

INFORMAZIONI E STUDI VIVALDIANI



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

**VENEZIA
FONDAZIONE
GIORGIO CINI**

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Fondazione Giorgio Cini
ISTITUTO ITALIANO ANTONIO VIVALDI

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Vivaldi Concerto Manuscripts in Manchester: II

Paul Everett

The provenance, history and significance of "The Manchester Concerto Partbooks", a collection containing sources of twenty-four Vivaldi concertos, were introduced in the first in this series of three articles.¹ Notwithstanding the textual authority of the parts for *Le quattro stagioni* and the importance of the six Roman sources, the manuscripts which are most illustrative of Vivaldi's methods of composition and revision, and of his working relationships with copyists, are those discussed below.

A Venetian Repertory

As was noted in the first article, 16 of the 24 Vivaldi items are of Venetian provenance, according to their paper-types, stave-rulings and handwritings. Of these, items 9-12 (the copies of *Le quattro stagioni*) must be regarded as a separate set; written in hands II/1 and II/2 on paper-type B5, they exhibit no connection with other Manchester sources.² The remaining twelve sets of parts, items 1-6, 8, 13-15, 79 and 80, provide ample evidence of their interrelation within a "repertory" of a single provenance and date. Information significant to an appreciation of the repertory is presented in the catalogue below, which, for each item, lists data in the following order:

- identification;
- number of parts;
- transcribed instrumental designations;
- the location (volume/ff.) of each part;
- the portion of a sheet (originally imposed in oblong quarto format) which each part comprises (e.g. *bifolio*);
- classifications, for each part, of (a) the paper-type (*A*, *B1*, etc.), and (b) the rastrum used to rule the staves (e.g. *10/188*);
- transcriptions of selected title-pages and superscriptions;
- classifications of handwritings, with descriptions of where each is found;
- remarks, when applicable, concerning missing or incomplete parts;
- details and locations of concordant and partly concordant sources.³

Item 1 Concerto in F major, RV 572; *Il Proteo ò il mondo al roverscio*

11 parts:

<i>Flauto Trauersier^e Pmo.</i>	XIV, 14; bifolio	A	10/188
<i>Flauto 2^{do}.</i>	X, 13; bifolio	A	10/188
<i>Hautbois Primo</i>	XIV, 22; bifolio	A	10/188
<i>Hautbois 2do.</i>	XII, 29; bifolio	A	10/188
<i>Viol^o: Principale</i>	I, 1; bifolio	A	10/188
<i>Cembalo Solo</i>	VI, 1; bifolio	A	10/188
<i>Violoncello [solo]</i>	V, 1-2; bifolio	A	10/188
<i>V[iolino primo]</i>	II, 1-2; bifolio	A	10/188
<i>V[iolino] 2o</i>	III, 1-2; bifolio	B1	10/200
<i>[Viola]</i>	IV, 1-2; bifolio	B1	10/200
<i>[Basso]</i>	XII, 23-24; bifolio	B1	10/200

Autograph superscriptions on all parts; e.g. I, 1r: *Il Proteò ò il Mondo al Rouerscio Con^{to}: del Viualdi Viol^o: Principale / Tutti li soli di questo Concerto di deono suonare all'Ottava alta*

Hands I/1 (autog.): all superscriptions and part-designations, and the musical text of the *Ob* 2, *Vl pr*, *Vc*, *Vl* 1, *Vl* 2, *Vla* and *Basso* parts. I/2: musical text of the *F1 trav* 1, *Fl trav* 2, *Ob* 1 and *Cemb* parts.

The *Vl* 1 part lacks the third movement.

Concordances: none. A different version of this concerto exists as RV 544/F IV, 5: *I-Tn*, Giordano 28, ff. 2-9.

Item 2 Concerto in F Major, RV 294; *Il ritiro*

5 parts:

<i>Viol^o: Principale</i>	I, 2; bifolio	B1	10/200
<i>Viol^o: Pmo.</i>	II, 3; single folio	B2	10/185.5
<i>Viol^o: 2^{do}.</i>	III, 3; single folio	B2	10/185.5
<i>Alto [viola]</i>	IV, 3-4; bifolio	B2	10/185.5
<i>Cembal[o]</i>	VI, 2-3; bifolio	B2	10/185.5

Autograph superscriptions on all parts; e.g. I, 2r: *Il Ritiro con^{to}: del S: D. Ant^o: Viualdi Viol^o: Principale*

Hands I/1 (autog.): all superscriptions and part-designations, and the musical text as follows: *Vl pr*, movements i, ii, iii bars 1-189 note 2; *Vl* 1, movements i, ii; *Vl* 2 complete; *Vla*, movements i, ii and the first clef for movement iii; *Cemb*, movement i bars 1-83. I/2: musical text as follows: *Vl pr*, movement iii bar 189 note 3 - end; *Vl* 1, movement iii; *Vla*, movement iii except first clef; *Cemb*, movement i bar 84 - end, and movements ii and iii.

Concordances: none of RV 294. Manuscripts (in *Dddr-Dlb*, *A-Wn* and *S-L*) and prints (including Op. VII No. 10) of RV 294a/F I, 205.

Item 3 Concerto in E major, RV 270/F I, 4; *Il riposo*

5 parts:

[Violino principale]	I, 3; bifolio	B1	10/200
Viol ^o : Pmo	II, 4-5; bifolio	B3	5/88.75
Viol[ino secondo]	III, 4; single folio	B3	5/88.75
Alto [viola]	IV, 5; single folio	B3	5/88.75
Basso	VI, 4-5; bifolio	B3	5/88.75

Title-pages in *Vl 1* and *Basso* parts; VI, 4r: *Il Riposo / Con^{to}: Del Viualdi / Basso / Tutti gl'Istromenti in questo Con^{to}: deuono essere sempre sordini.*

Hands I/1 (autog.): all title-pages, superscriptions and part-designations.
I/3: musical text of all parts.

Concordance I-Tn, Giordano 34, ff. 88-95; autograph score.

Item 4 Concerto in B minor, RV 391/F I, 50

5 parts:

Violino Principale	I, 4-7; quire (4 leaves)	B4	10/194.8
Violino Pmo.	II, 6; bifolio	B4	10/194.8
Violino Secondo	III, 5; bifolio	B4	10/194.8
Alto Viola	IV, 6-7; bifolio	B4	10/194.8
Cembalo	VI, 6-7; bifolio	B4	10/194.8

Title-pages in *Vl pr* and *Vla* parts; I, 4r: *Concerto / Del S. D. Ant^o: Viualdi / Violino Principale*. Superscriptions on other parts.

Hand I/4: all title-pages, superscriptions and musical texts.

Concordances I-Tn, Foà 29, ff. 194-203; autograph score. *A-Wn*, Cod. 15996, "La Cetra", Concerto V; autograph parts lacking *Violino primo* (solo part). Print, Op. IX No. 12; Amsterdam, Le Cène No. 534 [1727].

Item 5 Concerto in D major, RV 234/F I, 10; *L'inquietudine*

5 parts:

Viol ^o : Principale	I, 8; bifolio	B1	10/200
Viol ^o : Pmo.	II, 7-8; bifolio	B3	5/88.75
Viol ^o : Secondo	III, 6-7; bifolio	B3	5/88.75
Alto [viola]	IV, 9-10; bifolio	B1	10/200
Organo	VI, 8-9; bifolio	B3	5/88.75

Title-pages in *Vl 1*, *Vl 2* and *Vla* parts; II, 7r: *L'Inquietudine / Con^{to}: Del Viualdi / Viol^o: Pmo*. Superscriptions on other parts.

Hand I/1 (autog.): all titles, superscriptions and musical texts.

Concordances I-Tn, Giordano 34, ff. 79-87; autograph score. *I-Gi(l)*, M.4.28.34; score of Venetian provenance, copied in hand I/4.

Item 6 Concerto in D major, RV 90/F XII, 9; *Il gardellino*

5 parts

<i>Flauto o Viol^o: Pmo</i>	I, 9; bifolio	A	10/188.8
<i>Hautbois ò Viol^o: [2^{do}.]</i>	II, 9; single folio	A	10/188.8
<i>Viol^o: 3[^o.]</i>	III, 8-9; bifolio	A	10/188.8
<i>Violoncello ò Fagotto</i>	V, 3; bifolio	A	10/188.8
<i>Basso Cont[inuo]</i>	VI, 10-11; bifolio	A	10/188.8

Autograph superscriptions on all parts; e.g. I, 9r: *Il Gardellino Con^{to}: Del Viualdi Flauto o Viol^o: Pmo.*

Hands I/1 (autog.): all superscriptions and part-designations. I/2: musical text of all parts.

Concordance I-Tn, Giordano 31, ff. 332-338; score of Venetian provenance, copied in hand I/4.

Item 8 Concerto in A major, RV 349/F I, 123

5 parts:

<i>Viol^o: Principale</i>	I, 14; bifolio	B4	10/187
<i>Violino Primo</i>	II, 11-12; bifolio	B4	10/187
<i>Viol^o: 2do.</i>	III, 11-12; bifolio	B3	10/196
<i>Alto Viola</i>	IV, 11-12; bifolio	B3	10/196
<i>Cembalo</i>	VI, 13; single folio	B3	10/196

Title-pages in *Vl 1* and *Vla* parts; II, 11r: *Violino Primo / Con^{to}: Del S. D. Antonio Viualdi*. Superscriptions on other parts.

Hands I/1 (autog.): superscriptions on *Vl pr* and *Cemb* parts. I/3: title-pages and superscriptions on *Vl 1*, *Vl 2* and *Vla* parts, and the musical text of all parts.

Concordances I-Tn, Giordano 29, ff. 144-153; autograph score. *Dddr-Dlb*, Mus. 2389-0-65; 5 parts, of German provenance, copied by Pisendel and in *Schreiber B*.

Item 13 Concerto in E flat major, RV 253/F I, 26; *La tempesta di mare*

5 parts:

<i>[Violino principale]</i>	I, 31-34; quire (4 leaves)	B1	10/200
<i>Violino Primo</i>	II, 21-22; bifolio	D	5/89.8
<i>Violino Secondo</i>	III, 21-22; bifolio	B6	10/184.7
<i>Viola</i>	IV, 21-22; bifolio	E1	5/89.8
<i>Violoncello</i>	VI, 22-23; bifolio	E1	5/89.8

Title-pages in *Vi pr*, *Vi 1* and *Vi 2* parts; III, 21r: *La Tempesta di Mare / Concerto / Del Sig^{re}: D. Ant^o. Viualdi / Violino Secondo*. Superscriptions on other parts.

Hands I/3: *Vi pr* part. I/4: *Vi 2* part. I/5: title-page in the *Vi 1* part and the *Vc* part complete. I/6: musical text of the *Vi 1* part. I/7: *Vla* part.

A full *basso continuo* part is absent; the present "violoncello" part is for *ripieno* bass, being silent during solo passages.

Concordances Dddr-Dlb, Mus. 2389-0-62; 11 parts, of Venetian provenance, copied by Pisendel (8 parts), Vivaldi (1 part) and in *Schreiber k* (2 parts). Prints: Op. VIII No. 5; Amsterdam, Le Cène No. 520 [1725], and Paris, Le Clerc le Cadet [1739].

Item 14 Concerto in F major, RV 286/F I, 20

5 parts:

[<i>Violino principale</i>]	I, 35; bifolio	B7	10/194.8
<i>Viol^o: Pmo di Con^{tno}</i>	II, 23-24; bifolio	A	10/188.3
<i>Viol^o: 2do di Con^{tno}</i>	III, 23-24; bifolio	A	10/188.3
<i>Alto Viola di Con^{tno}</i>	IV, 23-24; bifolio	A	10/188.3
<i>Basso</i>	VI, 24-25; bifolio	A	10/188.3

Autograph superscription, I, 35r: *Con^{to}: del Viualdi p(er) la S^a: Anna Maria*.

Hands I/1 (autog.): superscription on the *Vi pr* part. I/2: *Basso* part. I/3: musical text of the *Vi pr* part. I/4: *Vi 1*, *Vi 2* and *Vla* parts.

Concordances I-Tn, Foà 30 ff. 12-23; autograph score entitled *Con^{to}: p(er) la Solennità di S. Lorenzo. A-Wn*, Cod. 15996, "La Cetra", Concerto IV; autograph parts lacking *Violino primo* (solo part). *I-Nc*, M.S. 11155-11160; 6 parts of Italian provenance. *Dddr-SW1*, Mus. 5573.

Item 15 Concerto in D major, RV 95/F XII, 29; *La pastorella*

5 parts:

<i>Flauto ò Viol^o: Pmo</i>	I, 36; bifolio	A	10/188.3
<i>Viol^o: 2do o Hautbois</i>	II, 25; single folio	A	10/188.3
<i>Viol. [3^o.]</i>	III, 25; single folio	A	10/188.3
<i>Viol^{no}: obligato, ò</i> <i>Basso, ò Fagotto</i>	V, 4-5; bifolio	A	10/188.3
<i>Basso</i>	VI, 26-27; bifolio	A	10/188.3

Title-page in *Vc obl/Fag* part, V, 4r: *La Pastorella / Con^{to}: / Del Viualdi / Viol^{no}: obligato, ò Basso, ò Fagotto*. Superscriptions on other parts.

Hands I/1 (autog.): title-page, all superscriptions and part-designations. I/2: musical text of all parts.

Concordance I-Tn, Giordano 31, ff. 235-242; autograph score.

Item 79 Concerto in E major, RV 762

5 parts:

<i>Violino Principale</i>	VII, 96-98; single folio (96) and bifolio	A	10/188
V[<i>iolin</i>] ^o . P ^o .	VIII, 63-64; bifolio	A	10/188
V[<i>iolin</i>] ^o . 2 ^o .	IX, 49; single folio	A	10/188
<i>Violet[ta]</i>	XI, 43; single folio	A	10/188
<i>Ba[ss]o</i>	XIII, 71-72; bifolio	A	10/188

Title-page in *VI pr* part, VII, 96r: *Concerto / Del Sig^{re}: D. Ant^o: Viualdi / p(er) la S^a: Anna M^a: alla Pietà / Violino Principale.*

Hands I/2: *VI 1, VI 2, Vla* and *Basso* parts. I/4: *VI pr* part.

Concordances: *none*. A version of the concerto in D major exists as RV 223/F I, 225: *F-Pn*, Rés. F. 446, Fonds Blancheton, "Op. 1 No. 28"; 7 parts of French provenance. The finale of RV 762 is concordant with that of RV 263a/F I, 48: the print Op. IX No. 4; Amsterdam, Le Cène No. 533 [1727].

Item 80 Concerto in A major, RV 763/F I, 240; *L'ottavina*

5 parts:

<i>Viol^o: Principale</i>	VII, 99; bifolio	B7	10/191.5
<i>Violino Primo</i>	VIII, 65; single folio	B8	10/189.5
<i>Violino Secondo</i>	IV, 50; single folio	B8	10/189.5
<i>Alto Viola</i>	XI, 44; single folio	B8	10/189.5
[<i>Basso</i>]	XIII, 73-74; bifolio	B8	10/189.5

Title-page in *Basso* part, XIII, 73r: *L'Ottavina / Concerto del Sig^e. D: Antonio / Viualdi / Tutti li Soli di questo Con^{to}: deuono essere suonati / dal Viol^o: Principale sempre all' / Ottava alta.*

Hands I/1 (autog.): all superscriptions on the *VI pr, VI 1, VI 2* and *Vla* parts, and the words *Tutti...alta* on the title-page. I/3: musical text of all parts, and the title-page except for the words *Tutti...alta*.

Concordance *I-Vc*, Fondo Esposti, Busta 55, vol. 133, ff. 9v-12r; *VI pr* part only, of Venetian provenance, with the superscription *Concerto Per Sig^{ra}: Anna Maria*.

The Venetian origin of these sources is distinguished primarily, of course, by their paper-types. Though the precise locations of the paper-mills remain unknown, there can be no doubt that the present varieties of paper-type B, each containing the generic watermark of three crescents, were available in the city of Venice having been manufactured in the Lombardy-Venetia region. This kind of paper, whose production began at least as early as the first decades of the

seventeenth century and continued well into the nineteenth, is of *foglio reale* dimensions, and is clear, strong and ideally suited, as Eineder states, for use as drawing, wrapping and music paper.⁴ We need hardly be surprised that Vivaldi and the other scribes responsible for compiling the present items used this paper, or that as many as seven varieties (B1-4 and B6-8) are represented in as few as nine sources (items 1-5, 8, 13, 14 and 80); to judge also from the dozens of varieties represented in the Foà and Giordano collections in the Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria, Turin, quires of three-crescents paper (whether imposed in oblong or upright format) are by far the most common materials for the composer's work.⁵

And it is not difficult to understand why such paper was preferred by Vivaldi and, one assumes, many other musicians active in Venice. Since each of the present parts' stave-rulings are exclusive to a single paper-type (rulings by rastrum 10/200, for example, are found only on paper-type B1), it appears that the person responsible for using the rastrum in each case was the paper's manufacturer – a conclusion more than amply confirmed by studies of Turin manuscripts.⁶ By the early years of the eighteenth century it was clearly the case that many manufacturers of three-crescents paper prepared considerable quantities of their stock specifically for use as music paper (with the number and size of staves closely related to the size and shape of the page), and that Vivaldi could purchase, from dealers, pre-ruled sheets in designs most conveniently suited to his needs. A cursory examination of the full range of Turin autographs reveals that he most commonly acquired quires in oblong quarto format, with ten staves per page, for both scores and parts for many genres, but that on occasion he preferred to use sheets imposed in upright quarto format either with twelve staves per page, perhaps for the extra space and particularly wide staves this design afforded, or with 16 or 18 staves per page upon which the scores for certain works, perhaps involving chorus, vocal soloists and instruments, could be accommodated. The paper-manufacturers' rastra, which ruled five, eight, nine, ten, twelve or even 16 staves at a single stroke on such paper, may well have been mechanical in operation, and the uniformity of the staves' appearance is quite remarkable. This, the Venetian style of stave-ruling as it may be regarded, is distinguished by the use of brown ink, in shades varying from light to dark, commonly tinted with red, grey or green hues. The fact that Vivaldi and other scribes also invariably used brown inks for their musical notation suggests that the paper-manufacturers were at pains to provide consistently matched materials which complemented the preferred style of calligraphy. In short, the surviving sources of Vivaldi's music

alone document the highly advanced state of the commercial provision of music paper in early eighteenth-century Venice.⁷

Conforming in these matters, the paper-types and stave-rulings of the present items are typical of the materials Vivaldi habitually used. Each *B*-type is distinguished principally by its countermark (positioned centrally in one half of the sheet or in a corner), a second watermark which is the trade-sign of a particular paper-mill or manufacturer.⁸

- B1*: a cross positioned above two initials, the second being "S".
- B2*: a cornermark of two initials, "G V", surmounted by a trefoil. In addition, the letter "S" appears below the central crescent.
- B3*: a crowned, double-headed eagle. In addition, the letter "A" beneath the central crescent.⁹
- B4*: a crossbow. In addition, the letter "A" beneath the central crescent.¹⁰
- B6*: a cornermark of two devices or initials which cannot be identified, surmounted by a trefoil. In addition, the letter "Z" appears near the corner of the sheet, below the crescents.
- B7*: no countermark has been found; the type is identified solely from the positions and dimensions of its crescents.
- B8*: a cornermark of a trefoil surmounting two devices or initials; of these, one is missing because of the trimming of the leaves and the other is incomplete (though it may be the letter "P").

Paper-type *A*, exhibiting a single watermark of a trefoil surmounting two initials (the first being "C"), so closely resembles the *B*-types in its sheet-size, quality, texture and colour that it is likely originally to have had the three crescents – wires which had broken away from the mould by the time the present sheets were made. Finally, paper-types *D* and *E1*, each exhibiting a watermark comprising an indistinguishable device within a single circle, are of inferior quality. Because their respective portions of watermarks seem to fit together, it is possible that they are one and the same type – a notion supported, indeed, by their similar stave-rulings.

There is no doubt, as we shall see, that the present repertory was compiled by Vivaldi himself with the assistance of associated copyists, yet this claim is strengthened all the more by the fact that some of these paper-types appear, as follows, among the manuscripts in Turin:¹¹

- B3*: RV 579/F XII, 12, *Concerto funebre*, autog.; Foà 32, ff. 349-360.¹²
RV 615, autog.; Giord. 34, ff. 75-78.
- B4*: RV 169/F XI, 7, autog.; Giord. 34, ff. 100-102.
- B6*: RV 121/F XI, 30, autog.; Foà 30, ff. 118-125.
RV 153/F XI, 33, autog.; Giord. 30, ff. 27-30.

- RV 210/F I, 30, autog. (with other papers); Giord. 30, ff. 184-206.
 RV 229/F I, 45, autog. (with another paper); Giord. 30, ff. 12-21.
 RV 231/F I, 8, autog.; Giord. 30, ff. 67-74.
 RV 332/F I, 6, autog.; Giord. 30, ff. 2-11.
 RV 534/F VII, 3, copy (with another paper); Giord. 34, ff. 65-74.
 RV 693a, partly autog.; Giord. 32, ff. 44-47.
 RV 686, autog. (with another paper); Foà 27, ff. 41-52.
 B8: RV 350/F I, 106, autog.; Foà 30, ff. 24-27 and 106-113.
 D: RV 95/F XII, 29, *La pastorella*, autog.; Giord. 31, ff. 235-242.

The sources comprising paper-types B3, B4, B8 and D exhibit stave-rulings different from those appearing in Manchester. From this one must conclude that they and the Manchester parts of identical paper are not necessarily of similar date; each paper-type, after all, might have remained in production for many years. The nine Turin sources wholly or partly comprising paper-type B6, on the other hand, are demonstrably related to the sole Manchester part (item 13, *violino secondo*) written on the same paper. Because a rastrum in regular use is unlikely to produce identical rulings for long, the Turin scores and the Manchester part, each exhibiting stave-rulings made with rastrum 10/184.7, probably date from within a year or two of each other – perhaps having been compiled from a single, large batch of the paper.¹³

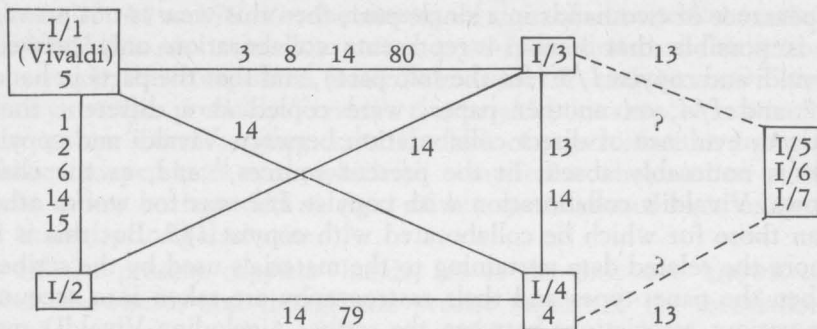
It is of more than passing interest to note that, for the purposes of source analysis, a collection such as this, comprising sets of parts, affords certain advantages over one of scores. The majority of surviving scores of Vivaldi's music, whether they are autograph or not, reveals the simple truth that scores were normally prepared by a single person using quires of one kind of paper on which the stave-rulings would be uniform. As separate documents, scores produced in this way are of limited usefulness to the scholar in that they provide no tangible evidence of the simultaneous availability of two or more kinds of paper, of the works' relative chronology or of the copyists' and composer's possible relationships with each other. On the other hand, the present repertory is not alone in demonstrating that for many sets of parts the opposite is true: that it was not uncommon for a variety of materials to be used and for the copying task to be shared.¹⁴ It is not merely coincidental, for instance, that the *violino principale* parts for four of these works (items 2, 3, 14 and 80) were each written on a paper-type different from that of the supporting string and *basso* parts. Without doubt, the copying of the solo part – the most lengthy and complex musical text – was often given priority; the copying of the remaining parts *en bloc* as a separate, and probably later, act is

implied by the use of a distinct batch of music paper. It is also significant that of the repertory's twelve concertos, only two, items 4 and 5, were each copied by a single person, and that only the former set of parts was compiled using leaves of one paper-type with uniform stave-rulings. The remaining ten items show the collaboration of two or more persons and, in seven cases (items 1-3, 8, 13, 14 and 80), their use of two or more paper-types. As evidence of relationships of one kind or another, these factors considerably augment our view of the compilation of these items not as separate sources of diverse dates but as constituent documents of a single repertory of one short period.

Vivaldi and his scribes: the copying shared

We may begin our detailed examination of the repertory by noting the incidence of handwritings – the non-textual data most immediately related to the time when the manuscripts were created. In addition to the composer's autograph (here labelled hand *I/1*), the hands of six unidentified copyists (*I/2* - *I/7*) are in evidence. Copyists *I/2*, *I/3* and *I/4* (whose hands may be seen in Plates 2, 3 and 4, respectively) were responsible for many of the parts, and it is eminently clear that they collaborated not only with Vivaldi but also with each other. The work of copyists *I/5*, *I/6* and *I/7*, merely three parts for item 13, seems, in contrast, to have been on the fringe of this integrated activity or perhaps outside it altogether. At any rate, there is no evidence here of these persons' association with Vivaldi, and even their collaboration with copyists *I/3* and *I/4*, responsible for the remaining two parts for item 13, must be regarded as doubtful. Because their three parts comprise paper quite distinct from the three-crescents varieties used by copyists *I/3* and *I/4*, it is possible that item 13 was made up with parts emanating from at least two separate copying acts.

The apparent relationships between the scribes – and we must include the composer in this category – is best illustrated in the form of the following chart. Each box represents one scribe (or three, in the case of *I/5*, *I/6* and *I/7*), and items 4 and 5, each copied by one person, are stated within the appropriate boxes. The lines connecting boxes reflect the scribes' collaboration in the production of the items identified by numbers.



The contribution of Vivaldi is, of course, central to the whole activity; lacking only from items 4, 13 and 79, his handwriting is so much in evidence that there can be no doubt that the repertory was produced not only to his order but also under his supervision and with his direct participation. From the division of labour, described for each item in the catalogue above, we see that for items 3, 6, 8, 15 and 80 he was content to delegate full responsibility for the musical texts to the two most prolific copyists, *I/2* and *I/3*, having himself merely added some or all of the parts' titles and instrumental designations. For other works, however, he was at pains to copy much of the music himself: item 5 in its entirety, most of the parts for item 1 and large portions of item 2 are autograph (see Plate 1). It is extremely pertinent to wonder why there is this marked contrast in Vivaldi's approach; there must be a good reason why such a busy composer on occasion did not delegate to others the onerous and normally routine task of preparing separate parts. And if sometimes he lacked the assistance of reliable copyists, this cannot have been the reason in these particular circumstances; it is perfectly clear, after all, that at least in the cases of items 1 and 2 the services of copyist *I/2* were available. The truth, confirmed as we shall see by textual evidence, is that Vivaldi was in the habit of writing out parts himself only when he was intent upon incorporating revised readings which did not appear in existing drafts or copies.

Involving copyists *I/2*, *I/3* and *I/4* as well as Vivaldi (*I/1*), the division of labour for item 14 is particularly revealing; from this it is natural to form the opinion that the four persons worked coextensively, as a team, in a manner not unlike that of the medieval *scriptorium*. If, however, proof of actual collaboration is taken strictly to be the

appearance of two hands in a single part, then this view is not proven. It is possible that item 14 represents collaboration only between Vivaldi and copyist *I/3* (for the solo part), and that the parts in hands *I/2* and *I/4*, on another paper, were copied at a different time. Indeed, evidence of direct collaboration between Vivaldi and copyist *I/4* is noticeably absent in the present sources,¹⁵ and, as the chart shows, Vivaldi's collaboration with copyist *I/2* was for works other than those for which he collaborated with copyist *I/3*. But this is to ignore the related data pertaining to the materials used by the scribes. When the paper-types and their rastrography are taken into account, the various associations between the scribes (including Vivaldi) may confidently be accepted as contemporaneous:

<i>Item</i>	<i>Paper-type</i>	<i>Rastrum</i>	<i>Hands</i>
1	A	10/188	<i>I/1, I/2</i>
2	B1	10/200	<i>I/1, I/2</i>
3	B1	10/200	<i>I/1, I/3</i>
6	A	10/188.8	<i>I/1, I/2</i>
14	A	10/188.3	<i>I/2, I/4</i>
79	A	10/188	<i>I/2, I/4</i>

The use of paper-type *B1* with staves ruled with rastrum *10/200* for both items 2 and 3 reveals that Vivaldi's respective associations with copyists *I/2* and *I/3* were coextensive. From the common use of paper-type *A* with staves ruled with rastrum *10/188* for items 1, 6, 14 and 79 it appears, by the same token, that Vivaldi's activity in collaboration with copyist *I/2* was coextensive also with the collaboration between copyists *I/2* and *I/4*.¹⁶

Significant differences in Vivaldi's attitudes to his copyists may perhaps be discerned in terms of the degrees of responsibility they enjoyed. Copyist *I/2* was required not only to compile whole parts upon which the composer had already written superscriptions but also to complete the parts for item 2 which Vivaldi had begun. For this most direct form of collaboration the copyist must have been immediately at hand. Copyist *I/3* also worked closely with the composer, but, unlike *I/2*, he fulfilled the additional duty of providing titles for several of his parts. It is undoubtedly significant that copyist *I/4* is the only scribe, besides Vivaldi himself, to have been solely responsible for a particular concerto (item 4); autograph superscriptions are similarly lacking from each of his other contributions, parts

for items 13, 14 and 79. Yet the absence of signs of direct collaboration with Vivaldi is not to be interpreted as an indication that this scribe was outside the composer's immediate circle of assistants. On the contrary, he was probably Vivaldi's closest aide; his detachment from the composer's own copying tasks, the lack of supervision he enjoyed and the independence with which he compiled a whole set of parts should rather be regarded as signs of his special status as a reliable and trusted principal copyist.

Of the present copyists' hands, his is the only one known to appear elsewhere; and though the precise nature of his association with the composer and the full extent of his activity have yet to be ascertained, the number of Vivaldi manuscripts already known to have been copied by him is considerable. Besides the sources reported and discussed by others,¹⁷ mention may be made here of manuscripts in the Foà and Giordano collections in Turin for whose texts he was wholly or partly responsible; the concertos RV 90/F XII, 9 (concordant with item 6), 99/XII, 26, 209/I, 120, 306/I, 87, 440/VI, 7, 448/VII, 7, 455/VII, 2, 499/VIII, 12, 534/VII, 3 and 570/XII, 28; four parts for *Nisi Dominus*, RV 608; the *introduzione* RV 639a; the cantatas RV 651, 653, 654, 665, 669 and 680; and the operas *Orlando finto pazzo*, *Arsilda regina di Ponto* (Foà 35, ff. 173-295), *Teuzzone*, *Tito Manlio* (Foà 37, ff. 120-306) and *Farnace* (Giord. 36, ff. 2-139). Limitations of space do not permit full details to be given here of his contributions, which range from a single page within an autograph score (as in the case of *Orlando finto pazzo*) to whole scores lacking autograph annotations. The evidence of gatherings and the collation of leaves shows, for instance, that it was this copyist who originally compiled the fair copies of *La Sena festeggiante* (Foà 27, ff. 146-253) and *Teuzzone* (Foà 33, ff. 2-141) in their entirety; ff. 218-20 and 233-35 in the former score are subsequent autograph insertions,¹⁸ and the latter score was substantially revised by the composer with the assistance of another copyist. In several sources copyist I/4 is seen to have collaborated closely with Vivaldi; to the *introduzione* "Jubilate, o amaeni", RV 639a (Giord. 32, ff. 44-47), for example, he added most of the bass after the composer had completed the solo vocal part. (This source, incidentally, is one of those comprising paper-type B6, and may be related in date to the present item 13.) Other instances of the hand of this scribe, on whom Vivaldi appears to have relied greatly, will undoubtedly come to light and provide valuable clues to the chronology of sources.¹⁹ One is the fair copy of the concerto *L'inquietudine*, concordant with item 5, preserved in Genoa. Another, which conveys something of the copyist's

essential diligence, is the annotations *Pmo*, *2do* and *Alto* in the autograph score of *Il Proteo*, RV 544/F IV, 5 (Giord. 28, ff. 2-9), a source closely related to item 1: see Plate 5. These show not only that copyist I/4 understood the composer's revised scoring at this point (which deviates from the system adopted at the beginning of the movement) but also that he almost certainly had the job of preparing a fair copy which has not survived.

Textual matters

The musicological importance of this repertory is now clear. We have seen how it comprises materials resembling or identical with those normally used by Vivaldi in Venice, and how it contains the apparently coextensive contributions of several copyists who worked in close collaboration with the composer. But how are the repertory's Venetian provenance and calligraphic relationships significant to the items' respective musical texts? Can non-textual characteristics of the whole repertory influence our view of the textual features of such inherently distinct compositions? The answer must be an affirmative one, in the realization that the more one learns of a whole activity the more one understands each part of that activity. The proven association between Vivaldi and these copyists enables us to extend even to the entirely non-autograph items 4 and 79 the degree of authenticity normally reserved for autograph and partly autograph sources; all texts, with the possible exception of those of three parts for item 13, may be regarded as authoritative in the strict sense of providing reliable indications of the composer's intentions at the times they represent.

Separate parts, by their very nature, present derived texts in virtually all circumstances; one would expect their exemplars to have been scores or other sets of parts, particularly when copyists were responsible for the work. It is therefore of prime importance to ascertain the degree of authority of their exemplars; and were the parts' origins not so clearly authenticated, this would be difficult or impossible to judge, especially if concordant sources had not survived. With the present sources, however, this problem does not arise or is only minimal; secure in the knowledge that these items emanated directly from the composer's immediate sphere of activity, we may take for granted not only the authority of the parts' texts themselves but also the high degree of authority of their exemplars' texts. Consequently, our expectations of perceiving demonstrable relationships between the present texts and concordant ones which are of equal or greater authority are justifiably raised; in particular, we

may anticipate that the Manchester texts are either identical with or at least partly derived from those of autographs preserved in Turin and elsewhere. In addition, just as we expect existing autographs to illuminate the origins of the Manchester parts, so too may textual details in Manchester shed new light on the nature, filiation and relative dating of other sources. Perhaps most interestingly, the present items' textual authority is such that we may be forced to assume the former existence of autograph drafts long since lost, and to reconstruct some of their features.

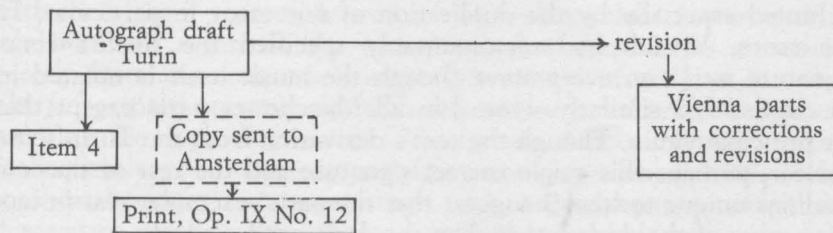
Some of these arguments cannot be applied, however, to the discussion of parts compiled by Vivaldi himself. As has been intimated earlier, it would surely be a mistake to regard the autograph portions of musical text in items 1, 2 and 5 in the same way as the copyists' parts within the repertory must be regarded – purely as copies entirely derived from exemplars. We need not expect all of Vivaldi's readings to have been previously devised; some were undoubtedly inspirations of the moment, imposed capriciously or for considered reasons as he wrote. Unlike apparent revisions incorporated into the copyists' parts, such unique readings would neither appear in previously compiled concordances nor be expected to have appeared in sources now lost, and our view of the likely filiation of texts must be adjusted accordingly. For these reasons, conclusions concerning items 1, 2 and 5 are reserved until the end of this section.

It is possible to provide here only a fraction of the textual data which, when assessed collectively, furnish evidence for the existence or absence of relationships between the Manchester items and their concordances. What follows, for each concerto, is a summary of the evidence, details of particularly revealing readings, and conclusions.²⁰

Item 3 The Manchester text differs only minimally from that of its sole concordance, the autograph draft.²¹ Indeed, they are so similar – with the Manchester parts duplicating not only the autograph's correct readings but also its omission of trills and necessary sharp signs – that the Turin score appears likely to have been the exemplar. This is hinted especially by the duplication of one error in particular. In the score, Vivaldi had unaccountably specified the finale's time-signature as $\frac{3}{4}$ on every staff though the music itself is notated in $\frac{3}{8}$; copyist *I/3* similarly wrote $\frac{3}{4}$ in all Manchester parts except that for principal violin. Though the text's derivation from the Turin score is clear, perhaps this single correct signature and the rest of the few readings unique to item 3 suggest that the parts' exemplar was in fact a fair copy of the draft rather than the draft itself.

Item 4 Of the three concordant sources, the Turin autograph is undoubtedly the earliest, being a composition draft; it is hardly surprising to find that the texts of the print (Op. IX No. 12) and "Concerto V" in the autograph manuscript *La Cetra*, as well as that of item 4, all show their derivation from this score. There are, nevertheless, important textual differences here which must relate to the chronology of the versions the sources represent. The autograph parts preserved in Vienna offer the text least similar to that of the Turin score. Dated 1728 on the partbooks' non-autograph title-pages,²² this source was almost certainly compiled later than item 4 and probably also later than the now lost copy that would have been sent, in or before 1727, to Amsterdam as the publisher's exemplar. If, as seems likely, Vivaldi prepared the Vienna parts by reference to the Turin score, their numerous variants may be interpreted as corrections, minor revisions and fresh errors.²³ Many discrepancies between the Le Cène and Turin texts suggest that the former is a secondary copy of the latter, as we would expect.²⁴ The print's variants must have been initiated either in the engraver's exemplar or by the engraver himself, though some are attributable to a degree of editing in Amsterdam.

In contrast, the Manchester parts concur with the Turin text in a most consistent fashion. All features, including dynamics, tempi, notational abbreviations, phrasing and articulation markings, verbal directions and clef-changes, are copied in hand *I/4* exactly as they are positioned in the autograph. The copyist also reproduced Vivaldi's cautionary fingering numbers in the solo *scordatura* part: see, for instance, note 1 on the final stave reproduced in Plate 4.²⁵ Discrepant slurring patterns between the Manchester violin parts at bars 9-10 of the first movement seem to have been inspired by the poorly positioned slurs in Vivaldi's score, but the most convincing clue to the sources' close relationship is the fact that the several obligatory accidentals absent in the score are similarly missing from the parts. Despite some minor errors made by the copyist, there can be little doubt that item 4 is a primary copy of the autograph score, and that the likely filiation of the sources is as follows:²⁶



Item 6 In view of the copyist's apparent status as Vivaldi's principal scribe, we may assume that the Turin score of *Il gardellino* in hand I/4 is a fair copy of a lost autograph draft.²⁷ It is interesting to note that Vivaldi's superscriptions on the Manchester parts allow for alternative instruments whereas the five part-designations in the Turin score are exclusive: *Flauto Trau.*, *Auobis*, *Violino*, *Fagotto* and *Basso*.²⁸ This matter apart, variants in Manchester are few – twelve minor errors and three readings which correct mistakes in the Turin text – and we should prefer to regard as significant the vast number of readings which are identical with those in Turin. In particular, wrong notes as well as omissions of trills, slurs and accidentals are common to both sources. Two examples may be cited: (1) the four quavers *e''* (which should read *a'*) in the flute/first violin part at bar 74 of the first movement; (2) the note *a'* (which should be *f-sharp*) in the cello/bassoon part at bar 117 of the finale. Though the duplication of errors demonstrates the close relationship between the sources, it is impossible to know whether item 6 retains such readings because it was copied directly from the Turin score or because it was copied from a now lost source which had been, or was to be, the exemplar for the Turin score too.

Item 8 Once again, the text of an autograph draft score preserved in Turin is the key to understanding the readings appearing in the Manchester parts.²⁹ The Dresden parts of German provenance – comprising an edited solo part in Pisendel's hand (incorporating his own cadenzas in the fast movements) and four parts in the hand of a copyist (*Schreiber B*) known to have been active in Dresden during the mid- to late 1720s – do not concern us directly.³⁰ It is enough to note here that their text shows its descent from the autograph despite variant readings probably transmitted from an intermediate copy.

The Manchester and Turin texts are extremely similar, and evidence that the autograph was the actual exemplar for item 8 is not difficult to find. It is particularly useful to describe two fascinating instances of how copyist I/3, when writing out the finale, appears to have been misled by Vivaldi's typically erratic calligraphy. Though the finale is set in $\frac{2}{4}$ metre, Vivaldi, in a moment of confusion, provided rests in the first violin part at bar 20 as if the metre were $\frac{4}{4}$: see Example 1(a). By chance the ink was smudged, however, so that the minim rest appears, to the imaginative, like a crotchet rest. For the Manchester part, copyist I/3 conscientiously wrote what he thought he saw: Example 1(b). Example 2(a) gives bar 61 of the

Manchester second violin part: a nonsensical reading which may be explained only by reference to the *appearance*, not the meaning, of the autograph text. In his draft, Vivaldi had originally written this bar as Example 2(b) but had revised it by erasing the fourth quaver *d'' sharp* and adding, as a new first note, a quaver *d' sharp* before the three notes *b'*; the intended bar is Example 2(c). But in making this change he had to join a new segment of beam to the remaining part of the original beam; he did this in a way which made the beam for the *d' sharp* resemble a ledger-line below the staff. This caused copyist I/3 to read note 1 as *b*, but he was most careful to position the sharp sign as it appears in the autograph: in the space for *d'*.

Item 13 With the extant sources of the concerto *La tempesta di mare*, we face what appears at first sight to be an insurmountable problem: how to account for their complex filiation when the one document which would almost certainly illuminate the truth – an autograph draft – has not survived. Bearing in mind the provenance of the three pertinent texts (Dresden, Le Cène and Manchester), it is possible, however, to make some sense of their numerous variant readings.³¹ Though the parts for item 13 are strangely disparate, their texts do not conflict; the set's Venetian provenance is not in doubt and its status as a version known by Vivaldi is authenticated by the participation of copyists I/3 and I/4. Issued in December 1725, the Le Cène text must also be one approved by the composer, and, although the engraver's exemplar may have been in existence for some time before being sent to Amsterdam, the version it represents probably post-dates the Dresden text by several years.³²

Indeed, the eleven Dresden parts, apparently of a single Venetian paper-type, are likely to have been compiled during the visit of the Dresden *Kammermusik* to Venice in 1716-17 and therefore comprise the earliest source.³³ Though I have consulted only a microfilm reproduction, apparent distinctions between two styles of Pisendel's calligraphy and their respective shades of ink, as well as between the apparent use of three differently-sized rastra, hint that the parts represent, in fact, three separate copying acts: (1) the autograph *Organo* part; (2) a complete set of five parts in Pisendel's hand (principal violin, first and second violins, viola and *Organo*); (3) duplicate and *ripieno* parts in Pisendel's hand (first and second oboes and *Basso R[ipieno]*) and *Schreiber k* (first violin and *Basso*). If this assessment is correct, the evidence tends to preclude the notion of actual collaboration between Vivaldi and Pisendel, and the presence

in Dresden of the autograph part is not easily explained. Perhaps it was transported to Dresden unintentionally; after all, Pisendel possessed his own *organo* part which duplicates the autograph's text. We may also be reasonably certain that the supplementary parts in group (3) were copied after Pisendel had completed the indispensable string and continuo parts in group (2) – when he and the copyist would have needed no recourse to the original exemplar.³⁴

Of the sources' many variants, 77 consequential ones – single readings or passages which seem to be significant – may be divided into the following categories:

- (a) 19 errors in *Le Cène*, where *Manchester* and *Dresden*, in agreement, give the correct readings;
- (b) 2 errors in *Dresden*, where *Manchester* and *Le Cène*, in agreement, give the correct readings;
- (c) 24 errors in *Manchester*, where *Dresden* and *Le Cène*, in agreement, give the correct readings;
- (d) 13 correct readings in *Le Cène* at variance with different, but also correct, readings common to *Manchester* and *Dresden*;
- (e) 15 correct readings in *Dresden* at variance with different, but also correct, readings common to *Manchester* and *Le Cène*;
- (f) 4 readings where each text is different yet apparently correct.

From the permutations of this evidence, we must conclude that the texts are both related to each other and also discrete. Such an interpretation is not contradictory if we assume the former existence of an autograph draft from which readings common to two or all three texts must originally have been derived, whether their descent to the extant sources was direct (as must surely have been the case for the autograph *organo* part at least) or indirect via lost, intermediate copies. The sources' unique readings must therefore be changes inadvertently or purposely made in the texts' transmission; the discrepancies between apparently correct readings, in categories (d) – (f), witness the prior creation – whether by accident or design – of different versions, whose independence of each other is further emphasized by the erroneous readings in categories (a) – (c).

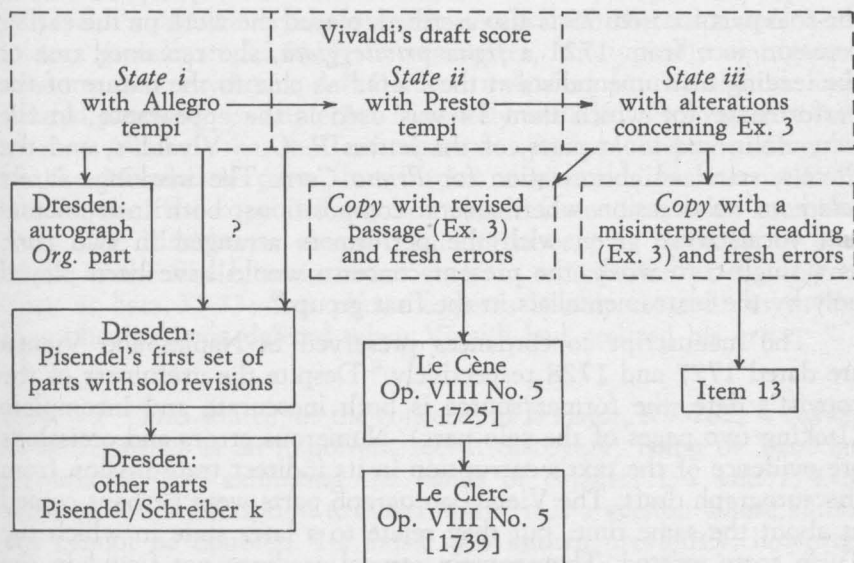
We may account for most, if not all, of the *Le Cène* variants in category (d) as new readings incorporated into the copy despatched to Amsterdam. We may dispense also with the majority of *Dresden* variants in category (e), which are revisions of the principal violin's solos probably initiated by Pisendel himself as he copied the part. Of the few remaining *Dresden* readings which are more likely to

have been derived from the lost autograph than to have been imposed at Pisendel's whim, those concerning tempo-markings seem particularly revealing. It is likely that the autograph in its earliest state gave *Allegro* for both outer movements (the markings in the extant autograph *organo* part), but that later, before the times when the Le Cène and Manchester texts were derived, these markings had been changed to *Presto*.³⁵

Of the readings in category (f), which might be expected to provide the clearest indications of the states in which the lost autograph existed, three instances where each text is different must be passed over because they provoke ambiguous or dubious conclusions.³⁶ Only one, concerning a passage in the finale, is worthy of consideration. Example 3 shows the Manchester (*Mp*), Dresden (*Dlb*) and Le Cène (*LCn*) texts from their common bar 217; it may be seen that a lengthy portion of the solo episode (the Le Cène bars 223-241) is absent from the Manchester and Dresden texts, and that the Manchester parts also lack the Dresden/Le Cène bars 220-222. Though considerably shorter than the Le Cène passage, the Dresden version is self-contained and musically successful. The solo autograph part confirms its authenticity, though the violin figurations in bars 218, 220 and 222 must be Pisendel's inventions. If the Dresden version is the earliest, as seems certain in view of the autograph part's tempo-markings and the putative date of 1716-17 for Pisendel's parts, Vivaldi must have revised the passage to produce the extended version preserved in the print.

The Manchester readings are most odd; at least one bar, equivalent to the Le Cène bar 220, was inadvertently omitted between the extant Manchester bars 219 and 220.³⁷ We may account for this only if we suppose that item 13 was copied from an exemplar produced *after* the composer had altered his original score in connection with the revision. At that stage, Vivaldi could not have fitted in so many extra bars on a page of the draft, whose text surely corresponded to the extant Dresden *organo* part. We may imagine that he crossed out four bars in the draft (the Dresden bars 220-223), added a new bar equivalent to the Manchester bar 220 and the Le Cène bar 242, and notated the rest – the Le Cène bars 220-241 – on a separate sheet or directly into the copy destined for Amsterdam. When, at a later date, the Manchester parts' exemplar was copied, the scribe followed the alterations in the draft score but was not referred to the music intended to be inserted. The error thus initiated was then duplicated when item 13 was compiled.

These points, and the other evidence adduced, suggest the following filiation of texts, for which we must imagine that an autograph score existed in at least three states, and, bearing in mind the variants unique to the Manchester parts, regard item 13 as a secondary copy of the third state.



Item 14 The circumstances which in our appraisal of item 13 could only be imagined – of an autograph existing in various states, having been altered from time to time – are visibly evident from the surviving score of RV 286/F I, 20, preserved in Turin and inscribed *Con^{to}: p(er) la Solennità di S. Lorenzo*.³⁷ The vast majority of readings (including the title) in this composition draft reflect its earliest state: the concerto as it was performed at the Pietà, or conceivably elsewhere, as part of the celebrations for the feast of St. Lawrence Martyr (10 August).³⁸ The score includes, however, numerous annotations in Vivaldi's hand, of which some, to judge by their inkshades and the use of differently-sized quills, date from times later than the stage when the work was originally compiled. It is interesting to note that the Manchester parts for item 14 and the concordant Italian parts preserved in Naples lack several of these features; the texts of both sources must originally have been derived from the autograph as it existed in its earliest state.

The autograph inscription on the Manchester solo part, *Con^{to}: del Viualdi p(er) la S^a: Anna Maria* (see Plate 3), precludes the possibility that item 14 was used at the S. Lorenzo celebrations; we may conclude that the parts were copied for a subsequent performance of the work when there was no reason to refer to the feast-day. Perhaps Anna Maria, the celebrated violinist to whose performance the solo part for item 79 is also ascribed, played the work on the earlier occasion too; from 1721 a *figlia privilegiata*, she remained one of the leading instrumentalists at the Pietà.³⁹ A clue to the nature of the performance for which item 14 was used is the appearance, in the first violin and viola parts, of the letters *P. C.* – Vivaldi's, and the Pietà's, standard abbreviation for *Primo Coro*. The markings surely relate to an occasion when several compositions, both instrumental and vocal, were given with the performers arranged in two *cori*; as a single-coro work, the present concerto would have been played only by the instrumentalists in the first group.⁴⁰

The manuscript concordances preserved in Naples and Vienna are dated 1727 and 1728 respectively.⁴¹ Despite the usefulness of the copyist's date, the former source is both inaccurate and incomplete (lacking two pages of the solo part). Numerous errors and omissions are evidence of the text's corruption in its indirect transmission from the autograph draft. The Vienna autograph parts were perhaps copied at about the same time, but they relate to a later state in which the Turin score existed. They contain several readings not found in the Manchester and Naples sources, but which appear in the autograph score. These reflect the second state of the draft; they were probably added to the score at the time when Vivaldi compiled the Vienna parts, in which he initiated other changes not appearing elsewhere. A third, and final, state of the draft, relating to a later performance of the work with larger forces, is hinted by its readings absent from all concordances: the additional words "molto e spiccato" after *Largo* in the first movement, the deletion of two bars in the finale, and the provision of several *Senza Cembali* markings in place of earlier *tasto solo* ones.⁴²

The Manchester text's derivation from that of the autograph is patently clear, especially in its duplication of the latter's errors. Both sources, for instance, give Example 4(a) where it is certain, from the figured bass here and a correct repetition of the phrase in bars 181-82, that Example 4(b) is the intended solo part. Yet a significant quantity of erroneous readings unique to the Manchester parts suggests that item 14 was copied from a separate exemplar – itself a copy of the Turin score in its first state.

Item 15 The only important difference between the two sources of *La pastorella* is one of instrumentation: the Turin autograph score specifies *Fagotto* for the corresponding *Viol[oncel]*¹⁰: *obligato* part in Manchester.⁴³ With this exception, and discounting also a few minor variants in slurring, the two texts are extremely similar; their markedly close relationship is demonstrated by the Manchester parts' duplication of Vivaldi's peculiar or idiosyncratic notations in the autograph. Both sources give Example 5(a), two incorrect, but typically ambiguous, versions of a rhythm apparently too awkward for Vivaldi to have notated precisely: Example 5(b) is surely intended. From such details we must conclude that the Turin score was probably the very exemplar for the Manchester parts, but further evidence hints that item 15 may be the first copy to have been made from the freshly-compiled draft. The Manchester second violin or oboe part includes, as bars 29-31 in the finale, an incorrect entry in anticipation of the correct entry at bars 31-33; this phrase appears heavily crossed out in the score, having been deleted when Vivaldi had realized his error.

Item 79 This source, of the concerto in E major, RV 762, is rightly to be regarded as an important recent discovery; being of Venetian provenance, and exhibiting the hands of copyists *I/2* and *I/4* in addition to its inscription to Anna Maria, it is a version whose authority cannot be doubted. Its music was known previously, however, from the version in D major, RV 223/F I, 225, preserved as seven parts of French provenance in the so-called "Opera Prima" of the Fonds Blancheton.⁴⁴ Relatively little textual authority may be attributed to this source, dating from c. 1740 and having been compiled well outside Vivaldi's control. Indeed, the Manchester parts present such an accurate text that many errors and otherwise dubious readings in the Paris parts may confidently be corrected or regarded, particularly in the case of trills, as extra features imposed by the French copyist.⁴⁵

These variants need not detain us, and nor should a few duplicated errors which demonstrate the texts' distant relationship. It is of greater importance to establish which key is that of Vivaldi's original version, and whether the extant texts are substantively different. Perhaps the Blancheton copyist's exemplar was itself in D major, but there is firm evidence that this text was originally transposed. The slow movement of RV 223 is notated in D minor with a void key-signature; this would be normal enough were it not for the fact that five B-natural notes are prefixed by redundant natural signs. One may account for their inclusion only if one imagines that the appearance of a version in E minor, with its *obligatory* C-sharp signs for these notes,

was being imitated in the transposition process. Further evidence for transposition down a tone takes the form of wrong notes in RV 223, also in the slow movement. The solo part in bar 28, for example, gives quavers *a''* - *g''* - *f''* - *e''* which are incorrect in this version's key but correct in the key of RV 762; the mistake is surely the result of a momentary lapse in concentration when the transposition was made. Finally, the notion that E major was the work's original key is supported by the fact that the concerto RV 263a/F I, 48, with its concordant finale, is also in that key; this composition, after all, is most unlikely to have been transposed prior to its publication in 1727 as Op. IX No. 4.

Several major variants – involving changes which can only have been made by the composer – prove that RV 762 and 223 are in fact distinct versions of the concerto. Some, instances in the outer movements of the displacement by an octave of the viola part and the apparently different interpretations of the soloist's triple-stopped chords in the first movement, fail to clarify which version is the earlier one. The others, including the conversion of a simple solo figuration into an elaborate one, point unmistakably to the view that RV 762 is the later, revised version. Examples 6(a) and (b) show the Paris and Manchester texts, respectively, from bar 50 in the finale; from the absence of bars in the Manchester parts, it appears that the original sequential passage, represented down a tone in RV 223, was later shortened and changed at its cadence. RV 762 is obviously incorrect here; the abrupt end of the solo phrase, the absence of two further bars in the solo part and the illogical continuation of the first violin part are indications that Vivaldi's original score must have been altered in a way which confused his copyists. Doubtless, his draft showed the rejection of the original bars 56-57 and the deletion also of the solo and first violin parts corresponding with the Paris bars 58-59; the composer surely accommodated the new continuation of the solo part on the staff for the first violin, thus causing copyist *I/2* mistakenly to transmit it to the Manchester first violin part.

Though item 79 is considerably older than the Paris source, we may conclude that RV 223 and 762 represent, respectively, the original and revised states of the lost autograph draft – a score in E major.

Item 80 It is unnecessary to provide again descriptions of this manuscript – the only complete source of RV 763/F I, 240, *L'ottavina* – and its concordant solo part inscribed *Concerto Per Sig^{ra}: Anna Ma-*

ria, and discussion of their textual relationship; these matters are dealt with elsewhere.⁴⁶ It is sufficient to note here that the sources were probably derived from the same exemplar, and that variants in bars 156-163 of the finale furnish slender evidence suggesting that item 80 is the later of the two copies.

Item 2 This, the only source of RV 294, possesses a different slow movement from that in the version RV 294a/F I, 205, surviving in six sources: manuscripts in Dresden (two), Vienna and Lund, and editions published by Jeanne Roger and John Walsh.⁴⁷ Comparisons of the fast movements in item 2 with those in the sources of RV 294a provide an unwieldy abundance of variant readings which cannot easily be interpreted. But by concentrating only on the sources of RV 294a which are of Venetian provenance – Pisendel's score in Dresden and the Vienna parts – and on Op. VII No. 10 (which must have been originated from a Venetian copy), and by isolating only the major variants between these and item 2, we may arrive at the most likely filiation of texts. Despite certain differences, a general concurrence of readings suggests that the Dresden and Vienna sources, as well as the engraver's exemplar, were derived directly or indirectly from one original: Vivaldi's composition draft which is no longer preserved. In view of the concerto's publication, and because Pisendel's score is likely to date from his contact with the composer, this autograph must have been in existence by 1716-17. The duplication in the Manchester text of many erroneous or discrepant readings in the Dresden, Vienna and Roger texts indicates, moreover, that item 2 may also be a copy made from such a score that had remained in Vivaldi's possession; it is, after all, the only source of these movements which is at least partly autograph.

There the similarity ends, however, for the slow movement is not the only unique feature in item 2. Several errors and a few correct readings peculiar to the Manchester text attest its independence, but seven instances where it provides alternatives for apparently correct Dresden/Vienna/Op. VII/Lund passages show it to be a different, undoubtedly later, version of the concerto.⁴⁸ Five revisions are reductions of the *ripieno* accompaniment in solo episodes; Vivaldi probably initiated these changes as he copied the first and second violin parts.⁴⁹ The remaining two passages present new ideas; Examples 7 and 8 show, respectively, the substitution of quavers for an original semi-quaver figure (given here in small notation), and the introduction, immediately before the finale's final *ritornello*, of a five-bar solo for the first violin which originally was silent. This last phrase is the

only one of these revisions appearing in hand I/2, and must therefore have been recorded in the copyist's exemplar. We may speculate that Vivaldi had at first decided to copy the first violin part in order to introduce changes, and had written out its first movement and the direction *Adagio si Tace* for the second. At that stage, being aware that the addition of the phrase from bar 204 was the only revision to the finale he wished to make in this part, he chose to save time by opting to write the phrase over the rests in his draft score so that he could instruct copyist I/2 to complete the part rather than have to do it himself.

Item 5 The close filiation of the three extant sources of *L'inquietudine* is indicated by their several erroneous readings in common: incorrect pitches and instances of the absence of obligatory accidentals. Vivaldi, alone responsible for item 5, probably followed the text of his own draft score, now preserved in Turin, which remained in his possession;⁵⁰ the score in hand I/4, existing in the Biblioteca del Liceo Musicale "Paganini", Genoa, and itself a fair copy of the autograph score, is less likely to have served as his exemplar, having perhaps been destined for a customer.

Textual details in item 5 demonstrate that Vivaldi fostered the habit of overhauling previously-composed works at the time of their re-copying for subsequent performances; he was clearly not a composer who regarded any single text as either perfect or definitive. Instead of altering an existing score, he undoubtedly preferred, in this instance as in the cases of items 1 and 2, to compile parts himself so that he could incorporate spontaneously-conceived revisions. Changes made in such circumstances are cosmetic in nature rather than substantial alterations of the composition itself; they reflect the composer's reconsidered attitudes to texture and instrumentation rather than any dissatisfaction with the original musical ideas. He seems to have been particularly concerned with simplifying the material: octave leaps, which characterize the original bass of the first movement's *ritornello*, are reduced, in the Manchester part, to repeated notes, for example.⁵¹ In the finale, the texture of a chromatic period (of a kind well known from the finale of *L'estate*) is lightened by a simplification of the bass; Examples 9(a) and (b) show the Turin/Genoa and Manchester versions respectively. The original viola part in several passages is omitted altogether or lightened by the insertion of intermittent rests, and on one occasion the second violin is silent when in the Turin/Genoa version it doubles the first violin. The most interesting – and least cosmetic – revision is the suppression of all soloistic features

of the viola part in the slow movement: see Example 10. The Turin/Genoa version's demisemiquaver flourishes, complementary to those in the violin and bass parts, were rejected by the composer, so that the viola part maintains a harmonic, but no longer an ornamental, function.

The precipitate transformation of Proteus

Item 1, a version of *Il Proteo* unknown before the contents of the Manchester collection were publicised, deserves a separate examination. Several factors prove not only that it is a re-working of the music in the concerto RV 544/F IV, 5 but also that its revisions were made, just as its similar readings were copied, by the composer's direct reference to the sole extant source of the earlier version, an autograph draft preserved in Turin.⁵² The appearance of different shades of ink indicates that the title at the head of this score was originally *Il Mondo al rouerscio*, to which the additional words *Il Proteò ò sia* were later prefixed. Though the music's whimsical allusion to Proteus, the water-deity who, according to Greek mythology, could transform his shape, was thus an afterthought, Vivaldi had decided upon it before writing his superscriptions on each of the Manchester parts, which give, unambiguously, the full title. But the most convincing evidence that RV 572 is the later version is its expanded scoring and the peculiarly contrived nature of its solo episodes.

The upside-down world is vividly portrayed, both audibly and graphically, in RV 544. Vivaldi's original intention was clearly to reverse the customary roles of instruments by inverting their ranges; in the Turin score, solos for the principal violin are notated variously in the tenor and bass clefs and directed to be played an octave higher, while those for obbligato cello are notated in the treble clef and would presumably be played an octave lower.⁵³ An antithesis of range is also a feature of RV 572, but in a different system. The solos are here adapted for opposing groups of instruments; those originally for violin are played by principal violin, first flute and first oboe, and those for cello by cello, second flute, second oboe and harpsichord. This time the solo passages in the violin and cello parts are notated normally, in the treble and tenor clefs respectively. But because those for the violin are again directed to be played an octave higher than written (sounding up to *a'''*), and because the cello sounds an octave lower (down to *d*) than its companion instruments, the passages for each group proceed in parallel octaves. In each movement, one group's solos are invariably identical with the other's, the second

group merely entering with each phrase after it has been played by the first; thus the only contrasts between the groups' contributions are of range, with treble orientation being provided by the violin and tenor orientation by the cello to the first and second groups respectively, and of instrumental timbre. The *Cembalo Solo* part is the most extraordinary of the many features peculiar to this wholly eccentric work; it is a single-line, melodic, treble part which merely doubles the second flute and oboe throughout. We may idly speculate that it was perhaps intended to provide the inverse of the sound of the instrument's normal participation in the *basso continuo*, yet its presence as a solo part does not necessarily preclude the use of an additional harpsichord or other chordal instrument for the realization of the *basso* part.⁵⁴

It is curious that Vivaldi should ever have chosen to expand the scoring of *Il Proteo* to this extent; he must surely have realized that the solo parts for RV 544, having been deliberately designed to sound odd, could not readily be transcribed for other instruments – especially the flutes and oboes of relatively limited range. But, as the Manchester text so clearly demonstrates, he either threw all caution to the wind or – incredible as it may seem – remained, when he commenced the process, quite oblivious to the difficulties he was bound to encounter. From the outset he was intent upon transferring as much of the Turin text as possible to its new context. All *tutti* periods were copied verbatim; for these passages Vivaldi's only concern was with the appropriate allocation of the extra instruments to the voices of the music.⁵⁵ Thus we find that the upper parts for the outer movements' *ritornelli*, originally designed for violins, remain unchanged for the flutes and oboes despite the use of notes as low as *a*; doubtless, the wind players were expected to fend for themselves by transposing their parts up an octave when necessary.

This would hardly be noticed within the dense texture of a *tutti* phrase, but the performers could not be left to their own devices when their music was more exposed. It is for this reason that the majority of Vivaldi's revisions are of solo passages, including the whole slow movement; he had to ensure, at the very least, that the solo parts were expurgated of notes lower than *d'*, so that the flutes could participate. Indeed, the notes *d'*, *e'* and, to a lesser extent, *f'* were also often avoided, perhaps in recognition of the fact that their tone on the wind instruments would be weak. In other circumstances Vivaldi might have considered extensive re-composition as the best way to achieve a successful conversion of the work; for one reason or another – most plausibly the pressure of having to prepare item 1

for a particular performance – he was content in this case to make as few alterations as were absolutely necessary, even though he must have been aware that the results were less than satisfactory.

The first solo episode in the work, bars 13-29, and the beginning of the second, bars 41-46, presented no problem; when read at the appropriate octave, the solo parts for RV 544 are identical with their transcribed versions, of the range *e'-a''*, in RV 572. Severe difficulties arose, however, when Vivaldi reached bar 47; here the original version continues with broken-chord figures for the violin: see Example 11. Reviewing only the sequential bars 47-49 appearing on f. 3r of the Turin score, and apparently failing to check the episode's progress on f. 3v (here reproduced as Plate 5), Vivaldi easily contrived a simple revision which conforms to the original harmonic sequence but avoids low notes: see the Manchester part. On turning the page, he discovered that he could not continue his new figuration, from where the sequence ends at bar 50, without deviating substantially from the original passage and having to re-write the bass. Example 11 shows, within brackets, the continuation of the revised figuration which Vivaldi would have wished to write; it is wholly unsuitable because of the parallel octaves it forms with the bass. Facing this stumbling-block, he made life easier simply by cutting the passage drastically; he lightly deleted bars 50-57 in the Turin score (see Plate 5) and, for the Manchester version, crudely grafted the revised figuration on to a slightly adapted cadential figure at the end. The resulting Manchester version presents a skimpy episode abruptly concluded, but Vivaldi clearly preferred this expedient solution to the bothersome task of re-composition.

Such extreme inflexibility can only be understood if we suppose that the Manchester *basso* part had already been copied before the solo parts for item 1 were ever conceived; the prior existence of this part would explain, though hardly justify, the composer's apparent inability to deviate from its harmonic course while compiling the revisions. Evidence proving this, and the prior existence also of the Manchester first and second violin and viola parts, is indeed forthcoming; there can be no doubt that Vivaldi had to alter these parts' readings having decided, when considering the *first* revision, to cut the Turin bars 50-57 from the first movement. The bass part contains these very bars, crossed out; the number of bars' rest from bar 42 appears both in the first and second violin parts altered from 17 to nine; the viola part, which Vivaldi evidently neglected to amend, retains the indication of 17 bars' rest.⁵⁶

Precisely why Vivaldi copied these parts first remains a mystery;

one may hazard the guess that he had done so before deciding to augment the ensemble with wind instruments, and that it was only then that the revisions became necessary. He remained, at any rate, unwilling (or for some reason unable) to alter or discard the bass part, and was thus committed to preserving the solo parts it was designed to accompany. In the many instances where this proved impossible, the composer's superficial and often inconsistent revisions are of little musical worth – it was inevitable, of course, that they would not compare favourably with the original readings to which the bass is perfectly suited – and were blatantly dispensed with, apparently with little regard for the integrity of whole phrases, as soon as the original notes came within the wind instruments' range.

Had Vivaldi copied all the parts for item 1 himself, he would probably have introduced certain additional alterations that would have improved the piece a little. Instead, and perhaps because of an acute shortage of time, he enlisted the help of copyist *I/2* who was required only to write out parts the composer had already notated. It is easy, by noting identical and variant readings, to reconstruct the order in which the solo parts were compiled. Being aware of the drastic revisions of range he intended, Vivaldi had no alternative but to arrange the principal violin and cello parts himself. In doing this, he took account of the limited compass of the flutes and oboes at most, but not nearly all, points. The adaptation of the Turin cello part was the least straightforward task, and had to be executed in two stages. Having completed the new cello part, which retained the Turin version's convention of doubling the *basso* in *tutti* periods and was notated in the tenor and bass clefs, Vivaldi could not expect this to serve as the copyist's exemplar for each of the second flute, second oboe and *cembalo* parts. As a necessary second stage, he opted to compile the second oboe part, for which he transcribed the cello's solos to the treble clef and incorporated the second violin's voice at *tutti* periods. Copyist *I/2* was then directed to duplicate this text for the second flute and *cembalo* parts; see Vivaldi's instruction to the scribe, *il Flauto all'[ottava] alta*, at the end of the seventh stave on one page of the second oboe part (Plate 1). The copyist had similarly to duplicate the principal violin text for the first flute and oboe parts; perhaps Vivaldi had at first intended to copy at least one of these himself, in order to make a few final adjustments of the kind we find in the second oboe part. At any rate, this division of labour accounts for the limited nature of the *cembalo* part and the appearance in the flute parts of passages which remain unexpurgated of their unobtainable notes; these parts would have been more idiomatic had Vivaldi been able to arrange them himself.

The illustrative and incontrovertible evidence which item 1 has fascinatingly yielded for the derivation of one work from another and the composer's steps in the process is rare indeed; it is ironic that, the moment Vivaldi is thus revealed in his nakedness, we see not the composer of genius but the impetuous arranger tolerant of injudicious methods and second-rate results. To be charitable, we have to believe that there were extenuating circumstances for the precipitate transformation of the work, but it is a matter for regret that RV 572 is merely a flawed version of a concerto that is musically successful only in its original state.

Dating

In order to surmise as precise a date as possible for the compilation of the repertory, we must consider other factors. The textual evidence summarized above usefully illuminates many factors concerning the origin and derivation of the Manchester versions, but it fails to indicate the actual date when the sources themselves were created. Textual analyses have provided some points of orientation, in that we know that certain compositions were in existence by the time of Pisendel's visit to Venice or prior to their publication, and we have ascertained, in most cases, the chronological position of the Manchester texts in relation to concordant ones. But no matter how accurate these conclusions regarding textual filiation and composition-dates may be, they serve at best only as rough guides to the dating of the present items and at worst as factors which may mislead us. We must remember, when considering the work of copyists about whose period of activity we know very little, that textual data can never actually prove when their manuscripts were written, simply because any amount of time may have elapsed before the texts were copied from their exemplars. Even when the duplication of readings suggests that one extant source was copied directly from another (as, for example, in the case of item 15 and its concordance), we can neither be absolutely certain that this is the truth nor, even if it is the truth, rashly make the presumption that the two documents must necessarily be of similar date. With autograph texts we are on safer ground; we may be sure that data gleaned from these include evidence for dating, on the assumption that whole passages or at least certain readings must have been initiated rather than merely copied. But though we know from this that items 1, 2 and 5 post-date concordant autograph sources which are extant, we remain unable, on the basis of textual evidence alone, to assign to them precise dates.

The nature of textual features common to many compositions rather than exclusive to one has already been recognized as the means by which chronological groupings of manuscripts may be perceived, and one aspect of this area of study is particularly relevant here. From an examination of scores such as those of operas which may, on independent grounds, be dated with some certainty, Peter Ryom has observed that Vivaldi notated triple-metre time-signatures in two ways; first, in scores earlier than and including *La verità in cimento* of 1720, in the customary long form of $\frac{3}{8}$ or $\frac{3}{4}$, and second, in scores from *Giustino* of 1724, in an idiosyncratic form merely comprising a large "3".⁵⁷ (See, for example, the signature in Plate 1.) Vivaldi may have changed his habit at any time between 1720 and 1724, in fact, but we can at least be sure that any Manchester or concordant autograph which exhibits the large "3" dates from no earlier than the early to mid-1720s. (For convenience – even at the risk of inaccuracy – we shall adopt the term "c. 1724" to denote this point in time.) The same is true of Manchester parts in non-autograph hands, but we must remember that a copyist would not have changed the signatures' form on his own initiative; he would write the large "3" if he was following a source with that reading, and, by the same token, would copy the $\frac{3}{8}$ and $\frac{3}{4}$ forms, *both before and after* c. 1724, if they appeared in his exemplars. All factors hint that copyists I/2, I/3 and I/4 were entirely consistent in this regard.⁵⁸ The following table gives the pertinent readings of the Manchester items and their manuscript concordances:⁵⁹

Source	Hand(s)	Movement	Signature
Item 1 (RV 572) Turin version (RV 544)	Autog., I/2	iii	3
	Autog.	iii	3
Item 2 (RV 294)	Autog.	ii, VI pr	3
		iii	3
	I/2	ii, Cemb	3/8
		iii	3/8
Dresden concordance (RV 294a) Vienna concordance (RV 294a)	Pisendel } copyist }	iii	3/8
Item 3 Turin concordance	I/3 Autog.	iii, VI pr	3/8
		other parts	3/4 [= 3/8]
		iii	3/4 [= 3/8]

<i>Source</i>	<i>Hand(s)</i>	<i>Movement</i>	<i>Signature</i>
<i>Item 4</i>	I/4	ii	3
Turin & Vienna concordances	Autog.	ii	3
<i>Item 5</i>	Autog.	iii	3
Turin concordance	Autog. }	iii	3/4
Genoa concordance	I/4 }		
<i>Item 6</i>	I/2	iii	3
Turin concordance	I/4	iii	3
[Item 8: no movements in triple metre.]			
<i>Item 13</i>	I/3, 4, 5, 6, 7	iii	3/8
Dresden concordant <i>Org</i> part	Autog. }	iii	3/8
Dresden concordance	Pisendel }		
[Items 14 and 15: no movements in triple metre.]			
<i>Item 79</i> (RV 762)	I/2, 4	ii, iii	3/4, 3/8
Paris version (RV 223)	copyist	ii, iii	3/4, 3/8
<i>Item 80</i>	I/3	iii	3/8
Venice concordant part	copyist	iii	3/8

This evidence, assessed in conjunction with the results of textual analyses, leads to the following conclusions:

Item 1, later than c. 1724, is a new version made by Vivaldi's direct reference to the earlier score of RV 544 which is also later than c. 1724.

Item 2, copied after c. 1724, is a later version than RV 294a/F I, 205 – a concerto composed by 1716-17. The exemplar followed by copyist I/2, and from which Vivaldi made revisions, dated from before c. 1724.

Item 3 is a copy of uncertain date; the autograph from which it was apparently derived is earlier than c. 1724.

Item 4, later than c. 1724, is probably a primary copy of the Turin autograph which is also later than c. 1724.

Item 5, later than c. 1724, is a revision by Vivaldi of the text preserved in the Turin and Genoa scores, of which at least the former is earlier than c. 1724.

Item 6 and its concordant fair copy in Turin are both later than c. 1724.

Item 8 and the Turin draft from which it was probably derived are both of uncertain date. The concerto was surely composed before the late 1720s, when the Dresden *Schreiber B* is believed to have been active.

Item 13 was probably copied no earlier than the mid-1720s, from a lost exemplar which preserved both the "3" reading in the finale and alterations connected with the preparation of a copy sent to Amsterdam, before December 1725, for the engraving of Op. VIII No. 5.

Item 14 is a later source than the Turin autograph to which its text is indirectly related, but may be older than the autograph *La Cetra* parts of c. 1728.

Item 15 appears to be a primary copy of the Turin draft, though both sources are of uncertain date.

Item 79, of uncertain date, shows the full forms of time-signatures, presumably in imitation of its lost exemplar whose text is earlier than c. 1724.

Item 80 and its concordant Venice part are of uncertain date, though their exemplar(s) preserved a text earlier than c. 1724.

Despite the benefits of the evidence thus adduced, none of these conclusions reveals a precise date of a source's compilation, and those for items 8, 14 and 15 are limited simply by the works' lack of movements in triple metre. This apparently insurmountable problem of dating manuscripts, which has so seriously hindered the advance of Vivaldi scholarship, will eventually be solved only by the comprehensive assessment of all relevant factors – including biographical,

stylistic, textual and non-textual ones. Our priority must be to analyse the sources' non-textual characteristics; these can yield firm and virtually irrefutable evidence which places in a true perspective the often speculative and refutable conclusions concerning dating which arise from the analysis of concordant texts and the occurrence of stylistic features.

It is clear, even from the few sources in Manchester, that only non-textual data are capable of demonstrating the contemporaneity of textually distinct manuscripts. The twelve sets of parts appear to be a repertory of a single date and provenance, and five are apparently no earlier in date than c. 1724. These two facts must be reconcilable if they are both true: because items 1, 2 and 4-6 are of post-c.1724 date, so also must other items be. If this were not the case, the repertory's rastrological connections are a most remarkable set of coincidences:

<i>Rastrum</i>	<i>paper</i>	<i>Items</i>	
5/88.75	B3	3	5
10/200	B1	1 2 3	5 13
? {	10/188 A	1	79
	10/188.3 A		14 15
	10/188.8 A		6
10/194.8	B4	4	14

On the assumption that Vivaldi and his copyists exhausted a batch of music paper within a short space of time, the manuscripts cited in each row across the table are probably of a single date; items 1, 2, 3, 5 and 13, for instance, are apparently contemporaneous in view of their similar stave-rulings on paper-type B1. Rastra 10/188, 10/188.3 and 10/188.8 are bracketed together in respect of the possibility, discussed earlier, that their rulings represent three states in the life of a single tool used by the manufacturer of paper-type A.⁶⁰ If that is the case, we may similarly regard items 1, 6, 14, 15 and 79 as approximately contemporaneous sources. Reading down the table, items 1, 3, 5 and 14, each cited twice, are those whose parts comprise more than one paper-type. For these items the two papers were used simultaneously, and thus the horizontal sets of contemporaneous manuscripts are linked in time. It follows, then, that item 79 is probably contemporaneous not only with item 1 but also with items

2, 3, 5 and 13; similarly, item 4 may be regarded as contemporaneous with item 15 as well as item 14. Indeed, all the manuscripts mentioned here are of approximately similar date if one accepts that the various stave-rulings on paper-type *A* represent the use of a single rastrum.

But that is not all we may say; these non-textual data also enable us to apply to one manuscript the conclusions based on textual evidence gleaned from another. The items cited above in italic numerals are those deemed to date from after c. 1724; the others, items 3, 13-15 and 79, could not be dated with certainty in the absence of conclusive evidence concerning triple-metre time-signatures. Reading across the table, we may now believe that items 3, 13, 14 and 79 must date from after c. 1724 if we accept that they are contemporaneous with items 1, 2, 4 and 5. If item 14, like item 4, is later than c. 1724, then item 15, comprising materials identical with those used for item 14, must also be so-dated. Items 8 and 80, exhibiting time-signatures of indeterminate date and stave-rulings not found in other items, cannot be evaluated with the rest of the repertory; it is equally possible that they share the common date of the remaining ten items or were produced at a marginally different time. Nevertheless, we need not doubt that the repertory was created in the mid-1720s, a date which, although it remains imprecise, accords with the years when contact between Vivaldi and Cardinal Ottoboni is believed to have taken place: 1723, 1724 and 1726.⁶¹

¹ *Vivaldi Concerto Manuscripts in Manchester: I*, "Informazioni e studi vivaldiani, Bollettino dell'Istituto Italiano Antonio Vivaldi", 5, Ricordi, Milan, 1984, pp. 23-51; hereinafter *Article I*. "The Manchester Concerto Partbooks", the subject and title of the present writer's doctoral dissertation (University of Liverpool, 1984), comprise thirteen volumes (I-XIII) preserved in the Central Library, Manchester (GB-Mp, MS 580 Ct51) and one (here termed volume XIV) in the British Library, London (GB-Lbl, RM. 22. c. 28).

² See *Article I*, pp. 31-40.

³ Only data considered to be essential are included here. Comprehensive catalogue entries for these items, giving all superscriptions, tempo-markings, leaf-sizes, the location of watermarks and indications of the trimming of leaves, may be found in EVERETT, *The Manchester Concerto Partbooks*, cit., pp. 456-69, 475-80 and 558-61. The present classifications of paper-types, rastra and hands are those adopted in this thesis. For explanations of (a) the short formulae used for volume/ff. references, (b) oblong quarto format and the division of a quire into two bifolios or four single folios, and (c) the classifications of rastra, see *Article I*, notes 45, 46 and 48. It should be noted that parts which are bifolios (i.e. upper or lower half-sheets) were bound into the volumes in two ways, generally depending on the arrangement of their texts. Some, each appearing as a single leaf of twice the customary width (e.g. XIV, 14), were attached in the gutter at their fore edges; others, each forming two conjugate leaves (e.g. V, 1-2), were attached at their central folds.

⁴ Watermark tracings, and information pertinent to the use and dating of three-crescents paper, may be found in E. HEAWOOD, *Watermarks, mainly of the 17th and 18th Centuries*, Paper Publications Society, Hilversum, 1950, tracings 863-7 and 869-72, and G. EINEDER, *The Ancient Paper Mills of the Former Austro-Hungarian Empire and Their Watermarks*, Paper Publications Society, Hilversum, 1960, pp. 168-73 and 174-5.

⁵ Other paper-types are relatively few and in most cases must relate to the composer's activities away from Venice. The autograph score of *Giustino* (Foà 34, ff. 2-184), for example, comprises several Roman papers: materials Vivaldi surely obtained while in Rome before the opera's performance in that city (Carnival 1724).

⁶ Of the rulings of more than a hundred rastra recently classified from the examination of Vivaldi sources in Turin, I have not found one exhibited on more than one three-crescents paper-type.

⁷ In order to realize how advanced it was for the time, one needs only to reflect upon the fact that Bach and Telemann in North Germany invariably used plain paper on which they had to rule the staves with single-stave rastra. For a brief, incomplete history of rastrum-ruled music paper, see PAUL EVERETT, *The Application and Usefulness of "Rastrology", with particular reference to Early Eighteenth-Century Italian Manuscripts*, "Musica e Filologia", ed. Marco Di Pasquale, Edizioni della Società Letteraria, Verona, 1983, pp. 136-7 and 140-1.

⁸ Limitations of space in the present article permit only these brief verbal descriptions. Scale drawings of all watermarks, as well as supporting data concerning the watermarks' locations in the sheet, chain-indentations, laid wires, sheet-sizes and twin moulds, may be found in EVERETT, *The Manchester Concerto Partbooks*, *cit.*, pp. 583-94, 597-600 and 607-8.

⁹ HEAWOOD, *op. cit.*, tracing 1260, cites the use of type B3 for a volume published at Venice in 1740. EINEDER, *op. cit.*, tracings 534, 536, 537, 541 and 542, gives examples of double-headed-eagle marks in sources originating from Lombardy during the period 1708-29. The watermarks of B3 accord with the verbal descriptions of those classified as *tre lune III* by KARL HELLER, in *Die deutsche Überlieferung der Instrumentalwerke Vivaldis*, VEB Deutscher Verlag für Musik, Leipzig, 1971, p. 73.

¹⁰ The watermarks of B4 may be identical with those described in HELLER, *op. cit.*, pp. 72-3, as *tre lune IIa* and *IIb*. My recent studies in Turin have revealed, however, the existence of several three-crescents varieties with crossbow countermarks, and thus the Dresden paper may not be the same type as B4.

¹¹ Since I have examined only a fraction of the sources in Turin, this cannot yet be regarded as a complete list of the occurrences of these papers.

¹² Having failed to note the three crescents and the full extent of the double-headed eagle, PETER RYOM, in *Les manuscrits de Vivaldi*, Antonio Vivaldi Archives, Copenhagen, 1977, p. 82, has mistakenly recorded the watermark in this source as "un dessin représentant une sorte de fleur de lis couronnée". This reported *fleur de lis* – a common watermark in Roman papers – led ERIC CROSS, in *The Late Operas of Antonio Vivaldi, 1727-1738*, UMI Research Press, Ann Arbor, 1981, p. 39, to conclude that the *Concerto funebre* was probably "composed around 1723-25 while Vivaldi was in Rome". In view of the Venetian provenance of the source, it is now clear that this claim is without foundation.

¹³ Before leaving the subject of paper-types common to Manchester and Turin sources, it is convenient to provide here new information supplementary

to *Article I*. Since writing this piece, I have examined 26 Turin manuscripts which wholly or partly comprise paper-type B5. Exhibiting many different stave-rulings, these sources – including the scores of *Teuzzone*, *Tito Manlio*, *La Sena festeggiante* and *Griselda* – date from a particularly long period in Vivaldi's career: from at least as early as the late 1710s to at least the mid-1730s. Though this fact makes it even more difficult to assign dates to the Manchester copies of *Le quattro stagioni* (items 9-12), it overwhelmingly confirms Vivaldi's and his copyists' use of such paper and thus supports the notion that the unidentified copyists of the Manchester parts worked to the composer's order. Vivaldi himself, indeed, used sheets of B5 with stave-rulings identical with those appearing in Manchester (10/186.3 and 10/187.2) for the Turin score of RV 555/F XII, 23 (Giord. 34, ff. 115-132), but this important connection alone is insufficient to reveal the precise date when items 9-12 were copied.

¹⁴ We have already seen, in *Article I*, pp. 35-6, how copyists II/1 and II/2 collaborated in the compilation of items 9-12. Many items in the other repertoires within the Manchester collection comprise more than one paper-type, exhibit the rulings of two or more rastra and were copied by two or more associated persons; see PAUL EVERETT, *A Roman Concerto Repertory: Ottoboni's "what not"?*, "Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association", cx (1983-84), pp. 62-78. Sources consisting solely of parts are few in Turin, yet two I have consulted, Giord. 34, ff. 65-74 and 103-110 (RV 534/F VII, 3 and RV 367/F I, 1), show the collaboration of at least two scribes using a variety of materials.

¹⁵ But not in sources elsewhere; see below.

¹⁶ For this point the assumption is made that the three rastra classifications, 10/188, 10/188.3 and 10/188.8, represent, in fact, the use of a single rastrum. The minute variations in the span measurement and internal nib-positions perhaps reflect three stages in the life of the tool.

¹⁷ A volume of cantatas and three concertos, RV 189/F I, 169, 240/I, 142 and 507/I, 43, in Dresden (*Dddr-Dlb*); see HELLER, *op. cit.*, pp. 51, 84, 96 and 120, where the copyist is called *Schreiber e*. The set of twelve concertos in Paris (F-Pc, Ac. e⁴. 346), the serenata *La Sena festeggiante*, RV 693, in Turin (Foà 27, ff. 146-253), and the set of twelve violin sonatas in Manchester (GB-Mp, MS 624.1 Vw81); see MICHAEL TALBOT, *Vivaldi's "Manchester" Sonatas*, "Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association", civ (1977-78), pp. 25-6, and idem, *Vivaldi and a French Ambassador*, "Informazioni e studi vivaldiani, Bollettino dell'Istituto Italiano Antonio Vivaldi", 2, Ricordi, Milan, 1981, pp. 36-9, or the critical notes to any of the editions, by Everett and Talbot, cited in *Article I*, note 1.

¹⁸ For details, see MICHAEL TALBOT, *Vivaldi's Serenatas: Long Cantatas or Short Operas?*, in *Antonio Vivaldi; Teatro Musicale, Cultura e Società*, Olschki, Florence, 1982, pp. 93-4.

¹⁹ The above list for Turin cannot yet be regarded as exhaustive.

²⁰ For full examinations, with more musical examples, see EVERETT, *The Manchester Concerto Partbooks*, *cit.*, pp. 138-213.

²¹ Modern edition: VIVALDI, *Opere strumentali*, tomo 15, ed. A. Fanna, Ricordi, Milan, 1947.

²² For example: LA CETRA / CONCERTI / Consacrati / ALLA SACRA CESAREA CATTOLICA REAL MAESTA / di / CARLO VI / IMPERATORE / da' / D. ANTONIO VIVALDI / Maestro di Capella di S. A. S. Il Sig Principe / FILIPPO LANGRAVIO D'HASSIA / DARMISTATH / Violino Secondo / l'Anno 1728.

²³ Textual comparisons involving the Vienna parts are limited, of course, by the absence of the solo violin partbook.

²⁴ Modern edition of the Le Cène text: VIVALDI, *Opere strumentali*, tomo 125, ed. G.F. Malipiero, Ricordi, Milan, 1951.

²⁵ The written *e''* with the figure 4 refers to a sounding *e''* as played on the *a'*-string stopped with the fourth finger. The figure cautions the violinist against playing the written *e''* as the open fourth string which, because of the re-tuning, would sound *d''*.

²⁶ In this and other filiation charts, boxes with broken lines represent sources presumed to have existed but which are now lost.

²⁷ Modern edition based on the Turin text: VIVALDI, *Opere strumentali*, tomo 42, ed. G.F. Malipiero, Ricordi, Milan, 1949. This version of *Il gardellino* is not to be confused with the later concerto of the same name, RV 428/F VI, 14, published as Op. X No. 3.

²⁸ The presence, within both outer movements, of notes of the pitch *e'* suggests that Vivaldi conceived the solo part for transverse flute rather than recorder, despite the Manchester part's designation as *Flauto*.

²⁹ Modern edition of the Turin text: VIVALDI, *Opere strumentali*, tomo 293, ed. G.F. Malipiero, Ricordi, Milan, 1958.

³⁰ For further information on this source, see HELLER, *op. cit.*, pp. 27, 72 and 95-6. The lower string parts in Dresden do not allow for Pisendel's lengthy cadenzas of 24 and 58 bars, and conform, in these places, to the Turin version.

³¹ We may take no account of the Le Clerc print, Op. VIII No. 5: a text pirated from the earlier Le Cène edition. A further manuscript source, Darmstadt 3883/1, was destroyed during the Second World War; no reproduction survives.

³² Modern edition of the Le Cène text: VIVALDI, *Opere strumentali*, tomo 80, ed. G.F. Malipiero, Ricordi, Milan, 1950.

³³ See HELLER, *op. cit.*, pp. 27 and 93.

³⁴ Allowing for differences due to their *ripieno* function, the parts in group (3) correspond to those in group (2). The expansion of Vivaldi's original scoring to include oboes and other *ripieno* instruments implies that the parts in group (3) were arranged with the performing forces of the Dresden *Kapelle* in mind.

³⁵ Pisendel's principal violin part gives both *Presto* and *Allegro* at the head of the first movement, in fact, and *Allegro* alone for the finale. His other parts unambiguously give *Allegro* for both movements, in keeping with the presumably earlier autograph *organo* part.

³⁶ The readings might have occurred purely as the result of inaccurate copying or, in the case of the Dresden readings, of further intervention on Pisendel's part.

³⁷ Modern edition: VIVALDI, *Opere strumentali*, tomo 70, ed. G.F. Malipiero, Ricordi, Milan, 1949.

³⁸ Similar superscriptions on sources of the concertos RV 556/F XII, 14 and 562/XII, 47 attest Vivaldi's regular involvement. I am indebted to Michael Talbot for pointing out that the Benedictine convent of S. Lorenzo was another Venetian institution which marked the occasion with elaborate music; PIERRE JEAN GROSLEY, in *Nouveaux memoires ou observations sur l'Italie et sur les Italiens*, 3 vols., Paris and London, 1764, ii, pp. 45-56, mentions a performance there *in due cori* on the feast-day. According to the Common of One Martyr, five psalms and one hymn would have been sung at First Vespers on 9 August,

and we may speculate that some of Vivaldi's settings of vesper-psalms, or even the hymn *Deus tuorum militum* (RV 612), might have been composed for this particular feast.

³⁹ Documents mentioning Anna Maria are cited in REMO GIAZOTTO, *Antonio Vivaldi*, ERI, Turin, 1973, pp. 366, 370 and 389-96. Her election as *maestra di violino* and *maestra di coro* in 1737 is noted in *I-Vas*, Ospedale e luoghi pii, Busta 692, Notatorio Q, f. 196v. Other works inscribed to her include RV 393/F II, 4, 397/II, 6 and those in a solo violin partbook, *I-Vc*, Fondo Esposti, Busta 55, vol. 133, which contains a part concordant with item 80. For a description of this last volume, see RYOM, *Les manuscrits*, cit., pp. 449 and 486.

⁴⁰ It would be incorrect to believe that item 14, lacking parts for a *secondo coro*, is incomplete. Surviving partbooks copied at the Pietà demonstrate that psalm settings for one or two *cori* sometimes belong in the same cycle; see MICHAEL TALBOT, *A Vivaldi Discovery at the Conservatorio "Benedetto Marcello"*, "Informazioni e studi vivaldiani, Bollettino dell'Istituto Italiano Antonio Vivaldi", 3, Ricordi, Milan, 1982, p. 9.

⁴¹ I have been unable to consult a further manuscript concordance, *Dddr-SWI*, Mus. 5573. The title-page of the Naples bass part reads: *Cembalo o Contrabasso / Concerto / a due Violini Violetta Violongello [sic] e Basso / Del Sig. D. Antonio Viualdi / 1727*. For the title-page of the Vienna source, see note 22.

⁴² The term *senza cembali* implies not so much a division of the ensemble into two *cori* but rather the augmentation of the band for a particular occasion. One finds *cembali* indicated in Vivaldi's opera scores where no division of the ensemble is intended.

⁴³ Modern edition of the Turin text: VIVALDI, *Opere strumentali*, tomo 154, ed. G.F. Malipiero, Ricordi, Milan, 1953.

⁴⁴ Modern edition: VIVALDI, *Opere strumentali*, tomo 494, ed. G.F. Malipiero, Ricordi, Milan, 1970. The parts are as follows: *VI pr*, *VI 3* (= *VI 1*), *VI 2*, *VI 4* (= *VI 2*), *Vla*, *Vc* and *Org*. For information on RV 223 and the dating of "Op. I", see LIONEL 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, i, p. 13 and ii, pp. 80-1. A transcription of RV 762 (item 79) appears in EVERETT, *The Manchester Concerto Partbooks*, cit., pp. 781-814.

⁴⁵ It is of interest to note that where the Paris text fails to indicate the point in the first movement at which a solo episode should cease to be played an octave higher than written, the Manchester text leaves us in no doubt. Malipiero, for his edition of RV 223 cited in note 44, did not look far enough; he suggested bar 41 as the most likely place whereas the middle of bar 50, where the chords shift an octave, is the correct point.

⁴⁶ See the Critical Notes to ANTONIO VIVALDI, *Concerto "L'ottavina" per violino principale, due violini, viola e basso, F I, 240/RV 763*, ed. Paul Everett and Michael Talbot, Istituto Italiano Antonio Vivaldi, Ricordi, Milan, 1982. The concordant solo part exists as ff. 9v-12r in the volume cited in note 39.

⁴⁷ The first nine bars of the slow movement in item 2 are quoted in RYOM, *Les manuscrits*, cit., p. 317. Noting the piece's stylistic similarity to the *Preludio* in the sonata RV 22, and the fact that Vivaldi, when writing out the Manchester violin part, gave the triple-metre time-signature as "3", Ryom concludes (pp. 316-7) that the movement in RV 294 is perhaps the later composition. This is not necessarily correct, for he has neglected the fact that

copyist I/2 wrote the older form " $\frac{3}{8}$ " in the *cembalo* part (Ryom's transcription is inaccurate in this respect): the scribe was surely following an exemplar with " $\frac{3}{8}$ " which may well have antedated the text of RV 22. The sources of RV 294a are, respectively, *Dddr-Dlb*, Mus. 2389-0-96 (a score of Venetian provenance in Pisendel's hand); *Dddr-Dlb*, Mus. 2389-0-156 (a score and 14 parts presenting a re-worked version); *A-Wn*, Estensische Sammlung, E. M. 148f. (five parts of Venetian provenance in an unknown copyist's hand and an unrelated *violone* part in another hand); *S-L*, Samling Engelhart, No. 393 (six parts of unknown provenance); Op. VII No. 10, Amsterdam, Roger No. 470 (1716-17); Concerto VIII in *Select Harmony...*, London, Walsh No. 454 (1730).

⁴⁸ Evidence that item 2 post-dates the Dresden, Vienna and Op. VII sources is examined later in this article.

⁴⁹ Reference may be made to the modern edition of RV 294a, based on the Roger print: VIVALDI, *Opere strumentali*, tomo 451, ed. G.F. Malipiero, Ricordi, Milan, 1968. In the first movement, bars 70-75 of the first violin part are omitted in Manchester, as are the following passages of the finale: second violin, bars 125-141, 176-180, 182 note 2 - 186 and 188 note 2 - 192. In these places, the Dresden, Vienna and Lund texts are similar to, if not always identical with, the printed text.

⁵⁰ Modern edition of the Turin autograph text: VIVALDI, *Opere strumentali*, tomo 37, ed. A. Ephrikan, Ricordi, Milan, 1949.

⁵¹ By a strange coincidence the opening of the "Contrabassi" part in the Ricordi edition resembles the Manchester *organo* part; readers should note, however, that this is an unacknowledged invention of the editor and does not appear in the Turin score.

⁵² Modern edition: VIVALDI, *Opere strumentali*, tomo 135, ed. G.F. Malipiero, Ricordi, Milan, 1952. RV 572 (item 1) is not yet available in a published modern edition, though a transcription appears in EVERETT, *The Manchester Concerto Partbooks*, cit., pp. 719-80.

⁵³ The sounding ranges which result are *f[sic!]-a'* for the violin and *c-a'* for the cello. The first page of the Turin score includes the following autograph direction, apparently describing an alternative mode of performance: *Il Violino Principale può suonare li soli del Violoncello, et al rouerscio il Violon^{lo}: può / suonare li soli del Violino suonandoli come stano* ("The principal violin may play the solos of the violoncello and conversely the violoncello may play the violin's solos, performing them as they stand [without displacing them by an octave]"). One wonders how separate parts copied from this score would have appeared; both alternative versions could not have been accommodated in a single part for each soloist. The composer perhaps intended, as a spontaneous and fittingly humorous illustration of an inverted world, that the soloists would have to read from each other's parts in solo passages and revert back to their own copies for the *ritornelli*.

⁵⁴ The not unusual absence of bass-figures, in both RV 572 and 544, is of little significance to this consideration. The harmony in many passages would be bare and ambiguous without a supporting realization, but one cannot be entirely sure of Vivaldi's intentions for this work.

⁵⁵ His approach to this aspect was not consistent, but for most *tutti* passages the allocation of voices in RV 544 to instruments in RV 572 is as follows: (1) principal violin doubling first violin - Manchester *Fl trav 1, Ob 1, Vl pr* and *Vl 1*; (2) second violin - Manchester *Fl trav 2, Ob 2, Cemb* and *Vl 2*; (3) viola - Manchester *Vla*; (4) obbligato cello doubling *basso* - Manchester *Vc* and *Basso*.

⁵⁶ Now that it is established that the eight bars in the Turin score were deleted purely in connection with the revision of the music for RV 572, there is no reason why they should not be regarded as intentional within RV 544.

⁵⁷ RYOM, *Les manuscrits*, cit., p. 246.

⁵⁸ Copyist I/4, when compiling on a single occasion the volume of twelve Vivaldi violin sonatas (GB-Mp, MS 624.1 Vw81), gave the large "3" in sonatas V, IX and XI and the full forms of triple time-signatures in the remaining nine works. The only logical explanation for this is that autograph exemplars for the former three sonatas were written after c. 1724 while those for the latter nine were in existence earlier than this date.

⁵⁹ We must discount all printed concordances, whose signatures appear normalized in their full forms.

⁶⁰ See note 16.

⁶¹ See *Article I*, pp. 29-30. I am indebted to the Faculty of Arts, University College, Cork, for granting financial assistance which has enabled me to study in Turin and thereby to gather supporting information for these articles.

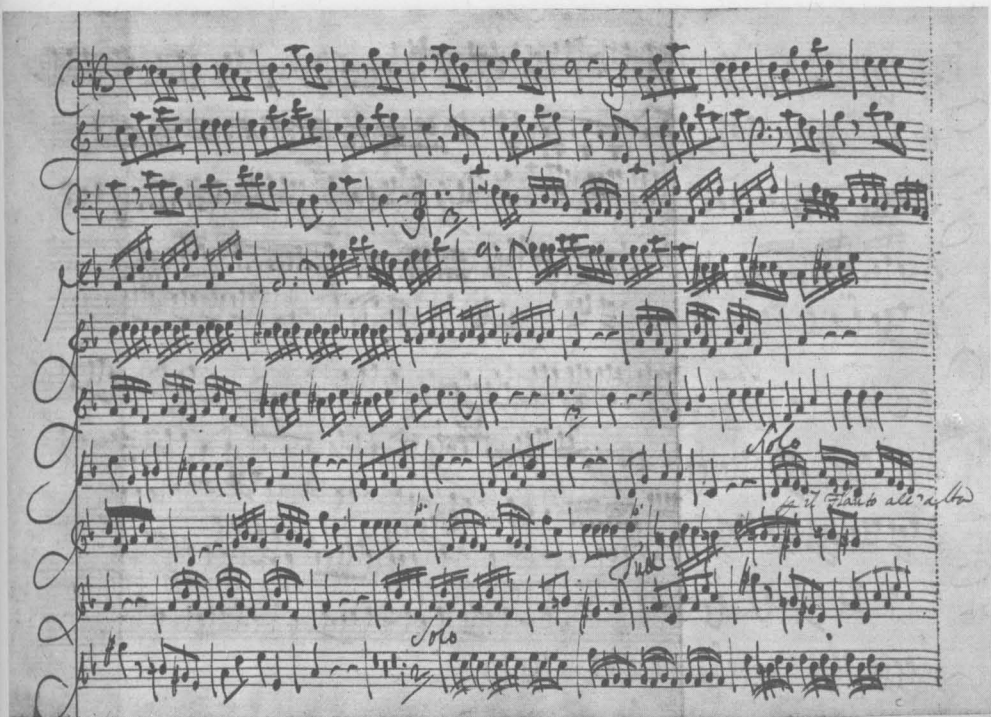


PLATE 1: XII, 29v bis. Item 1 (*Il Proteo*, RV 572), Hautbois 2do.
part, movement iii. Autograph. Size of leaf: 615 x 214 mm.
(Plates 1-4 appear by permission of the Director of the Manchester Public
Libraries.)

La Pastorella *Cap: Del Villaggio* Flauto o Viol: Pmo



PLATE 2: I, 36r. Item 15 (*La pastorella*), Flauto ò Viol^o: Pmo part, movement i. Autograph superscriptions; musical text in hand I/2. Size of leaf: 602 x 227 mm.

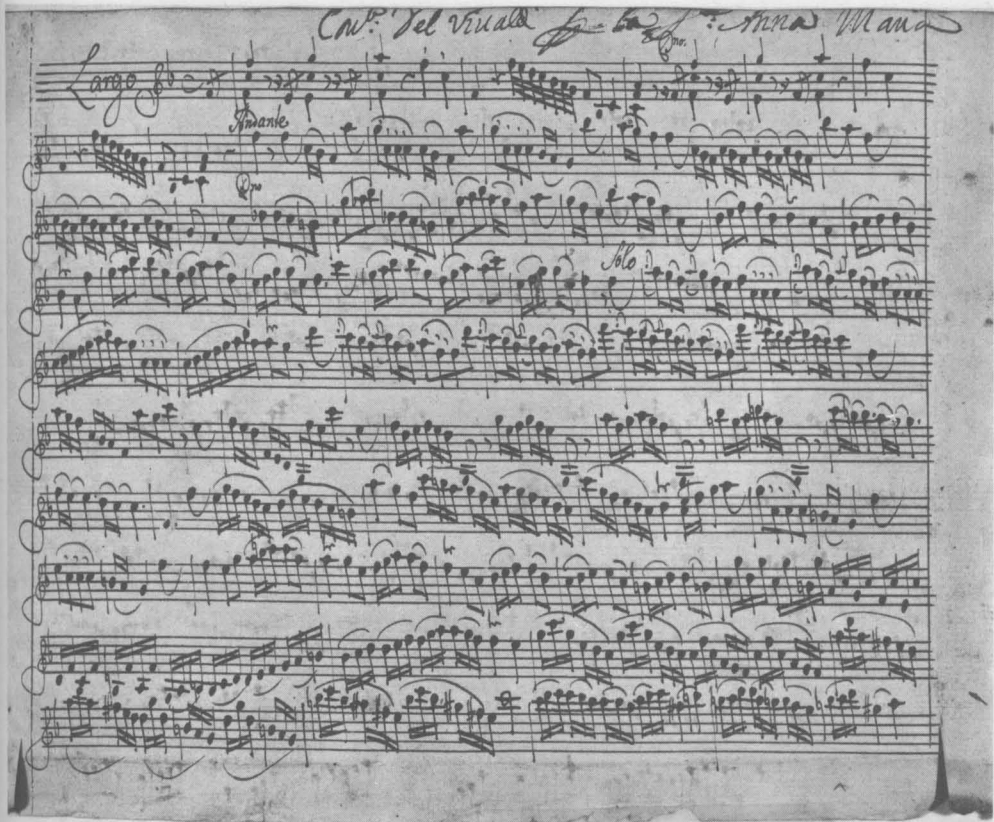


PLATE 3: I, 35r. Item 14, [violino principale] part, movement i. Autograph superscriptions; musical text in hand I/3. Size of leaf: 590 x 230 mm.

Acceleratum *all. non molto*

The image shows a page of handwritten musical notation for a violin part. The score is written on ten staves. At the top left, the word "Acceleratum" is written in a cursive hand, followed by the tempo marking "all. non molto". The music consists of a series of rhythmic patterns, primarily eighth and sixteenth notes, often beamed together. There are several dynamic markings, including "p" (piano) and "f" (forte), and some "Solo" markings. The notation includes various ornaments and slurs, and the overall style is characteristic of 18th or 19th-century manuscript notation.

PLATE 4: I, 4v. Item 4, violino principale part, movement i. Hand I/4.
Size of leaf: 285 x 230 mm.



PLATE 5: *I-Tn*, Giordano 28, f. 3v; *Il Proteo*, RV 544/F IV, 5, movement i, bars 50-63. Autograph.

Ex. 1: (a)  (b) 

Ex. 2: (a)  (b)  (c) 

Ex. 3: *La tempesta di mare*, movement iii, from bar 217

Mp
VI pr
[Basso absent]

217 219

VI pr

Dlb

Org (autog.)

6

7^b₅

220^b

VI pr

LCn

Org e Vc

217 220^b



Mp

222

Dlb

7^b₅

LCn

222

6

7

6

7

6

7

6



Mp
Dlb

LCn

227

7 6b 7 6 7 6

Tutti [sic]

Mp
Dlb

LCn

233

Solo

7 7 7

Mp

Dlb

LCn

220

[Tutti]

223

[Tutti]

7b

239

7 7b 7b

242

[Tutti]

7b

Ex. 4: RV 286/F I, 20, movement iii, bars 178-180

VI pr
(a)
Basso
(b)

Ex. 5: *La pastorella*, movement i, Fl/Vl 1 part, bars 45-46

(a) (b)

Ex. 6: movement iii, from bar 50

(Paris) RV 223
VI pr
(a)
VI 2
VI 3
VI 4
54
58
(Vc/Org)
(Manchester) RV 762
VI pr
(b)
VI 1
VI 2

54 *tr.*

VI 1

VI 2 (Basso)

Ex. 7: Item 2, movement i, bars 92-95

VI pr

Cemb

[3] [3] [3]

[Tutti]

Ex. 8: Item 2, movement iii, bars 204-208

VI pr

VI 1

Cemb

[Tutti]

Ex. 9: *L'inquietudine*, movement iii, bars 69-70

Turin/Genoa

(a)

Manchester

(b)

Ex. 10: *L'inquietudine*, movement ii, bars, 6-7

Turin/Genoa

Manchester

Ex. 11: *Il Proteo*, movement i, from bar 47

RV 544 (Turin) VI pr

RV 572 (Manchester) VI pr
Fl trav 1
Ob 1

Both versions: Basso

[*ave...*]

48

[*ave for VI pr*]

48

50

Musical notation for measures 48-54. The system consists of two staves: a treble clef staff on top and a bass clef staff on the bottom. The key signature has one flat (B-flat). The music features a complex rhythmic pattern with many beamed eighth and sixteenth notes. The treble staff has a melodic line with frequent slurs and ties, while the bass staff provides a steady accompaniment. The system ends with a long right-pointing arrow.

Musical notation for measures 55-57. The system consists of two staves: a treble clef staff on top and a bass clef staff on the bottom. The key signature has one flat (B-flat). The music continues with the same complex rhythmic patterns as the previous system. The treble staff has a melodic line with frequent slurs and ties, while the bass staff provides a steady accompaniment. The system ends with a long right-pointing arrow.

Musical notation for measures 58-60. The system consists of three staves: a treble clef staff on top, a middle treble clef staff, and a bass clef staff on the bottom. The key signature has one flat (B-flat). Measure 58 is marked with a fermata. Measure 59 is marked with a fermata. Measure 60 is marked with a fermata. The music features a complex rhythmic pattern with many beamed eighth and sixteenth notes. The treble staff has a melodic line with frequent slurs and ties, while the bass staff provides a steady accompaniment. The system ends with a long right-pointing arrow.

I manoscritti dei concerti di Vivaldi custoditi a Manchester: II

Questo secondo articolo tratta dei dodici concerti le cui singole parti, di provenienza veneziana, sono conservate, come nn. 1-6, 8, 13-15, 79-80, tra i cosiddetti « Manchester Concerto Partbooks ». Queste fonti, verosimilmente donate da Vivaldi alla cappella romana del Cardinale Pietro Ottoboni, costituiscono un unico repertorio veneziano, che pare sia stato compilato nel giro di un breve periodo di tempo dallo stesso compositore e da diversi copisti operanti sotto la sua supervisione.

Le parti comprendono materiale abitualmente usato da Vivaldi: carte del tipo lombardo-veneto (con pentagrammi tracciati nei modi dello scrittoio veneziano) che compare anche tra i manoscritti vivaldiani nei Fondi Foà e Giordano di Torino.

Dall'esame delle caratteristiche non testuali delle fonti, compresa l'incidenza del tipo di scrittura, risulta una certa coincidenza tra le date delle stesure delle varie parti. Il maggior numero di queste è di mano dei copisti indicati come I/2, I/3 e I/4 (dei quali solo quest'ultimo è conosciuto attraverso altre fonti), mentre fu lo stesso Vivaldi, allora intento all'opera di revisione, a stendere le parti del n. 5 (*L'inquietudine*, RV 234) e la maggior parte di quelle del n. 1 (*Il Proteo*, RV 572) e del n. 2 (*Il ritiro*, RV 294).

Come ci si può attendere, i testi dei concerti di Manchester sono strettamente imparentati con quelli delle corrispondenti partiture autografe di Torino. Nel caso di quei concerti i cui autografi non sono più reperibili, è comunque possibile – dato il carattere autorevole delle fonti di Manchester – ipotizzare alcune delle caratteristiche di tali autografi.

Di particolare interesse è la redazione del concerto n. 1, in quanto essa costituisce una revisione operata alquanto precipitosamente dallo stesso compositore rispetto alla partitura originale conservata a Torino.

Tenuto conto di tutti i fattori – la filiazione dei testi di Manchester e delle altre fonti concordanti, i legami non testuali tra le varie fonti, le circostanze del rapporto stabilito tra Vivaldi e il Cardinale Ottoboni – il repertorio può essere fatto risalire con alquanta certezza alla metà del terzo decennio del Settecento.

(Traduzione di David Bryant)

Vivaldi in the Sale Catalogue of Nicolaas Selhof

Michael Talbot

The Toonkunst-Bibliotheek of Amsterdam possesses a rare, apparently unique, example of a remarkable sale catalogue.¹ Here is a transcription of its title-page:

CATALOGUE / D'UNE TRÈS BELLE BIBLIOTHEQUE / DE /
LIVRES, / *Curieux & Rares, en toutes sortes de Facultez & Langues.*
/ *Contenant des Livres de / THEOLOGIE, DE POLITIQUE, DE*
PHILO-/SOPHIE, D'HIST. NATURELLE DE GEO-/GRAPHIE,
D'HISTOIRE, DE POESIE &c. / Auquel suit le / CATALOGUE /
D'une Partie très considerable de / LIVRES DE MUSIQUE, / Tant
Italiens, que Francois, Espagnols, Anglois / & Hollandois, / Ainsi
qu'une Collection de toutes sortes/D'INSTRUMENTS, / Deslaissez
par Feu, / Monsieur Nicolas Selhof / Libraire, lesquels seront Vendus
Publiquement aux plus / offrants, / Mercredi le 30 Mai 1759 & jours
suyvants / Dans la Maison / De la Veuve D'ADRIEN MOETJENS, /
Libraire dans le Hofstraat. / [typographical decoration] / A LA
HAYE, / Chez la Veuve D'ADRIEN MOETJENS, / M. DCC. LIX.
/ Ou l'on distribue le Catalogue. Pour lequel on payera / deux Sols
*pour les Pauvres*²

Many interesting details of the life and activity of the bookseller Nicolaas Selhof are given in the Introduction, by A. Hyatt King, to a facsimile reprint of the catalogue, itself regrettably rare.³ Selhof (1680-1758) was active in The Hague as a music bookseller from 1713 and in 1753 began dealing also in general literature. In 1725 he founded a *Collegium musicum perpetuum* that met weekly. The vast bulk of the auctioned effects, which include books on general subjects, books on music, printed and engraved music, manuscript music, music manuscript paper, musical instruments and prints, is ample demonstration of Selhof's success in business. The music itself, which occupies 2945 separate lots and 160 pages (89-248), justifies by its sheer quantity Hyatt King's description of it as "one of the most striking documents of musical bibliography from the mid-eighteenth century".⁴ No wonder that five (out of nine) days of the sale were set aside exclusively for the music.

The published music (lots 1-2077 and 2752-2917) spreads its net remarkably wide, chronologically as well as geographically, although, as one would expect, Dutch and Parisian publications of the mid-century are particularly strongly represented. The items are

helpfully grouped under the type of heading (e.g., "Solos pour le violon", "Ariettes italiennes") familiar from the stock catalogues of contemporary publishers such as Le Cène.⁵

Space and our focus on items of Vivaldian interest do not allow us to describe, even in summary, the many novelties revealed in these pages, but, merely to whet the appetite, here are two examples from one composer. Lot 881 introduces us to the previously unknown "Suonate da Camera a Tré, doi Violini, Violoncello e Cembalo, opera quarta, parte prima" of Benedetto Vinaccesi (Vinacese); another previously unsuspected published work by the same composer, a contemporary of Vivaldi in Venice, comes in lot 1657: "il Consiglio degl'Amanti, o vero Cantate amorose a Voce Sola, Libro primo, opera terza".

Unfortunately, it is impossible to say whether items such as these formed part of Selhof's stock-in-trade, his personal collection or the repertory of his *Collegium musicum* – the auctioneer made no distinction. Very likely, of course, the boundaries between these categories were often fluid (as one knows from today's booksellers).

To Vivaldi, then. With two exceptions, it is enough to say that Selhof possessed examples of all the authentic collections with opus number (1-12), often in duplicate, as well as the spurious "op. 13" (*Il pastor fido*) and nearly all the publications (of Roger-Le Cène, Walsh, Witvogel, etc.) containing isolated concertos of his. The first item requiring comment is lot 11, "XVIII Sonates a Violino e Violoncello". In all probability, this is opp. 2 and 5 combined (remember that op. 5 is described on its title-page as "Parte Seconda del Opera Seconda" and that its six sonatas are numbered XIII to XVIII).⁶ In that case, perhaps the separate part containing the music for a second violin in the last two sonatas was missing from Selhof's example. One should add that there are many instances in the sale catalogue where a lot contains different works in a common binding, though their titles are normally kept distinct.

At first sight, lot 9 looks even more intriguing: "XII Divertimenti a Violino Col Basso, opera terza." But no sooner has one begun to construct elaborate hypotheses about a lost Venetian "op. 3" predating the well-known one (*L'estro armonico*) of Amsterdam than a simpler explanation offers itself. A work under the identical title but with Giovanni De Santis as composer is listed as lot 2753. This corresponds to a collection published in Amsterdam by Gerhard Fredrik Witvogel around 1734 (*RISM S899*).⁷ So the name of the composer for lot 9 has been mistaken. In any case, a composer such as Vivaldi for whom the prosaic terms "sonata" and "concerto"

always sufficed would hardly have followed the fashion of composers such as Valentini and Tessarini and chosen a term in the nature of "divertimento".

For Vivaldian novelties we have to go to the manuscripts. But let us first offer an *hors d'oeuvres* in the shape of works by two more of Vivaldi's Venetian contemporaries. Lot 2233 contains "VI [Sonate] a Tré, ut supra [due Violini è Cembalo], Violoncello, opera XI" by Tomaso Albinoni. It is well known that between 1694 and 1735/6 Albinoni committed to print ten works with authentic opus number. But a letter to Padre Martini from Michel-Charles Le Cène dated 1 May 1739 speaks of "l'ouvrage que j'ay en main de Mons(ieu)r g. Tartini solo & de M(onsieur)r Albinoni trio. & d'autres desquels j'ay les oeuvres depuis plus d'un an & que je n'ay pu commencer".⁸ Might Le Cène have in fact published the trios, of which the manuscript in Selhof's *Nachlass* was a copy? Or was Selhof's manuscript the publisher's copy of a work that in the event never came out?

Lot 2583 is a collection of "Cantate, ut supra [a Basso Solo col Basso Continuo]" by one Scarpari, presumably Pietro Scarpari *alias* Dall'Oglio (c. 1682-1763). This extraordinarily active man was a tenor at S. Marco from 1714 and *titolato* at the church of S. Bartolomeo. As a teacher of singing he served the Pietà from 1713 until at least 1742, the Mendicanti from 1731 to 1735 and the Ospedaletto from 1716 to 1722 and again from 1727 to 1730. Like Vivaldi, he composed some sacred vocal music for the Pietà during periods when there was no *maestro di coro*, but he was also involved with the secular sphere – his setting of Minato's *L'Ifide greca* was staged at S. Moisè in Carnival 1722.⁹ The presence in the catalogue of these lost cantatas gives us still more reason to take seriously his contribution to the musical life of the Pietà, which we are tempted far too often to regard as Vivaldi's personal domain.

The first music by Vivaldi that we encounter in the *Musique en manuscrit* section arrives in lot 2167: "XIV Sonates, ut supra [a Violoncello col Basso Continuo], de differents Auteurs, comme *Vivaldi, Montanari, Cervetto, Doria, Croner, &c.*" (Cervetto is probably Giacobbe Basevi Cervetto; Doria, Felice Doria; and Croner, Francesco Carlo Tomaso Cröner). Vivaldi's inclusion in this anthology helps to confirm the almost 'classic' status his cello sonatas enjoyed in the late Baroque.

Next, under *Simphonies*, we find a "Sinfonia a 4, Violoncello principale 2 Violini, Alto, e Basso Continuo", lot 2343, and "VI Sinfonia a 2 Violini, Viola & Basso, de *Priosky* [Brioschi], *Vivaldi*,

Vinci &c.”, lot 2345. The role of the principal cello in what is described as a *sinfonia* puzzles, since Vivaldi’s known *sinfonias* have an undifferentiated *basso* line, but perhaps this is an example of the separate cello part that often appears in his and other composers’ published instrumental works: a part that includes octave-variants and simple elaborations of the continuo line but rarely functions independently.

Predictably, Vivaldi is represented in the *Concerts pour les violons* section. Lot 2416 has “III Concerti a 3 Violini, Alto & Basso”, thus three concertos for one violin; lot 2417 appears to consist of one concerto for two violins and two oboe concertos: “III Concerti, I a 4 Violini, & II a 2 Violini, Hautbois, Alto & Basso Continuo”.

But the real surprise arrives in the *Pour les flutes* section, where eight works, one duplicated, are included under lots 2461-2464. We list them below, closely following the original layout on page 223 of the catalogue:

2461	<i>Vivaldi</i> ,	{ La Francia: Concerto a Flauto, 2 Violini, Alto & Basso. il Gran Mogol: Concerto, ut supra. La Spagna: Concerto ut supra.
2462	_____	
2463	_____	
2464	_____	{ I Concerto, a Flauto, 2 Violini, Alto, Violoncello & Basso. I _____ a 4 _____ & Basso

Clearly, we have here a set, or part of a larger set, of flute concertos with ‘geographical’ titles. “Gran Mogol” is to be understood, of course, not as the ruler of an empire in India but, following contemporary usage, as the name of the territory itself. This has implications for the interpretation of the title “Grosso Mogul” found on the Schwerin manuscript of the violin concerto RV 208 (F. I, 138).¹⁰ Were the “Great/Grand Mogul” concertos perhaps related, and did RV 208 belong to a similar set? To judge from Vivaldi’s other concertos with descriptive titles (and from works of his contemporaries with ‘geographical’ titles such as Couperin’s *Les nations*), the choice of title will have been dictated more by whimsy

or a wish to 'package' the work attractively for a customer than by a desire actually to express supposed national characteristics. It may be of interest to remark here that the violin concertos *Il sospetto* (RV 199/F.I, 2), *L'inquietudine* (RV 234/F.I, 10) and *Il riposo* (RV 270/F.I, 4), whose Turin autographs have a common paper-type, rastrography and style of handwriting, probably form a similar set.¹¹

The nature of the second concerto in lot 2464 is hard to determine. Granted that the long horizontal lines are the equivalent of "ut supra", one nevertheless wonders whether the work is for four flutes (or recorders, as in RV 585/F.XII, 48?) plus the usual strings, or for strings without a principal instrument (i.e., a *concerto a quattro*).

This group of works provides further evidence of the popularity in northern Europe of Vivaldi's flute concertos; remember that Vivaldi's op. 10 (c. 1728) was the first set of concertos for transverse flute and strings ever published. He was doubtless supplying similar works to customers both before and after 1728. Readers of Vivaldian literature may be unaware of two flute concertos by Vivaldi listed in a thematic catalogue of the library of Paul Anton von Esterházy datable at 1740 and as yet unrecorded in the Ryom or any other modern catalogue.¹² Both works are for flute, two violins, viola and bass; these are the first-movement incipits:



One further Vivaldi work in manuscript is listed, as lot 2489: a "Concerto a 5, ut supra [Violoncello Obligato, 2 Violini, e Cembalo]". Outside the Turin and Wiesentheid collections Vivaldi's cello concertos have been very thinly represented. As was the case with the cello sonata mentioned earlier, this concerto finds itself in the company of works by composers very much Vivaldi's junior: Costanzi ("Giovanino"), Solnitz and Triemer. Once again, we are reminded of Vivaldi's pioneering role.

It is possible that future research will be able to identify extant manuscripts with items in the sale catalogue, but the odds are not favourable. The main importance of such a catalogue, it seems to me, is to remind us of the tragic perishability of eighteenth-century music

– even, as we have seen, published music. This ‘perishability factor’ cannot be expected to operate evenly across a composer’s entire output. If we today know of only two Vivaldi concertos for alto recorder as compared with twelve for transverse flute (discounting the new works discussed in this article), with what confidence can we claim that the composer ‘preferred’ or received more commissions on behalf of the second instrument? It would require only one (lost) set of recorder concertos supplied to a customer to throw our statistics into disarray. On the more positive side, Nicolaas Selhof’s collection proves that whatever the strictures of critics, Vivaldi’s instrumental music proved a durable part of the repertory for many years after his death.

¹ Shelfmark: 205 D II.

² This title gives an accurate foretaste of the eccentric grammar and orthography (in languages other than Dutch) of the catalogue. We shall refrain from inserting “sic” after every oddity of spelling or expression in the quotations we shall present, hoping that the reader will trust the accuracy of our transcriptions.

³ *Catalogue of the Music Library, Instruments and Other Property of Nicolas Selhof, sold in The Hague; 1759. With an Introduction by A. HYATT KING, Frits Knuf, Amsterdam, 1973.*

⁴ *Catalogue*, p. xi.

⁵ Lots 2752-2945 constitute a huge *Omissi* section, itself subdivided on the pattern of the preceding lots.

⁶ The use of the term “Sonates” (French) rather than “Sonate” (Italian) suggests that this is either an unknown French publication uniting, as we said, opp. 2 and 5, or a collector’s title written by hand.

⁷ The title-page is transcribed in A. DUNNING, *De muziekuitgever Gerhard Fredrik Witvogel en zijn fonds*, Oosthoek, Utrecht, 1966, p. 44.

⁸ Bologna, Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale, I. 19.2.

⁹ Fragments of a *Te Deum* by a “D. Pietro” very likely identifiable with Scarpari are preserved in Venice, Conservatorio di Musica “Benedetto Marcello”, fondo Esposti, Busta 83 n. 432 (item 3) and Busta 121 n. 712 (item 55).

¹⁰ Mecklenburgische Landesbibliothek, Ms. 5565. The autograph manuscript of the concerto in the Biblioteca Nazionale of Turin (Giordano 29, fols 167r-181r) lacks the descriptive title.

¹¹ I owe this observation to Paul Everett, who is currently preparing a study of the non-textual and calligraphical characteristics of Vivaldi manuscripts in Turin and elsewhere.

¹² Quoted in J. HARICH, *Inventare der Esterházy-Hofmusikkapelle in Eisenstadt*, “The Haydn Yearbook”, IX, 1975, pp. 35, 36.

Vivaldi nel catalogo per la vendita del « Nachlass » di Nicolaas Selhof

Nel 1759 fu pubblicato il catalogo per la vendita dei libri, della musica e degli altri effetti appartenenti al *Nachlass* di Nicolaas Selhof (1680-1758), benestante libraio e rivenditore di musica, residente all'Aia.

Notevole è la parte musicale del catalogo, sia per le sue dimensioni (quasi 3.000 lotti) che per la documentazione di molte opere, edite ed inedite, sconosciute precedentemente.

In quanto libraio, collezionista privato e socio fondatore di un *Collegium musicum*, Selhof possedeva almeno un esemplare di quasi tutte le opere stampate di Vivaldi. È probabile che il titolo, poco familiare, delle « XVIII Sonates a Violino e Violoncello » faccia riferimento ad una combinazione delle Opere 2 e 5, mentre i « XII Divertimenti a Violino Col Basso, opera terza », attribuiti a Vivaldi, sono in realtà identificabili con quelli di una raccolta di Giovanni De Santis.

Tra i manoscritti di musiche attribuite a Vivaldi si trovano una o più sonate per violoncello e basso continuo, due o più sinfonie, due concerti per oboe, un concerto per violoncello, concerti per uno e per due violini, e, di particolare rilievo, alcuni concerti per flauto, dei quali è evidente che quattro, dai titoli « geografici » (*La Francia, La Spagna, L'Inghilterra, Il Gran Mogol*), costituiscono o fanno parte di un unico gruppo. Il catalogo di Selhof testimonia della popolarità durevole (anche dopo la sua morte) di Vivaldi nell'Europa settentrionale, e della « tragica deperibilità » delle sue e di altre opere musicali del Settecento.

Per inciso, l'articolo tratta anche di alcune opere perdute di Benedetto Vinaccesi, Tomaso Albinoni e Pietro Scarpari, e fornisce gli incipit di due concerti vivaldiani per flauto, che, sebbene citati in un catalogo pubblicato a Eisenstadt nel 1740, non sono più reperibili.

(Traduzione di David Bryant)

“Prendea con man di latte”: a Vivaldi spuriousity?

Colin Timms

Anyone who has worked on manuscript sources of seventeenth- or eighteenth-century music will know that they frequently raise acute – sometimes insoluble – problems of authenticity. If the manuscript is an autograph, or if there is independent circumstantial or documentary evidence (such as a libretto) linking the manuscript or work to the composer to whom the latter is ascribed, there may be no reason to doubt the reliability of the ascription. If, on the other hand, the work survives in a single non-autograph copy with an ascription for which there is no independent support, the attribution may be right or wrong and the music itself may be the only evidence on the question.

Such is the case with the cantata *Prendea con man di latte* (RV 753). The work is known only from a copy in Oxford (Bodleian Library: Mus. Sch. D. 223, pp. 80-86), where it is inscribed with the words ‘Cantata d’Antonio Vivaldi’. This attribution is neither corroborated nor contradicted, so far as I am aware, in any other source. The bibliographical evidence of the manuscript is inconclusive, as we shall see, but the music is very different from that of the cantatas reliably attributed to Vivaldi. It is impossible to say that *Prendea con man di latte* is not by him, for no alternative attribution can be confidently proposed; but the authenticity of the cantata can be challenged, and that is the purpose of this essay.

The manuscript in question is a large anthology of Italian cantatas and duets ascribed to sixteen composers of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Madan describes it thus:

“In Italian, on paper: written early in the 18th cent.: $9\frac{1}{8}$ x $12\frac{3}{8}$ in., i+317 pages: binding, see below.

‘Racolta di molte cantate di diversi Autorij appartenente alla Signora Isabella Aubert [the last two words nearly erased] Anno 1714,’ about 165 pieces in 37 cantate. Among the composers named are Giovanni Bononcini (p. 41, &c.), Antonio Caldara (p. 112, &c.), and Alessandro Scarlatti (p. 157, &c.). Some inferior engraved ornaments and scenes are pasted on p. i and the cover opposite.

Bound in 1711, in dark leather with gilt ornament and ‘ISABELLA AVBERT’, but the names have been nearly erased and ‘C.A.V.S.’ substituted. Owned later in the 18th century by ‘R. Courtivill junior in Bury Street, St. James,’ London.”¹

These observations require some qualification. As far as the binding is concerned, the name ‘Isabella Avbert’ originally appeared

on the front cover. The date '1711' is on the back, in gold; there is no sign of erasure or substitution here. It seems, therefore, that the binding belonged to Isabella Aubert in 1711.

Madan is surprisingly confident about the name of the owner that appeared on the title-page. The two words concerned have been so comprehensively obliterated that it is extremely difficult to make them out, but the first letter seems to be a capital 'I', and this, together with the feminine 'Signora', suggests that the name was indeed that of Isabella Aubert. If so, this would tie in with the erasure of her name from the cover.

A question is raised by the date 1714 in the title: why is this different from the 1711 given on the back cover? In view of the deletions already discussed, it is worth making clear that the date 'Anno 1714' appears to have been written at the same time as the rest of the title and not to have been altered in any way. If the manuscript belonged to Isabella Aubert in 1711, as the binding seems to suggest, why was the title added three years later? It is much more likely that the manuscript was acquired by Signora Aubert in 1714 and given a binding, dated 1711, which was taken from another volume (now lost) in her collection, and that the title was written at the same time.

Unfortunately, I have not been able to establish the identity of Isabella Aubert or find out anything about her. The surname 'Aubert' or 'Albert' has been known in England since 1066² and was not uncommon in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In 1699 a John Aubert was described as a 'musician to Her Royall Highness the Princess Ann of Denmark' and paid for performing at two balls and a play at Whitehall.³ A 'Mrs. Aubert' was the author of *Harlequin-Hydaspes: or, the Greshamite. A mock-opera*, published in London in 1719.⁴ And an astronomer by the name of Alexander Aubert was born in 1730.⁵ Whether Isabella was related to any of these, it is impossible to say.

The position is clearer in the case of 'R. Courtivill junior', whose name and address appear on the inside of the front cover. Three musicians by the name of Raphael (or Ralph) Courteville are mentioned in *The New Grove*: a singer who died in 1675; his son, an organist and composer, who died in about 1735; and his grandson, also an organist and composer, who died in 1772.⁶ The second and third of these both held the post of organist at St. James's, Piccadilly. The use of the word 'junior' coupled with the approximate date of the manuscript indicates that the Courteville in question was the youngest of the three. He was also well known as a political

pamphleteer and propagandist for Sir Robert Walpole, for which he earned from the Opposition the nickname 'Court-evil'. Perhaps it was he who tried to remove from the manuscript the evidence that it had belonged to Signora Aubert.

The 37 cantatas in the anthology were copied by two hands. One hand (A) copied the first three works (pp. 1-21) and Scarlatti's *Sentite, o tronchi, o sassi* (pp. 157-62), while another hand (B) was responsible for the remaining 33 cantatas, including *Prendea con man di latte*. Twenty-five of these are ascribed to composers, but the ascriptions appear to have been written by a number of hands: the name of Bononcini on pp. 41, 49, 56 and 103 is in one hand, that of Gasparini (p. 71) seems to be in another and 'Sari' (p. 241) in a third. Nevertheless, sixteen of these ascriptions, including the one to Vivaldi, appear to be in a single hand which looks as though it could have been that of music copyist B:

Page	Title	Ascription
80	<i>Prendea con man di latte</i>	Vivaldi
87	<i>Su le rive del Tebro</i>	Stradella
112	<i>Sciogli pur</i>	Caldara
139	<i>Se la mia lingua tace</i>	Mancini
149	<i>Ruscelletto gentile</i>	Benati
163	<i>Dalle ingiuste querelle</i>	Bononcini
171	<i>La dove in grembo</i>	Rocco Ceruta [?]
185	<i>Amore in due bei rai</i>	Manza [Mancia]
191	<i>Cieco dio foss'io quel fiore</i>	Ariosti
197	<i>Son quest'ultimi momenti</i>	Scarlatti [sic]
203	<i>Ah non havessi</i>	Bononcini
211	<i>Irene idolo mio</i>	Bononcini
219	<i>Già vicina è quell'ora</i>	Scarlatti [sic]
229	<i>Oh la miei spirti</i>	Caldara
255	<i>Il mio cor sin'or fu mio</i>	Ariosti
269	<i>Gelosia che vuoi da me</i>	Stefani [sic]

At least six of these attributions are considered to be reliable: the works ascribed to Ariosti, Mancini, Scarlatti and Steffani are accepted as genuine by students of their music,⁷ and Scarlatti's *Già vicina è quell'ora* is dated 15 June 1699 in a manuscript in Münster (Santini 3909). One cantata, however, *Su le rive del Tebro*, is regarded as an unreliable attribution,⁸ and this must cast doubt on the authenticity of the remainder, including *Prendea con man di latte*,

for which no corroborative testimony is to hand.

Since the evidence of the manuscript is inconclusive, we shall have to turn to the music itself. The work is typical of the Italian solo cantata in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries in being scored for soprano and basso continuo and comprising two arias, each preceded by recitative:

Section	Key	Time	Number of bars
R: Predea con man di latte	c min	C	9
A: Vedi o ninfa	c min	C	23*
R: Vagando col pensiero	g min	C	7
A: Ma quanto in sí bel mare	c min	12/8	23*

* excluding *da capo* repeat.

The first thing to be noted about this cantata is its brevity. Let us take for comparison the five Vivaldi cantatas for voice and continuo (only) and in RARA form which are in the Dunham edition.⁹ There the recitatives range from 15 to 24 bars in length and the arias from 34 to 73 (excluding *da capo* repeats). The recitatives and arias in *Predea con man di latte* are significantly shorter than the shortest of those in the sample from Dunham. In the case of the recitatives this is due largely to the brevity of the texts, but this is not true of the arias, the texts of which are comparable in size to any in Vivaldi's cantatas.

The overall key-scheme is also uncharacteristic of Vivaldi. In his RARA cantatas the first recitative normally begins in the tonic and ends in a related or foreign key. The first aria is typically in a key other than the tonic, and so, too, is the second recitative – though this may end with a return to the home key, in which the final aria will appear. This pattern is followed in all but four of Vivaldi's RARA cantatas, and two of the exceptions have obbligato instruments which may have affected the choice of keys.¹⁰ The key-scheme of *Predea con man di latte* is therefore unusual in two respects: the recitatives end in the keys in which they begin, and the arias are both in the tonic.

Further abnormalities are to be found in the internal structures of the arias. The arias in Vivaldi's cantatas in Turin and Dresden, which constitute the vast majority of his output in the genre, have a number of features in common, especially in the 'A' sections.¹¹

These normally comprise five elements: (1) an instrumental ritornello in the tonic key; (2) the first vocal period, beginning in the tonic and modulating to a related key; (3) a short quotation from, or reference to, the ritornello, usually in the new key; (4) the second vocal period, either in or modulating back to the tonic; (5) a concluding ritornello passage in the tonic key. The main feature of this design is that the 'A' section is clearly divided by a modulation to a related key and by a central reprise of ritornello material.

This feature is not to be found in the arias in *Prendea con man di latte*. The first aria has the five usual elements, but all of them are firmly in the tonic key; the second vocal period incorporates a fleeting modulation to the dominant minor, but that is the only tonal contrast in the section (see Ex. 2 below). The second aria is even more aberrant: the 'A' section includes only one vocal period, preceded and followed by a ritornello, and there is no modulation whatsoever (see Ex. 3 below). Both of these structures are extremely unadventurous, and untypical of Vivaldi, and are doubtless related to the diminutive scale of the cantata as a whole.

The tonal and structural limitations of the arias are further underlined by the amount of repetition employed. Some repetition is to be expected, of course – it is of the essence of Baroque musical structures. In *Prendea con man di latte*, however, it pervades the arias to such an extent that it emphasises the small amount of material being used. The first aria may serve as an example. The first vocal period consists of the following three bars:

Ex. 1

RV 753, bars 12-14 (crossed slurs are editorial)

The musical score consists of two systems. The first system shows the vocal line (treble clef) and bass line (bass clef) for three bars. The vocal line has two phrases, each of three bars. The first phrase starts with a rest, followed by a quarter note G, an eighth note A, a quarter note B, an eighth note C, a quarter note D, an eighth note E, a quarter note F, and a quarter note G. The second phrase starts with a quarter note A, an eighth note B, a quarter note C, an eighth note D, a quarter note E, an eighth note F, a quarter note G, and a quarter note A. The bass line consists of a steady eighth-note accompaniment: G, A, B, C, D, E, F, G. The second system shows the vocal line and bass line for another three bars. The vocal line starts with a quarter note G, an eighth note A, a quarter note B, an eighth note C, a quarter note D, an eighth note E, a quarter note F, and a quarter note G. The bass line continues the eighth-note accompaniment: G, A, B, C, D, E, F, G.

These include a repeat of one short figure ('x'), which is prompted by rhyming lines in the text ('che il tenero fiore/del seno al candore'). The second vocal period begins with a literal restatement of the bars given above, then continues as follows:

Ex. 2

RV 753, bars 19-24 (accidentals above notes are editorial)

per ver . go . gna languen . do sen va, il te . ne . ro flo . re del se . no al can do . re, del se . ro al can.

. do . re per ver . go . gna languen . do sen va, lan . guen . do sen va, per ver .

. go . gna languen . do sen va, lan . guen . do sen va

Two kinds of repetition may be detected here – the sequential repetition of short figures ('y' and 'z') in the construction of longer phrases, and the restatement of a complete phrase.

The repetition of phrases is carried very much further in the second aria. Here the 'A' section comprises just two phrases which are heard in the order a, a', b, b:

Ex. 3

RV 753, bars 44-51, continuo omitted

Ma quan. to in si bel ma . re sia dol . ce il nau . fra . ga . re, sia
 dol . ce il nau . fra . ga . re, a . mo . re il sai che le dol . cez . ze ac . co . .
 . gli, a . mo . re il sai che le dol . cez . ze ac . co . gli

The material of the 'B' section differs from this, but the order in which the phrases are heard is virtually identical:

Ex. 4

RV 753, bars 56-62, continuo omitted

Per que . sto co . re assor . to, sia pur se . polcro o por . to, sia
 pur se . pol . cro o por . to, a . do . ro il mi . o nau . fra . gio e
 ba . cio i sco . gli, a . do . ro il mi . o nau fra . gio e ba . cio i sco . gli.

As in the first aria, two kinds of repetition are also evident here – the restatement of complete phrases and the re-use of a repetition scheme! The techniques employed in both arias are skilful and economical, but because of the amount of repetition involved little material is presented; indeed, the impression is given that the composer had difficulty in inventing or extending material and fell back on repetition as an aid to construction.

The two short recitatives are no less untypical of Vivaldi. The melodic lines here, as in the arias, make only modest technical demands of the singer, and the bass displays none of that zest for harmonic experiment which is such a striking feature of authentic Vivaldi cantatas.¹² Furthermore, the final line of the second recitative is set in *arioso* style:

Ex. 5
RV 753, bars 36-9

som . mer . so . vi re . stò mio co . re un gior . . . no, som .
 . mer . so . vi re . stò mio co . re un gior . . . no.

In Vivaldi's cantatas, so far as I am aware, the use of *arioso* in a recitative is extremely rare and the final line or couplet of a recitative text is never set in *arioso* style. The fact that the *arioso* in *Prendea con man di latte* occupies over half of the recitative movement in which it occurs only serves to emphasise that it would be exceptional in Vivaldi's output.

Some of the features mentioned above may be attributable to the date at which the cantata was composed. It must have been finished by 1714, and given the style of the music and the other contents of the manuscript it could have been written a decade or two before. Even if it were composed only shortly before 1714, it would be one of the earliest datable vocal works ascribed to Vivaldi, and this might help to explain why it is so different from his genuine cantatas. It would not, however, explain why the quality of the music is so undistinguished – why the melodic invention is so bland and short-winded, the bass-line so lacking in distinctive instrumental figurations, the tonal scheme so restricted and the structure so

unexpansive. It is impossible to prove that Vivaldi was not the composer, but the manuscript does not provide a convincing reason for thinking that he was and the music suggests rather more strongly that he was not. One way and another, *Prendea con man di latte* reminds us to beware of uncorroborated ascriptions.

¹ F. MADAN, *A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford*, 5, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1905, p. 227.

² P.H. REANEY, *A Dictionary of British Surnames*, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 2/1976, p. 4.

³ H.C. DE LAFONTAINE, *The King's Musick*, Novello, London, [1909], p. 434. According to ROBERT EITNER, *Biographisch-bibliographisches Quellen-Lexikon der Musiker und Musikgelehrten*, 1, Breitkopf & Härtel, Leipzig, 1898, p. 235, John Aubert was an oboist.

⁴ *The British Library General Catalogue of Printed Books to 1975*, 13, Clive Bingley, London, 1979, p. 306.

⁵ *Dictionary of National Biography*, 1, Smith, Elder & Co., London, 1908, p. 715.

⁶ S. SADIE, *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, Macmillan, London, 1980, 5, p. 2.

⁷ See L. LINDGREN, *Ariosti's London Years, 1716-29*, in "Music and Letters", 62, 1981, pp. 349-50; J. WRIGHT, *The Secular Cantatas of Francesco Mancini (1672-1736)*, unpublished dissertation, University of New York, 1975, cantata no. 159; E. HANLEY, *Alessandro Scarlatti's 'Cantate da camera': a Bibliographical Study*, unpublished dissertation, Yale University, 1963, cantatas no. 301 and 670; C. TIMMS, *The Chamber Duets of Agostino Steffani (1654-1728)*, unpublished dissertation, University of London, 1977, duet no. 19.

⁸ O.H. JANDER, *Alessandro Stradella*, "Wellesley Edition Cantata Index Series", fasc. 4b, Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass., 1969, cantata no. 321.

⁹ M. DUNHAM, ed., *Antonio Vivaldi: Cantatas for Solo Voice*, in *Recent Researches in the Music of the Baroque Era*, 32-3, A-R Editions, Madison, Wisconsin, 1979.

¹⁰ The exceptions are: *Aure, voi più non siete* (RV 652); *Pianti, sospiri* (RV 676); *All'ombra di sospetto* (RV 678), which calls for a flute; and *Qual in pioggia dorata* (RV 686), which requires two corni da caccia.

¹¹ See C. TIMMS, *The Dramatic in Vivaldi's Cantatas*, in *Antonio Vivaldi. Teatro musicale, cultura e società*, ed. L. Bianconi and G. Morelli, Olschki, Florence, 1982, 1, p. 129.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 115.

« Prendea con man di latte »: attribuibile a Vivaldi?

Questo articolo mette in discussione l'attribuzione a Vivaldi della cantata *Prendea con man di latte* (RV 753). L'opera è conservata sotto il nome del compositore in un'unica fonte: una raccolta di manoscritti non autografi datata 1714. Il fatto che almeno un'altra attribuzione nella raccolta sia errata mette in dubbio l'attendibilità di quella che qui interessa; e dal momento che quest'ultima non è avvalorata da altre fonti, l'unica ulteriore conferma va ricercata nella musica.

Tra le cantate di Vivaldi questa è assai atipica. L'opera è eccezionalmente breve e lo schema delle tonalità – sia per quanto riguarda l'intera cantata che i singoli movimenti – è inusuale. Altrettanto atipici sono la struttura interna delle arie e l'uso delle ripetizioni; come pure i recitativi per la mancanza di interesse armonico e per l'inclusione dell'arioso in proporzione relativamente alta.

Se la cantata fosse stata composta da Vivaldi queste particolari caratteristiche potrebbero essere spiegate col considerarla un'opera giovanile. Non c'è nulla in quest'opera che Vivaldi non avrebbe potuto scrivere ma lo stile della composizione indica decisamente che egli non ne fu l'autore.

(Traduzione di Myriam Zerbi)

Genesis, Wesen, Weiterwirken. Miszellen zur vivaldischen Ritornellform

Peter Abnsehl

I

Die vivaldische Ritornellform hat zumindest zwei Wurzeln: die instrumentale Ensemblesmusik vor und um 1700 (Concerto grosso, Concerto ripieno, sonstige Musik für Instrumentalensemble) und die Ritornellarie. Trotz neuerer Überlegungen, die sich wieder dem Scheringschen Ansatz¹ zuneigen und in der Formenvielfalt der italienischen Ritornellarie² den Ausgangspunkt für die Bildung der Form sehen, bleibt deren Genesis im Detail immer noch unklar. Jeder noch so entfernten Spur sollte nachgegangen werden. Merkwürdigerweise führt eine Spur nach Süddeutschland. Im Jahre 1683, als Vivaldi fünf Jahre alt war, erschien in Nürnberg die aus 12 Sonaten für ein bis zwei Violinen, zwei Violen, Violone und Basso continuo bestehende Sammlung *Fidicinium Sacro-Profanum* des aus Böhmen stammenden und seit 1670 in Salzburg wirkenden Komponisten und Violinvirtuosen Heinrich Ignaz Franz Biber (1644-1704). Für die Entstehung der vivaldischen Ritornellform ist möglicherweise die Sonata I dieser Sammlung von Bedeutung.³ Auf eine 2-taktige Einleitung (Allegro) folgt hier ein 20 Takte umfassendes, imitierend gestaltetes Adagio, dem im Werkganzen eine ähnliche Funktion zugeordnet wird wie dem Ritornell in der vivaldischen Ritornellform. Denn dieses Adagio-Ritornell tritt im Verlauf des Stückes insgesamt vier Mal auf, wobei es beim zweiten und dritten Auftreten modulatorisch versetzt sowie beim dritten und vierten Auftreten segmentiert, dabei allerdings rhythmisch auf halbe Notenwerte diminuiert wird. Die zwischen den Ritornellen befindlichen Episoden sind sowohl im Hinblick auf die Ritornellsubstanz als auch untereinander motivisch fremd, demnach Episoden im eigentlichen Sinne des Wortes. Wie in der vivaldischen Ritornellform, so neigen auch hier die Episoden zur Modulation, die Ritornelle zur Befestigung der Tonartenstation. Zugleich ist auch eine zum Figurativen tendierende Gestaltung der Episoden, mit Ausnahme des Anfangs der letzten, zu beobachten. Die kadenzharmonische Disposition der Sonate, die gleichfalls der eines vivaldischen Konzertsatzes ähnlich ist, wird aus folgendem Formbild deutlich:

Heinrich Ignaz Franz Biber: Sonata I (1683) (Formbild)

Einleitung (Allegro) t (h-Moll) 2 Takte	1. Ritornell A (Adagio) t - T 20 Takte	1. Episode B (Allegro) t - tP 11 Takte	2. Ritornell A (Adagio) tP - tP 20 Takte
2. Episode C (Allegro) t - D 12 Takte	3. Ritornell A ¹ (Adagio) D - D 7 Takte	3. Episode (Grave) t - D 18 Takte	4. Ritornell A ² (Adagio) T - T 8 Takte

Bedeutsam ist die Modulation in die Tonikaparallele in der ersten Episode und die Befestigung der Tonikaparallele im zweiten Ritornell; beide Erscheinungen sind auch in den Moll-Konzertsätzen bei Vivaldi zu finden.

In folgenden Merkmalen unterscheidet sich diese Sonate von der vivaldischen Ritornellform:

- a) Das Ritornell ist noch nicht nach dem entwickelten Fortspinnungstypus gebaut (Vordersatz, Fortspinnungsglieder, Epilog). Es folgt vielmehr einer frei imitierenden Struktur, so daß sich aus der Sonate auch eine Verwandtschaft zur Fugenform herstellen läßt.
- b) Damit fehlt auch die für Vivaldi und seine Zeitgenossen kennzeichnende neue Qualität des Thematischen, vor allem jenes reizstarke thematische Profil, das den Vordersätzen eignet.
- c) Die strukturellen Zäsuren zwischen den Ritornellen und den Episoden sind nicht zugleich konzertante Zäsuren, wenngleich eine gewisse Tendenz besteht, die strukturellen Zäsuren mit klanglicher Verdichtung oder Verdünnung zu verbinden.
- d) Die Tendenz zur Verstärkung der Virtuosität in den Episoden ist nur gering. Damit fehlt die wichtige assoziative Komponente des vivaldischen Konzertsatzes, das solistische Hervortreten.

Biber « gehört zu den bedeutendsten Instrumentalmusikern seiner Zeit; in weitem Maße nahm er italienische Anregungen auf und verarbeitete sie in persönlicher Weise ».⁴ Demnach ist es wahrscheinlich, daß diese Sonate nicht deutsche, sondern italienische Entwicklungen widerspiegelt. Es wäre zu fragen, ob sich in der außercorellischen italienischen Ensemblemusik ähnliche Strukturen finden lassen. Sollte das der Fall sein, so würde die folgende,

ohnehin wahrscheinliche These erhärtet: Torelli, Albinoni, Vivaldi und andere haben die Ritornellform nicht « erfunden », sondern « gefunden », und zwar sowohl in der Formenvielfalt der Ritornellarie vor 1700 als auch in der instrumentalen Ensemblemusik der Zeit. Denn die Entwicklung drängte nach einer kanonisierten, modellartigen Verlaufsstruktur, die die neuesten musikalischen Errungenschaften (kadenzharmonische Satzdisposition und neue thematische Qualität sowie dadurch motivierbare konzertante Wechsel) in eine sinnvolle, effektive, aber auch elastische Synthese brachte, so daß man nach diesem Modell massenhaft neue Kompositionen arbeiten konnte, um den ansteigenden Musikbedarf der feudalabsolutistischen Residenzen und der bürgerlichen Städte zu befriedigen.

II

Die bekannte Erscheinung der deutschen Vivaldi-Rezeption⁵ umfaßte, wie dieses Beispiel und andere Indizien zeigen, offensichtlich nicht nur die ausgereifte vivaldische Ritornellform, sondern auch deren Vor- und Frühformen. In diesem Zusammenhang erhebt sich die gelegentlich diskutierte Frage nach der Stellung der Brandenburgischen Konzerte BWV 1046 – BWV 1051 in der Bachschen Vivaldi-Rezeption. Vereinfacht läßt sich diese Frage auf folgende Alternative zuspitzen: Ist die « unklare » Form mancher der schnellen Ecksätze in den Brandenburgischen Konzerten Zeichen eines Reife- und Endstadiums der Auseinandersetzung Bachs mit diesem Formmodell? Oder widerspiegeln diese strukturellen « Unklarheiten » ein Vor- oder Frühstadium der Bachschen Vivaldi-Rezeption? Dieses Problem soll in den folgenden Ausführungen am Anfangssatz des ersten Brandenburgischen Konzertes BWV 1046 untersucht werden. Martin Geck hat 1970 die These vertreten, « daß die (Brandenburgischen – d.Vf.) Konzerte 1, 3 und 6 von den Konzerten 2, 4 und 5 nicht nur durch einen weit größeren Zeitabstand, als Besseler ihn annimmt, getrennt sind, sondern auch durch ein konkretes Ereignis: Bachs Beschäftigung mit dem italienischen Instrumentalkonzert Vivaldischer Prägung ».⁶ Die Entstehung des Anfangssatzes des ersten Konzertes will Geck in das Jahr 1713 zurückverlegen, um dann « zu prüfen, ob der Quellen- oder Stilbefund im Einzelfall Anlaß zu solch frühen Datierungen bietet ».⁷ Geck kommt zu dem Schluß, die Frühfassung des ersten Brandenburgischen Konzertes schein nicht die Auseinandersetzung mit Vivaldis Formprinzip widerzuspiegeln, sondern « aus einem anderen, der älteren Ensemblemusik verpflichteten Geist komponiert zu sein ».⁸ « Analog zum dritten Brandenburgischen

Konzert läßt sich auch in Falle des ersten (Brandenburgischen Konzertes – d.Vf.) die Faktur des Kopfsatzes am ehesten aus deutscher Tradition erklären, die Satzfolge aber aus italienischer », meint Geck, und er verweist darauf, daß « der Kopfsatz des ersten Brandenburgischen Konzerts im Partiturbild Ähnlichkeiten mit Kopfsätzen von Kirchenkantaten aus dem Ende des 17. und dem Beginn des 18. Jahrhunderts aufweist... ».⁹

Tatsächlich wird der Anfangssatz des ersten Brandenburgischen Konzertes von Johann Sebastian Bach im allgemeinen nicht mit der vivaldischen Ritornellform in Verbindung gebracht.¹⁰

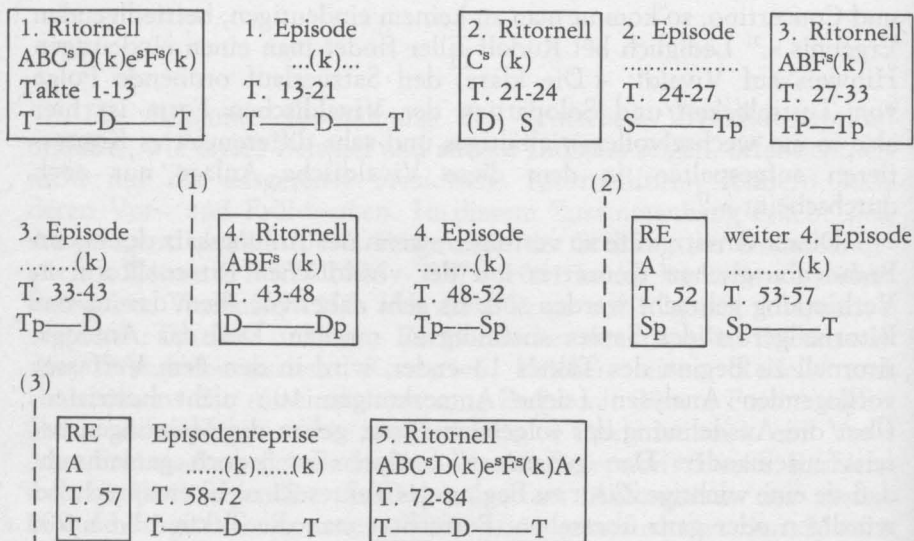
Martin Wehnert schreibt: « Kommt man vom Typ des Vivaldi-konzertes her und sucht nach der gleichen klaren Gliederung in Tutti und Concertino, so kommt man zu keinem eindeutigen, befriedigenden Ergebnis ». ¹¹ Lediglich bei Rudolf Eller findet man einen eindeutigen Hinweis auf Vivaldi: « Die klare, den Satzverlauf ordnende Folge von Tuttilblöcken und Solopartien der Vivaldischen Form ist hier also in ein wechselvolles, vielfältiges und sehr differenziertes Konzentieren aufgespalten, in dem diese Vivaldische Anlage nur noch durchscheint ». ¹²

Dieser Ansatz wäre zu verfolgen, wenn der Anfangssatz des ersten Brandenburgischen Konzertes mit der vivaldischen Ritornellform in Verbindung gebracht werden soll. Es geht dabei vor allem darum, das Ritornellgerüst des Satzes ausfindig zu machen. Daß das Anfangsritornell zu Beginn des Taktes 13 endet, wird in den dem Verfasser vorliegenden Analysen (siehe Anmerkungen 10) nicht bestritten. Über die Ausdehnung der folgenden Phase gehen die Meinungen bereits auseinander. Den genannten Analysen ist jedoch gemeinsam, daß sie eine wichtige Zäsur zu Beginn des Taktes 21 nicht entsprechend würdigen oder ganz übersehen. Betrachtet man die Takte 13 bis 20, so fällt auf, daß sie zwar motivisches Material aus dem Anfangsritornell enthalten – teilweise erscheint es in der gleichen Tonart –, daß Bach dieses motivische Material jedoch ganz bewußt in ein verändertes instrumental-klangliches Gewand kleidet. Dementgegen beginnt mit dem Takt 21 ein wirkliches, um einen Ganzton nach unten transponiertes Ritornellsegment, das sowohl motivisch als auch instrumental-klanglich (und auch in den Unterstimmen) mit dem Anfangsritornell übereinstimmt. Dieses erste Binnenritornell endet mit Beginn des Taktes 24; es handelt sich um das modulato-risch versetzte erste Fortspinnungsglied des Anfangsritornells (Takt 3 bis Anfang Takt 6). ¹³

Mit dieser Beobachtung verliert der Satz schlagartig seine Unüberschaubarkeit. Es wird deutlich, daß das Ritornellgerüst des

Satzes aus solchen Ritornellsegmenten besteht, die nicht nur motivisches Material des Anfangsritornells schlechthin enthalten, sondern darüber hinaus auch in einer mit dem Anfangsritornell identischen instrumentalklanglichen Besetzung erscheinen. Die Hörner als Soloinstrumente par excellence sind dabei lediglich als akzidentiell zu werten; sie vollführen gelegentlich sogar « Täuschungsmanöver », die die durch die Art der Formbehandlung ohnehin gegebene schalkhafte Ausdruckskomponente des Satzes verstärken.

Johann Sebastian Bach: Erstes Brandenburgisches Konzert BWV 1046, Anfangssatz (1721 oder früher) (Formbild)



Zeichenerklärung:

A=Motiv (Glied) A

C^s=Motiv (Glied) C wird sequenziert (Fortspinnung)

(k)=deutliche Kadenz

e=klanglich verdünnt

T, Tp, D, S, (D) S=Tonika, -parallele, Dominante, Subdominante, Dominante der Subdominante

Episodenreprise=Wiederkehr insbesondere von Teilen der ersten Episode

(1)=Satzmitte

(2)=Goldener Schnitt des Satzes

(3)=Wiedergewinnung der Tonika in der letzten (4.) Episode

RE=Ritornelleinwurf

Folgende Merkmale dieses Bachschen Satzes entsprechen der vivaldischen Ritornellform oder zeigen deren Kenntnis:

- a) Die nahezu identischen Eckritornelle sind nach einem entwickelten Fortspinnungstypus gebaut (Vordersatz, Fortspinnungsglieder, Epilog); sie weisen damit eine gewisse Mehrgliedrigkeit auf, die allerdings – im Vergleich zu Vivaldi – in Bachschen Ritornellen allgemein geringer ausgebildet ist.
- b) Immerhin gestattet diese «relative» Mehrgliedrigkeit eine Segmentierung des Anfangsritornells im Hinblick auf die Binnenritornelle.
- c) Die Segmente erscheinen als Binnenritornelle ansonsten im wesentlichen unverändert, wobei sie modulatorisch auf die Hauptstufen der Tonart versetzt werden. (Die geringfügigen Abweichungen, die gelegentlich in den Unterstimmen der Binnenritornelle zu verzeichnen sind, dürften zumeist modulationsbedingt sein; in anderen Fällen könnten sie dadurch erklärt werden, daß Bach die Binnenritornelle nicht visuell vom Anfangsritornell abgeschrieben, sondern jedesmal aus dem Gedächtnis heraus notiert hat).
- d) Die Ritornelle neigen zur Befestigung der Tonart (hier prinzipiell durch Abkadenzieren), die Episoden hingegen neigen zur Modulation.
- e) Beginn und Ende sämtlicher Ritornelle und Ritornellsegmente sind stets auch konzertant-klangliche Zäsuren. (Allerdings ist die Intensität dieser Zäsuren sehr unterschiedlich; einen Extremfall stellt der Anfang des Taktes 72 dar, wo lediglich ein Horn aussetzt).
- f) Rudimente des Corellischen Konzertierens (d.h. das zeitweise, makrostrukturell nicht motivierbare Verstärken eines durchlaufenden Concertinoparts durch das Ripieno) sind nicht enthalten.
- g) In der letzten Episode erfolgt ein Rückgriff auf das Material der ersten Episode (Episodenreprise).
- h) Die Wiedergewinnung der Tonika erfolgt einige Takte vor Beginn des Schlußritornells.
- i) Im Satzzentrum bzw. in der zweiten Satzhälfte sind Steigerungselemente (z.B. Ritornelleinwürfe) zu verzeichnen.

Folgende Merkmale weichen vom Normalfall der vivaldischen Ritornellform ab bzw. modifizieren sie:

- a) Die Motivik der Episoden wird gelegentlich aus dem Anfangsritornell übernommen oder abgeleitet.
- b) Das Dominantritorneil steht nicht an zweiter bzw. dritter Position, sondern beginnt genau in der Satzmitte.

- c) Holzbläserchor und Streicherchor sind in ihrer konzertanten Funktion gleichberechtigt. Jeder der beiden Chöre kann als Concertino funktionieren. Im Ritornell wirken beide Chöre stets zusammen. Setzt dieses Zusammenwirken für mehr als einen halben Takt aus, so liegt unbedingt eine Episode vor. Jedoch nicht jedes Zusammenwirken ergibt ein Ritornell.¹⁴

Wie ist dieser Befund zu bewerten?

Die eingangs bezeichneten Überlegungen Martin Gecks treffen auf diesen Satz nicht zu. Bach kann diesen Satz nicht ohne gründliche Auseinandersetzung mit der vivaldischen Ritornellform geschrieben haben. Folgende Hypothese könnte die eigenartige Handhabung des vivaldischen Formprinzips durch Bach erklären. Bach war mit sehr hoher Wahrscheinlichkeit spätestens seit 1709 am Konzert als Gattung interessiert.¹⁵

Das etwa 1712 oder früher einsetzende deutsche « Vivaldi-Fieber » mußte Bach an einem so weltoffenen Hof wie dem Weimarer unbedingt zur Kenntnis genommen haben. Wenn Telemann 1718 mitteilt, trotz einer gewissen Abneigung gegen die virtuosen Konzerte davon ab etwa 1709 « eine ziemliche Menge gemacht »¹⁶ zu haben, wenn Daniel Gottlob Treu (1695-1749), der später von Vivaldi unterrichtet wurde, noch vor seiner Italienreise (1716) jeden Morgen ein Violinkonzert setzte,¹⁷ wenn der junge Kompositionsschüler Prinz Johann Ernst bereits Ansätze zu einer quantitativ beträchtlichen Konzertproduktion im vivaldischen Stil zeigte, die nur durch seinen frühen Tod (1715) zu Erliegen kamen, und wenn deutsche Musiker in Scharen nach Italien reisten (von Johann David Heinichen gibt es ein mit « Venetia li 7 d'ottobre 1715 » datiertes Konzert),¹⁸ so sind das nur einige Indizien dafür, daß bald auch eine massenhafte deutsche Konzertproduktion auf der Grundlage des vivaldischen Formprinzips entstand. Bach konnte dieser Erscheinung, die ganz zweifellos mit Oberflächlichkeit und Dilettantismus einherging,¹⁹ sicherlich keine ungeteilte Zustimmung entgegenbringen. So sehr ihn die Progressivität und Elastizität der vivaldischen Form faszinierte, so mußte sich bei Bach doch auch eine von Zeit zu Zeit immer wieder aufflammende Verdrossenheit bemerkbar machen. Daß er hier wiederum durch neuere Vivaldische Konzerte bei der Suche nach neuen Möglichkeiten angeregt wurde, wie Eller vermutet, ist durchaus denkbar. Möglicherweise sind die Brandenburgischen Konzerte insgesamt unter dem Gesichtspunkt einer schöpferisch-konstruktiven Kritik an der alltäglichen deutschen Vivaldi-Rezeption zu sehen. (Auch in anderen strukturell « unklaren » Sätzen der Brandenburgischen Konzerte lassen sich ähnlich konzipierte Rudimente eines vivaldischen Ritornellgerüsts

aufspüren, so auch in dem berühmten Anfangssatz des dritten Konzertes BWV 1048: 1. Ritornell Takte 1 – 8, 2. Ritornell T. 11 – 15, 3. Ritornell T. 38 – 46, 4. Ritornell T. 69 – 74, RE T. 105 – 107, 5. Ritornell ab T. 125).

Denn zweifellos war der Adressat der Widmungspartitur von 1721, der Markgraf Christian Ludwig von Brandenburg (1677-1734), ein Musikkenner ersten Ranges. Er hatte Italien bereist, und in seinem Nachlaß fand man über 260 Konzerte; nur von 87 Konzerten sind die Komponisten genannt, davon aber stammen allein 24 von Vivaldi.²⁰ Bach wollte hier vermutlich originelle, ungewöhnliche, dennoch aber moderne Kompositionen bieten, die vom Durchschnitt der deutschen Vivaldi-Rezeption abstachen. Daß Bach damit den Markgrafen und seine Kapelle dann wohl doch überforderte, würde nur dem Optimismus des großen Meisters entsprechen. Bei dem möglicherweise früher entstandenen Anfangssatz des ersten Brandenburgischen Konzertes²¹ (die verschiedenen Fassungen sind für die hier vorgestellte Analyse ohne Belang) könnte Bach vor der Aufgabe gestanden haben, einen klanglich kompakten, festlich heiteren und motivisch einheitlichen Satz zu schreiben. Die Übernahme von Ritornellmotiven in die Episoden hatte Bach vermutlich bereits bei den Italienern kennengelernt. Doch wie sollten in einem motivisch konsequent einheitlichen Satz Episoden und Ritornello zu unterscheiden sein? Hier setzt nun Bachs geniale Idee an: Ritornelle sind an der « richtigen » (d.h. dem Anfangsritornell entsprechenden) Zuordnung von Motivik und klanglich-instrumentaler Besetzung erkennbar, hingegen werden die Episoden entweder aus der « falschen » (d.h. dem Anfangsritornell nicht entsprechenden) Zuordnung von Motivik und Klangträgern oder aus abgeleiteter Motivik gebildet.

Eine über die allgemeine Klangsönheit dieses Satzes hinausweisende, zusätzliche, besonders auf den « Kenner » zugeschnittene Rezeptionsebene besteht darin, das « Richtige » und das « Falsche » zu erkennen. Man kann vermuten, weshalb sich Bach gerade an diesen Satz erinnerte, als es galt, im Jahre 1726 eine Einleitungsmusik für die Kantate BWV 52 zu finden, die mit den Worten beginnt: « Falsche Welt, dir traue ich nicht! ».

III

Die Füllung der Episoden mit Ritornellmotivik, wie sie Bach im Anfangssatz von BWV 1046 und in anderen schnellen Konzertsätzen praktiziert, weist musikgeschichtlich in die Zukunft. Sie ist

keine spezifisch Bachsche Eigenheit, sondern kommt allgemein bei den deutschen Komponisten (Georg Philipp Telemann und Christoph Graupner)²² häufiger vor als in Italien. Nur auf dieser Grundlage konnten sich die Soloexposition (aus der ersten Episode), die Durchführung (aus den mittleren Ritornellen und Episoden) und die Reprise (aus dem letzten Solo) der klassischen Konzertsatzform bilden. Aber auch die beliebte frühklassische Gattung der Sinfonia concertante, wie sie sich noch in den vier Orchestersinfonien von Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach (1775/76) abgebildet findet, ist ohne ritornellmotivische Gestaltung der Episoden kaum denkbar. Insofern gab die deutsche Vivaldi-Rezeption der weiteren Entwicklung zur Wiener Klassik hin wichtige Impulse. Doch handelte es sich hierbei nicht lediglich um eine Struktur- und Materialentwicklung, vielmehr muß nach dem musikalischen Wesen dieser Prozesse gefragt werden.

Die vivaldische Ritornellform ermöglichte um 1710 einen Assoziations- und Erlebnisbereich, den wir heute, nach mehr als einem Vierteljahrtausend, das angefüllt ist mit virtuosen Konzertkompositionen, kaum mehr nachvollziehen können. Das Hervortreten des Virtuosen aus einer Gruppe äußerlich gleichgestellter Musiker und die strukturelle Schärfung dieses Ereignisses in der Ritornellform muß auf die Zeitgenossen außerordentlich intensiv gewirkt haben.²³ Dieses Hervortreten des einzelnen, leistungsstarken Individuums muß als ein spezifisch musikalischer Beitrag zum bürgerlichen Individualismus der Aufklärungszeit gesehen werden.

Das klassische Konzert hingegen widerspiegelt insbesondere im Verhältnis von Solisten und Orchester die Kommunikation zwischen Individuum und Gesellschaft. Zugleich wird diese Kommunikation zu einem konflikthaften Prozeß, der in der Orchester- und Soloexposition angelegt wird, in der Durchführung kulminiert und sich in der Soloreprise und Coda löst. Unterschiedliches motivisches Material im Anfangsritornell und in der ersten Episode, wie es in der vivaldischen Ritornellform häufig ist (wobei die erste Episode oft überhaupt nur Figurationen enthält), weist auf das solistische Hervortreten im Barockkonzert hin. Die – wenn auch erweiterte – Wiederholung der Orchesterexposition in der Soloexposition des klassischen Konzerts hingegen ist als Ausgangsposition für den Kommunikationsprozeß zwischen Orchester (Gesellschaft) und Solisten (Individuum) zu werten. Die in der vivaldischen Form vorkommenden schnellen konzertanten Wechsel und modulatorischen Bewegungen im Satzzentrum sind noch bloße Affektverstärkungen im Wettstreit zwischen Solisten und Orchester. Die im klassischen Konzert zu findende thematisch-motivische Arbeit in der Durchführung bedeutet Kom-

munikation und Entwicklung. Der deutsche Musiktheoretiker Heinrich Christoph Koch hat 1793 dieses Neue der klassischen Sonatenkonzertform recht gut erkannt, wenn er u.a. schreibt: « Betrachtet man aber ein gut gearbeitetes Concert, in welchem während des Solo die begleitenden Stimmen nicht bloß da sind, um dieses oder jenes, zwischen der Oberstimme und dem Basse fehlende Intervall der Accorde anzuschlagen; so findet man eine leidenschaftliche Unterhaltung des Concertspielers mit dem ihn begleitenden Orchester; diesem trägt er seine Empfindungen vor, dieses winkt ihm durch kurze eingestreute Sätze bald Beyfall zu, bald bejahet es gleichsam seinen Ausdruck ...; kurz ich stelle mir unter dem Concerte etwas ähnliches mit der Tragödie der Alten vor, wo der Schauspieler seine Empfindungen nicht gegen das Parterre, sondern gegen den Chor äußerte, und dieser hingegen auf das genaueste mit in der Handlung verflochten, und zugleich berechtiget war, an dem Ausdrucke der Empfindungen Antheil zu haben... ».²⁴

Die klassische Sonatenkonzertform ist etwas qualitativ Neues, und doch ist dieses Neue in der vivaldischen Ritornellform bereits keimhaft angelegt. Vor allem die deutsche Vivaldi-Rezeption bringt es auf der Grundlage der spezifischen künstlerischen und sozialökonomischen Bedingungen in Deutschland zur Entfaltung. Zwar treibt die deutsche Vivaldi-Rezeption auch « Seitenäste » aus, die keine Weiterentwicklung erfahren. Insgesamt aber zeigt das Konzertschaffen der deutschen Komponisten zwischen Georg Philipp Telemann und dem jungen Joseph Haydn, daß die Sonatenform des Konzertsatzes der Wiener Klassik nicht aus der sinfonischen Form ins Konzert übernommen worden ist, sondern sich allmählich im Rahmen der vivaldischen Ritornellform entwickelt hat.

¹ ARNOLD SCHERING, *Geschichte des Instrumentalkonzerts*, Leipzig, 1905, S. 72f.

² Siehe hierzu: JUTTA RUILE-DRONKE, *Die Dacapo-Arie des frühen Scarlatti und die Entstehung des Vivaldischen Konzerttypus*, in *Colloquium Alessandro Scarlatti*, Würzburg 1975, *Würzburger Musikhistorische Beiträge*, Band 7, Tutzing, 1979, S. 117-132.

³ Neudruck in: *Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich*, Band 97, Graz, 1960, S. 3-9.

⁴ *Riemann-Musiklexikon*, Personenteil A-K, Mainz, 1959, S. 163.

⁵ Siehe hierzu: PETER AHNSEHL, *Die Rezeption der Vivaldischen Ritornellform durch deutsche Komponisten im Umkreis und in der Generation J.S. Bachs*, Dissertation (B), Martin Luther-Universität, Halle-Wittenberg, 1984.

⁶ MARTIN GECK, *Gattungstraditionen und Altersschichten in den Brandenburgischen Konzerten*, in « *Die Musikforschung* », Kassel und Basel, XXIII. Jahrgang, 1970, Heft 2, S. 141.

⁷ ebenda, S. 139.

⁸ ebenda, S. 143.

⁹ ebenda, S. 145.

¹⁰ Folgende Publikationen enthalten bzw. verweisen auf Analysen (ohne Anspruch auf Vollständigkeit): PHILIPP SPITTA, *Johann Sebastian Bach*, Leipzig, 1873, benutzt wurde die vierte unveränderte Auflage, erster Band, Leipzig, 1930, S. 738f. – ARNOLD SCHERING, *Geschichte des Instrumentalkonzerts*, Leipzig, 1905, S. 64. – FRIEDRICH SMEND, *Bachs Matthäus-Passion*, in: *Bach-Jahrbuch*, Leipzig, 25. Jahrgang, 1928, S. 42. – HANS ENGEL, *Das Instrumentalkonzert*, Leipzig, 1932, S. 97f. – WALTHER KRÜGER, *Das Concerto grosso Joh. Seb. Bachs*, in: *Bach-Jahrbuch*, Leipzig, 29. Jahrgang, 1932, S. 23, 26 und 27. – WALTHER VETTER, *Der Kapellmeister Bach*, Potsdam, 1950, S. 194-229 (geht jedoch auf das Formproblem kaum ein). – RUDOLF GERBER, *Bachs Brandenburgische Konzerte*, Kassel und Basel, 1951, S. 16-19. – HUGO LEICHTENTRITT, *Musikalische Formlehre*, Leipzig, 1952, S. 372f. – MARTIN WEHNERT, *Musik als Mitteilung*, Leipzig, 1983, S. 96-113.

¹¹ MARTIN WEHNERT, *Musik als Mitteilung*, Leipzig, 1983, S. 101.

¹² RUDOLF ELLER, *Die Orchester- und Kammermusikwerke*, in: 38. *Deutsches Bachfest* (Bach-Fest-Buch), Leipzig, 1962, S. 74. – Ferner: RUDOLF ELLER: *Vivaldi-Dresden-Bach*, in: *Beiträge zur Musikwissenschaft*, Berlin, 3. Jahrgang, 1961, Heft 4, S. 47.

¹³ WEHNERT (*ebenda*, S. 104) meint, «Teile des I. Blockes (Fortspinnung!)» (d.h. die Fortspinnung des Anfangsritornells – d.Vf.) würden «verarbeitet». Es handelt sich jedoch um eine modulatorische Versetzung der Fortspinnung als Binnenritornell der Ritornellform, was sich vor allem aus der Identität des Stimmen- und Besetzungsgefüges der Takte 3 bis Anfang 6 einerseits und der Takte 21 bis Anfang 24 andererseits ergibt.

¹⁴ Ob Vivaldi dieses Verfahren selbst angewandt hat, müßte noch untersucht werden. Bekanntlich hat Rudolf Eller zu diesem Problem in seinem Aufsatz *Vivaldi-Dresden-Bach* (siehe Anmerkung 12) bereits wichtige Ergebnisse vorgelegt.

¹⁵ Siehe hierzu den Beitrag (im Druck) von Hans-Joachim Schulze im Protokollband der Telemann-Konferenz Magdeburg 1981. In dem Beitrag wird über die Identifizierung der Abschrift eines Konzertes G-Dur für 2 Violinen und Orchester von Georg Philipp Telemann als Bach-Autograph (Sächsische Landesbibliothek Dresden) und über die Datierung dieses Autographs auf 1709 berichtet.

¹⁶ *Georg Philipp Telemann, Lebens-Lauff*, in: JOHANN MATTHESON, *Grosse General-Baß-Schule*, Hamburg, 1731, S. 176.

¹⁷ JOHANNES MATTHESON, *Grundlage einer Ehren-Pforte*, Hamburg, 1740, S. 372.

¹⁸ GÜNTER HAUßWALD, *Johann David Heinichens Instrumentalwerke*, Wolfenbüttel und Berlin, 1937 (zugleich Dissertation), S. 149.

¹⁹ Siehe dazu z.B. den Abschnitt über Hurlebusch in der unter Anmerkung 5 genannten Dissertation.

²⁰ HEINRICH BESSELER, *Markgraf Christian Ludwig von Brandenburg*, in: *Bach-Jahrbuch*, Berlin, 43. Jahrgang, 1956, S. 18-35.

²¹ HEINRICH BESSELER, *Kritischer Bericht*, zu: Johann Sebastian Bach, Neue Ausgabe sämtlicher Werke, Serie VII, Band 2, Sechs Brandenburgische Konzerte, Leipzig, 1956. – JOHANNES KREY, *Zur Entstehungsgeschichte des ersten Brandenburgischen Konzerts*, in: *Festschrift Heinrich Bessler*, Leipzig, 1961, S. 337-342. – MARTIN GECK, a.a.O., S. 146.

²² Siehe die entsprechenden Abschnitte in der unter Anmerkung 5 genannten Dissertation.

²³ Hier sei an die Reaktion des Frankfurter Patriziers Johann Friedrich Armand von Uffenbach erinnert. Vergleiche dazu: WALTER KOLNEDER, *Antonio Vivaldi, Dokumente seines Lebens und Schaffens*, Wilhelmshaven, 1979, S. 12.

²⁴ HEINRICH CHRISTOPH KOCH, *Versuch einer Anleitung zur Composition*, Band III, Leipzig und Rudolstadt, 1793, S. 331ff.

Genesi, essenza, divenire. Varie osservazioni sulla forma con ritornello in Vivaldi

La prima parte di questo saggio si inserisce nel dibattito, ancora aperto, sulla genesi della forma con ritornello in Vivaldi. L'autore individua una nuova traccia per chiarirne la formazione nella prima sonata della raccolta *Fidicinium sacro-profanum* di Heinrich Biber, pubblicata a Norimberga nel 1683. Vi compare infatti un Adagio di venti battute che nell'economia complessiva della composizione svolge una funzione analoga a quella del ritornello vivaldiano: si ripresenta quattro volte, seppur variato armonicamente e ritmicamente, ed è alternato con episodi autonomi che a loro volta presentano le caratteristiche proprie a queste sezioni in Vivaldi. Sono elencati anche gli aspetti di questa sonata che si discostano dalla forma vivaldiana, ma complessivamente il brano rispecchia procedimenti italiani piuttosto che tedeschi. Un'indagine sulla musica italiana per insiemi strumentali dello stesso periodo potrebbe dimostrare la tesi che Torelli, Albinoni e Vivaldi abbiano « trovato », e non « inventato » la forma con ritornello.

La parte centrale del saggio si rivolge al problema, ampiamente dibattuto, del rapporto di Bach con le forme vivaldiane nei Concerti Brandeburghesi. La letteratura bachiana non ha in generale rilevato un'ascendenza vivaldiana nel movimento iniziale del Primo Concerto, BWV 1046. Invece l'analisi qui proposta ne mette in luce vari aspetti che corrispondono alla forma con ritornello di Vivaldi, riconoscibile tra l'altro nei frammenti di ritornello all'interno degli episodi, dove sono ripresi i motivi e i timbri del ritornello iniziale. Il puntuale elenco delle corrispondenze e delle divergenze tra questo brano di Bach e la forma con ritornello in Vivaldi da un lato conferma la conoscenza della musica di Vivaldi da parte di Bach, d'altro lato contribuisce a chiarire la specificità di questo rapporto. Con l'attenzione dedicata al concerto a partire dal 1709, Bach partecipa a un generale interessamento per Vivaldi in Germania, a quella sorta di « febbre vivaldiana » che intorno al 1712 trova testimonianza nelle opere e nelle biografie di vari musicisti tedeschi. Ma, consapevole della superficialità e del dilettantismo che spesso la caratterizzarono, Bach concepì i Concerti Brandeburghesi come critica costruttiva alla ricezione vivaldiana più diffusa, per distinguersi nettamente, anche agli occhi del dedicatario, dai tanti imitatori di Vivaldi.

La parte conclusiva del saggio si rivolge alla storia dell'efficacia delle strutture vivaldiane nel pensiero compositivo delle epoche suc-

cessive. La presenza negli episodi di materiale motivico del ritornello non rimase una caratteristica esclusiva di Bach, bensì influenzò il genere pre-classico della sinfonia concertante e determinò indirettamente la forma del concerto classico. Mentre quest'ultimo rispecchia il processo della comunicazione, anche conflittuale, tra individuo (solista) e società (orchestra), la forma vivaldiana offriva ancora una rappresentazione degli affetti, ma l'alternanza tra solista e orchestra costituì uno specifico contributo musicale all'individualismo borghese dell'età dell'illuminismo.

(Riassunto di Anna Maria Morazzoni)

I rapporti di Vivaldi con il « Teatro detto Il Comico » di Mantova*

Luigi Cataldi

I

Gli studiosi hanno ormai stabilito con certezza che il soggiorno di Vivaldi a Mantova si estese dalla primavera del 1718 al carnevale del 1720.¹ Durante questi anni Vivaldi ricopriva la carica di « Maestro di Cappella da Camera », la quale richiedeva da lui soltanto la composizione di musica profana ed in particolare di musica per il teatro. Sette sono le sue opere rappresentate a Mantova ed il loro elenco testimonia il persistere dei rapporti di Vivaldi con questa città anche dopo la sua partenza: *Armida al campo d'Egitto* (primavera 1718), *Teuzzone e Tito Manlio* (carnevale 1719), *Candace* (carnevale 1720), *Artabano* (carnevale 1725), *Semiramide* e *Farnace* (carnevale 1732).

La nostra indagine intende analizzare, sulla base di nuove acquisizioni d'archivio, quali fossero le mansioni svolte da Vivaldi nell'organizzazione delle stagioni d'opera mantovane.

È noto che Vivaldi preferiva, quando ciò era possibile, gestire un teatro come impresario,² poiché questa condizione gli offriva maggior libertà nel predisporre l'intera stagione secondo i suoi gusti, e soprattutto perché ciò gli apriva la prospettiva di un buon guadagno. D'altra parte non è questo l'unico compito svolto da Vivaldi in teatro; nella sua carriera se ne trovano altri: egli poteva ottenere una normale « scrittura » (cosa comunissima per gli altri compositori teatrali, ma non per Vivaldi), che presupponeva la presenza del maestro alle prove ed alla prima; oppure poteva avere un tipo di « scrittura » per la quale egli si limitava a fornire solo la partitura senza altro intervento.³ A Mantova, come vedremo, Vivaldi non sembra mai ottenere la normale « scrittura », mentre sono documentati gli altri casi. Inoltre sembra che la carica di « Maestro di Cappella da Camera » presupponesse il suo diretto controllo sulla musica in teatro, anche quando non ne è l'impresario. La differenza è soprattutto di carattere economico, poiché, come impresario, egli ricava gli utili di gestione, mentre, come semplice maestro di cappella, percepisce solo il suo stipendio.⁴

* Il presente lavoro è stato svolto presso l'Istituto di Musicologia dell'Università di Parma sotto la guida del prof. Claudio Gallico.

Le fonti mantovane utili sono le seguenti:

- 1) i libretti pubblicati a Mantova nella stamperia di Alberto Pazzoni;
- 2) le notizie tratte dai « Fogli di notizie di Mantova »;⁵
- 3) i documenti d'archivio.

Fra questi ultimi alcune buste sono note ma sempre importanti: la busta 3170 dell'Archivio di Stato di Mantova, Archivio Gonzaga, che contiene, fra l'altro, una lista, purtroppo lacunosa, delle rappresentazioni dal 1708 al 1742,⁶ e la descrizione dettagliata del teatro fatta da Giovanni Cadioli nel 1755; la busta 3301 da cui si ricava, per sommi capi, l'organico e la cronistoria della « Cappella Regia ». Istituita nel 1710, questa orchestra prende parte, oltre alle rappresentazioni sacre, anche a quelle teatrali di Mantova.⁷

Vi è poi una nuova acquisizione dell'Archivio di Stato di Mantova, importantissima per il nostro lavoro. Si tratta delle buste dell'Archivio della Scalcheria Arciducale che, in attesa di una sistemazione definitiva, si trovano ancora nello stato in cui furono lasciate dall'amministrazione imperiale (vi manca dunque la numerazione delle carte).

La Scalcheria Arciducale era l'istituto che catalogava e ratificava ogni affare economico della corte; sono così conservati tutti i documenti relativi alle entrate e alle uscite della corte, catalogate per materia. Il sovrintendente della Scalcheria (Carlo Bertazzoni nel periodo in esame) firma gli ordini di pagamento.

Due buste sono per noi importantissime: la busta n. 2 (la provvisoria intestazione reca scritto : « Denaro riscosso per affitto palchi del Ducal Teatro di Corte-1711-1740 »; in realtà i documenti oltrepassano gli ambiti cronologici indicati) e la busta n. 17 (« Conti, mandati e pagamenti per la rappresentazione di due opere di Antonio Vivaldi »).

Nella busta n. 2 sono conservati, relativi alle varie stagioni, i seguenti documenti: 1) il mandato con cui un incaricato si recava a domicilio a riscuotere il denaro dai possessori dei palchi o, in caso di rinuncia, le chiavi dei medesimi; 2) tre inventari dello « stato de' palchetti » con i nomi dei possessori, fatti in periodi diversi della stagione; 3) un inventario dei palchi vacanti fatto all'inizio della stagione; 4) i contratti dei virtuosi; 5) le ricevute e gli ordini di pagamento; 6) il bilancio in pareggio; 7) suppliche, contestazioni ed altri documenti occasionali.

Nessuna stagione ci ha lasciato tutta questa documentazione al completo, anzi, nella maggior parte dei casi, sono conservati solo gli inventari dei palchi. Il dare-avere è, insieme ai contratti dei virtuosi, il documento a noi più utile. Esso è la sistemazione dei conti fatta ad affare concluso e, di solito, è mandato in pareggio solo grazie all'intervento finanziario del principe.

Nella busta n. 17 vi sono documenti relativi alle opere del carnevale del 1719 e del carnevale del 1720: 1) i contratti dei cantanti; 2) i mandati e le ricevute di pagamento; 3) le note delle entrate e delle uscite; 4) il dare-avere.

È interessante notare come le carte relative alle opere del 1719 siano una sistemazione definitiva dei conti, una specie di rendiconto delle entrate e delle uscite, ordinato cronologicamente, fatto in base alle ricevute di pagamento. I due bilanci della busta n. 17 annoverano fra le uscite solo gli onorari dei virtuosi.

III

Prima di passare all'analisi delle stagioni mantovane di Vivaldi è necessario un accenno all'orchestra di Mantova.

La « Cappella Arciducale di Mantova » o « Regia Ducal Cappella » fu istituita nel 1710, e continuò la sua attività fino al 1775, quando venne sostituita nelle sue funzioni dall'« Accademia Filarmónica », la quale faceva parte dell'illuministico organismo della « Reale Accademia di Scienze, Lettere e Arti ». ⁸ Nell'Archivio di Stato di Mantova, Gonzaga, busta n. 3301, sono conservati alcuni elenchi riguardanti il suo organico: 1) un elenco dell'organico del 1710, all'atto della fondazione, con la nota dei compensi mensili; 2) un elenco dell'organico del 1755 con i compensi mensili e annui; ⁹ 3) due liste senza data con la dicitura « copia », una con i compensi mensili e l'altra con quelli « per ogni fontione ò di sola Messa ò di solo Vespro », che si riferiscono alla stessa data. ¹⁰

Possediamo poi una lista ¹¹ dei « virtuosi dell'orchestra » che parteciparono alle rappresentazioni dell'opera *Il Climene* nella primavera del 1722. Questa lista non ci fornisce però l'organico completo, poiché, con ogni probabilità, alle rappresentazioni teatrali di quella stagione non era richiesta la partecipazione del coro. La busta n. 3301 dell'Archivio di Stato di Mantova, Gonzaga, conserva anche diversi altri documenti relativi alla vita dell'orchestra: suppliche, domande d'ammissione, atti d'assunzione, ecc.

Attraverso alcune congetture possiamo risalire alla data a cui si riferiscono le copie del punto 3). Esse infatti possono datarsi con certezza fra il 1719 ed il 1722. ¹²

Possediamo dunque la notizia di tre diversi organici, utili per ricostruire la storia dell'orchestra.

1710	1719/1722	1755
1 maestro di cappella	1 maestro di cappella	1 maestro di cappella
1 organista	1 organista	1 vicemaestro e organ.
1 soprano	2 soprani	1 soprano (vacante)
2 contralti	3 contralti	1 contralto (vacante)
1 tenore	2 tenori	2 tenori
1 baritono	1 baritono	2 baritoni
1 basso	1 basso	1 basso
1 oboe	2 oboe	1 oboe (vacante)
2 violini I	2 violini I	1 violinista capo
2 violini II	2 violini II	5 violini
2 viole	1 viola	1 viola
1 basso (violoncello)	1 violoncello (e copista)	1 violoncello (e cop.)
1 contrabbasso	1 contrabbasso	1 contrabbasso
2 trombe	3 trombe	4 trombe
		1 « Musico contralto giubilato canonico »

La partecipazione di questa orchestra alle recite teatrali è attestata nella « nota delli virtuosi dell'orchestra » (doc. 3) compresa nei fogli amministrativi relativi alla stagione di primavera 1722 (doc. 3), quando venne rappresentata l'opera *Il Climene*.

La « Cappella Regia » partecipa alle rappresentazioni teatrali come un unico organismo (anche se in veste, per così dire, officiosa), poiché i virtuosi sono pagati tutti insieme.

Il dare-avere relativo all'opera *Il Climene* (doc. 3) e quello relativo alla stagione di carnevale 1725 (doc. 4) ci mostrano come all'occorrenza venissero reclutati musicisti che non facevano parte della « Cappella Arciducale », i quali venivano però pagati separatamente come si vede dalle voci del bilancio.

Le difficoltà di esecuzione delle partiture mantovane di Vivaldi, più volte messe in evidenza dagli studiosi, ci inducono a pensare che questa compagine possedesse un notevole livello tecnico. Su questa scia si è anche ipotizzato un organico ampio, ma questa ipotesi viene smentita dai documenti d'archivio. Si è poi spesso fatto notare che le opere composte da Vivaldi per Mantova presentano rilevanti parti di corni. Ad esempio Michael Talbot scrive: « Quest'ultima cantata¹³ e le partiture operistiche scritte da Vivaldi per il Teatro Arciducale di Mantova evidenziano un'altra analogia: la frequenza e il rilievo delle parti dei corni ». ¹⁴ L'orchestra di Mantova invece non ha nel suo orga-

nico nessun cornista; solo con la ristrutturazione dell'organico che verrà effettuata nel 1755 ne saranno assunti due.¹⁵ Se le opere di Vivaldi prevedevano i corni, questi dovevano essere quindi reclutati all'occasione.¹⁶

IV

In questa sezione esaminerò dettagliatamente le stagioni d'opera che coinvolgono Vivaldi: primavera 1718, carnevale 1719, carnevale 1720, carnevale 1725, carnevale 1732.

PRIMAVERA 1718

Impresari: Pietro Ramponi e Antonio Vivaldi

Armida al campo d'Egitto / dramma per musica / da rappresentarsi nel teatro Arciducale / di Mantova / nel mese di aprile e maggio / dedicata (sic) / a sua altezza serenissima il sig. / prencipe Filippo / langravio / d'Hassia, Darmstatt [...]

atti: 3; ed.: Venezia, C. Bortoli 1718; pp. X+50; ded.: Pietro Ramponi; mus.: A. Vivaldi « sempre celebre maestro »; libr.: G. Palazzi.

Pers. e int.: Angelo Zannoni (Califfo); Antonia Merighi, virt. della gran princ. Violante vedova di Toscana (Armida); Rosa Venturini, virt. di camera del Princ. Antonio Farnese di Parma (Osmira); Rosa d'Ambreville, virt. del duca di Modena (Erminia); Giovanni Ramondini, id. id. (Erimeno, ma c'è una sostituzione manoscritta con Annibale Pio Fabbri); Antonia Maria Laurenti (Adrasto); Luca Antonio Mingone (Tisaferno). Libretto conservato: Bologna, Conservatorio.

Foglio di notizie di Mantova n° 17; 29/4/1718

Mantova 29 aprile.

Si diede principio sin domenica scorsa in questo pubblico teatro alla Opera già con cartello avvisata, dell'*Armida al campo d'Egitto*, che riesce con universale applauso de' Virtuosi, della musica, e dell'armoniosa orchestra, e si continoverà per tutto il mese di maggio.

Mantova, Archivio di Stato, Archivio della Scalcheria, busta N° 2 (si ricavano solo tre documenti relativi a questa stagione: due ordini di pagamento firmati da Vivaldi con le relative ricevute di avvenuto pagamento ed il ragguglio di questi conti con il denaro riscosso dalla locazione dei palchi).

I A di 28 Maggio 1718 In Mantova

Resta pregato il sig. Carlo Bertazzoni favorire di contare al sig. Antonio Mengoni Felippi Trenta nove e lire quattordici Moneta di Mantova, quali sono per resto e per saldo del suo onorario nella parte dell'Opera, et li sud.tti soldi sarà supplimento del mio credito per li Palchi et acconto della cancelleria. In fede Fe: 39, L. 14

Io D. Antonio Vivaldi

(segue ricevuta che ometto)

II A di 27 Maggio 1718 in Mantova

Resta pregato il sig. Carlo Bertazzoni di contare al sig. Angelo Zannoni Felippi effettivi settanta sette, quali saranno per resto e saldo al sig. Zannoni per le prest[ate] recite. Et li soldi suddetti favorirà versarli dalli consaputi soldi de' palchi che sono per mia ragione. Val.Fe:77

Io D. Antonio Vivaldi attesto quanto sopra.

(segue ricevuta)

III Riscosse per l'Opera fatta rappresentare dal sig. D. Antonio Vivaldi in Maggio 1718 L. 2397

Pagate al sig. Luca Antonio Mengoni L. 794

al sig. Angelo Zannoni L. 1540

al Commesso per la riscossa L. 63

L. 2397

La prima considerazione da fare riguarda l'impresario. Il frontespizio del fascicolo dei conti relativi a questa stagione reca scritto: « Nota de li palchetti del Teatro Comico nello statto in cui ritrovansi questo di 20 Aprile 1718 e che serviranno per le recite musicali di questa primavera, nella quale si fa rappresentare con permissione del Governo dal sig. Pietro Ramponi l'*Armida al Campo d'Egitto* ». Ma un altro frontespizio del fascicolo recita: « Stato e disposizione del Teatro Comico per le recite del dramma intitolato l'*Armida al Campo d'Egitto* fatta rappresentare dal sig. D. Antonio Vivaldi dopo la S. Pasqua di Resurrezione di quest'anno 1718. Con grazia del Governatore. » Inoltre il documento riprodotto al punto III reca scritto: « Riscosse per l'Opera fatta rappresentare dal Sig. D. Antonio Vivaldi ». Ramponi può di certo aver preso parte all'organizzazione dell'affare, ma vi deve aver partecipato anche Vivaldi. I tre documenti riportati testimoniano un affare ristretto a due cantanti, ma concluso in sé. Vivaldi sembra avere la funzione di impresario solo per questa porzione dell'affare. Il ricavato dei palchi¹⁷ spetta a Vivaldi ed egli con questo denaro paga due cantanti. Non ci sono documenti relativi al resto dell'affare del quale probabilmente si è occupato Ramponi.¹⁸

L'opera è una ripresa di una prima veneziana del carnevale dello stesso anno e due dei cantanti partecipano ad entrambe le stagioni.¹⁹ Verosimilmente Vivaldi si occupò anche della stampa del libretto che, contrariamente all'uso mantovano, è avvenuta a Venezia.²⁰

È importante notare come Vivaldi, appena giunto a Mantova, abbia già una parte determinante nell'organizzazione sia economica che artistica della stagione.

CARNEVALE 1719

Impresario: Antonio Vivaldi

I) *Teuzzone* / dramma per musica / da rappresentarsi nel teatro / Arciducato di Mantova / nel carnevale dell'anno MDCCXIX / dedicata a sua altezza serenissima / il signor principe / Filippo / langravio d'Assia Darmstat [...]

atti: 3; ed.: Mantova, A. Pazzoni; pp.: 60; ded.: Gio. Antonio Mauro; mus.: A. Vivaldi; libr.: A. Zeno-rimaneggiamento-

Pers. e int.: Giuseppe Pederzoli (Trocone); Margherita Gualandi-Campioli (Teuzzone); Anna Ambreville, virt. del ser. di Modena (Zidiana); Teresa Mucci di Modena (Zelinda); Gasparo Geri (Cino); Francesca Benedetti, virt. del princ. Filippo langravio d'Assia Darmstat (Sivenio); Lorenzo Beretta (Egaro); Giuseppe Pederzoli (Argonte).

Libretto conservato: Mantova, Comunale; Venezia, Cini.

II) *Tito Manlio* / dramma per musica / da rappresentarsi nel teatro / Arciducato di Mantova / nel carnevale dell'anno MDCCXIX / dedicata a sua altezza serenissima / la signora principessa / Eleonora / di Guastalla, / sposa di S.A.S. / il signor principe / Filippo / langravio d'Assia Darmstat [...]

atti: 3; ed.: Mantova, A. Pazzoni; pp.: 70; ded.: Gio. Antonio Mauro; mus.: A. Vivaldi; libr.: M. Noris.

Pers. e int.: Gio. Franco Benedetti, virt. del principe Filippo langravio d'Assia Darmstat (Tito Manlio); Margherita Gualandi-Campioli (Manlio); Lorenzo Beretta, serv. della repubblica di Lucca (Decio); Anna Ambreville, virt. del ser. di Modena (Servilia); Teresa Mucci di Modena (Vitellia); Gasparo Geri (Lucio); Giuseppe Pederzoli (Geminio); Gio. Battista Calvi, virt. della capp. Arciducato di Mantova (Lindo).

Libr. conservato: Dillingen, Kreis-und Studienbibliothek.

Foglio di notizie di Mantova n° 52; 30/12/1718.

In questo pubblico Teatro uscì in scena Lunedì scorso il *Teuzzone*, Dramma per musica, che si continoverà fino sia stato di porvi la seconda Opera, li di cui rappresentanti adempiendo in questa con applauso le proprie parti, si spera che nella seguente daranno maggior grido a questo teatro per incitarvi un numeroso concorso de' vicini forestieri.

In questa stagione Vivaldi domina in contrastato: è l'autore delle due opere, è l'impresario del teatro. Ottimo è anche il suo guadagno che ammonta a L. 5389 (doc. 1).²¹

I libretti scelti da Vivaldi sono assai diversi fra loro, tanto che uno, quello di A. Zeno del *Teuzzone*, è coerente alle istanze di riforma propugnate dall'autore (quindi, fra l'altro, è privo di parti comiche) mentre l'altro, quello di M. Noris del *Tito Manlio*, risale addirittura

al secolo precedente (presentando anche una parte comica) e fu posto in musica per la prima volta da C.F. Pollarolo a Firenze nel 1697. Il risultato è però più unitario di quanto non si pensi. Il libretto del *Tito Manlio* riporta, come interprete della parte comica di Lindo, « Gio. Battista Calvi detto Gambino, virt. della Cappella Arciduciale di Mantova ». Egli è, più precisamente, l'organista della « Cappella Regia » (cfr. doc. n. 5 e n. 6), ma dev'essere anche specializzato come basso comico visto che partecipa, sempre a Mantova, anche agli intermezzi rappresentati tra gli atti dell'*Armida al Campo* di Giuseppe Boniventi nel carnevale 1711. Nella busta n. 17 dell'Archivio di Stato di Mantova, Archivio della Scalcheria (cfr. doc. n. 1), non c'è però alcun atto che lo riguardi, non il contratto, nessuna ricevuta o altro documento e inoltre non figura fra le voci del bilancio. Considerata anche la precisione di quest'ultimo, la partecipazione di Calvi alle rappresentazioni del *Tito Manlio* risulta, a mio parere, quanto mai dubbia.

La parte di Lindo, peraltro abbastanza estesa (4 arie: « L'intendo e non l'intendo » I, 12; « Rabbia che accendesi » II, 7; « Brutta cosa far la spia » III, 4; « Mi fa da piangere » III, 2;), fu comunque composta per intero da Vivaldi²² ma per qualche difficoltà non fu possibile ottenere Calvi per l'edizione mantovana;²³ quindi Vivaldi non può che averla stralciata completamente.

Oltre a ciò bisogna considerare che Vivaldi fece apporre delle modifiche al testo di Zeno (che sicuramente il letterato non apprezzò) come risulta dall'avviso al lettore a p. 6 del libretto:

A tutt'altra cagione ch'il troppo ardire attribuirà su questo riflesso il discreto lettore le variazioni, dichiarandosi chi le ha fatte rispettoso ammiratore dell'alto talento di chi lo compose.

Notiamo allora che la fisionomia dell'intera stagione risulta più omogenea e notiamo inoltre come Vivaldi (che nella stesura del *Teuzzone* apporta volontarie modifiche al libretto per renderlo più vicino alla tradizione e che compie il gesto riformatore dell'eliminazione della parte comica del *Tito Manlio* solo per un'impossibilità organizzativa) mostri anche in questo caso la sua riluttanza ad accogliere le istanze di riforma del melodramma.²⁴

CARNEVALE 1720

Impresario: Andrea Galluzzi²⁵

1) *Alessandro cognominato Severo*

mus.: Fortunato Chelleri; libr.: Apostolo Zeno.

II) *La Candace o siano Li Veri Amici* / dramma per musica / da rappresentarsi nel teatro / Arciduciale di Mantova / nel carnevale dell'anno MDCCXX / sotto la protezione di S.A. serenissima / la signora principessa / Eleonora / di Guastalla / sposa di S.A.S. / il signor principe / Filippo / langravio d'Assia Darmstat [...]

atti: 3; ed.: Mantova, A. Pazzoni; pp.: 60; mus.: A. Vivaldi; libr.: D. Lalli e F. Silvani.

Pers. e int.: Antonio Barbieri (Amasi); Margherita Zani (Candace); Gian Antonio Archi detto Cortoncino (Evergete); Anna Guglielmini (Niceta); Gian Battista Muzzi detto Speroni (Lagide); Camilla Zoboli (Tilame).

Libr. conservato: Bologna, Conservatorio; Berkeley, Calif., University of California, Music Library.

Vivaldi, che nella precedente stagione di primavera 1719 non si trovava a Mantova,²⁶ ma a Vicenza per rappresentarvi il suo *Artabano*, ritorna per questa stagione al teatro di Mantova ma non più in veste d'impresario: è solo l'autore di una delle due opere. Egli ha dunque perduto la posizione preminente che aveva ottenuto nel carnevale precedente. Dal dare-avere di questa stagione (doc. 2) apprendiamo che Vivaldi percepisce solo uno stipendio mensile che, con ogni probabilità, è il suo stipendio di « Maestro di Cappella da Camera », che è comunque assai alto (L. 680 al mese),²⁷ ma che resta ben lontano dall'entità dei guadagni dell'anno precedente. L'espressione « reliquiato delle loggie » (doc. 2) allude senz'altro al denaro ottenuto dall'affitto dei palchi ed è strano che il mensile di Vivaldi venga pagato con quei soldi; peraltro anche nella primavera del 1718 egli percepiva il denaro dei palchi anche se, in quel caso, tale cifra veniva a far parte dell'organizzazione dell'affare. Il volume degli affari è di circa la metà di quello del carnevale precedente. La causa è l'interruzione della stagione per il lutto dovuto alla morte dell'imperatrice Eleonora Madalena Teresa di Neoburgo, avvenuta il 19/1/1720. La clausola finale delle scritture sembra presagire un tale evento; quella di Cortoncino, ad es., dice:

Et occorrendo qualche caso, o accidenti insoliti et impensati per quali non si potessero proseguire e continuare le recite, in tal caso si dovrà praticare conforme si stila in consimili casi.²⁸

La clausola ebbe effetto ed i compensi ai cantanti furono minori di quelli pattuiti.²⁹

Con questa stagione si conclude la permanenza a Mantova di Vivaldi,³⁰ nel momento in cui egli aveva visto diminuire i suoi guadagni e sfuggirgli il controllo del teatro.

CARNEVALE 1725

Impresario: Santo Buregotti

I) *Orlando Furioso*

mus.: O. Pollarolo; libr.: G. Braccioli.

II) *L'Artabano* / dramma per musica / da rappresentarsi nel teatro arciduciale di / Mantova il carnevale dell'anno / MDCCXXV / dedicato all'altezza serenissima / del signor principe / Filippo / langravio d'Assia Darmstat [...]

atti: 3; ed.: Mantova, A. Pazzoni; pp.: 52; ded.: Santo Buregotti; mus.: A. Vivaldi; libr.: [A. Marchi].

Pers. e int.: Vintonini Francesco Maria, virt. del serenissimo elettore di Baviera (Artabano); Gaetano Fracassini (Tigrane); Angiola Zanuchi (Farnace); Giovanna Gasparini (Doriclea); Teresa Zanotti (Eumena); Anna Felice Fontana (Getilde).

Libr. conservato: Milano, Brera.

Vivaldi non è a Mantova, non c'è alcuna traccia di lui nei documenti d'archivio. *L'Artabano* viene rappresentato senza il suo controllo. Il maestro di cappella di questa stagione è Orazio Pollarolo (cfr. doc. 4).

CARNEVALE 1732

Impresario: Antonio Vivaldi (?)

I) *Semiramide* / dramma per musica / da rappresentarsi / nel Teatro Arciduciale / di Mantova / il carnevale dell'anno 1732 / dedicata / all'altezza sereniss. e reverendiss. / del sig. principe / Giuseppe / langravio / d'Assia Darmstat [...]

atti: 3; ed.: Mantova, A. Pazzoni; pp.: 56; ded.: impresario; mus.: A. Vivaldi; libr.: F. Silvani.

Pers. e int.: Anna Girò (Semiramide); Maria Maddalena Pieri, virt. del duca di Modena (Nino); Mariano Nicolini (Oronte); Angela Romani (Aspasia); Teresa Zanardi Gavazzi (Zoroastro); Giuseppe Alberti (Memnone); Francesco Sacchi (Plistene).

Libr. conservato: Milano, Brera.

II) *Farnace* / dramma per musica / da rappresentarsi / nel Teatro Arciduciale / di Mantova / il Carnevale dell'anno 1732 / dedicato all'altezza serenissima / del sig. principe / Filippo / langravio / d'Assia Darmstat [...]

atti: 3; ed.: Mantova, A. Pazzoni; pp.: 57; ded.: impresario; mus. A. Vivaldi; libr.: A. M. Lucchini.

Pers. e int.: Maria Maddalena Pieri, virt. del duca di Modena (Farnace);

Anna Girò (Tamiri); Teresa Zanardi Gavazzi (Berenice); Giuseppe Alberti (Pompeo); Angelica Monteviali (Selinda); Mario Nicolini (Gilade); Angela Romani (Aquilio).

Libr. conservato: Bologna, Conservatorio.

Dalla busta n. 2 dell'Archivio di Stato di Mantova, Archivio della Scalcheria, si ricava un solo foglio superstite del fascicolo di questa stagione che riporto nelle parti che ci interessano; si tratta di un elenco delle chiavi dei palchi vacanti consegnate a Vivaldi:³¹

Io Antonio Vivaldi ho ricevuto dal sig. Dioniso Martinelli le chiavi sud.te per doverle restituire secondo l'uso.

Mantova 22 xbre 1732.

Questo conferma le supposizioni fatte dagli studiosi sulla data del suo ritorno dal viaggio in Boemia e sulla sua presenza a Mantova in questa stagione.³² Il fatto che ricevesse dette chiavi rende poi molto probabile l'ipotesi che egli fosse l'impresario della stagione. Ciò dimostra il perdurare dei rapporti di Vivaldi con Mantova, motivando ancor più il fatto che egli abbia sempre conservato la qualifica di « Maestro di Cappella da Camera » di Federico d'Assia. Il 1732 è l'anno in cui si inaugura il « NUOVO TEATRO ARCIDUCALE »³³ dedicato esclusivamente all'opera. Da allora il « TEATRO COMICO » viene destinato solo alle commedie ed è proprio con queste due opere che interrompe il ciclo delle sue stagioni liriche.

V

Alla fine di questo nostro percorso il soggiorno mantovano di Vivaldi ci appare più chiaro. Appena giunto a Mantova il « Prete Rosso » è già padrone della situazione: partecipa all'organizzazione impresariale della stagione primaverile del 1718, è l'impresario della stagione successiva, percepisce un ottimo stipendio e può anche assentarsi per rappresentare altrove le sue opere.³⁴ La carica di impresario è poi quanto mai vantaggiosa in questo teatro, dove il massiccio intervento finanziario del principe è pronto a sanare qualsiasi deficit. Ma la sua posizione, dopo aver raggiunto l'apice nella stagione di carnevale del 1719, sembra peggiorare col tempo: nella primavera del 1719 egli non è l'impresario, perché non è a Mantova e non partecipa affatto alla stagione; mentre nel carnevale del 1720 egli è a Mantova e probabilmente cura l'allestimento musicale della stagione (dato che viene pagato coi soldi dell'affitto dei palchi) ma non è l'impresario e, per quanto il suo stipendio di maestro di cappella sia alto,

esso è ben lontano dagli introiti della stagione del carnevale precedente. In seguito al lutto per la morte dell'imperatrice il teatro di Mantova restò chiuso fino alla primavera del 1722. È evidente che Mantova perdeva ogni interesse agli occhi di Vivaldi; e su questo dovette convenire anche il principe Filippo, dal momento che fu possibile che fra i due continuassero buoni rapporti fino al 1732 e che Vivaldi abbia conservato sempre il suo titolo di maestro di cappella.

Concludo con una considerazione riguardante Anna Girò. Il suo soprannome, « la mantovana », può alludere o alla sua nascita (come sostiene Pincherle)³⁵ o al luogo in cui ebbe i primi successi (concordemente a quanto afferma Goldoni che la dice nata a Venezia).³⁶ A Mantova, per il periodo che va dal 1708 al 1732, non si registrano sue apparizioni sulla scena teatrale, eccetto quelle nelle due opere di Vivaldi del carnevale del 1732, quando era ormai già famosa e conosciuta come l'« Annina del Prete Rosso ». È più probabile dunque che Anna Girò sia nata a Mantova e che qui abbia conosciuto Vivaldi.

¹ Cfr. REMO GIAZZOTTO, *Vivaldi*, Eri, Torino, 1973. Inoltre CLAUDIO GALICO, *Vivaldi dagli archivi di Mantova*, in *Vivaldi Veneziano Europeo*, Olschki, Firenze, 1980; MICHAEL TALBOT, *Vivaldi*, E.D.T., Torino, 1978.

² Si veda quanto a malincuore Vivaldi si rassegni a rinunciare a tale incarico a Ferrara nel Carnevale 1739: ADRIANO CAVICCHI, *Inediti dell'epistolario Vivaldi-Bentivoglio*, « Nuova Rivista Musicale Italiana », I, 1967, pp. 45-79.

³ Cfr. REINHARD STROHM, *Vivaldi's career as an opera-producer in Antonio Vivaldi. Teatro musicale, Cultura, Società*, Olschki, Firenze, 1982. Strohm opera un'ulteriore divisione all'interno della carica di impresario, che egli dice di « direttore della musica con controllo del teatro », fra le stagioni di una e due opere; la differenza sta solo nel volume degli affari, ma la funzione di Vivaldi è la medesima. Ho evitato questa divisione poiché è proprio il tipo di funzione esercitata da Vivaldi ad essere presa in considerazione in questo lavoro, mentre è ininfluente il volume degli affari di una stagione.

⁴ Vi è, a mio avviso, anche un riflesso sul piano estetico, poiché quando Vivaldi non è l'impresario le sue proposte devono essere approvate dall'impresario.

⁵ Usiamo questo titolo in senso convenzionale poiché si tratta di una pubblicazione che inizialmente non recava alcun titolo nel suo frontespizio; dal 10/2/1741 al 29/12/1758 vi appare quello di *Ragguagli Universali di Europa e Di Altri Luoghi* e solo dal 3/1/1807 assunse quello definitivo di *Gazzetta di Mantova*.

⁶ L'elenco si ferma però al 1728: C. GALLICO, *cit.*, 1980, p. 83.

⁷ C. GALLICO, *cit.*, 1980, pp. 87-88; C. GALLICO, *Mantova nel secondo settecento: produzione, comunicazione, educazione*, in *Mantova nel settecento. Un ducato ai confini dell'impero*, Electa, Milano, 1983.

⁸ Cfr. C. GALLICO, *cit.*, 1983.

⁹ Nel 1755 si decise di ristrutturare l'orchestra e quindi oltre al detto elenco ce ne sono altri due, che si riferiscono al nuovo assetto, che non trascrivo.

¹⁰ Trascurò di riportare la lista con i compensi « per ogni fontione... » poiché risulta essere una lista ridotta solo di qualche elemento rispetto all'altra. L'unico fatto rilevante è che vi compare un tale Lugrezi, basso, che nell'altra non compare. Inoltre le due liste sono stilate dalla stessa mano.

¹¹ Mantova, Archivio di Stato, Scalcheria, busta n. 2 (doc. n. 3).

¹² Che la lista senza data (doc. n. 5) sia precedente a quella dei virtuosi che nel 1722 parteciparono al *Climene* si dimostra dal fatto che nel 1710 e nelle liste senza data il posto di contrabbassista è ricoperto da Gasparo Boschi, mentre nel 1722 e fino al 1755 il posto è ricoperto da Antonio Vedovi. Ancora più facile è affermare che il doc. n. 5 è databile a partire dal 1719, poiché vi figura come trombettista Giuseppe Maria Bondioli il cui atto di assunzione del 1719 è conservato nella medesima busta: Mantova, Archivio di Stato, Gonzaga, busta n. 3301.

¹³ *Qual in pioggia dorata* per contralto con accompagnamento di due corni, due violini, viola e continuo, RV 686.

¹⁴ M. TALBOT, *cit.*, p. 64.

¹⁵ Mantova, Archivio di Stato, Gonzaga, busta n. 3301.

¹⁶ Non è inverosimile che dei cornisti potessero essere virtuosi privati del langravio.

¹⁷ Le 2.397 lire sono senz'altro il ricavato totale della locazione dei palchi; a dimostrarlo basta il confronto con un'altra stagione di primavera come ad esempio quella del 1722 dove questo era anche inferiore: 1.944 lire (Cfr. doc. n. 3).

¹⁸ La presenza di due o più impresari non è cosa infrequente per il teatro del tempo; a Mantova se ne ha un solo esempio, oltre a questo, nel carnevale del 1731. Cfr. Mantova, Archivio di Stato, Scalcheria, busta n. 2.

¹⁹ Il « cast » del carnevale 1718 al S. Angelo era il seguente: Annibale Imperatori (Califfo), Antonia Merighi (Armida), Rosa Venturini (Osmira), Chiara Orlandi (Erminia), Francesco Natali (Emireno), Costanza Macari (Adra-sto), Francesco Braganti (Tisoferno).

²⁰ Solo in altri due casi oltre a questo, per il periodo che va dal 1708 al 1732, i libretti di opere rappresentate a Mantova sono stati stampati altrove: *L'Amor politico e generoso della regina Ermengarda* della primavera 1713 a Parma; *Il Filindo* dell'autunno 1726 a Verona. L'eccezionalità dell'evento è motivata, nel caso di Vivaldi, probabilmente dal fatto che lo stampatore veneziano, avendo già pronte le matrici servite per il libretto del S. Angelo, poteva riutilizzarle cambiando solo le pagine introduttive in modo da ottenere il nuovo libretto ad un costo inferiore.

²¹ Alcune note generali sulla stagione dal punto di vista finanziario. Il volume degli affari è il più alto di quelli di cui sono a conoscenza per il periodo che va dall'inizio del governo austriaco all'inaugurazione del « Nuovo Teatro Arciducale » (con la destinazione del « Teatro Comico » alle sole commedie) (1708-1732): lire 33.205 (si confronti questa somma con quella del carnevale 1720: lire 15.157, somma anch'essa al di sopra della normalità) e questo dimostra lo sfarzo della stagione. Un buon introito è dato dall'affitto pagato dal giocatore d'azzardo del « Biribis »: lire 2.160 (60 lire per serata). Ma la cosa più importante è l'intervento finanziario del principe che versa lire 20.400: quasi i due terzi di tutte le spese! Manca nella documentazione di queste buste d'archivio qualsiasi ragguaglio circa i biglietti d'ingresso: non è quindi possibile capire come questi potessero incidere sul bilancio complessivo.

²² Cfr. il manoscritto conservato a Torino, Biblioteca Nazionale, Fondi « Foà » 37,119r-304v e « Giordano » 39,171r-365v.

²³ Non si dimentichi che la stagione era già costata moltissimo e che l'altra opera, *Il Teuzzone*, non richiedeva l'impiego di un basso comico.

²⁴ Un altro elemento che conforta questa tesi ci è fornito dalle notizie degli abiti di scena usati in queste due opere: Mantova, Archivio di Stato, Scalcheria, busta n. 2. L'elenco degli abiti con la loro descrizione minuziosa ci informa che essi appartengono ai più illustri rappresentanti della nobiltà mantovana, solitamente indossati nelle cerimonie pubbliche. Sono dunque abiti (ricercatissimi e bardati in oro) che seguono la moda del tempo. Ci si può dunque immaginare con quale scarsa verosimiglianza essi vennero usati nella rappresentazione di un soggetto romano, e di uno esotico ambientato in Cina.

²⁵ Andrea Galluzzi, ingegnere arciducale, autore fra l'altro della costruzione del « Regio Ducale Teatro Nuovo » di Mantova inaugurato nel 1732.

²⁶ Una traccia di Vivaldi a Mantova in quel periodo è una lettera di Vivaldi al sovrintendente della Scalcheria, Carlo Bertazzoni, con la risposta (nell'altra metà del foglio) anch'essa indirizzata a Bertazzoni, dell'allora impresario Giobatta Carboni che testimonia una piccola discordia tra i due. Mantova, Archivio di Stato, Scalcheria, busta n. 2.

²⁷ La cifra appare ancor più ragguardevole se paragonata allo stipendio percepito dal maestro di cappella di S. Barbara di sole 120 lire (doc. n. 5) o allo stipendio che lo stesso Vivaldi percepiva alla Pietà nel 1704: 30 ducati = lire 720 ogni tre mesi.

²⁸ Mantova, Archivio di Stato, Scalcheria, busta n. 17.

²⁹ Un esempio per tutti: Cortoncinco secondo il suo contratto (Mantova, Archivio di Stato, Scalcheria, busta n. 17) doveva ricevere 150 luigi = 10.500 lire (1 luigi = 70 lire), mentre riceve solo 7.000 lire (Cfr. doc. n. 2).

³⁰ La ricevuta con cui Vivaldi attesta di aver percepito il suo stipendio è datata 26 febbraio 1720 (Cfr. Mantova, Archivio di Stato, Scalcheria, busta n. 17).

³¹ In genere è l'impresario che riceve le chiavi dei palchi vacanti per poi consegnarle agli eventuali affittuari.

³² M. TALBOT, *cit.*, 1978, p. 74 e R. STROHM, *cit.*, 1982, p. 25.

³³ Inaugurato il 27 dicembre 1732 con il *Cajo Fabrizio* di ZENO e HASSE.

³⁴ Così nel maggio 1718 a Firenze per *Scanderbeg* e nella primavera del 1719 a Vicenza per *Artabano*.

³⁵ Cfr. MARC PINCHERLE, *Antonio Vivaldi et la musique instrumentale*, Paris, 1948.

³⁶ Cfr. CARLO GOLDONI, *Mémoires*, Paris, 1787.

Documenti

Doc. n. 1

Mantova, Archivio di Stato, Scalcheria, busta n. 17

Denaro ricevuto parte da S.A.S. il Sig. Prencipe Governatore, è (sic) parte Esatto dai possessori dei Palchetti affittati, è dal Gioco del Biribis, e rispettivamente pagato agli infrascritti Soggetti Attori delle due Opere da rappresentarsi nel futuro prossimo Carnevale, Intitolate La prima il *Teuzone*, e L'altra il *Tito Manlio*, secondo li Ordini firmati dal A.S.; e dalle ricevute di ciascheduno degli Attori come distintamente ne aparerà qui dietro.

Denaro ricevuto in parte da S.A.S.ma il Sig. Prencipe Gov.re; in parte dai Possessori dei Palchetti affittati, in parte dal Gioco del Biribis, in parte dall'Impresario dell'Opera; e rispettivamente pagato agli attori delle due Opere rappresentate nel Carnovale pross.mo passato secondo gli ordini firmati dall'altezza sua, e dalle ricevute di ciascheduno; come distintamente abbasso.

Ricevute da S.A.S.ma Lire ventimille quattro cento, dico	L. 20.400
Dalla camera per le due scene nuove, lire due milla	L. 2.000
Dai Possessori delle Loggie affittate lire sette mille quattro cento settanta cinque	L. 7.475
Dalla Cancelleria Arciducuale: lire due cento trent'otto per la Porta e per l'Alloggio, dico	L. 238
Dal Giocatore del Biribis lire due milla duecento (sic) e sessanta per recite trentasei, così accordate a parte dal- l'Imp.rio; dico	L. 2.160
Dall'Imp.rio Medesimo lire trecento e venti per raguaglio dalle lire sessanta alle sessant'otto di recite quaranta date inconto a S.A., come dalla nota del Medes.mo Impresario consegnata all'A.S., dico	L. 320
Dal Medesimo Impresario lire cento novanta due per rag- guagliare il Luigi effettivo del Virtuoso Gerij, dico	L. 192
Dal Medesimo Impresario lire quattro cento venti per compiuto pagamento della provisione occorsa nelle dette due Opere; dico	L. 420
<hr/>	
Totale del denaro ricevuto di	L. 33.205
Pagate al Beretta lire duemilla trecento cinquanta sei per saldo di sua provvigione, dico	L. 2.356
Al Pederzoli lire mille settecento sessantasette, per saldo di sua provvigione, dico	L. 1.767
Alla Sig.ra Muzzi per saldo cinque milla quattrocento, dico	L. 5.400

Alla Sig.ra Ambreville per saldo lire cinquemilla quattrocento, dico	L. 5.400
Alla Sig.ra Campioli per saldo tremille seicento, dico	L. 3.600
Al Benedetti per saldo lire duemille settecento, dico	L. 2.700
Al Gierij per saldo lire seimille cinquecento e venti otto, dico	L. 6.528
Al Commesso che ha riscosso il denaro delle Alloggie affittate, lire sessanta cinque, secondo la pratica osservata, dico	L. 65
	<hr/>
	L. 27.816
Pagate per ultimo, per saldo di questo affare all'Impresario lire cinquemille trecento ottantanove, dico	L. 5.389
	<hr/>
Totale del Denaro pagato; dico	L. 33.205

Scalcheria Arciduc.le 20 Marzo 1719
Carlo Bertazzoni Sovrintendente
della Scalcheria Arciducale.

Doc. n. 2

Mantova, Archivio di Stato, Scalcheria, busta n. 17

Denaro ricevuto, e pagato per gli Virtuosi delle Opere del Carnevale pros.mo passato.

Loggie fin questo giorno 28 Febr. 1720	L. 4.917
Biribis	L. 1.140
Per Scene	L. 2.000
Da S.A.S.	L. 7.100,10
	<hr/>
	L. 15.157,10

Denaro pagato alli Virtuosi sodetti come siegue.

Sig.a Guglielmini	L. 1.872
Sig.a Zoboli	» 1.333,18
Sig. Barbieri	» 1.420
Sig. Speroncini	» 1.890
Sig. Cortoncino	» 7.000
Sig. Antonio Vivaldi, reliquato delle Loggie, a conto de suoi sallarij di mesate cinque, in ragione di Luigi dieci al mese da L. 68 l'una come dall'Ordine	» 1.576,12
	<hr/>
	L. 15.092,10

Al Commesso per la riscossa del denaro de Palchetti secondo il solito

L. 65
<hr/>
L. 15.157,10

Fatte pagare da S.A.S. alla Sig.ra Zani, col mezzo del Sig. David Sinita

L. 4.900

Doc. n. 3

Mantova, Archivio di Stato, Scalcheria, busta n. 2

Dare, ed Avere del Denaro dell'Opera intitolata *Il Climene* esatto, e rispettivamente pagato per intiero saldo da me sott.o agli infrascritti, come da loro ricevute, sotto gli Ordini di S.A. il Sig. Giuseppe d'Assia Darmstat, e primieramente

Alla Sig. Teresa Perazzi lire ottanta sei e soldi sedici, dico	L.	86,16
Al Sig. Antonio Gaspari lire mille seicento trenta quattro, comprese lire ottanta quattro per il viaggio, dico . . .	L.	1.634
Al Sig. Dom.co Sarina Violoncello lire duecento quaranta quattro, e mezza per la Sig.ra Valsecchi, dico . . . »		244,10
Più al Medesimo per saldo di suo Avere lire ventiquattro, dico »		24
Più al Medesimo lire ottanta quattro per il viaggio della Sig.ra Gerolina Valsecchi, e Sig.ra Teresa Dentia, dico . . . »		84
Al Sig. Franco Bernardi per cibarie lire trecento venti tre, dico »		323
Al Sig. Gio Casali per cibarie lire duecento, e sessanta due, dico . . . »		262
Al Sig. Giorgio Rocenberghen Oboista lire sessanta, dico »		60
Al Sig. Giuseppe Boniventi Maestro di Cappella lire trecento, e settanta due, dico . . . »		372
Al Sig. Michel Angelo Ambreville primo Violino lire quaranta cinque, dico . . . »		45
Ad Ant.o Formentone Sarto lire sessanta, dico . . . »		60
		<hr/>
	L.	3.195,06
Somma a dietro di	L.	3.195,06
Al Sig. D. Giovanni Zuccari dell'Orchestra lire trecento sessanta, e mezza, dico (*) . . . »		360,10
Al Sig. Giacomo Viale Esattore del Denaro dei Palchetti per solito suo Onorario lire settanta due, dico . . . »		72
Al Sig. Tiburzio Marchesi Suggeritore dell'Opera lire otto, dico . . . »		8
A Giacomo Fini Marangone lire trecento, e ventuna comprese lire cinquanta otto e soldi quattro pagate al Sig.r Controllore per il medesimo Fini, dico . . . »		321
A Ignazio Paltrinieri lire sette, per i biglietti de scanni, dico »		7
Più al Sodetto, lire sette, e mezza di mancia lasciatagli dall'Impresario, dico . . . »		7,10
A Fran.co Zanini Calzolaro lire trenta tre, dico . . . »		33

A Claudio Borri per i Palchetti, lire tredici e soldi quindici, dico »	13,15
Al Ebreo Salomon Cortizano lire undici e soldi otto per cartone, dico »	11,08
A Gio. Parmiggiani lire sette e mezza per i scanni e le banche dei Palchetti, dico »	7,10
A Gio. Panizzoni Portinaro lire venti, dico »	20
	<hr/>
	L. 4.056,19

Somma di contro abbasso di	L. 4.056,19
A. Fr.co Roatti altro Portinaro lire dodici, e soldi quindici, dico »	12,15
Al Paruchiere lire sei, dico »	6
Al Sig. Nicola Tricario per Ordine preciso di S.A. il Sig. Pren.pe Giuseppe, lire sessanta sei, e soldi tredici, dico »	66,13
Per callo di Monete lire una, e soldi tredici, dico »	1,13
	<hr/>
Tutte	L. 4.144 —

Esatti Ducatoni ottantauno dai Possessori dei Palchetti a lire ventiquattro l'uno, sono lire mille, novecento quaranta quattro, dico L.	1.944
Più da S.A.S. lire due mille, e cento, dico »	2.100
Più dal Sig.r G.rale Latermani per mancia lire cento, dico »	100
	<hr/>
	L. 4.144

Scalcheria Arcid.le 20 Luglio 1722
Carlo Bertazzoni Sov. Gen.le

(*) Nota delli Virtuosi dell'Orchestra

Sig. Gio Batta Strada	L.	40
Sig. Giuseppe Susta	»	32
Sig. Falavigna	»	16
Sig. Domenico Pelosi	»	14
Sig. Stefano Bagnoli	»	20,10
Sig. Natale Ferarini	»	28
Sig. Antonio Barbieri	»	28
Sig. Capra	»	10
Sig. Giuseppe Patoni	»	18
Sig. Giuseppe Mauri	»	18
Sig. Gio Zuccari	»	40
Sig. Antonio Vedova	»	22
Sig. D. Giuseppe per i Cembali	»	24
Sig. Patoni per le copie delle arie nove e concerti del Sig.r Ambrevil	»	50
	<hr/>	
	L.	360,10

Adi 26 Giugno 1722

Confesso io sottoscritto d'haver ricevuto dal Sig. Carlo Bertazzoni lire trecento, e sessanta, e soldi dieci, e queste sono per pagare li sopradetti virtuosi in saldo di che devono havere dal Sig.r Giovanni Orsato Impresario per fatiche fatte nella med.ma in fede dico L. 360,10

D. Giovan Zuccari

Doc. n. 4

Mantova, Archivio di Stato, Scalcheria, busta n. 2

1725/Pagamenti a Virtuosi ed Altri per le recite musicali del Carnovale anno stesso.

(A)

Palchetti Doppie Italia 105 a L. 73 uguagliano L. .7665

Sono state pagate come siegue

Alle Sig.re Zanuchi L. 3.100

Alla Sig.ra Anna Gasparini » 1.575

Al Maestro Pollaroli » 620

Al Pr.mo Violino S. Salvini » 744

L. 6.039

restano L. 1.626

Da pagarsi al S. Venturini L. 2.205

La S.ra Anna Zanotti L. 1.575

L. 3.780

Si devono per questo pagare L. 2.154

Restino al Si. Gaetano Fracassini L. 1.200

Per il vestiario » 899

E al Corriere » 900

Donzene in Casa del S. Buregotti » 105

Donzena in Casa Zanotti del Maestr.ro » 87

Al Sarto » 80

Al Formaggiaro » 140

Al Calzolaro per un p.ro scarpe » 9

L. 3.420

Somma tutto il debito delle L. 2.154 e L. 3.420 L. 5.574

(B)

Denaro riscosso da S.S.ri Possessori delle Loggie del Teatro per le due Recite Musicali del Carnevale prossimo. Impresario Santo Buregotti e rispettivamente pagato per comandamento di S.A. il Sig. Prin.pe Giuseppe Langravio Darmstat agli Infrascritti come da loro ricevute esistenti in questo Uffizio, e primieramente

Riscosse Dop.e It.a 108 a L. 73

L. 7.884

Pagate al S.r Pollaroli	L. 620
Alla Sig.ra Gasparini	» 1.575
Alla Sig.ra Zanotti	» 1.575
Alle Sig.re Zanucchi per se, e figlie	» 3.100
Al Sig.r Salvini	» 744
Al Sig.r D. Zaniboni per gli viaggi del S.r Venturini	» 63
All'Esattore del d.tto Danaro	» 73
Al S.r. Giuseppe Zanotti per resto della Dozina al S. Maestro	» 70
Al Bondioli Stuararo per 13 stuore da impedire l'aria da sfori del Teatro, d'Ord.ne	» 28
Al Pinter Ferraro per serrature delle Loggie vacanti	» 36
	<hr/>
	L. 7.884

Scalcheria Arcid.le 10 Marzo 1725
Carlo Bertazzone Sov.te Gen.ale

Doc. n. 5

Mantova, Archivio di Stato, Gonzaga, busta n. 3.301
(Copia)

Musici, e Sonatori della Cappella Arciduale

Sig. Pietro Crescimbeni Maestro di Cappella	L. 120
Sig. Gio.Batta Calvi detto Gambino Organista	L. 100
Sig. D. Gio.Batta Montarini Musico Soprano	L. 100
Sig. D. Gio.Batta Peccorari Musico Soprano	L. 100
Sig. Nicola Tricarico Musico Contralto	L. 100
Sig. Can.co D. Michele Angelo Pomelli Musico Contralto	L. 284
Sig. Gio.Batta Carboni Musico Contralto	L. 284
Sig. D. Bartolo Donadelli Tenore	L. 60
Sig. D. Ant.o Zaniboni Tenore	L. 60
Sig. D. Gio.Batta Palmerini Basso	L. 50
Sig. Lucrezio Borsari Baritono	L. 80
Sig. Pietro Fabri Oboista	L. 55

Sig. Gio. Grosmar Oboista	L. 120
Sig. Giuseppe Susti Primo Violino	L. 60
Sig. Gio.Batta Strada Primo Violino	L. 60
Sig. D. Giacinto Guindani Secondo Violino	L. 30
Sig. Domenico Pellosi Sonatore di Viola	L. 20
Sig. Bartolomeo Cortesi Sonatore di Violino	L. 20
Sig. Gioseppe Pattoni Sonatore di Violoncello	L. 30
Sig. Gasparo Boschi Sonatore di Contrabbasso	L. 30
Sig. Gioseppe Pattoni Copista della Musica	L. 60
Sig. Gioseppe Grandi Trombetta	L. 6,5
Sig. Fran.co Ant.o Bondioli Trombetta	L. 6,5
Sig. Gioseppe Maria Bondioli Trombetta	L. 6,5

segue - sono - L. 1.841,15

La dietro scritta somma de
A Gaetano Tossi Trombetta

L. 1.841,15
L. 6,5

Sono tutte al Mese

L. 1.848

Gio.Batta Gratia Regolare

Doc. n. 6

Mantova, Archivio di Stato, Gonzaga, busta n. 3.301

Salarij de Musici della Cappella per la Ces.a Amministrazione Marzo 1710
del Ducato di Mantova
[...]

Notta delli Musici da accordarsi al servizio di S.M.C.
col Salario mensile come segue

Sig. Pietro Crescimbeni Maestro di Cappella al mese di Sallario	L. 120
Sig. Gio.Batta Calvi d.tto Gambino Organo	» 100
Sig. Gio.Batta Contarini Soprano	» 100
Sig. Nicola Tricari Contralto	» 100
Sig. Battistino Carboni Contralto	» 100
Sig. Don Bartolo Donadelli Tenore	» 60
Sig. Pietro Scandalibeni Basso	» 50
Sig. Gueretio Borselli Baritono	» 50
Sig. Giuseppe Brusaschi Primo Violino	» 60
Sig. Andrea Grossi Secondo Violino	» 30
Sig. Tolomeo Pelosi Viola	» 20
Sig. Giuseppe Malanca Viola	» 20
Sig. D. Giacinto Guindani Secondo Violino	» 30
Sig. Gio.Batta Strada Primo Violino	» 60

Sig. Giacinto Aosani Basso [violoncello n.d.r.]	»	30
Sig. Gasparo Boschi Contrabbasso	»	30
Sig. Pietro Parri Obboè	»	30
Sig. Carlo Bondioli Trombetta	»	25
Sig. Alessandro Baridalto Trombetta	»	25

Doc. n. 7

Mantova, Archivio di Stato, Gonzaga, busta n. 3.301

Individui, che presentemente compongono la Regia Ducal Cappella

Maestro di Cappella Giovanni Zuccari a lire 150 al mese	L.	1.800
Vice Maestro, ed Organista Gian Battista Pattoni a L. 100 al mese	»	1.200
Musico Soprano, ch'era assentato a L. 100, e che sino ad ora non si è potuto provvedere	»	1.200
Musico Contralto a L. 150 vacante per la morte di Giuseppe Braccetti	»	1.800
Musico Baritono Mauro Malavasi a L. 40	»	480
Musico Tenore Don Antonio Zaniboni a L. 80	»	960
Musico Tenore Don Antonio Vicari a L. 50	»	600
Musico Baritono Don Francesco Zaniboni a L. 35	»	420
Musico Basso Don Gian Battista Pedrazzi a L. 60	»	720
Oboista vacante a L. 100	»	1.200
Capo Violinista provvisoriale Giambattista Ambreville a L. 150	»	1.800
Tre Violinisti, Parmeggiani, Buresi e Gajoni a L. 60 per caduno	»	2.160
Altro Violinista Francesco Ghirardelli a L. 50	»	600
Altro Violinista Francesco Orlandi a L. 41,13	»	500
Suonatore di Viola Don Paolo Pattoni a L. 90	»	1.080
Contrabbasso Antonio Vedovi a L. 50	»	600
Quattro Trombette a L. 6,5 per caduno	»	300
Musico Contralto Giubilato Canonico Michel Angelo Pomelli a L. 284 al mese	»	3.408
	L.	21.128
		[sic]

Vivaldi and the "Teatro detto Il Comico" of Mantua

Published libretti, information gleaned from the news-sheets of what, from 1807, would come to be called the *Gazzetta di Mantova*, and newly-discovered archival documentation – in particular, *Busta 2* and *17* of the Archivio della Scalcheria Arciduciale, recently acquired by the Archivio di Stato di Mantova – are used to trace the role played by Vivaldi in the organization of opera at the "Teatro detto Il Comico" of Mantua during his two-year-long stay in the city from Spring 1718 to Carnival 1720. Of the new sources, *Busta 2* (which dates, largely though not exclusively, from the period 1711-40) contains miscellaneous (and somewhat incomplete) information regarding the *palchi* (or "boxes"), the contracts of the *virtuosi*, payments, receipts and other documents of an occasional nature; *Busta 17*, which focusses on three of Vivaldi's seven Mantuan productions – *Teuzzone* (Carnival 1719), *Tito Manlio* (Carnival 1719) and *Candace* (Carnival 1720) – contains the singers' contracts and details of other payments and receipts.

The documents show how Vivaldi, immediately upon his arrival at Mantua in Spring 1718, already demonstrates himself master of the situation, participating, along with a certain Pietro Ramponi, in the entrepreneurial activities of the theatre. In the following season, Carnival 1719, Vivaldi is sole impresario, and is in receipt of an excellent salary; indeed, the position of impresario was particularly favourable at Mantua, where the massive financial support of the local prince was sufficient to make good all losses. Subsequently, however, Vivaldi's sway at Mantua appears to decline. In Spring 1719, he is absent altogether from the city; though he returns for Carnival 1720 (when he was probably responsible for the musical aspects of the production), he is no longer impresario, and his salary is well below that of the previous Carnival season. The subsequent death of the Empress brings a halt to all operatic activities at Mantua until Spring 1722, and it is clear that the city thus lost all interest in the eyes of Vivaldi.

In a short "digression", the author dates (to the years 1719-22) two hitherto undated lists of the vocal and instrumental resources of the *Cappella Arciduciale di Mantova*. The relevant documentation (from A.S.M., Gonzaga, *Busta 3.301*), together with that contained in the above-cited *Busta 2* and *17*, is transcribed in an appendix.

(Summary by David Bryant)

Bilddokumente zu Vivaldis Tod in Wien

Carl F. Panagl

Die Überlieferung der Geschichte von Vivaldis Sterbehaus,¹ Conscriptionsnummer 1038 Wien-Innere Stadt, an prominenter Stelle direkt über dem Kärntnertor Ecke Kärntnerstrasse/Sattlergasse² gelegen, beginnt im Jahre 1495,³ als der Büchsenmeister Erhart Han von Zabarn das Haus an Erasem Feuchter und Marx Noppinger verkaufte. Diese trennten sich schon 5 Jahre darauf von dem Objekt, dessen Besitzer auch in der Folge häufig wechselten. Ab 1630 im Besitz der Familie des kaiserlichen Hof- und Mundbäckers Michael Neuner, von dessen Enkel Adam Franz Neuner 1671 an den Obristwachtmeister des Graf Daun'schen Regiments, Franz Leopold Hartmann von Huttendorf verkauft, fiel es 1701 an dessen Schwester Eva Katharine Hartmann von Huttendorf. Diese verkaufte 1714 das mit der « Bierschankgerechtigkeit » – also einer Schankkonzession – ausgestattete Haus dem bürgerlichen Sattler Augustin Wahler und dessen Frau Maria Agathe. Nach Augustin Wahlers Tod kam das Haus aufgrund eines Vergleiches zwischen der Witwe und den Kindern Wahlers 1730 an die Witwe allein. Sie hinterließ es 1751 ihrem Sohn Dr. Karl Joseph Wahler, Pfarrer und Protonotarius Apostolicus. Von ihm fiel es an seinen Bruder Maximilian Wahler. Dessen Erbe wurde unter seinen 7 Kindern aufgeteilt. Durch familieninterne Verkäufe und weitere Vererbung ergab sich in der Folge ein reger Wechsel der einzelnen Anteile, ehe schließlich die Artensgattin Antonie Brants zwischen 1820 und 1839 alle Anteile erwerben konnte. Die Besitznachfolger Antonie Brants' waren ab 1870 Anton Pilsack, ab 1875 die Gross Commune Wien und, als letzter Besitzer, ab 1876 Gustav Leon.

Im ersten Viertel des 19. Jahrhunderts befand sich im ersten Stockwerk des Hauses der Probesalon des Hofopertheaters und darüber die Wohnung des Professors Johann Zizius, der dort vielbesuchte musikalische Soireen veranstaltete. 1831 mietete Freiherr von Gentz in diesem Hause eine Wohnung für seine Geliebte, die berühmte Tänzerin Fanny Elssner. Diese wohnte darin bis zum Jahre 1832, ihre Mutter Therese starb dort im selben Jahr. 1873 wurde das Nachbarhaus Nr. 1037 abgebrochen,⁴ nach 1876 auch die Häuser Nr. 1038 und 1039. An deren Stelle wurde ein –wiederum vierstöckiger– Neubau errichtet. Dieses heute mit der Nummer 38 versehene Haus⁵ grenzt unmittelbar an das Gebäude des bekannten Hotels « Sacher ».

Das Haus Nr. 1038 war zu Vivaldis Zeit ein gediegener vierstöckiger Bau, bekannt unter der seit dem 17. Jahrhundert verwendeten Bezeichnung « Zum fliegenden Rössel » (nach der bildlichen Darstellung des Hausschildes) oder auch unter der Bezeichnung « Walleris Haus »⁶ (nach dem Namen der damaligen Besitzer, der Familie Wahler/Waller, je nach Schreibweise) oder schließlich unter der Bezeichnung « Satlerisch Haus »⁷ (nach dem Berufsstand Augustin Wahlers). Abgesehen von seiner attraktiven Lage stellte es, wie aus dem im vorigen Absatz Gesagten evident wird, eine durchaus gute Adresse dar. Es bot sich aber noch in ganz anderer Hinsicht als Wohnort gerade für Vivaldi an, nämlich durch seine unmittelbare Nähe zum Kärntnertheater.⁸

Bevor in der Folge die in diesem Zusammenhang notwendige und interessante Betrachtung der Gründe und Wege, die Vivaldi in den Jahren 1740/41 nach Österreich geführt haben, angestellt wird, sollen noch einige Fakten zum Haus Nr. 1038 nicht unerwähnt bleiben. Wir können davon ausgehen, daß Vivaldis Sterbehaus zum Zeitpunkt seines Aufenthaltes und seines Todes im Jahre 1741 im Wesentlichen sehr ähnlich ausgesehen hat, wie es die hier wiedergegebene, um das Jahr 1857 entstandene, Fotografie zeigt. Dies, obwohl das Haus in den Jahren 1828 und 1842 Umbauten, beide von Antonie Brants in Auftrag gegeben, erfahren hat. Die Baupläne geben darüber Auskunft, daß der Umbau von 1828 geringfügig war und nur den 3. und 4. Stock betraf, jener von 1842 zwar wesentlich umfangreicher war, aber, ebenso wie der erste, primär das Innere des Hauses betraf. Die Fassade scheint im Wesentlichen unverändert geblieben zu sein, ebenso wurden weder Aufstockungen noch Zubauten vorgenommen, lediglich das ursprüngliche Dach scheint durch eine Neukonstruktion ersetzt worden zu sein. Die verwendete Fotografie gibt über die hier relevante Information hinaus auch einen ausgezeichneten Eindruck der unmittelbaren Umgebung von Vivaldis Sterbehaus, welche im Zeitraum von der Mitte des 18. Jahrhunderts bis ca. 1860 faktisch keinem äußerlichen Wandel unterlag. Der Abbruch der das Stadtbild prägenden Festungsanlagen erfolgte im relevanten Abschnitt im Jahre 1861. Daran schloß sich im folgenden Jahrzehnt die völlige bauliche Neugestaltung dieses Stadtteiles, kein einziges Haus des alten Bestandes blieb erhalten, der Stadtgraben wurde aufgeschüttet und auf dieser Aufschüttung 1861-69 die neue Hofoper (heute: Staatsoper) errichtet.

Durch jüngste Forschungen, welche von Th. Antoniak in einem Artikel zusammengefaßt wurden,⁹ wissen wir heute, daß Anna Girò in den Jahren 1739 und 1740 der Theatertruppe der Brüder Mingotti

angehört hat und mit dieser Truppe in Graz aufgetreten ist. Gesichert ist der Auftritt der Girò in « Rosmira » im Herbst 1739 in der Titelrolle, sowie in « Catone in Utica » im Karneval 1740 als Manzia. Von Mingotti wurden seit 1736 Vivaldi-Opern aufgeführt, so z.B. « Ipermestra » (1736), « Farnace » (1737), « Siroe Re di Persia » (1738) und « Adelaide » (1739). Dieser Theatertruppe gehörte auch Giovanna Gasparini, die Tochter von Vivaldis Kollegen und Vorgesetzten an der Pietà, Francesco Gasparini, an. Die Familien Gasparini-Santurini (Gasparinis Schwiegervater und Leiter des Teatro S. Angelo) – Vivaldi verfolgten in einer Art Interessensgemeinschaft geschäftliche Ziele, besonders hinsichtlich des Teatro S. Angelo. Aber sie waren sehr wahrscheinlich, insbesondere nach der Verschlechterung der kommerziellen Lage des Teatro S. Angelo, auch an Beteiligungen an anderen Unternehmen interessiert. Eine Beteiligung an dem Mingotti- Unternehmen im Zusammenhang mit der Anwesenheit der Girò und sehr wahrscheinlich auch der Vivaldis entspräche durchaus den Gegebenheiten. Die Hypothese, daß Vivaldi Anna Girò nach Graz folgte, nicht zuletzt, um dort seine geschäftlichen Interessen zu wahren, und erst von dort nach Wien gelangte, erscheint äußerst glaubhaft. Was freilich die Person Anna Girò's betrifft, so gibt es keinerlei Hinweise auf ihre Anwesenheit in Wien. Das Meldewesen war zu jener Zeit noch kaum entwickelt, und so besteht, zumindest von diesem Ansatz her, keine Möglichkeit, zu prüfen, ob Vivaldi die Wohnung im Hause Nr. 1038 allein oder mit weiteren Personen, deren er, eigenen Aussagen zufolge, zumal auf Reisen, stets bedurfte, bewohnte.

Was nun Vivaldis Aufenthalt in Wien betrifft, so haben bislang sowohl Nachforschungen zahlreicher Musikwissenschaftler als auch eigene Nachforschungen keinerlei Hinweis darauf ergeben, daß sich Vivaldi in irgendeiner Form um eine offizielle Anstellung am Kaiserhof oder um kaiserliche Aufträge bemüht hätte, auch eine allfällige Vorsprache privater Natur bei Karl VI. bzw. Franz Stephan von Lothringen läßt sich nicht nachweisen. Seine Interessen müssen daher wohl auf einem anderen Gebiet gelegen haben, wenngleich nur eine zukünftige Forschung hier Klarheit bringen könnte. Dennoch reihen sich einige bemerkenswerte Tatsachen in diesem Zusammenhang aneinander:

Die Truppe der Mingottis selbst ist in Wien zu jenem Zeitpunkt nicht aufgetreten, wohl aber einzelne Sänger dieser Truppe. Der Spielplan des Kärntnertheaters in Wien weist zwischen 1731 und 1746 folgende Opern aus, deren Titel mit jenen von Vivaldi-Opern ident sind:¹⁰ « Nerone » (1731), « Ginevra » (1732), « Tito Man-

lio » (1733), « Artabano Rè de' Parti » (1733/34), « Il Teuzzone » (1735), « Farnace » (1737), « Candace » (1738), « Bajazet » (1739), « Catone in Utica » (1744) und « Semiramide » (1746). In einem Fall ist die Autorenschaft Vivaldis absolut gesichert, nämlich im Falle der Oper « L'Oracolo in Messenia », gegeben im Jahre 1742, durch den Zusatz: « La musica è del fù Sig. D. Antonio Vivaldi ». Dies läßt nun mehrere Schlüsse zu. Zunächst erscheint es höchst unwahrscheinlich, daß es sich, zumindest bei einem Teil der anderen angeführten Opern, nicht um die Originalwerke Vivaldis handelt (in manchem Fall könnte die Vertonung des Stoffes von anderen Komponisten stammen – manche Angaben weisen darauf hin –, oder es sich um die so beliebten Bearbeitungen handeln), ferner gibt die Zeile « La musica è del fù Sig. D. Antonio Vivaldi » den doch sehr interessanten Aufschluß, daß Vivaldis Ableben in dieser Stadt durchaus zur Kenntnis genommen wurde, sein Name, auch noch nach seinem Tode, ein gewisses Maß an Wertschätzung genoß, vielleicht ein höheres als man bisher annehmen durfte – die Tatsache der Aufführung seiner Opern bis 1746 würde darauf hindeuten –, sein ärmliches Begräbnis, das Fehlen jeder über den knappen Inhalt der amtlichen Belege hinausgehenden Nachricht seines Ablebens und das Fehlen jeder lebendigen Erinnerung an sein Schaffen über zwei Jahrhunderte hinweg in ebendieser Stadt, stehen freilich auf der anderen Seite, und schließlich kann die außerordentliche Nähe von Vivaldis Wohnort zum Kärntnertortheater¹¹ —dieses schloß fast unmittelbar an das Haus Nr. 1038 an, lediglich das Haus Nr. 1037 lag dazwischen—¹² wohl kaum purer Zufall sein. Weit eher ist anzunehmen, daß Vivaldis Wahl des Wohnortes hinsichtlich seiner — vielleicht auch nur geplanten und durch Krankheit und Tod abrupt abgebrochenen — Aktivitäten wohl überlegt war.

Zu Vivaldis letzten Tagen sind vielleicht noch einige interessante Details festzuhalten: In unmittelbarer Nähe von Vivaldis Wohnort befand sich das Bürgerspital.¹³ Die Frage, ob Vivaldi, sollte er nicht plötzlich tödlich erkrankt sein, sondern schon vorher ärztlicher Hilfe bedurft haben, dieses Krankenhaus aufgesucht haben könnte, drängt sich auf, besonders, da seine finanzielle Situation eventuell die kostspielige Konsultation eines Privatärztes nicht zugelassen haben könnte (dagegen spricht allerdings das gewiß nicht billige Logis im Hause Nr. 1038). Leider wird diese Frage, es sei denn durch einen besonderen Zufall, im Dunkel der Geschichte bleiben, da die Aufzeichnungen des Bürgerspitals, wiewohl vom Mittelalter an erhalten, jahrzehntelange Lücken aufweisen (entstanden durch

Umsiedlungen, Brand etc.) und der relevante Zeitraum unglücklicherweise in eine solche Lücke fällt.

Vivaldis Todesstunde scheint in die Nacht vom 27. auf den 28. Juli 1741 oder in die frühen Morgenstunden des 28. Juli gefallen zu sein. Jedenfalls wurde Vivaldis Leichnam als erster des 28. Juli beschaugt, sowohl das Protokoll der amtlichen Totenbeschaug¹⁴ als auch das Totenbuch von St. Stephan¹⁵ weisen als erste Eintragung des Tages den Namen Vivaldi aus. Die Beerdigung Vivaldis fand bekanntlich auf dem zu dem im vorigen Absatz erwähnten Bürgerspital gehörenden Spitaler Gottesacker statt.¹⁶ Dieser war außerhalb der Stadtmauern, neben der 1716 aufgrund eines nach Erlöschen der Pest von Karl VI. geleisteten Gelöbnisses begonnenen und erst 1737 vollendeten Karlskirche, etwa 800 m vom Haus Nr. 1038 entfernt, gelegen. Dieser Friedhof war 1571 für Pesttote eröffnet worden, wurde Anfang des 18. Jahrhunderts nach Zerstörung durch die Türken wieder aufgebaut und bereits 1783 unter Josef II. aufgelassen. Da er auch als Begräbnisstätte der Hingerichteten diente, findet sich auch die Bezeichnung « Armesünder-Gottesacker ».

Heute erinnert nur noch eine anlässlich des 300 Jahr-Jubiläums im Jahre 1978 am Gebäude der Technischen Universität angebrachte und im Anschluß an eine in der Karlskirche dargebotene Festaufführung von « Juditha Triumphans » enthüllte Gedenktafel¹⁷ an den Standort dieser Begräbnisstätte.

So fügt sich eine Fülle von Details zu einem Bild von Vivaldis letzten Monaten und Tagen, das noch immer unvollständig und höchst lückenhaft ist, vielleicht für immer lückenhaft bleiben wird, das aber dennoch in der Lage ist, unsere Sicht zu erweitern.

¹ vgl. Abb. 1 und 4.

² HEDY PABISCH, *Neue Dokumente zu Vivaldis Sterbetaug*, in « Österreichische Musikzeitschrift », Bd. (1972), S. 82-83.

³ P. HARRER, *Wien, seine Häuser, Menschen und Kultur*, Bd. 6, Teil 1, Wien, 1956, S. 109-111.

⁴ P. HARRER, *op. cit.*, S. 112.

⁵ vgl. Abb. 2 und 3.

⁶ vgl. Abb. 7.

⁷ vgl. Abb. 8.

⁸ vgl. Abb. 4

⁹ THEOPHIL ANTONICEK, *Vivaldi in Österreich* in: « Österreichische Musikzeitschrift », Jg. 1978, Heft 3, S. 128-134.

¹⁰ THEOPHIL ANTONICEK, *op. cit.*

¹¹ vgl. Abb. 6. Die Pächter des Kärntnertheaters im Jahre 1741 waren Borosini und Selliers. Das zu Vivaldis Zeiten existente und auf dem Kupferstich von C. Pfeffel aus dem Jahre 1724 (Abb.6) wiedergegebene Gebäude fiel einem Brand zum Opfer und wurde 1763 durch einen von Nikolaus von Pacassi

ausgeführten Neubau (1868 abgerissen) ersetzt. In diesem Hause erlebten u.a. folgende Werke Aufführungen bzw. Uraufführungen: Ein Klavierkonzert Mozarts (1781), Beethovens « Fidelio » in der 3. Fassung (mit Beethoven am Dirigentenpult), Schuberts Oper « Die Zwillingsbrüder » (1820), Webers Opern « Der Freischütz » (1822) und « Euryanthe » (1823) sowie Verdis « Nabucco » (1843).

¹² vgl. Abb. 4.

¹³ vgl. Abb. 6 und 4.

¹⁴ vgl. Abb. 7.

¹⁵ vgl. Abb. 8.

¹⁶ vgl. Abb. 5.

¹⁷ vgl. Abb. 9.



Abb. 1: Vivaldis Wohn- und Sterbehaus, Nr. 1038 Wien-Innere Stadt.
Im Vordergrund die Bastei und das Kärntnertor.
Foto: Historisches Museum der Stadt Wien.



Abb. 2: Das heute an Stelle der Häuser Nr. 1038, 1037 und 1039 bestehende Gebäude Kärntnerstrasse Nr. 38.

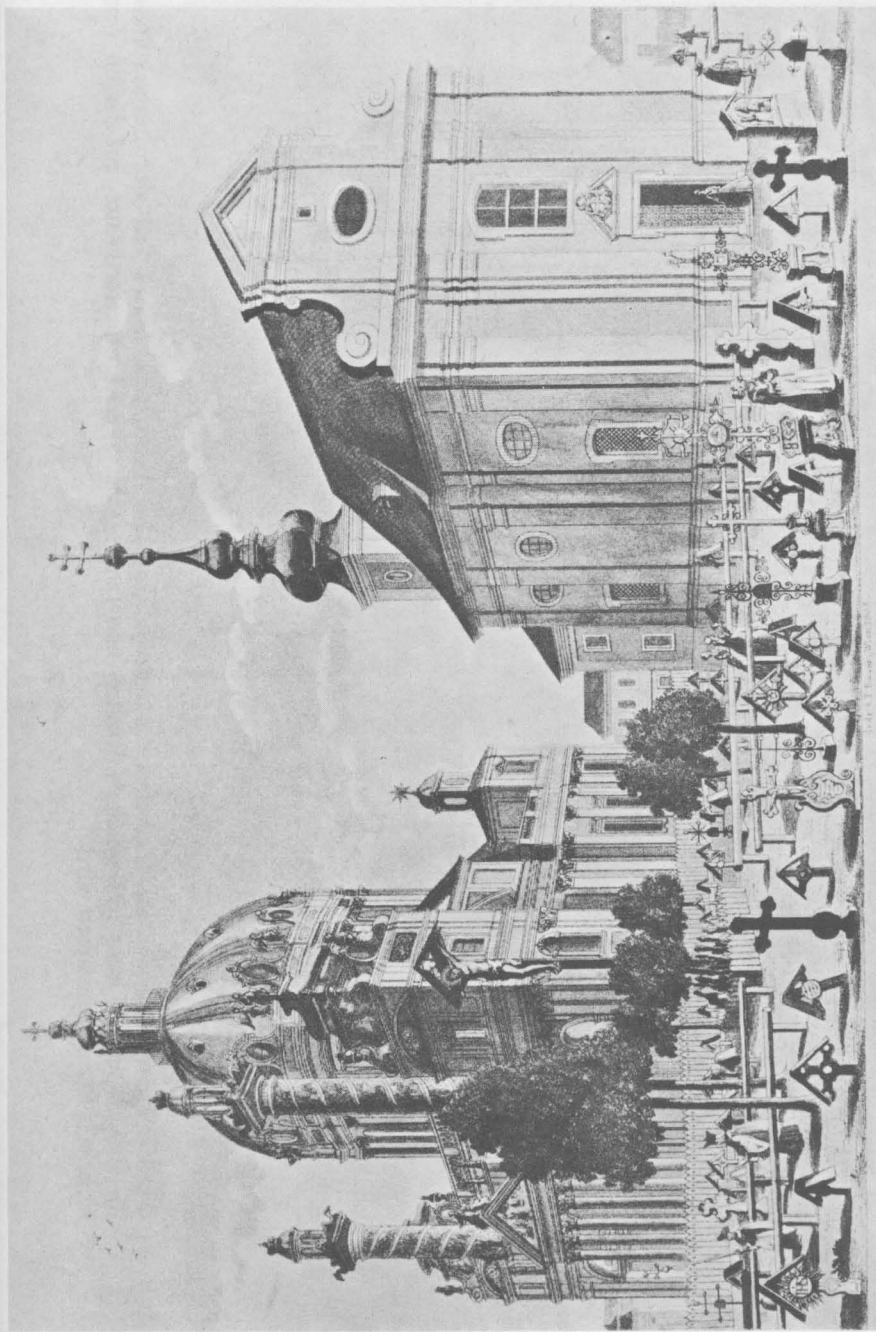


Abb. 5: Wiedergabe eines Stiches von Salomon Kleiner aus dem Jahre 1737, darstellend den Spitaler Gottesacker, die dazugehörige Kapelle und (links) die Karlskirche.

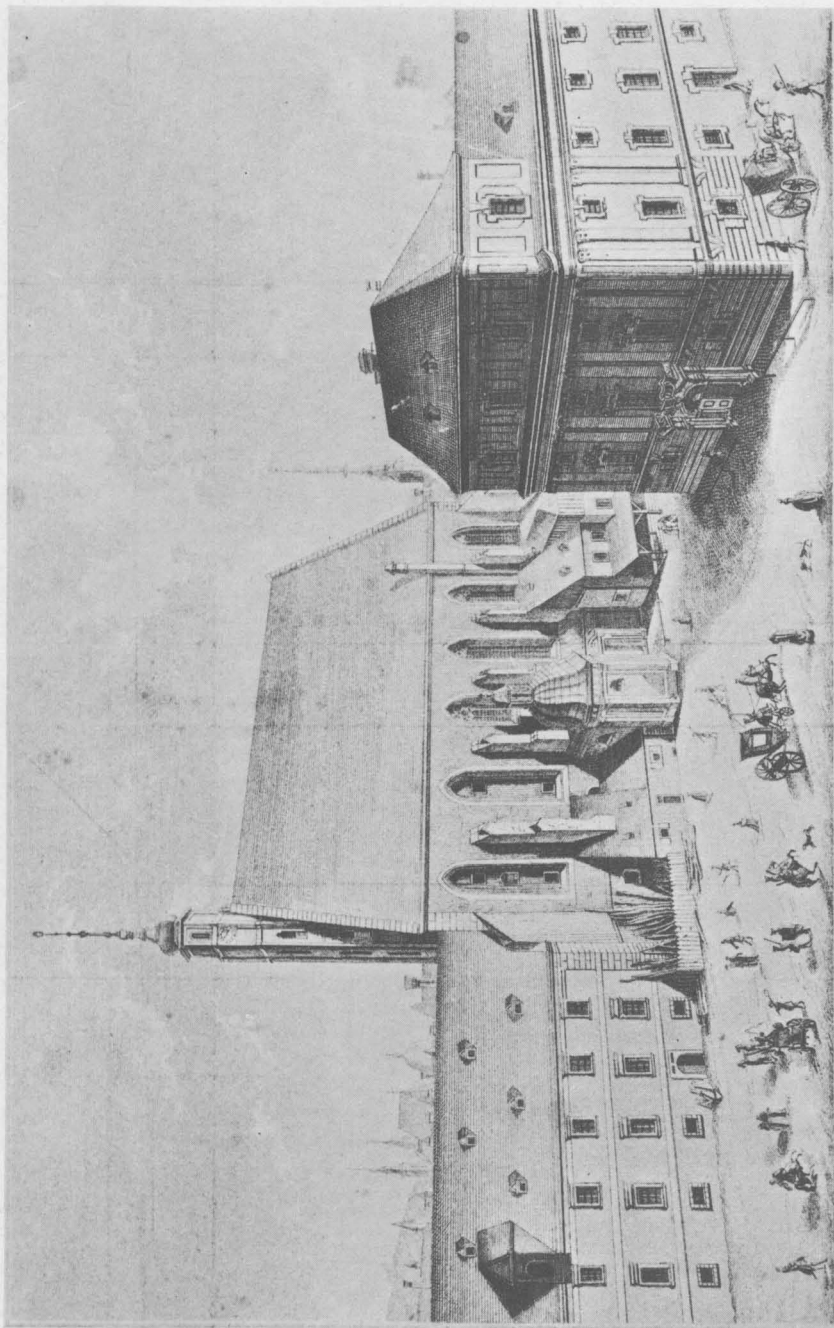


Abb. 6: Wiedergabe eines Stiches von C. Pfeffel aus dem Jahre 1724, darstellend einen Teil des Bürgerspitals, die Bürgerspital- Kirche (Allerheiligen-Kirche) und (rechts) das alte Kärntnerorttheater, auf das im Text mehrfach Bezug genommen wird.

Dem. 708. Hilte. 1741
 Dem Adolph Breindiger, Erbsch. Antonius, vier
 vald. adelicher- Fruchter, in Edellord
 Haupt, beyne Säuerung- Hoden Junger
 Braud ²⁰ 21. ael. 6. Jahr.
 Dem Andree May, Lagerg., vier Kind, Joha,
 es in Kap. and Lagerg. Hau die Jacob
 D. gäbe an der zäuftraid ²⁰ 21. ael. 6. Jahr.
 Dem Franz Tim, Säng. Diab. vier Kind
 Carl Leopold, es in vier Hau die Andree,
 D. Goldsch. an der Lärnisch ²⁰ 21. ael. 3 1/2.
 Dem Johann Hilbert, vier Kind, vier Andree
 Cassanina, es in vier Haupt beyne gnu
 adel. an Hilbert an Säng. Braud
 D. ²⁰ 21. ael. 28. Jahr.
 Dem Caspar Hill, Schreibe, vier Kind
 Andree, es beyne Maria, Strom zu May,
 gerechnd an der zäuftraid ²⁰ 21. ael. 3 1/2.
 Dem Franz Hoff, Schlosser, vier Kind
 gina, es bey der golden - Säng. an
 D. Donigan an der Frau ²⁰ 21. ael. 1. Tag.
 Dem Mathie Schinig, Schreibe, vier Kind
 Michel, es in vier Sauerlan Hau die
 D. der Frau ²⁰ 21. ael. 18. adochu.
 Dem Mathie Wogelburger, Horn- Vierung
 Fra, vier Kind Mor. Kijaboff, Säng
 golden - Braud in der Säng. an
 D. vier - Lakon ²⁰ 21. ael. 3 1/2. Jahr.
 Dem Andree Jaleg, Säng- Jäger, vier
 Kind Jaleg, es in vier Säng. Haupt
 an der Säng. an der Frau ²⁰ 21. ael. 6. adochu.

Abb. 7: Wiener Stadt- und Landesarchiv, Totenprotokoll vom 1.7.1740 bis 31.10.1741, Fol. 395.

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Abb. 8: Dompfarr St. Stephan, Wien, Toten-Gebührenbuch, Tom. 1741, Fol. 177 und 178.

AN DIESER STELLE BEFAND SICH BIS 1789
DER BÜRGERSPITALS-ODER
ARMENSÜNDER - GOTTESACKER

ANTONIO VIVALDI

GEBOREN AM 4. MÄRZ 1678 IN VENEDIG
WURDE HIER AM 28. JULI 1741 BEGRABEN
ZUM 300. GEBURTSTAG GEWIDMET VON DER CREDITANSTALT-BANKVEREIN

Abb. 9: Gedenktafel, den ehemaligen Standort des Spitaler Gottesackers bezeichnend, an der Technischen Universität Wien.

Immagini documentarie sulla morte di Vivaldi a Vienna

La documentazione pervenutaci sulla casa dove morì Vivaldi a Vienna risale al 1495, anno nel quale fu registrato un primo atto di vendita dello stabile. Il saggio ne elenca tutti i successivi cambiamenti di proprietà, fino alla demolizione nel 1876, quando fu eretto l'attuale caseggiato confinante con l'Hotel Sacher. Nell'anno della morte di Vivaldi la vecchia costruzione apparteneva alla vedova di Augustin Wahler, mastro sellaio. L'edificio e i suoi dintorni dovevano presentarsi ai tempi di Vivaldi così come li mostra la fotografia riprodotta nel testo, scattata nel 1857 prima del completo rinnovamento della zona.

Il sistema delle dichiarazioni di soggiorno non era ancora abbastanza sviluppato per fornire risposte precise alla domanda se Vivaldi abitò nella capitale da solo o in compagnia di altre persone. Precedenti ricerche hanno già dimostrato la presenza della Girò a Graz nel 1739 e '40, nella compagnia dei fratelli Mingotti, della quale faceva parte anche la figlia di Gasparini. La collaborazione tra le famiglie Gasparini, Santurini e Vivaldi nell'attività del Teatro S. Angelo a Venezia suggerisce che, al peggiorare della situazione finanziaria di quel teatro, essi abbiano avviato altre imprese comuni. Sembra quindi abbastanza attendibile l'ipotesi che Vivaldi seguì la Girò a Graz per tutelare i propri interessi economici e di lì raggiunse Vienna. Mancano invece tracce della presenza della Girò a Vienna.

Le numerose ricerche sulle ragioni che condussero Vivaldi a Vienna non hanno trovato nessuna testimonianza relativa a un interesse del musicista per un incarico ufficiale a corte. Questa indagine deve quindi muoversi in altre direzioni e i dati riportati in questo saggio vogliono suggerire nuovi campi di ricerca. Il calendario delle stagioni del Kärntnertortheater tra il 1731 e il 1746 elenca una decina di opere con titolo identico a quello di opere di Vivaldi, ma nel solo caso dell'*Oracolo in Messenia*, rappresentata nel 1742, l'attribuzione è certa. L'indicazione « La musica è del fù Sig. D. Antonio Vivaldi » permette di osservare che la morte di Vivaldi fu un avvenimento di dominio pubblico a Vienna e che il suo nome godeva di considerazione e stima. Anche la scelta di un'abitazione vicinissima al Kärntnertortheater non sembra casuale, bensì legata a qualche attività di Vivaldi in quel teatro.

Il saggio fornisce infine alcune notizie riguardo alla morte di Vivaldi. Nelle immediate vicinanze della sua abitazione si trovava il Bürgerspital, ospedale nel quale il musicista poté forse trovare assistenza, ma gli archivi di questa istituzione sono molto lacunosi e

vi manca purtroppo la documentazione relativa al periodo in esame. Il nome di Vivaldi è registrato per primo nell'elenco dei morti della Cattedrale di S. Stefano il 28 luglio 1741 e quindi la sua morte deve essere avvenuta nella notte tra il 27 e il 28 o nelle prime ore del mattino del giorno 28. Il luogo della sua sepoltura, il cimitero del Bürgerspital vicino alla Karlskirche, è attualmente ricordato da una lapide apposta nel 1978 sull'edificio della Technische Universität.

(Riassunto di Anna Maria Morazzoni)

Discographie Vivaldi n° 6 - 1984 *aux soins de Roger-Claude Travers*

Cette discographie présente les enregistrements parus du 1^{er} janvier 1983 au 31 décembre 1983 dans le monde entier. Les œuvres sont classées suivant les catalogues Ryom et Fanna.

– Nouveautés:

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

Chaque disque est classé suivant un numéro arbitraire, indiquant l'année de parution et un chiffre. (Cette année: 1983/n°...). Ce numéro permettra d'identifier ce disque dans ces colonnes, en cas de réédition ultérieure ou de changement de référence.

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

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

– Nouveaux couplages d'enregistrements anciens:

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

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

– Compact - Discs (CD):

Apparus sur le marché mondial en mars 1983. La correspondance avec les LP déjà parus et la référence complète sont précisées.

– Précisions:

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

– Commentaire sur les meilleurs disques de l'année:

Les enregistrements intéressants, soit par leur programme, soit par leur interprétation, sont critiqués. Ce commentaire constitue donc une sorte de « discographie conseil ». Les disques évoqués sont indiqués par un astérisque dans le répertoire.

I. NOUVEAUTES PARUES EN 1984

- 1984/1 *Il Pastor Fido* Op. XIII n° 6
M. Fromenteau (ghironda), Vallon (fagotto)
ARION ARN 36.741
(+ Boismortier, E.P. Chédeville, N. Chédeville, M. Corrette, J. Hotteterre, Scellery)
- 1984/2* Concerti per violino Op. VIII n° 5; Op. XI n° 2;
RV 271/FI, 127 *L'Amoroso*; RV 353/FI, 137
M. Huggett (violino e dir.), London Vivaldi Orchestra
A.S.V. ALH 953
- 1984/3 Concerto *per la Solennità di S. Lorenzo* RV 556/FXII, 14
Chamber Orchestra of Europe, Schneider (dir.)
A.S.V. COE 803
(+ Mozart, J.S. Bach)
- 1984/4 Concerto da Camera RV 108/FXII, 11
R. Harvey (flauto dolce), M. Huggett e R. Goodman (violini), M. Candle (violoncello), A. Ross (cembalo)
A.S.V. DCA 523
(+ J.C. Naudot, Baston, Telemann)
- 1984/5 Sonata per violoncello RV 47/FXIV, 1
C. Torge (trombone), H. Fagius (organo)
BIS 138
(+ Guide, Nilsson, Weber)
- 1984/6 Concerto da Camera RV 103/FXII, 4
C. Pehrsson (flauto dolce), P. Novovic (violino), A. Östman (cembalo)
BIS 220
(+ Telemann, Quantz, C.P.E. Bach)
- 1984/7 Concerto per 2 flauti RV 533/FVI, 2 (arr. per flauto e cetra)
Telemann - Consort
CALIG CAL 30.833
(+ Hasse, Mozart, Schulze, Telemann)
- 1984/8 *Le Quattro Stagioni*, Op. VIII n° 1-4 (trascritte per flauto dolce e orchestra)
J.-C. Veilhan (flauto dolce), Académie Royale de Paris
CAPRIOL 81.040
- 1984/9 *Le Quattro Stagioni*, Op. VIII n° 1-4
P. Fontanrosa, R. Pasquier, L. Maazel (violini), J. Duhem (violino 2do), T. Adamopoulos (viola), R. Pidoux (violoncello), G. Lauridon (contrabbasso), E. Buckley (cembalo)
CBS IM 39.008
- 1984/10 Sonata per flauto dolce RV 52/FXV, 4
H. Schaarschmidt (flauto dolce), W. Baumgratz (organo)
CHRISTOPHORUS SCGLX 74.003
(+ Bigaglia, B. Marcello, Veracini)
- 1984/11 Sonata per violoncello RV 46/FXIV, 6 (arr. per violoncello e orchestra) (registrazione *live* del 15/01/1933)
L. Jensen (violoncello), Denmark RSO, E. Taugo (dir.)
DANACORD Records DACO 134-8 (5 LP mono)
(+ Dvorak, Tchaikovsky, Debussy, Beethoven, Chopin, Paganini,

- Poulenc, Cassadó, Gaubert, Hindemith, Szymanowski, Strawinsky, Rimsky-Korsakov, Haydn, J.S. Bach, Palestrina, Nielsen, Bizet, Puccini, Kuula, Ranta)
- 1984/12 Concerti per flautino RV 443/FVI, 4; RV 444/FVI, 5; RV 445/FVI, 9; Concerto per flauto dolce RV 441/FVI, 11
H.W. Dünschede (ottavino), Philharmonia Quartett Berlin, W. Güttler (contrabbasso), M. Motoi (cembalo)
DENON OF 7072 TX
- 1984/13 Concerto per 3 violini RV 551/FI, 34; Concerto per flauto Op. X n° 3 *Il Gardellino*
S. Milan (flauto), Festival Strings Lucerne, R. Baumgartner (dir.)
DENON OF 7178
(+ Mozart)
- 1984/14 *L'Inverno* Op. VIII n° 4 (largo)
M. Copley (flauto dolce), D. Ingram (fisarmonica)
« Cambridge Buskers »
DG 2536.417
(+ Schubert, Brahms, Khatchaturian)
- 1984/15 Concerto per flauto Op. X n° 2 *La Notte*
A. Blau (flauto), Berliner Philharmonisches Orchester, H. von Karajan (dir.)
DG (c.f. Compact-Discs)
(+ Albinoni, J.S. Bach, Pachelbel, Gluck, Mozart)
- 1984/16 Concerto per archi RV 151/FXI, 11 *Alla Rustica*
Scuola Magistrale Lugano, C. Cavadini (dir.)
ECO 640
(+ Cavadini, Centorio, Grisoni)
- 1984/17 *Le Quattro Stagioni*, Op. VIII n° 1-4
A.S. Mutter (violino), Wiener Philharmoniker, H. von Karajan (dir.)
EMI EL 270.1021 / ANGEL DFO 38.160
- 1984/18 Concerti per violino Op. III n° 6; Op. IV n° 5; Op. XII n° 1;
RV 199/FI, 2 *Il Sospetto*
I. Perlman (violino e dir.), Orchestre Philharmonique d'Israël
EMI 2700.121 / ANGEL DS-38080
- 1984/19 Concerti per 2 oboi RV 534/FVII, 3 (arr. violino e oboe); RV 535/FVII, 9 (arr. violino e tromba)
J.-P. Wallez (violino), D. Arrignon (oboe), M. André (tromba), Ensemble Orchestral de Paris
EMI 067 - 270 057 - 1T
(+ Lalande, Mouret, Stölzel, Torelli)
- 1984/20* Concerto per 4 violini RV 553/FI, 59; Concerto per violino RV 234/FI, 10 *L'Inquietudine*; Concerti per archi RV 118/FXI, 9; RV 143/FXI, 35; Sinfonie per archi RV 116/FXI, 46; RV 137/FXI, 51
M. Fornaciari (violino), I Solisti Veneti, C. Scimone (dir.)
ERATO NUM 75.109 / RCA ZL 30.940 DX
- 1984/21* Concerti per oboe RV 447/FVII, 6; RV 453/FVII, 10; RV 457/FVII, 12; RV 461/FVII, 5; RV 463/FVII, 13
M. Bourgue (oboe); I Solisti Veneti, C. Scimone (dir.)
ERATO NUM 75.110 / RCA ZL 30.939 DX

- 1984/22* Concerto per liuto RV 93/FXII, 15 (trascritto per mandolino); Concerto per mandolino RV 425/FV, 1; Concerto per 2 mandolini RV 532/FV, 2; Concerto *Con molti Stromenti* RV 558/FXII, 37 D. Frati e U. Orlandi (mandolini), I Solisti Veneti, C. Scimone (dir.) ERATO NUM 75.108 / RCA ZL 30.938 DX
- 1984/23 6 Sonate per violoncello RV 40/FXIV, 5; RV 41/FXIV, 2; RV 43/FXIV, 3; RV 45/FXIV, 4; RV 46/FXIV, 6; RV 47/FXIV, 1 A. Noras (violoncello), M. Valve (cembalo) FINLANDIA 316 PSI
- 1984/24 Concerto per liuto RV 93/FXII, 15 (arr. per chitarra) P. Ricar (chitarra), Bach-Collegium München FSM 53.751 (+ J.S. Bach, Ricciotti)
- 1984/25 trascrizioni per chitarra: Op. III n° 6 e 12; Trio RV 82/FXVI, 3; Concerto per liuto RV 93/FXII, 15 E. Bitetti (chitarra), Zagreber Solisten FSM 34.796 / TURNABOUT 34.796
- 1984/26 12 Sonate per violino, Opus II (integrale) Kayaleh (violino), Vaucher (cembalo) GALLO (2d.) 30.203/4
- 1984/27 *Il Cimento dell'Armonia e dell'Invenzione*, Opus VIII (integrale) J. Rolla (violino e dir.), P. Pongrácz (oboe), Orchestra da Camera Franz Liszt Budapest HUNGAROTON (3d.) SLPD 12465/67
- 1984/28 Sonata per violino RV 10/FXIII, 6 F. Gulli (violino), E. Cavallo (cembalo) MESTERWERKE DES BAROCK 666.324 (+ Locatelli, Leclair, Corelli, J.S. Bach)
- 1984/29* Concerti da Camera RV 94/FXII, 25; RV 95/FXII, 29 *La Pastorella*; RV 107/FXII, 6; Sonata per oboe RV53/FXV, 2; Sonata per violino e violoncello RV 83/FXVI, 1 P. Jordan (flauto), A. Vogel (oboe), K. Munday (fagotto), K. Lensky (violino), D.H. Speltz (violoncello), J. Owen Burdik (cembalo)= « Musical Offering » NONESUCH 79067-1
- 1984/30* *L'Estro Armonico*, Opus III (integrale) I Musici PHILIPS (2d.) 412-128-1
- 1984/31 *Le Quattro Stagioni*, Op. VIII n° 1-4 C. Warren-Green (violino), London Philharmonic Orchestra, T. Wilbrandt (dir.) PHILIPS (c.f. Compact-Discs)
- 1984/32* 5 Concerti per violoncello RV 401/FIII, 1; RV 411/FIII, 14 (1. e 3. movimento) +RV 412/FIII, 11 (2. movimento); RV 413/FIII, 12; RV 418/FIII, 18; RV 424/FIII, 9 H. Schiff (violoncello), Academy of St. Martin-in-the-Fields, I. Brown (dir.) PHILIPS 411.126 - 1PH
- 1984/33* Concerto per 2 oboi (trombe?) RV 563/FVII, 50; Concerto per 2 corni RV 539/FX, 2; Concerto per 2 mandolini RV 532/FV, 2;

- Concerto per 2 flauti RV 533/FVI, 2; Concerto per 2 oboi RV 536/FVII, 8; Concerto per oboe e fagotto RV 545/FXII, 36
M. Laird e W. Houghton (trombe), T. Brown e N. Hill (corni), J. Tyler e B. Wootton (mandolini), W. Bennett e L. Smith (flauti), C. Nicklin e B. Davis (oboi), G. Sheen (fagotto), Academy of St. Martin-in-the-Fields, N. Marriner (dir.)
PHILIPS 6514.379 / PHILIPS 412.082-1
- 1984/34* Concerto *Con molti Stromenti* RV 576/FXII, 33 *S.A.R. di Sassonia*; Concerto in due Cori RV 582/FI, 62 *Per la SSma Assontione di Maria Vergine*
H. Holliger (oboe e dir.), G. Kremer (violino), Academy of St. Martin-in-the-Fields
PHILIPS 411 466-1 / PHILIPS 6514 311
(+ J.S. Bach)
- 1984/35* Concerti da Camera RV 86/FXV, 1; RV 87/FXII, 30; RV 92/FXII, 7; RV 94/FXII, 25; RV 95/FXII, 29 *La Pastorella*; RV 101/FXII, 13; RV 103/FXII, 4; RV 105/FXII, 20; RV 108/FXII, 11
M. Petri (flauto dolce), F. Ayo e P. Pellegrino (violini), K. Thunemann (fagotto), H. Holliger (oboe), J. Rubin (tiorba), T. Demenga (violoncello), C. Jaccottet (cembalo)
PHILIPS (2d.) 411 356-1
- 1984/36 Sonata per oboe RV 53/FXV, 2
L. Lencses (oboe), A. Schmid (violoncello), M. Scheurich (cembalo)
RBM 3076
(+ J.S. Bach, Haendel)
- 1984/37 *Le Quattro Stagioni*, Op. VIII n° 1-4 (trascritte per 3 chitarre)
Gitarrentrio Amsterdam
RCA GL 70220 AS
- 1984/38 Concerti per violino Op. VIII n° 10 *La Caccia*; RV 270/FI, 4 *Il Riposo / Per il Natale*
P. Fontanarosa (violino), I Nuovi Virtuosi di Roma
RCA RL 70.073 DX / RCA ARC 1-5012
(+ A. Marcello, Albinoni, Boccherini)
- 1984/39 Concerti per violino Op. VIII n° 5 e 6; Op. III n° 11; RV 271/FI, 127 *L'Amoroso*; Concerto per 2 violini RV 523/FI, 61; Concerto per 3 violini RV 551/FI, 34
P. Fontanarosa (violino), I Nuovi virtuosi di Roma
RCA RL 70.074 DX
- 1984/40 Concerto per violino Op. III n° 6; Concerto per fagotto RV498/FVIII, 2; Concerto per liuto RV 93/FXII, 15 (arr. per chitarra); Sonata per violoncello RV 40/FXIV, 5
J. Hansen (fagotto), Stenstadvold (chitarra), Kvalbein (violoncello), Eggen (cembalo), Oslo Chamber Orchestra, T. Hansen (dir.)
SIMAX PS-1002
- 1984/41 Concerti per oboe RV 448/FVII, 7; RV 461/FVII, 5
Glaetzner (oboe), Kammerorchester Berlin, Haenchen (dir.)
SPECTRUM 175
(+ Telemann)
- 1984/42 *Le Quattro Stagioni*, Op. VIII n° 1-4 (trascritte per sintetizzatore)
P. Glessen (sintetizzatore)
VARESE/SARABANDE (c.f. Compact-Discs)

II. NOUVEAUX COUPLAGES D'ENREGISTREMENTS ANCIENS

- 1984/C1 Sinfonia dell'opera *L'Olimpiade* RV 725s
Les Solistes de Bruxelles, L. Bobesco (dir.)
ALPHA DB 143
(+ Corelli, Ricciotti, G.B. Sammartini)
- 1984/C2 Concerto per violino e organo RV 541/FXII, 19 (allegro, grave)
J.J. Kantorow (violino), C. Michel (arpa), Orchestre de Chambre
Bernard Thomas
ARION ARN 36.760
(+ Leclair, St. Georges, Boccherini, Mozart, Brahms, Liszt, Poulenc, Isaye)
- 1984/C3 Concerto Op. III n° 8*; Concerti per 2 violini RV 514/FI, 100
(arr. flauto e violino)**; RV 517/FI, 98***; Concerto per 3 violini
RV 551/FI, 34****
I. Stern, P. Zukerman, I. Perlman, D. Oïstrakh (violini), J.-P.
Rampal (flauto), St. Paul Chamber Orchestra, P. Zukerman (dir.)*,
Jerusalem Chamber Orchestra, I. Stern (dir.)**, Members of Philadel-
phia Orchestra, E. Ormandy (dir.)***, New York Philharmonic, Z.
Metha (dir.)****
CBS 74.119
- 1984/C4 *Serenata a tre* RV 690
P. Grigorova (Eurilla), M. Vance (Nice), K. Spanier, Clemencic
Consort, R. Clemencic (dir.)
HARMONIA MUNDI (10d.) HMA 477.10
(+ Cesti, D'India, B. Marcello, Monteverdi, L. Rossi, M. Rossi,
Besozzi, Castrucci, Geminiani, G. Sammartini)
- 1984/C5 Concerti Op. III n° 10; Op. IV n° 8; Op. IX n° 9; Concerto per
violoncello RV 401/FI, 1; Concerto per 2 trombe RV 537/FIX, 1
A. Loveday (violino), K. Heath (violoncello), J. Wilbraham e P.
Jones (trombe), Academy of St. Martin-in-the-Fields, N. Marriner
(dir.)
LONDON STS - 15574
- 1984/C6 *Le Quattro Stagioni*, Op. VIII n° 1-4
A. Bury, J. Holloway, C. Hiron, C. Mackintosh, Academy of
Ancient Music, C. Hogwood (dir.)
OISEAU-LYRE 410-126-1 (OH)
- 1984/C7 Concerto per archi *alla Rustica* RV 151/FXI, 11
Academy of Ancient Music, C. Hogwood (dir.)
OISEAU-LYRE 410-183-1
(+ Purcell, Haendel, C.P.E. Bach, Mozart)
- 1984/C8 *Il Cimento dell'Armonia e dell'Invenzione*, Op. VIII n° 1-6
A. Harnoncourt (violino), Concentus Musicus Vienna, N. Harnon-
court (dir.)
TELDEC 6.42 985 AZ
- 1984/C9 *Il Cimento dell'Armonia e dell'Invenzione*, Op. VIII n° 7-12
A. Harnoncourt (violino), J. Schaeflein (oboe), Concentus Musicus
Vienna, N. Harnoncourt (dir.)
TELDEC 6.43 094 AZ

III. COMPACT - DISCS

- 1977/... (*Le Quattro Stagioni*, Op. VIII n° 1-4, I. Perlman (violino e dir.),
London Philharmonic Orchestra / LP=EMI 065.102803 1Q)
1980/33 CD/PHILIPS 400.075-2
1981/7 CD/CBS MK 36.710
1981/9 CD/CBS MK 36.692
1981/15 CD/DELOS DCD-3007
1981/16 CD/DENON 37-7013
1982/2 CD/DECCA 410.018-2
1982/7 CD/CBS MK 37.278
1982/14 CD/ARCHIV 400 045-2
1982/17 CD/ERATO/CONIFER ECD 88003
1982/18 CD/ERATO/CONIFER ECD 88009
1982/19 CD/ARIELA 610035-231
1982/25 CD/PHILIPS 410 001-2
1982/26 CD/PHILIPS 411 480-2
1982/30 CD/TELARC CD-80.070
1982/C6 CD/OISEAU-LYRE 410.553-2
1983/22 CD/VSM 7 47012 2T/ANGEL CDC 47012
1983/28 CD/PHILIPS 411 035-2
1983/C1 CD/ARCHIV 410.502-2
1984/9 CD/CBS MK 39.008
1984/12 CD/DENON 37-7076
1984/13 CD/DENON 37-7178
1984/15 CD/DG 413 309-2
1984/18 CD/VSM CDC 7 47076 2
1984/21 CD/ERATO/CONIFER ECD 88031
1984/22 CD/ERATO/CONIFER ECD 88042
1984/31 CD/PHILIPS 412 321-2
1984/32 CD/PHILIPS 411 126-2
1984/34 CD/PHILIPS 411 466-2
1984/42 SD/VARESE/SARABANDE VCD-47212
1984/C6 CD/OISEAU-LYRE 410.126-2
1984/C8 CD/TELDEC 8.42985
1984/C9 CD/TELDEC 8.43094

IV. PRECISIONS

- 1981/1 référence = ADES 14.024
1981/20 nouvelle référence = DIGITECH DBX PS-1026
1982/14 nouvelle référence = FIDELIO FL 3359
1982/26 Concerti per oboe Op. VIII n° 9; RV 446/FVII, 20; RV 447/
FVII, 6; RV 452/FVII, 17; RV 463/FVII, 13; Concerto per oboe
e fagotto RV 545/FXII, 36
1982/C7 référence annulée; nouvelle référence = DELL'ARTE DA 9008.
(enregistré le 11.03.1954, New York: référence 78 t. V/10 annulée)
1983/5,6,7,8 G. von Bahr (piccolo), J.O. Wedin (dir.), P. Oïen (flauto), T.
Tønnesen (dir.)
1983/17 référence = DG (2d.) 2741.022

- 1983/18 nouvelle référence=RCA (2d.) ZL 30 912 EX
 1983/22 nouvelle référence=ANGEL DS-37 984
 1983/24 O. Shumsky (violino)
 1983/25 A. Fuller (cembalo e dir.), J. Schröder, S. Richtie (violini), F. Arico (violoncello); référence=NONESUCH 79.056 AS
 1983/26 nouvelle référence=DECCA (2d.) 6.35 630 FA
 1983/31 référence=SCHWANN VMS 1624
 1983/35 Trascrizioni per 2 cembali (arr. Pixton):
 Concerti Op. III n° 8, n° 11; Concerto per 2 mandolini RV 532/
 FV, 2; Concerto per violino e organo RV 542/FXII, 41
 T. Pixton, E. Parmentier (cembali)
 TITANIC 72

V. COMMENTAIRE SUR LES MEILLEURS DISQUES DE L'ANNEE

Curieuse année, en vérité. Le nombre des enregistrements incluant du Vivaldi ne cesse de croître, et pourtant cette flambée, à y regarder de près, cache mal une véritable pénurie d'imagination. Sur 42 nouveautés, seuls 25 disques consacrent une partie conséquente de leur programme à Vivaldi. Et quel manque d'originalité! 6 *Quattro Stagioni*, 1 *Opus VIII* et 1 *Estro Armonico* complets; soit le tiers des nouveautés purement vivaldiennes riches en rabâchages: phénomène qui ne fera que s'accroître dans les années à venir, les maisons d'édition renouvelant leur répertoire le plus accessible ... donc en l'occurrence, le Vivaldi des Opus, lors du passage de leur catalogue sur compact-discs, phénomène en plein développement dès cette année.

L'évènement majeur de cette discographie restera sans doute l'absence totale d'enregistrement vocal, sacré comme profane. La ruée enthousiaste sur l'Oeuvre Sacré vers 1978 a subi depuis un ralentissement régulier jusqu'à aujourd'hui. Il est vrai que l'approche de la commémoration Bach/Haendel n'incitait guère les producteurs à investir dans le Vivaldi sacré, valeur moins sûre mais loin pourtant de nous avoir livré tous ses secrets. Les opéras, sérénades, cantates nous réserveront par contre bientôt d'heureuses surprises. Attendons, et examinons la maigre récolte annuelle.

Commençons, une fois n'est pas coutume, par la Musique de Chambre, défendue par des ensembles aux motivations bien différentes. Musical Offering (1984/29), comme le dit Nicholas Anderson, regroupe des musiciens américains d'une spontanéité, d'une vitalité rythmique rendant leur performance irrésistible, avec des petites réserves concernant un certain abus dans la décoration. L'interpréta-

tion est pourtant autrement plus recommandable que celle des virtuoses regroupés autour de Heinz Holliger (1984/35), qui s'ennuient ferme, malgré un programme passionnant, regroupant tous les Concerti da Camera avec flûte à bec. Ne boudons pourtant pas trop notre plaisir. Les moyens financiers conséquents de Philips lui permettent d'enregistrer toute la musique peu prospectée, dont celle-ci, et il ne faut pas l'en dissuader.

L'Estro Armonico new-look de I Musici (1984/30) reste des plus décevants. Cette jolie version fantômatique décalque ses accents sur celle de 1963. Mêmes tempi de base, presque les mêmes phrasés, et une gamme de couleurs proche de l'ancienne. Pourquoi, diable! fait-elle tant remake, alors? Hormis quelques moments splendides (Pina Carmirelli dans le mouvement lent du 9^{ème} Concerto), l'ensemble n'est plus habité, et ne se démarque pas des bonnes versions modernes actuelles.

L'enregistrement de Concertos pour violon par Monica Huggett mérite par contre un encouragement enthousiaste (1984/2). Son phrasé est excellent. Il y a beaucoup de simplicité dans le jeu sobre, dépouillé, pudique, aux antipodes de celui d'une Lola Bobesco, mais avec un je-ne-sais-quoi de féminin dans la manière d'aborder Vivaldi, qui sonne juste. Les interprètes originelles des oeuvres vivaldiennes étaient presque toujours des femmes. Les éditeurs en mal d'authenticité devraient plus souvent s'en souvenir, comme ici, dans le choix de leurs solistes. La leçon est éloquente, avec *Il Favorito*, *La tempesta di mare* et le RV 353 très réussis, ce dernier étant une première discographique absolue, et un concerto passionnant à plus d'un titre, car d'écriture de haute-maturité, selon la chronologie de Demoulin, et bourré de figures acrobatiques (double-cordes, détachés, sautillés, trilles, etc...) parfaitement gratuites, signant une partition de travail pour la Pietà.

Pour rester dans les oeuvres avec archets, signalons aussi l'enregistrement de Scimone, à la tête de ses nouveaux Solisti Veneti (1984/20), où l'on trouve un inédit de choix: le *Concerto Ripieno* RV 143 avec premier mouvement fugué, qui ne fait jamais oublier les interprétations d'Ephrikian en concert, mais ne démerite pas pour autant. Les Sinfonie de maturité soutiennent la comparaison avec I Musici (RV 116 et RV 137), tandis que le Concerto RV 118 ne vient pas à la cheville de l'interprétation de Fasano. *L'Inquietudine* est remarquable, avec Fornaciari. Le Concerto pour 4 violons RV 553 trouve, me semble-t-il, une référence digne de sa structure étonnante.

Dernier disque pour archets intéressant, celui consacré aux Concertos pour violoncelle, par Heinrich Schiff (1984/32). La tech-

nique est parfaite, le phrasé élégant, la virtuosité époustouflante. La respiration reste pourtant quelquefois un peu courte. Iona Brown est exemplaire dans sa direction. L'Academy parfaite. La trituration des RV 411 et RV 412, réunissant les mouvements extrêmes de l'un avec la section lente de l'autre, bien peu transcendante au demeurant, s'explique assez mal, même musicalement.

Compact-discs oblige!... Scimone explore à nouveau les Concertos pour hautbois, sans Pierre Pierlot mais avec Maurice Bourgue (1984/21), et les célèbrissimes Concertos avec mandolines (1984/22). On ne décèle pas chez Scimone une évolution radicale de son approche. Les tempi rapides sont en général un peu plus serrés, musclés. La lecture présente parfois quelques variations, comme la répétition du premier tutti du Concerto « de 1740 » RV 558, ou le rendu sonore plus travaillé des sourdines des violons « in tromba marina ». Notons aussi tous les archets pizzicati dans le RV 425, et l'emploi des mandolines lombardes, justifié musicologiquement par Scimone sur le texte de pochette, ce qui semble constituer le premier article écrit sur ce choix interprétatif. Dans les concertos pour hautbois, l'intelligence de lecture de Bourgue est comparable à celle d'Holliger, avec lequel il a gravé les double-concertos pour hautbois, chez Philips. Notons, parmi les oeuvres choisies, 3 concertos adaptés par ailleurs au basson par Vivaldi RV 471/450, RV 485/457, RV 500/463. Quant aux Solisti Veneti, assagis, ils ont pris une texture, une assurance, une autorité presque classiques.

Restent 2 enregistrements au couplage divers. Le curieux disque de Kremer (violon)/Holliger (hautbois) (1984/34) ne mérite d'être signalé que pour une orchestration exemplaire du RV 576 *Per S.A.R. di Sassonia*, qui comporte enfin 2 flûtes à bec, ce que ni Negri, ni Scimone ne proposaient dans leur propre version. Celui de Marriner (1984/33) ne soulèverait guère d'enthousiasme, lui non plus, si le RV 563 n'était gravé avec 2 trompettes solistes, comme le propose Ralph Leavis (Oxford) (c.f. *Zusätzliche und neue Anmerkungen*, in: Peter Ryom, *Ergänzungen und Berichtigungen zu dem Verzeichnis der Werke A.V.*, 1979, p. 28).

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