Anzoletta). Violinist and singer. Born 1643 or 1644. Already *maestra* by 5 June 1707, when made *figlia privilegiata*. Confirmed in *coro* 4 Dec 1707. Had as *figlia in educazione* Bernardina Marticini. *Portinara*. Accompanied four younger *figlie* to S. Francesco della Vigna 22 Sept 1712. Died from "mal di punta" 7 Feb 1721.

Angeletta II (Anzoletta). Organist and singer. Fl. 1721-1755. Married by 1755. Mentioned in Nemeitz and Quantz.

Angelica. Violinist. Scaffetta E 3755. Born 13 Sept 1656. Granted permission to go out to make her devotions in 1694. Confirmed as *maestra* 7 July 1709. Died from "mal di petto" 2 July 1727. Solo parts in Gasparini oratorios 1701-1703. Mentioned in Coronelli 1706 and 1713.

Angelicata. Singer. Scaffetta L 1925. Born 30 June 1686. Taught Prudenza. Made *figlia privilegiata* 5 June 1707. Married Zuanne Abbondio at the Scuola di S. Teodoro 11 Sept 1712.

Anna I. Violinist. Mentioned in Coronelli 1706.

Anna II (Anneta). Singer. Confirmed in *coro* 4 Dec 1707. Solo part in RV 643 (1714).

Anna III (Anneta). "Bass" singer. Born 1685. Confirmed in *coro* 4 Dec 1707. *Maestra* by 28 Jan 1729. Died 16 Feb 1760. Mentioned in Coronelli 1706.

Anna Nicolota. Instrument/voice not ascertained. Asked permission to marry 9 Sept 1708.

Anna Maria I. Violinist. Born 1696. Violin bought for her via Vivaldi July 1712. Performed at S. Francesco della Vigna 22 Sept 1712. Violin bought for her from Nicolò Selles Apr 1720. Confirmed in *coro* 23 Aug 1720. Made *figlia*

privilegiata 14 Feb 1721. Put on special diet (of chicken) 23 Jan 1728. Granted 2 extra measures of oil weekly 7 Oct 1729. Theorbo bought for her from Cristoforo Selles 1732. Simultaneously elected *maestra* and *maestra di coro* 30 Aug 1737. Died from “febbre e tabe nervosa” 10 Aug 1782. Also played viola d’amore, cello, lute, theorbo, mandolin and harpsichord. Teacher of Anna Maria II, Bernardina, Fortunata and Santina. Had as *figlie in educazione* Chiara Barbarigo, Elena David and Lodovica Emo. Concertos composed for her by Vivaldi (at least 25 for violin, 2 for viola d’amore), Brusa, D’Alay and Tartini. Mentioned in Anon. 1730, Nemeitz, Poellnitz and Walther.

Anna Maria II. Violinist. Born 1707 or 1708. Elected *maestra* 3 Dec 1751. Died 30 Aug 1787, aged 79. Pupil of Anna Maria I. Teacher of Francesca. Concerto composed for her by Lorenzo Morini “detto il Reggiano”. Mentioned in Anon. 1730.

Antonia I. Tenor. Born 1671. Granted permission to go out to make her devotions in Oct 1694. Made *figlia privilegiata* 5 June 1707. Confirmed in *coro* 4 Dec 1707. Elected *maestra* 7 July 1709. Granted 2 extra measures of oil weekly 7 Oct 1729. Died from “Mal di Pleuritic” 10 Dec 1733. Had as *figlia in educazione* Meneghina Amorevoli. Solo parts in Gasparini oratorios 1701-1702. Mentioned in Anon. 1730 and Nemeitz.

Antonia II. Organist. Scaffetta O 1159. Born 1703. Confirmed in *coro* 23 Aug 1720. Made *figlia privilegiata* 26 Mar 1734. *Maestra* by 20 May 1746. Married Giovanni Maria Bruni on the Island of La Grazia 14 Apr 1755. Active as copyist 1736-1737. Teacher of Fortunata.

Antonia III (Tonina). Cellist (player of “viola”). Entered *coro* before 1718. Living in 1749. Concerto composed for her by Antonio Martinelli.

Apollonia (“La Polonia”). Soprano. Scaffetta M 1609. Born 9 Feb 1692. Confirmed in *coro* 23 Aug 1720. Made *figlia privilegiata* before 14 Sept 1736. Disciplined and reduced to the status of a *figlia di comun* for punching the *portinara* 14 Nov 1738; reinstated 17 Dec 1738. Elected *maestra* 21 Aug 1739. *Sotto priora* in 1746. Died from “ciro nella smilza” 11 Nov 1751. Teacher of Agata and Alba. Had as *figlie in educazione* Angela Baglioni, Cattarina Baglioni, Elisabetta Lodovica Borelli, Elena Maria Bortolato and Anna Maria Nicoletta Tornicello. Solo parts in RV 643 (1714), RV 644 (1716) and RV 611 (1739); also in works by D’Alessandro, Bernasconi etc. Took role of Apollo (!) in Porta’s *Il ritratto dell’eroe* (1726). Mentioned in Anon. 1730, Mattheson, Quantz and Poellnitz.

Barbara I (Barbaretta). Soprano. Born 1669 or 1670. Died from “accaduta appopletica” 22 Feb 1758, aged 88. Granted permission to go out to make her devotions in 1694. Made *figlia privilegiata* 5 June 1707. Elected *maestra* 19 Aug 1735. *Vice priora*. Solo parts in Spada’s *Santa Maria egizziaca penitente*

(1687), Gasparini oratorios 1701-1703 and RV 644 (1716). Mentioned in *Pallade veneta* Aug and Nov 1687 and Apr 1688.

Barbara II (“**La Jamosa**”). Lutenist. Born 1675 or 1676. Died from “scorbutico nel sangue” 22 June 1741, aged 65. Mentioned in Coronelli 1706.

Basilia. Voice/instrument not ascertained. Born 1702 or 1703. Listed as *coro* member 24 May 1718. Granted 2 extra measures of oil weekly 7 Oct 1729. *Maestra* by 2 June 1747. Made *figlia privilegiata* 1768. Died from “sputi di sangue” and “mal di petto” 3 Feb 1780, aged 77. Had as *figlia in educazione* Cattarina Antonia Maria Ceselli.

Bastiana I. Violinist. Born 1651 or 1652. Granted permission to go out to make her devotions in Oct 1694. Elected *maestra* 7 July 1709. Initially made *Sagrestana*. Died of “febre maligna” 19 Aug 1724, aged 72.

Bastiana II. Voice/instrument not ascertained. Listed as *coro* member 24 May 1718. Granted 2 extra measures of oil weekly 7 Oct 1729.

Bernardina. Violinist. Born 1696 or 1697. Violin bought for her via Vivaldi July 1712. Performed at S. Francesco della Vigna 22 Sept 1712. Granted 2 extra measures of oil weekly 7 Oct 1729. Elected *maestra* 23 Aug 1754. Died from “febbre con catarro al petto” 23 Nov 1783, aged 86. Pupil of Anna Maria I. Played violin 2 in RV 794 (c.1738). Mentioned in Anon. 1730.

Bianca Maria. Organist and singer. Scaffetta O 3986. Born c.1707. Pupil of Michielina I. Asked permission to enter a convent 1730 (but evidently did not). Active as copyist 1736-1737. Married Dott. Alberto Stela 1740. Mentioned in Anon. 1730.

Camilla. Violist. Fl. c.1740.

Candida. Singer, player of chalumeau and violist. Born 1674 or 1675. Entered *coro* 19 Feb 1689. Pupil of Ortensia. Confirmed in *coro* 7 Mar 1707. Made *figlia privilegiata* 5 June 1707. Granted 2 extra measures of oil weekly 7 Oct 1729. Elected *maestra* 19 Aug 1735. Died from “mal di petto” 26 Mar 1757, aged 82. Had as *figlie in educazione* Anna Giovanna Lucia Bon, Pelegrina Maria Legniami, Lucia Nussa and Maria Madalena Zambelli. Active as auxiliary copyist 1736. Solo parts in Gasparini oratorios 1701-1703. Played chalumeau in RV 779 (c.1709), viola in RV 788 (c.1738) and RV 795 (1739). Mentioned in Coronelli 1706 and 1713. Her *figlia in educazione* Anna Bon (b.1738), whom she acquired in Mar 1743, was the daughter of the Bolognese painter Girolamo Bon (at the time working in Moscow) and the soprano Rosa Ruvineti. Anna went on to become a notable composer and singer at the courts of Bayreuth and Eisenstadt.

Cattarina (Cattina). Player of violone. Born c.1646 Scaffetta D 537. *Maestra* in 1690. Taught Pelegrina. Married Bernardo Zambelli.

Caterina (Cattarina). Player of violone and cornettist. Born 1672 or 1673. Retired from *coro* 30 July 1762. Died from “mal scorbutico” 10 Nov 1765, aged 92. Punished for misbehaviour 30 June 1692. Was acting as *maestra* to the “novelli”. A “Caterina”, possibly the same person, took a solo contralto part in RV 644 (1716).

Catina. Violist. Born 1687. Confirmed in *coro* 4 Dec 1707. Granted 2 extra measures of oil weekly 7 Oct 1729. Died from “Mal di Gamba resa Scorbutico” 5 Feb 1770.

Cecilia I. Voice/instrument not ascertained. Born 1623 or 1624. Elected *maestra*, later *maestra di coro* and *piora*. Died 28 Aug 1711.

Cecilia II. Contralto. Scaffetta I 2346. Born 1 November 1679. Punished for misbehaviour 3 July 1707, and demoted to status of *figlia di comun*, but reinstated 27 Nov 1707. Confirmed in *coro* 4 Dec 1707. Elected *maestra* 2 June 1715. Died from breast cancer 28 May 1726. Teacher of Michielina II. Solo parts in Gasparini oratorios 1702-1703. Mentioned in Coronelli 1706 and 1713.

Chiara I. Instrument/voice not ascertained. Born 1637 or 1638. *Maestra*. Died 21 Apr 1716, aged 78.

Chiara II (Chiaretta). Violinist, soprano, organist and player of the viola d'amore. Scaffetta P 9782. Admitted 21 Apr 1718, aged 2 months. Entered *coro* c.1727. Active initially as violinist (succeeding Anna Maria I as principal violin in concertos), then as solo singer. Began study of organ 1742. Made *figlia privilegiata* 23 Aug 1754. Elected *maestra* 30 July 1762. Died from “febvre catarale” 23 Oct 1796. Took unnamed pupils for violin (2), singing (1) and organ (1). Violin concertos composed for her by Vivaldi (RV 222, 372a, 787, 792, 794 and RV Anh. 91); viola d'amore concertos by Johann Baptist Runker, Antonio Martinelli and Lorenzo Morini “detto il Reggiano”; organ concertos by Fulgenzio Perotti. Solo soprano parts in RV 609 (?1739), RV 611 (1739), Gennaro D'Alessandro's *Il coro delle muse* (1740) and sacred works by Nicola Porpora. Mentioned in Anon. 1730, Broses and Gradenigo. Blind at time of death.

Claudia. Cellist, horn player. Born 1708 or 1709. *Maestra* at time of death. Died from “febvre, dolori e vomito” and “malattia nel ventricolo” 27 Nov 1781, aged 72.

Clemenza I (Clementia, Clementina). Violinist. Permitted to spend 15 days with her mother Diamante Palimeni in the country 21 July 1700. Confirmed in *coro* 4 Dec 1707. Granted 2 extra measures of oil weekly 7 Oct 1729.

Clemenza II (Clementia). Violist. Confirmed in *coro* 4 Dec 1707. Granted sick leave 21 Apr 1730.

Cornelia. Instrument/voice not ascertained. *Maestra* by 8 Sept 1709, when made *sagrestana*.

Cristina (Crestina) Maria. Violist, singer. Scaffetta O 4667. Born July 1708. Disciplined on 17 Mar 1730 for insubordination. Petitioned successfully for pardon 27 Sept 1730. Married Domenico Lorenzo Verona, wigmaker, at the Church of the Reformati di S. Bonaventura, 13 Sept 1747. Teacher of Teresa. Elected copyist along with Meneghina 17 Apr 1733. Viola part in RV 789 (1739).

Diana. Contralto. Scaffetta I 1229. Born 3 July 1678. Confirmed in *coro* 4 Dec 1707. Died from "febre maligna and infiamatione" 30 Sept 1715.

Dianora. Instrumentalist. Performed at S. Francesco della Vigna 22 Sept 1712. Listed as *coro* member 24 May 1718. Confirmed in *coro* 23 Aug 1720.

Febronia. Violist. Born 1706 or 1707. Put on special diet (of chicken) 30 Jan 1735. Granted 2 *corbette* 20 Dec 1743. *Figlia privilegiata* by 1746. Elected *maestra* 13 Dec 1748. Had Gratia Montagna as *figlia in educazione* 20 Mar 1748. Died from "febbre e disenteria" and "sfacello negl'intestini" 3 Sept 1782, aged 75. *Scrivana* at time of death.

Felicita. Contralto. Born 1700 or 1701. Died from "febbre acuta e attacco di petto", having been "inferma da molti anni", 29 Dec 1781, aged 80.

Fiandra. Instrument/voice not ascertained. Born c.1665. Died from "flussion cattaral nel petto finalmente con appostema nel medesimo", having been "inferma di più anni", 20 Nov 1735, aged c.70.

Fiorenza. Violinist. Scaffetta P 2239. Born and admitted 31 Mar 1712. Put on special diet (of chicken) 1 Feb 1740. *Maestra* at time of death. Died from "appoplezia" 17 Feb 1796.

Fortunata I. Soprano, later contralto. Scaffetta P 1335. Admitted 13 November 1710, aged 6 months. Disciplined on 17 Mar 1730 for insubordination. Petitioned successfully for pardon 27 Sept 1730. Given spinet for own use 27 Apr 1740. Elected *maestra* 23 Aug 1754. Made *figlia privilegiata* 8 May 1761, but had acted as unofficial tutor to a *figlia in educazione*, Gerolema Fossetti, already in 1746. Died from "febre e cancrena

universale" 19 November 1774. Solo parts in RV 609 (?1739), Gennaro D'Alessandro's *Il coro delle Muse* (1740), oratorios by Andrea Bernasconi, Gaetano Latilla's *Miserere* (c.1760) etc. Mentioned in Anon. 1730.

Fortunata II. Instrument/voice not ascertained. Scaffetta Q 2620. Born 1723. Allowed to marry Giovanni Battista Romanello 7 Oct 1742 in the Church of the Pietà.

Fortunata III. Organist. Scaffetta Q 3151. Born 25 Nov 1724, admitted 25 Jan 1725. Taught rudiments of music by Maria Fortunata. Later *maestra*.

Francesca I. Possibly organist. Born 1666 or 1667. Already *maestra* when appointed *portinara* 8 Sept 1709. Later *priora*. Died from "Appoplezia", having been ill for 10 years, 8 July 1760, aged 93.

Francesca II (Checca, Chechina). Soprano. Born 1722 or 1723. Died from "marasma senile" 23 Nov 1806, aged 83. Pupil of Maria Fortunata. Solo part in Gaetano Latilla's *Miserere* (c.1760). Mentioned in Gradenigo. *Maestra di coro* by Sept 1783.

Geltruda. Contralto, theorbist and violist. Scaffetta L 526. Born 28 Oct 1684. Confirmed in *coro* 4 Dec 1707. Granted 2 extra measures of oil weekly 7 Oct 1729. Elected *maestra* 19 Aug 1735. Died "inferma d'anni tre d'accaduta appoletica" 19 Jan 1752. *Scrivana* at time of death. Solo parts in RV 643 (1714), RV 625 and Giovanni Porta's *Il ritratto dell'eroe* (1726). Mentioned in Anon. 1730 and Nemeitz.

Giulia I. Organist. Born 1685 or 1686. Confirmed in *coro* 4 Dec 1707. Granted 2 extra measures of oil weekly 7 Oct 1729. Elected *maestra di coro* 17 Mar 1730. Granted 2 *corbette* weekly 1744. Died from "tumore nel fegato" 19 Oct 1763, aged 77. Had as *figlie in educazione* Teresa Minotto, Maddalena Manzoni and Elisabetta Pregnolato. A "Giulia", possibly the same person, took a solo contralto part in RV 644 (1716).

Giulia II (Giulietta). Soprano. Born 1707 or 1708. Made *figlia privilegiata* 17 Jan 1739. Died from a head injury sustained when she fell out of bed 24 Dec 1783, aged 75. Teacher of Maria Rosa. Had as *figlie in educazione* Mariana Zochi, Teresa Nadalina Zochi and Caterina Zorzi. Solo parts in RV 609 (?1739), Giovanni Porta's *Il ritratto dell'eroe* (1726), Gennaro D'Alessandro's *Il coro delle Muse* (1740) and sacred works by Nicola Porpora and Andrea Bernasconi. Mentioned in Anon. 1730.

Innocentia. Instrument/voice not ascertained. Married Francesco Scumartz at the Pietà 26 Dec 1707.

Isabella. Singer. Confirmed in *coro* 23 Aug 1720.

Lauretta. Singer and instrumentalist. Listed as having as *figlia in educazione* Teresa Gradenigo 29 Apr 1740. Alive c.1811.

Leonilda. Soprano. Born 1724 or 1725. Made *figlia privilegiata* 27 Mar 1757. Succeeded Anna Maria I as *maestra di coro* 1782. *Priora* by 24 May 1783. Died from breast cancer and “marasma universale” 18 Dec 1783, aged 58. *Priora* at time of death.

Lorenza. Viola. Born 1698 or 1699. Confirmed in *coro* 4 Dec 1707 and 23 Aug 1720. Died from “mal di petto” 9 Jan 1763, aged 64. Viola parts in RV 604 (1739), RV 787 (c.1738), RV Anh. 91 (c.1738) etc.

Lucieta I. Singer. Born 1649 or 1650. Entered *coro* 20 July 1687 Died from “colpo appopletico” 13 Apr 1717, aged 67. Sang in Giacomo Spada’s *Santa Maria egizziaca penitente* (1687). Mentioned in *Pallade veneta* in Aug 1687.

Lucieta II. Organist and violist. Born 1676 or 1677. Granted permission to go out to make her devotions in Oct 1694. Confirmed in *coro* 4 Dec 1707. Made *figlia privilegiata* 5 June 1707. Elected *maestra* 7 July 1709. Made *scrivana* 8 Sept 1709. Granted 2 extra measures of oil weekly 7 Oct 1729. Died from “mal di petto” 4 Mar 1757, aged 80. Had as *figlia in educazione* Geronima Molin. Organ part in RV 779 (c.1709). Possibly the composer of a *Tantum ergo*.

Lucieta III. Player of transverse flute. Born 1707. Elected *maestra* 21 May 1755. Had as *figlie in educazione* Gioseppa Canonici and Teresa Zochi. Antonio Martinelli composed at least one flute concerto for her.

Lugrezia I. Contralto/Tenor. Born c.1664. Granted permission to go out to make her devotions in 1694. Elected *maestra* 7 July 1709. Made *scrivana* in 1709 and retained this post until her retirement in Jan 1735. Granted *Piatanza d’Infermaria* 18 Feb 1714. Granted 7 extra measures of oil weekly 7 Oct 1729. Died from “mal di petto” 21 Dec 1736, aged c.72. Sang in Giacomo Spada’s *Santa Maria egizziaca penitente* (1687). Mentioned in *Pallade veneta* in Aug, Sept and Oct 1687.

Lugrezia II. Singer. Born 1705 or 1706. Put on diet of ass’s milk for 4 months 7 June 1754. Died from “febbre periodica remittente, delirio, con flusso epatico” 1 Nov 1782, aged 76.

Madalena I. Soprano. Born 1676 or 1677. Entered *coro* 20 July 1687. Elected *maestra* after 1718. Granted *Piatanza d’Infermaria* 18 Feb 1714. Died from “Inflammation” 1 Jan 1728, aged 50.

Madalena II (“Madalena Rossa”). Theorbist, lutenist and violinist. Scaffetta H 2389. Born 20 Aug 1674, admitted 27 Aug 1674. Entered *coro* 20 July 1687. Violin bow bought for her via Vivaldi (as “Madalena Rossa”) 21 May 1706.

Made *figlia privilegiata* 5 June 1707. Married Lodovico Ertman (Ludwig Erdmann) at the Salute 27 Nov 1710. Died 12 Nov 1747 in Florence. Had as *figlia in educazione* Angiola Salvi. Mentioned in Coronelli 1706 and Susier. Erdmann (1683-1759), whose father was a bodyguard to the Elector of Prussia, was appointed as teacher of oboe and other wind instruments at the Pietà in 1707 but left during the next year, joining the Medici court at Florence in 1709. To marry Madalena, he had first to convert to Catholicism; Grand Duke Cosimo III reportedly had to intercede with the Doge himself before permission for the marriage was granted.

Madalena III (Madalenetta). Violinist. Born 1677 or 1678. Entered *coro* 20 July 1687. Granted *Piatanza d'Infermaria* 18 Feb 1714. Elected *maestra* 21 Dec 1725. Granted 2 extra measures of oil weekly 7 Oct 1729. Died "inferma d'anni due d'appoplezia" 31 Dec 1738, aged 60.

Madalena IV. Contralto. Born 1662 or 1663. Entered *coro* 20 July 1687. Listed as *coro* member 24 May 1718. Elected *maestra* 11 July 1721. Died 30 Oct 1748, aged 50.

Marcolina I. Violinist. Born c.1649. Granted permission to go out to make her devotions in Oct 1694. Violin bought for her via Vivaldi July 1708. Confirmed as *maestra* 7 July 1709. Granted 5 *cazzette* of oil weekly 15 Apr 1715. *Maestra di coro* by 1718. Died from "mal di petto" 5 Mar 1730, aged c.81.

Marcolina II. Instrument/voice not ascertained. Born c.1701. Died from "febbre acuta e affanno suffocativo" 11 Sept 1781, aged c.80.

Margherita I (Margarita, Malgarita). Soprano. Confirmed as *maestra* 7 July 1709. Not listed as a *coro* member 24 May 1718.

Margherita II (Margarita, Malgarita). Soprano. Scaffetta P 1007. Born 2 Aug 1718 and admitted 11 Sept 1718. *Maestra* at time of death. Served as *priora*. Died "decombente da più anni, per colici dolori" 16 Oct 1810. Entered *coro* c.1720. Solo parts in RV 609 (?1739), Gennaro D'Alessandro's *Il coro delle Muse* (1740) and Gaetano Latilla's *Miserere* (c.1760).

Maria I. Instrument/voice not ascertained. Born 1666 or 1667. Elected *maestra* 7 July 1709. Died from "Idrope" 28 June 1737, aged 70.

Maria II. Viola. Born 1681 or 1682. Confirmed in *coro* 4 Dec 1707. Performed at S. Francesco della Vigna 22 Sept 1712. Viola bought for her via Vivaldi Dec 1713. Elected *maestra* 21 Dec 1725. Granted 2 extra measures of oil weekly 7 Oct 1729. Died from "piaga nell'utero" 6 Nov 1755, aged 73. Pupil of Teresa II. Viola part in RV 786.

Maria III. Singer. Granted 2 extra measures of oil weekly 7 Oct 1729.

Maria Arcangela. Violinist. Scaffetta Q 461. Born and admitted 18 Nov 1719. Still living 1797.

Maria Fortunata (Maria Bolognese). Violinist, soprano and organist. Scaffetta O 2976. Born 16 Feb 1706. Began study of music aged 6, initially as violinist. Sang in *coro* from 1729. Made *figlia privilegiata* 4 Mar 1743. Elected *maestra* 31 May 1748. Became *maestra di coro* 2 Dec 1763. Retired from *coro* 17 Sept 1794. Died from "marasma senile" 16 Apr 1796. Taught Fortunata fundamentals of music and Francesca II singing. Organ teacher of Ospedaletto *figlia* Regina Martinoni from 1777 to c.1780. Had as *figlie in educazione* Maria Costa, Lugretia Manin, Angela Pullieri and Vittoria Vicenza Roccolini. A volume of organ pieces and a book of parts for first violin bear her name. Solo parts in RV 611 (1739), Giovanni Porta's *Il ritratto dell'eroe* (1726) and Gennaro D'Alessandro's *Il coro delle Muse* (1740). Mentioned in Anon. 1730 and Keyser.

Maria Rosa. Violinist. Scaffetta Q 1593. Born c.1720. Active as auxiliary copyist 1736. Married Bortolo Benedetto Alessandrini, "spedizionero della Doana", shortly before 29 May 1748. Teacher of Anna. A "Maria Rosa" mentioned as a singing pupil of Giulia II (Giulietta) on 2 Aug 1734 is possibly the same person.

Marianna (Mariana, Marina). Contralto. Born c.1709. In *coro* from 1727 or 1728. Elected *maestra* 17 Mar 1758. Died from "appostema nella testa" 27 Oct 1780, aged c.71. Had previously taught 2 unnamed *figlie* at time of promotion to *maestra*. Solo parts in Nicola Porpora's *Regina caeli* (1742) and Gaetano Latilla's *Miserere* (c.1760). Mentioned in Anon. 1730.

Marina I. Singer. Mentioned in Coronelli 1706 and 1713.

Marina II. Singer and instrumentalist. Scaffetta P 2273. Born 17 Apr 1712, admitted 20 Apr 1712. Died from "marasma senile" 8 Feb 1798. Described as "inabile" in 1794.

Marta. Violist. Born c.1657. Granted permission to go out to make her devotions in Oct 1694. Confirmed as *maestra* 7 July 1709. Granted 2 extra measures of oil weekly 7 Oct 1729. Died from "iterica universale e fatta idropicca" 1 Sept 1735, aged c.78.

Meneghina I. Violinist. Born 1658. Granted permission to go out to make her devotions in 1694. Confirmed as *maestra* 7 July 1709. Elected *priora* 2 June 1715. *Maestra di coro* by 24 May 1718. Made *figlia privilegiata* 15 May 1718. Granted 2 extra measures of oil weekly 7 Oct 1729. Died from "mal di petto" 27 Jan 1730, aged 57.

Meneghina II. Violist and singer. Born 1688 or 1689. Confirmed in *coro* 4 Dec 1707. Granted 2 extra measures of oil weekly 7 Oct 1729. Elected *maestra* 20

Dec 1743. Held responsibility “sopra li lenzuoli della casa” 1738. Died from “caduta appopletica” 24 Dec 1761, aged 72. Singing teacher of Anna Negri, who belonged to a group of six young singers recruited and trained in Italy in preparation for service in the Saxon Hofkapelle at Dresden, from 1724 to 1730. A “Maestra Meneghina”, serving “al confesso”, was stripped of her titles and privileges and permanently demoted to the status of a *figlia del comun* on 9 June 1752 for maltreating a child in her care. This would appear to be a different person from the 2 other *maestre* of the same name living at the same time, whose careers in the *coro* were uninterrupted, so far as one can tell.

Meneghina III. Violinist. Born 1706. Described as “capo delle copiste” 12 Aug 1736. Made *figlia privilegiata* 23 May 1755. Elected *maestra* 20 Dec 1759. Because of the imminent construction of the new church (S. Maria della Pietà), Oliva II had to move into Meneghina’s room, which, according to a report dated 8 June 1744, caused friction between these 2 *figlie*. Died from “Asma umorale” 10 Aug 1787, aged 70. Named “Domenica” in death register.

Michielina I. Violinist. Born c.1674. Entered *coro* 20 July 1687. Made *figlia privilegiata* 5 June 1707. Confirmed in *coro* 4 Dec 1707. Elected *maestra* 2 June 1715. Made *figlia privilegiata* before 15 May 1718. Granted 7 extra measures of oil weekly 7 Oct 1729. *Maestra di coro* by 30 Oct 1732. Granted *corbetta* every 2 days, all year round, 14 Mar 1735, following a fall that confined her to her room. Died from “tocco di appoplessiare” 17 Dec 1736, aged c.62. Had as *figlia in educazione* a daughter of Nicolò Donado. Composer, under the name of “Maestra Michaela”, of a *Litanie per la Novena*, a *Vexilla regis*, a *Pange lingua*, and an *Ecce nunc piena a cappella*. Brought up Bianca Maria.

Michielina II. Organist.

Michielina III. Contralto. Born 1685 or 1686. Died 18 Nov 1766, aged 80. Pupil of Cecilia II, then (after 1707) of Pelegrina. Solo part in RV 643 (1714). Had as *figlie in educazione* Giovanna Donà, Concetta Piatti, Giovanna Maria Teresa Piacentini and Caterina Segati. Mentioned in Anon. 1730.

Oliva I. Soprano. Scaffetta G 1704. Born c.1666. Confirmed in *coro* 4 Dec 1707. Married Sgualdo Sgualdin in the Ducal church of San Marco 28 Dec 1709.

Oliva II. See entry for Meneghina III. Granted 2 extra measures of oil weekly 7 Oct 1729.

Orsetta. Soprano. Re-admitted 1722 as a *figlia di ritorno*. Given special permission to enter the *coro* (thus by-passing the usual regulations covering such *figlie*). Fl. 1722-c.1750.

Ortensia. Viola. Born 1655 or 1656. Confirmed as *maestra* 7 July 1709. Taught Candida. Died from “mal di petto” 26 Feb 1730, aged 74.

Pasqueta. Soprano. Born 1689 or 1690. Confirmed in *coro* 4 Dec 1707. Granted 2 extra measures of oil weekly 7 Oct 1729. Elected *maestra* 20 Dec 1743. Died from “mal di petto” 25 Dec 1767, aged 77. Served as a spinet tuner 1738.

Pastina. Soprano. Made *figlia privilegiata* 5 June 1707. *Maestra* around same time. Solo part in Gasparini's *Prima culpa per redemptionem* (1702).

Paulina I (Paolina). Player of cello (“viola”). Born c.1655. Granted permission to go out to make her devotions in 1694. Confirmed as *maestra* 7 July 1709, when made *sagrestana*. Listed as *portinara* 1722, when suspended from grade of *maestra*, position of *portinara* and all privileges for unclear misdemeanours. In 1723 reinstated in all functions except that of *portinara*. Granted 2 extra measures of oil weekly 7 Oct 1729. Listed as “vecchia et impotente” 17 Aug 1735. Died from “caduta apoplectica della testa” 22 Oct 1740, aged c.85.

Paulina II (Paolina). Tenor. Born c.1672. In 1699 asked permission to marry, but told that she must first have 2 pupils that she had trained to take her place. 30 Sept 1703 asked permission to enter a convent, but evidently did not. Confirmed in *coro* 4 Dec 1707. Elected honorific *maestra* 24 June 1730 “in età ben avanzata”. Died from “caduta popletica con mal maligno” 20 May 1748, aged c.76. Sang in Giacomo Spada's *Santa Maria egizziaca penitente* (1687). Mentioned in *Pallade veneta* in Aug 1687.

Pelegrina. Oboist and player of violone. Scaffetta I 1104. Born 8 May 1678. Entered Pietà 16 May 1678. Entered *coro* 23 April 1690. Pupil of Cattarina. Confirmed in *coro* 7 Mar 1707. Made *figlia privilegiata* 5 June 1707. Granted *Piatanza d'Infermaria* 18 Feb 1714. Elected *maestra* after 24 May 1718 but before 3 Oct 1729. Granted 2 extra measures of oil weekly 7 Oct 1729. Served as *spiciera*. Died from “mal di petto” 7 Aug 1754, aged 76. Teacher of Anna Maria II, Metilde and Michielina II. Inherited money from Cattarina after the latter's marriage to Bernardo Zambelli. Had as *figlie in educazione* Anna Maderni, Maria Antonia Michiellini, Cecilia Morato, Agata Elisabetta Sechielavi and Anna Flaminia Vinanti. Solo oboe part in RV 779 (c.1709).

Perina. Violinist and player of violone. Scaffetta Q 1920. Born and admitted 26 Aug 1722. Died from “disenteria” 2 Sept 1796.

Perpetua. Listed as *figlia* 24 May 1718. No other details known.

Placida. Contralto. Born 1707 or 1708. Died from “marasma senile” 11 Apr 1792 “doppo molti anni d'infermità”, aged 84. In *coro* from 1719 or 1720 as a ripieno singer. Elected *maestra* 8 May 1761. *Maestra* “al confesso” 1 Feb 1778.

In 1758 she had for many years been responsible for keeping in order the young girls (“figlie principianti”) and for giving starting notes to singers.

Prudenza. Violinist and contralto. Scaffetta I 4237. Natural daughter of Marco Dandolo. Born and admitted 15 Nov 1681. Granted permission to go out to make her devotions in Oct 1694. Confirmed in *coro* 7 Mar 1707. Made *figlia privilegiata* 5 June 1707. In 1708 had as *figlia in educazione* Aurora Marcello. Petitioned successfully to be allowed to take vows as a nun 15 Sept 1709, but married Giovanni Battista Morotti, one of the Pietà’s governors, 14 Dec 1709. Morotti received her dowry 1 Jan 1710. Pupil of Angelica. Solo parts in Gasparini oratorios 1701-1703. Solo violin part in RV 779 (c.1709). Mentioned in Coronelli 1706 as a soprano as well as a player of the violin and *violoncello inglese*. She also played the *angelica* (a kind of lute), which is mentioned in her dowry, so a theorbo-playing “Prudenza” mentioned in Nemeitz may be the same person. Another “Prudenza” active as a singer around 1690 is certainly different.

Rosa. Confirmed as *maestra* 7 July 1709. Not listed as *coro* member 24 May 1718. No other details known. Listed as *portinara* 1722, when suspended from grade of *maestra*, position of *portinara* and all privileges for unclear misdemeanours. In 1723 reinstated in all functions except that of *portinara*.

Rosana I. Violinist. Born c.1666. Elected *maestra* 2 June 1715. Granted 2 extra measures of oil weekly 7 Oct 1729. Died from “*accaduta apopletica*” 8 May 1746, aged c.80.

Rosana II. Organist. Born 1684 or 1685. Confirmed in *coro* 4 Dec 1707. Granted 2 extra measures of oil weekly 7 Oct 1729. Elected *maestra* 19 Aug 1735. Died of breast cancer 28 Sept 1759, aged 74. Had as *figlie in educazione* Margarita Giovanna Del Bianco, Marianna Labia, Bettina Manzoni and Giustiniana Francesca Antonia Wynne (daughter of Sir Richard Wynne).

Samaritana. Violinist. Born in 1725 or 1726. Served as copyist. Married Matteo Passarin, a waiter, at the Church of the Pietà on 29 May 1748. The governors opposed the marriage and withheld the customary dowry. After her marriage she continued to act as an occasional copyist for the Pietà and accommodated *figlie* sent to her to recover their health.

Santina Giustina. Singer. Scaffetta P 5283. Born and admitted 20 May 1715. Imprisoned at the Pietà for an indefinite period 9 Apr 1734 for conducting an illicit affair with Antonio Tasca, whom she married 30 May 1734 after he had petitioned the governors. Singer of Giovanni Porta’s motet *Aure, tacete*. Sketched by Anton Maria Zanetti with the caption “Santina dalla Pietà, presentemente moglie del Tasca”.

Santina (Santinetta). Violinist and cellist. Born 1702 or 1703. Died from “*colpo apopletico*” 15 May 1789, aged 86. Pupil of Anna Maria I. The name

“Santina” has been added to six concertos in Anna Maria’s book containing solo violin parts (I-Vc). A volume for a “Santina dal Violoncello” survives. Mentioned in Anon. 1730.

Sidonia. Mentioned as an unsuccessful applicant to take a *figlia in educazione* 15 May 1718. Not listed as a *coro* member 24 May 1718. No other details known.

Silvia I (“Grande”). Violinist. Born c.1678. Granted permission to go out to make her devotions in 1694. Confirmed in *coro* 4 Dec 1707. Elected *maestra* 19 Aug 1735. Died from “caduta appopletica” 13 Feb 1743, aged c.65.

Silvia II (“Piccolo”). Soprano. Born 1650. *Maestra* by 8 Sept 1709, when made *sagrestana di fuori*. Made *figlia privilegiata* and given a *figlia in educazione* 15 May 1718. Later had as *figlia in educazione* Annetta Manzoni. Solo parts in Gasparini oratorios 1701-1703 and RV 644 (1716). Mentioned in Coronelli 1706 and 1713. Died from “Mal di Petto” 3 Mar 1725.

Soprana I. Contralto. Born c.1672. Confirmed in *coro* 4 Dec 1707. Given permission to enter the convent of S. Giovanni in Cività Nova 27 Apr 1710 and went there the following month. Before leaving received special tuition in *canto fermo* from Rev. Nadal Betinaro for 3 months. Returned to the Pietà Aug 1710. Elected *maestra* between 19 Aug 1735 and 11 Jan 1737, when she became a *figlia privilegiata*. Died from “mal di petto e infiamazon” 12 Oct 1749, aged c.77. Had as *figlia in educazione* Marianna Manetti. Solo parts in Gasparini’s *Iubilum prophetarum* (1703) and RV 643 (1714).

Soprana II. Soprano. Born 1718 or 1719. Made *figlia privilegiata* 3 Jan 1752. Died from “marasma senile” 3 May 1789, aged 70. Had as *figlia in educazione* Maria Lugrezia Grapin. Solo part in Bonaventura Furlanetto’s *Mors Adam* (1777).

Stella I. Theorbist. Born 1677 or 1678. Granted permission to go out to make her devotions in Oct 1694. Made *figlia privilegiata* 5 June 1707. Confirmed in *coro* 4 Dec 1707. Confirmed as *maestra* 7 July 1709. Served as copyist before 1730. *Scrivana* in 1740. Died from “iddropesia di petto” 28 June 1763, aged 85. Had as *figlie in educazione* Chiara Candida Francheschini, Mattia Domenica Nadcovich, Eleonora Papafava and Anzola Zuanna Santa.

Stella II. Organist. Born 1648 or 1649. *Maestra* by 1694. 1 Sept 1697 awarded “Pane con titolo di marende”. Listed as *coro* member 24 May 1718. Granted 2 extra measures of oil weekly 7 Oct 1729. Died from “Idropisia” 27 Jan 1731, aged 82.

Susanna. Violinist (and oboist?). Scaffetta L 3767. Born 17 Aug 1688 and baptised Gerolema Tersa Susanna, admitted 20 Aug 1688. Confirmed in *coro* 4

Dec 1707. Violins bought for her via Vivaldi Apr 1704 and Oct 1713. 5 June 1730 given permission to wed Francesco Bertozzo, whom she married on the Island of S. Elena on 25 June 1730. Mentioned in Nemeitz. A "Susanna dall'oboe", possibly the same person, is reported as active in 1726.

Tecla. Contralto. Singer of motets c.1740. No other details known.

Teresa I. Soprano, later alto. Born 1706 or 1707. Pupil of Agata. Solo parts in Gennaro D'Alessandro's *Il coro delle Muse* and Nicola Porpora's *Regina caeli* (1742).

Teresa II (Tersetta). Cellist, violist and singer. Scaffetta Q 1162. Born 3 Aug 1721. Given leave (under the name of Teodora Teresa Francesca Maria) to marry Tomaso Navager 11 Aug 1747. This marriage did not take place. Married Leopoldo Maria Rodella, "Deputato all'Extraordinario alla Dogana da Mar", at the oratorio "in campo alli Gesuiti" 6 Oct 1751, this time adopting the name of Giulia Canziana Teresa. Pupil of Cristina. Taught viola to Maria II and Anna, and singing to Narcisa. Solo cello parts in RV 787, 788 and RV Anh. 91.

Veneranda. Cellist. Scaffetta Q 3132. Born 9 Nov 1724, admitted 9 Jan 1725. *Maestra* by 12 Feb 1778, when described as *maestra dispensiera*. Living in 1794.

Vittoria. Tenor. Born 1662 or 1663. Confirmed in *coro* 4 Dec 1707. Listed as *coro* member 24 May 1718. Granted 2 extra measures of oil weekly 7 Oct 1729. Possibly identical with a "Maestra Vittoria" who died 11 July 1746. Solo part in Gasparini's *Iubilum prophetarum* (1703).

Zanetta. Singer. Born c.1666. Imprisoned for misbehaviour in 1687. Granted permission to go out to make her devotions in Sept and Oct 1694. Elected *maestra* after Sept 1694. Listed as *dispensiera* 1711. Died of "febre maligna e infiamation" 8 Aug 1722, aged c.56. Made *figlia privilegiata* 5 June 1707. Confirmed as *maestra* 7 July 1709. Had as *figlia in educazione* Madalena Bollini.

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¹ G. CECCHETTO, *L'archivio di Santa Maria della Pietà a Venezia. Risultanze della prima fase dell'ordinamento*, in *Economia e società nella storia dell'Italia contemporanea. Fonti e metodi di ricerca*, ed. A. LAZZARINI, Istituto per le ricerche di storia sociale e di storia religiosa, Rome, 1983, pp.127-141.

² I must record here my sincerest thanks to Antonio Tommaseo, the Institute's former director, and Anna Maria Miraglia, the president, for their help in these endeavours.

³ M. TALBOT, *A Vivaldi Discovery at the Conservatorio "Benedetto Marcello"*, "Informazioni e studi vivaldiani", 3, 1982, pp.3-12.

⁴ F.S. TANENBAUM, *The Partbook Collection from the Ospedale della Pietà and the Sacred Music of Giovanni Porta*, unpublished dissertation, 2 vols, New York University, 1993.

⁵ Names of singers are frequently added by hand to the librettos in the Raccolta Carvalhaes held at the Conservatorio di Musica di "Santa Cecilia", Rome.

⁶ Similarly, the autograph manuscripts of sacred vocal works written for the Pietà by Porpora and Latilla contain many such annotations, as shown in sources held by the British Library.

⁷ It is intended to make good this lack in a series of articles dealing with individual *figlie di coro*, the first of which is to be a biographical and musical study of the famous Anna Maria (c.1696-1782), written in collaboration with Michael Talbot.

⁸ Archivio di Stato di Venezia, Ospedali e luoghi pii diversi, B. 348. It is uncertain whether the nine *maestre di coro* to whom non-musical *cariche* were assigned counted for statistical purposes as active members of the *coro*. If not, the effective strength of the *coro* in 1718 may well have well been close to the 42 prescribed by ordinance.

⁹ The reasons why the infants were entrusted to the Pietà were various. Illegitimacy was certainly the main cause, but poverty and birth defect (as exemplified by Agata) were other possible causes.

Note biografiche sulle «Figlie di coro» della Pietà contemporanea di Vivaldi

Micky White

Recenti scoperte di documenti riguardanti le «Figlie di coro» dell'Ospedale della Pietà - in particolare dei registri conservati presso l'Istituto Provinciale per l'Infanzia Santa Maria della Pietà di Venezia - rendono possibile per la prima volta di intraprendere uno studio sistematico delle loro biografie. Limitandosi a quelle «figlie di coro» l'attività delle quali coincise sicuramente con il periodo della collaborazione di Vivaldi con la Pietà, questo studio offre un catalogo alfabetico di 124 musiciste. La quantità di informazioni che può essere ottenuta e commentata varia considerevolmente da una persona all'altra, ma questa disuguaglianza spesso riflette la casualità della conservazione dei documenti relativi, più che l'importanza della «figlia di coro» considerata. Il catalogo comprende l'indicazione dei riferimenti letterari alle musiciste e delle opere di Vivaldi e di altri compositori da loro eseguite. In un'introduzione l'autrice fornisce informazioni sul contesto (per esempio: sulla *scaffetta*; sull'ambiente e sui nomi delle «figlie»; sulla loro promozione al grado di «maestra»), che aiutano ad interpretare i dati. Alcuni fatti interessanti emergono dal catalogo, come la sorprendente longevità delle «figlie di coro» e la loro singolare versatilità di musiciste. Tra di loro ci furono addirittura alcune compositrici, le cui opere sopravvivono, anche se in forma frammentaria.

Il catalogo dimostra chiaramente la possibilità di intraprendere in futuro studi dettagliati sulle più importanti «figlie di coro», quali Anna Maria, Maria la Bolognese, Apollonia e Chiaretta.

A New Vivaldi Cantata in Vienna

*Olivier Fourés and Michael Talbot**

The last couple of years have been very encouraging for those who still dream of making new discoveries of music by Vivaldi. Following closely on the heels of the recent discoveries of the “Bergamo” sonata in D major for violin and continuo, RV 798, and some interesting new sources for known works, in particular the Concerto in C major for two flutes, RV 533, we are pleased to report that another new work by Vivaldi, more significant in artistic terms than the sonata and also much more interesting in its wider implications, has turned up: Olivier Fourés came across it in Vienna on 10 February 1999.¹

This time, it is the vocal domain that has acquired a new piece: the cantata for soprano and continuo *Tremori al braccio e lagrime sul ciglio*. Peter Ryom has already assigned to this cantata the number RV 799, and it is due to appear this year in an edition by Francesco Degrada published by Ricordi for the Istituto Italiano Antonio Vivaldi in the series *Nuova edizione critica delle opere di Antonio Vivaldi*.²

The sole known source of the cantata is a manuscript preserved in the library of the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, Vienna, under the shelfmark VI 61340. The manuscript is a calligraphic non-autograph copy, except for one certainly autograph inscription that takes the form of an alteration of the tempo marking for the second movement (from “Largo” to “And:^{te}”). Significantly, the three horizontal strokes deleting the old marking, and the new marking written above it, are in the same ink-colour as the rest of the manuscript, which reinforces the impression that this is a “supervised” manuscript – a manuscript written in the composer’s presence and checked by him.³ The copyist is the celebrated “Scribe 4” (in Paul Everett’s catalogue of scribal hands), who is generally identified with the composer’s father, Giovanni Battista Vivaldi.⁴ This same copyist was responsible for the manuscripts of ten other cantatas by Vivaldi today preserved in the Biblioteca Nazionale, Turin (RV 651, 652, 653, 654, 658, 659, 665, 666, 669 and 680), which provides strong confirmation of the authenticity of the present composition.⁵

The copy is written in dark brown ink on paper of the “three crescents” (“tre lune”) variety manufactured in the Venetian state. Ten staves have been ruled without vertical guidelines on each of its pages in a single rastrum action; these accommodate five two-stave systems (voice and bass) on each notated page. The format is oblong quarto, and the present page dimensions (after trimming) are 21.8 by 29.8 cm. The

four folios are grouped as a *binio* (i.e., a gathering formed by nesting one bifolio inside another).⁶ The last three pages (fols 3v and 4) are void of musical notation; the cantata ends on the lowest system of fol. 3r. As usual, the work is headed by a generic description ("Cantata": fol. 1r, top, centre-left) and a statement of authorship ("Del S.^r D. Ant.^o Viualdi.": centre-right). There is no explicit indication (such as "Fine") of the ending of the cantata, but the three blank pages at the end and the evident completeness of the poetic text leave no room for doubt.

It will be opportune at this point to give incipits for the four movements, which are laid out in the conventional arrangement of two recitative-aria pairs (RARA): the so-called "double cantata".⁷ These are shown as Example 1(a-d). In the incipits the original soprano clef for the voice is replaced by a treble clef.

The first movement, 20 bars long, is headed "Rec.^{uo}". This direction is fairly redundant (*recitativo semplice* can be spotted "a mile off" through its distinctive notation!) but is not uncommon in the manuscripts of Vivaldi's cantatas. Bars 2-4 contain a total of six bass figures – these are almost the only such figures in the whole of the cantata. Because continuo cantatas were accompanied from the score (not infrequently by the singer himself or herself), it was deemed unnecessary to provide a full complement of bass figures. The few figures that one finds are used to resolve ambiguities or dispel uncertainties in the harmonisation. Vivaldi evidently wished to take no chances with the bold, chromatically shifting series of seventh chords in inversion at the start of this recitative. Rather unusually, this opening recitative is tonally closed: it makes its final cadence in G minor, the key established (very briefly) at the opening. This overall tonal stability justifies Vivaldi's use of a key signature (one flat, Dorian-style).

The first aria as notated occupies 43 bars (bars 1-31 recur as the "da capo" reprise). It is in the style of a *lamento* (note the *passus duriusculus*, the chromaticised descending tetrachord, that appears, with decoration, twice in the ritornello and is eventually (in bar 19) taken into the vocal line as well). The tonality is C minor, and once again the key signature is Dorian (two flats).

This key signature is retained in the second, briefer recitative (9 bars), which begins with an E flat chord and cadences finally in D minor.

The second aria returns to the G minor of the first movement. Lasting 38 bars (the "A" section occupies bars 1-27), it is styled as a "pathetic" siciliana.

The poetic text, anonymous as usual in Vivaldi cantatas, is the following (a parallel English translation is provided):

The “dramaturgy” of this text, on the common theme of the timid lover, is utterly conventional. All four stanzas adopt the lyric mode of direct speech: the lover is the poet himself. In stanza 1 (*versi sciolti* for recitative) the poet confesses his bashfulness. Stanza 2 (*versi misurati* for an aria) describes the beloved’s unawareness of the poet’s passion for her. In stanza 3 (*versi sciolti*) the poet steels himself to declare his love at last. Stanza 4 (*versi misurati*), hovering between hope and despair, describes the poet’s feelings at the point finally reached.

We must now consider the date and provenance of the cantata. First, the external evidence. The eight pages of the cantata are numbered 9 to 16 in pencil by a later hand, a clear indication that the composition originally formed part of a larger collection. A little detective work by Olivier Fourés has enabled this collection to be reconstructed. It was made up as follows (the quoted shelfmarks are the current ones of the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde):

pp.1-8	A. Ariosti	Filli gentil, nel tuo bel fior degli anni	VI 44Q2679A
pp.9-16	A. Vivaldi	Tremori al braccio e lagrime sul ciglio	VI 61340
pp.17-26	A. Ariosti	Nice, quella severa amabil ninfa	VI 37Q2679B
pp.27-34	E. d’Astorga	E come, e dove, e quando	VI 61339

The one common feature of these manuscripts is that they were written on similar (but not identical) Italian “tre lune” paper in oblong format. When it was decided to bind them together, the four gatherings were attached with glue and their edges were trimmed (ironically, with the loss of some information that had been written on the same manuscripts by the library itself!) to make the dimensions absolutely uniform. From this one may infer that the cantatas reached Vienna as separate items (though possibly via a single, presumably Italian, source). A stamp on p.1 establishes that the volume containing the four cantatas was in the possession of the library by 1965 at the latest. At that time, it was probably catalogued only under the name of Ariosti, which would explain why it was “missed” by Vivaldi researchers. More recently, the library realised the inappropriateness of keeping the cantatas together and dismembered the volume.

Until the physical characteristics of the manuscript have been examined more closely using Paul Everett’s standardised methods of investigation into paper and rastrography, few firm conclusions can be drawn from non-textual evidence. Textual evidence, however, furnishes important clues to the provenance and, indirectly, to the date.

Let us return to the poetic text of the cantata. The name of the beloved is given there as “Elvira”. This is not a common Arcadian

name, belonging neither to the classical repertory of names (from Virgil, Theocritus etc.) nor to that of Renaissance and later pastoral literature (of Sannazaro, Ariosti, Tasso, Guarini etc.). As we know from Mozart's *Don Giovanni*, it is actually a name with Iberian connections.

It occurred to Michael Talbot that there might be a link between the "Elvira" of RV 799 and that of two further cantatas by Vivaldi, RV 654 and RV 680, both of which are already known to date from the period of Vivaldi's residence in Mantua (1718-1720) and, perhaps not coincidentally, were likewise copied out by "Scribe 4". Gradually, a hypothesis took shape. What if "Elvira" (among other Arcadian or pseudo-Arcadian names) were a coded reference to an identifiable person at the Mantuan court – perhaps a noble lady who attended the *conversazioni* at which cantatas were performed? Or could she be a female singer employed at the court?

There is a strong hint from Vivaldi's own music that members of the court of the governor of Mantua, Prince Philip of Hesse-Darmstadt, possessed "code-names" of this kind. The lost *Serenata a quattro voci*, RV 692, was sung on 31 July 1726, Philip's birthday, by four members of the court: his son Joseph (as "Elpino"), his daughter Theodora (as "Eurilla") and two ladies, Countess Maria Caterina Capilupi Biondi and Countess Margherita Facipecora Pavesi Furlani, as "Fillide" and "Tirsi" respectively. Philip himself is referred to in the text as "Daliso".

"Daliso" (another name of post-Renaissance coinage) crops up again in a couple of Vivaldi's cantatas for solo voice: RV 662 and RV 665. Here again, a link may be made to a specific person – this time, a known one. By extension, one may speculate cautiously whether the "Clori" in RV 665, the "Eurilla" in RV 649, the "Irene" in RV 664, the "Climene" in RV 652, the "Lidia" in RV 653 and the "Tirsi" in RV 649 and RV 659 (the same "Tirsi" as in RV 692?) are not similar cover-names for other real persons. There is even a possibility that cantatas originally written by Vivaldi for Mantua that were later recycled (or whose poetic text was used separately) for other destinations retain vestiges of the same associations.⁸

The next question is: did other composers of cantatas written for the Mantuan court in the period of Philip's governorship (1714-1735) observe the same naming convention? There is at least one cantata that seems to fit the bill: Mauro D'Alay's *Amo Daliso, è ver* (for soprano and continuo).⁹

(D'Alay, who was born in Parma towards the end of the seventeenth century and died there in 1757, was a leading violinist who achieved some recognition as a composer of, first, sonatas and

concertos for his own instrument and, second, cantatas. He achieved a certain notoriety for his companionship of Faustina Bordoni in the years leading up to her marriage to Johann Adolf Hasse in 1730, being lampooned in London as her lover.¹⁰ His path frequently crossed Vivaldi's in Venice during the 1720s: two of the concertos in the partbook containing solo violin parts (of the approximate period 1723–1726) for Anna Maria of the Pietà are his;¹¹ his cantata for Faustina *Son pellegrino errante* is contained in the same volume, dated 1727, in the Staatliche Museen, Meiningen (from the former collection of Duke Anton Ulrich of Saxe-Meiningen), that houses Vivaldi's *Che giova il sospirar, povero core*, RV 679;¹² finally, Vivaldi is known, from a letter of 1728 or 1729, to have frequented Faustina's house in Venice, where he cannot but have encountered D'Alay.¹³

However, most of the known "Daliso" cantatas of the early eighteenth century refer not to Philip of Hesse-Darmstadt but to a person attached to the court of Prince Francesco Maria Ruspoli at Rome. We may first remove from this category a three-voice cantata (or serenata) by Domenico Sarro in the library of the Conservatorio di Musica "San Pietro a Majella", Naples, in which the "Daliso" (partnered by "Eurilla" and "Fileno") is likely to be Don Giacomo Caracciolo (1675-1718), a prelate who joined the Roman Arcadia in 1691 under the pastoral name of "Daliso Enispeo".¹⁴

There exists, however, a very large group of "Daliso" cantatas (numbering well over 20), mostly for two voices and with orchestral accompaniment, that is associated with the Ruspoli household, though whether in connection with its private *conversazioni* or with those of Arcadia (to which Ruspoli offered hospitality) is not yet clear. The poet of the texts for these cantatas may well have been Girolamo Gigli (1660-1722), who was employed by Ruspoli (from 1708 to 1717 or later) as a tutor for his son Bartolomeo, who was born in 1697. The composers include the *maestri di cappella* employed by Ruspoli (Caldara and Gasparini), as well as numerous visiting musicians, among whom we find Handel, Benedetto Marcello, Lotti, Fregiotti and Zipoli.¹⁵ It is noticeable that the female interlocutor (variously called Amarilli, Eurilla, Clori, Irene, Nice and Dori) remains the same for the cantatas of a given year but changes with the arrival of a new year; there is one case, *Daliso, intorno a queste amenissime piaggie*, of a text set twice (in 1710: by Caldara and Marcello respectively).

In this series (which deserves investigation in its own right) the obvious candidate for the name of "Daliso" is Ruspoli's son Bartolomeo, who was a member of Arcadia under the pastoral name of

“Dalgiso Asteronio”. “Dalgiso” is close enough to the more euphonious “Daliso” to make this hypothesis just credible.¹⁶

The point of our lengthy excursus has been to show that there is an important – we suspect largely untapped – topic awaiting investigation: the use of innocent-looking Arcadian names, in cantatas and serenatas, as recurrent cover-names for real people. The implications for the interpretation of poetic texts and (as we have seen) also for dating and authorship are quite enormous. Doubtless, further ideas directly concerning Vivaldi’s cantatas will flow from this approach, but it has wide relevance for the history of the Baroque cantata in general.

We conclude with a few remarks on RV 799 as an artistic “product”. It is outwardly very conventional indeed: unless they are *Sujetkantaten* (Eugen Schmitz’s term) on the pattern of Benedetto Marcello’s famous examples (*Il Timoteo*, *La Cassandra* etc.), Italian cantatas of the late Baroque are much less varied in organisation and movement-structure than, say, sonatas of the same period. Artistic distinction is therefore to be sought in the finer details of the execution of a more or less fixed plan rather than in originality of conception *per se*.

Right from the opening, Vivaldi shows his interest in these “finer details”. What other opening recitative begins with three trilled notes (illustrative of the “tremori al braccio”)? Then there are the dramatic pauses in each of the first four bars and the powerful false relations arising from a modulating cascade of seventh chords. Descending sevenths in the vocal line convey the poet’s despair. Slurred pairs of notes for the dragging of his chains and the mockery of Cupid (repeated for rhetorical emphasis) enliven the later part of the opening recitative. This is no routine setting.

The first aria is composed with equal attention to expression. It is marked by contrapuntal tension between the two obbligato parts and an intensive working-out of motivic material – not excepting the “B” section, where many composers (including, on occasion, Vivaldi himself) like to relax. Wide intervals keep their prominence (which they retain in the last two movements). In this movement Vivaldi is not concerned with the highlighting of individual words (the most extended melismas fall on “core” and “impetrano”, which are among the most neutral words in the text) but succeeds admirably in sustaining an elegiac tone.

The music of the second recitative responds effectively to the poet’s new-found decisiveness and the ardour of his declaration of love; the instant modulation from F minor to G minor that occurs at the

beginning of the fourth line (“Io t’amo”) injects a note of genuine passion.

The languorous second aria is among the best movements of its kind (of which there are very many) in Vivaldi’s vocal music. His momentary escape from the stereotypes of siciliana rhythm to illustrate the word “scherzare” (entailing the fourfold statement of a “twiddle” figure) is especially welcome. Although the texture is deliberately kept simple, there are some pleasing motivic exchanges between voice and bass. The mood of the setting captures the intended ambivalent affect perfectly: the singer is caught between optimism and pessimism, as encapsulated by the phrase “amore o crudeltà”.

One is always tempted to over-rate the value of a newly discovered work, but on this occasion the excitement appears justified. RV 799 was received enthusiastically at its modern première and seems destined, after publication, to win many more friends.¹⁷

Example 1a

Recitativo

Tre - mo - ri al brac - cio e la - gri - me sul ci - gio. So

Example 1b

Andante

Quan - do

Example 1c

Ah no, mia ca - ra El - vi - ra, Ch' u - na fiam - ma si

Example 1d

Largo

Quel - lo che sen - ti, o bel - la, che senti, o

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¹ See M. TALBOT, *A New Vivaldi Sonata and Other Recent Finds*, "Informazioni e studi vivaldiani", 20, 1999, pp.111-131. An even more recent discovery of a new work is reported in the *Miscellany* of the present volume.

² The present article and the edition should be regarded as a collective effort, for which the three parties have pooled their knowledge and ideas. The present authors would also like to record their thanks to Colin Timms for reading a first draft of the article.

³ Francesco Degrada observes in the Critical Notes of his edition that the prescription of a tempo faster than "Largo" may have been Vivaldi's way of making (or even merely implying) a contrast with the second aria, which is likewise marked "Largo".

⁴ See P. EVERETT, *Vivaldi's Italian Copyists*, "Informazioni e studi vivaldiani", 11, 1990, pp.27-86: 33-37, 50-53, 68-69.

⁵ What suggested strongly from the start that "Scribe 4" belonged to Vivaldi's own family was that his hand has been found only in manuscripts of (a) compositions by Vivaldi himself and (b) other compositions once owned by him.

⁶ The *binio* is the "natural" unit of paper in quarto format, since it is produced when the original full sheet is folded twice in opposite directions and the top edges are cut. The average solo sonata or solo cantata (with simple continuo accompaniment) of Vivaldi's time fitted into a single *binio* without trouble.

⁷ "Cantata doppia" is the description given in I. AFFÒ, *Dizionario precettivo, critico ed storico della poesia volgare*, Carmignani, Parma, 1777, p.114. The basic unit is the "cantata semplice" (RA).

⁸ The three later "Irene" cantatas (RV 666, 667 and 669) might have originated thus.

⁹ Darmstadt, Hessische Landesbibliothek, Mus. ms. 1046. The preservation of this cantata in Darmstadt, where Philip returned in 1735, is of course highly significant.

¹⁰ *The Contre-Temps: or, Rival Queens: A Small Farce* (London, 1727). D'Alay appears as "M-u-o" and is described, in the opening list of characters, as "Violino primo to the Queen of Bologna [Faustina], to keep her Majesty's Body in tune".

¹¹ Venice, Conservatorio di Musica "Benedetto Marcello", Fondo Esposti (Correr), B. 55 n. 133, nos. 9 (= RV Anh. 75: anonymous, but concordant in all movements with Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek, Mus. 2653-O-6, which is attributed to D'Alay) and 18.

¹² Max Reger Archiv, Ed 82 hoch b, no. 12.

¹³ See R. ELLER, *Vier Briefe Antonio Vivaldis*, "Informazioni e studi vivaldiani", 10, 1989, pp.5-22: 10.

¹⁴ Shelfmark: Cantate 387. We have not managed to consult this cantata directly, but it appears formerly to have been owned by the Caracciolo family. We would like to thank Carlo Vitali for bringing this work to our attention.

¹⁵ The earliest datable cantata in the series is Handel's *Amarilli vezzosa* (entitled *Il duello amoroso*) of 1708; the latest, Gasparini's *Qui di natura a scorno* of 1717.

¹⁶ Arcadian names are listed comprehensively in A.M. GIORGIETTI VICHI, *Onomasticon. Gli Arcadi dal 1690 al 1800* (Arcadia, Rome, 1977), as well as in G.M. CRESCIMBENI, *La bellezza della volgar poesia* (Basesio, Venice, 1730). The only "Daliso" from the period in question is Giacomo Caracciolo; the only "Dalgiso" is Bartolomeo Ruspoli.

¹⁷ It was included in the programme of a concert at the Fondazione Giorgio Cini on 4 September 1999 marking the fiftieth anniversary of the death of Giorgio Cini. The artists performing in this concert were the Venice Baroque Orchestra, directed from the harpsichord by Andrea Marcon, with the soprano Margherita Tomasi.

Una nuova cantata di Vivaldi a Vienna

Olivier Fourés e Michael Talbot

Una nuova cantata di Vivaldi per soprano e basso continuo *Tremori al braccio e lagrime sul ciglio* (RV 799) è stata scoperta da Olivier Fourés a Vienna nel febbraio 1999. Non sussiste alcun dubbio sull'autenticità della composizione, in quanto il manoscritto, conservato nella biblioteca della Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde di Vienna, è vergato dalla mano dello «Scriba 4», generalmente identificato con il padre del compositore, Giovanni Battista, che si sa aver copiato altre dieci cantate di Vivaldi. Sembra che questa cantata sia sfuggita a precedenti ricerche sulle composizioni vivaldiane, in quanto apparteneva a una raccolta catalogata sotto il nome di un altro dei compositori compresi nel volume, Attilio Ariosti.

Articolata nella sequenza convenzionale di due coppie di recitativi e arie, la cantata fa riferimento in entrambi i recitativi al nome pseudo arcadico di «Elvira», l'amata del poeta. Lo stesso nome ricorre anche nelle cantate RV 654 e 680, entrambe risalenti al periodo (1718-1720) trascorso da Vivaldi a Mantova, al servizio del governatore della città, il principe Philip von Hesse-Darmstadt. È probabile pertanto che RV 799 sia un'altra cantata «mantovana». Sulla base della ricorrenza di questo e di alcuni altri nomi arcadici (o pseudoarcadici) in cantate che appartengono a un unico ambiente, Michael Talbot avanza l'ipotesi generale che tali nomi ricorrenti nella musica profana vocale dei secoli diciassettesimo e diciottesimo, apparentemente scelti a caso, spesso possano alludere (e per gli ascoltatori dell'epoca di fatto alludevano) a personaggi reali. «Elvira» potrebbe pertanto essere il nome di copertura di una dama che partecipava alle «conversazioni» nella corte di Filippo. Come esempio significativo viene citato il ciclo delle cantate di «Daliso» che appartiene al repertorio della corte dei Ruspoli a Roma durante i primi due decenni del Settecento (e che comprende composizioni di Caldara, Händel, Gasparini, Lotti, Benedetto Marcello e di molti altri).

Viene discussa brevemente la qualità musicale di RV 799. La nuova composizione è notevole per la raffinatezza e per l'attenzione ai dettagli, subito evidente dalle tre note trillate (espressive dei «tremori») con le quali inizia. È da annoverarsi tra le migliori cantate composte da Vivaldi per voce e basso continuo.

Between Modality and Tonality: Vivaldi's Harmony

*Bella Brover-Lubovsky**

*"...li Modi antichi [...] hora li usiamo in
un' altra maniera molto differente dalla antica".*

Gioseffo Zarlino¹

A common trend in historical musicology has been to portray each prominent composer as a forerunner of future stylistic innovations rather than to recognise the strength of his affinity with an earlier tradition. The reception history of Vivaldi's music can serve as a good example of such a discrepancy. There appears to be a marked contradiction between what his contemporaries and close followers thought of Vivaldi and his evaluation by modern scholars.

Whereas certain innovatory properties of Vivaldi's concerto style, such as its elevated dramatic pathos, firm structural principles, virtuosic treatment of the instruments and bold textural and thematic contrasts, were adopted and intensively developed by further generations of musicians in the course of the eighteenth century, his harmonic language remained well in the shadow of the other aspects of his style.

Vivaldi research describes the composer's harmonic-tonal language uniformly as forward-looking and advanced, in line with other characteristics of his musical style. Marc Pincherle notes "the strength of tonal feeling in the modern sense of major-minor" in Vivaldi's compositions,² and Michael Talbot points out its "novelty and unprecedented directness".³ However, one may venture the suggestion that if this was really the case, Vivaldi would not have become so cruelly forgotten even before his life ended; rather, his style would have been accepted and emulated by generations of musicians after him. But in reality the situation was quite the reverse: Vivaldi's death in 1741 in Vienna, the centre of an emerging new instrumental style, passed almost unnoticed in musical circles.

This state of affairs may have owed something to a sharp stylistic cleavage between Vivaldi's harmony and the rising classical idiom. Vivaldi's younger contemporaries totally rejected the harmonic style of this "formerly famous" Venetian and disparaged the alleged deficiencies in his harmony and the lack of logic in his tonal procedures. Sir John Hawkins characterised Vivaldi's concerti as "wild and irregular", their harmony being "their last merit".⁴ Charles Avison criticised "the extreme of unnatural modulations" in the music of Vivaldi and that of his closest followers, Alberti, Tassarini and Locatelli.⁵ Carlo Goldoni quoted

contemporaries who considered Vivaldi to be a “mediocre composer”, singling out his incorrect setting of basses and deficient counterpoint.⁶

Such hostile reactions suggest that Vivaldi handled the common tonal language in a very personal way. Eleanor Selfridge-Field calls Vivaldi’s instrumental music “a curious amalgam of the old and new”.⁷ It would seem that Vivaldi’s harmonic language needs to be discussed in special terms, with reference to the complex historical process of the establishment of the tonal system. In addition to basically tonal procedures, Vivaldi’s music reveals certain properties that cannot adequately be interpreted in terms of classical tonality. Considering that his works were written in a period crucial for the development of the language of harmony, one should give due weight to the remnants of modality found in their harmonic and tonal organisation.

Italian theory regarding the pitch organisation within which composers and theorists from the late sixteenth century up to and including the early eighteenth century conceived their music was codified according to a specific concept of “church keys”. This term has been introduced by Joel Lester as a translation of Adriano Banchieri’s *Otto Tuoni spettanti al canto [fermo] ecclesiastico*,⁸ presented in the latter’s *L’organo suonarino* (1605). Named *tuoni* by Italian theorists, church keys appear to be a strictly seventeenth-century phenomenon. They comprised eight modes commonly used in the organ interpolations employed between plainsong psalms and canticles of the Catholic office, providing a link between the final of the preceding verse and the succeeding antiphon. These church keys were a peculiar mixture of different aspects of the original modal concept, which included the pitch chosen for the final, the degrees admissible for internal cadences on other degrees and the scalar structure of the octave. The *tuoni* were arranged in a series with their respective finals and key signatures; further keys could be derived from the original set by means of transposition in order to create a comfortable range for variously constituted choirs. The following table gives Banchieri’s basic system of *tuoni*.⁹

Tuono	Final	Key signature
I	D	-
II	G	B flat
III	A	-
IV	E	-
V	C	-
VI	F	B flat
VII	D	F sharp
VIII	G	-

The system of church keys was presented in virtually identical form in treatises by the Italian theorists Pietro Pontio, Adriano Banchieri, Francesco Bianciardi, Galeazzo Sabbatini, Lorenzo Penna, Angelo Berardi and Giovanni Maria Bononcini.¹⁰ Recognition of *tuoni ecclesiastici* as a system governing pitch organisation can also be found in theoretical writings from outside Italy, such as the *Musicalischer Schlüssel* by Johann Jacob Prinner (1677), Brossard's *Dictionnaire de musique* (1703), and Johann Mattheson's *Das neu-eröffnete Orchestre* (1713).¹¹

The concept of *tuoni* expressed in terms of modes remained standard for seventeenth-century Italy, providing a crucial link between traditional modal theory and contemporary musical practice. It was widely applied by composers to different genres, secular or sacred. Recent research stresses the relevance of the concept of church keys for the understanding of the harmonic language of Corelli, Bononcini and other late-seventeenth-century composers who have been considered forerunners of major-minor tonality in the modern sense.¹²

The most visible indication of pre-tonal vestiges in Vivaldi's harmonic thought is his way of writing key signatures. A significant number of concertos in certain keys feature key signatures that are "incomplete" according to the standard practice of major-minor tonality. The keys affected are the "flat" major keys B flat and E flat and their relative minors (G minor and C minor, respectively), where one flat is omitted from the key signature (although the same accidental is naturally entered separately wherever needed in the score). In the two minor keys the omission of a flat is especially prevalent, being common to the entire Italian repertoire of the period (both in theory and in *musica pratica*). A "Dorian" key signature (corresponding to church key II) appears in 28 of Vivaldi's concertos in G minor; the remaining eight have two flats in accordance with the normal tonal prescription. Similarly, among the concertos in C minor the older practice is retained in preference to a tonal key signature with the lowered sixth, appearing in as many as twelve cases out of fifteen.

In the relative major keys of G minor and C minor an incomplete key signature appears less frequently: in only two out of the 46 concertos in B flat major and in four of the fifteen in E flat major. Vivaldi's manner of notating the signatures in B flat and E flat major corresponds to the scalar structure and location of the final in the church keys V and VI, although here with downward transposition by a whole tone.

Generally speaking, however, Vivaldi's way of writing key signatures does not conform to the system of church keys as an overall

governing concept. Whereas the usual representation of D minor in the seventeenth century had been in the form of a "Dorian" scale (corresponding to church key I), all Vivaldi's minor-key concertos having D as their tonic carry B flat in the key signature. Similarly, the major keys with G, A and E as their tonics are notated by him with all the necessary sharps, even though it had formerly been more usual to make their key signatures "Mixolydian" in accordance (after transposition) with the church keys VII and VIII.

Vivaldi's vagaries in the use of key signatures parallel the manner of presenting the modes adopted in some theoretical treatises of the same period. Thus Francesco Gasparini, Vivaldi's colleague at the Ospedale della Pietà and the author of *L'armonico pratico al cimbalo* (1708), the most influential Italian treatise from the beginning of the eighteenth century, manifested an inconsistency very comparable with Vivaldi's. In his section *A conoscer la qualità, e quantità de' Toni, e loro formazione*¹³ Gasparini listed the sixteen keys starting at, and ascending from, G, alternating those with major and minor thirds on the same keynote.¹⁴ Alongside the modes which coincide, in the notation of their key signatures, with major (C, D, F) and minor (A, E, B, F sharp) keys, Gasparini used the old-fashioned "Mixolydian" and "Dorian" notation for the modes on G, A, E, and G, C, D, F, respectively. His "Lydian" key signatures for B flat and E flat major correspond to the usage found (sometimes) in Vivaldi.

A similar inconsistency in marking key signatures is found to a remarkable degree in the *Musicalische Handleitung* (1700) of F.E. Niedt.¹⁵ In his presentation of sixteen different keys, Niedt sometimes writes them with their "full" complement of flats or sharps, and sometimes upholds the "pre-tonal" key signature.

Throughout the Italian instrumental repertoire of the seventeenth and very early eighteenth centuries, as seen in the works of G. M. Bononcini, G. Legrenzi, G.C. Arresti, G.B. Degli Antonii, A. Corelli and G. Torelli, key signatures are presented in strict conformity with the system of church keys.¹⁶ In contrast, most of Vivaldi's contemporaries and early followers such as T. Albinoni, C. Tassarini, A. M. Scaccia, A. Zani and G. Tartini selected key signatures in accordance with what we recognise as the modern tonal system. A notable exception was Mauro (Maurino) D'Alay (c.1700-1757), whose twelve violin concertos, Op. 1 (published by Le Cène in 1727), show a continuing preference for the old system.¹⁷ This collection uses "Mixolydian" or "Lydian" key signatures for four major-key concertos (two in A, one in B flat and one in E flat) and a "Dorian" key signature in a further work (Concerto 10, in C minor). Note, however, that a

group of manuscript concertos in Dresden (Sächsische Landesbibliothek) demonstrates a clear preference on D'Alay's part for the modern form of key signature, as evidenced by concertos in B flat major (Mus. 2653-O-4 and 2653-O-6), D major (Mus. 2653-O-1), A major (Mus. 2787-O-1a), and D minor (Mus. 2653-O-5). Nevertheless, two concertos in Dresden are notated with "modal" key signatures; these comprise concertos in A major (Mus. 2653-O-2) and F major (Mus. 2653-O-3). In the second work the key signature is quite idiosyncratic: a mode with two flats having the note F as its final (and without the addition of A flat to the key signature) is not listed in any theoretical presentation of the system of *tuoni*. Corelli once used such a mode – in his trio sonata Op. 3 no. 9 – but in that instance prefixed a flat to the note A throughout the work. It is impossible to specify the mode of this concerto by D'Alay, given that the note A is not lowered.

Another contemporary composer of concertos who comes close to Vivaldi for inconsistency in marking key signatures is Giuseppe Matteo Alberti (1685-1751). This may be explained by the latter's indebtedness to the conservative polyphonic tradition of the Bologna school. Alberti's concertos in A and G major frequently have "Mixolydian" signatures, as in Op. 1 nos. 2 and 3, the *Harmonia mundi* concerto, Op. '2' nos. 2 and 4 and unpublished concertos in the "Manchester" concerto partbooks (no. 72) and the Fonds Blancheton (IV, 3). Further, certain of Alberti's concertos in G and D minor (Op. 1 nos. 8 and 9) are notated in "Dorian" fashion, and Alberti sometimes treats B flat major as a transposition of the church key V, giving it only one flat (Dresden, Mus. 2404-O-6, Op. 1 no. 1 and Op. '2' no. 1). Yet other of his concertos in the same keys are notated "tonally": these comprise Op. '2' no. 10 (in B flat with a two-flat key signature), Fonds Blancheton IV, 8 (in a G minor with two flats) and Fonds Blancheton IV, 36 and 40 (in a G major with one sharp).¹⁸

There also exist scattered instances of "incomplete" key signatures in concertos by other of Vivaldi's contemporaries. A "Mixolydian" A major with two sharps occurs in Albinoni's Op. 5 no. 10 and Op. 7 no. 7, Morigi's Op. 3 no. 6, the concerto by Veracini published in the fourth collection of *Select Harmony* and individual concertos by G. Valentini, G.B. Somis and Bettinazzi in the Manchester partbooks (nos. 28, 57 and 63, respectively).

This confusing state of affairs can be explained as the product of vacillation between two different aspects of a mode: as a focal pitch, on one hand; and as a scalar arrangement of pitches, on the other. A lack of correlation between the definitions of the keynote and of the "key-species" (i. e., the scale employed), which could lead to divergent

interpretations of their relationship, was a recurrent characteristic of the systems of pitch organization proposed in the early eighteenth century. Contemporary theorists such as Saint-Lambert, Mattheson, Brossard, and Walther tried to solve the problem by drawing a terminological distinction between key (*Ton* or *Ton-Art*), which fixed the location of the final, and mode (*Modus*), which identified the scalar structure of the octave.¹⁹

Whereas an "incomplete" marking of accidentals occurs in about 10% (i.e., 45) of the fast movements in Vivaldi's concertos, this feature appears twice as often in slow movements (in 80 instances), partly on account of the latter's open-ended, transitional character. In addition to the "flat" keys mentioned earlier, the omission of an accidental occurs also in slow movements written in certain "sharp" major keys; these include G major (RV 149), A major (RV 208a and RV 224) and E major (RV 347).²⁰

Indeed, Vivaldi's practice seems extraordinarily haphazard. Thus all three movements of the concertos in C minor RV 197 and RV 199 carry three flats in their key signature, whereas in the concertos RV 196 and 201, which have the same tonic, two flats appear with equal consistency in all the movements. The outer movements of another C minor concerto, RV 198a from *La cetra*, have a key signature of three flats, while the middle movement, where the tonic is G, employs the "modal" key signature of one flat. A "pre-tonal" key signature for G minor in the fast movements of the bassoon concerto RV 496 coexists with one bearing two flats in the *Adagio*, where the tonality is unaltered.²¹ The whole of the concerto Op. 11 no. 5 (RV 202), is notated with a key signature of two flats, although its outer movements are in C minor and its slow movement is in F minor (accidentals for A flat and D flat are added as needed within the parts). So the number of flats used in the key signatures of Vivaldi's movements in F minor fluctuates between two, three (cf. RV 143, plus the slow movements of RV 135, RV 202, RV 289, RV 441 and RV 442) and four, as in *L'inverno*. In certain movements written in the key of C minor the flattening of the note A is shown in two ways concurrently: first in the key signature itself, and then separately in the musical text.

This ambiguity in key signatures is by no means the result of "inaccurate" copying in secondary sources of Vivaldi's music: it undoubtedly goes back to the composer himself. Different ways of indicating the same key exist within all types of sources transmitting the Vivaldian concerto repertory, starting with the printed *opera* and autograph manuscripts, and continuing with reprints and secondary copies. "Incomplete" key signatures occur among the concertos

engraved by Estienne Roger from originals doubtless supplied by Vivaldi himself, such as we see in the concertos RV 578 (Op. 3 no. 2), RV 316a (Op. 4 no. 6) and RV 196 (Op. 4 no. 10). Similar anomalies appear in the collections engraved by Roger's successor Le Cène: for example, in concertos RV 253 (Op. 8 no. 5), RV 202 (Op. 11 no. 5) and RV 317 (Op. 12 no. 1).

Particularly inconsistent is the use of key signatures in Op. 6 and again in Op. 7, several of whose concertos have been claimed as spurious.²² The G minor concertos RV 324 (Op. 6 no. 1) and RV 326 (Op. 7, *libro* 1, no. 1) are given a "transposed Dorian" key signature, whereas the concerto RV 318 from the same Op. 6 (no. 3) has a two-flat key signature. One of the four concertos in B flat major contained in Op. 7 (*libro* 2, no. 3), RV 373, features the "incomplete" key signature with only one flat.

In contrast, all the key signatures in the concertos contained in *La cetra*, Op. 9, are presented in the standard "tonal" manner. These include concertos in A and E major that receive a full complement of sharps (RV 345, RV 348 and RV 263a), concertos in B flat major notated with two flats (RV 359 and RV 530) and three concertos in "flat" minor keys, comprising D minor with one flat (RV 238), G minor with two flats (RV 334) and C minor with three flats (RV 198a). In the light of the destination of the collection (dedicated to the Austrian emperor Charles VI), one could well imagine that Vivaldi in this special instance made a point of adhering to the "modern" way of indicating the key in order to conform to German tonal concepts of the period.

In a significant number of concertos from the Turin manuscripts written in Vivaldi's own hand the key is defined in the old, pre-tonal manner. Talbot points out that a high proportion of the Turin sources are composition manuscripts full of alterations and notational abbreviations.²³ These establish beyond doubt that the conservative manner of indicating key signatures was genuinely the composer's own. In contrast, other representative manuscript collections of early-eighteenth-century concertos, such as volume IV of the Fonds Blancheton,²⁴ and the well-known manuscript collections in Manchester and Dresden,²⁵ exhibit a "pre-tonal" key signature only rarely. Examples include violin concertos in B flat major by Bettinoli (Fonds Blancheton IV, 7) and G. Valentini (Manchester, no. 65), notated with one flat, and concertos in E flat major by Meneghetti, Toeschi and I. Balbi with two flats (Dresden, Mus. 2765-O-3 and 2765-O-4, and Manchester, no. 50, respectively); a "Mixolydian" key signature is employed for a concerto in E major by Toeschi (Dresden, Mus. 2817-O-1), and a "Dorian" key signature for one in C minor by

D'Alay (Manchester, no. 56 – identical with Op. 1 no. 10 except for a changed middle movement).²⁶

The big question is whether this inconsistency came about haphazardly (perhaps in consequence of Vivaldi's notorious haste) or whether the composer purposefully selected different key signatures (where an alternative existed) in order deliberately to exploit different modal structures. To attempt to account for Vivaldi's inconsistency merely in terms of "sloppiness" is unconvincing, since it would have been much easier for him to enter "full" key signatures instead of writing in each "missing" accidental where needed. By opting for a "modal" key signature, Vivaldi in fact sacrificed notational economy.

It would be an exaggeration to claim that there was an automatic, direct connection between the choice of key signature (given the existence of an alternative) and the treatment of the musical material. Since the "missing" accidentals can always be supplied separately in the course of the movement, a deviant key signature can turn out to have no perceptible effect. Conversely, melodic and tonal procedures that are hard to explain in terms of harmonic tonality may be just as evident in concertos written in those keys (they include C major) in which the "modal" way of writing the key signature is identical with the "tonal" one. Yet one should not ignore *a priori* the possibility that the fact of notating a work in a church key instead of its modern major or minor equivalent could on occasion have influenced the harmonic or tonal processes employed by the composer.

Speaking generally, this influence does not reveal itself in Vivaldi's concertos at the level of the melodic design. In a few C minor concertos notated with the "Dorian" sixth one observes, rather, the prominence of characteristic melodic leaps involving the lowered ("Aeolian") sixth: one such instance is the augmented second (A flat to B natural) written in minims at the climax of the opening ritornello of the first movement of the concerto Op. 11 no. 5 (RV 202); another is the series of diminished sevenths and fifths involving A flat that appears in the ritornello of the first movement of Op. 4 no. 10 (RV 196). In the middle movement of the second concerto a sustained high A flat forms a melodic climax.

Similarly, Vivaldi's manner of notating key signatures seems to have little effect on his short-term harmonic progressions. Yet in certain cases it does appear to have a bearing on the overall tonal organisation of his movements.

A comparison of the two E flat major violin concertos may clarify what effect the choice of key signature can have on the overall tonal movement. The first movement of the concerto RV 262 has three flats

for its key signature, in a purely tonal manner. Nevertheless, A natural assumes a significant role in various harmonic progressions, such as those in bars 25, 27, 67 and 69, and in particular in conjunction with the motion towards the dominant in its function as a secondary key area (which occurs in bars 36-44). At the same time, the special status of A flat as a “diatonic” scale-degree (as identified by the movement’s key signature) conditions the further harmonic unfolding that leads, in the passage that immediately follows (bars 45-55), to the “peripheral” key of the supertonic, F minor.

In contrast, the concerto RV 252, with its two-flat key signature, can shed light on the possible import of modal key signatures. An A flat is added periodically in the course of the first movement, beginning with the opening sections in E flat major proceeding up to and including bar 63; these have to be set, however, against the lengthy passages of harmonic motion towards the secondary key of the dominant (such as occurred also in the previous example) in which A flat is avoided comprehensively (in bars 64-91 and 93-122). What is significant here is that in the course of the third ritornello and in the following solo F major is introduced as a peripheral key (in bars 75-82). Now, F major is a major key on the supertonic degree – not the minor key that would normally be expected in the context of an ordinary diatonic E flat major. The tonal motion in the course of this movement begins with two consecutive ascending fifths – first from tonic to dominant (each key emphasized by a ritornello) – and then from dominant to supertonic, the major mode being retained throughout. The importance of the supertonic major area in the overall tonal planning is reconfirmed in the penultimate ritornello, which in bars 106-117 modulates back from the mediant to the tonic by means of a “reverse” sequential motion that employs descending fifths (F major – B flat major – E flat major).

So an allusion to the “Lydian” fourth in the key signature can apparently have some real significance for the tonal motion. It is true that the harmonic realisation of such an unusual – in the context of fully evolved tonality – tonal procedure is unambiguously tonal. Nevertheless, one cannot deny that it is precisely the modal concept, with the distinctive “character” that it confers and its potential for opening up new internal harmonic possibilities, that has provided Vivaldi with extra room for manoeuvre in relation to long-range processing.

It is relevant to mention that this correspondence between the way of notating the key signature and the tonal procedure that one can observe in Vivaldi’s concertos in E flat major, is quite unusual.

According to Michael Talbot (in private correspondence), Mauro D'Alay is, if anything, even fonder than Vivaldi of using "modal" key signatures and visiting keys lying outside the normal *ambitus*. In D'Alay's case, however, the two features seem less closely correlated – a visit to the supertonic (the dominant of the dominant) appears to be a favoured scheme of tonal motion for this composer in major and minor keys alike, irrespective of the chosen key signature. In some contexts, this is also true for Vivaldi: in his concertos in G minor notated in the "old" manner with one flat the subdominant (C) minor and the lowered submediant (E flat) major function normally as peripheral tonal areas (as in the concertos RV 318, 321, 324, 326 and Anh. 65).

A convincing correlation of a pre-tonal way of marking key signatures with a correspondingly "different" treatment of harmonic procedures is demonstrated by the first movement of another violin concerto in E flat major, RV 250. The key signature has two flats. It is true that a flat is added before the note A in the course of the initial and closing sections in the tonic, such as occurs during the diatonic sequential progression in bars 15-21, where A flat and D flat appear as sevenths to chords I and IV, and the first note also in connection with subdominant harmony in bars 30 and 36 (similarly in bars 49, 55, 126 and 129). Yet in terms of the long-range planning, A natural is treated as a diatonic scale-degree. The goal of the harmonic motion is the minor key on the leading-note, D minor, which is confirmed with strong cadential articulation, which receives simultaneous textural and thematic support, in bars 76-82. A brief *ripieno* interjection is based on the closing motive of the initial *ritornello* (bars 24-36), modified to become an extremely unstable section prolonging the note A, the dominant of D minor. Thus, the tonal juxtaposition of the two adjacent *ritornelli* outlines the tritone relationship E flat–A natural (see Example 1). The arrival, in bar 82, of the minor key on the leading-note, which lies outside the orbit of normal diatonic harmonic relationships, is made possible by the intermediate tonicisation of the mediant. Indeed, G minor, which has been introduced already in the course of the first solo through a threefold sequential progression rising by step from the tonic (bars 50-60) serves as a connector between the tonic and the non-diatonic key chosen, in this particular movement, to represent the remote key area. (A similar procedure for reaching the key of the leading-note is observable only in one other place: the first movement of the concerto in F major for 2 oboes, bassoon, 2 *corni da caccia* and violin, RV 568. There, the key of E minor, likewise introduced via a dominant pedal-note, in bars 110-122 occurs as an intermediate link in a long-drawn-out motion from the dominant to the mediant of the

home key. However, the harmonic significance of the tonal area of E minor is not articulated thematically and texturally, as was the case in the previous concerto, and should therefore be interpreted differently: as a purely transitory event.) The excursion to the key of the leading-note in RV 250 is a unique occurrence in the entire corpus of Vivaldi concertos, and was doubtless equally foreign to his contemporaries. In this unusual case, therefore, the pre-tonal form of key signature makes good sense: the raised, "Lydian" fourth interpreted as a diatonic "species" permits ingress into the tonal context of D minor (exactly as if the tonic key had been B flat major), thereby skewing the tonal planning of the entire movement. Retransition to the tonic is effected via anticlockwise (flatward) motion through the circle of fifths (G-C-F-B^b-E^b-A^b-E^b), starting from the mediant at the beginning of the *tutti* section beginning in bar 110.

Another important indication of modal thinking is the coexistence of two different "species" of the seventh scale-degree in concertos in major keys. VII can operate both as a leading-note and as a lowered (i.e., "Mixolydian") scale-degree. Even where his key signature is modern in the normal manner, Vivaldi frequently recreates the melodic and harmonic context typical of church keys nos. VII and VIII. The result is the appearance of harmonic progressions that juxtapose the tonic triad and the triad on the lowered seventh degree, as occurs in the first movements of the concertos RV 205 (bars 11-12), RV 374 (bars 9-10), RV 267, RV 362 and RV 114 (see Example 2).

An added dimension of this "Mixolydian" tendency that one can observe in several movements is the prominence accorded to the plagal progression from the tonic seventh chord to the subdominant chord, which is employed in preference to the simple tonic triad at a crucial point in the ritornello. Thus in the ripieno concerto RV 166 the progression I⁷-IV in fact acquires the task of opening the whole work (see Example 3).

Such "Mixolydian" sevenths frequently appear in connection with progressions employing two successive descending fifths, as occur in the first movements of concertos RV 362 (bars 8-14), RV 377 (bars 14-20), RV 374 (bar 12) and RV 210 (bars 9-10), as well as in two E major concertos: RV 265 from *L'estro armonico* (bars 28-30, 47, and 58-59) and RV 267 (bars 7-10). The lowered seventh is typically introduced in the context of a sequential motion founded on the tonicisation of the subdominant. This procedure occurs already within the opening ritornellos of the first movements of the concertos RV 362 and RV 374, thus underlining the significance of the "Mixolydian" progression (Example 4). In the first movements of the concertos RV 370 and RV

359 a lowered seventh occurs during the solo episodes at bars 53-60 (also 94-98) and 80-84, respectively. It is interesting to observe that such "Mixolydian" patterns are associated preferentially with the key of B flat major, as seen in RV 370, RV 374, RV 377, RV 362, RV 530 and RV 553.

The lowered seventh degree acquires in major keys a notable weight through the salience of harmonic progressions involving the tonic and the dominant minor triads. This point is demonstrated by a concerto in C major for two violins, RV 505, in which the modal variability of the seventh degree gives rise to two – functionally equal-ranking – "species" of the harmony of the dominant: diatonic (major) and chromatically altered (minor), as seen in bars 56-62 of the first movement (see Example 5).

It is important to note that the use of the lowered seventh contradicts the general direction of the tonal motion, since B flat lies outside the normal diatonic progression leading to the key of the dominant: i. e., in a sharpwards-moving direction. This procedure suggests a modal origin for the lowered seventh. The use of the minor dominant should not be confused with the device of "minorisation" otherwise much favoured by Vivaldi. The "modal shift" (Talbot's term), or oscillation by Vivaldi at the level of the tonic (or of the tonic together with the dominant) in major-key concertos, such as one observes in the opening movements of RV 176, RV 206, RV 224, RV 254, RV 303, RV 344 and RV 345. Unlike in these examples, the juxtaposition of major and minor thirds occurs in the first movement of RV 505 exclusively at the level of the dominant triad, not the tonic.

Talbot has interpreted the seventeenth-century practice of using the minor fifth in major keys as a continuation, or vestige, of the pre-tonal procedure of the "Mixolydian" seventh in harmonic-chordal writing.²⁷ He has pointed out that in contrast to the high frequency of this progression in French and English repertories after 1600, it was very untypical of Italian instrumental music. In this context, the prevalence of the lowered seventh in Vivaldi's music can only accentuate the significance of modal thinking in his harmonic language.

The harmonic idea underlying the opening movement of Vivaldi's ripieno concerto RV 167 in B flat major derives from a diatonic descending sequence in the course of which a triad and a six-three chord alternate in stepwise fashion. Structural modulations are made to a succession of diatonic degrees (iii – vi – ii – IV); the arrival at each is signalled by the reappearance of the opening motto-theme characterised by repeated octave leaps. In the course of this harmonic movement the diatonic, major triad on the fifth degree (seen in bars 10

and 32-33) alternates freely with the minor “species” (bars 25 and 30). Similarly, the lowered seventh (A flat) occupies a significant place in the harmonic unfolding (in bars 29, 35 and 38). In this way, a lengthy series of “flat” harmonies (bars 24-39) is enabled to establish itself within the diatonic domain of the key.

The use of a “Mixolydian” B flat major appears to be common procedure in Italian music of the period. In one of Albinoni’s oboe concertos (Op. 7 no. 3, published in 1715) the triad of the lowered seventh occurs within the opening and closing ritornellos (bars 5-7 and 61-63), while the dominant minor key appears as an interim tonal centre during a brief *tutti* (bars 38-39).

To conclude: Vivaldi’s harmonic idiolect combines and closely interweaves elements of the modern tonal concept and of earlier modal traits and devices. These modal traits are reflected primarily in the way he marks key signatures, which often conforms to the older practice of seventeenth-century Italian music. The harmonic processes that activate the modal tendencies are of purely tonal origin, however. Among these are sequential movement through the circle of fifths, tonicisation (the creation of secondary dominants) and the juxtaposition of tonic and dominant. Notwithstanding Vivaldi’s undoubtedly advanced harmonic technique, a close examination of his tonal usage not infrequently reveals traces of the older system of pitch organisation. The harmonic and tonal language of Vivaldi’s concertos should therefore be considered in certain respects as occupying a borderland between modality and tonality.

Example 1a RV 250

24

VI pr / VI 1

VI 2

Vla

Basso

Musical score for Example 1b, measures 1-6. The score is in 3/4 time and B-flat major. It features four staves: two treble clefs (top two) and two bass clefs (bottom two). The music consists of rhythmic patterns with eighth and sixteenth notes, often beamed together. The first measure has a whole rest in the top two staves and a quarter rest in the bottom two. The subsequent measures show active rhythmic movement across all staves.

Example 1b

Musical score for Example 1b, measures 76-78. The score is in 3/4 time and B-flat major. It features four staves: VI pr (Violin I), VI 1 / VI 2 (Violins I and II), Vla (Viola), and Basso (Bass). Measure 76 shows a whole rest for VI pr and VI 1 / VI 2, and a quarter rest for Basso. Measures 77 and 78 show active rhythmic patterns for all instruments, with some notes beamed together and slurs.

Musical score for Example 1b, measures 79-82. The score is in 3/4 time and B-flat major. It features four staves: VI pr, VI 1 / VI 2, Vla, and Basso. Measures 79 and 80 show active rhythmic patterns for all instruments, with some notes beamed together and slurs. Measures 81 and 82 show a continuation of the rhythmic patterns, with some notes beamed together and slurs.

Example 2a RV 205

11

VI pr / VI 1

VI 2

Vla

Basso

Musical score for Example 2a, RV 205, measures 11-12. The score is for four parts: VI pr / VI 1, VI 2, Vla, and Basso. The key signature is one sharp (F#) and the time signature is 3/4. Measure 11 shows a complex texture with sixteenth-note patterns in the strings and a melodic line in the viola. Measure 12 continues the patterns with some rests and a change in the viola's melodic line.

Example 2b RV 374

8

VI pr / VI 1

VI 2

Vla

Basso

Musical score for Example 2b, RV 374, measures 8-9. The score is for four parts: VI pr / VI 1, VI 2, Vla, and Basso. The key signature is two flats (Bb, Eb) and the time signature is 3/4. Measure 8 features a rhythmic pattern of eighth and sixteenth notes. Measure 9 shows a similar pattern with some rests and a change in the viola's melodic line.

First system of musical notation, featuring four staves (two treble clefs and two bass clefs) in a key signature of two flats and a 3/4 time signature. The music consists of rhythmic patterns of eighth and sixteenth notes.

Second system of musical notation, continuing the four-staff arrangement from the first system with similar rhythmic patterns.

Example 3 RV 166

Allegro

Example 3, RV 166, featuring four staves labeled VI 1, VI 2, Vla, and Basso. The music is in a key signature of two flats and common time (C). The tempo is marked Allegro.

Example 4a RV 267

VI pr / VI 1

VI 2

Vla

Basso

Example 4b RV 362

VI pr / VI 1

VI 2

Vla

Basso

Example 5 RV 505

VI pr 1
p

VI pr 2
p

VI 1/VI 2

Vla

Basso

This system contains five staves. The first two staves, VI pr 1 and VI pr 2, are in treble clef and play a melodic line with a *p* dynamic. The third staff, VI 1/VI 2, is in treble clef and plays a rhythmic accompaniment. The fourth staff, Vla, is in bass clef and plays a rhythmic accompaniment. The fifth staff, Basso, is in bass clef and is mostly silent.

f

f

p

p

This system contains five staves. The first two staves are in treble clef and play a melodic line with a *f* dynamic. The third staff is in treble clef and plays a rhythmic accompaniment. The fourth staff is in bass clef and plays a rhythmic accompaniment. The fifth staff is in bass clef and is mostly silent.

This system contains five staves. The first two staves are in treble clef and play a melodic line. The third staff is in treble clef and plays a rhythmic accompaniment. The fourth staff is in bass clef and plays a rhythmic accompaniment. The fifth staff is in bass clef and is mostly silent.

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¹ G. ZARLINO, *Le istituzioni harmoniche*, Venice, 1558, Part 4, Chapter X, p.309.

² M. PINCHERLE, *Vivaldi: Genius of the Baroque*, trans. C. Hatch, Norton, New York, 1957, p.70.

³ M. TALBOT, *Antonio Vivaldi: A Guide to Research*, Garland, New York and London, 1988, p.xv.

⁴ J. HAWKINS, *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music* (1776), Dover, New York, 1963, p.834.

⁵ C. AVISON, *An Essay on Musical Expression*, Davis, London, 1752, pp.39-40.

⁶ C. GOLDONI, *Commedie*, Pasquali, Venice, 1761-78, XIII, p.11.

⁷ E. SELFRIDGE-FIELD, *Venetian Instrumental Music from Gabrieli to Vivaldi*, Dover, New York, 2/1994, p.261.

⁸ A. BANCHIERI, *L'organo suonarino*, Amadino, Venice, 1605, facs. ed. Forni, Bologna, 1969, pp.78.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p.41.

¹⁰ P. PONTIO, *Ragionamento di musica*, Viotto, Parma, 1588; A. BANCHIERI, *L'organo suonarino*, cit.; F. BIANCIARDI, *Breve regola per imparar a sonare sopra il basso con ogni sorte d'istrumento*, Falcini, Siena, 1607; G. SABBATINI, *Regola facile e breve per sonare sopra il basso continuo, nell' organo, manacordo, o altro simile stromento*, Salvatori, Venice, 1628; L. PENNA, *Li primi albori musicali*, Monti, Bologna, 1672; A. BERARDI, *Miscellanea musicale*, Monti, Bologna, 1689; id., *Il perchè musicale*, Monti, Bologna, 1693; Z. TEVO, *Il musico testore*, Bortoli, Venice, 1706; G.M. BONONCINI, *Musico pratico*, Monti, Bologna, 1673; A.F. BRUSCHI, *Regole per il contrapunto e per l'accompagnatura del basso continuo*, Venturini, Lucca, 1711.

¹¹ A survey of theory concerning the church keys is presented in: W. ATCHERSON, *Key and Mode in Seventeenth-Century Music Theory Books*, "Journal of Music Theory", 17, 1973, 205-229; J. LESTER, *Between Modes and Keys: German Theory 1592-1802*, Pendragon Press, New York, 1988; G. BARNETT, *Modal Theory, Church Keys, and the Sonata at the End of the Seventeenth Century*, "Journal of the American Musicological Society", 51, 1998, pp.245-281.

¹² G. BARNETT, *Modal Theory*, cit.; P. ALLSOP, *Arcangelo Corelli: New Orpheus of Our Times*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1999.

¹³ F. GASPARINI, *L'armonico pratico al cimbalo*, Bortoli, Venice, 1708, Chapter VIII, p.73.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p.83-86.

¹⁵ F.E. NIEDT, *Musicalische Handleitung*, I, Spieringk, Hamburg, 1700, Chapter XII.

¹⁶ G. BARNETT, *Modal Theory*, cit.

¹⁷ I am indebted to Michael Talbot for information on concertos by this composer.

¹⁸ M. TALBOT, *A Thematic Catalogue of the Orchestral Works of Giuseppe Matteo Alberti (1685-1751)*, "Research Chronicle", 13, 1976, pp.1-26.

¹⁹ S. DE BROSSARD, *Dictionnaire de musique*, Ballard, Paris, 1703, art. *Tuoni*; M. de SAINT LAMBERT, *Nouveau Traité de l'accompagnement*, Estienne Roger, Amsterdam, 1710; J. MATTHESON, *Der vollkommene Capellmeister*, Herold, Hamburg, 1739; J.G. WALTHER, *Musicalisches Lexicon oder musicalische Bibliothec*, Deer, Leipzig, 1732, p.414.

²⁰ In this instance, one cannot, of course, discount the effect of an "inertia" (still very much in evidence today) that encourages composers to retain a key signature already established so long as this is not altogether unsuitable for the new key-centre.

²¹ The discrepancy might be explained by the borrowing of the middle movement

from a pre-existing source, but even if such were the case, it is significant that Vivaldi allowed the inconsistency to stand.

²² M. TALBOT, *Vivaldi*, Dent, London, ²/1993, p.44; R. RASCH, *La famosa mano di Monsieur Roger: Antonio Vivaldi and His Dutch Publishers*, "Informazioni e studi vivaldiani", 17, 1996, pp.102-103; P. EVERETT, *Vivaldi: The Four Seasons and Other Concertos, Op. 8*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1996, p.24. Even the authentic concertos in Opp. 6 and 7 cannot be guaranteed to have been obtained directly from the composer's hands.

²³ M. TALBOT, *Antonio Vivaldi: A Guide to Research*, cit., p.xix.

²⁴ L. DE LA LAURENCIE, *Inventaire critique du Fonds Blancheton de la Bibliothèque du Conservatoire de Paris*, 2 vols, Publications de la Société Française de Musicologie, Paris, 1930.

²⁵ P. EVERETT, *The Manchester Concerto Partbooks*, Garland, New York and London, 1989; P. RYOM, *Les Manuscrits de Vivaldi*, Antonio Vivaldi Archives, Copenhagen, 1977.

²⁶ The concordance was verified by Michael Talbot.

²⁷ M. TALBOT, *Modal Shifts in the Sonatas of Domenico Scarlatti*, "Chigiana", 40, n. s. 20, 1985, 25-43: 26-27.

Tra modalità e tonalità: l'armonia di Vivaldi

Bella Brover-Lubovsky

Vivaldi è generalmente considerato dai musicologi come un compositore progressivo in tutti gli aspetti della sua tecnica compositiva. Eppure c'è una componente interessante della sua musica che rivela un elemento profondamente conservatore nel mantenimento, in certi momenti, di caratteristiche «modali» ereditate dal sistema dei «modi ecclesiastici» (*tuoni*) adottati dai teorici e dai compositori italiani del diciassettesimo secolo. Queste caratteristiche coesistono con strutture «tonali» progressive e hanno l'effetto di variare e allargare l'area tonale disponibile per un movimento e di influenzare lo schema di modulazioni che a questa è sotteso.

Il sintomo più chiaro dell'influenza dei «modi ecclesiastici» si rileva nell'occasionale impiego di armature di chiave diverse da quelle utilizzate nel sistema maggiore - minore. Queste armature possono essere «Lidie» (con un bemolle in meno), come in Mi bemolle maggiore con due bemolli, «Misolidie» (con un diesis in meno), come in La maggiore con due diesis, o infine «Doriche», come in Re minore con un'armatura di chiave senza accidenti. Vivaldi dimostra pochissima coerenza nella scelta delle armature di chiave. La maggioranza dei compositori di concerti a lui contemporanei impiega già regolarmente le armature di chiave moderne, ma ci sono alcuni esempi interessanti (come G.M. Alberti e M. D'Alay) nei quali si può osservare una simile oscillazione tra vecchio e nuovo sistema.

Nella maggioranza dei casi la peculiarità dei movimenti con armature di chiave «modali» riguarda solamente la notazione: l'uso delle alterazioni apposte davanti alle singole note assicura un andamento convenzionale all'armonia e al percorso armonico. Tuttavia si danno anche casi nei quali un'armatura di chiave «modale» influisce sul percorso tonale. Per esempio, nel primo movimento di RV 252, un concerto per violino in Mi bemolle maggiore con un'armatura di due bemolli, una modulazione strutturalmente significativa alla sopratonica utilizza la terza maggiore, anziché la terza minore di quella tonalità (trasformandola in Fa maggiore anziché nell'usuale Fa minore), in conformità con la «species» indicata dal modo e preannunciata dall'armatura di chiave.

Ci sono anche sopravvivenze modali nell'armonia di Vivaldi indipendenti dall'armatura di chiave. La sua predilezione per un accordo di settima sulla tonica, che agisce come una settima di dominante rispetto a un accordo di sottodominante con funzione di tonica, e la preminen-

za che questo accordo assume in contesti tonali stabili può essere definita con una tendenza «misolidia». In questi casi si può affermare che il linguaggio musicale di Vivaldi occupa un territorio di confine tra modalità e tonalità.

Miscellany

Compiled by Michael Talbot

New discoveries of Vivaldi works continue to trickle through. In 1998 it was the “Bergamo” violin sonata, RV 798, discussed in the last volume of this journal and now available in the *New Critical Edition*. In 1999 there were two further discoveries: one was a cantata for soprano and continuo, RV 799, found by Olivier Fourès in Vienna and forming the subject of an article elsewhere in these pages; the other was a delightful trio for two transverse flutes and continuo, RV 800, that came to my notice when it was sent to me for evaluation by an archivist of the Hessisches Staatsarchiv in Marburg, who had found it among a group of musical manuscripts formerly in private ownership. The cantata is about to appear in the *New Critical Edition*, and the trio is already “in the pipeline”. The next volume of this journal will carry, we hope, an article by Berthold Over describing the trio. One point of special interest is its title, which appears separately on a title-page (the three individual parts are all headed “sonata”). Of Vivaldi’s compositions, only RV 82 and RV 85, the two surviving trios from an evidently larger group supplied to Count Wrthby, use this title. It does not seem to refer to a separate genre or even to a special subgenre of the sonata. Rather, it is a more modern form of title (cognate, of course, with “duetto” and “quartetto”) that first appeared in northern Europe and Lombardy just before 1720 and later became universally preferred to “sonata” in the context of chamber music. The two lute trios date from 1729-1730, when Vivaldi visited Bohemia. This new trio for two flutes and bass (a combination hitherto not found in Vivaldi’s chamber music) may have some connection with the “concerti a 3” (containing flute or recorder parts) to which Vivaldi referred in a letter to Duke Carl Ludwig Friedrich of Mecklenburg-Strelitz written in the winter of 1728-1729 (see Rudolf Eller’s article in vol. 10 (1989) of the present journal).

RV 798 and RV 799 were both included in a concert in memory of Giorgio Cini performed at the Foundation bearing his name on 4 September 1999 by the Venice Baroque Orchestra under Andrea Marcon. Also on the programme was **a two-movement sinfonia in C major that is likely to have come from Vivaldi’s pen**. In private ownership in Trieste, this sinfonia is described on its title-page as an “Improvvisata del Sig[n]or Viualdi” – where “improvvisata” (to give the word its modern spelling) has the sense of “(nice) surprise”. One could well imagine that its composer gave this little chamber symphony

without a slow movement as a sort of calling card to a patron in the spirit of the “album leaves” of the nineteenth century. Unfortunately, it lacks the viola part that from internal evidence seems to have been required (there are some syncopations in the violin parts that make little sense unless they have something to syncopate “against” – and the bass is silent at that point). Work is still needed to establish its provenance and authorship. Nevertheless, it may come to be added to the Vivaldian canon some day.

Kees Vlaardingerbroek informed me recently of an interesting reference he had discovered to a **contemporary arrangement of Vivaldi’s “Four Seasons” for bass viol**. Johann Mattheson published on page 419 of his *Grundlage einer Ehren-Pforte* (1740) a letter from Johann Friedrich (or possibly Johann Gottfried) Mentz (1698-c.1760), who in 1727 was appointed organist at the Liebfrauenkirche in Liegnitz (today Legnica in Poland). The same man also played the bass viol and published a suite for that instrument which in 1754 earned Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg’s approval. In his letter Mentz writes: “I am now giving lessons on the bass viol to a Count (Graf) von Zierotin, whose family originates from Moscow but owns landed property in Moravia. This Count, who resides locally [in Liegnitz] at the Ritterakademie, demonstrates exceptional talent in all the sciences but especially in music theory. He has made such progress on the bass viol that he finds no great difficulty in playing Vivaldi’s “Seasons” concertos on it, and to that end I have specially transposed and arranged them for the said instrument”.

These arrangements (were they for unaccompanied bass viol or for bass viol with orchestra?) recall those of Corelli’s Op. 5 violin sonatas prepared for bass viol slightly earlier. In northern Europe the “gamba” was – at least, until the transverse flute displaced it towards the middle of the eighteenth century – the “gentleman’s” instrument *par excellence*, and for that reason readily attracted to itself the repertoire of other instruments. Who knows whether Mentz’s versions will turn up one day?

Now to the new writings on Vivaldi that have appeared in the past year or so. Pride of place must go to Berthold Over’s “**Per la Gloria di Dio. Solistische Kirchenmusik an den venezianischen Ospedali im 18. Jahrhundert**” (Orpheus Verlag, Bonn, 1998), a lightly revised version of the author’s thesis of the same title. This meticulously documented book provides essential contextual information for the study and understanding of the vast repertory of motets and antiphons for solo

voice performed at the Ospedali in the eighteenth century (though it leaves out “a voce sola” settings of psalms, which for Vivaldi constitute an important category).

Still on the subject of books, I should mention my own “**Venetian Music in the Age of Vivaldi**” (Aldershot, Ashgate Publishing, 1999). This volume belongs to a series in which scholars assemble between two covers articles that they have written over the previous decades. Nine of the sixteen articles I have chosen mainly concern Vivaldi – three of them, indeed, originate from this very journal. Those who know most of the articles already will perhaps find greatest interest in a new chapter of “Addenda and Corrigenda”, which provides corrections, updates and fresh thoughts, and in the index, which enables cognate arguments advanced in separate places to be brought together.

A few articles require mention. Daniel Freeman, in an article entitled “**J.S. Bach’s ‘Concerto’ Arias: A Study in the Amalgamation of Eighteenth-Century Genres**” published in vol. 27 (1998) of “*Studi musicali*”, makes a fresh contribution to our knowledge of the Bach-Vivaldi connection, showing how Bach used Vivaldi’s instrumental (rather than vocal) formal types in his vocal music. The eminent clarinettist Gilles Thomé, well known for his excellent recordings of music by Vivaldi, provides a detailed account of the master’s use of single-reed instruments (clarinets and chalumeaux) in an article entitled “**Antonio Vivaldi. Oeuvres avec chalumeau et clarinette**” published in no. 28 (1998) of the periodical “*Clarinette Magazine*”. And – still in France – Sylvie Mamy returns to the ever-fertile subject of the paladin Orlando in an essay, “**Les trois Orlando de Vivaldi à Venise. Ou: De la Folie Feinte à la Folie Furieuse**”, published in a multi-authored volume entitled *Figures de Roland* (CRLI-Université de Corse, Klicksiek, 1998), edited by Belinda Cannone and Michel Orcel.

Recent publications of Vivaldi’s music have included, besides RV 798 and RV 799, two substantial sacred vocal works: the *Salve Regina* in C minor, RV 616, and the *Magnificat*, RV 610/610a/611, both edited by me for the *New Critical Edition*. It might be thought something of a “luxury” to return to works that have already been published by Ricordi in the not-too-distant past rather than, say, move on to significant variants of works already known (for example, the flute concerto RV 434, Op. 10 no. 5, previously published by Ricordi only in its earlier version for recorder, with the slow movement in a different

key). However, a comparison of these newest editions with their predecessors will show, I hope, that the effort was justified.

Fabrizio Ammetto and Gioia Filocamo have recently produced an excellent critical edition of the **Concerto in F major for two violins, two organs and two string orchestras, RV 584** (Bologna, Edizioni Bongiovanni, 1999). This concerto, of which only the first movement survives in the composer's autograph score (Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria, Giordano 28, fols 10–19), has not been published by the Istituto Italiano Antonio Vivaldi (in association with Ricordi) either in the old *Opere strumentali* series or in the *New Critical Edition*. In a preface to the edition Albert Dunning questions **the policy of the Istituto not to issue incomplete works**. Here, perhaps, is the place to explain the rationale behind this policy.

We may pass quickly over the pragmatic reason: the wish of the publisher, Ricordi, to issue volumes of works suitable for inclusion in ordinary concert programmes as well as for perusal by scholars. Doubtless, this problem could be overcome by producing, once and for all, an “omnibus” volume of isolated surviving movements. The reason that really counts is one of principle. This is that any “monumental” edition – one that aims to publish in permanent, definitive form the music of the chosen composer – has to observe scruples over and above those pertinent to any scholarly edition. It avoids knowingly giving hostages to fortune. Take the case of RV 758, formerly designated RV 746. Until its rediscovery among the “Manchester” Violin Sonatas in 1973, this work was known only in the form of two movements (the first and third) preserved, ostensibly as pieces for organ, in a volume of music mainly by G.B. Pescetti in the Conservatorio di Musica “Benedetto Marcello”, Venice. Had the Istituto Italiano Antonio Vivaldi opted to publish these two movements at the first opportunity (luckily, their discovery by Peter Ryom in this form occurred during the “interregnum” between the two collected editions, so the temptation did not arise), what an embarrassment it would have proved for the complete work in its intended scoring to turn up! Therefore, the Editorial Committee responsible for the *New Critical Edition* prefers to be patient and to allow time for the reappearance of missing portions – a policy that the spate of recent discoveries, as described above, amply justifies.

It needs stressing that the Istituto has never wished (even if that were possible, which it is not) to adopt a restrictive, proprietorial attitude towards the publication of Vivaldi works. It is glad when others less encumbered by the special factors just mentioned are able to

issue incomplete works and looks forward to the appearance of many similar publications – for example, of the concerto movements RV 431 and 432 (both for flute) and RV 482 (for bassoon).

Miscellanea .

A cura di Michael Talbot

Continuano a verificarsi **nuove scoperte di composizioni vivaldiane**. Nel 1998 fu la «Sonata di Bergamo» RV 798, discussa nell'ultimo numero di questa rivista ed ora disponibile nella *Nuova Edizione Critica*. Nel 1999 ci sono state due nuove scoperte: la prima è una cantata per soprano e basso continuo, RV 799, ritrovata a Vienna da Olivier Fourès, che forma l'oggetto di un articolo pubblicato in questo stesso numero; l'altra è un delizioso trio per due flauti traversi e basso continuo, RV 800, del quale venni a conoscenza quando un archivista dello Hessisches Staatsarchiv di Marburg, che lo aveva trovato tra un gruppo di manoscritti musicali già di proprietà privata, me lo spedì per un parere. La cantata apparirà presto nella *Nuova Edizione Critica*, e il Trio è già in lavorazione. Il prossimo numero di questa rivista ospiterà, crediamo, un articolo di Berthold Over dedicato a questo Trio. Un elemento di particolare interesse è il titolo, che appare separatamente su un frontespizio (le tre parti separate recano tutte l'intestazione «Sonata»). Delle composizioni di Vivaldi, solo RV 82 e RV 85, i due trii superstiti di un gruppo più grande fornito al Conte Wrtby, usano questo titolo, che non sembra riferirsi a un genere peculiare e nemmeno a un particolare sottogenere della sonata. Piuttosto, è una forma più moderna (imparentata con «Duetto» e «Quartetto») che apparve per la prima volta nell'Europa del Nord e in Lombardia appena prima del 1720 e più tardi venne universalmente preferita a «sonata» nell'ambito della musica da camera. I due trii per liuto risalgono al 1729-1730, quando Vivaldi si recò in Boemia. Questo nuovo trio per due flauti e basso (una combinazione sinora non nota nella musica da camera di Vivaldi) può avere qualche legame con i «concerti a tre» (contenenti parti di flauto traverso o diritto) che Vivaldi menziona in una lettera al Duca Carl Ludwig Friedrich di Mecklenburg-Strelitz scritta nell'inverno del 1728-1729 (si veda al proposito l'articolo di Rudolf Eller nel vol. 10 (1989) di questa rivista).

RV 798 e 799 sono stati inclusi in un concerto in memoria di Giorgio Cini eseguito alla Fondazione che da lui prende il nome il 4 settembre 1999 dall'Orchestra Barocca di Venezia sotto la direzione di Andrea Marcon. Nello stesso programma compariva anche **una sinfonia in due movimenti in Do maggiore, che è probabile debba essere attribuita a Vivaldi**. Appartenente a un collezionista privato di Trieste, questa sinfonia è descritta nel frontespizio come «Improuisata del Sig[n]or Viualdi» – dove «improvvisata» ha il senso di una «(piacevole) sorpresa». Si può senz'altro immaginare che il compositore fece dono a un

protettore di questa piccola sinfonia da camera senza un movimento lento come una specie di biglietto da visita, nello spirito dei «fogli d'album» del secolo diciannovesimo. Sfortunatamente è priva della parte della viola, che sembrerebbe essere richiesta sulla base di indizi interni (ci sono alcune sincopi nelle parti dei violini che hanno poco senso se non hanno qualcosa contro cui «sincopare»; il basso, in questo punto, tace). Occorre ancora stabilire la paternità e la provenienza di questo lavoro. Tuttavia un giorno potrebbe essere aggiunto al catalogo delle opere vivaldiane.

Kees Vlaardingerbroek mi ha informato di recente circa un'interessante citazione da lui scoperta, che si riferisce a **una trascrizione contemporanea a Vivaldi delle «Quattro stagioni» per viola da gamba**. Johann Mattheson pubblicò a p.419 della sua *Grundlage einer Ehren-Pforte* (1740) una lettera di Johann Friedrich (o forse Johann Gottfried) Mente (1698-1760 ca.), che nel 1727 era organista presso la Liebfrauenkirche di Liegnitz (oggi Legnica in Polonia). Questi suonava anche la viola da gamba e pubblicò una suite per questo strumento che nel 1754 incontrò l'approvazione di Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg. Nella sua lettera Mente scrive: «Sto dando lezioni di viola da gamba a un Conte (Graf) von Zierotin, la cui famiglia è originaria di Mosca, ma possiede terre in Moravia. Questo Conte, che risiede qui [a Liegnitz] presso la Ritterakademie, dimostra un talento eccezionale per tutte le scienze, ma specialmente per la teoria musicale. Ha fatto tali progressi sulla viola da gamba che non trova grandi difficoltà a suonare i concerti delle *Stagioni* di Vivaldi, e a questo fine io li ho trasposti e trascritti per questo strumento».

Queste trascrizioni (erano per una viola da gamba sola o per una viola da gamba con orchestra?), ricordano quelle delle Sonate per violino dell'Op. V di Corelli, realizzate poco tempo prima. Nell'Europa del Nord la viola da gamba era – almeno sino a che attorno alla metà del Settecento il flauto traverso non la sostituì – lo strumento *par excellence* dei signori e per questa ragione si impadroniva velocemente del repertorio degli altri strumenti. Chissà se un giorno la versione di Mente tornerà alla luce?

Passiamo ora ai nuovi studi su Vivaldi apparsi nell'ultimo anno o poco prima. Occorre citare per primo il libro di Berthold Over, «**Per la Gloria di Dio. Solistische Kirchenmusik an den venezianischen Ospedali im 18. Jahrhundert**» (Bonn, Orpheus Verlag, 1998), una versione leggermente riveduta della sua tesi dello stesso titolo. Questo libro, meticolosamente documentato, fornisce fondamentali informazioni per lo

studio e la comprensione del vasto repertorio dei mottetti e delle antifone per voce sola eseguiti presso gli Ospedali nel Settecento (anche se non considera le intonazioni per voce sola dei salmi, che per Vivaldi costituiscono una categoria importante).

Ancora a proposito di libri, devo citare il mio «**Venetian Music in the Age of Vivaldi**» (Aldershot, Ashgate Publishing, 1999). Questo volume appartiene a una serie nella quale gli studiosi raccolgono in un libro articoli che essi hanno scritto nei decenni precedenti. Nove dei sedici articoli che ho scelto riguardano in particolare Vivaldi – tre di essi furono pubblicati su questa rivista. Coloro che già conoscono la maggior parte di questi studi saranno particolarmente interessati a un nuovo capitolo di «Addenda et Corrigenda», che fornisce correzioni, aggiornamenti e nuovi punti di vista, e all'indice, che permette di mettere in relazione argomenti apparentati, affrontati in luoghi diversi.

Alcuni saggi meritano di essere citati. Daniel Freeman, in un articolo intitolato «**J.S. Bach's "Concerto" Arias: A Study in the Amalgamation of Eighteenth-Century Genres**» pubblicato nel Vol. 27 (1998) di «Studi musicali», offre un nuovo contributo alla nostra conoscenza del rapporto Bach-Vivaldi, dimostrando come Bach utilizzò schemi formali strumentali (e non vocali) nella sua musica per voci. Il grande clarinettista Gilles Thomé, ben noto per le sue eccellenti registrazioni di musiche di Vivaldi, fornisce una dettagliata rassegna dell'uso che il compositore fece degli strumenti ad ancia semplice (clarinetti e chalumeaux) in un articolo intitolato «**Antonio Vivaldi. Oeuvres avec chalumeau et clarinette**» pubblicato nel n. 28 (1998) del periodico «Clarinette Magazine». E – ancora in Francia – Sylvie Mamy ritorna sul sempre fecondo tema del paladino Orlando in un saggio, «**Les trois Orlando de Vivaldi à Venise. Ou: De la Folie Feinte à la Folie Furieuse**», pubblicato in un volume a più mani, intitolato *Figures de Roland* (CRL-Université de Corse, Klicksiek, 1998), a cura di Belinda Canone e Michel Orcel.

Recenti pubblicazioni di musiche di Vivaldi hanno interessato, oltre a RV 798 e 799, due importanti lavori sacri vocali: il *Salve Regina* in Do minore, RV 616, e il *Magnificat*, RV 610/610a/611, entrambi curati da me per la *Nuova Edizione Critica*. Si può considerare un «lusso» il fatto di ritornare su opere che sono state già pubblicate in un passato recente piuttosto che indirizzarsi verso varianti significative di composizioni già note (per esempio il Concerto per flauto RV 434, Op. X n. 5, già pubblicato da Ricordi solo nella sua prima versione per flauto diritto, con il movimento lento in una tonalità diversa). Tuttavia un con-

fronto di queste nuove edizioni con quelle precedenti dimostrerà, speriamo, che lo sforzo era giustificato.

Fabrizio Ammetto e Gioia Filocamo hanno recentemente realizzato un'eccellente edizione critica del **Concerto in Fa maggiore per due violini, due organi e due orchestre d'archi, RV 584** (Bologna, Edizioni Bongiovanni, 1999). Questo concerto, del quale sopravvive solo il primo movimento nella partitura autografa del compositore (Torino, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria, Giordano 28, cc.10-19), non è stato pubblicato dall'Istituto Italiano Antonio Vivaldi (in collaborazione con Ricordi) né nella serie delle vecchie *Opere strumentali* né nella *Nuova Edizione Critica*. In una prefazione all'edizione, Albert Dunning mette in discussione la politica dell'Istituto di non pubblicare opere incomplete. Questo è forse il luogo opportuno per spiegare le ragioni di questa scelta.

Possiamo passare rapidamente sopra la ragione pragmatica: il desiderio dell'editore Ricordi di realizzare volumi di opere adatte ad essere incluse in normali programmi concertistici o a costituire oggetti di attenta lettura per i musicologi. Senza dubbio questo problema potrebbe essere superato realizzando una volta per tutte un volume cumulativo comprendente tutti i movimenti isolati superstiti. La ragione che veramente conta è propriamente di principio. Ogni edizione «monumentale» – che voglia pubblicare in forma permanente e definitiva la musica di un dato compositore – deve darsi norme diverse da quelle proprie di ogni edizione scientifica. Vuole deliberatamente evitare di offrire – per dir così – ostaggi al caso. Si consideri per esempio la situazione di RV 758, precedentemente nota come RV 746. Sino alla sua riscoperta tra le Sonate per violino «di Manchester» nel 1973, quest'opera era nota solo nella forma di due movimenti (il primo e il terzo) conservati, apparentemente, come brani per organo, in un volume di musiche scritte in prevalenza da G.B. Pescetti conservato presso la Biblioteca del Conservatorio di Musica «Benedetto Marcello» di Venezia. Se l'Istituto Italiano Antonio Vivaldi avesse deciso di pubblicare questi due movimenti alla prima occasione utile (fortunatamente la loro scoperta da parte di Peter Ryom avvenne durante l'interregno tra le due edizioni, e pertanto questa tentazione non si presentò nemmeno), si può immaginare quale imbarazzo avrebbe provocato la riapparizione del lavoro nella sua forma completa e nel suo organico originale. Pertanto il Comitato Editoriale responsabile per la *Nuova Edizione Critica* preferisce pazientare ed attendere la riapparizione di sezioni mancanti – una politica che la massa delle recenti scoperte, sopra descritte, ampiamente giustifica.

Occorre sottolineare che l'Istituto non ha mai preteso di adottare

un atteggiamento restrittivo o protezionistico nei confronti di edizioni delle opere di Vivaldi (e non ha mai nemmeno lontanamente ipotizzato di farlo). È ben lieto quando altri studiosi, meno condizionati dalle particolari ragioni sopra esposte, sono in grado di pubblicare composizioni incomplete; addirittura auspica che appaiano altre pubblicazioni simili, come per esempio quelle dei movimenti di concerto RV 431 e 432 (entrambi per flauto) e RV 482 (per fagotto).

Discographie Vivaldi n° 21-1999

aux soins de Roger-Claude Travers

Cette discographie présente les enregistrements parus du 1^{er} janvier 1999 au 31 décembre 1999 dans le monde entier. Les œuvres sont classées suivant le catalogue Ryom.

– Nouveautés:

Sont répertoriés les disques inédits jamais parus auparavant dans aucun pays.

Chaque disque est classé suivant un numéro arbitraire indiquant l'année de parution et un chiffre (cette année: 1999/n° ...).

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

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

Les références des compact-discs, des compact-discs vidéos et des cassettes vidéos sont indiquées dans le recensement annuel, précédées des lettres CD, CDV et Cassette Vidéo.

– Précisions et rééditions:

Cette rubrique donne les références précises des disques insuffisamment ou mal répertoriés dans ces colonnes lors d'une discographie précédente, et des rééditions présentant un intérêt particulier.

– 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.

Le palmarès du *Premio Internazionale del Disco Antonio Vivaldi* concernant la production du *Prete Rosso* est indiqué par un double astérisque.

I. NOUVEAUTÉS PARUES EN 1999

- 1999/1 Sonata per oboe RV53; Sonata per 2 oboi RV81
M. Ponsele, A. Vanlancker (oboi), R. Van der Meer (violoncello), E. Demeyere (clavicembalo)
ACCENT/CD ACC 99136D
(+ Händel)
- 1999/2* Concerti per violino e organo RV541, RV542 ; Concerto per violino, oboe e organo RV554; Sonata per violino, oboe, organo e salmoè se piace RV779

- A. Pierot (violino), P. Beaugiraud (oboe), Le Parlement de Musique, M. Gester (organo)
 ACCORD/CD 205292
 (+ Bach)
- 1999/3** Sonate per violoncello RV39, RV40, RV42, RV43, RV44, RV46
 B. Cocset (violoncello), Les Basses Réunies
 ALPHA/CD 004
- 1999/4* Concerti per archi *di Parigi* RV114, RV119, RV121, RV127, RV133,
 RV136, RV150, RV154, RV157, RV159, RV160, RV164
 Modo Antiquo, F.M. Sardelli (dir.)
 AMADEUS/CD AM 112/2-2 / TACTUS/CD TC 672213
- 1999/5 *Le quattro stagioni* Op.VIII n°1-4
 R. Kussmaul (violino), Berliner Barock Solisten
 BBS/CD CD 1
- 1999/6 Concerti Op.III n°8, 11; Concerto per archi *Alla rustica* RV151
 Zeljko Musica, C. Straka (dir.)
 BERLIN CLASSICS/CD 9349
 (+ Mozart, C.Stamitz)
- 1999/7 Concerto per 2 flauti traversi RV533
 S. Stanciu (Syrinx) (flauto di pan), J.-P. Rampal (flauto traverso), Ensemble
 Orchestral de Normandie, J. Berlingen (dir.)
 CASCAVELLE/CD 65127
 (+ Albinoni, Bartok, Cimarosa, C. Stamitz)
- 1999/8 *Le quattro stagioni* Op.VIII n°1-4
 Orchestre du Centre National des Arts du Canada, P. Zukerman (violino
 e dir.)
 CBC RECORDS/CD SMCD 5194
 (+ Haydn)
- 1999/9 *Le quattro stagioni* Op.VIII n°1-4; *La tempesta di mare* Op.VIII n°5; Con-
 certo per oboe RV461; Concerto per fagotto RV481
 A. Marwood (violino), R. Williams (oboe), U. Leveaux (fagotto), Scotti-
 sch Chamber Orchestra, N. Mac Gegan (dir.)
 CLASSIC FM/CD 75605 57045-2
- 1999/10* 12 Sonate a tre Op. I (integrale); Sonate a tre RV60, RV70, RV72; Sonata
 per violino e violoncello RV83; Sonata per violoncello RV43
 Sonnerie: M. Huggett, E. Benjamin (violini), A. McGillivray (violoncel-
 lo), G. Cooper (clavicembalo, organo), W. Carter (chitarra, liuto e tiorba)
 CPO/2CD 999 511-2
- 1999/11 *Aria Agitata da due venti (Griselda II.2)*
 C. Bartoli (mezzosoprano), Sonatori della Gioiosa Marca
 DECCA/CD 455981-2

(+ Händel, Mozart, Schubert, Berlioz, Bellini, Donizetti, Rossini, Bizet, Caccini, Viardot, Giardini, Montsalvatge)

- 1999/12* *Arie Dell'aura al sussurar (Dorilla in Tempe I.2), Dopo un'orrida procella (Griselda III.6), Di due rai languir costante (Ryom 27a.b.), Qual favellar?...Anderò, volerò, griderò (Orlando finto pazzo III.12), Zeffiretti che sussurrate (Ryom 26), Alma oppressa (La fida ninfa I.9), Dite, obimé (La fida ninfa III.10), Sventurata navicella (Giustino II.13), Sorte, che m'invitasti...Ho nel petto un cor si forte (Giustino II.13), Tra le follie... Siam navi all'onde argenti (L'Olimpiade II.5), Gelido in ogni vena (Farnace II.6), Anch'il mar par che sommerga (Bajazet/Il Tamerlano II.2), Di trombe guerriere (Teuzzone II.1)*
C. Bartoli (mezzosoprano), Il Giardino Armonico
DECCA/CD 466 569-2
- 1999/13 *Le quattro stagioni Op.VIII n°1-4*
A.S. Mutter (violino e dir.), Trondheim Soloists
DEUTSCHE GRAMOPHON/CD 463259-2
(+ Tartini/Zandonai)
- 1999/14* *Sinfonie di Bajazet RV703, L'Olimpiade RV725, La verità in cimento RV739, Ottone in villa RV729, Dorilla in Tempe RV709, Farnace RV711, Giustino RV717; Concerto per archi RV128; Concerto per violino detto Amato bene RV761; Concerto con molti stromenti RV571*
L'Arte dell'Arco, C. Hogwood (clavicembalo e dir.)
DEUTSCHE HARMONIA MUNDI/CD 05472 77501 2
- 1999/15 *Concerti Op.III n°3, 8, 9, 11; Concerti per archi RV114, RV120, Alla rustica RV151, RV157*
Les violons du Roy, B. Labadie (dir.)
DORIAN/CD 90255
- 1999/16 *Sinfonia de L'incoronazione di Dario RV719*
Rheinisches Kammerorchester; J. Carazzola (dir)
ENTERPRISE/CD 92
(+Albinoni, Corelli, Geminiani, Torelli, Locatelli, Sammartini)
- 1999/17 *Le quattro stagioni Op.VIII n°1-4 (trascrizione per 2 chitarre)*
M. Gossell, H. Frennesson (chitarre)
FINLANDIA /CD 3584-25326-2
(+ Bach, Pachelbel, Templeton)
- 1999/18 *6 Concerti per flauto traverso Op. X (integrale)*
S. Dambrine (flauto traverso), Ensemble La Partita
HÄNSSLER CLASSICS/CD 91110
- 1999/19* *"Vivaldi Sacred Music - volume 5": Stabat Mater RV621; Deus tuorum militum RV612; Confitebor tibi Domine RV596; Introduzione al Miserere Non in pratis aut in hortis RV641; Mottetti In turbato mare RV627, O qui coeli terraeque serenitas RV631*

- S. Gritton (soprano), J. Rigby (contralto), R. Blaze (controttenore), C. Daniels (tenore), N. Davies (basso), The King's Consort, R. King (dir.)
HYPERION/CD CDA 66799
- 1999/20 *Le quattro stagioni* Op.VIII n°1-4; Concerti per violino RV314, RV319
A. Cappelletti (violino), Scottish Chamber Orchestra, I. Bolton (dir.)
KOCH SCHWANN/CD 36724-2
- 1999/21 Concerti per flauto traverso *Il gardellino* Op.X n°3, *La tempesta di mare*
Op.X n°1, RV429, RV440; Concerti per flauto diritto RV442, RV441
(1.movimento); Concerto per flautino RV444; Concerto da camera
RV108
G. Hulsens (flauto diritto sopranino, alto, sixth flute), D. Gauthier (flauto
traverso), La Stravaganza Paris
LA STRAVAGANZA PARIS/CD (registrazione privata)
- 1999/22 *Le quattro stagioni* Op.VIII n°1-4
J. Suk (violino), Prague Philharmonia, L. Pesek
LOTOS/CD LT 0059-2 131
- 1999/23 Concerto per 2 violoncelli RV531; Concerto per 2 violini e 2 violoncelli
RV564; Concerto per flauto traverso RV436; Concerto *da camera* RV108;
Sonata a tre *La Follia* Op.I n°12; Sonata per violino e violoncello RV83
Musica Alta Ripa
MDG/CD 309 0927-2
- 1999/24 *La Stravaganza* Op. IV (integrale)
A. Wilkinson (violino), City of London Sinfonia, N. Kraemer (dir.)
NAXOS/2CD 8.553323/24
- 1999/25* "*Dresden Concerti - volume 4*": Concerti per violino RV213, RV219,
RV224, RV240, RV260, RV344, RV388
C. Rossi (violino), Accademia I Filarmonici, A. Martini (dir.)
NAXOS/CD 8.554310
- 1999/26 *Le quattro stagioni* Op.VIII n°1-4; Concerto Op.III n°6
P. Kuusisto (violino), Virtuosi di Kuhmo
ONDINE/CD ODE 939-2
- 1999/27* "*Concertos for Anna Maria*": Concerti per violino RV229, RV248, RV260,
RV267, RV349, *O sia il corneto da posta* RV363
M. Sirbu (violino), I Musici
PHILIPS/CD 454 459-2
- 1999/28 Concerti per violino Op.VIII n°7-12
M. Sirbu (violino), I Musici
PHILIPS/CD 462 591-2
- 1999/29 *Dixit Dominus in due cori* RV594; *Beatus vir in due cori* RV597; *Lauda Je-
rusalem* RV609
S. Colas (soprano), B. Vinson (mezzosoprano), M. Julian (contralto), B.

- Boterf (tenore), J. Michalon (basso), Ensembles vocaux "Finis terrae" e "Aquilonia", Collegium Orpheus, J.-M. Labylle (dir.)
PIERRE VERANY/CD PV799112
- 1999/30 6 Concerti per flauto traverso Op. X (integrale)
F. de Roos (flauti diritti), La Pastorella
RICERCAR/CD 206392
- 1999/31 *Il cemento dell'armonia e dell'invenzione* Op. VIII (integrale)
Interpreti veneziani
RIVO ALTO/2CD CRR 9815/16 (volumi separati)
- 1999/32 6 Concerti per flauto traverso Op. X (integrale)
E. Caroli (flauto traverso), Ensemble Zauberflöte
SIPARIO DISCHI/CD CS55C
- 1999/33 *Le quattro stagioni* Op. VIII n° 1-4
Karsko (violino), Kosice Strings Orchestra
SLOVART RECORDS/CD SR0020
- 1999/34 Concerto per violino Op. XII n° 1
A. Stang (violino), Renaissance Chamber Orchestra, L. Korchin (dir.)
SONY CLASSICAL (INFINITY DIGITAL)/CD QK 57217
(+ Bach)
- 1999/35 Cantata per soprano *All'ombra di sospetto* RV678; Sonata per violino, oboe, organo e salmo e se piace RV779
E. Crommen (soprano), Ensemble Baroque Le Rondeau, J.-P. Boulet (dir.)
SYRIUS/2CD SYR 14350
(+ Vinci, G. Sammartini, A. Scarlatti, Porpora, Leo, Hasse, Tartini, Mancini)
- 1999/36 12 Concerti Op. VII (integrale)
Accademia I Filarmonici, A. Martini (dir.)
TACTUS/2CD TC 672230/31
- 1999/37 6 Concerti Op. XI (integrale)
E. Pellegrino (violino), G. Bortolati (oboe), Accademia I Filarmonici, A. Martini (dir.)
TACTUS/CD TC 672237
- 1999/38* Cantate per soprano (volume 3): *Del suo natio rigore* RV653, *Fonti del pianto* RV656, *Par che tardo oltre il costume* RV662, *Si levi dal pensier* RV665, *Sorge vermiglia in ciel la bella Aurora* RV667, *Usignoletto bello* RV796
N. Kennedy (soprano), Modo Antiquo, F.M. Sardelli (dir.)
TACTUS/CD TC 672209
- 1999/39 Sonata per flauto traverso RV50
S. Bet (flauto traverso), F. Cera (clavicembalo)
TACTUS/CD TC 700002
(+ B. Marcello, Ferrandini, Pescetti, Bon, Platti)

- 1999/40 *Laudate pueri Dominum* RV601; *Salve Regina* RV617; Mottetti *O qui coeli terraeque serenitas* RV631, *Vos aurae per montes* RV634
S. Le Blanc (soprano), Teatro Lirico, S. Stubbs (dir.)
VANGUARD/CD 99157
- 1999/41 Sonate per violoncello RV40, RV42, RV43; Trii per violino e liuto RV82, RV85
V. Lévy (violoncello), F. Ben Attar (chitarra)
XCP/CD 10
- 1999/42 Concerto Op. III n°11
Collegium Philharmonique Tchèque, G. Demeterova (dir.)
WALDMANN/CD JW 004
(+ Corelli, A. Scarlatti, Albinoni, Geminiani, Locatelli)

II. PRECISIONS ET REEDITIONS

- 1999/R1* *Il cimento dell'armonia e dell'invenzione* Op. VIII (intégrale)
L. Kaufman (violino) n°1-4, registrazione 1948: Concert Hall String Orchestra, H. Swoboda (dir.); n°5-12, registrazione 1953: Winterthur Orchestra, C. Dahinden (dir.)
DANTE/LYS/5CD 533-537
(+ Mozart/Casadesus, Mendelssohn, Saint Saens, Barber, Khatchaturian, Goetz, Vaughan Williams)

III. COMMENTAIRE SUR LA DISCOGRAPHIE

Parmi les compositeurs italiens du temps jadis, Vivaldi reste incontestablement le plus honoré. Du moins le plus enregistré. Trois fois plus, par exemple, que Domenico Scarlatti ou Monteverdi. En gardant cependant en mémoire qu'il y a quinze ans, la production discographique vivaldienne représentait dix fois celle de tout autre talent musical du passé. Cette relative désaffection n'est pas étonnante, en fait. Les éditeurs ont pris conscience que l'exploration quasi complète du catalogue rendait de plus en plus difficile la quête des "inédits", qui avait nourri et justifié tant d'enregistrements de la décennie passée. Le filon réputé inépuisable du concerto a montré ses limites. Il représente encore, certes, pour l'année 1999, les trois-quarts des oeuvres vivaldiennes enregistrées, mais une lecture analytique de la production autorise quelques remarques. Sur une quarantaine d'enregistrements, dont trente seulement proposent des récitals essentiellement consacrés au vénitien, dix nouvelles versions des *Quattro stagioni* viennent encombrer le pauvre catalogue des nouveautés. Toutes sur instruments modernes. Certaines donnant une

nouvelle fois à des solistes prestigieux comme Josef Suk, Pinchas Zukerman ou Anne-Sophie Mutter la partie de *violino principale*. Découvrir de nouvelles facettes de l'art vivaldien n'est pas, à l'évidence, leur motivation. Dans leur optique, les *Stagioni* demeurent une page du grand répertoire, comme le seraient le Ré majeur de Beethoven ou le "Turc" de Mozart. Remarquons que cette politique du *remake* (...dont l'attrait mitigé a des parfums de redondance) qui semblait de mise hier encore pour des vivaldiens historiques comme Scimone ou I Musici (... qui enregistrent par exemple cette année une nouvelle fois la seconde partie de l'Opus VIII (1999/28)) ne semble guère intéresser pour l'instant les chantres du mouvement baroque sur instruments anciens, qui explorent Vivaldi avec une prudence et une mesure encourageantes. Le soin esthétique et la pertinence musicologique apportés à certains programmes laissent même l'espoir que Vivaldi offrira à l'avenir au mélomane de réjouissantes surprises.

Cette année, aucun des secteurs de composition n'a été oublié. Le *Premio Internazionale del disco* a récompensé Bruno Cocset et Les Basses Réunies, pour leur interprétation d'un florilège de *Sonate per violoncello* (1999/3), où l'on goûte un climat poétique réussi. L'assise harmonique des Basses Réunies est choisie avec pertinence selon le caractère de chaque mouvement, depuis le seul violoncelle continuo jusqu'à la luxuriante combinaison du seize pieds, du clavier et des cordes pincées. Une approche sereine et équilibrée; du soliste surtout. De la présence, de l'élégance, de belles respirations, mais pas de débordements: la "touche française" pourrait-on dire, qui atteint parfois un raffinement extrême, dans les *Largo* des RV43 ou RV46. Naturel, élégant, sensuel et virtuose, l'enregistrement intégral des *Sonate a tre* Opus 1 (1999/10) est un hommage épanoui rendu par Sonnerie au jeune prêtre musicien de Venise qui se targuait d'en remonter au modèle corellien. Les arguments de Monica Huggett ne manquent pas de persuasion. Une conduite à la fois souple et ferme, une dynamique travaillée et une richesse savoureuse des agréments. De fort beaux moments, comme la *Sarabanda* de la n°4, traitée en trio d'archets, où les ornements ondoient et virevoltent, ou cette *Corrente* échevelée de la n°11, fascinante dans sa rage obsessionnelle et sa rythmique furieuse. La basse continue, déclinée sur tous les modes (cordes frottées ou pincées, accords harmoniques et contrepoint mélodique) reste toujours d'un goût parfait. La version actuellement la plus satisfaisante.

Les Concertos édités à Amsterdam sont copieusement servis avec, rappelons-le, dix *Quattro Stagioni*, deux Opus X, et une gravure pour chacun des Opus IV, VII, VIII et XI. Paradoxalement, malgré cette

pléthore, rien de bien passionnant à signaler, sinon la réédition historique de la toute première version intégrale non transcrite de l'histoire du disque d'*Il cimento dell'armonia e dell'invenzione* Opus VIII (1999/R1), par le violoniste américain Louis Kaufman, qui dénichait dès 1948 l'édition d'Amsterdam des *Stagioni* et gravait ainsi la deuxième version avec Henry Swoboda et l'Orchestre de la Concert Hall Society, après celle, naturellement transcrite, de Molinari en 1942. Il récidivait en 1953 avec le Winterthur Orchester, mais sous la direction de Clemens Dahinden, en offrant les huit derniers concertos. Kaufman avait certes une technique imprégnée de la tradition stylistique du XIX^{ème} siècle, avec des accents languissants, un vibrato large, moult *portamenti* et liaisons romantiques et il n'était guère aidé par un orchestre massif et un peu brouillon. Qu'importe. Kaufman avait surtout l'intuition de la liberté du langage vivaldien.

Peu d'enregistrements réjouissants de concertos manuscrits, avec de remarquables exceptions, comme les *Concerti per archi di Parigi* par Modo Antiquo (1999/4). La lecture de Sardelli est subtile et intelligente. Lecture brillante et enflammée dans l'*Allegro* initial des RV164 et RV136 et RV121, avec toujours de beaux phrasés des archets et une basse continue splendide (dans l'*Andante* du RV136 par exemple). Le travail sur la dynamique parvient même à rendre acceptable l'*Allegro* final du RV127 et compréhensible le travail d'articulation sur l'*Allegro* initial du RV133. Modo Antiquo est maintenant très au point. Le domaine des *Concerti per violino* reste, semble-t-il, le seul où les virtuoses sur instruments modernes se montrent toujours plus audacieux et originaux que leurs collègues frottant les cordes en boyaux. Les éternels I Musici se lancent, après Shlomo Mintz, sur la piste des concerti joués par Anna-Maria, *maestra* de la Pietà (1999/27). Mariana Sirbu est une grande dame du violon. Sonorité fastueuse, poésie du phrasé, netteté du discours. Et si les années passent, l'institution I Musici reste, symbolisée par leur luxueux accompagnement modelé après un long et patient travail communautaire. Les prétentions d'Alberto Martini dans sa poursuite d'une gravure complète des *Concerti per violino* sont peut être moins ambitieuses. Il achève avec les Opus VII et XI une intégrale des plus modestes des œuvres éditées (1999/36-37), et continue pour un autre éditeur l'exhumation des manuscrits du fonds de Dresde, avec un bonheur autrement satisfaisant (1999/25). Voilà apaisée l'impatience teintée d'un léger agacement qui nous animait devant les tâtonnements des premiers volumes. Le soliste du jour, Cristiano Rossi, a les qualités du soliste vivaldien: technique solaire, précision, justesse, fluidité d'archet donnant l'illusion de la facilité, mais avec une pointe de

brillant et de morgue dans l'ornementation, et un sens certain du théâtre et du lyrisme. Cinq inédits discographiques dans le programme: Les RV388 et RV219 des années 1715-1717, avec, comme mouvement lent du RV219, une adaptation d'un thème bien connu du RV561 pour violon et 2 violoncelles. Des années 1726-29, les autres concertos ont l'étoffe théâtrale caractéristique. Le RV240 a du charme, avec ses allures de pot-pourri d'airs d'opéras. Rossi vaut Mintz dans les RV260 et RV213, mais les Milanais s'épanchent plus librement que les Israéliens. Dans le *Largo* du RV 213, la conduite rhapsodique du violon de Milstein reste aujourd'hui encore d'un chic inégalé. Bel enregistrement aussi, des *Concerti con organo* par Le Parlement de Musique dirigé par Martin Gester (1999/2). Dans le RV554, le souci est de préserver l'équilibre pourtant artificiel entre trois solistes aussi disparates qu'un violon, un orgue et un hautbois. Gester axe le jeu commun sur une rythmique imperturbable, sur laquelle se greffent les phrasés identiques des compères. Résultat tonifiant, particulièrement dans les mouvements rapides. Même fluidité pour les RV541 et RV542. Mais la grande réussite vient de la *Sonata* RV779, transformée en œuvre visionnaire. Poésie interrogative de l'*Andante*, où les solistes s'observent, se surveillent, attentifs et réservés à la fois. L'*Allegro* suivant prend une saveur pré-galante, stupéfiante pour une page d'environ 1708. Inventif Gester, tout aussi convaincant dans la conduite chaloupée infiniment sensuelle du *Largo e cantabile* suivant.

Venons-en à la musique sacrée, où Robert King reste encore aujourd'hui sans véritable concurrence, avec le volume 5 (1999/19) d'une intégrale qui fera date, tant par les choix musicologiques équilibrés du chef que pour l'intelligence et l'inspiration de ses options esthétiques. Subtil choix que celui de Robin Blaze pour le *Stabat Mater* RV621, contre-ténor à l'émission longue et stable. Quelques maniérismes à peine dans l'intonation de cette voix souple au timbre un rien féminin. Un climat recueilli, apaisé, sans pathos. Rayonnante Susan Gritton aussi, dans deux *Mottetti* spectaculaires, mettant en relief dans les *Alleluia* ses vocalises agiles, sans que son grave guère nourri ne soit trop sollicité. Jean Rigby a la voix douce que les écrits prêtent à Geltruda, qui chanta l'*Introduzione al Miserere* RV641 à la Pietà. On regrette cependant l'expression par trop détachée, extérieure au drame de la Passion. Aafje Heynis nous manque. Solide *Confitebor tibi Domine* RV596 enfin, porté par trois voix radieuses venant à bout des arabesques harassantes imposées tout au long de cette œuvre virtuose de maturité.

Federico Maria Sardelli poursuit, quant à lui, la seule intégrale des *Cantate* qui n'engendre pas morosité ou désespoir, selon l'humeur du

moment. Pour ce volume 3 (1999/38), Nicky Kennedy offre une adorable petite voix de soprano, très sensible, agile, avec un vibrato un peu serré mais agréable. *Par che tardo oltre il costume* RV662 est une cantate de maturité d'une beauté subjugante, dont elle sait exprimer avec grâce le subtil parfum. Les amateurs de voix plus corsées boudront peut-être. Mais qui a su, hormis Sardelli, nous éviter l'ennui dans un répertoire où les grandes voix se sont toujours fourvoyées?

Pour introduire la musique théâtrale, évoquons d'abord le récital de *Sinfonie avanti l'opera* par L'Arte dell'Arco des Guglielmo, sous la bienveillante protection médiatique de Christopher Hogwood (1999/14). L'orchestre, toujours brillant, mais plus souple que par le passé, a de bons moments, comme la course poursuite véhémente qui introduit *L'Olimpiade*, le vigoureux *Finale* et l'*Andante molto* raffiné de *Bajazet*, ou l'équilibre des mouvements lents de *La verità in cimento* ou *Giustino*. Mais les liens entre la musique instrumentale et lyrique de Vivaldi sont loins d'être épuisés par un tel récital. Regrouper les intermèdes orchestraux qui truffent les opéras, ou bien évoquer une destination scénique à diverses *Sinfonie* destinées, selon la classification de Ryom, au concert, composerait un programme original et musicologiquement passionnant. Une simple suggestion pour Hogwood et Guglielmo. Il reste, pour terminer cette chronique, à évoquer "*The Vivaldi Album*" par "La" Bartoli (1999/12). Les prosélytes du répertoire lyrique vivaldiens ne peuvent que se réjouir du succès mondial remporté par ce récital, où la *diva* a focalisé sur son nom un colossal support médiatique, dont plus ou moins directement, la musique de Vivaldi va bénéficier, tant ce répertoire étonnant, brillant et virtuose va sans doute susciter des émules parmi les grandes voix du monde de l'opéra. Le choix des œuvres, qui ne fait pourtant qu'effleurer le somptueux catalogue des airs, est infiniment subtil et hautement stratégique, dans l'ambition avouée d'en feuilleter jusqu'au vertige les facettes multiples. Styles, couleurs, instrumentation, situations dramatiques varient sans cesse, tiennent en haleine l'auditeur captivé. La technique et les moyens vocaux de Bartoli laissant pantois. Son timbre dans le médium agace parfois, certes. Oubliions. Etincelant *Dopo un orrida procella*, fulgurant *Anderò, volerò, griderò*, rutilant *Anche il mar par che sommerga, Zeffiretti che sussurrate* d'une sensibilité infinie dans la section A, malicieuse *Sventurata navicella*, *Alma oppressa* d'un intimisme dramatique. Tendresse bouleversante enfin de *Dite obimé*. Un bémol pour *Gelido in ogni vena*, emphatique et boursoufflé. Il Giardino Armonico charrie une précieuse palette de couleurs rares et enthousiasmantes, comme le *salterio* de *Ho nel petto*, les flageolets de *Di due rai*, les cors de *Dopo un'orrida procella*. Les tempi sont parfaits.

L'osmose entre Bartoli et Il Giardino s'est produite. Une voie royale est maintenant tracée pour les Nathalie Dessay, les Anne-Sophie von Otter ou les Renée Fleming.

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